

Hate Speech in the Media and Internet



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The report presents the results of content analysis of surveyed the print and online media in the Kyrgyz Republic for hate speech.



Study on media in such Kyrgyzstan regions as Chui, Osh, Jalal-Abad, Batken and Bishkek was aimed at better understanding if and how local print, online and social media is portraying ethnic groups and whether the media outlets are contributing to xenophobic stereotypes and discriminatory discourse.

The report has been prepared by team of School of Peacemaking and Media Technology in Central Asia, a Kyrgyzstan media development organization focusing on advocacy, research and training on media issues.

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About the Network of Social Mediators

Network of Social Mediators Public Foundation (NSM) is a registered not-for-profit Kyrgyzstan independent media development and development communications NGO. NSM's vision statement aims at supporting freedom of expression, access to information and citizens making informed opinions and decisions as a means of promoting an informed, democratic and tolerant society.

Main project NSM-**School of Peacemaking and Media Technology** is funded by *National Endowment for Democracy (NED)* for building capacities of the local media community in the post-conflict period. The activities of the School promote independent and fair journalism in areas of crises and conflicts, and are aimed at stability and democratic development in Kyrgyzstan and Central Asia Region.

The basic curriculum of the school is a multi-level trainings and webinars for the reporter's multinational groups in southern Kyrgyzstan and the Fergana Valley. The professional team of experts and trainers of Network of Social Mediator Public Foundation, consisting of experienced international and local media professionals and conflict managers, long time worked in conflict zones, developed media tools for post-conflict peace journalism in Kyrgyzstan. Initially, these techniques have been successfully implemented in the Balkans and South Caucasus, in the post-conflict period.

Media Monitoring Group, engaged in the content analysis of Kyrgyz-, Uzbek- and Russian-language media mainly in the southern regions of the Kyrgyz Republic, is aimed to determine if hate speech exists in the media.

These researches provide the basis for the development of training materials and recommendations to improve journalism standards. On the basis of a specific methodology, experts also examine the state of ethnic media; analyze media coverage of external factors and their impact on the internal politics of the Central Asia, conduct surveys of audience in the border areas and conflict areas of the Fergana Valley. Network of Social Mediators Public Foundation staff thanks **National Endowment for Democracy (NED)** for financial support which made it possible to hold the ongoing research. This report can be useful to editors, journalists, researchers, teachers and professionals in the field of media, ethnic politics and conflict.

Executive summary

This report is part of an ongoing project of the School of Peacemaking and Media Technology (Network of Social Mediators) on regular monitoring of hate speech, clichés, stereotypes in print, online and social media of the Kyrgyz Republic.

The current report contains results of content analysis of newspapers and online media published in Osh, Jalal-Abad and Batken regions in the southern Kyrgyzstan, and in some print media distributed in Bishkek and Chuy region in Kyrgyz, Russian and Uzbek languages and posts in social networks.

Media monitoring was undertaken in March to April and October to November 2013 in two stages:

Stage 1 - March to April 2013. Selection of the media environment these months was related to the beginning of the year, when trends were set, strategies were developed in many political spheres, relations affecting the formation of public opinion were determined at this stage.

Stage 2 - October to November 2013. This was a peak of political activity, which was reflected by the media. At this time findings were summarized, events occurring since the start of the year and their consequences were analysed, situation was evaluated, forecasts were made.

The media are a significant social institution that helps develop interaction models between people. The media shape concepts of cultural diversity of the world with various groups interacting within it. Nontolerant media can even contribute to the negative image of a person or an ethnic group, thus fostering violence and discrimination. These calls can be either overt or covert hate speech.

Therefore, the purpose of this analysis was to study the role of local media in the instigation of a conflict or its mitigation, determination of hate over time, subjects and victims of hate speech in Kyrgyzstan, which is still at risk after the 2010 ethnic violence between the Kyrgyz and Uzbeks.

Three years later, this sensitive issue is often raised in the media and heard in the speeches and interviews of experts and politicians.

In southern Kyrgyzstan, which is a part of densely populated Fergana Valley, the ethnic issue is getting worse because of the unsolved border issues between Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan that need to be demarcated, disputable territories and enclaves. According to Ministry of Internal Affairs of Kyrgyzstan, there are 148 troubled areas in the border zones.

Previous studies of hate speech in the media of southern Kyrgyzstan were conducted by an expert group of the PeacemakingSchool in 2010, 2011 and 2012. Analytical reports were the basis for development of training materials and aids, glossaries of stereotypes for workshops in peacemaking journalism, improvement of journalism standards. Also experts worked with focus groups, studied readers' opinions of the regional media. ¹

Historical and political background

Kyrgyzstan is a small country in Central Asia with 5,663,500 people. The country shares common border with China, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan. The capital city, Bishkek, is located in the north, in Chui Valley. All central authorities are based in Bishkek, political and economic centre. Osh, second largest city in the country, is the southern capital of Kyrgyzstan.

¹Recent report was published on www.ca-mediators.net



According to National Statistical Committee, ethnic composition as of May 2013 was as follows: Kyrgyz - 72.4%, Uzbeks - 14.4%, Russians - 6.6%², Dungans - 1.1%, other nationalities - less than 1%.²

When President Kurmanbek Bakiev was ousted in April 2010, and interim government came to power, the Kyrgyz society was living in tension. National authorities were seeking support from the Uzbek population in the south. Kadyrjan Batyrov, former member of parliament, businessman and founder of the University of People's Friendship in southern Kyrgyzstan, was the most prominent person in this large ethnic group. On May 15, 2010, Batyrov talked to his voters and urged the Uzbeks to take part in the political process. His speech was further interpreted as the combination of politics and ethnicity, and was taken by some leaders of the Kyrgyz society as a call for autonomy and attempted uniting against the majority.³

The nervous situation escalated into the biggest ethnic conflict in the last 20 years between the Kyrgyz and Uzbeks residing in Osh and Jalal-Abad regions and some neighboring areas that have common border with Uzbekistan.

Ethnic violence in June 2010 between the Kyrgyz and Uzbeks resulted in 400+ victims, more than two thousand people were wounded, hundreds of houses and sales outlets belonging mostly to Uzbeks were destroyed. According to the international humanitarian agencies, more than one million people were involved in the conflict.

The political background, conflicts that occurred during the reporting period, i.e. in March to April and October to November 2013, were reflected in the media and had their effect on the use of hate speech by the journalists. Experts found out that reporters in their stories paid more attention to ethnic identity, which was an indirect sign of the escalated conflict in the society.

In April 2013, the leader of Kyrgyzstan, Almazbek Atambayev, signed the decree "On the concept of advance of unity of the nation and ethnic relations in the Kyrgyz Republic", which was expected for two years.⁴

As part of the Concept, a plan of actions is being developed to strengthen interethnic concord until 2017. It is expected to create the basis for the consolidation of the society, integration of ethnic communities, creation of conditions for multilingualism and prevention of languages spoken by ethnic groups. However, analysis and data of human rights defenders show that the languages spoken by national minorities tend to be displaced.

The recent regular report of the government of Kyrgyzstan submitted to the UN Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination in February 2013 says that all ethnic groups have a right to maintain their languages and language diversity is guaranteed by laws.

Quoting figures as of 2011, the document indicates that national minority groups are well represented in the government, state service and law enforcement agencies. However, in reality these figures do not correspond to the size of ethnic minorities in the total population of the republic. The document says about the plans to expand broadcasting in Uzbek, Kazakh, Tajik and Russian languages. It admits the fact that after June 2010, many Uzbek schools in the south faced the replacement of Uzbek language, which used to be the language of instruction and was spoken by the second largest ethnic minority group, by Kyrgyz language.

²http://www.stat.kg/rus1/common_files/obzor9k.pdf

³ In October 2011, Batyrov, who fled the country during the Osh events, was sentenced to life in prison and confiscation of property in absentia.

⁴http://www.president.kg/ru/news/ukazy/1878_utverjdena_konseptsiya_ukrepleniya_edinstva_naroda_i_mejetnicheskikh_otnosheniy_v_kyrgyzskoy_respublike/

In April 2013, a border conflict occurred between the nationals of Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan that had a dispute over the building of the bypass road in Batken region of Kyrgyzstan near the exclave of Vorukh (Tajikistan). The conflict turned into a large scale row. Naken Kasiev, Director of State Agency for Local Government Affairs and Ethnic Relations, commented frequent ethnic conflicts in the interview by admitting that “ethnic situation in Kyrgyzstan remains tense” and “domestic clashes may escalate into ethnic ones”. Ongoing tension creates ethnic discontent of the parties that blame each other for ‘their territorial’ claims.

The similar conflict was in January 2013 in the area of Uzbek enclave of Sokh, geographically located in Kyrgyzstan, when Kyrgyz border officers decided to set up posts on the undemarcated land plot. Their actions raised protests among Uzbek population and their aggressive response. The protest resulted in the taking of 40 hostages among local Kyrgyz, demolition of a few dozens of frontier posts, destruction of at least two cars, violences involving shooting and the wounded.

The risk is that border conflicts can continue in the territory of Kyrgyzstan, and can affect national minority groups and attitude of locals to them.

Hate speech: Definition

Hate speech is a broad term that refers to a range of negative discourse that incites hostility.

This term traditionally covers expressions in any form deemed humiliating to any race, religious, ethnic or national group. This phenomenon can be expressed in a form of racism, xenophobia, interethnic hostility or intolerance, instigating violence, hatred or discrimination.⁵

The 80s of the last century cleared up the concept of hate speech, and it started to include homophobia and sexism, gender discrimination and other forms of hatred.⁶

The debates around prohibition of hate speech and right of the freedom of expression vary between these two competing types.

On the one hand, the mandatory regulation of speech depending on its content can undermine the fundamental right to freedom of speech. On the other hand, supporters of hate speech regulation in the media claim that the right to freedom of speech is not absolute. This is recognized in article 19 of International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, which says that the right to freedom of expression carries “special duties and responsibilities” and, therefore, may be “subject to certain restrictions”.⁷

The demand for “respect of the rights or reputations of others” is noted as one of the conditions, among others, that may justify restriction of freedom of speech.

These restrictions may arise from “legal sanctions or social disapprovals”.

Such restrictions are considered as new definitions assuring freedom of speech as it incompatible with the core values of democracy.

However, in practice the pendulum swings towards regulation. A few international initiatives have been created to solve the issues of qualification of expressions used in the media as “inciting hatred”. However, regulation standards differ much in the laws of various countries concerning the types of expressions, prohibition and sanctions.⁸

The majority of experts share the opinion that hate speech should be opposed by speech intended to educate the audience and root out delusion and bias, overcome the enemy image and destroy stereotypes, thus changing public opinion voluntarily.⁹

⁵Coliver, S. 1992. Striking a balance: Hate Speech, Freedom of Expression, and Non-Discrimination. Viewed 15 November 2011, www.wcl.american.edu

⁶Walker, S. 1994. *Hate Speech: The History of An American Controversy* 8. University of Nebraska Press. Nebraska.

⁷International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights http://www.un.org/ru/documents/decl_conv/conventions/pactpol.shtml

⁸Coliver, S. <http://www.memo.ru/hr/referats/hatespch/index.htm>

⁹Hate speech: How to avoid it in public discussion? V. Likhachev, trainer of the School of Peacemaking and Media Technologies, webinar video<http://www.ca-mediators.net/ru/vebinary/42-vazyk-vrazhdy-kak-izbezhat-etogo-v-publichnoy-diskussii-tehniki-dlya-zhurnalistov.html>

Methodology

Quantitative and qualitative analysis of print, online media and social networks and was made to detect the hate speech.

The articles selected for this analysis were classified by a few headings, main of which were objects of hate speech and attitude of journalists to exceptionable remarks.

The methodology developed by the SOVA Centre for Information and Analysis was used in the report.¹⁰ This approach is the most acceptable since it has been developed to analyze hate speech in former USSR states and is being used in think tanks of Russia, Ukraine and Caucasus.

The experts explored the frequency of articles, which were identified by the following indicators:

1. The number of articles in language-specific media: Kyrgyz, Russian and Uzbek newspapers, online media and posts in social networks. The following was analyzed:

- the frequency of articles in the reporting period;
- the genre of articles: news, analysis, opinions, interviews;
- the number of articles using the news focus in their stories covering the ethnic issue.

2. The content of articles was analyzed on the basis of the following indicators:

-the tone split into five categories:(government propaganda, criticism, neutral, positive or scientific tone).

a) **Government propaganda** *is a method of purposeful dissemination of ideas of the authorities in power. In the propaganda-containing articles, reporter expresses the government's point of view on the ethnic situation;*

b) **Critical tone** *(emotionally coloured lexicon and evaluation of authors' opinions in regard to the objects, sometimes contains metaphors casting aspersions to one or another ethnic group);*

c) **Neutralizing tone** *(lack of emotions, reporter's distance from the reader, only facts and opinions). The articles written in such a tone contain only facts, yet they lack opinions and manifestation of hate;*

d) **Positive tone** *(subject of the article is shown in a positive way, the context of the article is positive);*

e) **Scientific tone** *(studies in history, analysis of relationship between ethnic groups, national policy pursued by the state).*

- the use of propaganda tools embedding intolerant ethnic ideas, stereotypes and lexemes into the mass consciousness.

Every article mentioning at least once one of the ethnic groups and using words and expressions – ethnic stereotypes – was taken as the unit of analysis.

3. Data were put into a table with a reference to ethnic groups (the number of references to ethnicity in a given period).

4. Table with analysis:

- of positive or negative comments about ethnicity, cliché;
- of the presence in the text of the source of information, the balance of opinions, illustrations, which can cause negative perceptions;

¹⁰ <http://www.sova-center.ru/en/>.

- of the number of articles containing emotional overtones; their sources;
- amount of balanced articles;
- of the number of articles where authors provide their comments;
- type of hate speech (degrees of radicalism of speech)

5. Sampling Criteria

All articles selected for analysis were monitored manually on the basis of certain key words and expression often met in media texts. The key words and phrases were "incident", "ethnic group", "conflict", "ethnic issues", "titular nation", "non-indigenous people", "national patriots", "ethnicity", "nationalism", "chauvinism", "Uzbek separatists", "Tajik border guards", "Uzbek customs officers", "Chinese migrants", "quiet Chinese expansion", "the Kirghiz despising their mother tongue", "Russian invaders", "genocide of the Kyrgyz".

The media was monitored five times a week. Main focus was given to articles and columns that contained catchy titles, headings, visual means (graphics, cartoons).

6. Classification. Articles containing hate speech were classified by seven following types:¹¹

- *Statements regarding on historical crimes of one ethnic group against the other*
- *Accusations against other ethnic groups for separatism, territorial acquisition, or other negative ambitions*
- *Creating negative image of an ethnic or religious group*
- *Creating negative image of an ethnic group by covering domestic conflicts and accusations of criminality*
- *Searching for enemies among others or projecting one group's problems onto others*
- *Expressions of the superiority of an ethnic group*
- *Accusing an ethnic group of unwelcomed willingness to settle down in the region*
- *Accusing other ethnic groups of reluctance to learn the language and culture of native people*

These types of hate speech were divided into forms by the level of threat posed to the society – harsh, moderate and soft.

Harsh forms of hate speech:

- calls for violence,
- calls for discrimination,
- implicit calls for violence and discrimination,
- calls for no consolidation in the region.

Moderate forms of hate speech:

- justification of historical cases of violence and discrimination,
- articles and statements casting doubt on admitted historical facts of violence and discrimination,
- statements on historical crimes of one or another ethnic or religious group,
- statements on the criminality of one or another ethnic or religious group,
- thoughts about the disproportionate superiority of one or another ethnic or religious group,
- accusations of negative impact of one or another ethnic or religious group on the society, state,
- accusations of a group of attempted seizure of power or territorial expansion,
- denial of citizenship.

Soft forms of hate speech:

- creating negative image of an ethnic or religious group,

¹¹ Methodology used in the CIS states contains general classification by 17 categories.

- statements on inadequacy of one or another ethnic or religious group,
- statements on moral infirmities of one or another ethnic or religious group,
- references to ethnic or religious group or their representatives as such in a humiliating or insulting context,
- quotes of explicit hate speech and texts without comments.

Findings and recommendations

The findings are based on the analysis of hate speech in articles monitored, which were classified by topics, genres, types of hate speech, and content of xenophobic stereotypes and clichés. In the reporting period, perpetrators and victims of hate speech were identified.

Content analysis of media showed urgency and promptness of the analysis, and revealed a range of factors proving hostility in the society.

According to the analysis, the main factors having impact on the level of tension in the Kyrgyz Republic are:

- ***ethnocentrism*** of the authorities, restricted access of minorities to the government of the state;

- economic and social ***inequality*** of ethnic groups;

Now in Kyrgyzstan faces the struggle for identity. Amid the economic problem, this struggle leads to confrontation; in some causes ethnic tension is the result of many conflicts.

Every ethnic group in Kyrgyzstan occupies its niche. Thus, Uzbeks, Meskhetian Turks and Dungans residing in Kyrgyzstan have long been agricultural producers, farmers. Development of the society, new technologies give rise to the competition in various fields.

- ***unsolved territorial and border issues and problems of access to natural resources faced by border area residents;***

Border issues add to growing tension between the ethnic groups in Kyrgyzstan. On the one hand, residents of Kyrgyzstan residing in areas neighboring Uzbek enclaves have limited infrastructure. They lack roads, communications, water. During the year the problems aggravate so much that people start blaming the other ethnic group and hate it.

Another vector is the hostile attitude towards ethnic groups residing in the disputed border area. People on both sides of the border think that other people seize their lands in such a way.

- ***underdeveloped multiculturalism*** in the society, alternative values and different ideological principles of various ethnic groups;

Multiculturalism makes great sense for a multi-ethnic society in Kyrgyzstan. The essence of multiculturalism is the recognition of diverse forms of cultural commonalities, and provision of equal access to the resources for such diversity. Reasonable implementation of diversity management policy can reduce conflicts in the society.

- widely spread ***nationalistic public speeches*** of politicians and officials.

During political campaigns, protests provoked by social and other issues, local politicians tend to raise the national issue implying that it is “robust patriotism”. Local media like to quote such politicians and thus have impact on the audience and are supported by outcast voters who can hardly distinguish between true patriotism and ethnic intolerance.

- ***lack of professionalism*** in journalists covering sensitive ethnic issues.

Osh, Jalal-Abad and Batken regions in southern Kyrgyzstan are most vulnerable and face minor local skirmishes between the communities due to the lack of land, water and unregulated border issues, which can further develop into widespread conflicts, just like the ethnic violence between the Kyrgyz and Uzbeks in 1990 and 2010.

Analysis of hate speech dynamics shows that media have posted less articles containing hostile attacks and dehumanizing metaphors but in spite of this yet the level of hostility in the print, online media is still high.

Reporters keep on using radical (harsh) type of hostile lexicon when they describe border conflicts, facts of domestic nationalism and criminal offences, activities of historical figures, territorial disputes, attitudes of national minorities towards state language. Moderate and soft types of hate speech, sometimes in a concealed form, are used by journalists when they report daily problems in the south of the country.

Monitoring showed high ethnic tension in Bishkek and central Chui region, where the majority of media are located. **56%** of all monitored articles contained harsh and moderate types of hate speech.

High level of hostility in print media published in the central part of the country is associated with social problems and internal migration, labor migration from Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, China, negotiation of Kyrgyzstan joining the Customs Union, discussion of language issues. These factors affect growing conflicts between communities.

On the other hand, journalists and the audience are more active in Bishkek and Chui region. It is obvious in the Internet. Online reporters use stereotypes and dehumanising metaphors, thus provoking the audience on feedbacks and comments. The journalists and the audience have more opportunities to take part in online talks, meetings with politicians, public figures holding ultra-nationalist views.

The users based in Bishkek and Chui region respond to the articles promptly, discuss them at forums, which is the evidence of widespread Internet and multiple users.

Unbalanced materials and rare opinions of minority groups in the media regarding ethnic issues give small idea of the issue itself to the reader. This leads to the fact the journalists convey hostile stereotypes to the audience based on their own findings.

Recommendations:

Based on the analysis and findings of media monitoring, the following is recommended to mitigate hostility in the media environment and to improve the situation as a whole:

- the authorities must **promote diversity** by involving experts from diverse ethnic groups into the management structures; support the right guaranteed by the Constitution of the Kyrgyz Republic and international laws to representatives of national minority groups to take part in the public life, while the media should assist the government by being an open platform for dialogue in the diverse society;
- improve access to **minority language media content**; promote development of ethnic media;
- state-controlled and independent media should **give a voices of ethnic minorities**, thus contributing to the development of diversity in Kyrgyzstan and expanding their audience; editorial offices should comply with their internal code of conduct when covering sensitive ethnic issues to avoid rousing hatred;
- **training of media specialists** and top media managers should be improved by teaching high professional standards to them, introducing diversity to editorial staff; special courses on “Tolerant Coverage of Minorities Issues” and “Overcoming Enemy Image in the Media” should be introduced to departments of journalism;
- techniques of overcoming enemy image, international standards of journalism, basic understanding of conflicts should be taught to local reporters and editors. Low level of literacy of local reporters is one of the reasons of increasing hate speech. Trainings should be held by competent instructors experienced in working in conflict areas in multinational journalist teams.
- **media organizations and NGOs** involved in the conflict journalism issues should use in-depth analysis and evaluation of current situation in this sphere in their reports, avoid unqualified specialists in the implementation of their projects.

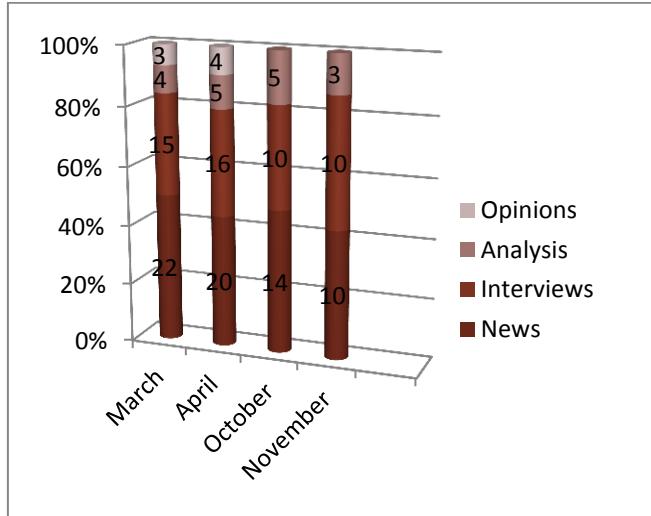
Trends and comparative analysis

In the reporting period from March-April and October-November, 2013, 27 newspapers in Kyrgyz, Russian and Uzbek (**141 (100%) articles** of different newspapers) published in Bishkek, Osh, Jalal-Abad and

Batken regions of Kyrgyzstan and 21 online and 2 social media were analyzed for hate speech concerning ethnic issues.¹²

Monitoring by genres demonstrates what focus journalists use in articles and what type of hate speech is used. In the reporting period, ethnic issue was covered in the news and interviews with politicians and experts, while opinions and analysis were covered much less.

Genres of articles covering ethnic issue split by month, Figure 1



Ethnic issue, in its usual sense (culture of the nation, national holidays, traditions of ethnic groups living in Kyrgyzstan), is of little interest to editors and journalists. There are almost no reports covering multiculturalism.

And vice versa, the articles covering ethnic conflicts and various forms of nationalism increase in number. Journalists refer to the ethnic component of a conflict (e.g. listing participants of an event), focusing attention of readers to the ethnic background of a criminal or a victim, which contributes to the increase of hostility in the society.

As a result, some key milestones achieved include following:

Analysis shows that two types of hate speech: moderate and soft or a combination of them, dominate in the media. Sometimes both types are used in separate quotes or throughout the text.

Any conflict situation involving representatives of various ethnic communities (e.g. skirmishes between youth groups, border conflicts, crimes of representatives of ethnic minorities and other events) provokes increase of articles in the media containing aggressive hate speech against an ethnic group as a whole.

Thus, the editorial comment, “Watch out, my people!”¹³ expresses disinclination to the Uzbek ethnic group using harsh hate speech.

Quote: “Rumor has it that separatists wearing skullcaps revive again...”

78 articles out of **141** analyzed in print and online media contained hate speech. Hereinafter, the number of articles containing hate speech will be taken as 100%.

Including:

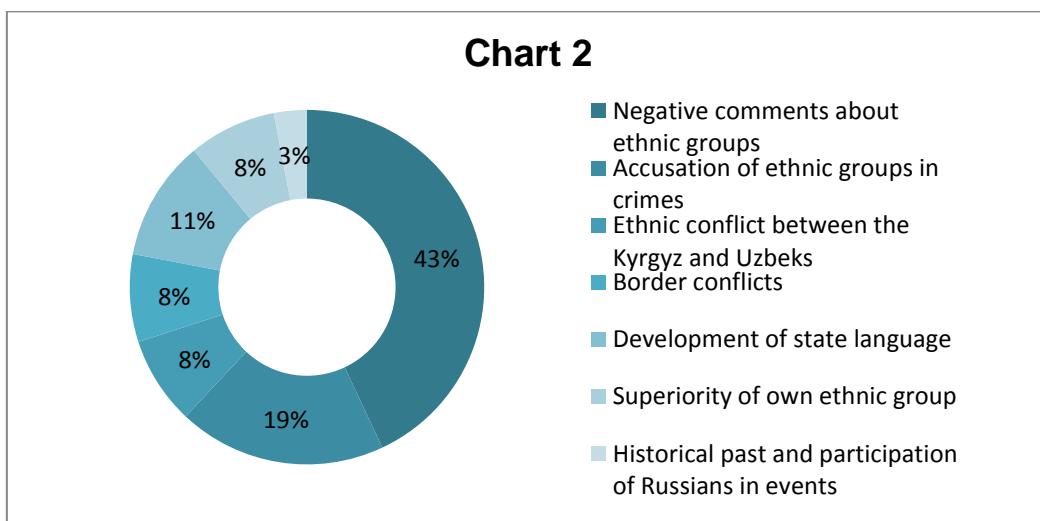
- **34** articles (**43%**) were recorded to contain negative comments about ethnic groups;
- authors of **15** articles (**19%**) claimed crimes of one or another ethnic group;
- **6** articles (**8%**) analyzed ethnic violence between the Kyrgyz and Uzbeks in June 2010;

¹²Table 1 (appendix). List of media monitored

¹³Original heading in Kyrgyz “Сакбол, элим!”, KochkuBasty newspaper, issue #3, as of April 2013, Osh.

- 6 articles (8%) covered conflict on the Kyrgyz-Uzbek and Kyrgyz-Tajik borders;
- reporters of 9 articles (11%) wrote about the development of state Kyrgyz language and attitude to it of national minority groups;
- 6 articles (8%) contained self-praise of the Kyrgyz ethnic group in Kyrgyz-language media;
- 2 articles (3%) covering the historical past of Kyrgyzstan and participation of Russians in historical events;

Articles containing hate speech split by topics are given below, Figure 2



Comparative analysis

During analysis, expert found that in the reporting period hate speech was used less frequently in the monitored media compared to previous years. Compared to 2010-2012, the frequency of *hate speech* used in 2013 in regional newspapers has decreased. If 30-35 articles containing hate speech were recorded every month in 2010-2012, this figure has become twice as little in the reporting period. On the other hand, monitoring revealed tolerant attitude of journalists to inappropriate statements of officials, politicians and other respondents. Earlier reporters blamed state mongers for provoking xenophobia, inciting hatred in the society.

However, now reporters ask the interviewees to explain or comment a carelessly spoken phrase and do not show their attitude towards it. Thus, journalists quietly agree with the inappropriate opinion or stereotypes.

The similar question was asked by journalist D. Mirzakhakimova in the interview with Tuitobay Salimanov, a distinguished teacher of Kyrgyzstan, and published in the article "Students must be supervised by parents, school and community".¹⁴ When discussing fostering love to mother tongue in schoolchildren, the interviewee talks in an unflattering manner about ethnic Kyrgyz who are fluent in Russian, yet speak little mother tongue, and calls them "Kirghiz".

At the same time the reporter asks, "*What's your attitude towards them?*" In reply he hears negative opinion about the "Kirghiz". Thus, the editorial staff and the journalist "encourage" biased attitude towards inappropriate expressions, stereotypes and clichés.

Crime sections and articles telling about crimes also emphasize ethnic background. The audience has a negative image of mentioned ethnic group after reading such crime sections where ethnic background is

¹⁴ Original heading in Kyrgyz "Окуучуларга – ата эне, мектеп жана коомчулук козомол кылуусу керек", Aymak newspaper, issue #32, as of 12.11.2013, Jalal-Abad.

mentioned. For example, Fabula newspaper¹⁵ published an article “Isn’t it foolish to take care of monsters?!” where author Baratpay Arakeev is disgruntled at the humanist attitude of the state to criminals committing serious offences.

One of the quotes says, “Last year one Russian guy was going to buy a laptop from a student, and then killed him and seized the laptop” (Original quote in Kyrgyz: “Быйыл болсо керек эле, кайсы бир окуу жайында окуган бир жигиттин ноутбуугун сатып алам дөгөн бир орус жигит тигини өлтүрүп, ноутбуугун алып баса бериптири”).

Besides, experts have detected the increasing number of catchy headings referring to ethnic background or words with negative connotations.

Headlines do not always explain the article’s content, often they use clichés and thus attract the audience.

Examples of using hate speech in the headings:

“Kyrgyz has tortured Russian for 70 years”¹⁶

“Uzbeks debate about Orto Tokoy reservoir...”¹⁷

“Koreans want to seize Bishkek Free Economic Zone”¹⁸

Another trend in local media is the retranslating stereotypes and xenophobic connotations.

Local newspapers and websites usually reprint and interpret the news and articles in other languages repeatedly (Kyrgyz, Russian, Uzbek). Often media reprint negative news and keep the stereotypes in texts or retranslate dubious quote with no editorial comment.

Therefore, one of the indicators of the monitoring was the amount of articled split by languages (Kyrgyz, Russian, Uzbek). This is an important indicator that gives the idea of the needs of the audience comprised of diverse ethnic groups.

Kyrgyz-language newspapers prevail in this group. They are more spread in the media space; they have larger circulations; their articles raise ethnic issues and their texts contain more hate speech.¹⁹

Frequency of references to ethnic groups in the media is indicating that the society focuses on ethnic identity. News, analytical articles and quotes of interviewees often emphasize national identity of people, which creates a certain attitude in people towards any nation, thus giving rise to hate speech. In some cases this approach is based on the political objectives of the media owner, in other cases it is the consequence of incompetence and unprofessional performance of a reporter.

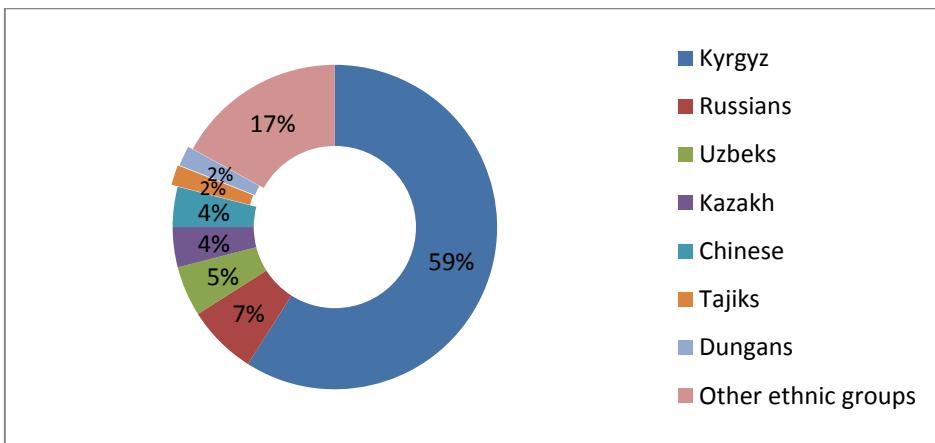
In the reporting period, **1,641 (100%)** references to ethnic groups were recorded in the articles containing hate speech. These references containing dehumanizing metaphors and ad hominem attacks support to contribute to such clichés as “Uzbek separatists”, “Chinese expansion” etc.

Proportion of references to ethnic groups in the media and Internet, Figure 3.

¹⁵ issue #71, as of 01.11.2013, Bishkek. Original heading in Kyrgyz “Мыкаачыны бағып отурғандык наадандык әмесли?!”
¹⁶ Original heading in Kyrgyz: “Кыргыз орусту 70 жыл ээди”, Aymak newspaper, issue #11, as of 2.04.2013, Jalal-Abad

¹⁷ Original heading in Kyrgyz: “Әзбектер эми Орто-Токой суу сактагычын талашууда...”, Fabula newspaper, issue #69, as of 25.10.2013, Bishkek

¹⁸ Original heading in Kyrgyz: “СЭЗ “Бишкекти тооногусу келген корейлер”), Alibi newspaper, issue #107, as of 22.11.2013, Bishkek
¹⁹ Frequency of monitored articles split by languages is shown in Annex 1.



In March to April and October to November 2013, the **Kyrgyz** were mentioned in the media **968 times (59%)** in the media generally but referred to mostly in a positive way.

Russians were the next ethnic group that was mentioned **110 times (7%)**, mainly in negative context due to the ongoing discussion in the media of the role of tsarist Russia in the historical past of Kyrgyzstan. (*note: when the country was a part of tsarist Russia*). Also they were mentioned due to the debates about Kyrgyzstan joining the Customs Union, march of nationalists in Russia and response of a part of the Kyrgyz society to it.

They were followed by Uzbeks mentioned **87 times (5%)**. Uzbeks were discussed in the articles raising the issue of ethnic violence of 2010 and its consequences, as well as border incidents .The Kyrgyz-language media mentioned the Uzbek ethnic group in a negative context and called them “separatists”. **76 mentions (over 4%)** were detected about the **Kazakh**.

This was an article covering the disputes on the Kyrgyz-Kazakh border, issues of labor migration to Kazakhstan.

The same number of hostile attacks --**60 times (4%)** - was found in respect of the **Chinese**.

Journalists used hate speech to present them as the threat to independent Kyrgyzstan, as people creating problems to local competitors in the job market and as aggressors disturbing local people and the authorities.

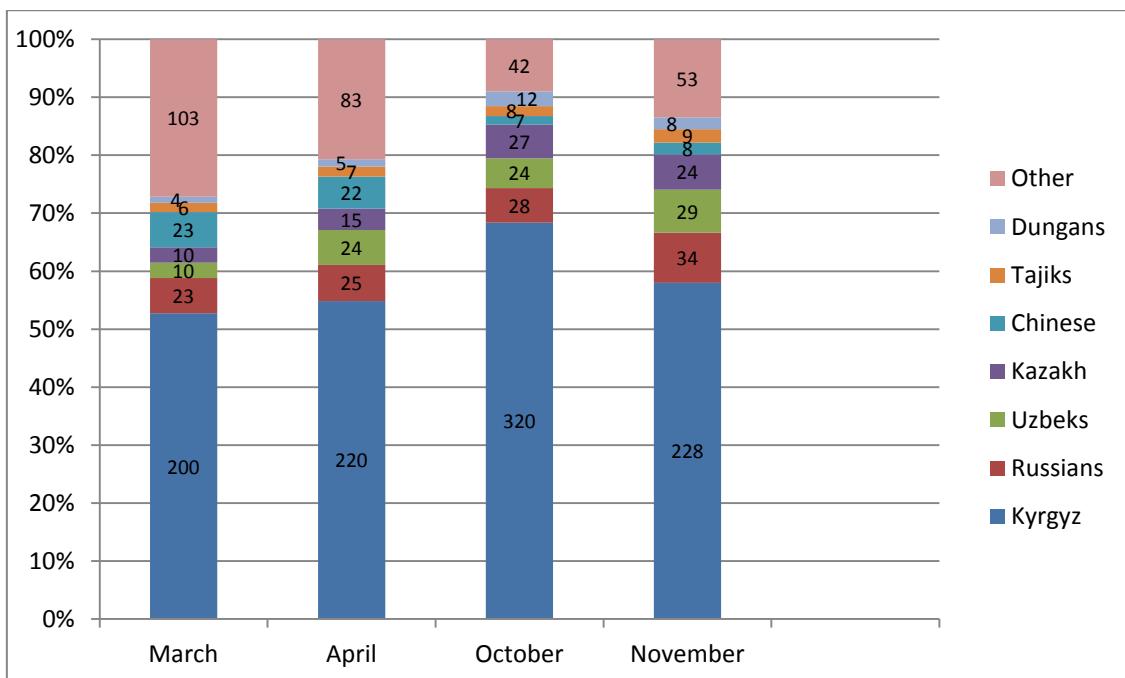
Tajik ethnic group was mentioned in the media **30 times (2%)**. This ethnic group was emphasized in the articles covering border conflicts and territorial claims.

The same number of references - **29 times (2%)** - was found in respect of the **Dungans**.

This ethnic group figures in the historical sketches of the escape of their ancestors from China to Kyrgyzstan after a violent suppression of the rebellion in the end of 19th century, and in the coverages of conflicts between Dungan and Kyrgyz drivers in Naryn region.

Other ethnic groups such as **Uigurs, Germans, Turks, Tatars, Ukrainians, Koreans** were generally mentioned in the media **281 times (17%)**.

Proportion of references to ethnic groups split by months, Figure 4



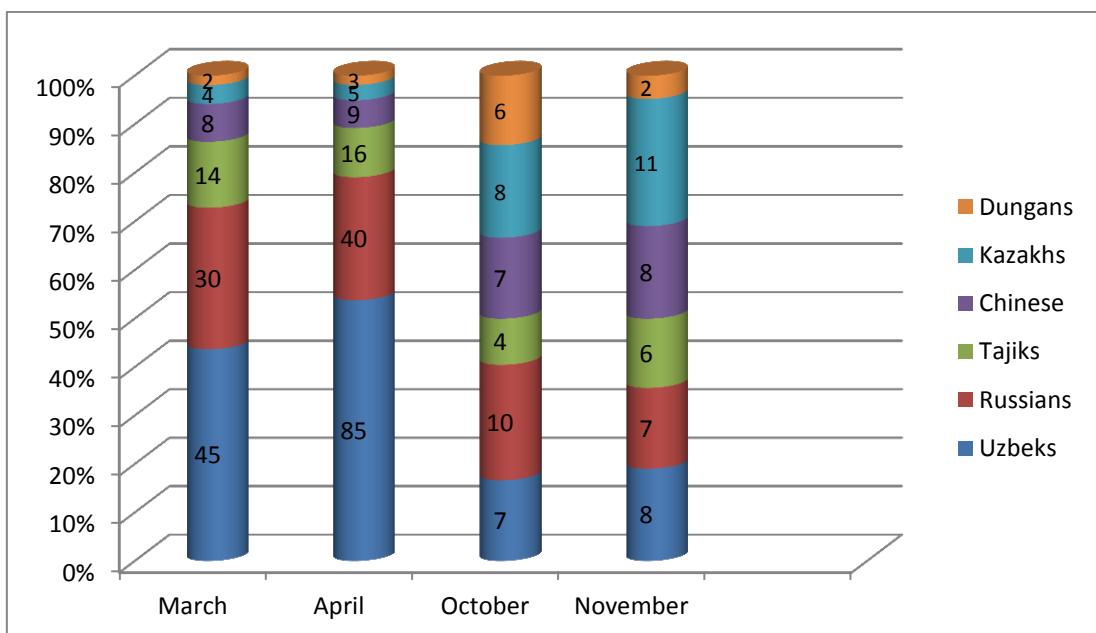
Clichés and stereotypes in media analyzed

Many negative stereotypes and clichés about the Uzbeks were identified during the first stage of monitoring in March to April 2013. This is probably due to the third anniversary of the June ethnic violence between the Uzbeks and Kyrgyz and to frequent incidents on the Kyrgyz-Uzbek border much covered these months in the media.

In October and November 2013, there were less negative comments about the ethnic group. This is due to the fact that no significant events involving the Uzbeks occurred in this period.

Some newspapers demonstrated intolerance to the Uzbeks calling for "revealing the nature of the Sarts". Such clichés as "separatists", "sarts", "foreigners", "parti-colored skull caps", stereotypes "Uzbeks are unwilling to recognize our culture", "they think only about autonomy" were found in the articles monitored.

Number of clichés and stereotypes split by ethnic groups, Figure 5.



March and April have the majority of negative clichés and stereotypes addressed to Russians. These months are a period for a traditional mass departure of migrant worker from southern regions of Kyrgyzstan to Russia; therefore, hostile attacks were covered in the articles dedicated to labor migration. The most discussable topic was the attitude of Russians towards foreign labor migrants and the readiness of the latter to adapt to another country.

According to the figure, the number of stereotypes and clichés decreased sharply in October-November 2013.

Only few hostile metaphors were detected in stories discussing the historical past and the events of 1916.²⁰ Experts noticed such clichés as “colonizers”, “chauvinists”, “intruders”, and stereotypes as “Russian drunkards”, “Russian invaders”, “Russian expansion”, etc.

The stereotypes about the **Tajiks** were recorded in March and April, when the media focused on border conflicts in Batken region.

In the following months, the topic much covered by journalists was incidents in border areas; however, there were few articles. Although the problem is still pressing, it is of less significance compared to other issues.

Reporters used such clichés and stereotypes as “aggressive”, “quiet expansion of Kyrgyz lands”, “Tajiks pay no regard to the Kyrgyz”, “love what doesn't belong to them” when describing the events.

Reporters demonstrated hostile attitude towards the **Chinese** during the first and the second stage of monitoring (March to April and October to November). They blamed the Chinese for pushing out the people of Kyrgyzstan from the local job market, for conflicts with residents, for expansion of Kyrgyz lands. By using biased portrayal of ethnic groups journalists described the Chinese by such clichés as “enemies”, “expansion”, “invasion”, “messengers of the Celestial Empire”, “criminals”, “wild people”.

Negative clichés and stereotypes about the **Kazakh** were used to analysis the incidents on the Kyrgyz-Kazakh border, and mostly unfriendly attitude towards migrant workers in Kazakhstan. As the chart shows, the number of feedbacks about this ethnic group remains the same during monitoring. The media of Kyrgyzstan usually described the Kazakh as “too arrogant”, “unfair”, “adroitly exploiting weaknesses”.

Dungans were portrayed through negative clichés in October and November, when the conflict between Dungan and Kyrgyz drivers importing Chinese goods to Kyrgyzstan occurred.²¹ This topic was covered mainly in online media in Russian and Kyrgyz languages. In some articles Dungans were called “cunning”, “ungrateful”, “adroitly exploiting credibility of the Kyrgyz”, etc.

Table 2 (appendix) shows detailed examples of clichés and stereotypes taken from the media monitored in the reporting period.

Perpetrators of hate speech

Preachers of the hostility included this report comprised influential people in society. These ranged from politicians, state actors, journalists and media columnists, to political analysts.

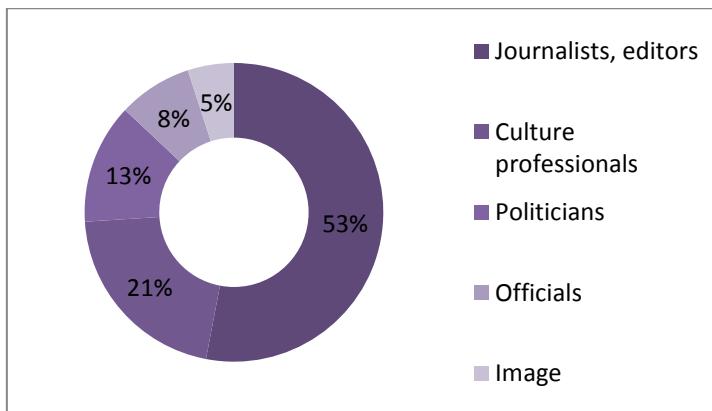
Journalists are the main subjects of hate speech. Politicians, experts, culture professionals (writers, scientists, historians, teachers) follow them.

It should be noted that these perpetrators have significant influence on the audience and shaping of public opinion.

Perpetrators of hate speech and their statements in percentage (March to April; October to November 2013),Figure 6

²⁰ In 1916, when Kyrgyzstan was a part of tsarist Russia, the government issued a decree to engage the Kyrgyz in work at the rear; rebellions resulted in repression of the nation and high death toll; thousands of refugees fled to neighboring China.

²¹ Affray at Torugart provoked rise in prices at Dordoy http://rus.azattyk.org/content/kyrgyzstan_dordoi-torugart_dungan/25168612.html



In March to April and October to November 2013, **160 (100%) hostile** attacks were detected in the monitored media and Internet.

More than a half of dehumanising metaphors and ad hominem attacks, **85 (53%)**, were initiated by **journalists and editors**, and also they were present in comments and editorial articles.

Analysis showed that anonymous editorial comments (that do not identify the author) and stories with the use of pseudonyms are a widespread method of conscious expression of opinion containing hate speech. This is especially true for regional private small newspapers.

One of such newspapers is Kochku Basty (circulation 50-800 copies, periodicity: monthly).

Thus, analysed articles from Kochku Basty, issue #3, as of April 2013, do not identify the author: "Baiysh Yusupov, separatist?"²², "Watch out, my people!"²³. The same issue published the article "Presidential mistakes or traceless Atambaev"²⁴ signed by editor Tolonbay J.

All three articles use harsh hate speech, misrepresentation of an opponent's position.

Similar articles were found in state and private Kyrgyz-language newspapers.

In the news "M. Myrzakmatov: Domestic conflicts of citizens would grow into ethnic if not given attention, just like disorders in Biryulevo"²⁵ harsh hate speech was used in the quote:

"Osh residents with Uzbek background are dissatisfied with non-Uzbek people stirring up trouble between the Kyrgyz and Uzbeks. Thus, Kadyrjan Batyrov, Ravshan Gapirov, Imamjan Abdykadyrov are not Uzbeks (they are considered Uigurs - monitor's note), but always speak on behalf of the Uzbek people. We want the society to know that they stir up the trouble between the nations..."

Editorial article in Alibi newspaper, issue #107, as of 22.11.2013, page 10, Bishkek, entitle : "Koreans want to seize Bishkek Free Economic Zone"²⁶ blames foreign businessmen for their inappropriate behaviour and for using the media to blame director O. Nusuvaliev.

Soft hate speech is used in the quote: *"The media owned by the Koreans blame director of Bishkek FEZ, Orozbek Nusuvaliev". (Original quote in Kyrgyz: "Учурда "Бишкек" эркин экономикалык аймагынын жетекчиси Орозбек Нусувалиевди бир жактуу каралаган маалыматтар корейлер ээлик кылган ММКларда жайнап кетти").*

Website Vesti.kg²⁷, in editorial comment: "More migrant workers from China taking vacancies instead of locals" (original heading in Russian) uses moderate hate speech.

A quote from Urmat Shergaziev's interview who is an activist from Naryn region: *"80% of those working to construct international Bishkek-Naryn-Torugart highway are the Chinese. Local people want to work, too, but employers do not want to hire them. Our nationals had better work here than move about Russia looking for a job".*

34 hostile expressions (**21%**) were found in the statements and quotes of **culture figure**. Outstanding writers and scientists share their thoughts with the audience of newspapers.

In the article "On the name and essence of ANK (Assembly of peoples of Kyrgyzstan)"²⁸ Bayas Tural, chairman of the Union of Writers of Kyrgyzstan, expresses his opinion that ethnic groups joining the

²² Original heading in Kyrgyz «Байыш Юсупов, сепаратисти?»

²³ Original heading in Kyrgyz «Сак бол, элим!»

²⁴ Original heading in Kyrgyz «Адашкан ажо, же изи жок Атамбаев»,

²⁵ original quote in Russian, Osh Shamy newspaper, issue #42 as of 18.10.2013, Osh,

²⁶ Original heading in Kyrgyz СЭЗ "Бишкекти тоногусу келген корейлер"

²⁷ http://www.vesti.kg/index.php?option=com_k2&view=item&id=2396&Itemid=806, 2.11.2013, Bishkek

²⁸ Original heading in Kyrgyz "КЭАның аты жана заты жөнүндө", газета "Учур" as of 14.11.2013, Bishkek

assembly have no right to shape the future of the Kyrgyz state and suggest paths of development to the Kyrgyz.

The quote from his interview contains harsh hate speech and was retranslated with no editorial comment : “How dare non-Kyrgyz shape the future of the Kyrgyz Republic without participation of Kyrgyz tribes and public political associations?” (Original quote in Kyrgyz: “Кыргыз урууларынын жана коомдук-саясий уюмдарынын өкулдөрүн катыштырыбай, Кыргыз Республикасынын тағдырынын чечкенге кандаи укугу бар?”)

23 (9%) inappropriate expressions were said by **politicians** (members of parliament, leaders of political parties) and independent experts.

Thus, the article “Unsatisfied parliament members: loans granted by the Celestial Kingdom are utilized by the Chinese” (original heading in Russian) posted on Vesti.kg²⁹, quotes member of parliament Narynbek Moldobaev: “China grants loans, builds roads, uses its equipment, Chinese travel the same highways, bring in their domestic commodities, while we pay. As a result, Kyrgyzstan finds itself in crippling terms.” This quote uses moderate hate speech and journalist repeating it becomes an accomplice in the attack. It is showed media illiteracy in combination with hostile context.

Harsh hate speech is found in the quote of member of parliament Jyldyzkan Joldoshova posted by online agency 24.kg: “I just want to remind you that Interbilim used to distribute draft constitution printed in Uzbek language. Isn’t it a betrayal of the motherland?”³⁰ (Article “Another skirmish between members of parliament of Kyrgyzstan”. Original heading in Russian).

Prominent political figures, leaders of public movements that have some influence on a certain population have been using social networks to express their views lately.

Among the examples of monitored posts in social networks that contain hostile attacks are 4 comments of the leader of people's patriotic movement, Nurlan Motuev, where he is openly negative towards Russians, Jews, and other ethnic minorities³¹.

Quote: “So they dispersed when they saw Special Police Force. Russians are cowards. Unlike us, Kyrgyz.”

Quote: “Slavish thinking of pitiful lackey Kakchekeev. Russians have brought along vodka, debauch, kufr, and depopulation of 250,000 Kyrgyz” (22.10.2013)

Quote: “Kikes deserve kicking in the head! The more often - the better!” (30.10.2013)

10 (4%) of hate speech were found in the statements of **officials**. Hate speech said by officials can have serious consequences in the society.

For example, in the interview: “Criminal case opened against members of Hizb ut-Tahrir”³² deputy head of interior affairs department for Batken region, Bolotbek Mirzaliev, said that there were many followers of religious extremist party Hizb ut-Tahrir at Uch Korgon village of Kadamyj district.

Quote: “Uzbeks and Tajiks are close to such religious movements”.

12 (5%) examples of hate speech were identified in **illustrations and collages**.

In the reporting period, were detected the increasing role of illustrations, photo collages and infographics, which improper visualization can step up aggression in readers.

²⁹ http://www.vesti.kg/index.php?option=com_k2&view=item&id=24323&Itemid=79, 27.11.2013, Bishkek, reporter Victor Volgin,

³⁰ Online media, news agency «24.kg», URL: <http://www.24kg.org/parlament/163830-deputat-parlamenta-priznaet-ctho-laguanazrela.html>, reporter Aizada Kutueva, 27.11.2013, Bishkek

³¹ A page of Nurlan Motuev, www.facebook.com/nurlan.motuev, 21.10.2013 , Bishkek

³² Original heading in Kyrgyz «Хизбутчуларга кылмыш иши козголду», Batken Tany newspaper, issue #16, as of 22.04.2013, page 3, Batken, reporter Almakan Maturaimova

Article "Presidential mistakes or traceless Atambaev"³³ is accompanied by the image of Kyrgyz president



Almazbek Atambaev.

The leader of Kyrgyzstan is shown with his hand put on his heart and his head slightly bowed in sign of respect, just like in Uzbek traditions. The content of the article is full of hate speech and is against the Uzbek ethnic group. Reporter criticises ex-president Roza Otunbaeva who, according to the author, visited Uzbek houses "with tears in her eyes". The reporter blames the incumbent president for his alleged non-resistance to operation of enterprises belonging to Kadyrjan Batyrov and Inom Abdrasulov (*note: Uzbek leaders before 2010*) charged by the state with the organisation of inter-ethnic conflict.

Photo report: "Action "For Racism Free World"³⁴ near the Russian embassy in Bishkek is followed by the photo where the demonstrators hold placards with humiliating messages: "Racist Federation" and "November 4 "National Unity Day" or "Nazi Unity Day of Russia".

On the page "Kyrgyzstan against Customs Union" on Facebook³⁵ there are two illustrations. One of them shows a bear wearing Russian fur cap with ear flaps and bearing a message that no one trusts North bear (*note: implying Russia*).

The second image shows Russian president Vladimir Putin holding an axe in his hand and wearing a raincoat stained with blood. Political cartoon is followed by the caption "Does anyone disagree?"

Victims of hate speech

When experts were looking for the victims of hate speech, they found out that this definition refers not only to the ethnic group as a whole, but to certain representatives of a certain ethnic group - high-ranking officials, members of parliament, experts.

The target of hostile attacks, just like in previous two years of the analysis, is still Kadyrjan Batyrov, former leader of ethnic Uzbeks. 10 humiliating expressions containing harsh and moderate hate speech against this figure were recorded in the reporting period³⁶.

Private newspapers often attack to personalities. State-run and online media more reserved towards certain figures.

Another target of hate speech was Irina Karamushkina, Member of Parliament. She was assaulted three times in online media and a Bishkek newspaper.³⁷

³³ Original heading in Kyrgyz "Адашкан ажо же изи жок Атамбаев", Kochku Basty newspaper, issue #3, as of April 2013, Osh. Reporter: J. Tolonbay

³⁴ Online media kg.akipress.org/news 585939, as of 04.11.2013, Bishkek

³⁵ www.facebook.com/kvysts, 14.11.2013

³⁶Kochku Basty newspaper, issue #2, March 2013, issue #3,

Kochku Basty newspaper, April 2013, Osh.

Aymak newspaper, issue #7 (067), as of 05.03.2013, Jalal-Abad

Akyikat newspaper, issue #14 as of 8.04.2013, Jalal-Abad

jalabadnews.kg, 09.02.2013

fergana.akipress.org, 5.02.2013, Osh

Uchur newspaper, as of 14.11.2013, Bishkek

Aymak newspaper, issue #32 as of 29.10.2013, Jalal-Abad

Kochku Basty newspaper, issue #6, October 2013, Osh

Osh Shamy newspaper, issue #42 as of 18.10.2013, Osh

³⁷ fergana.akipress.org, 13.03.2013, Osh, fergana.akipress.org, 09.04.2013, Osh, Uchur newspaper, 10.10.2013, Bishkek

Next victims of hate speech in the reporting period were president Almazbek Atambaev who was blamed (1) for his unwillingness to seize property from Kadyrjan Batyrov and ex-leader of Kyrgyzstan Roza Otunbaeva (1) blamed by a journalist for sympathy for the Uzbek nation. These cases were recorded in Kochku Basty newspaper³⁸.

One attack was recorded against Baiysh Yusupov, first deputy representative of the government for Osh region and one attack against Zahiddin Teshebaev, former mayor of Nookat in Osh region for their "contacts with the leaders of Uzbek community – "Sart separatists" during the June 2010 violence.³⁹

Another one hostile attack was found against the head of forestry agency Sabyrjan Atadjanov, who, in the opinion of the author, destructed forest sector.⁴⁰

High-ranking officials of neighbouring states were the next group exposed to hostile attacks. Uzbek president Islam Karimov was mentioned once in relation to the announced alleged proposal to sell the enclave of Sokh to Kyrgyzstan⁴¹ and in relation to Vice Prime Minister of Tajikistan Murodali Alimardon who "avoids talks on the latest border incident in Batken region"⁴².

NGO in Kyrgyzstan were the next group attacked by hate speech. Experts found such types of hostility when humiliating one person can humiliate the whole community.

The victims in this group were Ravshan Gapirov (1), the leader of Justice Truth public fund, and one of the leaders of Uzbek community in the south of Kyrgyzstan Imamjan Abdykadyrov (1)⁴³.

In one of the cases, the victim of hate speech was Alexander Knyazev, a researcher at the Moscow Institute of Oriental Studies at the Russian Academy of Sciences⁴⁴ and historical figures, researchers of the Russian Empire Przhevalsky, Mushketov, Semenov-Tyan-Shansky, Fedchenko, who were blamed for the mapping of fertile lands that were later seized from local population by tsarist officials⁴⁵.

Dynamics

Analysis of hate speech dynamics in newspapers and Internet in the reporting period demonstrated that media use various types of hostile attacks.

In the first period of monitoring (March-April, 2013), soft hate speech was recorded focused on the creation of negative image of an ethnic or religious group.⁴⁶

During the second stage of survey, the number of articles containing such type of hate speech increased by 2.5 times. Articles containing other types of hostility appeared at the same time. This is the evidence of high tension in ethnic relations in Kyrgyzstan and, consequently, is reflected in the media and social networks.

Dynamics of articles containing this type of hate speech (**"Creating negative image of an ethnic or religious group"**) is shown on **chart #1**.(see Appendix)

Examples of stories that contain this type of hate speech:

Article: "A group of residents of Osh and Jalal-Abad demand that the authorities bring Member of Parliament I. Karamushkina to responsibility for humiliating mothers-heroines" (original heading in Russian).⁴⁷

Article: "Kyrgyzstan suggests that Zhirinovsky should be declared persona non grata" (original heading in Russian).⁴⁸

³⁸ issue #2, March 2013, Osh.

³⁹ Kochku Basty newspaper, issue #3, April 2013, Osh.

⁴⁰ Aymak newspaper, issue #32 as of 29.10.2013, Jalal-Abad

⁴¹ SuLei Info newspaper, issue #5-6, as of 4.03.2013, Isfana, Batken region

⁴² http://www.vesti.kg/index.php?option=com_k2&view=item&id=23676&Itemid=124, 25.10.2013

⁴³ Osh Shamy newspaper, issue #42 as of 18.10.2013, Osh

⁴⁴ Uchur newspaper, as of 31.10.2013, Bishkek

⁴⁵ Osh Shamy newspaper, issue #42 as of 18.10.2013, Osh

⁴⁶ See Methodology section of this survey for detailed types of hate speech.

⁴⁷ Online media fergana.akipress.org, 13.03.2013, Osh.

⁴⁸ Online media http://www.knews.kg/parlament_chro/30751_v_kyrgyzstane_jirinovskogo_predlagayut_obyavivt_personoy_non_grata/, 18 April 2013, Bishkek. Reporter Nurzada Tynaeva.

Article “Criminal case opened against members of Hizb ut-Tahrir” (original heading in Kyrgyz “Хизбутчуларга кылмыш иши козголду”).⁴⁹
Article: “The Kazakh plagiarize Kyrgyz songs by exploiting their [Kyrgyz] weaknesses” (original heading in Kyrgyz “Кыргыз чабалдыгынан ырларын казактарга тарттырууда”).⁵⁰

By using dehumanising metaphors and ad hominem attacks, journalists share their opinion in a harsh manner and can even humiliate title characters of articles. Such stories are always unbalanced and partial. This type of hostility prevails in the majority of articles raising the issue of the Chinese presence in Kyrgyzstan.

The second stage of monitoring, in October to November, recorded more news and articles where ethnic minorities were accused of criminality. Moderate and harsh hate speech was used for this. The number of stories, compared to March-April, has increased fourfold.

Dynamics of articles found to contain this type of hate speech (“***Creating negative image of an ethnic group by covering domestic conflicts and accusations of criminality***”) is shown on **chart #2** (see Annex)

Local media obviously publish criminal news in which the ethnic component does not matter, yet widely discussed by reporters. Such discussion shows their low professionalism and lack of ethics, biased portrayal of ethnic groups, media illiteracy in combination with hostile context.

Examples of articles found to contain this type of hate speech:

Editorial comment: “Every wrongdoing will be revealed” (original heading in Kyrgyz “Кыныр иш кырк жылда билинет”)⁵¹

Article: “Isn't it foolish to take care of monsters?!”(original heading in Kyrgyz “Мыкаачыны багып отурғандық наадандық эмесли?!”)⁵²

Article: “Uzbek taxi driver sold 13 Kyrgyz women”(original heading in Kyrgyz “Өзбек таксист 13 кыргыз аялды сатып жиберген”)⁵³.

Almost all articles containing accusations of other ethnic group in separatism, territorial and other ambitions use harsh hate speech. It is often addressed against the Uzbek ethnic group.

Reporters of Osh, Jalal-Abad and Batken regions often turn to the ethnic violence between the Kyrgyz and Uzbeks back in 2010. The majority of articles were recorded on the third anniversary of the violence. Newspapers published memories of eye witnesses, gave estimates of the event and the actions taken by the leaders of the Uzbek community. This topic was covered mainly by Kyrgyz-language newspapers. Their materials often contained no balance of opinion or objective data. During the second stage of monitoring, this topic added with attacks was recorded in the media monitored.

Russian and Uzbek-language media wrote about the ethnic violence only based on official information about the events in commemoration of victims of the tragedy and the meetings of governmental delegation with local residents of areas that faced clashes in 2010.

The examples of this type of hate speech are given in articles:

“Ex-president Otunbaeva must be held liable!” (original heading in Kyrgyz “Экс-президент Отунбаева жооп бериши керек!”,⁵⁴ .

⁴⁹ Batken Tany newspaper, issue #16, as of 22.04.2013, page 3, Batken. Reporter: Almakan Maturaimova.

⁵⁰ Jany Agym newspaper, issue #48 as of 29.11.2013, page 16, Bishkek. Reporter Nazgul Kalmambetova.

⁵¹ Aymak newspaper, issue #32 as of 12.11.2013, Jalal-Abad.

⁵² Fabula newspaper, issue #71 as of 01.11.2013, Bishkek. Reporter: Baratbay Arakeev.

⁵³ Meken Info newspaper, issue #32, as of 21.11. 2013, page 4, Bishkek. Reporter Kalybek Japarov.

“Presidential mistakes or traceless Atambaev” (original heading in Kyrgyz “Адашкан ажо же изи жок Атамбаев”)⁵⁵.

“Can coup-makers knock Myrzakmatov down?” (original heading in Kyrgyz “Төңкөрүшчүлөр” Мырзакматовду сыйндыра алабы?”)⁵⁶.

“Foresters of Jalal-Abad grow dissatisfied” (original heading in Kyrgyz “Жалал-Абадда токойчулардын нааразычылыгы кундон-кунго кучоодо”)⁵⁷.

Dynamics of articles found to contain this type of hate speech (**“Accusations against other ethnic groups for separatism, territorial acquisition, or other negative ambitions”**) is shown on chart #3 (see Appendix)

One of the most sensitive issues mostly discussed in print and online media is the development of the state language. Twenty-three years have passed since the adoption of the Kyrgyz language as the state language, but it is still in its rudimentary state.

Some speakers in their reports name the following reasons for the underdevelopment of state language: “official (Russian) language has negative impact on the state language development”, “the fact that all records in governmental entities are maintained in the language other than the state language thwarts its progress”. Such statements cause anxiety in the minority group, which speaks mainly official language and worries about the violation of their rights.

At the same time, the society of Kyrgyzstan faces manipulation of the language problem by those who want to increase their political capital. Similar statements about the bad situation with the state language are made by the parliament and get more frequent during election campaigns and are immediately discussed by reporters. Rhetoric of members of parliament and other representatives of the Kyrgyz political elite resonates with the society. As a rule, labour migrants that have worked in Russia and Kazakhstan become the authors of intended provocations and offences against ethnic minorities and Russian-speaking Kyrgyz who speak little Kyrgyz.

Hate speech used in such articles varies from harsh and aggressive to soft and covert hate speech.

Examples of articles containing this type of hate speech:

“Let's stop taking mother tongue as non-mother tongue and respect the latter!”,⁵⁸ published in reprint in Russian on www.gezitter.org.

“Has my poor language become underprivileged?”⁵⁹ (original heading in Kyrgyz “Кайран тилим кор болдубу?”)

Dynamics of articles found to contain this type of hate speech (**“Accusing other ethnic groups of reluctance to learn the language and culture of native people”**) is shown on Chart #4 (see Appendix)

The articles containing hate speech classified as “Thoughts about the superiority of own ethnic group” prevailed in the media in October to November. Reporters trying to demonstrate best traits of their nation emphasise that other ethnic groups still have to undergo development. Therefore, other ethnic groups are given humiliating metaphors, which raises tension in ethnic communications.

⁵⁴ Kochku Basty newspaper, issue #2, March 2013, Osh. Reporter Tolonbay Jakshybaev.

⁵⁵ Kochku Basty newspaper, issue #3, April 2013, Osh. Reporter Tolonbay Jakshybaev.

⁵⁶ Uchur newspaper, as of 14.11.2013, Bishkek. Reporter Pamir Manas.

⁵⁷ Aymak newspaper, issue #31 as of 29.10.2013, Jalal-Abad. Reporter: Orozaly Karasartov

⁵⁸ <http://www.gezitter.org/culture/18784/>, translation of the article from Fabula newspaper, issue #18 as of 12.03.2013 / page 5, Reporter: Almaz Temirbek

⁵⁹ Akyikat newspaper, issue #38 as of 23.09.2013, Jalal-Abad. Reporter: Baktykan Ajymamatova

For example, in the article: "On the name and essence of ANK (Assembly of peoples of Kyrgyzstan)" (original heading in Kyrgyz "КЭАнын аты жана заты жөнүндө")⁶⁰, in one of the quotes from the interview given by chairman of the Union of Writers Bayas Tural neglect to the representatives of ethnic minorities, which expressly states their position in the society of Kyrgyzstan, is shown.

Quote: "*How dare non-Kyrgyz shape the future of the Kyrgyz Republic without participation of Kyrgyz tribes and public political associations?*" (Original quote in Kyrgyz: "Кыргыз урууларынын жана коомдук-саясий уюмдарынын өкүлдөрүн катыштырбай, Кыргыз Республикасынын тағдырын чечкенге кандай укугу бар?")

This article demonstrates that members of the elite in Kyrgyzstan claim there is no equality in the country and there is an ethnic group that should be superior to others.

Examples of articles containing this type of hate speech:

"Kyrgyz people - great phenomenon!" (Original heading in Kyrgyz "Кыргыз эли – улуу феномен")⁶¹.

"Celestial nation" (original heading in Kyrgyz "Көктөн келген эл")⁶²

"Where the Kyrgyz come from" (original heading in Kyrgyz "Кыргыз теги кайда барып такалат")⁶³

Dynamics of articles found to contain this type of hate speech ("**Expressions of the superiority of an ethnic group**") is shown on **Chart #5** (see Appendix)

And, finally, the last part of articles monitored relates to the type of hate speech classified as "Statements on historical crimes of one ethnic group against the other". Stories covering this topic were recorded in October and November. Earlier, the majority of articles containing such statements were recorded in summer months due to the Day of Remembrance for the Victims of 1916 celebrated annually on the first Friday of August.

The topic of the 1916 events is very sensitive to the Kyrgyz society and Kyrgyz-language media. However, members of the Kyrgyz elite have ambiguous attitude to this issue: some call for a careful and weighted approach to the consideration of the historical event and recommend that the role of Kyrgyz rebels refusing to comply with the tsar's order for defence mobilization be studied in detail.

Others insist upon admitting guilt of tsarist Russia in the violent suppression of the Kyrgyz rebellion and forced exodus (Urkun) of rebels to China. Some Kyrgyz-language media, especially in the regions, qualify the situation as "genocide" and blame Russian-speaking population for it.

There is a risk that hostile attitude will intensify and the number of articles against the Russian ethnic group will increase due to the forthcoming 100th anniversary of the 1916 event.

Example of an article containing this type of hate speech:

"Russian trap of the 21st century" (original heading in Kyrgyz "Х1Х кылымдагы орус капканы")⁶⁴.

Dynamics of articles found to contain this type of hate speech ("**Statements regarding on historical crimes of one ethnic group against the other**") is shown on Chart #6(see Appendix)

Hate speech in headlines

15 headlines (100%) containing hate speech were found in print and online media monitored.

Examples of headlines in media.

⁶⁰ Uchur newspaper, reporter: Zulpukar Sapanov, as of 14.11.2013, Bishkek.

⁶¹ Alibi newspaper, issue #102 as of 05.11.2013, page 10, Bishkek. Reporter: Daiyrbek Meimanov

⁶² Fabula newspaper, issue #74 as of 12.11.2013, page 12, Bishkek. Reporter: Mendibek Asylbekov

⁶³ Jalal-Abad Unu newspaper, issue #20, as of 20.10.2013, Jalal-Abad. Reporter: Gylamidin Abdurakhmanov.

⁶⁴ Osh Shamy newspaper, issue #42 as of 18.10.2013, Osh. Reporter: Abdylda Kaparov

Editorial comment: "Is Baiysh Yusupov a separatist?" (Original heading in Kyrgyz "Байыш Юсупов, сепаратистпи?")⁶⁵.

Editorial comment: "Mothers-heroines demand that member of parliament I. Karamushkina learn Kyrgyz within a month and speak Kyrgyz to them" (original heading in Russian)⁶⁶.

Article: "Russian trap of the 21st century" (original heading in Kyrgyz "Х1Х кылымдагы орус капканы")⁶⁷.

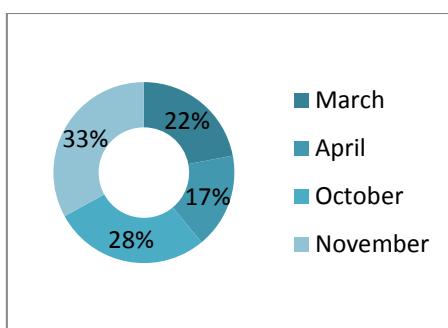
Article: "Kyrgyz winning the world won't yield to separatist Gafurov" (original heading in Kyrgyz "Дүйнөнү багындырган кыргыз, сепаратист Гафуровдордон женилбейт!")⁶⁸.

Article: "People are just like a mudslide, if it starts, Karamushkina will be swept away" (original heading in Kyrgyz : "Эл деген сел, бир толкуса Карамушкина катуу жазалап көет")⁶⁹.

Article: "Who is Knyazev tending to do harm to the Kyrgyz?" (original heading in Kyrgyz: "Кыргызга кыянат издеңген Князев ким?")⁷⁰.

Editorial comment: "Koreans want to seize Bishkek Free Economic Zone" (original heading in Kyrgyz: "СЭЗ Бишкекти тоногусу келген корейлер"), Alibi newspaper, issue #107, as of 22.11.2013, page 10, Bishkek.

Headlines containing hate speech split by months, Figure 7



Glossary of the Most Common Stereotypes and Clichés in the Surveyed Media

• «The Uzbeks do not get along with the Kyrgyz»

Explanation. For two decades, there were two major inter-ethnic conflicts between Kyrgyz and Uzbeks in June 1990 and June 2010 in the south of Kyrgyzstan. Despite ongoing tensions between ethnic groups and hate speech, which is manifested in the article, there is a public perception that these ethnic groups are to live together. The stereotype will be applicable for longer period, as the memory of the tragic events is still fresh.

• «The territory of the south is the native land of the Kyrgyz, Uzbek people are aliens»

Explanation. This stereotype is often used by historians, journalists, very carefully, sometimes in a veiled form of sounds in the statements of politicians. It is used in Kyrgyz language media. The stereotype of a feeling of resentment and opposition to the Uzbek ethnic group identify themselves as indigenous in Kyrgyzstan and appealing to other historical facts. This causes the mutual accusations of falsification of historical facts.

⁶⁵ Kochku Basty newspaper, issue #3, April 2013, Osh.

⁶⁶ fergana.akipress.org, 09.04.2013, Osh

⁶⁷ Osh Shamy newspaper, issue #42 as of 18.10.2013, Osh. Reporter: Abdylda Kaparov.

⁶⁸ Kochku Basty newspaper, issue #6, October 2013, Osh. Reporter: Mamatali Sydykov

⁶⁹ Uchur newspaper, as of 10.10.2013, Bishkek. Reporter Kubat Bayamanov.

⁷⁰ Uchur newspaper, as of 31.10.2013, Bishkek. Reporter Ishen Sarygulov.

- “Uzbek separatists wanted separation from Kyrgyzstan”

Explanation. As a result of investigation of the numerous commissions perpetrators of the ethnic conflict in June 2010, the influential leaders of the Uzbek community in southern Kyrgyzstan were officially named. This stereotype is used in all of the media covering the theme of conflict in the statements of politicians and statesmen.

- “ Russian committed genocide of Kyrgyz in 1916”
- “Historical Memory”

Explanation. The refusal of the Kyrgyz from the rear of work in 1916 (when Kyrgyzstan was part of Tsarist Russia) has led to riots and casualties among the Kyrgyz, and among the Russian population. At present, Kyrgyz politicians, historians, writers and journalists use this fact in a one-sided interpretation of how the national liberation movement against the oppression of the tsarist Russia occurred. The death of dozens of the rebels, as well as the outcome of the Kyrgyz tribes in China is accused of the current Russian and Russian population living in the territory of Kyrgyzstan. This stereotype is used more and more as we approach the 100th anniversary of the historic event, which will be celebrated in 2016.

- “ The Uzbeks provoke conflicts on the border”

Explanation. The incompleteness of the delimitation and demarcation of the Kyrgyz-Uzbek border , which has many disputed areas , is causing conflicts among residents living in the border areas of Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan over access to land and water. In conflict situations, accuse Kyrgyz Uzbeks. This stereotype is used as long as at the state level are resolved all questions on the demarcation of the border.

- “The Tajiks are aggressive in the border area”

Explanation. In this case, the main cause of ethnic tensions in the border areas is the incompleteness of the delimitation and demarcation of the Kyrgyz- Tajik border. Residents of border villages accuse Kyrgyz neighbors in territorial claims, etc. This stereotype is also used in the media, as well as by politicians, officials, while not resolved issues with the definition of the boundary line and will not solve the problem of the disputed areas.

- “Quiet expansion of Chinese”, “China will absorb Kyrgyzstan”

Explanation. China's investment in Kyrgyzstan , joint Kyrgyz-Chinese enterprises, mass migration of workers from the country give rise to concern in Kyrgyz society that the great neighbor carries out its political strategy to win the peace process in Kyrgyzstan . This stereotype will exist with the development of the Kyrgyz- Chinese relations. It has a mirror version in all Kyrgyzstan media. This stereotype is used by politicians, government officials, community leaders, and journalists.

- “Ethnic minorities do not want to learn the Kyrgyz language, thereby showing disrespect to the Kyrgyz people and their culture”

Explanation. The problem of learning Kyrgyz language by ethnic minorities has been discussed for 23 years, after the Law on State Language was adopted in 1989. The media often says that ethnic minorities do not want to learn the language and are often criticized for it. At the same time the facts of lack of methodic, appropriate training, professionals and textbooks are presented.

This stereotype is used for a long time, since the language issue often becomes a tool for political purposes by some leaders, for example, on the eve of the election campaigns. This question allows conquering much of the electorate as a marginal part of the community is sensitive about the difficulties in language development. Journalists from Kyrgyz language newspapers are willing to use this stereotype.

Appendices

List of media monitored, Table 1

Examples of clichés and stereotypes split by ethnic groups in the media monitored, Table 2

Charts