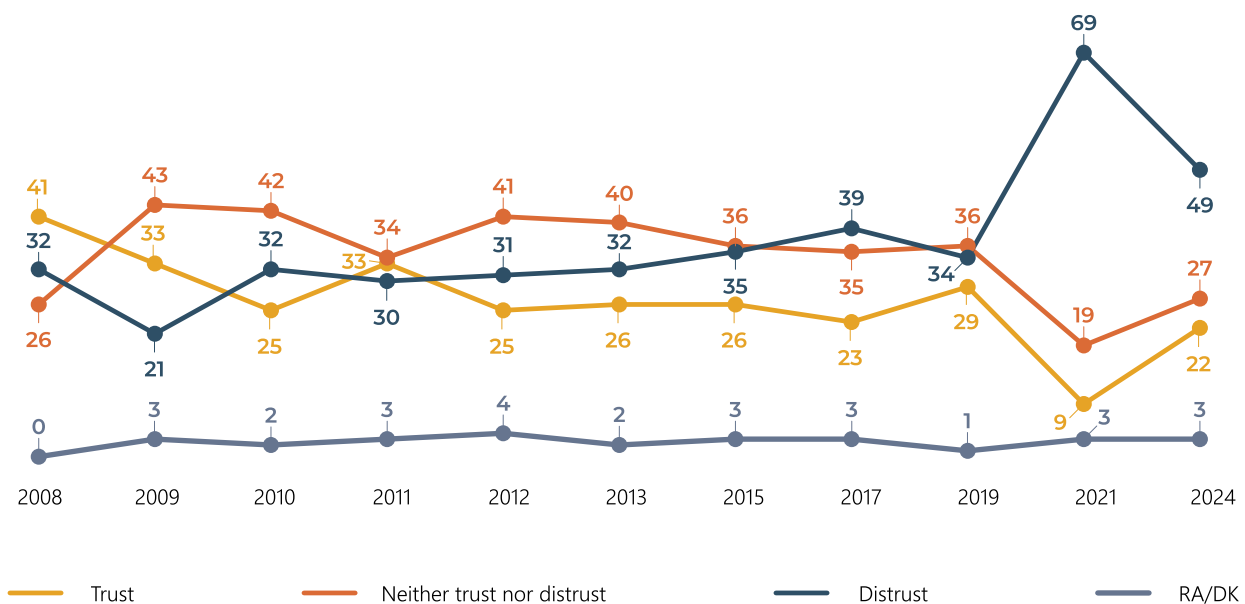


POLICY BRIEF

SEVEN MINUTES ABOUT MEDIA

The nationally representative [Caucasus Barometer](#) (CB) survey provides valuable data for assessing the performance of Armenian institutions. Public trust is measured on a 5-point scale. According to the 2024 data, **49%** of respondents do not trust the media. Distrust, which had been gradually increasing since 2012, rose sharply after 2019—peaking at 69% in 2021—and then declined to 49% in 2024.

Trust towards media (%)

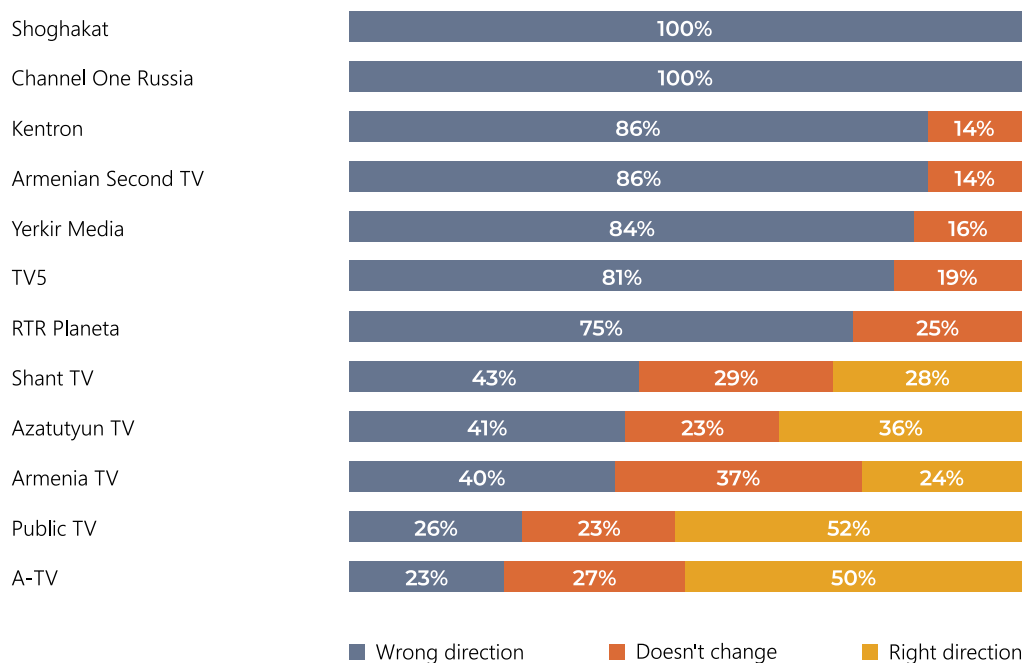


While the 2024 result indicates improvement compared to 2021, the media still ranks 19th out of 20 institutions in the CB trust ranking, i.e., second from the bottom.

We therefore took a closer look at which **public sentiments are shared** by audiences of different TV channels, and what kind of **information vulnerability** can be observed among these audiences.

What did we find?

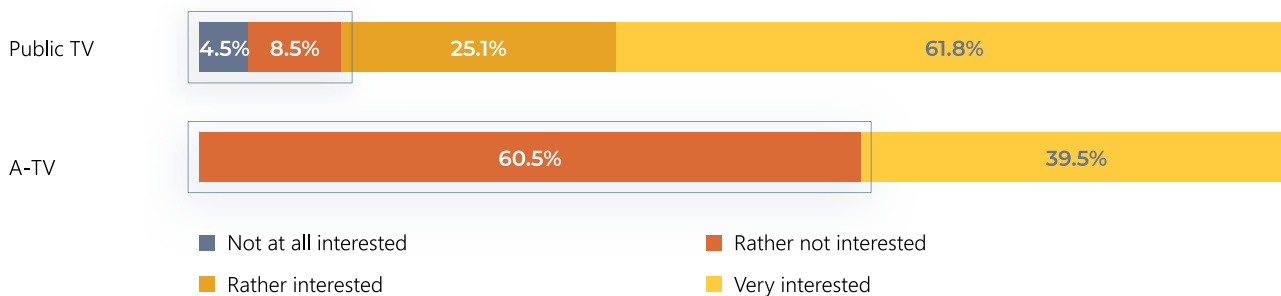
In response to the question concerning what direction Armenia’s domestic politics is developing, viewers provided clearly different assessments depending on which TV channels they watch for political news. Viewers of **Channel One Russia, Shoghakat, Armenian Second TV, Kentron, Yerkir Media, TV5** and **RTR Planeta** are much more likely to say the country is moving definitely or mainly in the **wrong direction**, while viewers of **Public TV** and **A-TV** are more likely to say it is moving mostly in the **right direction**.



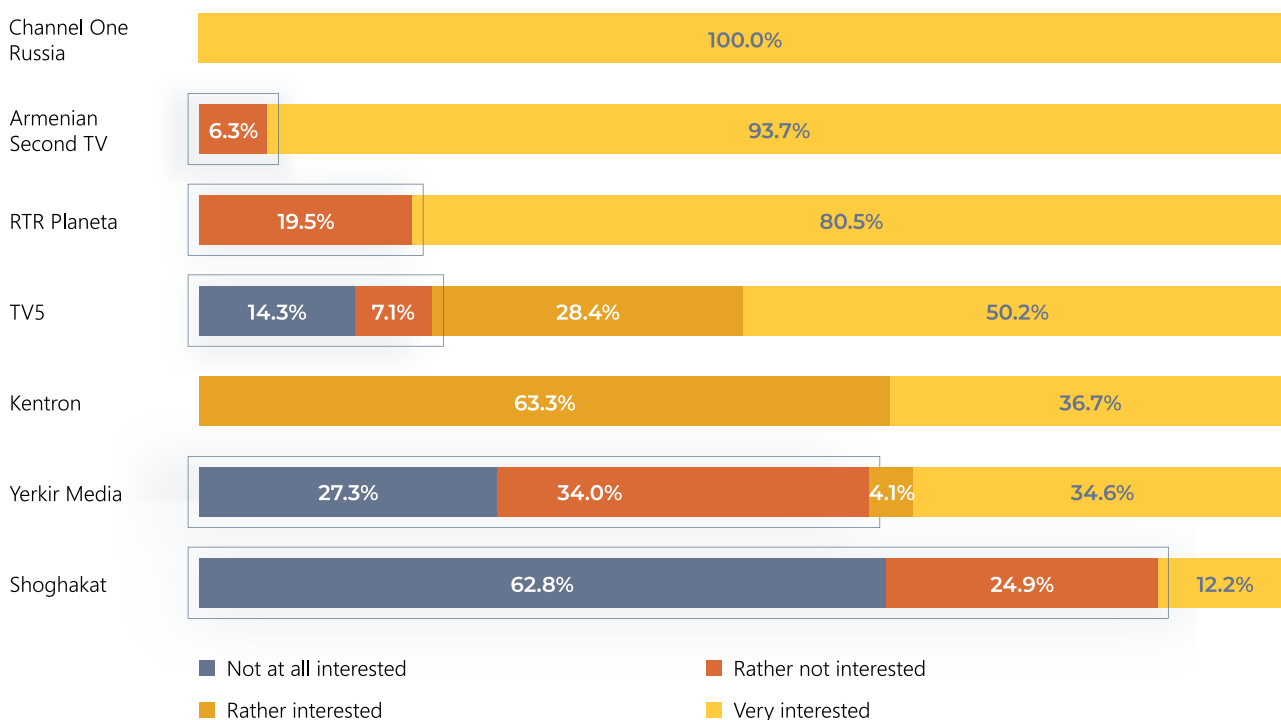
By comparison, a more balanced distribution of opinions on the direction of Armenian domestic politics is observed among viewers of **Shant TV, Azatutyun TV, and Armenia TV**.

If we (purely for analytical purposes) group channels as “right direction” versus “wrong direction” narrative clusters, it becomes important to examine the political engagement of those who consume these narratives, especially the share of people who report being **not interested in politics**, as this group may be more vulnerable to informational influence and political propaganda.

Among viewers of channels associated with the “right direction” narrative, the share of those not interested in politics is **60.5%** for A-TV and **13%** for **Public TV**.



Among channels associated with the “wrong direction” narrative, the share of politically uninterested viewers is even more pronounced—especially for Shoghakat (**87.7%**), Yerkir Media (**61.3%**), and TV5 (**21.4%**).



What is going on?

Trust in Armenia’s media remains **systematically low**. At the same time, the television audience appears segmented into subgroups shaped by **parallel narratives**: perceptions of whether the country is moving in the “right” or “wrong” direction differ sharply depending on which channels people rely on for political information.

This matters because the most politically disengaged citizens, **arguably the most information-vulnerable subgroup**, are disproportionately concentrated in several of the strongest narrative clusters. The issue, therefore, is not only in low trust for media overall, but also a media environment in which audiences with different levels of civic engagement consume distinctly different narratives, producing multiple and sometimes contradictory versions of reality. This fragmentation may itself make it harder to rebuild trust in one of the key institutions of a democratizing society: the media.

Data-based tips for:

Mass media

Where narrative clustering coincides with a high share of politically disengaged audiences, trust-building requires reducing (if not removing) interpretive manipulation and increasing verifiability. Clearly separate news from opinion; adopt and publicize a corrections policy; disclose sourcing standards; and expand explanatory reporting (“how we know this”). Outlets whose audiences already show more balanced views can treat this as a competitive advantage, by strengthening editorial standards and expanding the audience segment that expects multi-perspective reporting.

Media monitoring and media development practitioners and CSOs

Given that politically apathetic viewers are concentrated in certain TV ecosystems and may be more vulnerable to propaganda, prioritize targeted monitoring and accountability, alongside broader media literacy efforts. Build monitoring that tracks (1) narrative intensity and (2) narrative diversity over time, and pair it with newsroom capacity building, practical support for journalists and editors to strengthen standards, transparency, and public accountability.