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**Media Influence
Matrix:
Kazakhstan**

Funding Journalism

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The Center for Media, Data and Society (CMDS) is a research center for the study of media, communication, and information policy and its impact on society and practice. Founded in 2004 as the Center for Media and Communication Studies, CMDS is part of Central European University's (CEU) School of Public Policy and serves as a focal point for an international network of acclaimed scholars, research institutions and activists.

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The report was done with the participation of the Accountability Initiative for Reform (AIR Foundation) in Kazakhstan.

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SOURCES OF FUNDING

Shifts in Journalism Funding

Kazakhs are a television nation, half of them using television as the main source of news and information. In contrast, print media and radio have been grappling in the past five years with a dramatic decline in audiences. Particularly radio, known for its low-brow programming, is in a bind: it hardly attracts listeners; advertisers and the Government ignore it. In contrast, the internet media is rapidly growing. For 40% of Kazakhs, it was the main source of news and information in 2015, a significant hike from 24% three years earlier.

Media in Kazakhstan is captured by the Government and a handful of government-affiliated media companies. The government's dominance is secured mostly through ownership and funding.

Only three of the ten most popular television channels in Kazakhstan are not government-owned. Former President Nursultan Nazarbayev directly or through his family, also owns television channels. For example, KTK, the second most watched television channel in the country is run by the Foundation of the First President of the Republic of Kazakhstan-Elbasy. Another popular television channel, NTK, is owned directly by a Nazarbayev family member. Nazarbayev resigned in March 2019, but political analysts say that he did so to be able, before he dies, to supervise a smooth transition to a new regime that will continue his policies, ensuring centralization of political control and preventing criticism of authorities as Nazarbayev did during his 29-year tenure.

When it comes to online news, the Government owns three of the 10 most visited websites: Kazinform.kz, Bnews.kz and 24.kz. In fact, none of the most popular news portals in Kazakhstan are independent and truly free of government control. For example, TengriNews.kz, one of the most read news

websites is owned by the company Alash Media Group, which is known for promoting a strong pro-government narrative.

The foreign influence in Kazakhstan's media landscape is limited as foreigners can own only 20% of a media company. That being said, the Russian influence in the Kazakh media is notable. The most popular television channel in the country, Eurasia, jointly owned by the governments of Kazakhstan and Russia, is known for promoting a heavy pro-Russian agenda on world affairs. Another popular television channel, Channel 31 (31 Kanal) is co-owned by Bulat Utemuratov, a wealthy local businessman, and the Russian-funded STS Media Holding. Kenes Rakishev, another entrepreneur, owner of Channel Seven (Sedmoy Kanal), is also a partner in Fastlane Ventures, a prominent Russian venture fund that usually invests in internet companies.

The Government is by far the largest funder in the media, with over €144m spent in cash dished out to media companies in 2017, more than the overall ad spend in Kazakhstan, according to industry estimates. Most of the government funding goes to government-owned media companies or privately held outlets that show support of the Government. For example, in television, the biggest chunk of government cash is spent on financing Khabar and Qazaqstan, two government-owned channels.

In such a centralized media environment in which the Government plays a disproportionately big role, there is hardly any space for independent journalism. Owned by a civil society activist and journalist, Vlast.kz is arguably the sole truly independent news website among the 10 most visited websites in the country. There are other independent news media such as Azattyq, the local service of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, but their audience is much smaller.

Who's who in Kazakh media

The key influencers in the media in Kazakhstan

Direct & indirect influence	Operator	Prominent news media assets			
		TV	Radio	Print	Online
Government	Nur-Media	Astana TV	Radio NS	Liter	Liter.kz
	Teleradiokorporaciya Kazakhstan	Eurasia; Qazaqstan	Kazakh Radio		
	Agenstvo Khabar	Khabar			24.kz
	Kazkontent				Bnews.kz
	Mezhdunarodnoye Informacionnoye Agenstvo Kazinform				Kazinform.kz
	Respublikanskaya Gazeta Egemen Kazakhstan			Egemen Kazakhstan	
	Respublikanskaya Gazeta Kazakhstanskaya Pravda			KazPravda	
	Teleradiokompaniya Yuzhnaya Stolica	Almaty TV			
The First President of the Republic of Kazakhstan	Foundation of the First President of Republic of Kazakhstan - Yelbasy	KTK		Karavan	
The family members of the First President	Europa Plus Kazakhstan	NTK	Radio Retro		
Bulat Utemuratov	First Media Time	Channel 31			Informburo.kz
Askar Kantarbayev	Autoradio		Autoradio		
	Alma-Ata 777		Dala FM		
Batyr Kazybayev & Dinara Temirova	Alash Media Group		Zhuldyz FM		Tengrinews.kz
			Tengri FM		
Sanzhar Mustafin	Musan Group			Kaptial	kapital.kz
Rakishev Kenes	Telekompaniya Era	Channel Seven			
Akmaral Kaldybayeva	Grand FM		Love Radio		
Subharberdin Nurzhan	Izdatelstvo Vremya			Vremya	
Bibigul Turebayeva	Argumenty i Fakty v Kazakhstane			Argumenty i Fakty	
Shahnovich Igor, Bekkulova Sholpan, Vostok Impax	Express - K			Express-K	Express-K.kz
Atusheva Saltanat, Sarsenbay Ana	Zhas Alash			Zhas Alash	
User Saken	Alteco Partners			Kursiv	Kursiv.kz
DLS Group/Russian Telegraph (Russia)	Telefabrika Dala		Russian Radio		
Mustafina Tolkyln/ Radio Dacha (Russia)	Tamasha FM		Radio Dacha		
Bahridov Kuat	Internet Portal Nur				Nur.kz
Sergei Kiselev	Kompaniya JurInfo				Zakon.kz
Baitasova Aidana, Abzhaparova Lyazzat, Satybaldin Timur, LLP Skytec	United Media Group			Forbes Kazakhstan	Forbes.kz
Abramov Vyacheslav	Izdatelstvo Vlast				Vlast.kz
International	Mezhhgosudarstvennyya Teleradiokompaniya MIR v	MIR			

Popular News Media

Consumption Trends

Television remains the main source of information in Kazakhstan, 48% of people going to television to get news, according to the latest available data from a 2015 survey carried out by Demoscope, a local pollster.[1] However, the internet has been gaining ground in recent years. Some 40% of the respondents in the Demoscope's survey said that they used the internet as the main source of news and information, up from some 24% in a similar survey run in 2012. In contrast, only 4% of people in Kazakhstan get their news from print media.

Particularly people living in cities are more prone to use the internet for news. Some 61% of Kazakhs living in Nur-Sultan,[2] the capital city of the country with over one million inhabitants, go online to read news. In Almaty, the country's largest city with some 1.8 million people, which was the Kazakh capital city until 1997, approximately 40% of people use the internet as the main source of information. In contrast, 90% of those living in the Jambyl region, a more rural region of Kazakhstan bordering Kyrgyzstan, use television as the key source of news.

The 2015 survey from Demoscope showed that most of the Kazakhs, a 58% share of all inhabitants, use state-owned media as the key source of news. The region with the lowest level of consumption of state media content in 2015 was Almatinskaya with 20%. Nevertheless, some 75% of people there watched private, yet pro-government media.

Although many of the people in Kazakhstan (some 48%) respect journalists, an increasing number of them (roughly 42%) told Demoscope that they were more often than before checking news through more than one source as credibility of media has been declining in their opinion.

Key Players

Television

The Government of Kazakhstan maintains a strong position in the country's television market. Only three of the ten most popular channels in Kazakhstan are not government-owned: two of those are controlled by private actors and one is an international channel.

The most popular television channel is Eurasia (Pervyi Kanal Evraziya), which is jointly owned by the governments of Kazakhstan and Russia (although the exact stakes in the company are not known). The channel promotes a strong pro-Russian narrative (which includes a heavy anti-U.S. and anti-EU rhetoric) on world affairs. Khabar and Qazaqstan are the country's flagship state-owned and state-run television channels whose content is designed to promote and explain the Government's policies. Nevertheless, none of the two enjoys the popularity of Eurasia, KTK or NTK. Astana TV and Almaty TV are owned by the



[1] "Research: Internet is the second important source of information for people in Kazakhstan," Demoscope, 27 April 2015, available online at <http://demos.kz/eng/index.php?article=40> (accessed on 5 May 2019).

[2] In March 2019, the Kazakh capital city was renamed Nur-Sultan in honor of the country's longtime leader; see "Kazakhstan renames capital Nur-Sultan," The Guardian, 23 March 2019, available online at <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/mar/23/kazakhstan-renames-capital-nur-sultan> (accessed on 5 May 2019).

municipalities of Nur-Sultan and Almaty, serving mainly as PR voices of the two cities' administrations. Their content is focused on local policies and city events.

KTK, the second most watched channel after Eurasia, is run by a joint-stock company with 5% of its shares owned by Media-Invest, a private company, but with the majority stake (over 91%) in the hands of the former Kazakh President, Nursultan Nazarbayev, who resigned on 19 March 2019. Mr Nazarbayev controls the shares through a private foundation called the Foundation of the First President of the Republic of Kazakhstan-Elbasy. Another key player, NTK is owned by a Nazarbayev family member.[3] It is a rare case when a name of the First President's family members appears in legal documents.[4]

The only locally owned non-government channels are Channel 31 (31 Kanal) and Channel Seven (Sedmoy Kanal). Channel 31 is owned by a wealthy Kazakh businessman, Bulat Utemuratov who is the second most influential businessman in the country, according to Forbes.[5] One of Mr Utemuratov's largest business projects was ATF Bank, which was sold more than a decade ago to Italy's UniCredit bank.[6] Mr Utemuratov is now a key investor in Verny Capital, an investment fund with shares in a plethora of industries, including telecommunications, real estate, manufacturing of construction materials and finance, in Kazakhstan and other Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) markets. Mr Utemuratov co-owns the channel along with the Russian-funded company STS Media Holdings, but the exact stakes of the two partners are unknown. It is known, however, that Channel 31 was founded by Armanzhan Baitasov, one of the 50 richest businessmen in Kazakhstan, who also has a stake in Forbes Kazakhstan.[7] Mr Baitasov sold his share to STS Media Holding for approximately US\$ 65m in 2008.[8]

Kenes Rakishev owns Channel Seven through the Telekompaniya Era. Mr Rakishev was ranked the 8th most influential businessman of the country by Forbes.[9] He founded SingulariTeam, a private investment fund focused on technology companies. Mr Rakishev sits on the supervisory boards of several major companies including SAT & Company, an industrial conglomerate, and Net Element, a technology firm. He has a majority stake in JSC Kazkommertsbank, the largest bank by assets in Kazakhstan, and is a strategic partner in Fastlane Ventures, a major Russian venture fund focused on investments in internet companies.

Mir is the only channel in the top 10 that has an international presence. It was founded in 1992 by the governments of Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan with the aim of creating a common information space to promote cooperation between the founding countries. Its programs are aimed at the whole region and provide an overview of news happening there.

[3] Based on the legal documents from egov.kz; also, see: Marat Shibusov, "Кому на самом деле принадлежит СМИ Казахстана" (Who owns mass media in Kazakhstan), Regnum, 26 May 2017, available online at <https://regnum.ru/news/2280402> (accessed 17 April 2019).

[4] Olivia Allison, "Selective Enforcement and Irresponsibility: Central Asia' shrinking space for independent media," Central Asian Survey 25 (2006): 93-114.

[5] "Булат Утемуратов" (Bulat Utemuratov), Forbes Kazakhstan, available online at <https://forbes.kz/ranking/object/41> (accessed on 28 February 2019).

[6] "UniCredit Pays \$2.1 Bln for ATF Bank Stake," Reuters, 13 November 2007, available online at <https://www.reuters.com/article/sppage012-113335959-oisbn/update-1-unicredit-pays-2-1-bln-for-atf-bank-stake-idUSL1333595920071113> (accessed on 1 March 2019).

[7] "Арманжан Байтасов" (Armanzhan Baitasov), Forbes Kazakhstan, available online at <https://forbes.kz/ranking/object/76> (accessed on 30 April 2019).

[8] "Акулы Бизнеса. Чем Владеет Арманжан Байтасов?" (Business Sharks. What is owned by Armanzhan Baitasov?), Spectr, 27 August 2015, available online at http://spectr.com.kz/category/ekonomika/akuly-biznesa-chem-vladeet-armanzhan-baytasov.html?SECTION_CODE=ekonomika&CODE=akuly-biznesa-chem-vladeet-armanzhan-baytasov&VOTE_ID=1&view_result (accessed 30 April 2019).

[9] "Кенес Ракишев" (Kenes Rakishev), Forbes Kazakhstan, available online at <https://forbes.kz/ranking/object/56> (accessed on 28 February 2019).

The big boys in Kazakhstan's television

Most popular TV stations in Kazakhstan by 2018 rating (%), 2014-2018

	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	Majority owner
Eurasia	85.6	83.4	82.5	74.9	71.2	Government
KTK	71.2	73.3	73.8	71.8	68.5	The First President
NTK	72.7	74.2	70.5	65.7	65.2	The family of the First President
Channel 31	75.9	72.2	72.1	69.2	64.9	Utemuratov Bulat
Mir	44.6	48.5	54.6	54.8	60.9	International channel
Channel Seven	69.0	69.9	66.4	63.9	60.5	Rakishev Kenes
Astana TV	59.5	60.5	55.5	59.4	56.4	Government
Khabar	68.8	69.1	64.8	61.7	51.7	Government
Almaty TV	23.32	23.18	30.18	35.15	43.8	Government
Qazaqstan	53.3	57.8	58.9	49.2	43.7	Government

Sources: TNS Global Kazakhstan, Egov.kz, 2019

Radio

The government of Kazakhstan has considerably less interest, and, as such, less ownership in radio stations. It may be related to the fact that radio stations focus more on entertaining than on informing people and have significantly less popularity among Kazakh citizens as news sources in comparison to television, online portals and social media.[10] In addition, there are only 61 radio stations in the country. In contrast, Kazakhstan has 108

television stations and 1,169 newspapers.[11] As such, radio stations are not seen as useful tools to communicate and promote the government's policies.

The Government owns only two of the 10 most popular stations. Radio NS is owned by Nur-Otan, the party in power. Kazakh Radio (Kazakh Radiosy) is owned by the Ministry of Information and Social Development. Kazakh Radio is the only among the 10 most listened radio stations that conducts all its programs in Kazakh language.



[10] IREX, "Media Sustainability Index 2018: Europe and Eurasia", available online at <https://www.irex.org/sites/default/files/pdf/media-sustainability-index-europe-urasia-2018-full.pdf> (accessed on 12 April 2019).

[11] IREX, Media Sustainability Index 2018, cit.

Tuned in

Most popular radio channels in Kazakhstan by 2018 rating (%), 2014-2018

	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	Majority owner
Radio Retro	52.8	47.4	51.8	42.7	34.8	The family of the First President
Autoradio	45.6	44.9	49.1	43.6	33.0	Kantarbayev Askar
Russian Radio	45.9	43.0	43.9	41.8	33.0	DLS Group (Kazakhstan)/ Russian Telegraph (Russia)
Radio Dacha	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	32.9	Mustafina Tolkyn (Kazakhstan)/ Radio Dacha (Russia)
Radio NS	37.1	29.5	34.4	26.2	31.3	The Government
Love Radio	24.5	23.7	26.9	30.4	24.5	Kaldybayeva Akmaral
Zhuldyz FM	n/a	18.5	29.6	25.6	21.3	Kazybayev Batyr, Temirova Dinara
Dala FM	n/a	n/a	23.1	25.9	19.5	Kantarbayev Askar
Kazakh Radio	21.8	14.3	14.9	17.6	14.9	The Government
Tengri FM	18.4	12.9	12.1	10.8	10.9	Kazybayev Batyr, Temirova Dinara

n/a: not available

Sources: TNS Global Kazakhstan, Egov.kz, 2019

The most popular radio station is Radio Retro, which is part of a large portfolio of media assets controlled by the family members of the First President through Europa Plus Kazakhstan.[12] Although the radio market features more private owners, it remains highly concentrated. The second most popular radio station, Autoradio, is owned by Askar Kantarbayev who also owns Dala FM. Batyr Kazybayev and Dinara Temirova through their media holding Alash Media Group co-own both Zhuldyz FM and Tengri FM.

Among all, the ownership of Love Radio is the murkiest as there are no documents indicating names or organizations directly controlling the channel. Only one company is associated with Love Radio, and that is Grand FM, a company owned by Akmaral Kaldybayeva that is responsible for handling the station's ad sales. According to other sources, Love Radio is owned by Musan Group.[13] No link between the two parties could be identified.

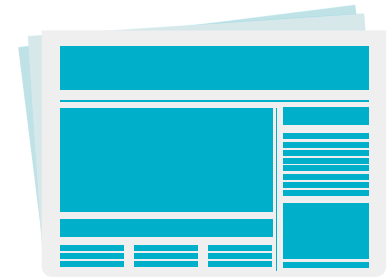
Foreign owners, namely Russian, have a much stronger presence in radio than in television. Russian-controlled companies have stakes in two radio stations, Russian Radio (Russkoye Radio) and Radio Dacha.

With the exception of Tengri FM, radio stations in Kazakhstan do not produce their own news content. Most of the largest radio channels aggregate news from local and international news outlets, including news agencies.

[12] Based on legal documents from egov.kz; also see: “«Европа Плюс Казахстан» перестанет вещать в регионах” (Europa Plus Kazakhstan will stop broadcasting in the regions), Zakon.kz, 11 January 2011, available online at <https://www.zakon.kz/194864-evropa-pljus-kazakhstan-perestanet.html> (accessed April 29, 2019); also see note 4.

[13] Marat Shibusov, “Кому на самом деле принадлежит СМИ Казахстана” (Who owns mass media in Kazakhstan), Regnum, 26 May 2017, available online at <https://regnum.ru/news/2280402> (accessed 17 April 2019).

Print



There is no data on the circulation of newspapers as print media are not legally required to make such information publicly available. The latest available figures, collected by TNS Global, are from 2011 and cover mostly entertainment magazines.

According to an informal survey carried out by CMDS in Almaty, the most popular newspapers are Karavan (controlled by the First President) and two Government-run newspapers KazPravda (Kazakhstanskay Pravda) and Egemen Kazakhstan.[14]

Karavan is part of the media portfolio controlled by the First President, being legally owned by the president's private foundation. The Government controls three newspapers in Kazakhstan. The Ministry of Information and Social Development owns the Kazakh-language newspaper Egemen Kazakhstan and the Russian-speaking newspaper KazPravda; the ruling party Nur-Otan owns Liter. According to data from 2009-2011, KazPravda was the number one newspaper in the country while Egemen Kazakhstan was ranked third.[15]

Karavan, along with Argumenty i Fakty (AiF), meaning "arguments and facts" in Russian, and Vremya (meaning "time" in Russian), are published on a weekly basis. AiF is owned by Bibigul Turebayeva who also has shares in Media-Link, a company that owns several newspapers and radio stations. Vremya is co-owned by Nurzhan Subkhardberdin and Shanyrak Trade (the proportion of their shares is not known). Mr Subkhardberdin is a Kazakh billionaire who founded what was once Kazakhstan's largest bank Kazkmmommerstbank, currently acting as its chairman.[16] Through Central Asian Investment Company, he has investments in various other industries.[17]

Zhas Alash is a Kazakh-speaking newspaper known for covering critical issues. It is owned by Saltanat Atusheva, widow of former opposition leader Altynbek Sarsenbayev. Kapital is a business newspaper co-owned by Svetlana and Sanzhar Mustafins through their company Musan Group, which has shares in other media companies.

[14] The survey was carried out by the researchers working on this report among 100 respondents residing in Almaty. They were asked what newspapers they considered their main source of news. The survey was carried out in February-March 2019.

[15] Frederick Emrich, Yevgeniya Plakhina & Dariya Tsyrenzhapova, "Mapping Digital Media: Kazakhstan," (eds. Marius Dragomir, Mark Thompson, Rita Rudusa), Open Society Foundations (OSF), 2013, available online at <https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/reports/mapping-digital-media-kazakhstan> (accessed on 1 May 2019).

[16] "Nurzhan Subkhardberdin," Forbes, available at <https://www.forbes.com/profile/nurzhan-subkhanberdin/#41ca49897e30> (accessed 17 April 2019).

[17] "Nurzhan Subkhardberdin," Forbes, cit.

Printed word

The most popular newspapers in Kazakhstan, May 2019

Newspaper	Majority owner
Karavan	The First President
KazPravda	Government
Egemen Kazakhstan	Government
Vremya	Subharberdin Nurzhan, LLP Shanyrak Trade
Argumenty i Fakty	Turebayeva Bibigul
Express - K	Shahnovich Igor, Bekkulova Sholpan, LLP Vostok Impax
Zhas Alash	Atusheva Saltanat, Sarsenbay Ana
Liter	Government
Kapital	Mustafina Svetlana, Mustafin Sanzhar
Kursiv	User Saken

Source: CMDS survey, Almaty

Online News

Kazakhstan has two websites (Zero.kz and Olshem.kz) that collect data about the popularity of local websites.

However, experts have repeatedly expressed serious concerns about their methodologies and alleged bias towards certain websites. Moreover, none of them include all the Kazakhstani websites in their sample. For example,

Nur.kz, which is arguably one of the most popular news websites in the country, hasn't agreed to provide information on its users to the two websites. Based on data from SimilarWeb, an analytics company, CMDS created in May 2019 a new ranking of the most visited portals in Kazakhstan.

Although the majority of news websites in Kazakhstan are privately owned, none is independent and truly free of government control. The most popular news website, TengriNews.kz is co-owned by Batyr Kazybayev and Dinara Temirova through their company Alash Media Group, which also owns the radio stations Zhuldyz FM and Tengri FM. Alash's media promote a strong pro-government narrative, serving as the main communicator of government policies. Their programs often air positive news about the Government, consistently ignoring major problems or people's opinions. The TengriNews portal is also known for generating fake comments to its own news pieces, most of which are supportive of government policies. Low-rank government officials are also ordered often to write positive comments under the government's announcements or critical comments under news pieces that portray the government negatively. These comments are known as Nurbots among Kazakhstan's internet users.[18] Negative



[18] Nazira Kozhanova, "Finding Kazakhstan's Troll Farms," The Diplomat, February 20, 2019, available at <https://thediplomat.com/2019/02/finding-kazakhstan-troll-farms/> (accessed 15 May 2019)

comments are filtered and not allowed on the website. In its early days, TengriNews.kz promoted itself as a reliable source of news and information, having even an English-language edition. The website's reputation, however, worsened over time.

Nur.kz since its inception has been operating as a pro-government website although there is no direct legal link between its owner, Kuat Bahridinov, and the Government. The most popular news portal in Kazakhstan, according to data collected by CMDS, Nur.kz sports the same pro-government bias as TengriNews.kz. Mr Bahridinov acts as CEO of both Nur.kz and Telekompaniya Era, which owns the Channel Seven television.[19]

The third most popular news website is Zakon.kz, co-owned by Sergei Kiselev and his wife, Anna. Zakon.kz started as a repository of laws, but later evolved into a fully-fledged news website. Mr Kiselev also works as CEO of Eurasia television channel.[20]

Zakon.kz, Nur.kz and TengriNews.kz are known for their blatant pro-government bias, avoiding reporting on topics that conflict with the Government's rhetoric as it happened during the streets protests around the renaming of the capital city and the fairness of elections in the spring of 2019.

Mr Utemuratov Bulat, who owns Channel 31, also owns Informburo.kz. Former co-owner of Channel 31, Mr Armanzhan Baitasov also has shares in Forbes.kz, although in legal documents only the name of his daughter, Aidana Baitasova, is indicated.

The Government owns three of the 10 most visited websites. They are Kazinform.kz, an international news agency designed for an international audience that specializes in news about Kazakhstan; Bnews.kz, the Kazinform's version for the Russian-speaking population of the country; and 24.kz, which is owned by Khabar Agency, the government agency that also controls the television channel Khabar.

Vlast.kz is the sole truly independent news website among the top ones. It is owned by the civil society activist and journalist Vyacheslav Abramov who in the past served as director of MediaNet, an NGO, and head of the Freedom House local office in Kazakhstan, a U.S. Government-funded NGO.[21]

[19] "Кват Бахридинов назначен генеральным директором ТОО «Интернет-портал Nur.kz»", (Kuat Bahridinov appointed as CEO of LLP "Internet-portal Nur.kz), Nur.kz, 1 March 2016, available at <https://www.nur.kz/1088008-kuat-bakhridinov-naznachen-generalny.html> (accessed on 30 April 2019).

[20] "Киселев Сергей Владимирович"(Kiselev Sergei Vladimirovich,) Zakon.kz, available at https://online.zakon.kz/Document/?doc_id=30104523#pos=1;-9 (accessed on 30 April 2019)

[21] "Вячеслав Абрамов", (Vyacheslav Abramov), Soros.kz, 15 May 2018, available at <https://www.soros.kz/ru/vyacheslav-abramov/> (accessed on 30 April 2019).

Top portals

The most visited news websites in Kazakhstan, 2019

	No of visits per month (March, 2019), million	Majority owner
Nur.kz	9.63	Bahridov Kuat
TengriNews.kz	5.37	Kazybayev Batyr, Temirova Dinara
Zakon.kz	4.75	Kiseleva Anna, Kiselev Sergei
Informburo.kz	1.75	Utemuratov Bulat
Kazinform.kz	n/a*	Government
Forbes.kz	0.80	Baitasova Aidana, Abzhaparova Lyazzat, Satybaldin Timur, LLP Skytec
Bnews.kz	0.86	Government
Kursiv.kz	0.41	User Saken
24.kz	0.37	Government
Vlast.kz	0.23	Abramov Vyacheslav

*based on estimates from SimilarWeb, Kazinform.kz has over 1 million monthly visits
Source: SimilarWeb, 2019

Funding Trends

Media in Kazakhstan is an overwhelmingly dysfunctional market in which the Government plays a disproportionately big role by allocating hefty amounts of budget money to a slew of media companies.

The biggest share of the government funding is doled out to media companies owned by the Government or supportive of the Government. According to CMDS estimates based on locally sourced figures, the Government pumped over €144m into media companies in 2017, an amount bigger than the whole advertising spending in Kazakhstan, which is estimated by some experts to be close to €88.9m. According to other estimates, the ad spending totaled US\$ 154m in 2018.

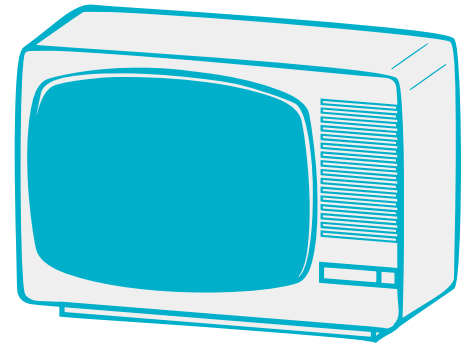
Such discrepancies in market data are, in fact, another problem media operators are grappling with. Data about the financial health of media companies are nowhere to find as companies are not obliged to disclose figures on their revenues or other key financial indicators; and this has a negative impact on the competitiveness of the Kazakh media market, which is financed primarily from ad money and government cash. Philanthropy money is marginal as foreign donors have been wary of spending in Kazakhstan due to the censorship-related excesses of the country's leadership.

In such an environment, there is little incentive for media entrepreneurs to test new funding models for independent journalism. Without a culture of paying for news and the Government lavishly financing the media, paywalls or any other subscriber-anchored financing models are doomed to fail. One media outlet, Vlast.kz, tried subscriptions when it launched in 2012, but they soon binned the charges as people were not at all willing to spend on media content.

Television Funding

The main source of funding for television, as well as for other types of media, is the Government. The Kazakh advertising market is small and underdeveloped. It is dominated by large advertising agencies and has recently been under pressure from global technology giants such as Facebook and Google that have been making inroads in Kazakhstan in recent years.[22] According to industry estimates, Kazakhstan's advertising industry is worth

KZT 38bn (€88.8m) annually, with some 56% of that going to television companies.[23]



The television market lacks transparency when it comes to capital and revenues. Media companies are not obliged to reveal data about their revenues and profits, except for publicly owned companies that are legally obliged to make their financial audits public. On top of that, data about the companies' annual corporate tax payments can be used as an indicator of their financial performance. According to the Tax Code of the Republic of Kazakhstan, companies are obliged to pay corporate taxes worth 20% of their profit. Data about tax payments are publicly available on the local finance ministry website.

Among the top television channels, Qazaqstan, Khabar and Eurasia (all owned by the Government) paid the highest amount of tax between 2014 and 2018. In contrast, private channels such as Channel 31 and Channel Seven made considerably less profit than their government-controlled competitors, according to tax data. That is an illustration of how government-owned channels are operated as instruments to gain influence rather than businesses. The government-owned television channels never compete for advertising money. Khabar, for example, has not aired any ads since 2018. Private channels on the other hand are struggling in a weak economy, marred by galloping inflation and a weak currency as well as legal restrictions. Moreover, they grapple with a corrupt system of distribution of public funds.

Television accounts

Amount of corporate tax payments made by the most prominent television channels in Kazakhstan, in KZT '000, 2014-2018

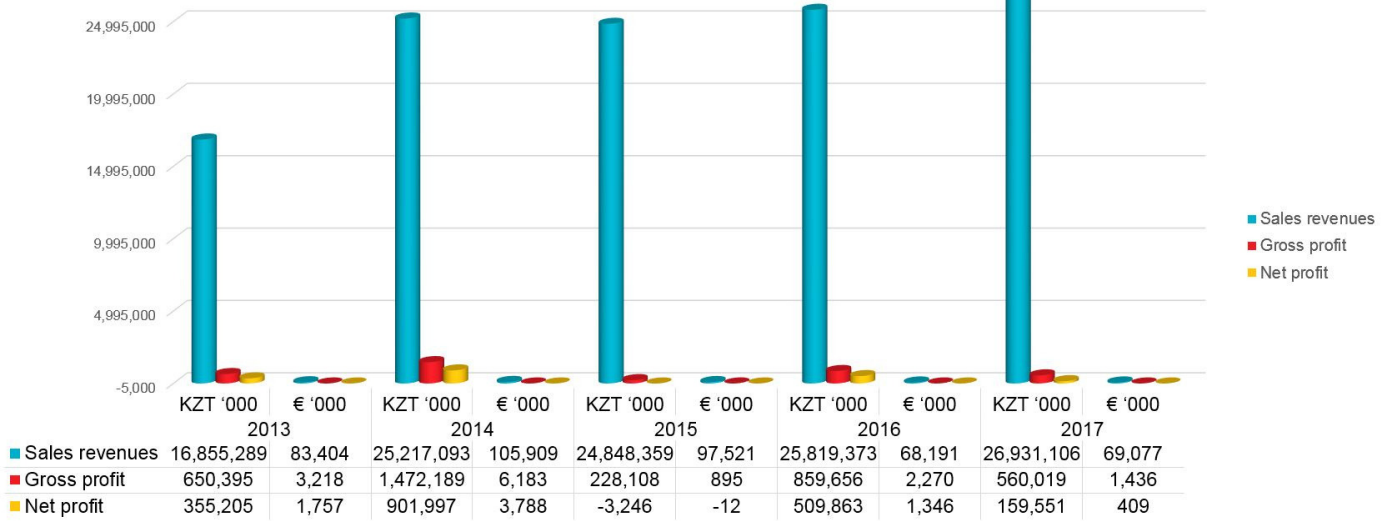
	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	Majority owner
Eurasia	1,902,584	1,633,832	1,227,415	1,747,101	1,114,366	Government
KTK	823,173	707,911	670,609	720,517	807,787	The First President
NTK	154,691	127,473	128,528	138,939	197,015	The family of the First President
Channel 31	13,005	40,542	37,707	42,697	52,948	Utemuratov Bulat
Mir	901,535	1,051,205	791,369	645,121	619,740	International Channel
Chanel Seven	198,175	136,868	186,356	61,913	172,354	Rakishev Kenes
Astana TV	185,658	1,210,486	919,602	94,613	225,192	Government
Khabar	1,785,029	1,985,603	1,928,421	1,995,411	2,038,495	Government
Almaty TV	106,683	107,745	85,896	89,871	191,505	Government
Qazaqstan	1,967,999	2,019,610	2,235,505	2,402,227	2,765,393	Government

Source: DFO.kz

[22] IREX, Media Sustainability Index 2018, cit.

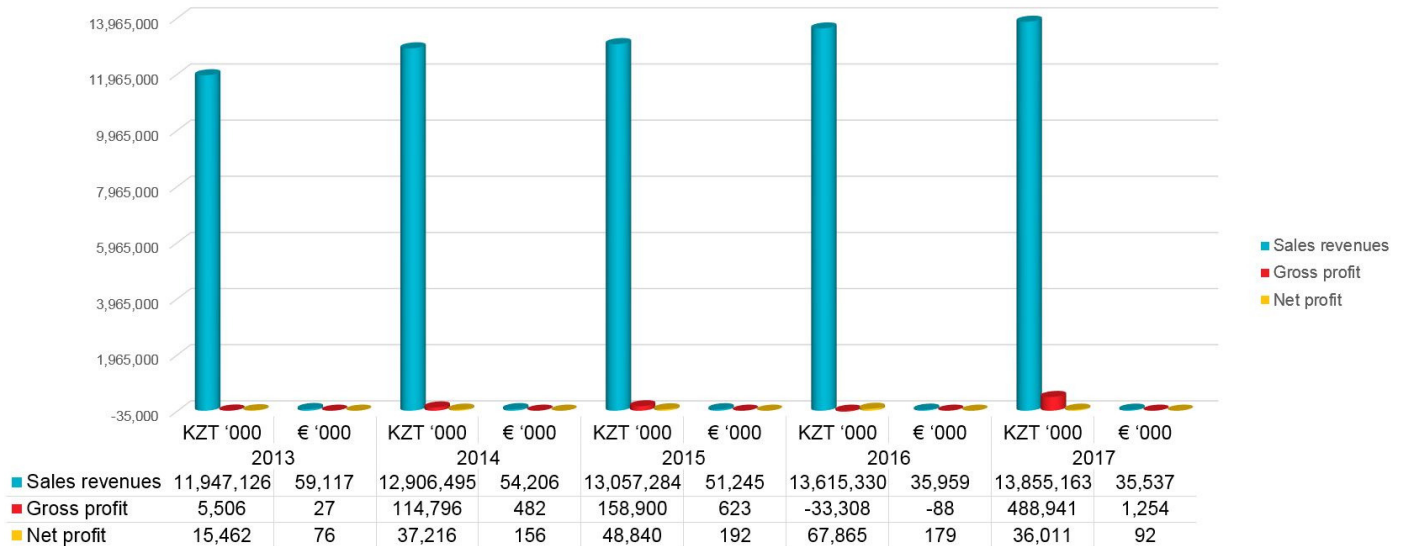
[23] IREX, Media Sustainability Index 2018, cit.

Key financial data for Teleradiokorporaciya Kazakhstan*, 2013-2017



*data cover all economic activities of the company, which owns Qazaqstan, Eurasia, Kazakh Radio[24]
Source: DFO.kz

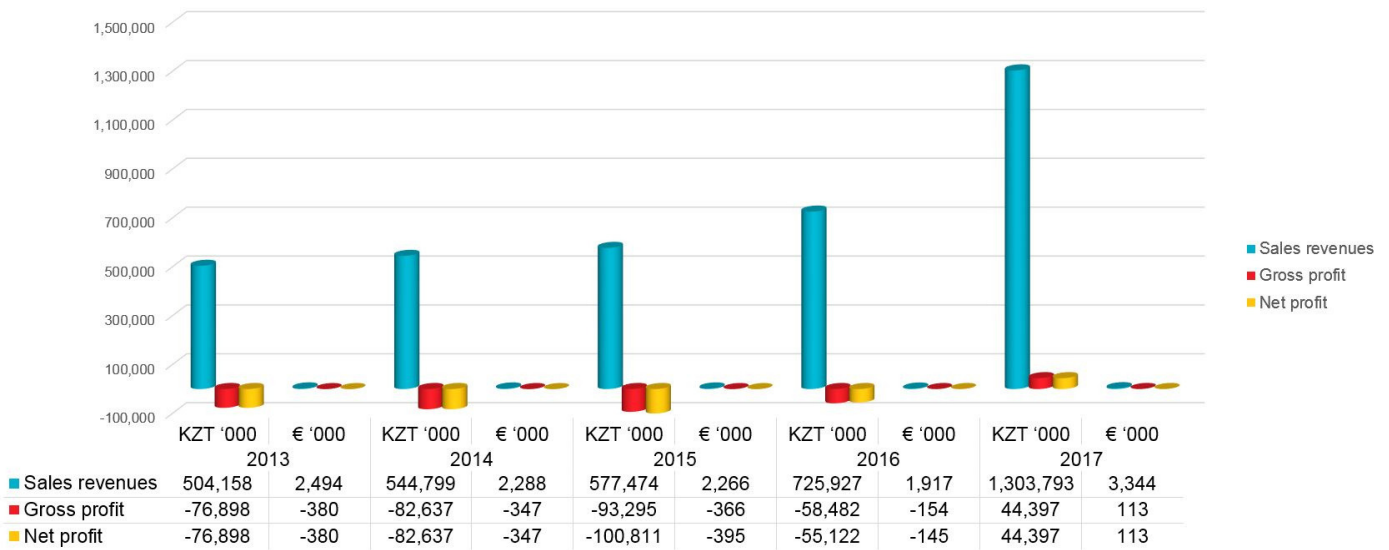
Key financial data for Agentstvo Khabar*, 2013-2017



*data cover all economic activities of the company, which owns Khabar TV and 24.kz
Source: DFO.kz

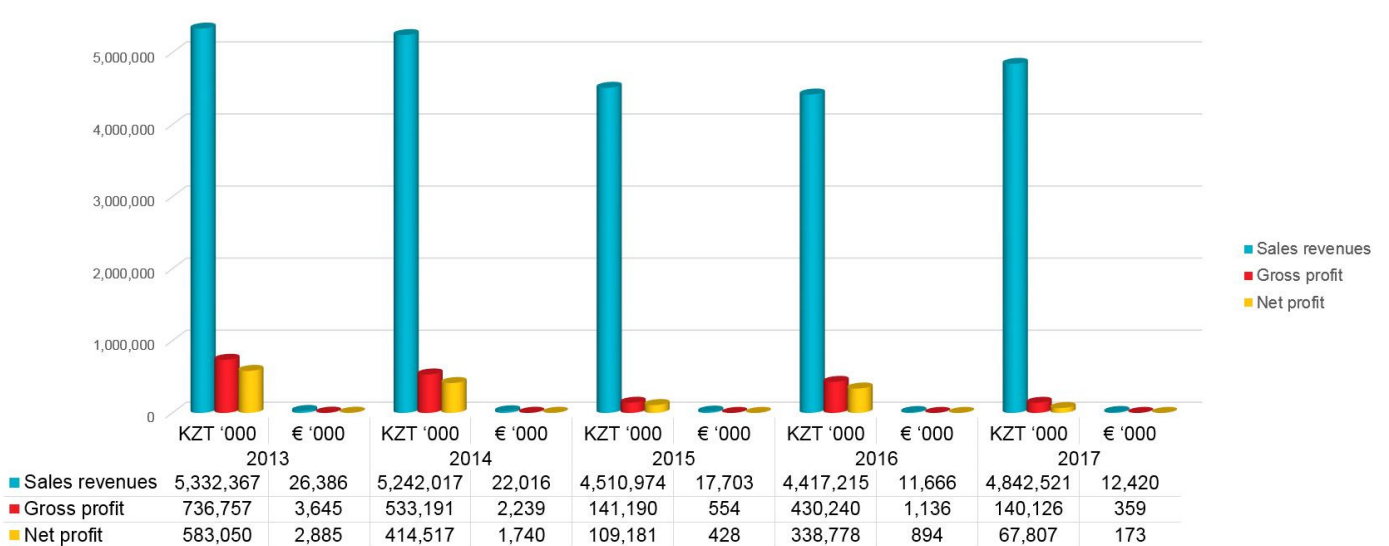
[24] Financial data in this report are calculated by CMDS based on the official average exchange rate from the National Bank of Kazakhstan

Key financial data for Teleradiocompaniya Yuzhnaya Stolica*, 2013-2017



*data cover all economic activities of the company, which owns Almaty TV
Source: DFO.kz

Key financial data for KTK*, 2013-2017



*data cover all economic activities of the company, which owns KTK
Source: DFO.kz

Radio Funding

Although radio operators do not disclose financial data either, it can be inferred from the available tax-related information that the radio market is the least profitable among all media sectors. Because of the low quality of their programs and poor ratings, the Government has very little interest in radio stations. Likewise, advertisers place their commercials elsewhere.

Tax-related data show that radio stations operate on shoestring budgets, considerably lower than the revenues generated by television companies. While television operators pay taxes in the range of KZT billions, the highest amount of tax paid by the most popular radio company, Radio Retro, was a frugal KZT 1m (€2,300). Profits of most of radio companies have decreased in the past five years or so. Radio Retro's tax declined from almost KZT 3m in 2014 to KZT 1m in 2018. Only Autoradio, Kazakh Radio and Tengri FM appear to have increased their tax payments in the past five years.

Radio accounts

Amount of corporate tax payments made by the top 10 radio stations in Kazakhstan, in KZT '000, 2014-2018

	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	Majority owner
Radio Retro	290,490	237,393	147,051	153,065	125,617	The family of the First President
Autoradio	6,355	6,239	7,568	8,065	13,758	Kantarbayev Askar
Russian Radio	68,321	50,797	30,124	32,800	37,650	DLS Group (Kazakhstan)/ Russian Telegraph (Russia)
Radio Dacha	0	0	0	0	10,780	Mustafina Tolkyun (Kazakhstan)/ Radio Dacha (Russia)
Radio NS	68,321	50,797	30,124	32,800	37,650	Government
Love Radio	60,320	55,561	51,309	38,705	50,061	Kaldybayeva Akmaral
Zhuldyz FM	29,282	23,752	12,893	10,224	16,054	Kazybayev Batyr, Temirova Dinara
Dala FM	0	8,492	4,124	-3,473	6,305	Kantarbayev Askar
Kazakh Radio	0	0	0	80,095	126,748	Government
Tengri FM	29,282	23,752	12,893	10,224	16,054	Kazybayev Batyr, Temirova Dinara

Source: DFO.kz

Newspapers Funding

In spite of the serious challenges posed by the rise of the internet and ensuing competition from news portals and social media, newspaper publishers have been financially stable in recent years. KazPravda and Egemen Kazakhstan, both owned by the Government, paid the highest amount of taxes in 2018 and were among the four largest taxpaying newspapers in recent years. Privately-held newspapers seem to make considerably less profit, judging by the amount of tax paid, which is half of the tax paid by government-owned newspapers.

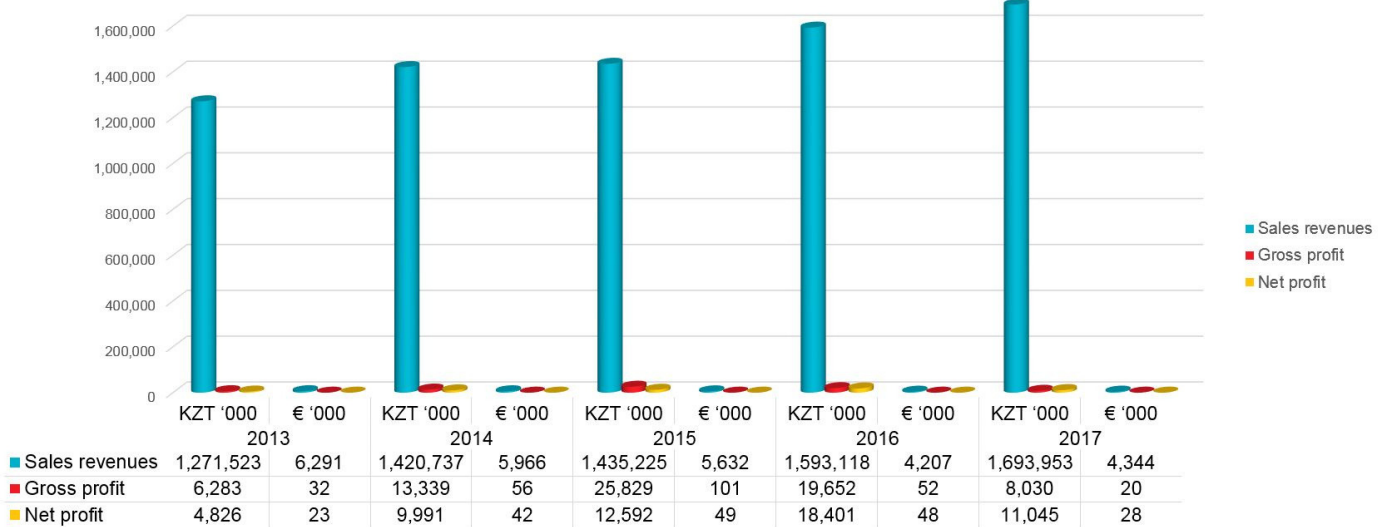
Newspapers accounts

Amount of corporate tax payments made by the most popular newspapers in Kazakhstan, KZT '000, 2014-2018

	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	Majority owner
Karavan	108,788	101,105	115,126	117,058	119,208	The First President
KazPravda	229,659	174,223	171,184	165,410	155,881	Government
Egemen Kazakhstan	162,079	132,012	132,515	112,643	123,313	Government
Vremya	46,697	69,405	66,617	53,657	61,234	Subharberdin Nurzhan, LLP Shanyrak Trade
Argumenty i Fakty	15,458	16,544	5,460	1,503	20,887	Turebayeva Bibigul
Express – K	127,276	128,171	119,877	125,230	110,808	Shahnovich Igor, Bekkulova Sholpan, LLP Vostok Impax
Zhas Alash	20,934	19,680	18,827	17,682	22,837	Atusheva Saltanat, Sarsenbay Ana
Liter	82,210	88,175	79,468	39,028	45,078	Government
Kapital	17,473	17,977	18,243	22,391	24,595	Mustafina Svetlana, Mustafin Sanzhar
Kursiv	2,112	3,505	480	6,443	31,519	User Saken

Source: DFO.kz

Key financial data for Egemen Kazakhstan, 2013-2017



Source: DFO.kz

News Websites Funding

Almost all of the 10 most visited websites in Kazakhstan have increased the amount of tax paid in recent years. The largest taxpaying online portal by far is 24.kz, which annually pays somewhere close to KZT 2bn in taxes; however, that is mainly because the company that operates the website 24.kz, the government-owned Agenstvo Khabar (Khabar Agency), is the same one that operates the Khabar television channel. Hence, 24.kz and Khabar TV share the same tax base.

The government-owned Bnews.kz and Kazinform.kz paid the second and third largest amount of taxes in 2018, respectively. They were followed by TengriNews.kz and Nur.kz, the most popular

web sources for news. As in other sectors, private companies owning news portals make on average less profit and, thus, pay less taxes than government-owned companies.

The online news market is not very advanced in Kazakhstan. There is no example of news portals (be they websites run by newspaper publishers or online-only portals) that finance themselves through paid subscriptions or paywalls, or crowdfunding. Generally, Kazakhstan lacks the culture of paid digital services (for news or music) because of a combination of factors including low levels of digital literacy, lack of trust in online payments and a long history of digital piracy when everything was available (or so it seemed) free of charge on the internet. Vlast.kz is an illustrative case. The portal was launched in 2012 as a subscription-based website, offering quality journalism to its readers. However, after several years of operations, the model was not financially sustainable, so they pulled down the paywall.

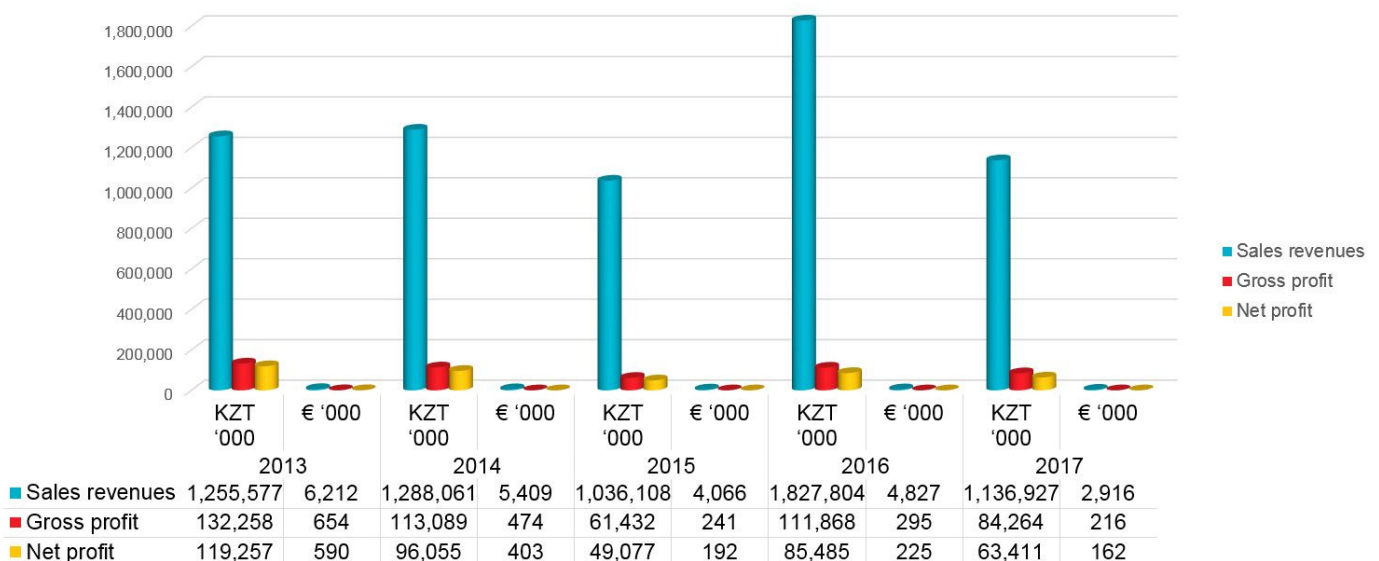
News websites accounts

Amount of corporate tax payments made by the most popular news websites in Kazakhstan, KZT '000, 2014-2018

	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	Majority owner
Nur.kz	27,531	28,854	72,045	84,873	68,429	Bahridov Kuat
TengriNews.kz	61,307	74,611	77,702	109,770	128,491	Kazybayev Batyr, Temirova Dinara
Zakon.kz	6,705	8,477	8,387	11,152	11,778	Kiseleva Anna, Kiselev Sergei
Informburo.kz	0	0	43,110	47,455	52,453	Utemuratov Bulat
Kazinform.kz	84,576	139,956	114,782	157,426	158,220	Government
Forbes.kz	20,730	20,081	36,655	30,863	39,785	Baitasova Aidana, Abzhaparova Lyazzat, Satybaldin Timur, LLP Skytec
Bnews.kz	249,729	161,561	153,646	230,391	201,436	Government
Kursiv.kz	2,112	3,505	480	6,443	31,519	User Saken
24.kz	1,785,029	1,985,603	1,928,421	1,995,411	2,038,495	Government
Vlast.kz	80,595	132,109	91,072	91,443	0	Abramov Vyacheslav

Source: DFO.kz

Key financial data for Kazkontent*, 2013-2017



*data cover all economic activities of the company, which owns Bnews.kz
Source: DFO.kz

Influential News Media

The most influential television players in Kazakhstan are the leading channel Eurasia and the President's channels, according to 2019 program ratings from United Industrial Committee, a local audience research group associated with TNS Central Asia. Eurasia leads in ratings with *Zlaya Sudba* (meaning "evil fate" in Russian), a Russian television series.

When it comes to news, Eurasia is competing neck and neck with KTK for the largest audience share. In spite of the Government's majority stake in Eurasia, the station does not promote a pro-government narrative, but acts rather as a re-broadcaster of Russian television programs aired by *Pervyi Kanal*, Russia's leading station and the wealthiest television company across CIS. Eurasia promotes though a strong pro-Russian narrative on global affairs matters.

Overall, the top 10 television program list is dominated by Eurasia, with six programs, and KTK, with three programs. Interestingly, government-owned channels have a very weak presence on this list, except for Astana TV whose only program on the list is a television series. In the local business community, *Forbes* is arguably the most influential publication, seen as a paragon of business news reporting. In 2018, Armanzhan Baitasov, a local businessman whose daughter co-owns *Forbes.kz*, launched Business FM, a radio station aimed at audiences interested in business.

Eyeball generators

Top 10 television programs in Kazakhstan, 2019

Program	Channel	Date of broadcasting	Time of broadcasting	Rating %
<i>Zlaya Sudba</i> TV series (Russia)	Eurasia	16 Feb 2019	6.12 p.m.	6.19
News KTK	KTK	12 Feb 2019	8.59 p.m.	5.26
Main News on Eurasia	Eurasia	12 Feb 2019	7.59 p.m.	5.15
<i>Analitika</i>	Eurasia	17 Feb 2019	7.59 p.m.	4.80
Big News (KTK)	KTK	16 Feb 2019	8.59 p.m.	4.68
<i>Avariya</i> TV series (Russia)	Eurasia	17 Feb 2019	6.12 p.m.	4.65
<i>Pole Chudes</i>	Eurasia	15 Feb 2019	8.46 p.m.	4.61
<i>Abysyndar</i> TV series	Astana TV	15 Feb 2019	10.00 p.m.	4.24
<i>Ulicy Razbityh Fonarei</i> TV Series	Eurasia	13 Feb 2019	8.47 p.m.	4.06
<i>Mat za Syna</i> TV Series	KTK	16 Feb 2019	0.30 a.m.	4.02

Source: United Media Association, 2019 nma.kz

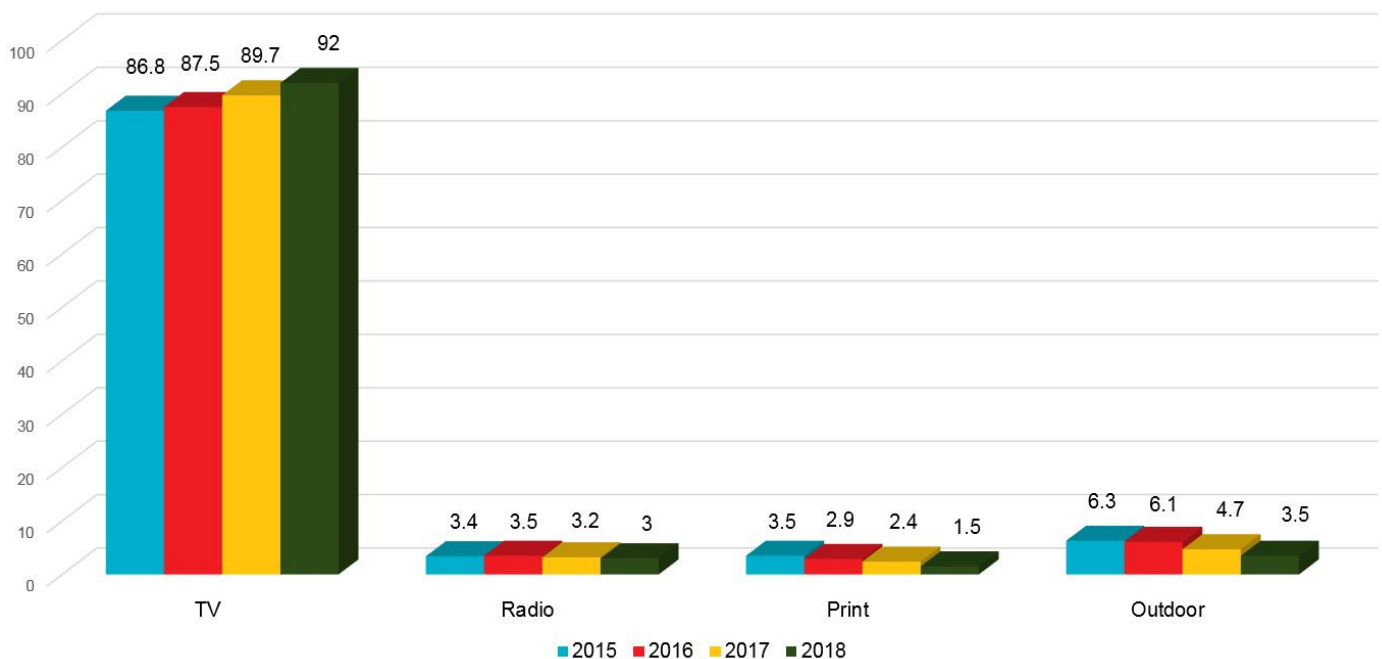
Key Funders

Non-Governmental Funders

Television dominates the ad market in Kazakhstan, its share in the total ad spend constantly growing. In 2018, television accounted for 92% of the total ad spending in the country. Estimates about the value of the Kazakh advertising market vary widely. According to 2018 industry data collected by IREX, it was worth some US\$ 154m.[25] Industry estimates put it at a much lower level. (See *Television Funding in this report*)

The advertising pie

Share of ad spend, %, by medium in Kazakhstan, 2015-2018



Source: Kantar TNS, 2018

Television is an uncontested leader on the Kazakh advertising media market. In the past four years, it has cemented this dominance. By 2018, it commanded some 92% of the total ad revenues in the market. Radio comes second, but that is because Kantar TNS, an ad research company, does not count the ad spend in digital media, which, according to some estimates, accounted for 16 % in 2018.[26] The radio advertising market has experienced a slow, but steady decline over

[25] IREX, Media Sustainability Index 2018, cit.

[26] Tamara Abubakarova, "Аналитики подсчитали объём рекламы в различных медиа Казахстана. Телевидение по-прежнему лидирует" (Analysts counted advertising volumes in different media of Kazakhstan. Television still leads), Informburo.kz, 21 February 2019, available online at <https://informburo.kz/novosti/analitiki-podschitali-obyom-reklamy-v-razlichnyh-media-kazahstana-televidenie-po-prezhnemu-lidiruet.html> (accessed on 30 April 2019).

the past four years, a trend that is likely to continue in the coming years as the quality of radio programming is very low. Following the decline in the print industry, the print advertisement market has also experienced a significant decline over the past four years, with only 1.5 % of the overall ad spending going into print media in 2018.

AdEaters

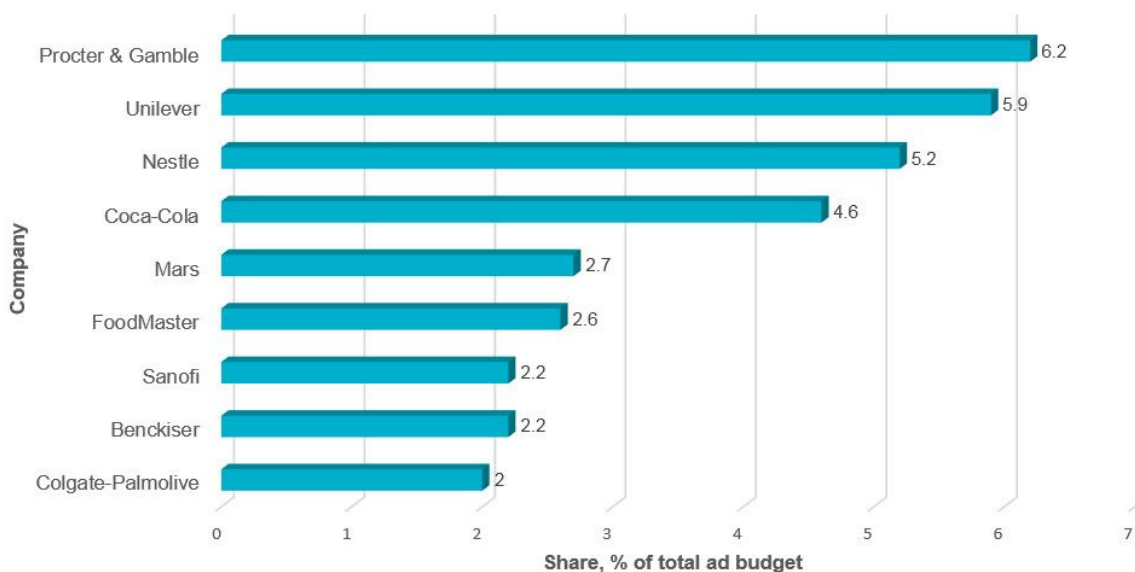
Media outlets by advertising revenue, % of total advertising orders issued by advertising agencies, 2018

Television	Share, %	Radio	Share, %	Print media outlet	Share, %	Portal	Share, %
Eurasia	25	Russian Radio	22	Bazaar	13.9	Allphones.kz	40.5
Channel 31	19	Love Radio	19	L'Officiel	11.9	OLX.kz	38
KTK	16	Autoradio	17	L'Officiel Hommes Kazakhstan	9.8	Zakon.kz	37
NTK	13	Radio Retro	12	Time (newspaper)	6.9	Krysha.kz	35
Astana TV	11	Radio NS	8	Forbes	6	Gismeteo.kz	34.5
Channel Seven	8	Zhuldyz FM	5	Karavan (newspaper)	5	Nur.kz	34.5
Qazaqstan	6	Tengri FM	3	Esquire	4.9	Tengrinews.kz	28
MIR	5	Europe Plus	3	Cosmopolitan	4.9	Karavan.kz	22
Almaty TV	1	Gakku	2	Vintage	3.9	Kolesa.kz	20.5
Toi Duman	0.5	Kazakh Radio	1.8	RobbReport	3.9	365info.kz	9

Note: the figures are approximations
Source: Kantar TNS, 2018

Ad spenders

Largest advertising spenders in Kazakhstan, 2018



Source: Kantar TNS, 2018

Philanthropy

Since 2009, a total of US\$ 2.6m in donor funding has been spent in media in Kazakhstan, according to data from Media Impact Funders (MIF), one of the few sources of data on philanthropy spend in the media. That is an insignificant amount compared to the overall funding in the country's media industry. For many years, foreign donors have been cautious about working in Kazakhstan because of the Government's attacks on the media. On the other hand, for the same reasons, much of the funding channeled by international philanthropies to media-related activities in Kazakhstan has not been recorded in the books. All that explains the low records of donor funding in the country, according to experts working for grant-making foundations interviewed for this report.

The Soros Foundation-Kazakhstan, the local office of the Open Society Foundations (OSF), is by far the largest media donor in the country with overall grants worth US\$ 1.4m since 2009, according to the MIF's records. The second largest donor in the Kazakh media is National Endowment for Democracy (NED), a U.S Congress-funded non-profit organization, which spent roughly US\$ 900,000 there since 2009, according to MIF. Much of this funding, however, went into training and building capacity, not in supporting newsroom operations as such. Other philanthropic funders listed by MIF have only invested small amounts, of less than US\$ 100,000, in the media. They include The Coca-Cola Foundation, the philanthropic arm of the drink bottling company Coca-Cola, The Sigrid Rausing Trust, a foundation bankrolled by the Swedish philanthropist Sigrid Rausing, and Ambrose Monell Foundation, a grant-maker focused mostly on health-related issues.

Government Funding

The Government is one of the largest funders of media outlets in Kazakhstan. In television, it allocates most of its financing to two channels, namely Khabar and Qazaqstan, according to data from Legal Media Center in Kazakhstan. In 2017, Khabar received roughly KZT 14bn (US\$ 42.3m) from the Government while Qazaqstan was provided with some KZT 19bn (US\$57.3m) from the same source. In contrast, privately-owned channels receive each on average only KZT 200m (US\$ 606,000) of government funding yearly.

In 2017, the Government earmarked some KZT 37.9bn (€97.1m) to television operators in Kazakhstan, a stark contrast with Government funding allocations to other media. News websites received the second highest amount of money, a total of KZT 16.5bn (€42.2m). Newspapers followed with nearly KZT 2bn (€5m) and radio came last with only KZT 67.8m (€174,000). Overall, Government is by far the largest spender in the media, with a total of over €144m in funding allocated to media outlets in 2017.

Budget funding for television

Government financing provided to the top 10 television channels in Kazakhstan, in KZT, 2013-2017

	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	Majority owner
Eurasia	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	Government
KTK	44,196,427	30,720,000	135,430,000	n/a	369,282,808	The First President
NTK	51,339,285	57,600,000	286,240,000	n/a	208,140,000	The family of the First President
Channel 31	84,066,074	32,235,000	360,095,000	55,559,999	376,315,150	Utemuratov Bulat
Mir	258,936,607	266,402,176	322,123,999	307,086,003	306,007,999	International Channel
Channel Seven	45,381,822	27,960,001	649,570,002	n/a	231,440,200	Rakishev Kenes
Astana TV	114,054,685	96,409,688	378,476,389	85,876,405	678,885,923	Government
Khabar	1,0856,993,997	13,241,028,998	13,437,908,000	13,789,707,889	14,129,889,334	Government
Almaty TV	399,999,591	484,572,819	487,407,903	641,945,172	1,210,923,000	Government
Qazaqstan	968,311,181	1,239,878,512	1,000,999,145	1,207,944,991	20,397,774,088	Government

n/a: not available

Source: Legal Media Center Kazakhstan

In 2017, three government-owned news websites took the lion's share of government funding, receiving from the state budget some KZT 5.4bn (€13.8m), which was eightfold more than the sum of government money received by all other websites (KZT 263,759,677). 24.kz and Bnews.kz led among the government-owned websites. The three most popular websites TengriNews.kz, Nur.kz and Zakon.kz received the highest amount of government money among all privately held websites.

The distribution of government funding to media is illustrative of how the government uses funding to control media. Websites becoming more pro-government receive an increasing amount of funding from the Government. This was the case of TengriNews, Nur and Zakon whose government allocation saw a spectacular increase in 2017. TengriNews received that year a total of KZT 102m, a massive increase from KZT 7m in the previous year. Nur experienced an even more dramatic increase in government cash from KZT 1m in 2016 to KZT 118m in 2017. Zakon.kz became increasingly reliant on government money over time, boosting its government funding from KZT 11m in 2013 to KZT 113m in 2017. In parallel, its editorial policies have been more and more turning a blind eye to topics that conflict with the government's interests.

Government financing provided to the top 10 news websites in Kazakhstan, in KZT, 2013-2017

	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	Majority owner
TengriNews.kz	n/a	n/a	n/a	7,000,000	102,666,283	Kazybayev Batyr, Temirova Dinara
Nur.kz	11,607,141	n/a	59,931,932	1,421,490	118,948,056	Bahridov Kuat
Zakon.kz	28,749,999	49,120,018	58,557,185	57,026,966	113,242,513	Kiseleva Anna, Kiselev Sergei
Infoburo.kz	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	30,729,108	Utemuratov Bulat
Kazinform.kz	n/a	639,664,462	674,732,110	59,111,684	715,623,870	Government
Forbes.kz	n/a					Baitasova Aidana, Abzhaparova Lyazzat, Satybalidin Timur, LLP Skytec
Kursiv.kz	10,713,684	12,000,000	15,500,001	n/a	1,499,999	User Saken
Bnews.kz	1,270,849,175	1,345,969,747	1,133,641,162	2,029,081,379	1,258,831,353	Government
24.kz	10,856,993,997	13,241,028,998	13,437,908,000	13,789,707,889	14,129,889,334	Government
Vlast.kz	n/a	n/a	18,414,385	n/a	n/a	Abramov Vyacheslav

n/a: not available

Source: Legal Media Center Kazakhstan

In print media, the distribution of government funding has the same logic as in television and online media. The three government-owned newspapers receive together more government money than all the other publications combined. Only the radio market is different when it comes to government funds as the Government has considerably less ownership in radio operators than in other media. In 2017, Autoradio, Zhuldyz FM and Tengri FM received most of the funding allocated by the Government to radio channels.

Government financing provided to the top 10 newspapers in Kazakhstan, in KZT, 2013-2017

	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	Majority owner
Karavan	n/a	n/a	n/a	12,670,000	39,566,363	The First President
KazPravda	564,328,155	808,969,940	799,217,483	800,139,566	828,111,435	Government
Egemen Kazakhstan	587,499,161	971,968,041	962,292,842	957,357,040	992,881,130	Government
Vremya	59,615,316	66,363,311	68,236,845	36,477,905	60,982,935	Subharberdin Nurzhan, LLP Shanyrak Trade
Argumenti i Fakty	17,500,000	13,000,000	19,000,001	n/a	15,280,087	Turebayeva Bibigul
Express - K	47,468,585	34,308,605	32,504,232	11,257,317	18,222,609	Shahnovich Igor, Bekkulova Sholpan, LLP Vostok Impax
Zhas Alash	n/a					Kazybayev Batyr, Temirova Dinara
Liter	6,036,142	107,728,089	146,171,451	55,402,027	n/a	Government
Kapital	14,012,785	16,000,000	10,000,000	1,020,000	840,000	Mustafina Svetlana, Mustafin Sanzhar
Kursiv	10,713,684	12,000,000	15,500,001	n/a	1,499,999	User Saken

n/a: not available

Source: Legal Media Center Kazakhstan

Government financing provided to the top 10 radio stations in Kazakhstan, in KZT, 2013-2017

	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	Majority owner
Radio Retro	n/a	n/a	2,000,000	n/a	1,400,000	The family of the First President
Autoradio	8,928,570	14,760,000	10,000,000	10,768,000	21,400,000	Kantabayev Askar
Russian Radio	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	1,400,000	DLS Group (Kazakhstan)/ Russian Telegraph (Russia)
Radio Dacha	n/a					Mustafina Tokyn (Kazakhstan)/ Radio Dacha (Russia)
Radio NS	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	1,400,000	Government
Love Radio	n/a					Kaldybayeva Akmaral
Zhuldyz FM	n/a	n/a	10,000,000	9,520,000	21,112,000	Kazybayev Batyr, Temirova Dinara
Dala FM	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	Kantabayev Askar
Kazakh Radio	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	Government
Tengri FM	n/a	n/a	10,000,000	9,520,000	21,112,000	Kazybayev Batyr, Temirova Dinara

n/a: not available

Source: Legal Media Center Kazakhstan



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