

**LUND**  
UNIVERSITY

**Lund University**

**VT2012**

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## **Role of Media in Struggles for Recognition**

Case of Internally Displaced Persons in Azerbaijan

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of  
Master of Science in Development Studies.

## **Acknowledgements**

First, I would like to thank Dr. Annette Hill for her guidance, encouragement and help. Her advices and comments played a very important role in the entire process of writing this research and her support helped me to finish in successfully.

I would like to express my gratitude toward the Swedish Institute for providing me with a scholarship that allowed me to take the Master Program and make with research.

I also want to thank my parents and my sister who supported me and believed in me during all my stay in Sweden. Without them, this research would not be possible.

Last, but not least, I am very thankful to my boyfriend who were able to make me move on in the hardest moments and who motivated me a lot.

## **Abstract**

Internal displacement is a relatively new issue in the international agenda, in general, and in research, in particular. However, due to the steady increase in the number of displaced persons globally, this problem becomes more and more visible. This study sees internally displaced persons as marginalized and subaltern group, which is, however, potentially able to start struggle for recognition, worldwide and in native states. It is suggested that the media plays a crucial role in this process, as, through the circulation of particular discourses, it is able to create the ‘frameworks of interpretation’, which can help displaced to unite as a group and to start acting; or, vice-versa which can help to keep them apart and inactive. In order to find evidences for this, case of Azerbaijan was presented. As Azerbaijan is the authoritarian state, where media is not free, the critical discourse analysis of not only mainstream media texts, but also alternative online media texts were done. Differences in discourses were explained from the point of view of the country context; and possible influence of these discourses on the ability of internally displaced persons to unite for struggle for recognition was discussed.

**Keywords:** internally displaced persons, struggle for recognition, discourse, mainstream media, alternative media, public sphere, Azerbaijan

Word count: 20793

## **List of Abbreviations**

IDP	Internally Displaced Persons
UN	United Nations
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
IDMC	Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre
ICG	International Crisis Group

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# 1. Introduction

Internal displacement became a prominent concern of international and national communities only a few decades ago. The end of the Cold War that caused growing number of regional conflicts, as well as international migration regime, which became much stricter, played a major role in the increase of the number of internally displaced persons (IDPs) globally (Brun, 2005, p.6). IDPs are people, who were forced to flee from their places of origin, often as a result of violent conflicts, but who stayed within the borders of their own countries. This fact makes them even more vulnerable, even in comparison to the other groups who also left their homes, but crossed the national borders, such as refugees or migrants, because they are still remaining under the protection and jurisdiction of their own governments and international community has limited possibilities to interfere. As the result, this group, mainly consisting of children and women, is often left without significant humanitarian assistance and necessary attention from local authorities, media and international organizations, even in the countries where IDP population reaches hundreds of thousands people.

In general, IDPs as a social group do not get a lot of attention in research either, where refugees and migrants occupy leading positions. Moreover, when the group becomes the object of studies, the main questions raised are usually concerned with protection, assistance and solutions, while the other important issues, such as group identities, gender perspectives, representations, etc., are usually missing. This thesis aims to close one of gaps in IDP research. It combines political science and media theories, in order to explain, why certain representations and interpretations of IDP issue, circulating publicly, are important for the group.

Azerbaijan was chosen as a case for this research. It was done mostly due to the fact that Azerbaijan is one of the countries with the highest number of IDPs (from 600000 to 724000 or around 7% of the country population according to IDMC), as

well as basing on the long history of the displacement and current living conditions. People were displaced as the result of violent and still unresolved conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan over the region of Nagorno-Karabakh that started in 1991. For the last two decades, these people live in the stale state, with awful housing conditions, limited access to societal markets and absence of opportunities to integrate to the modern Azerbaijani society. They are expected to leave the place they currently reside and return back to their 'home land' as soon as the conflict will be resolved.

In this research, IDPs are considered marginalized and subaltern group in the Azerbaijani society. They still need to gain equal rights, opportunities and acceptance of their specific identity and place in the society. We propose that it can be potentially done through the struggle for recognition. However, in order for struggle for recognition to begin, IDPs should first unite as a group and realize that their injuries are collective, not personal. For this they need to be represented and perceived in a specific way, or, in the other words, they need a specific 'frameworks of interpretation' around them. Media (mainstream and alternative) play a major role in the formation of these 'frameworks', as they distribute particular views or discourses around the IDPs and, thus, determine, how they are seen and interpreted, not only by the others, but also by themselves.

## **2. Research questions**

The main research question for this thesis is:

Are the ‘frameworks of interpretation’ in the mainstream and alternative media favorable for Azerbaijani IDPs to start struggle for recognition or not?

In order to answer the main research question we need to answer following sub-questions:

Who represents IDPs in media texts (politicians, activists, IDP by themselves)? Is there any difference in the balance of voices of different groups between the mainstream media and alternative media?

How they are portrayed (which qualities are assigned) as a social actor? Is there any difference in the mainstream and alternative media representation?

Which discourses (semantic topics) are dominant/silenced in the representation of the issue? How discourses are different in the mainstream and alternative media?



### **3. Theoretical framework**

The review of theoretical concepts connected to the issue is necessary in order to gain deep understanding of the issue and make successful analysis. The key theoretical concepts for this research are recognition, misrecognition and struggle for recognition. They lie in the basis of the theoretical explanations of the analysis and unite the other concepts used together. The other concepts, in particular, include the notions of voice and visibility, because recognition means to have voice and through this voice to be visible to others. We also will draw upon the concept of public sphere, since it is important as an arena, where struggles for recognition are taking place; and concept of counterpublics, since we can draw many parallels from it to our case. As public sphere has a strong connection with the media, we will then discuss the role of the media in the struggles for recognition and put a special emphasis on alternative media as a channel, where counterpublics can get a voice. Drawing upon the fact that all theoretical concepts we are using are strongly connected with the notion of democracy, in particular deliberative democracy, we will explain it too. Here, we will discuss difficulties and limitations we have, because of the fact that Azerbaijan is not a democratic, but authoritarian state with the president regime.

### **3.1. Recognition/misrecognition/struggle for recognition**

Recognition is a word with multiple meaning. In our research we will focus on Axel Honneth understanding of recognition. He distinguishes three different modes of recognition: love, respect and esteem. They have a connection to three different spheres of individual's life: the private sphere comprising family and friendships, which is connected to love as mode of recognition and is vital for the development of self-confidence; the sphere of rights and legal entitlements, which triggers self-respect; and the sphere of cultural and political solidarity which determine self-esteem (Honneth, 1996 cited in Petersen and Willig, 2004, p.339). Here it worth to notice that not only individuals can be recognized, but also certain social groups, for example, the group of internally displaced persons.

Thompson defines three main points that differentiate Honneth definition of recognition. For Honneth, recognition is always intersubjective, because he insists that it involves more than one party; it is reciprocal in the sense that the value each party places on the other determine the meaning and worth of recognition; and lastly, recognition is rather process than a state of affairs, thus it is dynamic. Basing on it Thompson suggests that Honneth defines recognition as "a reciprocal process in which judgments of worth of two (or more) parties are dynamically interrelated" (Thompson, 2006, pp.160-161). Thus, person can be recognized only by the other person or group of persons and the ways they 'recognize' or see and value each other influence the way they realize themselves, form and interpret their identities, needs and desires and to maintain relationships with others. Recognition is the necessary condition for human's moral subjectivity and agency (Brink and Owen, 2007, p.4). Without it we cannot be those we think we are. What is important here for our case is that internally displaced persons are needed to be recognized by other people and, more importantly state, as a separate group that requires special attention.

As Ringmar points out, in Honneth's approach recognition highly depends on the stories that individuals tell about themselves and the stories the others tell about

them. With the help of them we want to be recognized, but not only in the sense of being noticed, we also ask for respect and the same rights as everyone else, on the one hand, and for recognition of our distinguished identities, the ways we are different from the others, on the other hand (Ibid, p.7). We let other people know who we believe we are, and they let us know whether our account is reasonable (Ringmar, 2012, p.6). Thus, not only our perspectives about ourselves matters, but also perspectives of the others about us. These stories (perspectives) can circulate through interpersonal communication; however, they have a bigger influence if they become public, for example, in case of public meeting, protest or when they are occurring in media.

The other term that is highly important in Honneth's approach is misrecognition. As we accept that recognition is intersubjective, we need to understand that there are cases when statements about one party are not appropriately or adequately acknowledged by another one (Ikaheimo and Laitinen, 2007, p.52). This provides a basis for misrecognition. For Honneth misrecognition may also occur when individuals are denied rights to which they have a legitimate claim and unequally treated as citizens or when others do not accept differences in identities of the individuals (Honneth, 1996 cited in Thompson and Yar, 2011, p.9). Collective misrecognition can negatively influence not only self-confidence, self-respect and self-esteem causing psychological harm, but also material conditions of individuals occurring due to uneven distribution of economic power and resources. For example, collective misrecognition of particular groups can complicate group access to labor, housing, education, political or other societal markets (Bader, 2007, p.242). In our case, we assume that IDPs are being denied full recognition and partly are being misrecognized and this influences their current economic and social situation.

When situation of non-recognition or misrecognition persists and people are denied recognition they claim, struggles for recognition may occur. We suggest that IDPs in Azerbaijan is one of the groups, which is currently in this situation. Brink and Owen write that the struggles for recognition mean "social processes in which certain

groups in society contest the predominant and, in their eyes, demeaning social standards of expectation and evaluation that ascribe to different members of society certain ‘appropriate’ roles, statuses, or characteristics” (Brink and Owen, 2007, p.2). Honneth (1996, cited in Thompson, 2006, p.160) uses this notion for explanation of social conflicts and believes that the struggles for recognition are inevitable as some parties will always resist others’ attempts to gain recognition. It is hard to underestimate the role, struggles for recognition play in recent political transformations. Independence and autonomy movements, fights over gender and sexual equality, battles around indigenous and minority rights – all these are struggles for recognition.

In general, if we have a group, which position is subordinated in some way, we have a certain possibility of struggle for recognition to occur, but when some conditions are met. For instance, Honneth’s points the importance of “hurt feelings” like shame, indignation, rage and anger. These feelings can show individuals that rules of recognition are violated. This can generate sense of injustice that will motivate certain groups to start struggle of recognition. However, it can happen only after individuals come to realize that the private injuries from which they suffer are the result of public injustices. If the person is aware that his feelings of shame result from the unjust conditions in which not just him, but many others, find themselves, he have reasons to join with these others, in order to struggle together against this injustice (Honneth, 1996, cited in Thompson, 2006, pp.162-163). Nevertheless, Honneth mentions that people need certain ‘frameworks of interpretation’, “shared semantics” to realize that their ‘hurt feelings’ are not personal circumstances but social injustices (Honneth, 1995, p.163). He states that this frameworks include languages that can “open up an interpretive perspective for identifying the social causes of individual injuries” (Ibid, p.164), as well as stories and narratives about certain group of people that are circulating publicly through different types of texts. In the case of this research, we assume that these ‘frameworks of interpretation’ can be found in discourses around Azerbaijani IDPs. These discourses, in turn, are

formed from IDP's own perspectives on themselves, perspectives of other people, and are influenced by dominant narratives disseminated in Azerbaijan in general.

Thompson develops this idea of Honneth and mentions that apparently none of the victims can devise such a framework and that this framework must be created by some person or persons, who do not themselves suffer this injustice or who have special insight into this situation (Ibid, 171). That is highlighting the role of mediation and, thus, the role of experts such as government officials, civil society leaders or journalists in this process.

### **3.2. Voice and Visibility**

Honneth's theory of recognition was widely discussed among social, political and media researches and some concepts that can enrich our understanding of this particular theory were suggested. In our particular research, we will discuss notions of voice and visibility in connection to recognition.

First, to be recognized means to have a 'voice'. As we noticed earlier, recognition depends on the stories, individuals tell about themselves publicly, or, in other words, on intersubjective exchange of narratives between representatives of different social groups or as Couldry (2010) notices it depends on voice. His ideas are put in the context of neoliberalism and its values. This part of Couldry's work is not relevant in the context of this research, however, his general idea about voice as well as the way he connects it with recognition can help us to understand our case better.

He defines voice as a human capacity to give accounts of themselves and of their place in the world and states that if people lack this capacity they are treated as if they were not human (Ibid, p.1). Couldry insists that voice plays a crucial role in recognition as it is able to explain both "a practice of recognition (listening to others'

voices, registering them as important) and a realistic analysis of the obstructions to recognition, even at times when we are told we have voice, we can reinvent ourselves, we can be heard” (Ibid, p.132). He also makes it clear that ability to have a voice highly depends on the power asymmetries that exist in given society. He points out that, if the group is not recognized or misrecognized, individuals do not have control of many of the narrative resources (or stories, or perspectives) on which a self-narrative might be built (Ibid, p.117). By determining to what extent certain group has space for voice publicly, we can understand to what extent it is recognized.

In order for people to have voice and speaking opportunities, first they need to be regarded as part of the landscape. Couldry states: “people’s voices count if their bodies matter” (Ibid, p.130). Thus, people need to be visible for the others. Visibility is another notion important for us. Thompson (2005, p.35) explains it in its initial sense like this:

The visible is that which can be seen, that which is perceptible by the sense of sight; the invisible is that which cannot be seen, is imperceptible or hidden from view. In the normal flow of our daily lives, visibility is linked to the physical capacities of our sense of sight and to the spatial and temporal properties of the circumstances in which we find ourselves.

It means that visibility is situated and reciprocal: we only can be visible to others if they are situated in the same spatial-temporal locale as we are and in principle if they see us, we can also see them. However, further on Thompson is focusing on other type of visibility that he calls “new visibility” and he connects it with the development of communication media. He states that now “visibility is freed from the spatial and temporal properties of the here and now...an action or event can be made visible to others by being recorded and transmitted to others” (Ibid, p.35), and, thus, now we can talk about mediated visibility. More and more individuals try to gain this kind of visibility as they realize that media can be used to call attention of

broader public to someone's situation or problems and that this attention can become a weapon in the struggles they lead, such as struggles for recognition. Thus, mediated visibility becomes a way to be seen and heard by others, and, thus, the way social group can tell stories (give their perspectives) about themselves publicly. The lack of visibility can cause the lack of recognition. Therefore, in order for groups to gain recognition, they should have a 'voice', an ability to exchange stories about themselves. But to get a 'voice' they should be visible in the society they belong, literally or metaphorically by means of media. In this sense, the ability to speak through the media becomes a crucial one in struggles for recognition.

### **3.3. Public sphere**

Honneth and other researches (Brink and Owen, 2007; Jansen and Jochemsen, 2010; Thompson, 2006) stressed the importance of public sphere, stating that it is the main arena where struggles for recognition take place. However, it is worth noticing, that if we take a normative definition of public sphere traditionally taken from works of Habermas, it cannot be fully applied to our case due to political situation in Azerbaijan. We will elaborate on this more at the end of our theoretical framework.

The contemporary understanding of term public sphere is mostly based on the ideas of German philosopher and political scientist Jürgen Habermas. For him public sphere is "a realm of our social life in which something approaching public opinion can be formed" (Habermas, 1974, p.49). The main features of public sphere include: universal, unrestricted access; group of citizens acting as a public body; freedom to express and publish group opinions; specific means for transmitting information and influencing those who receive (such as different types of media) (Ibid, pp.49-50). For Habermas it is a sphere, which mediates between society and state and makes possible the democratic control of state activities (Ibid, p.50). The public sphere plays

a crucial role in democracy and in general as Coleman and Ross notice it suppose to provide a room for all voices, regardless of their status, background, or mode of expression (Coleman and Ross, 2010, p.26). The interconnections between democracy and public sphere were widely discussed by many researches (Fraser, 2008; Sparks, 2005; Breese, 2011; Kellner, 2000; etc.). The main argument is without functioning public sphere democracy cannot be performed.

In general, public sphere is associated with communication: personal, face-to-face communication (for example, a demonstration or public meeting with officials), and mediated, through a variety of media. Downey and Fenton highlights that in the twentieth century communication between citizens is increasingly replaced by communication that uses mass media as a medium (Downey and Fenton, 2003, p.186). Habermas also paid attention to this transformation of public sphere and criticized mass media mediated public sphere as economic and political pressures of late capitalism buried rational-critical debate in mass media (1996, cited in McLaughlin, 2004, p.158). Nowadays, influence of both the state and capital to mass media is hard to deny as well as the fact that public sphere in its ideal sense is declining.

Overall, flows of information in public sphere helps to formulate and articulate collective identities, positions and needs. It is in public sphere, where specific 'frameworks of interpretation' (which can help individuals to adequately express and accumulate their 'hurt feelings') can be formed and where ideally struggles for recognition are taking place. That was highlighted not only by Honneth, but also by other researches such as Thompson, who wrote that "the structure of public sphere can have a crucial influence on the interpretation of particular negative emotional reactions, and therefore on the motives that are generated by this interpretations" (Thompson, 2006, p.175).



### 3.4. Counterpublics

One of the main critics of Habermas theory of public sphere was connected with his perception of public sphere as single and unitary (Fraser, 1992; Felski, 1989; Asen, 2000; Benhabib, 1996). The main point of this critic is that inclusion of everyone that Habermas is talking about is impossible as inclusion always entails exclusion. Thus, marginalized or subaltern groups always exist within “general” publics (Coleman and Ross, 2010, p.72). Habermas by itself in his later works recognized (1992, cited in Downey, Fenton, 2003, pp.187) the fact that there is no single public sphere and suggested that pluralistic, internally much differentiated mass public that form alternative public spheres exists and it is able to resist mass-mediated representations of society and create its own political interventions. This critic on Habermas concept is particularly valuable in the case of this research, as it includes voices of marginalized groups to the public realm. We define groups who lead the struggles for recognition as counterpublics. That is why we would like to bring the concept of counterpublics to the discussion focusing mainly on ideas of Nancy Fraser.

Fraser writes (1990, pp.66-67) that there are cases of stratified societies “whose basic institutional framework generates unequal social groups in structural relations of dominance and subordination”. In these societies, it is not possible to insulate public sphere from the effects of societal inequality. It leads to the situation when public sphere tends to operate to the advantage of dominant groups and to the disadvantage of subordinates. If we assume that there is only one, universal public sphere then members of dominant group would control and limit expressions of thoughts, needs, objectives, and strategies of subordinated groups. As a result, members of subordinated groups will not be able to articulate and defend their interests. Fraser makes a conclusion (1990) that history showed us that in these cases subordinated groups tended to form alternative publics, which she calls subaltern

counterpublics. These counterpublics formulate alternative interpretations of their identities and needs, invent, and circulate counterdiscourses.

Fraser ideas can be linked to the Honneth approach of struggles for recognition. As we explained earlier, Honneth states that in order for marginalized groups to start struggle for recognition they need to transform personal “I” to collective “we”. To be able to do this they require specific interpretation frameworks that are circulated in public sphere and that will allow them to unite and defend their interests as a group. They also will need access to the public, to be visible for others. Here the ideas of Fraser are particularly relevant as for her the dominant groups encourage subordinates to keep silence and they often control all venues, where communicative processes are possible and ways groups are represented (Fraser, 1992, pp.119-123). Thus, individuals do not see possibilities to unite, defend their interests collectively and start struggle for recognition. However, as we noticed earlier, in societies where inequalities persist there are counterpublics, collectivities that “set themselves against wider publics and their discursive exclusions” (Asen, 2000, p.426). These counterpublics are able to formulate alternative ‘frameworks of interpretation’ of specific issue and, thus, be an engine for struggles of recognition.

However, it is not easy for counterpublics to communicate their ideas or counterdiscourses to wider public because dominant group restricts traditional communication means. They feel that information, messages, news they produce do not find a way into the mainstream media and they try to find alternative ways to bring their position. The rise of new information and communication technologies and alternative media, where dominant groups have less control, opened up new possibilities for these groups (Wimmer, 2005, p.96). Thus, the next notions we would like to describe in our theoretical framework are mainstream media and alternative media and their role in struggles for recognition through the expression and articulation of accounts of marginalized groups and formulation of interpretative frameworks.

### **3.5. Role of media**

The importance of concept of media was mentioned almost in all notions (recognition, voice, visibility, public sphere, counterpublics) we described previously. Media is one of the main institutions that help people to understand world around them (Talbot, 2007, p.3) and to create what we perceive as the reality in which we live (Jong, Shaw and Stammers, 2005, p.6). It has a crucial political, social and cultural importance as it organizes our everyday life, shapes our social behavior and provides the material for construction of our very identities (Torfing, 1999, p.210). Moreover, media is one of the main mediators of stories people spread. The concept 'mediation' is deeply embedded in the media nature. In general sense, mediation is connected with "overcoming distance in communication" (Fairclough, 2007, p.85), but in the case of media it also stresses "the influence of the mass media on social, cultural, and political institutions and behaviors" (Sullivan ed., 2009). It is explained by the fact that any communication through the 'medium' can be intervened by the medium in the process of communication. In the case of media, it is technical properties of the media channel, as well as developed by specific media "sets of semiotic codes, conventions, formats and production values" (Fairclough, 2007, p.85). Mediation, as one of the main characteristics of the media, plays an important role in understanding of our case.

Ideally, media supposed to provide diverse and balanced opinions and points of view about the world, however, when we talk about stratified societies (in Fraser's understanding), media gives certain kind of visibility to those who exercise power, rather than those over whom power is exercised (Thompson, 1995, p.134). Thus, mainstream media, which mostly controls public sphere - by means of topic selection and topical contributions, gives voice mainly to the dominant groups (Habermas, 1992, p.427). They manage public voice according to particular lens that frames world in a particular way (Coleman and Ross, 2010, p.45). As we noticed earlier

these lens highly depend on the institutional characteristics of media and economic and political pressures that journalists experience nowadays. All these contribute to the fact that access to mainstream media for marginalized groups can be difficult and these groups will search for another ways to raise their voices.

Alternative media became one of the main spaces where subaltern groups can represent themselves, form counterpublics and through this engage in a public sphere (Ibid, p.41). Coleman and Ross notice it is hard to find exact definition for alternative media (Ibid, 77):

Various criteria have been formulated, such as media, which promote views that run counter to or are openly hostile to the status quo; which are concerned with ideas rather than profits; in which content is determined by notions of social responsibility, including stories and issues, which would not routinely appear in the mainstream media.

However, they write that one of the key differences between alternative and mainstream media is the question of what constitutes news and which voices should be represented in describing, explaining, and commenting upon the social events of the day. For them, alternative media “politicize the otherwise hidden stories which lie beneath the surface of news items covered by the mainstream” (Ibid, p.78). Thus, alternative media is important mostly as a space for generating new voices and giving visibility to marginalized groups.

Alternative media can include a wide range of communication activities such as radio, television, press and films (Dagron, 2004), however in our research we will focus on internet as the means for the distribution of alternative information. It is connected to the fact that the focus of our research is Azerbaijan, where government has a strong control over all traditional media channels, such as television or press, internet becomes almost the only space, where “counter” information can be distributed. Of course, we are aware that it is limiting our study in a certain way,

nevertheless as Dahlgren noticed internet helps to promote what is called alternative or counterpublic spheres (Dahlgren, 2004, p.xiii) and as Couldry pointed “there is no doubt that the alternative media infrastructure emerging online will generate new voices, new conditions for voice” (Couldry, 2010, p.74). The main reasons, why online alternative media are playing such an important role nowadays are lying in the nature of internet. Its growing accessibility and availability of the content production and distribution for non-professionals allows everyone to be not only part of media audience, but also media producer (Burgess, 2006, p.201). Internet is also the space, where it is more difficult to control the flow of information, and thus much more difficult for dominant groups to ensure that the available images are those they would like to see circulated (Thompson, 2005, p.38). All these makes internet a space where different voices can be heard, different groups can become more visible and counterpublics can be formed.

However, we do not overestimate the power of alternative online media. We agree with Fuchs who writes about danger that “such media will remain insignificant and be unable to have a transformative political potential because they are unable to reach a mass public and therefore are unable to be embedded in a large counter-public sphere” (Fuchs, 2010, p.177). We think that it is good to keep your ‘feet on the ground’, but it is still hard to ignore growing significance and potential of this kind of media.

### **3.6. Discussion on the democracy and limitations of theory for our case**

It is hard not to notice the emphasis on democracy in all concepts we described so far. For example, Honneth approach is based on broader good of mutual recognition as a main characteristic of a project of democratic politics (Couldry, 2010, p.67) or as Fraser notes (n.d. cited in Thompson, 2006, p.156) democracy determines recognition, while recognition constrains democracy. Functioning public sphere is seen as a central aspect for democracy, as without it government officials cannot be held accountable for their actions, and citizens will not be able to set their agendas and influence political decisions. (CommGAP, 2010, p.1). Media plays a crucial role in providing democratic visibility in public sphere and alternative media play a special role in the democratic production of the information. We do not want to pay a lot of attention to the different models and definitions of democracy, as it is not the goal of our research; however, it is hard for us to escape the discussion about it at all.

Democracy is “a framework of social and institutional conditions that facilitates free discussion among equal citizens - by providing favorable conditions for participation, association, and expression - and ties the authorization to exercise public power (and the exercise itself) to such discussion” (Cohen, 1996, p.99). We would like to use this definition of democracy in our research as it highlights the importance of representation and authority. In democratic society, groups should have an opportunity to be represented and to be visible to the wider public and authorities. They should get a chance to be recognized as having their own ‘counter projects’, their specific identity, ideas and needs, that would be taken into account by government and another social groups.

Usually in different literature, issues of public sphere, counterpublic, voice are connected with the notion of deliberation and deliberative democracy. In the model of deliberative democracy, Habermas ideas are playing a decisive role. His works

emphasize the key role of public sphere in grounding deliberation in the intersubjective structures of communication (Flynn, 2004, p.436). Explaining Habermas ideas about democracy Kellner writes (2000, p.9):

Whereas theories of strong democracy posit individuals organizing, deliberating, making decisions, and actively transforming the institutions of their social life, Habermas shifts "the sovereignty of the people" into a flow of communication... in the power of public discourses that uncover topics of relevance to all of society, interpret values, contribute to the resolution of problems, generate good reasons, and debunk bad ones.

In order for these opinions to influence practical decisions, democratic decision-making bodies opened to discussions are needed. Thus, institutions play big role in the transformation of public opinion into communicative power (Carpentier, 2011, p.19).

We can see that democracy plays a very important role in all theories that we described so far. Generally speaking and concluding as less democratic state is, as more groups in power can control actions and expressions of marginalized groups and as more difficult will be for powerless to circulate their stories, articulate them into collective one and unite for struggle for recognition. Thus, as we are taking Azerbaijan - authoritarian presidential state, we need to discuss how it limits application of these concepts to our case.

According to Economist Intelligence Unit's (EIU) Democracy Index in 2011, Azerbaijan was considered as authoritarian regime and was placed 140 among 164 countries. Presidential regime in this country restricts many spheres of public life, such as media. Freedom House in its Freedom of Press report ascribes Azerbaijan to the category of 'not free' states and ranks it 171 among 196 countries. Thus, we cannot really talk about functioning public sphere in Azerbaijan or we cannot state that struggles for recognition are easy to start there, as freedom of expression is

extremely restricted. However, what we can talk about is the potential spaces of deliberation, where counterpublics potentially can be formed and express their alternative ideas and where potential democratic transformation that can take place. In our concrete case, we refer to internet as this kind of space. Freedom House states that internet is partly free in Azerbaijan noticing, “The Azerbaijani government does not engage in widespread censorship of the internet” (2011, p.43). Therefore, we can think about alternative online media as a space for voices of IDPs, for counterdiscourses around them that are different from official discourses, circulating in mainstream media, censored by government. In our research we want to try to find out how these discourses are different; if internet really gives more spaces for voices for IDPs and civil society leaders concerned with this issue; and if this alternative information resources can potentially create interpretation frameworks favorable for IDPs to unite and start struggle for recognition.



## 4. Methodology

In the theoretical framework we pointed out the importance of discourses that are formed by stories/perspectives of different groups as these discourses help to create specific ‘frameworks of interpretation’ needed for struggle for recognition to begin. Thus, discourse analysis can help us to determine visibility and voice abilities of particular social group (IDPs in our case) as well as the ways they are represented and portrayed. All this will help to make a conclusion, if ‘frameworks of interpretation’ are favorable for IDPs to start struggle for recognition or not. Discourse analysis will be done in not only print (mainstream) Azerbaijani media, mainly controlled by government, but also in internet (alternative) media, where censorship has not been very common on the time of the research.

Among all types of discourse analysis, Critical Discourse Analysis was chosen as the most appropriate for this case, because this approach is problem-oriented and focusing on studying complex social phenomena rather than “a linguistic unit per se” (Wodak, Meyer, 2009, p.2). CDA can be seen and defined as a theory and as a methodological approach. It should be highlighted that “CDA in all its various forms understands itself to be strongly based in theory” (Ibid, p.23). However, short discussion of the discourse theory, its main features and terms it uses as well as connection to the other theories and relevance for this particular case is needed.

As in case with the theory, there is no single or specific methodology in CDA (Ibid, p.5). Methodology defers considerably depending on the school and the researcher. Approach of Fairclough to CDA is the one being used for this research. It was chosen as the most appropriate one, not only because of the researcher’s theoretical understanding of discourse, which is easy to connect with the other theories we are basing our explanations on, but also because Fairclough sees

discourse analysis as “analysis of how texts work within sociocultural practice” (Fairclough, 1995a, 7). For him the main principle of CDA lies in the assumption that “language is both socially constitutive and socially determined” (Jenner and Titscher, 2000, p.148) and “analysis of texts should not be artificially isolated from analysis of institutional and discursal practices within which texts are embedded” (Ibid, p.9). Thus, this analysis coincides with the overall goals of the research: to find out how social reality influences text’s production, interpretation, and more importantly vice versa - how texts, by creating certain ‘frameworks of interpretation’, are able to stimulate social groups to unite their interests and start struggle for recognition.

#### **4.1. Discourse theory**

‘Frameworks of interpretation’ are formed by discourses circulating publicly, which, in turn are formed by stories and perspectives of people about themselves and other people. Fairclough (2005) states that “discourses include representations of how things are and have been, as well as imaginaries – representations of how things might or could or should be”. We need specific discourses surrounding the topic of our concern in order to make certain conclusions. That makes discourses a very important notion for social change and struggles for recognition.

The understanding of discourse differs a lot depending on discipline it is used in or theorist describing it. For our research part we are taking the Critical Discourse Analysis described by Norman Fairclough. We will also describe the notion of media discourse because we are going to analyze media texts.

In general, discourse can be understood as “language in its social context” (Mercer, 1995, p.79) in the sense of written and spoken communication. What distinguishes CDA school understanding of discourse is the emphases they make on

the connection of discourse and social reality and sees “discourse - language use in speech and writing– as a form of ‘social practice’” (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997, p.258). Fairclough defines discourse as “different ways of structuring areas of knowledge and social practice” (1992, p.3). He also understands discourse in relation to power and ideology. He conceptualizes power both in “terms of asymmetries between participants in discourse event, and in terms of unequal capacity to control how texts are produced, distributed and consumed “ (Fairclough, 1995a, p.1). Ideology for him is “representations of aspects of the world which contribute to establishing and maintaining relations of power, domination and exploitation” (Ibid, p.218). These two notions and their linguistic manifestations are central for critical analysis of any text and therefore, texts are seen as sites of struggle for power and supremacy of specific ideology. Dominant group will always try to control discourses and ensure that their framing of the issue takes over alternative ways of seeing situation.

The other Fairclough point (2003, p.125) about discourse that is important for our research is that different discourses are different perspectives on the world. They never represent the world as it is; rather they are projecting ‘possible worlds’ aiming to change our understanding of actual worlds in specific direction (Ibid, p.125). We can say, that discourses are becoming our frameworks of understanding and interpretation of ‘us’ as part of society. We can distinguish different discourses, which may represent the same area of the world from different perspectives or positions (Ibid, p.23). In stratified, unequal societies we can distinguish dominant and nondominant or counterdiscourses. Their balance depends on power distribution and on the activity of counterpublics that help to extend discursive space (Fraser, 1992, p.123).

Media texts are intended for wide auditory and potentially can have a big influence on the society. That is why it is important to mention how discourses are different in media. Hobbs writes that media texts are not only replete with the discourses around the events being represented; they are also the material/symbolic

results of a discursive practice (Hobbs, 2008, p.11). Fairclough (2003, p.86) makes a special emphasis on the issue of selectivity in relation to discourses that inherent to media texts:

Journalists are in the business of including some things, which were said, and excluding others (which often means excluding certain voices), selecting particular parts of what was said, and generally ordering what is often a cacophony of speech and writing into separate speech events.

It means that media texts are not ideologically free. They are contested spaces, where dominant groups try to put their discourses on the first place diminishing discourses of marginalized groups.

#### **4.2. Outline of Fairclough approach to CDA**

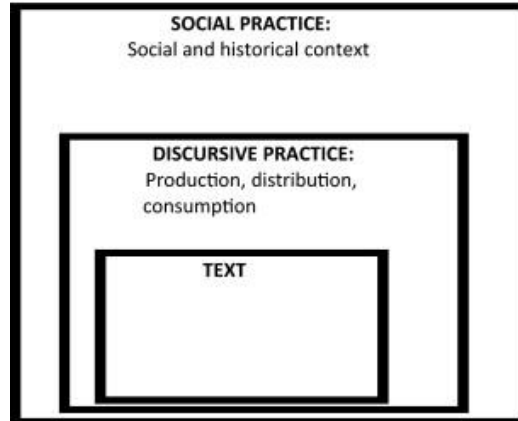
Fairclough approach to CDA in general terms can be determined as ‘transdisciplinary’ in the sense that it is working through dialogue with other disciplines and theories that are used to explain current social phenomena (Fairclough, 2005). For him the analysis of the texts cannot be simply done using, for example, only linguistic terms, he insists on the usage of ‘logic’ and categories of the other disciplines/theories in order to be able to understand and describe social changes. Thus, incorporation of media and political theories into our analysis is logical and necessary part of the research.

Discourse (in abstract, general sense) is shaped in three ways in social practices and social events: as part of the action or part of ‘doing a job’; in representations of social actors; and in ways of being or in constitution of identities (Fairclough, 2005). Each of these ways constitutes the particular category. Action or

ways of acting are represented through ‘genres’. Ways of representing is a discourses matter and it is addressed through ‘discourses’. Finally, ways of being or the ways we express our identities using language are formed by the use of particular ‘style’. Thus, genres, discourses and styles are respectively durable ways of acting, representing and identifying (Fairclough, 2003, pp.26-28). Each of these categories can be described by using specific analytical tools that can be found in Fairclough book “Analyzing Discourse: Textual analysis for social research” (2003) that became the basis for this paper.

For CDA analysis Fairclough uses the so called three-dimensional model. He states that any discursive event can be seen in and analyzed through three dimensions: “(i) a language text, spoken or written, (ii) discourse practice (text production and text interpretation), (iii) sociocultural practice” (Fairclough, 1995a, p.97). These three separate dimensions are interconnected with each other; and, in Fairclough point of view, CDA should also include three forms of analysis according to this dimensions: text analysis (text), processing analysis (discourse practice), and social analysis (sociocultural practice).

During the analysis of the first dimension, language of the text is described in linguistic terms. At the second dimension, research is interpreting “the relationship between the (productive and interpretative) discursive processes and the text” (Ibid, p.97). Finally, explanation of the “relationship between the discursive processes and the social processes” (Ibid, p.97) follows. In general Fairclough’s CDA analysis can be represented in this diagram:



As it was noticed earlier, all three dimensions are interrelated and embedded one to another. As Fairclough explains (1995a, p.97):

A special feature of the approach is that the link between sociocultural practice and text is mediated by discourse practice; how a text is produced or interpreted, in the sense of what discursive practices and conventions are drawn from what order(s) of discourse and how they are articulated together, depends upon the nature of the sociocultural practice which the discourse is a part of (including the relationship to existing hegemonies); the nature of the discourse practice of text production shapes the text, and leaves 'traces' in surface features of the text; and the nature of the discourse practice of text interpretation determines how the surface features of a text will be interpreted.

Thus, this model once again highlights Fairclough point of view that language and social practices have inevitable links and discourse analysis cannot be separated from the analysis of social context and social processes around language texts.

The first level of the three-dimensional model is the linguistic analysis of texts, that “shows how texts selectively draw upon linguistic systems” (Fairclough, 1992, p.194). It is concerned with both meaning and forms of the texts and covers different levels of text organization such as phonology, grammar, semantics and

vocabulary, as well as intersentential cohesion and various aspects of the text structure (Fairclough, 1995b, p.57). These tools are usually the tools being used in the traditional discourse analysis and the choice of the particular ones depends on the goals of the researcher and texts that are analyzed.

The second level of the analysis is the analysis of discourse practice. Fairclough writes that within this dimension, the focus is “political, upon the discursive event within relations of power and domination” (Fairclough, 1995a, p.133). This analysis is concerned with the “sociocognitive aspects of text production and interpretation”, as well as with “the relationship of the discursive event to the order of discourse” (Ibid, p.134). It is on exactly this level texts are considered to be heterogeneous and varying in their forms and meanings. As Fairclough points out once again: “texts are constituted from other already produced texts and from potentially diverse text types (genres, discourses)” (1995a, p.2); and this heterogeneity can be seen as “materialization of social and cultural contradictions and as important evidence for investigation of these contradictions and their evolution” (1995b, p.60). That is why this dimension of analysis will play a central role in this research. On this level the concepts of interdiscursivity and intertextuality becomes dominant. Interdiscursivity, in general sense, is concerned with orders of discourse or how diverse genres, discourses and styles are combined together. It helps to “incorporate elements of ‘context’ into the analysis of texts; to show the relationship between concrete occasional events and more durable social practices, to show innovation and change in texts, and it has a mediating role in allowing one to connect detailed linguistic and semiotic features of texts with processes of social change on a broader scale” (Fairclough, 2005). The concept of interdiscursivity has close relations with the concept of intertextuality that Fairclough took from Kristeva (1980) and transformed for his CDA approach. This concept is one of the main distinguished features of his approach to CDA from the other approaches and big emphasis on this concept will be done in the analysis of texts for this research. Intertextuality is based on the view that all existing texts consist of already existed

texts and orders of discourse play a major role in the intertextual analysis. It is highlighted that texts strongly depend upon societal and historical contexts in the form of the resources (genres, discourses, narratives, registers) being available and being used for the creation and transformation of texts (Fairclough, 1992, p.194).

Finally, the last dimension of Fairclough's CDA approach is the analysis of sociocultural practice. It can be done in relation to different levels of social organization and types of context such as institutional, societal, political or cultural (Ibid, p.134). This analysis includes description and explanation of a text "by using a particular theoretical framework to locate the text in social practice" (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999, p.67). It helps to clarify how power relations in the society influence forms and meanings of particular texts and how texts can be the 'mirrors' or 'indicators' of social struggles and contradictions.

#### **4.3. Adaptation of Fairclough's CDA to the case study**

Fairclough's approach to CDA is flexible by itself and should be adapted to the goals of the particular research. It is the choice of researcher which methods to use and which to make emphasis on. Fairclough in his works highlighted this point a lot of times (2007, p.10, see also 1995b, 2005):

There are many different ways of doing this for any particular research topic, so it is a matter of developing an approach, which suits your particular theoretical and practical concerns and objectives. This involves bringing a particular range of theoretical perspectives and categories and methods of analysis to bear on the research topic - selecting from those available in the light of broader concerns and objectives. There are no right answers here.



Based on our research questions the emphasis in this particular research will be done on the analysis of how discourse in a broad sense figures in the representations (analysis of ways of representing) (Fairclough, 2003, pp.121-156). In particular, analysis of representation of social actors and analysis of discourses (semantic topics) will be applied at the first dimension (text) of the Fairclough CDA model. At the second dimension (discursive practice), we will use intertextual analysis for identifying social actors, whose voices were included in the analyzed texts (Fairclough, 2003, pp.39-62 and Fairclough, 1995b, pp.54-69), as well as interdiscursive analysis that will help us to see how different discourses are combined in different texts. Finally, the selective socio-cultural analysis, based on context of the case study, will be used for the explanation of the main patterns of the texts found in previous stages.

We assume that focus on these methods will allow us to answer the questions of how Azerbaijani IDPs are represented in the texts, who represents them, how their voices are incorporated into the texts and which discourses is the dominant one in this case. However, some discussion about the other elements relevant for CDA in general, for example, genres and styles will also be incorporated into the analysis.

The choice of particular linguistic devices used for the textual analysis was done according to the research question and was drawn from the Fairclough book “Analyzing Discourse: Textual analysis for social research” (2003).

#### **4.4. Data gathering**

Wodak and Meyer making general introduction to CDA write that data collection in case of this method is not considered to be the specific phase of the analysis (Wodak and Meyer, 2009, p.27). In this case, «what data is selected, how it is collected, depend upon the project and object of research» (Fairclough, 2005). This

gives researcher a certain degree of freedom; however, choice of materials for the analysis should be explained and defined.

One of the main goals of this research is to analyze interpretative frameworks existing around IDP issue in Azerbaijan e in both mainstream media and alternative (in our case online) media. Our focus will be on the analysis of written texts circulating in main Russian language newspapers (mainstream media), public blogs and news sections of major NGOs web pages. Our intention here is not to analyze texts from specific sources (for example specific newspaper or specific web page), but rather to present a wide range of source, thus assuring that we included different accounts to our main research topic (IDPs) and that our analysis can be representative. It worth pointing out that all presented examples in the ‘Analysis’ part are translated from Russian to English by the author of the research.

As we mentioned earlier IDP issues usually do not attract a lot of media attention, even in Azerbaijan where 7% of the population are displaced persons. It means that the articles about IDPs appear in media rarely and it is not easy to find them. Moreover, we wanted to assure the analysis of different recently published materials (different topics, news occasions etc.). All these determined the time frame for this research (from 2010 to April 2012), because exactly in this period we were able to collect sufficient amount of texts.

After analysis of the Russian language printing media in Azerbaijan four different newspapers with the largest circulation were included into data: Azerbaidjanskije Izvestiya, Echo, Nedelya and Zerkalo. At the first stage of data selection process, all texts where IDP issues were mentioned were separated. At the second stage, we filtered texts according to the genre and length: only news report, comments and feature articles with length more than 300 words were left. Afterward all articles were evaluated according to their relevance to the research questions and four articles directly focusing on IDP issues (not on the related issues such as Karabakh conflict) were chosen from every source. Thus, we got sixteen texts for analysis from the mainstream media.

Internet in case of Azerbaijan is assumed to be a place, where alternative accounts on the problem can occur and where individuals with alternative points of view can express their voices. Therefore, online alternative media resources became the second source of written texts for the analysis. We focused on the blogs and the news sections of NGO web pages. However, we need to point out that because of research questions we did not focus on the characteristics of blogs and online news by themselves; for example, on genre and style or on the characteristics that internet as a mediator gives to this kind of texts (hyperlinks, cybertext, interactivity ect.). We rather tried to analyze online texts as media texts, focusing on the ways IDPs are represented there.

Blogs are able to represent the points of view of IDPs and influential individuals, such as civil leaders and journalists, who by using this platform of communication get an opportunity to publish their opinions without editorial and official censorship. We used yandex blogs web search tool (yandex.ru - biggest Russian language web search platform) and key words “IDP Azerbaijan”, “refugee Azerbaijan” (as we mentioned earlier refugees are very often mixed with IDPs) to find relevant blog posts. Ten blog posts, which are exactly concerned with IDP issues and stylistically close to mass media texts, such as feature article and news report, were chosen. We included only texts from the so-called journalistic weblogs (blogs), the ones that “have a clear intention to collect, analyze, interpret or comment on current events to wide audiences and in this way perform the very same social function usually associated with institutionalized media” (Domingo and Heinonen, 2008, p.6); and only the ones that were posted from 2010 to April 2012.

NGOs are one of the main agents in cases of displacement and they can play a crucial role in representation of alternative points of view and voices of the silent groups such as IDPs. In order to find texts for the analysis, we checked news sections of main Azerbaijani NGOs, working with IDPs specifically and in human rights field in general (the most relevant types of NGOs for our case). We found texts about

IDPs in web pages of five different NGOs and took one the most relevant material from every page. Thus, we got fifteen texts for analysis from alternative media.

The list of all analyzed materials can be found in the Appendix.

#### **4.5. Limitations**

The main limitation of the Fairclough's approach to CDA was recognized by the author himself. It lies in the nature of the method. CDA takes the view that there is no single, unique meaning of a text: "different understandings of the text result from different combinations of the properties of the text and the properties (social positioning, knowledge, values, etc.) of the interpreter" (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999, p.67). It means that there is no 'right' way to do CDA and that each analysis is unique and cannot be repeated or 'checked'. Different researchers are coming from different positions within the theoretical field and with different knowledge about the subject. Through the personal interpretation of particular discursive events, position of the researcher becomes deeply incorporated to the analysis and inseparable from it. This, of course, limits the analysis to certain extend.

The second point is that CDA does not necessarily include fieldwork or ethnographical research. However, ideally, the researcher "needs to engage in social and ethnographic research over significant periods of time in particular institutional settings, gathering and analyzing textual samples and information on social and cognitive aspects of their production and interpretation" (Fairclough, 1992, p.215) in order to fully understand and analyze social problem. For this particular research, the analysis was done in the 'home settings' of the researcher, not in the field during the limited period. We realize that it limits our analysis; however, in our case CDA analysis in 'ideal' settings was impossible due to the limited resources.

The last important limitation of this research is concerned with the language of the texts analyzed. Official language in Azerbaijan is Azerbaijani, however, due to the researcher's background materials for the analysis were chosen in Russian. Russian is commonly used as the second language in Azerbaijan and between 50 and 70 percent of citizens speak in it fluently (Eurasia.net, 2003). It is "broadly used in everyday communication, at schools and higher educational establishments, in the printed media and on television" (Itar-Tass, 2011). We realize that the use of the Russian language texts for the analysis is one of the main limitations of the research. However, we still think that, first, analysis of not-translated materials in the native language of the researcher is always preferred, and secondly, that the nature of CDA allows us to make general conclusions about the situation around IDPs and dominant discourses even in this case. We are positive, that texts in Russian language also can be representative for the research, and this will not influence the results considerably.

## **5. Analysis**

### **5.1. Background of the case study**

The context plays a crucial role in CDA that is why we will provide background information about the analyzed case prior to the actual analysis.

In general, Internally Displaced Persons worldwide should be treated as separate, silent and disadvantaged group that can potentially start struggle for recognition. In order to explain and understand why, some background information on the definition of the group and overview of legal rights and problems is needed. That is why this part will include general description of IDP issue.

Yet, as Sørensen (2003, p.11) notices:

The main debate on internal displacement remains dominated by the actors that ‘invented’ the IDP category in the first place...One problem with the dominant language of humanitarian and human rights actors is that it generalizes, objectifies and decontextualises so as to omit much of the social, cultural and historical circumstances.

He highlights the importance of national context when we talk about IDPs. In the research IDPs in Azerbaijan were chosen as a scope and in international level they, of course, share the same status and rights as IDPs worldwide; however, on national level their position is determined by situation in their state. The reasons and period of displacement, economic situation among the group, number of displaced and their percentage in total population – all this varies from country to country. Some of these points that distinguish IDPs in Azerbaijan from the others influenced

the decision of taking this particular case for the research. That is why after general discussion on IDP, situation in Azerbaijan will be discussed.

### **5.1.1. Internally Displaced Persons worldwide**

Already in the term ‘Internally Displaced persons’ (IDPs) we can find characteristics that distinguish this social group. ‘Displaced’, first, signifies the group that moved from its usual place. Secondly, it carries a connotation of being moved not voluntarily, but by force. At the same time, ‘internally’ points out that even if this group moved from its original place, it still remains inside the borders of the country territory which they belong to as citizens. These points and meanings are very important for understanding of the problems this group is facing and the differences of this group from other groups they are very often associated with, for example refugees.

According to the information of Internal Displacement Monitoring Center in 2011 the estimated number of IDPs stood at 26,4 million. In spite of the fact that this represented a fall in the number of IDPs in the world, from 27.5 million in 2010, there has been a steady increase in their number from 1997 (IDMC, 2011, p.8). Not lastly due to these high numbers the problem of internal displacement becomes more and more discussed at various levels, however historically, IDPs were recognized as a separate group with special needs only a few decades ago. IDP issue emerged in international agenda only at the late 1980s and became clearly visible in the 1990s (Brun, 2005, p.9). As Brun writes, “the growing number of conflicts causing internal displacement after the end of the Cold War and an increasingly strict international migration regime” were the main reasons of such a late appearance (Ibid, p.9). Only in 1992 UN officially Human Rights Commission appointed a special Representative to the UN Secretary-General on IDPs and established the UN Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement (Ferris, 2008, p.11). These guiding principles among a series

of guidelines and standards of protection also include the definition of IDPs that is used as the main one by UN and other agencies. There Internally Displaced Persons are (Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement (Introduction), 1992):

Persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognized State border.

As we see from this definition, not only armed conflicts and violence can become the cause of displacement, but also environmental and development issues, however in this paper focus is made only in conflict-induced displacement and the discussion will continue about this specific case.

Talking about UN guiding principles, it is also worth noticing that they are basically non-binding guidelines which are not subject to ratification by states (Ferris, 2008, p.11). Here lies the main issue that makes this group so vulnerable and so difficult to deal with. IDPs are forced to flee inside their own country that means that they are subjects of national laws and it is the authorities of their own country who are mainly responsible for them. That leads to the fact that international community has limited opportunities to interfere as agencies willing to help require permission from the political authorities (Weiss and Korn, 2006, p.1). Question of sovereignty is central to the ability of the international community to respond to the internal displacement issues (Ferris, 2008, p.13). What complicates situation even more is that it is often the government forces or armed groups associated with the government who were the main agents of displacement (IDMC, 2011, p.14). Displacement caused by independence and autonomy movements and struggles over territory is one of the most widespread one and it brings the main difficulties that these kinds of conflicts entail such as religious, ethnic, or cultural differences.



The next point is connected with the possible solutions of the IDP problem. Three main ways out of the situation of displacement discussed in the literature and by authorities are voluntary repatriation (voluntary return to the original place), resettlement in a third country (meaning becoming refugee or migrant), and local settlement (also termed local integration) (Global IDP, 2002, p.10). In many cases, governments are favoring return over the other options even where return is not possible (IDMC, 2011, p.11), mainly due to the political nature of the conflicts and very often people do not have a say over the option they would prefer. The other problem is that even when governments are trying to respond to internal displacement they very often face difficulties connected with lack of funding and available resources, poor condition of state services and national infrastructure, insecurity and lack of expertise (Global IDP, 2002, p.10). These political and economic reasons make the response inadequate and insufficient and frequently lead to the situations of protracted displacement “where the process to find durable solutions has stalled and the displaced are marginalized by disregard for or failure to protect their human rights, in particular economic, social and cultural rights” (UN report, 2009, p.3).

Lastly, IDPs are very often mixed with refugees because causes and consequences of the displacement of both groups are very often the same. Both of these groups are also commonly represented by main actors and media as IDPs as being in need, powerless and ‘out of place’. This stereotyping and homogenization is a problem by itself because it forms a mute and faceless physical mass that is denied the right to present their own narratives and create their own identities (Rajaram, 2002, p.247). Moreover, it also creates even more confusion between groups. However, being a refugee means having certain rights and international protection, because refugees are crossing national borders and becoming subjects of international jurisdiction. IDP, in a contrast, is “not a legal status because IDPs are still under the jurisdiction of their own government” (Global IDP, 2002, p.3). Thus, national responsibility is the main thing that distinguishes them from the refugees.

This fact also creates the situation of continuing lack of information about the conditions of IDPs and their needs, as this information mainly is provided by the national governments that often prefer to either ignore the issue or keep facts unpublicized. Weiss and Korn emphasize that media attention and advocacy are necessary for IDPs to ensure their equal rights. They notice “very little appreciation for the topics” and “the extremely limited public understanding of the issue” (Weiss and Korn, 2006, p.134). They call for better public debate through better print and electronic media coverage, not only nationally, but also internationally, because “the governments that produce IDPs are unlikely to tolerate much critical local media coverage” (Ibid, p.135). This research will focus exclusively on national media coverage of the issue, but international media does not deny their role in the process.

### **5.1.2. Case of Azerbaijan**

In order to describe the background of the case we will first briefly touch upon the history of the conflict over the region of Nagorno-Karabakh that caused the displacement. After, we will focus on current economic, social and political conditions of IDPs in this country.

The territory of Nagorno-Karabakh was disputed between Azerbaijan and Armenia for centuries, but the roots of the current conflict can be traced to the 1919 when during the Paris Peace Conference territorial rights over the region were granted to Azerbaijan (Salinas, 2003, p.3). During the Soviet times, the region stayed within Azerbaijan, but received special autonomy. The main problem was that during all this time ethnic Armenians constituted majority of the population of the region (about 94 per cent in the beginning of the last century with later decrease to 75 per cent in the late 1980s) (Ibid, p.3). That always put territorial question into the agenda, but Soviet Union controlled the situation and kept it peaceful. However, in 1988

when the possible crash of the system became visible, Nagorno-Karabakh agreed with the soviet government of Armenia about incorporating the region into Armenia (IDPM, 2010a, p.3). That became a starting point of the conflict as ethnic violence started to occur between the Azerbaijani and Armenian communities in Nagorno-Karabakh. Members of both ethnic groups were forced to flee from the region already then, but the full-scale displacement started after both countries gained independence in 1991 and ethnic conflict erupted to the war between two newly born states. The active phase of the war officially finished in 1994, when the foreign ministers of Armenia, Azerbaijan and Nagorno-Karabakh signed ceasefire agreement initiated by OSCE Minsk Group and Russia (IDMC, 2010b, p.28). Nevertheless, the independence of the region was not recognized by any of the states and the conflict is still remaining unresolved hardly influencing both countries and causing violence eruptions on the border. Nagorno-Karabakh is still officially the territory of Azerbaijan, but Armenia has the overall or partial control over the territory of the region as well as over the seven surrounding districts that were occupied in 90s. That collectively covers some 17 to 20 per cent of the territory of Azerbaijan (Ibid, p.28).

As the result of the conflict thousands of people, mainly ethnic Azerbaijani were displaced. The exact number of IDPs in Azerbaijan is still remaining unclear. Official government figures from 2011 state the number of 599,192 people displaced (IDMC), while according to the International Crisis Group the estimated number of displaced from Nagorno-Karabakh and the surrounding districts is around 724,000 Azerbaijanis (quoted in IDMC, 2010b, p.30).

After almost 20 years of the conflict being unresolved Azerbaijani government is still favors the return to the original place of residence as the best way to resolve the problem. However, the return is blocked by outbreaks of violence and the fact that for Nagorno-Karabakh and Armenia the return of Azerbaijani people is perceived to have negative effect on the decision over the ultimate political designation of that territory (Global IDP, 2002, p.9). Azerbaijani government from its side tends to manipulate with IDP situation for their purposes to build political

support inside the country and to direct attention of the international community to the conflict and necessity of its resolution. For them, if the problems of IDPs are decided and people are integrated into new communities, sovereignty claims on the occupied territories will lose their prominence (Global IDP, 2002, p.138). These are the main reasons why problems that IDPs are facing are not changing considerably and why people are facing the situation of protracted displacement for almost 20 years.

Right after the conflict, majority of the IDPs settled down in the areas close to Nagorno-Karabakh and in the capital Baku. They live in different types of housing or other shelter including collective centers such as schools and dormitories, self-built mud houses, abandoned apartments or the homes of relatives. In a lot of cases, housing conditions are inadequate as majority of these buildings are old, overcrowded and lack access to water, electricity and sanitation (IDMC, 2011, p.62). This is one of the IDPs' main concerns. The other problem is connected with limited finances. Many IDPs have become increasingly dependent on subsidies and pensions from the government. Almost all IDPs receive a monthly allowance or some basic assistance such as food aid and fuel during the cold season. But, the monthly IDP allowance is far lower than the monthly amount needed to purchase basic staple items (The Danish Refugee Council, 2007, p.7). Moreover, due to the old soviet system of registration of the residence that is still valid in Azerbaijan, freedom of movement of IDPs is restricted. First, they can reside only in approved locations and humanitarian assistance will only be provided to them in the camps or resettlement sites where they are registered (Global IDP, 2002, p.140). If they are willing to move in their search for a job in, for example, Baku, they need to struggle to register their new residence as registration influences their access to employment, housing, health care, education and pensions, and their ability to vote in election (IDMC, 2011, p.62). There are also concerns about separate education for internally displaced children that lowers the quality of education and prevents children from integration into the society (Ibid, p.58).

It is worth noticing that during the last years (mainly from 2010) situation started to improve slowly and government became less reluctant to IDP problems. Now more resources are directed to improve the lives of the displaced. For example, according to the information provided by the government, 108,000 people were moved into new housing during this time (ICG, 2012, p.1). However, this fact did not change the situation considerably. Firstly, only small number of IDPs benefited from it and the majority still lives in poor conditions (IDMC, 2011, p.58). Secondly, there are a lot of complains about poor construction and infrastructure, as well as about the areas where new houses are located because of limited access to land, schools, medical centres etc. and because of the lack of job opportunities there (ICG, 2012, p.1). Moreover, people who received new governmental housing have no secure legal tenure over it. It is the government who owns these houses. People, who reside there, are expected to leave the houses and move to their original places, as soon as the conflict will be resolved. As a result, improvements of living conditions do not lead to the improvements in level of self-reliance or integration into the society making government efforts unsustainable and in fact incising their dependency on governmental support.

High percent of IDP population, situation of protracted displacement, economic problems, and political roots of the problem – all this makes the case of internal displacement in Azerbaijan unique and interesting for research. We think that this particular social group becomes one of the groups that can potentially start struggle for recognition. In order to justify and analyze it we will continue with the CDA analysis (Fairclough approach) of media texts about Azerbaijani IDPs to see if they are visible in media landscape, how they are portrayed, how their voices are represented and if the discourses in alternative online media are different from official discourses represented in newspapers.

## **5.2. Critical Discourse Analysis**

### **5.2.1. Identification of social actors through intertextual analysis**

Intertextual analysis is one of the ways to make the analysis of texts from the perspective of discursive practice as it is the analysis of texts “in terms of the ways in which genres and discourses available within the repertoires of orders of discourse are drawn upon and combined in producing and consuming texts” (Fairclough, 1995b, p.75). Fairclough distinguishes several possible aspects of intertextual analysis such as generic analysis of discourse types, analysis of (configurations of) discourses in texts, and the analysis of ‘discourse representation’ or of how the speech and writing of others is embedded within certain texts (Ibid, p.75). The last aspect is particularly significant for this research. It is based on the assumptions that “for any particular text or type of text, there is a set of other texts and a set of voices which are potentially relevant and potentially incorporated into the text”; and that these different texts and voices are potentially “different perspectives, objectives, interests and so forth” (Fairclough, 2003, pp.47-48)”. Furthermore, Fairclough applies the analysis of ‘discourse representation’ exactly to media texts.

The analysis of ‘discourse representation’ will allow us to see voices of what social actors are included to and excluded from the texts; whose voices are dominant, whose are marginalized; to analyze how these voices were incorporated into the texts (directly or indirectly) and why; and, finally, to determine, if voices of IDPs and their stories are visible among the voices of other actors.

In the beginning, all news actors that got voice in the texts were distinguished. Then, all news actors were classified into six different groups of social actors: IDPs, governmental officials, civil society (NGOs), experts (professors, researchers, and

lawyers), international organizations (in our case only UN and its representatives<sup>1</sup>) and other news actors. Lastly, we determined, how different news actors were reported in every case. For this we used classification of Fairclough, who distinguishes four different ways of reporting (2003, p.49):

- Direct reporting or quotation;
- Indirect reporting or summary;
- Free indirect reporting or intermediate between direct and indirect (it has some of the tense and deixis shifts typical of indirect speech, but without a reporting clause);
- Narrative report of speech acts or reports the sort of speech act without reporting its content.

The main difference lies between reports that claim to “reproduce what was actually said or written” by quoting it directly and, thus, keeping “a relatively strong and clear boundary between the speech, writing or thought that is reported and the text in which they are reported”; and those reports that do not repeat exact words used by news actor and, thus, do not have a clear boundary between reported and the rest of the text (Ibid, p.49).

The results of the analysis are summarized in tables 1 and 2, which can be found in the Appendix.

In the case of mainstream media texts it is clear that official voices, representing point of view of the Azerbaijani government got more space in the texts than any other social actor. Partly, this can be explained by genre of news media. As Fairclough writes: “the news media can be regarded as covertly transmitting the voices of social power-holders”, mainly because “access to the media is the most open to socially dominant sectors, both as 'reliable sources' and as 'accessed voices’” (Fairclough, 1995, pp.62-63). Thus, public figures representing official point of view

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<sup>1</sup> UN and its representatives is the only international organization which voice is included in the texts analyzed, however, this group was determined as separate, because UN is one of the bodies that plays the biggest role and has the biggest influence on the IDP issues

dominate all news media in general without respect to country or news topic. However, extensive reference to the points of view and comments of government official in our case can also be understood as an indicator of an attempt to enhance the prominence of this social actor and to highlight its importance and special role in the IDP issues.

Meanwhile, despite the fact that IDPs were directly involved in all events and questions that texts are mentioning, their voices appear in less than half of the cases. In some articles (for example, MM3, which describes President's trip to several areas where IDPs reside or MM 10, which focuses on the process of IDPs' relocation from the apartments that they occupied illegally in 1992-1993) opinions and comments of IDPs could have enriched the texts and could have added more value to the news. However, in both examples the emphasis was made on the comments of Ilham Aliyev - the President of Azerbaijan and Ali Gasanov - Chairman of State Committee on Refugees and IDP. Both of them mentioned positive changes in the situation with IDPs in the country and emphasized the role government played in that. Here IDPs accounts as well as accounts of other actors such as civil society are excluded. It was done, probably, because these groups could be more critical and could not share official 'optimism'.

Some of the most important variables in the analysis of 'discourse representation' are the ways of reporting and the degree to which boundaries are maintained "between the representing discourse and the represented discourse – between the voices of the reporter and the person reported" (Fairclough, 1995b, p.81). The most obvious way of reporting with high level of boundary maintenance is the use of original wording of news actor or direct reporting. For example, majority of the mainstream media texts quote government officials directly, by this stressing the importance of their accounts for issues described. While IDPs are mostly quoted directly in cases when their words are helping to confirm the point of view of officials quoted before. This is one of the ways to put forward one actor and silence the other. We can see that in MM4, MM6, MM11 and MM13. For example, in the



article MM4 IDPs are quoted 3 times. First, indirect quote is given: “Everybody, whom journalist met, is talking about improvements in their living conditions, and is expressing gratitude to the government for care”. This quote is making generalization about the opinion of “everybody”, presenting IDPs as supporting the government politics and being happy with their situation. Later on, two IDPs are quoted directly:

However, they [IDPs] cannot accept the fact that their homes, and not only Nagorno-Karabakh, but also seven regions around it, are still under occupation of Armenian armed forces. Here are just two quotes from the report. An internally displaced Mehdiyev Hasan: "The whole world supports Armenians, but no one cares about us." Gudrat Huseynov echoed him: "We need the world to know about it. It is not fair. Our lands are there, but we are here".

From the beginning IDPs were again generalized (“they cannot accept”) and the viewpoint about Armenian occupation was assigned to all IDPs. Next, to confirm it “just two quotes” are provided. Adverb “just” here is stressing that there are more IDPs, who told the same. Verb “echoed”, used as reporting clause for the second quote, has similar semantic role.

The other ways of reporting include indirect speech and mainly has low level of boundary maintenance as indirect speech can reduce actual words said or even “transform and translate them into discourses which fit more easily with the reporter’s voice” (Fairclough, 1995b, p.81).

For instance, in the mainstream media texts analyzed, we can notice that sometimes journalists use free indirect reporting when they want to merge their perspective with perspectives of news actors, mainly government officials. This paragraph from the article MM1 is an example:

“The Azerbaijani government can solve all the problems of internally displaced people - said Gasanov. - And this is acknowledged by many international humanitarian organizations. But until the internally displaced, driven from their native lands in the result of Armenian aggression against Azerbaijan, did not return to their homes, the continued cooperation is necessary”. Currently, over 100 NGOs implement humanitarian projects in the country to assist refugees, from which 60 are international humanitarian organizations and more than 40 are local. Nevertheless, partnership requires mutual respect. We are strong enough not to accept help from those who intentionally forget that this project is carried out for people suffering from the aggression of Armenia against Azerbaijan, and those who do not consider it necessary to state it publicly.

The absence of quotation marks after the first sentence make it difficult for the reader to understand if the following sentences are also direct quotes of Ali Gasanov (Chairman of the State Committee on Refugees and IDP Issues) or it is journalist’s perspectives on the situation. By using this the author of the text implicitly makes his position closer to the position of government.

Boundary maintenance is also low in the case of narrative report of the speech act (NRSA) which “reports that speech acts have taken place without giving their full ideational meaning” (Fairclough, 1995a, 56). This way of reporting is often used to silence voices of one of the groups. By using this way of reporting reporter, on one hand, is mentioning a social actor as an active news participant, but on the other hand, is making the presence of this group and their voices secondary or almost unimportant. We can see that it was used several times in analyzed texts to silence IDP voices. For example, article MM11 is devoted to the official visit of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees António Guterres to Azerbaijan. As part of the visit, the Commissioner met IDPs relocated in hostels in one of the regions of the country. This fact is mentioned in the article; however, the conversation between

people and António Guterres is described like this: “At the same time, residents of the hostel told the UN High Commissioner about their problems and expressed hope for the fast settlement of the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict over Nagorno-Karabakh”. Here narrative report of speech act is used. It is mentioned that conversation about ‘problems’ took place, but there is no reference to what problems were brought by displaced and how they were discussed. Meanwhile, the same article includes three direct quotes from Chairman of State Committee on Refugees and IDP Issues Ali Gasanov.

The other issue that is important in the analysis of ‘discourse representation’ is ‘framing’. Fairclough writes (1995b, p.83):

Analysis of framing draws attention to how surrounding features of the reporting discourse can influence the way in which represented discourse is interpreted. Framing can be blatantly manipulative.

In case of mainstream media, there are several cases when the quote by itself does not have a clearly definable positive or negative connotation; however, the sentences that frame the quote lead the reader to the certain interpretation of what was said. One of the clearest examples can be found in the article MM1. There, the indirect quote of Ali Gasanov that ”by the end of the year the total amount spent for refugees and internally displaced persons over the years will reach \$4.5 billion” is framed by following statements: “Azerbaijan did and is doing everything possible for its affected citizens” (before the quote) and “as clear to everyone, this is a large sum even for such an economically strong state as ours” (right after the quote) . As we can see, the reader was provided with a ready interpretation of the statement. It was not mentioned during which period of time this sum was spent for IDP issues, however, reporter make the reader conclude that this funding was sufficient by framing it in this way.

However, not only quotes of government officials are framed in a way that it helps to direct the interpretation of the statements in a 'right', pro-government way. Thus, in the article MM13 we can find following framing of the indirect quote of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees António Guterres concerning UN Security Council resolution on withdrawal of Armenian troops from Azerbaijani territories: "Antonio Gutierrez avoided commenting on this inaction and passivity of the UN, but noticed that he knew what it meant to be a refugee, that it was a tragedy, as his friends had had similar experiences in Portugal". Firstly, the reporting clause "avoided" pointing out that the Commissioner intentionally did not give an answer to the statements about the resolution of the conflict. Secondly, the reporter implicitly is commenting the statements by himself defining position of UN as being "inactive" and "passive". Framing here helps to manipulate with the apolitical quote of Antonio Gutierrez and to create a certain interpretation of the problems touched upon.

Talking about other social actors whose voices can also be found in the mainstream media texts we need to mention experts, such as political scientists and lawyer. Their statements are appearing in five analyzed articles and are used for different purposes. In case of the articles MM9, MM12 and MM16, their direct and indirect quotes are used to balance the opinions about the events described and to give independent point of view. In article MM14 statements of the independent expert are used as the main topic. Still, in the article MM12 one of the political scientists is quoted several times to illustrate a point of view that visits of international officials do not change the situation with IDPs in Azerbaijan and that positive changes, such as construction of new houses is the "official Baku" merit, but not UN.

In case of alternative online media texts, the contrast in the balance of different voices compared to mainstream is pronounced quite strongly. We can notice that IDPs here are represented much wider. In many articles their voices play dominant role, for example, articles AM1, AM5 or AM7, where voices of at least three different displaced persons are given. Here the accounts and personal stories of

'real' people involved in the issues directly are forming the basis of the articles. This, as well as in the case with the mainstream media can partly be explained by genre. The texts analyzed are mostly posts from so-called 'journalistic weblogs'. They differ from traditional journalistic texts by more prominent visibility of an author in a story and, as a result, more personal style, less focused on facts (Domingo and Heinonen, 2008, p.11). Thus, these kinds of texts are usually more concerned with 'human' stories and voices of 'ordinary' people, rather than officials. Moreover, very often bloggers write about their personal experiences and give the accounts of people they managed to get access to and this group of people rarely includes officials. This can be a reason not only for higher visibility of IDP voices in texts ('ordinary' people), but also for the fact that voices of high ranked officials, such as Chairman of State Committee on Refugees and IDP (who appeared in majority of mainstream media texts), do not play a major role in texts anymore. Instead voices of lower level officials, such as local policemen or city council officials are given. Furthermore, in analyzed texts generic and impersonal reference to the 'government' as a whole is more common, that can be explained by the fact that secondary information, taken from official sources or even mainstream media texts, was used. In case of news sections of NGOs (AM11-AM15) we can see the same tendency. Voices of civil society are more visible now while they were almost completely silent in mainstream media texts. Voices of the rest of the groups are used less, but that is probably connected to their availability for NGO newsmakers.

As we noticed earlier, IDPs got much more space for voice here than in the mainstream media. In a lot of cases they are quoted directly and usually not just one person is cited, but several. For instance, in the text AM 13, which describes collapse of one of IDP hostels, we can find direct quotes of four different residents of the hostel, while the text AM 7 consists only of three personal stories of IDPs with short introduction of people whose stories are represented. The other ways of reporting are used less often, that allows us to assume that in the case of IDP voices boundary maintenance is quite high, thus the authors of the texts try to keep the border between

their own accounts and experiences of IDPs more clear. However, there are several exceptions from this assumption mostly in the cases where texts are more personal in nature and where the authors used narrative report of speech act as a way of reporting and generalizing noun to describe the group whose voice is represented. For example, the text AM2 is describing impressions of the author from his visit of IDP village. He writes, "Residents call the village "Yeni Khojavend", which means new Khojavend, but all of them know that this is their temporary place of leaving, and they will return to their ancestral lands, which are currently occupied by Armenia". Here we can see rather summarized author's impression about opinions circulating in the village. Moreover, we cannot be sure that it is not a solely his own opinion given as the statement from IDPs. The same can be said about the article AM 3 that is analyzing IDP situation in general. Here is one of the quotes reports as a narrative report of speech act: "Many [IPDs] believe that the only way to improve their lives is to return back home". By giving the quote in this way author from the one side wants to point out that it is not his own opinion, but opinion of many IDPs, from the other side it is hard to understand if this is a truly IDPs account or it is what the author think they 'believe'.

Government officials are the second most visible social actors in alternative online media texts analyzed. However, as we noticed earlier voices of high political figures are losing its prominence. The range of voices of governmental officials becomes broader instead and includes local officials and representatives of different political structures. They are quoted in different ways and it is hard to find any specific pattern here, however, we can tell that boundary maintenance in this case is high. The authors of almost all texts include statements of governmental officials to clarify the situation and get an official point of view; however, they make a clear boundary between their discourses and official discourses. For instance, in the text AM 13 we can see several direct and indirect quotes of the Head of Terter police department. However, all of them are given in a very concrete, accurate manner with the goal to provide the reader with a factual information about the events described

(clashes between IDPs and locals). The author's attitude and his own interpretation of events are hard to distinguish in both: framing of the quotes and the way he uses indirect reporting.

Civil society appears in alternative media texts more often than in the mainstream media. Of course, one of the reasons is that part of the texts was taken from news blocks of NGOs websites. However, it is worth noticing, than these texts include voices of different NGOs, not the ones on which web pages texts were published. Furthermore, civil society voices got more space in blogs too, thus we can conclude that in general civil society becomes news participant in internet more often than in the mainstream media that were not interested so much in this social actor. Representatives of different NGOs are quoted mostly by using direct and indirect reporting. Inclusion of their perspectives helps to make presence and role of civil society in the solution of the IDP problem more visible.

The last point in the analysis of 'discourse representation' that we want to focus on is the analysis of framing of different voices in alternative online media texts. As well as in the case with mainstream media framing here is highly manipulative. Nevertheless, if in mainstream media texts framing was used mostly to direct the interpretation of the quote in the 'right', often pro-government way, here the motives for manipulation are different as the discourses in texts are more broad. The difference in discourses in the mainstream and alternative media texts will be discussed in the details in the second part of the analysis; however, we will still provide few examples where framing was used in a manipulative way.

The text AM 12 is focused on the problem of participation of IDPs in the formation of municipalities. The opinion of one of civil society leaders here is framed like this: "M.Zulfigarly pointed out the "grounds" for non-participation of internally displaced persons in municipal elections". The statement of another representative of civil society in the next paragraph is given in the following way: "Gadir Nasirov in his speech criticized the remarks about the fact that displaced persons were settled in different locations across the country, and that this fact supposedly contradicts with

the demands of the above-mentioned article of the Electoral Code in the "permanent residence" part". Here, the use of the noun 'grounds' in quotes, as well as choice of the verb 'criticized' and inclusion of the adverb 'supposedly' aim to frame the quotes in a way, that helps to highlight that there are no strong reasons why IDPs cannot take part in municipal elections. Thus, the reader's understanding of the issue is guided in a certain direction.

All these can lead us to the conclusion that alternative media texts are less politicized and that they are trying to provide the reader with a more objective analysis of the situation by giving them not only personal accounts of IDPs, but also including a wider range of official voices as well as voices of civil society groups.

### **5.2.2. Linguistic analysis of IDPs as social actor**

After the intertextual analysis, which is one of the ways to make the analysis on the level of discursive practice, we will apply an analysis of social actors on the text level or first dimension in Fairclough CDA approach. We will focus only on the analysis of IDPs, as this group is the main object of our research. Some general findings about the representation of this social actor were already mentioned in the intertextual analysis; however, we need to notice that social actors appear in the texts not only through intertextuality. For example, in the sentence "Few years ago Near Baku, close to the village Ramana, the village for refugees was built", the word 'refugees' points out on the social actor. Thus, the more detailed linguistic analysis of IDPs is needed in order to understand how exactly this group is represented.

Fairclough distinguishes several variables available for the analysis of social actors (Fairclough, 2003, pp.145-146). From all the variables, the following five were chosen as the most appropriate ones for our research:



- Inclusion/exclusion - which actors are included/excluded in the text; also take account of two types of exclusion: suppression, when actor is not in the text at all and backgrounding, when the actor is mentioned somewhere in the text, but having to be inferred in one or more places;
- Grammatical role – analyzing if the social actor realized as a participant in a clause (e.g. actor, affected), within a circumstance, or as a possessive noun or pronoun;
  - 'Activated'/'passivated' – defining if the social actor is the one who does things or the one who is affected or beneficiary;
  - Named/classified – determining if the actor is represented by name or in terms of class or category (individually or as a group);
  - Specific/generic – in cases where social actors are classified, they can be represented specifically or generically

The analysis of the mainstream media texts shows that in many cases IDPs are excluded from the texts as active news participants and their role in the articles is 'backgrounded'. Inclusion/exclusion variable is strongly connected to 'activated'/'passivated' one, as the actor that is 'backgrounded' is often also 'passivated'. We can observe that in many articles analyzed. There are just several examples from the texts: “new settlements for the displaced were built”, “Azerbaijan is doing everything possible for its affected citizens”, “NGOs implementing humanitarian projects in the country to assist refugees”, “if refugee is provided with an apartment”. In all occasions, IDPs are appearing as an affected actor on the background. Here we also can see the connection with grammatical role variable. In the cases when IDP's grammatical role in the sentence is realized within a circumstance (“answering the questions of internally displaced”, “were taken by IDPs”) or as a possessive noun/pronoun (“their lands”, ”IDP's problems”, “destiny of displaced”), IDPs as a social actor is always 'passivated' and in a lot of cases 'backgrounded'.

There are several cases when IDPs are named (articles MM4, MM9, MM15) and, thus, they are also represented as active participants of the events. However, in majority of the mainstream articles IDPs are classified; and in this case the generic representation through the full or partial use of the collocation “internally displaced persons” or through the use of the noun “refugees” is the most common type of representation. However, there are examples of other collocations that also represent IDPs generically, such as “people in difficult position”, “the destitute”, “the most vulnerable category of citizens”, “refugees on their own land”, “fellow citizens, exiled from their homelands”, “people, affected by Armenian aggression”, etc. We can see that all of these generic collocations characterize IDPs as being in need, powerless and ‘out of place’. As it was noticed in the background of the study, this kind of representation is typical for IDPs in media texts, and as we can see Azerbaijani media is not an exception. However, in our case this representation also has a specific meaning in the context, but we will elaborate on this in socio-cultural analysis part.

We distinguished earlier that in the alternative online media texts IDPs got more space for voices and that in a lot of texts they are quoted directly. As a result, the level of inclusion of this social actor in this type of texts is higher than in the mainstream media. There are still cases, where IDPs are ‘backgrounded’, however, just a few (AM11, AM14, AM15). IDPs in many texts are both ‘activated’ and ‘passivated’. They are represented, as the ones doing actions (“men around 50s named Sabir remembers”, “she [IDP woman] was a prisoner”, “families of IDPs are complaining about the absence of governmental support”), as well as the ones affected by the actions of the others (“government decided to resettle refugees there”, “resistance to integration harms children from families of displaced”, “the harsh conditions of living influences them”).

As for grammatical role of IDPs in a sentence, they are frequently realized as participants in a clause, due to their more active inclusion into the text. Besides, another tendency that differs in the mainstream and alternative texts can be found.

Possessive nouns and pronouns are used more in alternative media texts and are combined with higher number of different nouns. For example, collocations such as “their rights”, “IDP’s integration”, “property of displaced”, “their complains”, which we could not find in the mainstream media texts, appears here quite often. It can be explained by difference in discourses that are included into the text (discourses will be discussed in the next part of the analysis).

Finally, again as a result of more active inclusion of IDPs, more often they are named or classified specifically. Generic classification is also common, however, it varies to certain extend in its nature. Collocation and words representing IDPs as powerless and needy still can be found, but often more unbiased and less emotional descriptions are used: “citizens of the country/village”, “people”, “they”, “this persons”, etc. It can be explained by the attempt of the authors of online alternative texts to see the situation more objective and represent displaced not as a victims, but rather as an active social group. There are also several texts where generic nouns “others” and “strangers” are used. Representation of IDPs in this way is appearing only in online media texts and we think that it is important, as these two images embody one of the most difficult problems of Azerbaijani displaced – integration.

### **5.2.3. Analysis of discourses on the textual level**

In order to determine the general frameworks or the angles from which IDP issue is represented, analysis of discourses in the level of text will be applied first. Fairclough define discourses (in its narrow sense) as “ways of representing aspects of the world” (Fairclough, 2003, p.124). For him different discourses are different perspectives to the world, and the dominance of one discourses and silencing of the other depend on social and political relations between people spreading these discourses (Ibid, p.124). It is possible to determine different discourses during the

textual analysis by identifying “the main parts of the world (including areas of social life) which are represented — the main `themes” and “the particular perspective or angle or point of view from which they are represented” (Ibid, p.129). The difference between discourses can be noticed in the use of vocabulary, semantic relations (synonymy, hyponymy, antonymy) between words, collocations, and other various grammatical features.

After the linguistic analysis of all texts, four main discourses were determined: ‘paternalistic’ discourse, ‘return’ discourse, ‘indigence’ discourse, and ‘integration’ discourse. Further, we will discuss linguistic markers of all four discourses.

‘Paternalistic’ discourse represents IDPs from the point of view of Azerbaijani government merits for IDPs. It is assuming that government is the one concerned the most about IDPs and that it is taking sufficient care of this group. In several texts IDPs are metaphorically compared with a “burden”, meaning that care of IDPs is difficult and onerous task for the government. However, the attempts of Azerbaijani government to solve this task is described by the idiom “do one’s best” (“Azerbaijan did it’s best for its affected citizens”; “The country did it’s best to alleviate their suffering”) in several articles. The adopted government IDP policy is defined by idioms “turn for the better”, “step forward”, as well as collocations “enormous work”, “high- level care”, “big progress”, “significant role”. It is emphasized that it helped IDPs to get “well-appointed house” and “worthy life” and that they “cannot complain”. Action verbs, such as “did”, “improved”, “decided”, “implemented”, “controlled” which help to promote achievements, are also quite common in this case.

‘Return’ discourse is another dominant topic in analyzed texts. This discourse can be characterized by the assumptions that IDPs want to return back to their original place of living and that this is the best way to decide their problems. There are two main linguistic signs associated with this discourse. The first one is the use of “return” as a verb or noun and derivative from it. When it is used as a verb it is

usually followed by modal verbs “should”, “must”, “have to” or phrase “it is necessary to” that are stressing the necessity of ‘return’. The second one is the nouns “home”, “land”, “homeland” and collocations and idioms semantically resembling with them, such as “areas of origin”, “the old country”, “heart and home”. The adjective ‘temporary’ in relation to new houses and places of residence also inheres in the discourse. Nominalization is another linguistic feature. It is often used to describe what happened to IDPs homeland (“occupation”) and what is needed for displaced to return back (“liberation”). IDPs in this discourse are described as people who were “cut off from their lands”, “forced to flee” and “left their motherland”. The verbs used here are ones expressing the desire or future possibilities, for example, “dream”, “hope”, “wish”, “pray”, “believe”.

‘Indigence’ discourse is focusing on economic and social problems IDPs are facing. This discourse contests ‘paternalistic’ discourse as it does not expect a ‘big progress’ that Azerbaijani government achieved in solving IDP issues. Describing the current life of IDPs in Azerbaijan this discourse uses following nouns and collocations: “misery”, “discomfort”, “bad/unfit/poor conditions/houses”, “disastrous situation”, “limited access”, “lack of help”, “on the brink of beggary”. Idioms (“leave a lot to be desired”, “living in limbo”) and metaphors (IDP hostel as a “hell”) are also not rare and are intended to reinforce the impression of the reader about the difficulties IDPs meet. The same intention is persuaded when the verbs “huddle” and “torment” are chosen instead of neutral ‘live’ or ‘inhabit’. Displaced are presented here as a vulnerable group that needs “help” and “support”. Here it is worth noticing that nouns “help” and “support” are also used in ‘paternalistic’ discourse. However, their semantics is different. If in ‘paternalistic’ discourse these two nouns describe actual actions of the government, here they describe desired actions, something government still has to provide IDPs with.

‘Integration’ discourse, in turn, partly challenges ‘return’ discourse, as it does not see that conflict can be resolved in the nearest future and suggests that IDPs integration into the Azerbaijani society is problematic, but necessary. The most

obvious indicator of this discourse is noun 'integration' by itself. On one hand, the focus here is on the negative consequences of non-integration of IDPs who are defined as "others", "strangers", "aliens", that "live apart" and "isolated themselves". To describe the result of this nouns "obstacles" and "harm" are used. On the other hand, the discourse describes possible reasons why integration is "impossible" using nominalization and stating that "integration" can be seen as "concession" or "renunciation" [of homeland]. It also states that "full integration" is "necessary/important" because return of IDPs to their places of origin is an "uncertain perspective", "bleak prospect" and "clinging to the dream". Finally, integration in this discourse is associated with "new life" and "future".

#### **5.2.4. Discourses on the level of discursive practice**

Now we will turn to the interdiscursive analysis, as one of its concerns is how different discourses are articulated together. This will be done in order to provide the analysis of discourses on the level of discursive practice. Fairclough points out that selection of particular discourses, foregrounding and backgrounding of them is not ideologically free. He writes: "when different discourses come into conflict and particular discourses are contested, what is centrally contested is the power of these preconstructed semantic systems to generate particular visions of the world" (Fairclough, 2003, p.130). Thus, interdiscursive analysis also allows to see power distribution among social actors involved into the IDP issues in Azerbaijan and to define which perspectives of which actors are dominant and which are subordinated.

As we determined earlier there are four main discourses in the chosen texts, which contest and conflict with each other. 'Paternalistic' discourse is the most dominant one in case of the mainstream media texts. Very often, it is combined with the 'return' discourse. In fact, the perspective that, in spite of big governmental

attempts to provide displaced with everything necessary, the only way to decide their problems is to return them back to their native lands, is the dominant one in mainstream media (MM1 – MM6, MM11, MM13). The ‘indigence’ discourse, which challenges the ‘paternalistic’ discourse ideas, appears only in several texts and its position is secondary (MM10, MM14, MM15). It is used mostly not to criticize government, but rather to state that problems exist and they need to be decided (solved?). In two out of three cases this discourse is combined with the ‘return’ discourse (MM10, MM15). In this texts the ‘bad living conditions’ of IDPs are recognized, however, the main stated reason of the problem is the Armenian occupation and, thus, the only way to decide the problem is to return displaced back. ‘Integration’ discourse in the mainstream media texts is completely excluded.

Alternative online media texts show another patterns. First, ‘paternalistic’ discourse is losing its prominence (included only into one text: AM1), while ‘indigence’ discourse becomes more dominant (AM3, AM4, AM6, AM13, AM14, AM15). Thus, now the position of the texts to the government achievements becomes more critical and IDP situation is represented as being still difficult and unsettled. At the same time ‘return’ discourse still takes an important place in texts, usually appearing alone, without combination with the other main discourses (AM1, AM2, AM7). Nevertheless, it is actively challenged by ‘integration’ discourse that was not found in any mainstream texts. Many alternative texts (AM3, AM5, AM9, AM10, AM12, AM14) put the question of integration forward, trying to tell that possibility of return is questionable and resistance of integration into the Azerbaijani society is making the situation worse. This discourse is also often used without combination with the other discourses, except texts AM3 and AM14, where ‘indigence’ discourse is added. Here poverty among displaced is seen as the main problem and more active integration of them into the society is seen as one of the possible solutions.

### **5.2.5. Selective sociocultural analysis**

One of the main goals of CDA is to see the relationship between texts and different contexts these texts are embedded into. The last level of Fairclough approach to CDA is the level of sociocultural practice. Exactly on this level, it is possible to analyze how texts are determined by contexts and how they constitute the creation of this context.

The background of our case study has a big importance. Political, social and economic situation in Azerbaijan, in general, and in relation to Azerbaijani IDPs, in particular, is the context that determined the distribution of voices of different social actors in the texts, as well as the ways these actors were represented and the choice and combination of particular discourses. Moreover, theoretical perspectives that we draw upon in the beginning can be incorporated here. For instance, as we noticed earlier Azerbaijan is the authoritarian presidential regime, where mass media is not free. The power is concentrated in the hands of the president and main political elites that control information in the newspapers, TV and radio. Thus, print press texts that we analyzed cannot be ideologically free and they aimed to reproduce perspectives that are important and favorable for the government. In this situation IDPs, as a marginalized, problematic group (or in Fraser words, counterpublic) are not able to get the access to mainstream media to raise their voices and tell their stories publicly. Government becomes the main actor that tells the society how IDPs and their situation should be perceived.

For instance, unresolved Nagorno-Karabakh conflict became the core political issue almost 20 years ago and still has not lost its prominence. It is the main sore point for the government, which is unsuccessfully trying to resolve the conflict for years. IDPs in this case are still viewed as a symbol of the Armenian aggression and their hard living conditions are presented as one of the main reasons why the conflict should be resolved as soon as possible. The government is trying to promote



that the only way to eliminate suffering of displaced is to return them back to their places of origin. That is why the ‘return’ discourse plays such an important role in the analyzed mainstream media texts. At the same time, IDPs still constitute around 7% of the population and they are still one of the most vulnerable groups in Azerbaijani society. It is obvious that government cannot ignore their problems completely. Instead, political elites try to get as much political support and publicity as possible from the projects aimed to improve IDPs conditions. These attempts determine dominance of ‘paternalistic’ discourse in the mainstream media texts. It is emphasized that government, while trying to resolve the conflict, is ‘taking care’ of IDPs and ‘does its best’ to provide them a decent life. It is worth to noticing, that these two obviously ‘pro-government’ discourses often appear in the quotes of government officials. Taking into consideration political situation in Azerbaijan there is nothing surprising that exactly this social group got more space in the mainstream media. Their quotes are used to spread the official point of view about the situation.

At the same time, political context also can explain us why civil society voices and, more importantly, voices of IDPs are silenced. Their perspectives usually do not coincide with the official ones and, in the situation of not free media; their critique of the government actions is often simply not able to pass censorship. Even when voices of IDPs are included into the mainstream media texts, they either support official discourses or play secondary role. IDPs, meanwhile, are often ‘backgrounded’ and ‘passivated’, being represented as an affected group that is powerless and in the need for the state help. This position is also partly motivated by economic, political and social contexts in Azerbaijan. Representation of IDPs, as a ‘passive victim’ diminishes the possibility of IDPs to unite as a group and become more active in political arena.

Internet in Azerbaijan is partly free and as a result, it is the less controlled and censored by government among the other media channels. Taking into account this context, we assume that materials about such a sensitive for Azerbaijan issue as internal displacement, which are published in internet, should be more unbiased,

critical and comprehensive. They also should provide more space for groups that usually do not get an opportunity to be directly represented anywhere else. Analysis of the alternative online media texts, which are concerned with IDP issues, confirms it. First, IDPs are represented differently. More often, they are included and 'activated', thus becoming the main actors in the events described. They are losing their main image of 'passive victim', by being described by more objective and less emotional vocabulary. They are also quoted more often, usually directly, so their visibility in the texts is increasing. The last point is also true for the civil society - the social actor that, in general, uses internet as the most available channel for the distribution of information.

All these have an influence on the composition of discourses, which are used in this type of texts. For instance, many represented IDP opinions still include 'return' discourse. That can be explained by the fact that displaced are strongly connected with their native land even after almost 20 years; and that many of them truly want to return back, as soon as they will get an opportunity. At the same time 'paternalistic' discourse is not supported at the same level. Without censorship people openly talk about their problems and complain about lack of help and support. As a result, 'indigence' discourse becomes one of the most dominant in the alternative online media texts and counterbalances 'paternalistic' discourse. In the meantime, 'integration' discourse, as well as 'indigence' discourse, also finds its way here. It states that integration is something that can facilitate part of IDP problems. In the mainstream media, this point of view was completely silenced, because political elites fear that, if IDPs are more integrated into the society, they will not want to return back and, as a result, Azerbaijan will lose a very effective instrument of pressure in the process of conflict resolution. Alternative online media are not focused only on governmental perspectives and are not strongly controlled. Therefore, they have a possibility to publish materials suggesting that integration is necessary, mostly because perspectives of conflict resolution in the near future are uncertain.

## 6. Conclusion

There were always dominating and subordinated groups in the society, however the question of struggle, which these group use to change the situation and gain equality, never got such a prominence in the political and academic discussion as nowadays. It is connected with globalization and rise of the importance of topics like identity and human rights. It is assumed that every group can potentially start struggle for recognition, if certain conditions are met. The access of the group to different channels, which help them to spread their perspectives on the situation and how changes are possible, is one of the main conditions for the beginning of the struggle. Media is the most important channel here. Images of the group that mass media spreads influence the way group members think about themselves and their problems and, as a result, effect group's ability to unite and start advocating their rights more actively. In democratic societies, where public sphere is functioning and media is open and unbiased, groups, ideally, can get access to media more easily. However, in the case of authoritarian regime, like in Azerbaijan, media is controlled and censored by the political elites. Very often only stories, which support or, at least, do not openly criticize governmental point of view, can appear on the pages of newspapers and on TV. Internet and alternative media in this situation become the only objective source of information as well as the only channel where marginalized groups can talk about their problems and concerns.

For this thesis, internally displaced persons in Azerbaijan were chosen as a group that can potentially start struggle of recognition. Using Critical Discourse Analysis we analyzed how this group is represented in Azerbaijani mainstream and alternative online media and if they have space for their voice. We were looking for differences in representations and after our analysis was completed, some of them were found.

As it was expected, mainstream texts that we analyzed mainly silenced or backgrounded voices of IDPs. The pro-governmental points of view dominated. The blame for the current disastrous situation was put on Armenia. The return was presented as the only way to effectively decide (solve) the issue. At the same time, IDPs were represented as ‘passive victims’, help recipients who should fully rely on their government. By manipulating with this image, two goals could be reached. First, government gets political scores (points) for ‘taking care of the most vulnerable group of the population’. Secondly and most importantly, this way of representing creates the interpretative framework that prevents displaced from the actions towards greater recognition. They are convinced that political elites already ‘do their best’ and that there is no other way for them to improve their lives rather than to return back to their native lands. It means that there is nothing more they can do at this moment. Thus, we can make a conclusion that framework of interpretation in the mainstream media is not favorable for Azerbaijani IDPs to start struggle for recognition.

If we look at the alternative online media texts, we see slightly different situation. Materials published in internet were obviously less controlled and censored by the officials. It allowed displaced raising their voices more openly and actively. Here they are still sometimes seen as ‘victims’, however, less passive. More often, they are represented as active participants of their own life. Meanwhile, return is not the only way out of the situation of protracted displacement. Integration is suggested as an alternative. Among other things, integration should also embrace more actions from the government aimed to improve living conditions of IDPs and to include them more actively into the political and social life of the modern Azerbaijani society. In the alternative media texts we can hardly find a call for this marginalized group to start struggle for recognition, however, we can tell that the way IDPs are represented there is able to create a framework of interpretation that will help them to realize that they need to fight for their rights more actively. The main reason is that many analyzed texts take the so-called ‘actor oriented perspective’, which sees the group also as agents or active subjects, “with the capacity to process social experience and

to invent new ways of coping with life, even under extreme coercion” (Brun, 2005, p.15). When IDPs are seen by others as a group that can unite and act, they can do it in reality. It is the first step towards the struggle for recognition.

The main practical conclusion of the research is that ‘frameworks of interpretation’, which are formed by media discourses, have a crucial importance in struggles for recognition. Meanwhile, other conclusions are rather hypothetical, as we realize that, even if it sounds good in theory, it is hard to apply in practice. Azerbaijan is still the authoritarian presidential republic and internet is still used only by a very small percent of the population. Thus, the probability of the actual struggle for recognition to begin in the nearest future is questionable.

## **7. Executive summary**

Internally displaced persons are marginalized, subaltern group worldwide. They are often left without considerable assistance and support from their national governments and international community. Azerbaijan is not an exception. The displaced population there is among the highest in the world. This people live in the situation of protracted displacement for almost 20 years since the conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan over the region of Nagorno-Karabakh. This research sees certain possibilities for this group to start to advocate their rights more actively. It states that for this certain conditions are needed and tries to determine if these conditions are met in Azerbaijan.

The research begins with an introduction to the problem and general explanation of why internal displacement is important worldwide and in Azerbaijan. Further, it is suggested that certain representation of IDPs as a social group is needed in order for them to unite and start struggle for recognition. The discourses around the issue circulating in the media play a crucial role here by forming ‘frameworks of interpretation’ that can be favorable or unfavorable for struggle for recognition to begin. Based on this assumption, the main research question of the study proposed: “Are the ‘frameworks of interpretation’ in the mainstream and alternative media favorable for Azerbaijani IDPs to start struggle for recognition or not?”

After, some concepts and notions used in the introduction part are clarified in the theoretical framework part. This part also presents an overview of several theories necessary for the meaningful understanding of the research topic. Theory of recognition and notion of struggle for recognition lie in the basis of theoretical explanations of the raised problem. Being recognized means being noticed, respected and identified in a certain way by the others. Here stories that individuals tell about themselves and the stories the others tell about them are very important. Recognition

is the necessary condition for human's moral subjectivity and agency. Some social groups are subaltern; other groups are dominant. When dominant groups acknowledge subaltern groups not appropriately or adequately, subaltern groups find themselves in the situation of non-recognition or misrecognition. It can force these groups to start struggle for recognition. In order to do that, people need to realize that their 'hurt feelings' are not personal circumstances but social injustices. For this they need certain 'frameworks of interpretation', that are formed by stories and narratives about certain group of people that are circulating publicly through different types of texts. Therefore, in order for groups to gain recognition, they should have a 'voice', an ability to exchange stories about themselves. Nevertheless, to get a 'voice' they should be visible in the society they belong, literally or metaphorically by means of media. In this sense, the ability to speak through the media and discourses circulating there become a very important part in struggles for recognition. Concept of public sphere is also explained in the theoretical framework, since it is important as an arena, where struggles for recognition are taking place. The concept of counterpublics is also drawn upon, since subordinated groups tend to form alternative publics, which are able to formulate alternative 'frameworks of interpretation' of specific issue and, thus, be an engine for struggles of recognition. Counterpublics, in general, rarely can communicate their ideas or counterdiscourses to wider public without being restricted by dominant groups. As a result, they try to find communication means that are less controlled. Alternative media and internet are vital here, especially in the cases of authoritarian states like Azerbaijan, where dominant political groups control mainstream media.

After the theoretical explanations, the methodology part follows. Thirty-one texts from Russian language mainstream and alternative online media, which directly concerned with IDP issues, were chosen for the study. In order to answer the main research question, Critical Discourse Analysis in understanding of Fairclough was performed. The focus was made on the several types of the analysis described by Fairclough in the frame of CDA. Firstly, the intertextual analysis helped to identify

main social actors, which got voice in the texts, and showed, which actors are silenced and which are dominant. Afterward, analysis of representation of IDPs as social actor was applied. Secondly, the main discourses (semantic topics) were separated and interdiscursive analysis was used to determine how different discourses are combined in different texts. Finally, the selective socio-cultural analysis, based on context of the case study, helped to explanation of the main patterns of the texts found in previous stages.

Analysis showed the difference in discourses around IDPs in mainstream media and alternative online media texts and explained this difference through the lenses of political, economic and social contexts in Azerbaijan. The mainstream media was considered to be highly controlled and censored by the Azerbaijani government, while internet was seen as a relatively free space. It was determined that mainstream texts silenced or backgrounded voices of IDPs and put official, government points of view forward. Alternative online media texts gave more space for voice for IDPs and civil society representatives. The topics and angles of representation in mainstream media were mostly pro-governmental. 'Return' and 'paternalistic' discourses dominated, making a special emphasis on the role of Azerbaijani political elites in the support and protection of IDPs and favoring return as the only way to decide the problem in long term. At the same time, 'indigence' and 'integration' discourses, which appeared in alternative media, challenged 'return' and 'paternalistic' discourses. These texts highlighted poor conditions of IDPs and the necessity in their more active integration into the Azerbaijani society. Lastly, IDPs in mainstream media texts were represented as 'passive victims', which need care and support of the government, while alternative media texts often described displaced from 'actor oriented perspective', as more active subjects. The differences between the discourses led to the conclusion that frameworks of interpretation in the mainstream media are not favorable for Azerbaijani IDPs to start struggle for recognition, although representation of IDPs in alternative online media is more favorable for it. The research question was answered.



## 8. References

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## 9. Appendix

### 9.1. List of analyzed materials

#### Mainstream Media Texts

- MM1. *Skazhi komu i za chto pomogaesh'*, Azerbaidjanskije Izvestiya, 18.06.2011
- MM2. *Prinyaty dopolnitel'nye mery po uluchsheniyu zhilishchno-bytovykh uslovii vyzhdenykh pereselentsev*, Azerbaidjanskije Izvestiya, 19.02.2010
- MM3. *Prezident Il'kham Aliev sovershil poezdku v Yevlakhskii, Fizulinskii i Agdamskii raiony*, Azerbaidjanskije Izvestiya, 13.11.2010
- MM4. *Nuzhno, chtoby ves' mir znal ob etom*, Azerbaidjanskije Izvestiya, 04.02.2010
- MM5. *Problema bezhentsev obedinila oppozitsiyu i vlast' Obshchimi usilyami oni pomogut im obresti stabil'nost'*, Nedelya, 21.03.2010
- MM6. *Velichie dukha naroda Gnev bezhentsev protiv armyan grozit smesti tekh buntom*, Nedelya, 16.04.2010
- MM7. *Vsemirnyii bank zaboritsya o nashikh bezhentsakh*, Nedelya, 25.11.2011
- MM8. *U bezhentsev novosel'e*, Nedelya, 05.03.2010
- MM9. *Vynuzhdennyye pereselentsy trebuyut vydachi kompensatsii. "Gosudarstvo obyazano obespechit' ikh vsem nyeobkhodimym"*, - schitaet politolog, Zerkalo, 07.03.2012
- MM10. *Bezhentsam vnov' pridetsya pereselyat'sya*, Zerkalo, 08.03.2011
- MM11. *"V rezhime ozhidaniya"*, Zerkalo, 19.05.2011
- MM12. *Vlast' ne derzhit svoikh obeshchaniy*, Zerkalo, 16.05.2012
- MM13. *V Azerbaidzhan pribyl Verkhovnyi komissar OON po delam bezhentsev*, Echo, 19.05.2011
- MM14. *Bezhentsy lishayutsya razlichnykh posobiy*, Echo, 15.01.2011
- MM15. *"Ya postradala ot armyanskoi okkupatsii"*, Echo, 23.04.2012
- MM16. *Gosudarstvo dolzhno vyplatit' kompensatsii grazhdanam, ch'i doma v 1992-1993 gg. byli zakhvacheny bezhentsami i vynuzhdennymi pereselentsami*, Echo, 05.03.2011

#### Alternative Media Texts

- AM1. *Azerbaidzhanskije i gruzinskije bezhentsy i fenomen ikh stremleniya k mirnomu resheniyu sushchestvuyushchikh konfliktov*, <http://krugjournalistiki.blogspot.se>, 10.02.2011
- AM2. *Budni Khodzhavenda*, <http://gulustanblog.com>, 30.03.2011

- AM3. *Zhizn' v podveshennom sostoyanii: bedstvennoe polozhenie vynuzhdennykh pereselentsev v Azerbaidzhane*, <http://caucasusedition.net/ru/blog>, 14.11.2010
- AM4. «Gyunesqli» - *sushchii ad v byvshem rayu Sovetskogo Soyuz*, <http://allahveranov.livejournal.com>, 12.11.2010
- AM5. *Azerbaidzhan: Peremeshchennye litsa Karabakha stalkivayutsya s integratsionnoi dilemmoi*, <http://djin2003.livejournal.com>, 24. 09. 2010
- AM6. *Doch' voini*, <http://jamalitto.livejournal.com>, 19.03.2011
- AM7. *Chto delat' dal'she? Voevat', ubivat' drug druga?! Ved' eto ne logichno!*, <http://systemity.livejournal.com>, 22.04.2011
- AM8. *V Tertere proshli stolknoveniya mezhdru voennymi, mestnymi zhitelyami i politsiyei*, <http://anti-friz.livejournal.com>, 11. 10.2010
- AM9. *Koshmar voini*, <http://www.kavkaz-uzel.ru/blogs>, 06.06.2010
- AM10. *Lichnaya istoriya: Voina i Pereselenie*, <http://blog.oneworld.am>, 09.06.2011
- AM11. *Mezhdunarodnye organizatsii dolzhny perestat' zakryvat' glaza na problemu bezhentsev v Azerbaidzhane, zayavlyayut v Baku*, <http://www.ihr-az.org>, 10.02.2012
- AM12. *Problema uchastiya vynuzhdennykh pereselentsev v formirovanii munitsipalitetov*, [www.azerbaijanfoundation.az](http://www.azerbaijanfoundation.az), 09.01.2012
- AM13. *V Azerbaidzhane zhiteli razrushennogo obshchezhitia zayavlyayut ob otsutstvii gospodderzhki*, <http://www.kavkaz-uzel.ru>, 03.09.2011
- AM14. *Cvishe 400 tic'ach vynuzhdennykh pereselentsev nuzhdayuts'a v notmal'nom zhil'e*, <http://www.mediaforum.az> , 22.02.2012
- AM15. *Opublikovan doklad "Krizisnoi gruppy" po problemam peremeshchennykh lits v Azerbaidzhane*, <http://humanrights-az.org>, 28.02.2012



## 9.2. Table 1

### Voices of social actors in mainstream media

<i>Text N<sup>2</sup></i>	<i>Group of news actors (social actor) represented</i>	<i>News actors represented</i>	<i>Way of reporting</i>
MM1	Governmental officials	Chairman of State Committee on Refugees and IDP Issues Ali Gasanov	IR DR (2) FIR
	Other	It is said (by people)	NRSA
MM2	Government officials	Deputy chairman the Fund of Social development of IDPs Dovlethan Dovletkhanov	IR (2) FIR
MM3	Government officials	President of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev	NRSA DR (2) IR
MM4	Government officials	Chairman of State Committee on Refugees and IDP Issues Ali Gasanov	IR
	IDPs	All, whom journalists met	IR
		Gasan Mehtiev	DR
		Gudrat Guseinov	DR
Other	Euronews channel	NRSA (2)	
MM5	Governmental officials	President of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev	NRSA
		Chairman of State Committee on Refugees and IDP Issues Ali Gasanov	FIR DR (2)
		Chairmen of 'Musavat' party Arif Gadzhila	DR
		Chairman of Democratic party of Azerbaijan Sardar Dzhahalogli	DR
		Chairman of Party of National Front Ali Kerimli	DR
		State Committee on Refugees and IDP Issues	IR
MM6	IDPs	Group of residents of front-line villages	NRSA IR DR
	Government officials	Chairman of State Committee on Refugees and IDP Issues Ali Gasanov	DR (3) IR

<sup>2</sup> According to the Annex 9.1 "The list of analyzed materials"

	Other	Rumors	IR
MM7	no	no	no
MM8	Government officials	State Committee on Refugees and IDP Issues	NRSA
MM9	Government officials	Representative of Press Department of State Committee on Refugees and IDP Issues Anara	IR DR
	IDPs	Participant of protest Aloysat Sadygly	IR
		Protestants	NRSA (2) DR (3)
	Experts	Political scientist Zardusht Alizade	IR (2) DR (3)
MM10	Government officials	Chairman of State Committee on Refugees and IDP Issues Ali Gasanov	FIR DR (3) IR (6)
	International organizations	UN	NRSA
MM11	Governmental officials	Chairman of State Committee on Refugees and IDP Issues Ali Gasanov	DR (3) IR
	IDPs	Residents of the hostel	NRSA
		One of IDPs	NRSA
	International organizations	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees António Guterres	IR (3) DR (4)
MM12	Governmental officials	State Committee on Refugees and IDP Issues	IR FIR
		Chairman of State Committee on Refugees and IDP Issues Ali Gasanov	DR IR (2)
		Press Secretary of State Committee on Refugees and IDP Issues Elchin Gadimov	IR (2) DR
	Experts	Political Scientist Zardusht Alizade	DR (3) IR (2)
	Other	Group of citizens	NRSA
MM13	Governmental officials	Chairman of State Committee on Refugees and IDP Issues Ali Gasanov	NRSA
	International organizations	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees António Guterres	DR (2) IR (3) NRSA
	IDPs	One of IDPs	IR (2) FIR

	Expert	Political Scientist Fihret Sadyhov	IR (2) DR (2)
MM14	Governmental officials	Ministry of Justice	IR
	Experts	Independent expert, Chairmen of the Center of Economic and Social Development Vugar Bairamov	DR (4) IR (4)
MM15	IDPs	Rasmiya Gasanova	IR (3) FIR DR (6)
	Civil Society	Chairmen of Charity fund Inamla ireli Nigiar Rustamova	IR (4) DR (3)
	Other	Doctors	DR
MM16	Governmental officials	Chairman of State Committee on Refugees and IDP Issues Ali Gasanov	DR (3) IR (2)
	Experts	Lawyer Elchin Gambarov	DR (5) IR (4)
	Civil society	Deputy Chairman of the Soldiers' Mothers Society of Azerbaijan Taisiya Gordeeva	DR (2)

### 9.3. Table 2

#### Voices of social actors in alternative online media

<i>Text N</i>	<i>Group of news actors (social actor) represented</i>	<i>News actors represented</i>	<i>Way of reporting</i>
AM1	IDPs	Man around 50 Sabir	DR
		Grandma Nisa	DR
		All people (refugees)	NRSA (2)
		One refugee	DR
AM2	IDPs	Villagers	NRSA
		Male population of the village	DR
AM3	IDPs	Many (IDPs)	NRSA
	Governmental officials	Government	NRSA
AM4	Governmental officials	Deputy head of the IDPs and refugees issues department of city council of Mingyachevir Mail Guseinov	DR IR
		The head of hostel Zakir Dzhafarov	DR IR
	Civil Society	Head of Public Relations and Media department of Confederation of Trade Unions Nazim Azamirov	DR IR
		President of EPGI Azer Allahveranov	DR (2) IR (2) FIR
AM5	IDPs	One of the teachers	DR
		Principal Chimnas Terimova	IR (2) FIR DR
		Principal Agayar Ismailov	IR DR
		Group of teenagers	DR
		One of youngsters	DR
	Civil Society	Head of The Center Of Innovations in Education Elmina Kazimzade	DR IR NRSA

		Head of humanitarian fund “Buta” Nazim Ibadov	DR (2)
AM6	IDPs	IDP woman Mehriban	DR (4)
	Other	Azerbaijani journalist Shain Gadzhiev	DR NRSA
		Doctors	NRSA
AM7	IDPs	Refugee from Shusha Kerim Kerimli	DR
		Refugee journalist Asaf Guliev	DR
		Azerbaijani Shovket Zulfugarova	DR
AM8	Government officials	Police sources	IR (2)
		One of junior police officers	DR
	Other	Resident of the city Elman Yakubov	IR (2) DR (2)
		Witnesses	IR
		Residents of Terter (locals)	IR (3)
AM9	Governmental officials	Head of police department of Terter	DR (3) IR NRSA
	Other	Locals	NRSA
AM10	IDPs	My family (author's)	NRSA
	Other	Local Azerbaijani	NRSA
AM11	Governmental officials	Representative of the State Committee on Refugees and IDP Issues Telman Mamedov	DR (2) NRSA IR (2) FIR
	Civil Society	Head of the Human Rights Institute	DR (2) IR (2)
AM12	Civil Society	Chairman of OO ZPMVPA Nadir Abdulaev	IR
		Executive director of ASRGOA	NRSA (3) IR (2) FIR
		Representative of Voice of Karabakh Gadir Nasirov	IR (2) FIR
	Governmental officials	Chairman of Central Election Committee Mazahir Panahov	DR (2)
AM13	Governmental officials	Chairman of State Committee on Refugees and	IR (2)

		IDP Issues Ali Gasanov	DR
		Head of press and international relations department of State Committee on Refugees and IDP Issues Elchin Gadimov	DR NRSA
	IDPs	14-years old Azer Ibragimov	DR
		Mother of injured Aigyun Ibragimova	DR (2)
		Residents of the hostel	DR
		Resident Viazura Muradova	DR
		Other resident Rasul Bahramov	DR NRSA
	International organizations	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees António Guterres	NRSA IR DR
AM14	Experts	Expert Tabib Guseinov	IR (3) FIR
		Expert Yulia Gureeva-Alieva	NRSA IR FIR
	Other	Representative of Brooking Institution	NRSA
AM15	Governmental officials	Government a Azerbaijan	NRSA
	Civil Society	South Caucasus Programs Director of International Crisis Group Lourens Shits	DR
		European Programs Director Sabina Fraiser	DR