

**AMERICAN UNIVERSITY OF CENTRAL ASIA**

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**ALTERNATIVE IMAGES FOR BREAKING STEREOTYPES  
BUILT BY IMAGES**

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## ABSTRACT

Today almost every article, story and any other written material contains a feature that is remembered for a longer period of time than text itself. Photographers that take photographs for news articles most of the time could be assigned to take certain pictures and limited in time. Influenced by these of circumstances photos may be too subjective and may distort reality.

This study focuses on images that have been used in Internet to represent Kyrgyzstan and to reveal the stereotypes that have been developed by those images.

In total over ninety individuals participated in two surveys. The first survey was conducted with the purpose to learn which online sources were used while searching information about Kyrgyzstan. The second survey required respondents to observe twenty pictures that were randomly chosen from pictures representing Kyrgyzstan on Internet and answer multiple - choice questions.

The findings of this research demonstrate opinion of foreigners who have never visited Kyrgyzstan but have learned about it from the second hand sources and what kind of stereotypes do they possess based on the images that they have seen on Internet.

Photo exhibition conducted at the end of the study is an attempt to demonstrate different image of Kyrgyzstan that uncovers to a foreigner living in the country almost five years. This will give an opportunity to the citizens of Kyrgyzstan to compare whether image of the country appears differently to someone who never visited it and to the one who has been experiencing its culture from the inside.

## INTRODUCTION

Not many people have a chance to travel other countries and learn their cultures and see sights. However, World Wide Web may offer detailed information about each country. Cultures and identities of a nation are partly explained through communication, much of which today is achieved through modern media and new media technologies (Mohammed, 2004). Thus, if audience learned about a country through mass media or Internet, images generated in those sources become main images in representing our understanding about that country, its politics, people, language, culture and etc.

Kyrgyz websites offer a vast variety of information and pictures about Kyrgyzstan, Kyrgyz culture, customs and people. However, as rule information in those websites are in Kyrgyz, Russian and very rarely in English languages. This unfortunately immensely shrinks the number of foreign audience. Those who are interested in learning more about Kyrgyzstan have to use websites in their native languages, which may be not as detailed as Kyrgyz online sources. Therefore photographs used in foreign websites become major images in representing Kyrgyzstan to the audience of those websites. This may lead to the wrong perception of Kyrgyz culture, people and etc.

It is especially crucial if to take into consideration two revolutions that took place in the last five years. These tragic for the country events gave reasons for the online news sources to be jammed with photographs of injured people, armed forces and buildings that were set on fire.

As Wober (1978) explains: “If one observes that the injection of life-saving vaccine and the recording of a image of personal identity are both labeled in common with the lethal bullet, such society is probably one that is preoccupied with violence” (Wober, 1978). Thus,

it is possible to assume that individuals that have been exposed to seeing violent pictures about Kyrgyzstan may think that Kyrgyz society is preoccupied with violence.

Photographs of mountains, horses, ethnic Kyrgyz people in traditional clothes and yurts attached to the information about Kyrgyzstan in travel blogs and on websites of tourist agencies may also create certain stereotypes and veil the real picture.

## **Background of Kyrgyzstan:**

### **Politics**

In 1991 Kyrgyzstan was declared to be an independent state by 135 countries. In 1992 it was accepted as a member of United Nations Organization. Kyrgyzstan was one of the first post Soviet countries to join World Trade Organization. Today Kyrgyzstan maintains diplomatic relationships with 92 countries and hosts more than 20 foreign embassies and diplomatic representatives (All Kyrgyzstan, 2007). While external political relationships of the country were improving at a constant rate its internal political situation was going through several challenges. Revolutions of 2005 and 2010 have claimed lives of thousands of Kyrgyz citizens, overthrew two presidents and brought in changes into the state constitution.

President Roza Otunbaeva was the first Kyrgyz president to pass her post peacefully. The first two predecessors, Askar Akayev and Kurmanbek Bakiyev, were swept from power during revolutions in 2005 and 2010. Successor of Otunbaeva, Almazbek Atambayev, a businessman and former prime minister, came to power in October of 2011 gaining over 60% of votes. On 27 June 2010 President Otunbaeva approved a new Constitution, which limited the powers of the Presidential institution and granted greater powers to the Parliament. (Foreign and Commonwealth Office, 2012). Currently there are five parties represented in Parliament are: Ata Jurt, Respublika, Ar-Namys, Ata-Meken and Social Democratic Party of Kyrgyzstan (SDPK) (BBC News, 2011).

### **Geopolitics**

Kyrgyzstan is a landlocked Central Asian country bordering with southeast of Kazakhstan, west of China, east of Uzbekistan, and north of Tajikistan. Its territory of 198,500 square kilometers makes it the second smallest country in Central Asian region



Approximately 75% of the territory occupied with mountains. Around 7,100 square kilometers of the Kyrgyz territory is water, which includes Issyk Kul lake on the northeast.

(Library of Congress, 2007)

Natural resources of Kyrgyzstan include abundant hydropower; significant deposits of gold and rare earth metals; locally exploitable coal; oil and natural gas. Kyrgyzstan is party to the following international agreements: Air Pollution, Biodiversity, Climate Change, Climate Change-Kyoto Protocol, Desertification, Hazardous Wastes, Ozone Layer Protection Wetlands (CIA World Factbook, n.d.).

## **Economy**

Since Kyrgyzstan is not as resource – rich as other Central Asian countries agriculture remains major part of economy making 32% of country's GDP and more than half of employment. (Library of Congress, 2007) Potential of developing in other spheres such as industry, tourism are held back by continues problems of corruption and transparency. (Foreign and Commonwealth Office, 2012)

Kyrgyzstan receives financial support from foreign financial institutions like International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank. A large number of labor immigrants to Russia and Kazakhstan that grow in number annually also make a great contribution to the country's budget. Nevertheless, according to the reports of 2011 of Ministry of Finance today Kyrgyzstan has more than \$2.8 billion of external debt. (Kyrgyz Ministry of Finance, 2011)

## **Kyrgyz Culture**

The greater part of Kyrgyz people were living a nomadic lifestyle until the Soviet collectivization forced to form transitional settlements and later collective farms and towns in

1930. However, centralized farm systems, allowed, many Kyrgyz to move seasonally with their herds (Environmental News, n.d.).

The modern Kyrgyz still pay significant respect to family and clan origins. The 40 rays in the sun on State flag represent 40 Kyrgyz tribes; on the one side the rays turned counterclockwise, on the other side clockwise; the red ring crossed by two sets of three lines represents the roof of the traditional Kyrgyz yurt. (Travelblog, n.d.) (See figure 1)



**Figure 1: The Kyrgyz Flag**

Celebration of a holiday, wedding or any other celebration involves horseback games such as: “Oodarysh”, “Kyz Kumai” and “KokBuro”. In some regions some hunters still train and use eagles for hunting (A Traditional Culture of Kyrgyzstan”, n.d.).

According to the census report for 2009 of National Statistics Committee the population of Kyrgyzstan is 5,477,600 people. The largest groups of the population are represented by 71,7 % Kyrgyz, 14,4% Uzbeks and 7,2% Russians (National Statistic Committee, 2009). Kyrgyz language is the State language of Kyrgyzstan while Russian remains as an official language.

## PROBLEM STATEMENT

The works of Bray and Charles (as cited in Mohammed, 2004) argue that small states compete for attention and for self-determination on the international scene. Their self-presentation incorporates such concerns as cultural vulnerability, self-determination, national identity, national sovereignty and international interdependence.

While self-presentation by small states on the Internet may be likened to interpersonal concepts such as image management, it relates much more broadly to geopolitical and economic issues. Small developing countries may self present on the World Wide Web for any number of purposes, including international trade and investment promotion, preservation of national identity in diasporic citizens and even promotion of news from their point of view to a potentially international audience.”(Mohammed, 2004)

Assuming that Kyrgyz websites do not have a considerably large foreign audience it is image mainly shaped in websites that foreigners find convenient due to the language or other factors. The relevance of this study is that it will examine whether Internet based illustrations affect foreign audience.

### RESEARCH QUESTIONS:

- Which online sources are favored among foreign Internet users?
- What kinds of stereotypes emerge as an affect of images depicted in online sources?
- Are those stereotypes positive or negative?

## LITERATURE REVIEW

Lippmann (as cited in Ibroscheva, Ramaprasad 2008) defined stereotypes as “pictures in our heads” that establish traits with the use of which people distinguish social groups from each other (Ibroscheva, Ramaprasad 2008, p.1). In other words, it is a simplified idea or opinion about a person, group, place or event.

Today the greatest part of information flows from media. Scholars point out media as the major source in the process of stereotyping due to the fact that media is easily accessed and contains vast range of information. According to Ibroscheva and Ramaprasad (2008):

Presentations in the media, might have a lasting impression on the insider groups’ perceptions of the social positions and characteristics of members of outsider groups who are in social, political or cultural opposition to the insider group, particularly in a global scenario” (p. 1)

“We walk around with media-generated images of the world, using them to construct meaning about political and social issues. The lens through which we receive these images is not neutral but evinces the power and point of view of political and economic elites who operate and focus it.” (Gamson, Croteau, Hoynes, & Sasson, 1992, p. 374).

According to Aboud (as cited in Ibrocheva, Rampasad 2008) individuals are not born with but rather built and change stereotypic contents throughout their lives. However, stereotypic contents are not universal. Stereotypic perception may vary based on interactive processes, interpersonal sources and social institutions that act in the process of socialization. Media is one of the very important social institutions of socialization (Ibroscheva, Ramaprasad, 2008, p. 3).

In contemporary world where audience is exposed to an uncountable amount of information and images Pickering (1995) (as cited in Ramaprasad, Jyotika, 2008) finds the role of stereotypes useful in organizing given information (Ibroscheva, Ramaprasad, 2008,

p.1). Sociological theory proposed by Richard Dyer explains four different but interwoven techniques of organizing information: role, individual, type and member (Dyer, 1984, p. 354).

A reporter or a blogger that uploads pictures to the Internet can only take pictures related to a certain event or a place they have visited and have seen through their own viewfinder.

According to Gamson (1992) the majority of illustrations that are shown to represent a society on national news are selected and exposed by the organizational consideration. Sometimes a reporter or a photojournalist is assigned a specific task and therefore becomes subjective by representing interests of his employer (p. 376).

Gamson (1992) also cites Bagdikian (1990) who argued that concentrated media ownership of media unavoidably shrinks the range of information and imagery that is disseminated. According to this media owners report and disseminate the information that is more interesting to them (p. 376).

That is why if we have specific number of sources that we trust and prefer our understanding of something could be based on the view of the owner or in the way he wants us to see things. Another reason of limiting sources of information could be language, which is convenient for obtaining information. In case of Kyrgyzstan where almost every website is Russian and Kyrgyz and in rare cases in English languages. Those who do not know Russian or Kyrgyz are subjected to learn and read news from the websites that are in their native or English languages. This part of the audience will be mainly exposed to the illustrations portrayed in those websites.

The spread of the new communication technologies has led to the renewed concerns about representation in the global marketplace of ideas and concurrent misgivings about the potential for erosion of national culture and identity in developing nations.

This concern is greater among nations that have less ability to access the new technologies and, consequently, fewer chances to promote themselves and their interest.”(Mohammed, 2008, p. 473).

Vivian (1991) sees stereotyping in mass media as a shorthand to communication: “Putting a cowboy in a black hat allows a movie director to sidestep complex character explanation and move quickly into a story line, because moviegoers hold a generalization about cowboys in black hats. They are the bad guys – a stereotype” (pp. 302-303). The relation of this quote to the online images is that news organizations usually place only one or two images as a contribution to the news story. Because of this limitation photojournalist attempts to include as many details as possible to be clear to the viewer. For instance, a news story about a new virus that infected high school students could be attached with an illustration of an empty classroom.

## METHODOLOGY

To answer research questions two online surveys were conducted. The main advantage of survey is that it allows collecting information promptly and from a great number of respondents.

### **Study sample:**

Respondents were selected via Facebook and Twitter contacts and required respondents to know English language and know about Kyrgyzstan only from the online sources. There were no restrictions based on age, gender, nationality or citizenship.

### **Survey I**

The first survey contained the following questions:

1. Which online resource do you use for obtaining detailed information about something?
2. How did you learn about Kyrgyzstan?
3. Which online source did you use for learning about Kyrgyzstan?
4. What words did you use to conduct the search?
5. Did you use any national Kyrgyz websites to learn more about the country? If yes, please give the name of the website.
6. Was that website useful (maybe “why or why not”)?

These questions were asked with the purpose of reconstructing the process of how foreigners learned about Kyrgyzstan, which online sources they used and what words they entered to the search bar.

## **Survey II**

The 40 participants of the first survey reported mainly seven online resources that they have used for obtaining information about Kyrgyzstan. In total those websites contained 104 pictures to represent Kyrgyzstan. All of them were numbered and using random numbering tool in Microsoft Excel program 20 photos were chosen for the second questionnaire.

In the second questionnaire randomly chosen images were followed by multiple-choice questions and were sent to foreigners.

## **LIMITATIONS**

The surveys involved only ninety and English speaking participants. Perhaps, if questionnaires were in other languages and included more respondents the results of the study would be different.

Another disadvantage of this study that almost all of the respondents of the second survey chose their answers from the given choices and only few indicated other responses on the blank field. It is possible that given choices omitted other words describing the impression of foreigner after seeing photographs.



## SUMMARY OF SURVEY FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

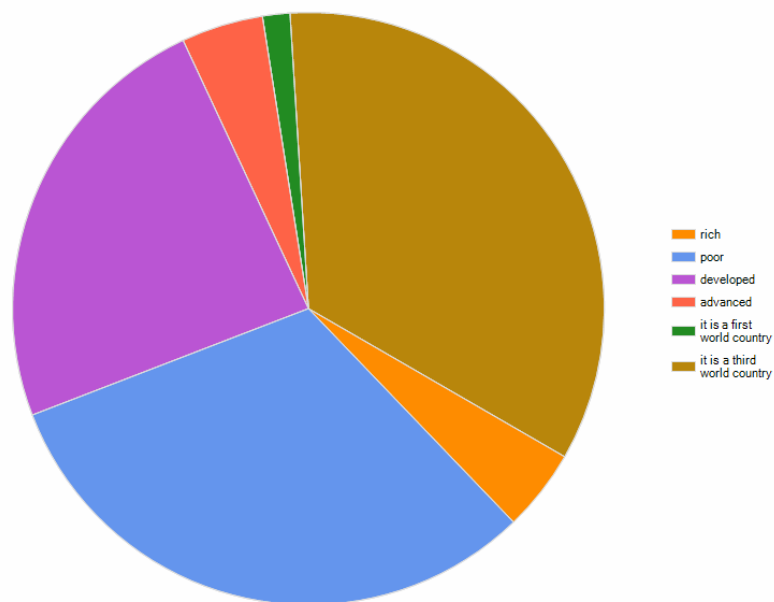
### Survey I

| SURVEY QUESTIONS   | ANSWERS OF PARTICIPANTS   |
|--|---|
| 1. Which online resources do you use for obtaining detailed information about something?                                 | Google, Wikipedia, Facebook, Twitter, Britannica, Yahoo, Aljazeera, CIA world Factbook  |
| 2. How did you learn about Kyrgyzstan?   | Out of forty participants:<br>21-from family member, friends<br>18- media, internet<br>12 –also indicated other sources   |
| 3.Which online source did you use for learning about Kyrgyzstan?   | Google, Wikipedia, Facebook, Twitter, Britannica, Yahoo, Aljazeera, CIA world Factbook, Kloop, Akipress, 24.kg  |
| 4. What words did you use to conduct the search?   | Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan, Kyrgyz Culture, former USSR, Cultural Facts about Kyrgyzstan, Fergana Valley, Revolution, Osh, Universities in Bishkek, Peace Democratization, ethnicity |
| 5.Did you use any national Kyrgyz websites to learn more about the country? If yes, please give the name of the website? | Azattyk.kg, Fergana.ru, Eurasia.net, Bishkek.usembassy.com, gezitter.kg, Akipress.kg times.kg, aksai.kg, cbtkyrgyzstan.kg, aksai.kg   |
| 6. Was that website useful?  | Among forty participants only 16 have visited local website and 12 of them said that the websites were useful in finding information.   |

## Survey II

Questions from 1-7 were multiple-choice questions. The last question required participants to list all the elements from the pictures that they have seen before starting to answer the questions. Participants were free to mark more than one answer to the multiple-choice questions. That is why the results of questions from 1-7 are presented in charts to make explanation simple.

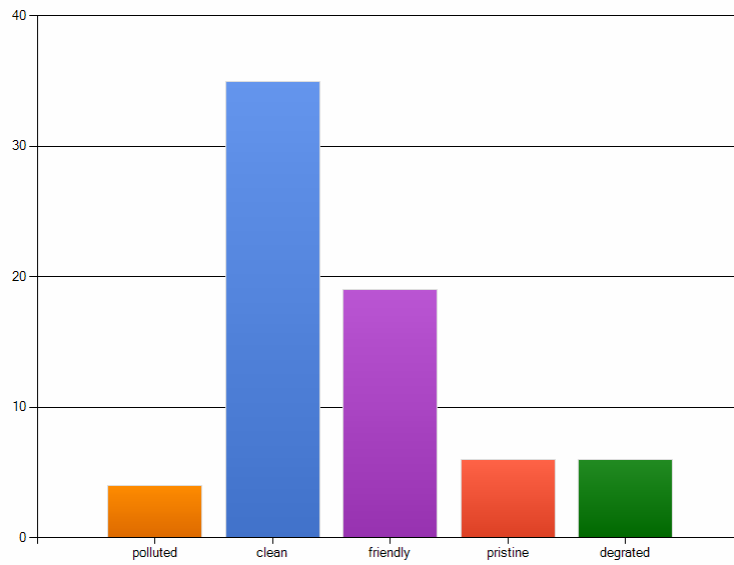
### Question 1: Do you think this country is...?



**Figure 2. Survey II, question 1**

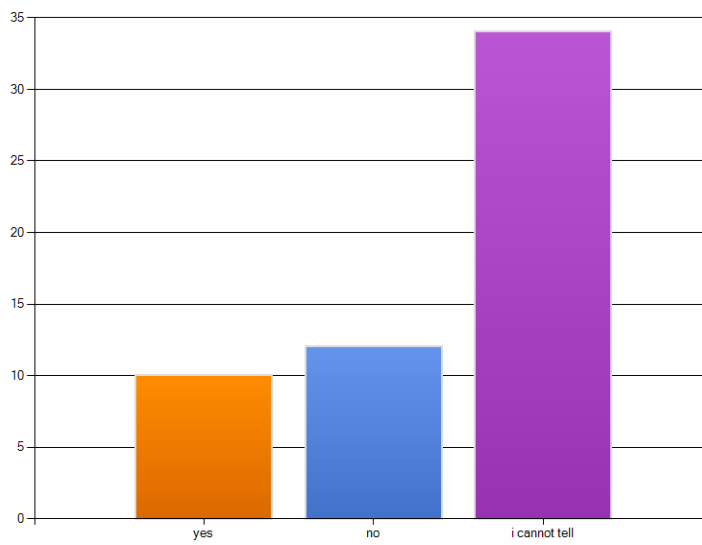
Each of the multiple – choice questions contained blank field where participant were asked to enter other words if they were not among given choices. Nevertheless, not many respondents used this option in all questions.

**Question 2: What do you think about ecology of this country?**



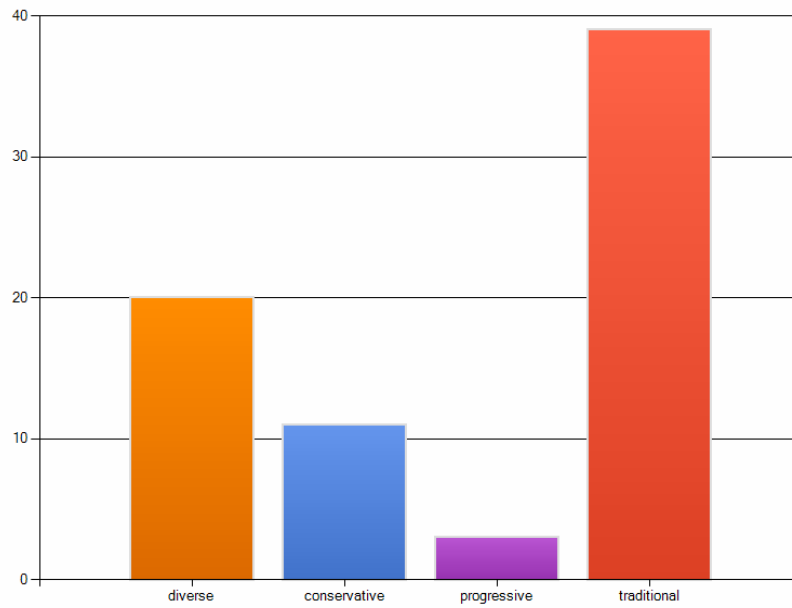
**Figure 3. Survey II, question 2.**

**Question 3: Do you think that Kyrgyzstan is a safe place to live?**



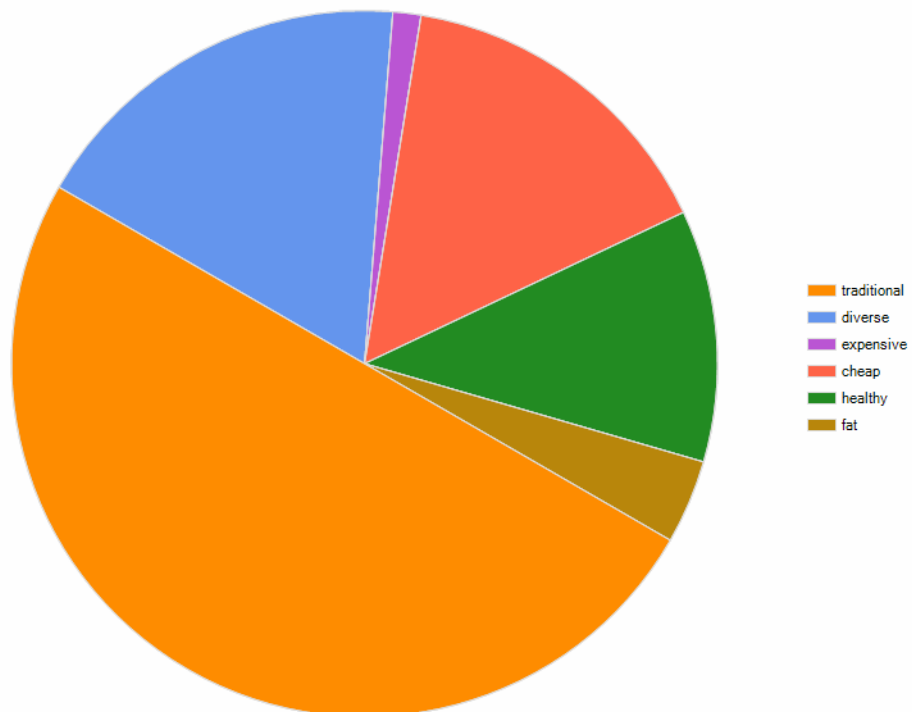
**Figure 4. Survey II, question 3.**

**Question 4: What do you think about Kyrgyz culture?**



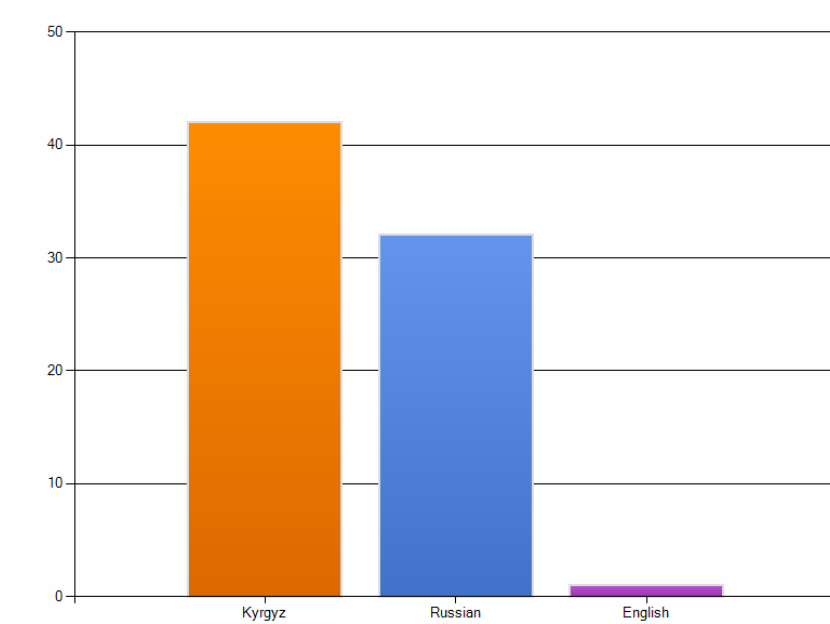
**Figure 5. Survey II, question 4.**

**Question 5: What do you think about food in Kyrgyzstan?**



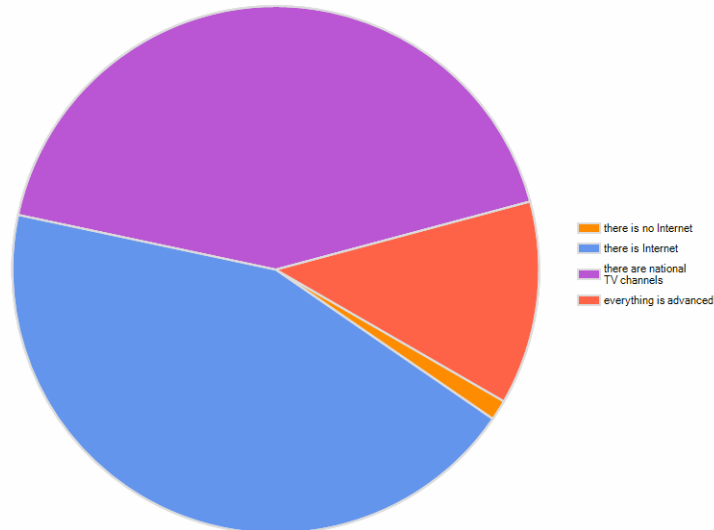
**Figure 6. Survey II, question 5**

**Question 6: What language(s) do you think people in Kyrgyzstan speak at the most?**



**Figure 7. Survey II, question 6.**

**Question 7: What do you think telecommunications level is?**



**Figure 8. Survey II, question 7**

**Question 8: Please, list all the details from the pictures you remember without going back to the pictures.**

While answering to this question the respondents were asked not to return to the pictures. Each individual was free to mention as many details as wanted. Therefore answers were generalized by the similar topic and divided to categories. (See table 2.) Thus, fifty participants of the second survey gave the following answers:

| <b>CATEGORIES OF MENTIONED DETAILS FROM PICTURES</b> | <b>TIMES EACH CATEGORY WAS MENTIONED</b> |
|--|--|
| Nature and mountains                                 | 18                                       |
| Church, mosque and religion                          | 16                                       |
| Traditional gowns, ethnic people, traditions         | 24                                       |
| Politicians  | 12                                       |
| Unrests, violence and riots                          | 33                                       |
| Horses, camels and other animals                     | 13                                       |
| Models and people on stage                           | 7  |
| Food preparation and traditional cuisine             | 10                                       |

The first survey conducted for this study revealed the most popular websites used by chosen group of foreigners; Google, Wikipedia, Facebook, Twitter, Britannica, Yahoo, Aljazeera, CIA world Factbook.

More than a half of respondents indicated family members and friends as source of information about Kyrgyzstan. Family members and friends may be as positive as well as negative source of information. For instance, they may be trusted more than media but on the other hand they may share information that will demonstrate only one side of the image.

Respondents were asked to mention the words that they have used to conduct their research on the country. The most common among the answers were: Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan, Kyrgyz culture, former USSR, cultural facts about Kyrgyzstan, Fergana Valley, revolution, Osh, Universities in Bishkek, peace and democratization, ethnicity. By looking at the variety of the words it is possible to assume that respondents mainly searched for basic and general information about Kyrgyzstan, its people, history and geography. However, some of the mentioned words such as; revolution, Osh, peace and democratization may demonstrate that some of the respondents looked for information specifically about Kyrgyz revolutions.

Question 5 of the first survey requested the respondents to indicate any Kyrgyz websites if they have used. Out of 40 individuals who have participated in the survey 16 (Ibroscheva & Ramaprasad, 2008) indicated the following Kyrgyz websites: [www.azattyk.kg](http://www.azattyk.kg), [www.fergana.ru](http://www.fergana.ru), [www.eurasia.net](http://www.eurasia.net), [www.bishkek.usembassy.com](http://www.bishkek.usembassy.com), [www.gezitter.kg](http://www.gezitter.kg), [www.akipress.kg](http://www.akipress.kg), [www.times.kg](http://www.times.kg), [www.aksai.kg](http://www.aksai.kg), [www.cbtkyrgyzstan.kg](http://www.cbtkyrgyzstan.kg), [www.aksai.kg](http://www.aksai.kg). (See table 1)

Only 12 out of 16 Internet users have answered that using Kyrgyz websites was useful. All the mentioned websites are news sources except for the websites of US embassy ([www.bishkek.usembassy.com](http://www.bishkek.usembassy.com)) and Kyrgyz Community Based Association ([www.cbtkyrgyzstan.kg](http://www.cbtkyrgyzstan.kg)). Considering that online news sources had a lot of violent imagery for Kyrgyzstan and other pictures such as: mountains, horses, yurts (traditional houses) ethnic people in traditional clothes included in travel blogs, online encyclopedias and online social networks supposedly may develop following perception of Kyrgyzstan by foreign Internet surfers:

- Kyrgyzstan is a poor country that constantly experiences political unrests

or

- Kyrgyzstan is a mono national country whose people preserved its nomadic traditions and continue dwelling in yurt on pasturelands in mountains.

Second survey combined with an experiment helped to reveal more specific stereotypes about Kyrgyzstan created by images that they have seen at the beginning of the survey. According to the second survey findings in question one foreigners mainly categorized Kyrgyzstan as poor third world country and almost the same number of respondents answered that it is a developed country. Kyrgyzstan was considered to be rich and advanced first world country by a considerably little number of respondents. (see figure 2) . To the second question about ecology half of the results state that its Kyrgyz ecology is clean and almost 25% perceived it as friendly, 10% answered that it is pristine, the same percent that it is degraded and only 5% considered Kyrgyz ecology as polluted. (see figure 3) Approximately, 65% of the survey participants in question three about country security reported that they could not evaluate the level of security in Kyrgyzstan. About 15% percent answered that it is a safe country and 20% that it is not a safe place to live. (see figure 4) The results of question four demonstrated that 50% of the foreigners think that Kyrgyz culture is traditional, about 30% that it is diverse, 15% conservative and 5% progressive. (see figure 5 )

Exactly half of the foreigners indicated food in Kyrgyzstan as traditional; around 17% think that Kyrgyz food is diverse; another 17% think that food is not expensive the rest 10% thought it is healthy, 4% that it is fat and only 2% answered that food in Kyrgyzstan is expensive. (see figure 5) Question six gave the following results, 60% Kyrgyz language, 37% Russian language, and 3% English language. (see figure 7)

In question seven asked participants were asked what they think about telecommunications level of Kyrgyzstan. Foreigners answered that there is interested and



local TV channels; around 7% thought that all spheres of telecommunications are advanced and 3% think that there is no Internet in Kyrgyzstan.

The last question of the survey required respondents to list the details from the pictures. The results are available in table 2. Among all categories violence, unrest and riots were mentioned 33 times. Preparation of food was remembered 10 times while there was one picture about in 20 that were used for the survey. Only 12 respondents remembered images of politicians even though there were 4 photographs of politicians included into the survey.

Comparing answers to the multiple-choice questions to the mentions demonstrates an interesting phenomenon. Riots and violence depicting photographs were used several times and elements of those images were remembered the most. Nevertheless, to the questions three about country's security more than half of respondents said that they could not evaluate the state of the security in Kyrgyzstan. Yet, only one illustration of food preparation shaped several stereotypes in understanding of respondents.

The data collected from surveys permits to claim that illustrations used in Internet do not develop numerous amount of negative impression. In case of Kyrgyzstan respondents did not consider Kyrgyzstan as country that constantly goes through political unrest. Results of the study revealed more positive stereotypes about Kyrgyzstan rather than negative.

## CONCLUSIONS

For the Internet users illustrations in online sources representing a country become a main image of a country, its politics, culture, people and etc. The goal of conducting this study was to examine imagery content of Kyrgyzstan in online sources and learn what kind of impression do they create in understanding of people that have never been to Kyrgyzstan.

In order to receive information promptly and from audience abroad two surveys were conducted via online survey constructor SurveyMonkey. The results of the first survey demonstrated that foreigners mainly used websites in English language and only a small part of the focused audience obtained information about Kyrgyzstan from Kyrgyz websites. The results of the second research revealed that seeing images that contain numerous details of violence and elements of clean ecology or ethnic people in traditional clothes do not have a great impact on foreigners in shaping image of Kyrgyzstan as a country of war and poor Kyrgyz living nomadic lives. Despite the fact that details of riots, violence and traditional clothes were remembered the most by foreigners to the questions three they have answered that they could not tell whether Kyrgyzstan is a safe or dangerous place to live. The respondents to the questions four about Kyrgyz culture besides answering that it is traditional have also marked that it is diverse.

The data collected from surveys permits to claim that illustrations used in Internet do not develop numerous amount of negative impression. In case of Kyrgyzstan respondents did not considered Kyrgyzstan as country that constantly goes through political unrest. Results of the study revealed more positive stereotypes about Kyrgyzstan rather than negative.

## **PHOTO EXHIBITION**

Photo exhibition as contribution to this study was held at American University of Central Asia (AUCA). Photographs were taken using cameras Canon 7D and Nikon D60 avoiding the use of any photo editing software.

Exposition included photographs mainly taken in Bishkek and several from other cities such as Talas, Kant and Karakol.

Photos exposed at the photo exhibition are granted to and may be obtained from upon a request from Journalism and Mass Communications program of AUCA.

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## APPENDIX

### Questionnaire I

1. Which online resource do you use for obtaining detailed information about something?
2. How did you learn about Kyrgyzstan?
3. Which online source did you use for learning about Kyrgyzstan?
4. What words did you use to conduct the search?
5. Did you use any national Kyrgyz websites to learn more about the country? If yes, please give the name of the website.
6. Was that website useful (maybe “why or why not”)?

**APPENDIX**

## Questionnaire II

Q 1: Do you think this country is...?

- Rich
- Poor
- Developed
- Advanced
- It is first world country
- It is third world country
- Other

Q 2: What do you think about ecology of this country?

- Polluted
- Clean
- Friendly
- Pristine
- Degraded
- Other

Q 3: Do you think that Kyrgyzstan is a safe place to live?

- Yes
- No
- I cannot tell

Q 4: What do you think about Kyrgyz culture?

- Diverse
- Conservative
- Progressive
- Traditional
- Other

Q 5: What do you think about food in Kyrgyzstan?

- Traditional
- Diverse
- Expensive
- Cheap
- Healthy
- Fat
- Other

Q 6: What language(s) do you think people in Kyrgyzstan speak at the most?

- Kyrgyz
- Russian
- English
- Other

Q 7: What do you think telecommunications level is?

- There is Internet
- There is no Internet
- There are national TV channels
- Everything is advanced
- Other

Q8: Please, list all the details from the pictures you remember without going back to the pictures.