

**International News Coverage: Nagorno Karabakh
conflict in the New York Times newspaper**

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ABSTRACT

Conflicts live everywhere in the world and media represents them from variety angles. Media is an essential tool for successful foreign policy. Every country has its own foreign policy and interests. Foreign policy of a country could be defined in a relation to local interests. The main goal of this study is to find out if the media is in favor of presenting foreign news in relation to its own country's interests or not. The representation of Nagorno Karabakh conflict in New York Times newspaper was chosen as a sample for this study. Historical background of the conflict, international news flow, conflict news value, peace journalism, and etc have been debated in the literature review.

Quantitative methodology has been favored in this case study. For data collection content analysis has been done. This study looks at the news stories about Nagorno Karabakh conflict in New York Times online newspaper. Specific time period of 1992-1997, and 2007-2012 was chosen for the research. Several questions such as how the Nagorno Karabakh conflict represented in NYT newspaper, which aspects of the conflict was touched and how the coverage of the conflict has changed through the time, tried to be answered. Suggestions for further researchers can be to broaden the study into the television and radio news stories, to explore if they are also in favor of presenting foreign news in relation to its own country's interests or not.

Keywords: Nagorno Karabakh Conflict, International News Flow, Conflict News Value, Peace Journalism

ÖZ

Fikir ayrılıkları ve kavgalar dünyada her yerde yaşanıyor ve medya onları çeşitli açılarla bizlere aktarıyor. Medya başarılı bir dış politikası için önemli bir araçtır. Her ülkenin kendi dış politikası ve çıkarları vardır. Bir ülkenin dış politikası yerel çıkarları ilişkisi ile tanımlanabilir. Bu çalışmanın temel amacı, medya kendi ülkesinin çıkarlarını ya da bununla ilgili olarak yabancı haber sunmayı lehine olup olmadığını öğrenmektir. ABD'de medyasında, NYT gazetesinde Dağlık Karabağ sorununun temsili bu çalışma için örnek olarak seçildi. Çatışmanın tarihsel arka planı, uluslararası haber akışı, çatışma haber değeri, barış gazeteciliği, vb literatürde tartışma konusu olmuştur.

Bu araştırmada sayısal yöntem tercih edilmiştir. Veri toplanırken New York Times'ın elektronik ortamda yayınlanmış olan Dağlık Karabağ sorunu ile ilgili haberler ele alınarak içerik analizi yapılmıştır. Araştırmada kullanılan kaynaklar 1992-1997 ve 2007-2012 yılları arasında çıkan yayınlar ile sınırlandırıldı. Yayınlar incelenirken NYT gazetesinde Dağlık Karabağ çatışmasının nasıl ele alındığı, hangi çatışmaların ele alındığı ve zaman içerisinde çatışma kapsamının nasıl değiştiği soruları cevaplanmıştır. Diğer araştırmacılar için sunulan öneriler ise medyanın kendi ülkelerinin çıkarlarını ya da bununla ilgili olarak yabancı haber sunmanın lehine olup olmadığını televizyon ve radyo haberlerini inceleyerek keşfetmektir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Dağlık Karabağ Sorunu, Barış Gazeteciliği, Çatışma Haber Değerleri, Uluslararası Haber Kapsamı

To My Mother, My Father and My Sister

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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Presentation

This thesis begins by addressing issues which will define the problem and set the boundaries for research. To do this, this thesis will cover the historical background of Nagorno Karabakh conflict, as well as an overview of US foreign policy towards Nagorno Karabakh and the Azerbaijan-Armenian conflict.

Following this, the ways in which media interacts with international affairs of another country will be examined. In order to support the research and find out other studies about the issue a literature review was done on the several topics such as international news flow, factors influencing international news, gatekeeping, domestication of the news and so forth. This study will examine the different angles to which the New York Times newspaper has paid attention to the Nagorno Karabakh conflict and how the representation of this conflict related to the foreign policy of the USA toward the region.

1.2 Background of the Study

Conflicts live everywhere in the world and media represents them from variety of angles. Media is an essential tool for successful foreign policy. Every country has its own foreign policy and interests. Foreign policy of a country could be defined in a relation to local interests.

Media is somehow connected to political issues of the country. As the foreign policy of the country changes through the time, media institutions follow these changes and adapt the representation of international news to the certain conditions. In general news framed differently across cultures. The main goal of this study is to learn how and from which aspects Nagorno Karabakh conflict was represented in NYT newspaper in relation to the USA interests.

While representing local or international news countries, media agencies have possibility to localize or domesticate it. This gives a chance to add the own policy toward the news. Therefore domestication is an essential part of the coverage of news including local and foreign news. According to Gurevitch (1991), every media has its own specific orientations toward the related topics and notions. Media agencies domesticate and localize news according to the domestic audiences. Variety audiences have distinguished comprehensiveness. Therefore, media institutions try to construct news in a relation to the dominant cultural, ideological characteristics of the society. News should be presented to the audience in a way that it should be familiar, understandable and recognizable to the receivers (p. 207).

Nagorno Karabakh is a major constraint in the Caucasus region and it is in the center of political circles. This conflict catches attention of variety media institutions including US and European media coverage. Nagorno Karabakh conflict is a hot issue that stays unresolved for more than twenty years. During those years the conflict was covered in the media through variety ways and aspects.

The former Soviet Union (The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) was collapsed in 1991, at the end of twentieth century. It caused a numerous unresolved problems in the region of Caucasus. Not only political, democratic and economic problems but also ethnic conflicts between the countries have emerged. The Nagorno

Karabakh conflict also initiated from ethnic problems, but in a very short time it attracted attention from different countries such as Azerbaijan, Armenia, Russia and Iran (Suleymanli).

The Nagorno Karabakh conflict is one of the complicated events that appeared in the region and it still did not find its solution. Currently, Nagorno Karabakh conflict is an international dispute between the two independent states. Both states such as Armenia and Azerbaijan claim Karabakh as their historical part. None of the sides is eager to compromise this enclave. Karabakh conflict attracted regional and international powers because of the region and time happening. Azerbaijan and Armenia are the post Soviet Union countries. Azerbaijan is rich with natural resources such as oil and gas. Karabakh is one of the beautiful places in the Caucasus region that is rich with natural sources too. The conflict rise up and became more serious after the collapse of USSR in 1991. As a conflict happened in a post soviet region where Russia still had its influence, it became not only the conflict between two countries but also a disputed region between two religions such as Muslim and Christianity. Therefore, this conflict found its place in international media institutions and still remains popular in media coverage. Furthermore, Nagorno Karabakh with casualties and sufferings in Caucasus region attracted wide attention. This is how Karabakh conflict came to be news material in the first place.

This study investigates whether the media is in favor of presenting foreign news in relation to its country's interests or not. Also, the study focuses on the changes of representation of Nagorno Karabakh conflict in NYT through the time. The main focus of this study is to clarify the forms or frameworks within which Nagorno Karabakh conflict is represented and domesticated in NYT through the

time. Moreover this research will examine the different angles to which the media has paid attention to the conflict.

1.3 Purpose of the Study

The main goal of this research is to explore if the media representation of international news is connected to the foreign affairs of the country. In a sense, to find out if the media is in favor of presenting foreign news in relation to its own country's interests or not. Moreover, to explore how the representation of Nagorno Karabakh conflict took place in NYT and how it has been changed through the time, and if there is a change. The study also tries to find out if the changing foreign policy of the USA toward Azerbaijan has effected or influenced the media coverage of Nagorno Karabakh conflict in NYT.

1.4 Significance of the Study

This study is not simply about conflict and its consequences; but also it tries to explore the influence of country's foreign policy to its media representation of international news. This research makes an essential contribution to the literature review in a distinguish ways: it takes periodical approach to analyze the Nagorno Karabakh conflict coverage, considering US print media, mainly concentrating on New York Times newspaper. Also, it is one of the rear studies in terms of investigating a relation between media representation, domestication and country's interests. For clarity sake, this work hopes to examine how the media operate and defines issues. Media has an influence in creating perceptions. Although media coverage of the conflicts, their representation was discussed a lot, there are not many researches about the connection of media to the interests of the country. Therefore this research will be very beneficial for further studies on presenting foreign news in

favor of country's interests. Findings from this study can be added to existing data on the flow and pattern of international news especially in the area of conflicts and peace negotiations. This study may also be used as an input for future "Peace Journalism" research.

With this study, the researcher aims to find out the links between foreign news and country's local interests. It is believed that framing and representation of international news is a part of country's interest.

1.5 Research Questions

Based on the above mentioned facts, the present study sets out to explore and answer variety of questions. These are:

1. Is the media in favor of presenting foreign news in relation to its own country's interests or not?
2. How Nagorno Karabakh conflict was represented in NYT?
3. Has media representation of Nagorno Karabakh conflict changed through the time, or not?
4. Which main aspects of the conflict was highlighted and touched more by NYT in different periods of time?

1.6 Limitations of the Study

The basic limitation of this research is that it is restricted only with a representation of one conflict only in one US medium, which is online newspaper New York Times. This newspaper has a wider international coverage in the world and it commits high-quality news both in the USA and around the world. Also the advantage of using this newspaper is that NYT has a web-site which includes all the archive of the news published from 1871 till our current time. Then, the research is

limited to the specific periods of time. The news stories in the period of 1992-1997 and 2007-2012 were chosen as a sample for this research. The years of 1992-1997 were chosen because of covering war period on Nagorno Karabakh enclave, a cease-fire agreement and economic, political situation after a cease-fire in the region. Furthermore, period of 2007-2012 was chosen due to the closeness to our contemporary time, when the relations between Azerbaijan and the USA has comparatively changed due to economic interests of the US oil companies. Comparative analysis between two time periods such as past (1992-1997) and current situation (2007-2012) gives interesting results for this study. Moreover, only news stories that were published in New York Times newspaper was analyzed, interviews, videos, letter to editor, question answer oriented articles were eliminated.

Chapter 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter will provide the historical reference point from which our analysis of more recent events will stem. The chapter begins with a brief historical overview of Nagorno Karabakh, with special attention paid to the period of 1992-1997 and 2007-2012. These periods of time are chosen on purpose. First of all, 1992-1997 years cover the period of Nagorno Karabakh war, agreement on cease-fire and situation in the region after the war. Then, 2007-2012 years are the time that is close to the contemporary situation of Nagorno Karabakh conflict and negotiation process on the solution of the problem. Additionally, this chapter gives an overview of US foreign policy towards Nagorno Karabakh, the representation of the conflict in NYT. Moreover, the chapter covers information about international news flow, domestication in international news, factors influencing the flow of news and etc.

2.2 Historical Background of the conflict

2.2.1 Historical Background of Nagorno Karabakh Conflict

Nagorno-Karabakh is a conflict zone between Armenia and Azerbaijan. Many scholars believe that this conflict is very essential and important in the region. The main reason is that this conflict involves two independent states such as Azerbaijan and Armenia. As a regional conflict in the Caucasus, Nagorno Karabakh

is definitely one of the most important regional security issues in the region. According to the author Emin Sihaliyev conflict between Azerbaijan and Armenia dates back to 1988 (Arifoglu, 2002, pp. 150-151). On the other hand some experts on the Caucasus such as Svante Cornell even argues that the origins of the Nagorno Karabakh conflict first appeared in 1923 (Cornell, 1997, p. 2).

This conflict initiated in 1988, when Armenian population of Karabakh declared their independence from Azerbaijan. The main goal of this act was to unite with the Republic of Armenia and to realize a desire of creating a Greater Armenia. So this action resulted with the Armenian occupation of almost twenty percent of Azerbaijan's native territory, including Nagorno Karabakh and seven other districts (Aliyeva, 2004).

Soviet Union was collapsed in 1991, and this event is highlighted as the end of the age of Empires in the history. Several countries got their independence after this event. Unfortunately, several conflicts such as Abkhazia and Nagorno Karabakh appeared in the Caucasus too. There are several similarities on the history of these two conflicts. Abkhazia is a part of Georgia, but it always played a separatist role. It wants to be separated from Georgia and got independence. In a contrast Nagorno Karabakh is a part of Azerbaijan, but Armenians invaded this territory in 1992 and fight in order to keep it as a part of Armenia. Moreover, the Caucasus is a multiethnic region. It unities several ethnic nations such as Armenians, Azerbaijanis, Abkhaz people, Georgians, Lezgi, Udi, Tat, Avar and so forth. Abkhazia and Nagorno Karabakh is conflict zones in the region. These places have several similarities, such as they are rich with natural resources. Abkhazia is in a conflict with Georgia. A group of Russian experts conclude that both of these conflicts have

economic nature. Because of the natural resources none of the rivals want to lose these lands (Murinson, 2004).

Actually, the question of Nagorno Karabakh particularly emerged when Stalin incorporated the Nagorno Karabakh into the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet Republic (SSR) and when his successors had refused to revise the issue (Michael, 1998, p. 25). The conflict over Nagorno Karabakh seemed to be resolved by years of strong central rule from Moscow. Due to the strong Soviet rule, neither Azerbaijanis nor Armenians has showed a desire to abandon their principal allegations. Therefore up until 1988, when the time of Soviet disintegration has been accelerated, there was no major conflict between two sides. Azerbaijanis retained a strong desire to preserve the sovereignty over their land and guard their constitutional right. On the other hand, Armenians were much more active and have never released the desire for the unification of their country with the mountainous Karabakh. Consequently, Nagorno Karabakh Autonomous Oblast established by the decision of the 'Kavburo' in 1923, was placed under the jurisdiction of Azerbaijan despite its substantial autonomy (Kasim, pp. 4-5). The Kavburo is an abbreviation of Caucasian Bureaus of the Russian Communist Party Central Committee.

In 1988, the conflict between two countries was gradually growing. In summer of 1991, when Soviet Union was collapsed, Armenia and Azerbaijan declared their freedom (Croissant, 1998, p. 43). So the nature of the conflict has transformed from intra republics to a conflict between independent states. The negotiation process and the efforts to solve the started in January, 1992 by the endorsement of Armenia and Azerbaijan to the OSCE (Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe) during the OSCE Council meeting in Prague on 30-31 January. In order to begin and hold negotiations between two countries in 1992

OSCE Minsk Group was created. This group was created as a result of the Helsinki Council meeting. At first, the main goal of Minsk group was to stop battles and bring the parts into the negotiation level. The first steps were to work on a cease-fire agreement. In order to achieve this agreement Minsk Group called to withdraw armed forces from the regions such as Lachin and Shusha. Then to return refugees to their native places, and final purpose of this group was to monitor all these steps throughout the negotiation process. Unfortunately, all these efforts did not give any results (Mammadov, 2004, p. 11). The dispute about agreement on a cease-fire lasted for a long time. Variety of conferences and meetings were organized in order to come to a certain decision.

Although, the armed hostilities started more than a decade before, the conflict over the Nagorno Karabakh region still remains unresolved. This conflict lasts more than twenty years and it became the longest-running conflict in both Caucasus region and Post Soviet Union countries. Nagorno Karabakh conflict has influenced to the economic and political development of the region a lot. With a signing cease-fire in 1994, the battles and military actions have been stopped. But after that time, conflict is no longer close to the solution.

Nagorno Karabakh is a twenty percentage of the whole Azerbaijan territory. At the beginning of 1990s, in comparison to Armenia, Azerbaijan was not receiving any humanitarian help from the USA. The United States of America was sending humanitarian help and support to the Armenia and Georgia in the Caucasus region. In 1993, General Assembly of the United Nations passed a resolution to give international support to the refugees and displace people in the region. Unfortunately, it did not give any results and refugees stayed in a precarious situation (Assembly, 1993). Nowadays, Azerbaijan is a country that has the highest number of refugees

per capita. The total population of Azerbaijan is nine million people. Out of nine million people, approximately one million are refugees who live in a refugee camps. It means nearly every seven person in Azerbaijan has a status of refugee (Suleymanov, 1998).

Nineteen years passed after the time when cease-fire was signed between Azerbaijan and Armenia. Not any solution could be found until now. The cold war, the war of information continues between the countries in international level. Moreover, Nagorno Karabakh conflict caught the attention of international media institutions. The coverage of the conflict in international media is at a record level. The negotiation process on the solution of the conflict continues. Both Azerbaijan and Armenia tries to represent their way of reality. The interesting notion is that none of the sides wants to compromise this territory. As Ambrosio (2011, p. 97) states, Azerbaijan does not want to give independence to the Nagorno Karabakh. This land is historically and legally part of Azerbaijan, and giving independence is a violation of territorial integrity. On the other hand, Armenians do not want to lose this territory. Therefore, both sides cannot come to the common decision.

According to Ismailzade (2002) conflict costs definite expenses and difficulties to both sides. Armenia cannot build any relations with a neighboring country Turkey and it prevents Armenian economy from the development. Because of the conflict, borders between Azerbaijan and Armenia, Turkey and Armenia are closed. So, this situation is a big disadvantage for Armenian economy and trade system. Nagorno Karabakh conflict cost a lot both economically and morally. A lot of people were displaced from their motherland. Nearly, one million refugees in a refugee camps (Ismailzade, 2002, pp. 1-10).

Nagorno Karabakh war lasted until 1994, and was stopped by a signing a cease-fire. During the war, Armenian troops invaded twenty percentage of Azerbaijan land, including Karabakh and seven surrounding districts. Finally, in May 1994, by the cooperation of Russia and Minsk Group a cease-fire was signed. By 1994 the military situation greatly complicated the negotiation process (CSCE, 1994).

The United States of America has its own policy toward the Caucasus region. At the beginning, Washington tried to keep a distanced policy toward the conflict. The main reason for that was this territory was known as a Russia's sphere of influence. Moreover, on that time the US limited support to Turkey too. Before 1994, many argued that the USA was supporting Armenia and denied economic aid to Azerbaijan. But after 1994, the situation has comparatively changed. Both US and European countries were new strategic actors in the region. In 1995, the US changed its policy in the Caucasus region and decided to treat both parties, Azerbaijan and Armenia in an equal way (Human Rights Watch, 1994, pp. 78-79). In 1996 after the war in Chechnya, the US policy has seemingly changed in the Caucasus region. By 1997, the USA had declared Caucasus region as a part of vital US interests (Cornell, 2001, pp. 1-10). This idea is proven by the fact that US aid levels to Armenia and Georgia has been among the highest per capita in the world (Yalowitz & Svante, 2004, p. 113). Obama's prominence of the Nagorno Karabakh conflict in a comparison to Bush and Clinton administration is higher. The main reason is that, during Bush and Clinton administration the USA foreign policy was busy with Bosnia problem (Ambrosio, 2011, p. 97).

The US is involved in several different areas in this region. First of all, the US is very active in this region's energy sector through oil extraction and

transportation projects. The most famous oil transportation project is the Baku-Ceyhan pipeline and the US has an influence on decision making of the trajectory of the pipeline. Secondly, the US has been active in strengthening the independence and viability of the new states as market democracies. Thirdly, the US mitigates regional conflicts and is active in the OSCE (Organization for Security and Co-operation) security complex (Begoyan, 2004, p. 144). And fourth, the US since terror acts on September 11 in 2000 has entered into security cooperation programs with the Caucasus states with a focus on antiterrorism and border protection (Begoyan, 2004, p. 152). These programs supplement the US's encouragement of greater participation in NATO's partnership for Peace activities. It is not yet known what long-term military presence the US may have in the region.

Thomas Ambrosio (2011) states that, when Barack Obama came into presidency he identified a resolution of Nagorno Karabakh conflict as a priority of his presidency. Moreover, the USA and Russia have demonstrated a high level of commitment and are involved in the negotiation process at the president level. Russia seems to work together with the USA and OSCE in order to solve this problem in the Caucasus. A newfound cooperation of Russia and the USA motivates both Armenia and Azerbaijan for negotiations. As Ambrosio (2011) mentions, the USA has several goals in solving this Nagorno Karabakh problem. First of all, the stated region is rich with natural sources such as oil and gas. This place is strategically very beneficial for economic purposes. The solution of the problem guarantees stability in the region. Secondly, Ambrosio (2011) highlights in his article that through the history the USA and Russia were rivals. Russia is one of the three co-chairs of the "Minsk Group" of international mediators. Nagorno Karabakh conflict might be a reason for development and strengthen the relations between the USA and Russia. Then as

Ambrosio (2011) illustrates, another reason might be that, Obama's administration steps on solving the problems which was underestimated by Bush administration. With this he wants to differentiate his administration and foreign policy of the USA. According to Obama's point of view, peace between Turkey and Armenia would have a cascade in the South Caucasus. Therefore he paid attention to develop the relations between Turkey and Armenia.

At the beginning of the 21st century, negotiations of Nagorno Karabakh conflict became weak. 9/11 terror attacks took all the attention of Bush administration. Furthermore, in 2003 Heydar Aliyev- a president of Azerbaijan died, and the changes in the administration have influenced the negotiation process for that time (Ambrosio, 2011, p. 100). Another issue in the negotiations process was the idea about the opening borders between Turkey and Armenia. It caught a lot of attention both from Azerbaijan and international media side. Azerbaijan believes that opening borders between Turkey and Armenia will have influence on brotherly relations of Azerbaijan and Turkey. Also it is believed that opening borders will not bring peace and stability to the region, but it will destroy the current situation in a negative (Guliyev, 2009).

Nagorno Karabakh is a regional conflict in the Caucasus, but it caught international attention. This conflict caught the attention of international media from variety countries. According to Carley (1999), most Armenian and Azerbaijan people believe that Nagorno Karabakh conflict is between their countries, and other neighboring countries are aggravating tensions.

Caucasus, mainly Azerbaijan is rich with natural sources such as oil and gas. This factor attracts attention of foreign countries, especially highlighting attention of US and England. US played an essential role in a coming to the decision about the

route and plan of the future oil pipeline from the Caspian Sea region. The Nagorno Karabakh conflict is one the bloodiest places in the post USSR region. This conflict caught the attention not only local members but also international organizations. It is obvious that both sides under the auspices of regional powers, international organizations like OSCE or regional security and stability organizations will try to resolve the deadlocked Nagorno Karabakh issue. Otherwise in the future the faith of the conflict can be determined in two ways: either this conflict will be a frozen one and last for many years such as Cyprus conflict, or worse, a war and military action might took place such as Arab-Israeli conflict.

2.2.2 Different Histories: How Azerbaijanis and Armenians See the Past

There were a lot of disputes on the history of Karabakh through the time. Both Azerbaijanis and Armenians have their own version of reality. Both sides claim Nagorno Karabakh as their historical place. According to Cornell (1999), there is a contradiction on the property of Nagorno Karabakh. Azerbaijan claims this region as historical part of its territory. In contrast, Armenians state that Azerbaijan's claims are illegitimate. They highlight that Karabakh originally belongs to Armenians (p.3).

As it is mentioned above, the history of Karabakh has different notions. The interesting fact is that, even the name of the territory has variety of meanings in different languages. Armenians, Azerbaijanis and Russians named the place by their own attitudes and visions. So in relation to the history of different countries, Karabakh has different names and meanings. Following the idea that was highlighted in the brief synopsis by the Embassy of the Republic of Armenia to the US (2003) "Armenian name for the region is Artsakh" (p.1). Moreover, at the same source it was highlighted that Nagorno Karabakh is a historically Armenian territory.

In our contemporary time, cold war between Azerbaijan and Armenia still remains. Although, the ceasefire was signed, the war of information still remains. Both parts are in the action in order to spread out their version of reality and attract the attention of the international organizations. The war of information is lead by the Diasporas of the countries in different countries, mainly in the US. Armenian Diaspora is more successful in comparison to Azerbaijan Diaspora in this issue. Through the international media, and media organizations Armenians promote and share their version of reality about Nagorno Karabakh. This creates a wrong image of Nagorno Karabakh in the eyes of different societies, as Armenia shows this land as their historical enclave. Sometimes, Armenians claim that there is a war between Nagorno Karabakh and Azerbaijan; it is not an issue of Armenia. On the other hand, Azerbaijan side always proves that there cannot be a war between Nagorno Karabakh and Azerbaijan, as it is a historical land of Azerbaijan. Nagorno Karabakah is a territory of Azerbaijan.

Then, the next difference in the history is related by the city of Shusha. In the synopsis of Armenian Embassy to the US (2003) it is mentioned that “Shushi flourished as a major center of Armenia”. Here Armenians show and claim that Shushi which is one of the big cities of Karabakh is the part of Armenian territory. On the other hand, according to the Azerbaijani archives city Shushi is a Shusha, and it is one of the beautiful cities of Azerbaijan. This fact is another contradiction in the history of Karabakh.

Goltz (2012), in his article mentions that, “Even after the cease-fire of 1994 that turned Karabakh into the so-called frozen conflict that pertains today, it is nearly 20 years after Armenia’s occupation of some 15% of internationally recognized Azerbaijani territory” (p.186). The key concept of the Nagorno Karabakh conflict is

“war of information”. Nowadays, there is ceasefire between Azerbaijan and Armenia, and there are no real battles between two sides. From time to time, both countries do not follow the legislation and they open fire across the border. Although, there is a ceasefire, after 1994 Azerbaijan and Armenia have lost dozens of soldiers in the border because of these shooting issues (NYT, June 5, 2012).

Another step of disinformation story is Khojaly Genocide. According to Ashirli (2005), Khojaly is a tragedy in a history of Azerbaijan. It happened on the night of the 25th February in 1992. This date entered to the history of Azerbaijan as a black day. A lot of people, including babies, infants, and pregnant women were killed on this night (pp. 12-17). Azerbaijani side calls this issue as “Khojaly Genocide”. This genocide got recognition from variety countries such as: Colombian Senate (www.khojaly.org, 2012), Foreign Affairs Commission of the Turkish Parliament (www.khojaly.org, 2012), Senate of Pakistan (www.khojaly.org, 2012), Mexican Senate (www.khojaly.org, 2011) and so forth. Goltz (2012) study found that, “to this day, most Armenians continue to deny that they were responsible, or turn the facts on their heads and somehow suggest that the Azerbaijanis slaughtered their own for political gain- namely that the opposition Popular Front of Azerbaijan went out and killed 613 of their own citizens in order to unseat the last Communist Party leader of late Soviet Azerbaijan” (p. 192). In brief, Armenians claim that Khojaly genocide was organized by Azerbaijanis against their own, local people. Majority Armenians continue to claim that it was the Azerbaijanis who had killed their own people (Goltz, 2012, p. 192). Nowadays, Azerbaijan Diaspora works on delivering their version of reality to the world with all facts and historical events. There was a journalist, reporter Chingiz Mustafayev who recorded a video of Khojaly Genocide. Originally he was Azerbaijani and working on Azerbaijan

National Television. As Akif Ashirli (2005) illustrates, Armenians showed Chingiz Mustafayev as their own journalist who lighted the Khojaly Genocide to the media (p. 12-17). On the time when all these events happened, there were internal and local problems inside the Azerbaijan.

Armenian and Azerbaijani propaganda try to change historical events in relation to their own interests. Armenian side claims that their presence in Karabakh dates back to ancient times, and they were first inhabitants of this territory. From the other side, Azerbaijanis present historical facts about the problem and show Nagorno Karabakh as a part of Azerbaijan.

There are some contradictions about the history and facts on Nagorno Karabakh. Different authors such as George A. Bournoutian (2009, p. 124) and Ziya Bunyadov (2009) had variety of researches about the Nagorno Karabakh. Both of them are editors of several translations and articles. The interesting fact is that Bunyadov is blamed on wrong translation of the facts about the region. Bournoutian (2009) claim that, Bunyadov wrongly translated Armenian population, monasteries, literary works by the name of Albanians. Albania is an ancient name of the Azerbaijan territory, and tribes living here were calling themselves as Albanians. Furthermore, Bunyadov mentions that 200 Armenian families were transferred to the Nagorno Karabakh after Turkmençay treaty in 1828. But, according to Bournoutian (2009), Bunyadov did not give any information about the Armenian population already living in the area. Moreover, Bunyadov describes Muslim meliks in his writings. Although, Bournoutian (2009) illustrates that they are Armenian princes, but not muslim meliks. Finally, Bournoutian (2009), concludes that there is no information about Armenian churches and architectural monuments before 18th century. These are not the only place and situation when such kind of contrast

happens on the history. Throughout the history of the Nagorno Karabakh, such contradictions became very common and ordinary for the historians. Both Azeri and Armenian sides, try to prove their facts and present them as a real history.

2.3 Media Studies on International and Conflict News

2.3.1 International News Flow

International news has several definitions. Through the history this term gained variety of meaning and explanations. One of the earliest definitions is the activities of news exchange between countries and regions (Hur, 1984, p. 366). An exchange usually requires a minimum of two parties involved; however, a major critique of international news flow is that it is a one-way asymmetrical flow of information (Himmelboim, 2010, p. 301). For example, in a range of global world international news flow is an unequal. People in different parts of the globe are not equally informed about one another. This also might depend on the level of technology usage. Not all countries have an access to the information and technology at the same level.

International news flow is not only about news flow, it also includes information about different cultures, life style, governing policy, and etc in variety regions. Recently, research about international news flow has highly increased.

According to the study by Onwutalobi (2010), there is imbalance flow of information from the west to south. Most of the news organizations are western based. During the last thirty years the international information flow has changed a lot. The main reason for that is a revolutionary change in the world. Nowadays industrialized countries have the power over the information flow. So developing countries are somehow depending on western and developed countries. This situation

took place especially after the World War II. Many studies on international news flow and coverage proves differences and disparities among the countries. Galtung and Ruge (1965) in their research illustrate that “journalists should be better trained to capture and report on long-term development, and concentrate less on ‘events’ (p. 85). So there is diversity on the international news flow. Therefore journalists should be careful while reporting any international event. Actually theories about international news flow are different in views and ideas. The New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO) debate was born in order to reflect the diversity and equality of all human races more just and more beneficial to the whole community of mankind (Onwutalobi, 2010, p. 5).

This debate was the greatest debates in the field of international communication in the 1970s and 1980s. The fundamental objective of NWICO debate was to seek for transnational flow of information, to resolve inequality in information resources, to promote cultural and commercial values of information and maintain fairness in the news distribution. One of the aims of this debate was also to promote the development of national communication systems in the developing countries. The results of this debate were not so successful. There was some ambiguity in the discussions. Developed and western countries would never want to stop their distortion of news and use of the pejorative adjectives and stereotypes while reporting news from developing countries (Onwutalobi, 2010, p. 7).

According to the results of the research by Onwutalobi (2010), developing countries are not interested in having power. They just seek for a balance and free flow of information where both good and bad sides of their stories are reflected in the information shared to the public (p. 8).

Variety research and studies indicate that there is a strong correlation between the economic power of a country and its online news salience. The US is by far the most salient country in popular news sites around the world (Segev, 2010, p. 48). Countries with good political and economic situation feel more comfortable and free on international news flow.

There is a decline on sharing US news and media in different parts of the world. Segev (2010) in his study illustrates that when it comes to mass media, and particularly the press, radio, and TV, it is expected that media attention in many countries will not be focused only on the US but will also mention frequently other western countries (p. 49). There is a continuous development in local and regional media channels in developing and underdeveloped countries. Therefore, the preference for news moves to local and national media had been increased. It catches more interest of the audience in relation to the US media news. There are countries that produce news, and there are countries that play a role of recipients. Developed countries including EU and US are the countries which produce the international news. The countries such as African, Asian and other underdeveloped and developing countries receive the flow of news that was produced by others. The USA has strong economic and political power on the world society. Moreover, the US media institutions give coverage to the news from different parts of the world. It even includes news stories from Japan, Germany and other distinguishes parts of the world (Segev, 2010, p. 55).

In 2000, Wu (2000) studied the international section of newspapers from thirty-eight different countries and found a strong bias in news dominance towards countries with stronger economic powers. This shows that the power structures of the world which defines both the political and economic affairs also dictate hierarchies

in international news flow and coverage. This corresponds to an earlier assertion made by Moisy (1996) that “news will increasingly be aimed at and consumed by the elite” (p.2).

As a result of variety studies the US was found more dominant and salient in international news flow than any other country.

2.3.2 Factor influencing International News Flow

The ways of international communication flow and international news coverage in a global world is complicated. In a network analysis, Kim and Barnett (1996) demonstrated that the flow of international news is not equal around the world. For instance, most of the African, Asian, Latin American countries lack of international news flow (p. 344). Core countries can be equal to the developed countries, and countries which are at the periphery can be developing and under developed countries. There is an inequality in international news flow. The Western industrialized countries are at the center, dominating international news. Countries location and position system is very important in international news flow. Even the economic system of the country plays an essential role in international news flow. According to Chang (1998), if any news or stories originates from a developed country, it will flow to other countries very easily. Underdeveloped and developing countries get news from core countries very quickly (p. 533). For instance, if one kind of event took place in the core country, it can easily flow to other countries, and most probably picked up as news. The US has an influence in a lot of countries in the whole world. 11th September terror attacks that happened in the US got attention of the whole world. It was on the news for several weeks. On the other hand, if such kind of terror attack would happen in a small, under developed country, it would not

attract much attention, would not find news coverage for a long period such as several weeks. News flow from such country would not be so successful.

According to Galtung (1971), international system consists of two categories such as central and peripheral countries. The core countries are mainly western countries and under developed countries are defined such as peripheral countries. News in core countries can easily flow and find coverage in the global media. In developing and under developed countries situation is totally different. In such places news got filtered, contextualized and only then find a way to the media. Even so, not all news and events is successful in getting coverage in the media. Therefore, Chang (1998) indicates that, not all countries find their coverage in international media at the same level. A chance to be represented in international media depends on the countries location and economic power in the world (p. 538-548). Under developed countries have more chances to get coverage in international media if they have close relations with core countries. The chances grow up because of relation and connection level of those countries.

Chang (1998) states that, the flow of international news do not recognize any boundaries because of the age of technology and information (p. 557). The age of technology opens the doors for international news flow. It simplifies the work of journalists. Nowadays, information, news can easily be sent from one source to another source in a second. The chance to be in news for developed countries are much higher than developing and under developed countries. In contrast developing countries are more vulnerable to information age. Technology facilitated the processes of connectedness at a larger scale. Developed countries such as USA and EU have more power on the representation of international news and more control on the flow of news.

The economic system of the country plays an essential role in international news flow. Economic factor is very important in news flow. Transmitting news is not a cheap process. It costs considerably more. According to Pietilainen (2006), international news and international trade are connected to each other. The circulation and connection between those two attributes are very strong (p. 219). The research that has done proved that the countries which have foreign trade are more engaged into foreign news. The economic system of the country accelerates the chances to sell the products in international level. It creates an opportunity to open a window to the international market place where it is more beneficial to consult a trade system. A country that has big and international trade system should be interested in international news flow. It should be cared about the news that appears on the foreign media. This way they can formulate a definite image of the country. Therefore, foreign news and foreign trade cannot be separated from each other.

Foreign news in the United States is somehow differs from other countries. Within the perspective of sociology of knowledge, foreign news reporting in the United States is not simply a matter of presentation of events as they are, it represents a journalistic point of views, the American perspective on how foreign news should be covered (Tsan-Kuo Chang, Brian Southwell, Hyung-Min Lee and Yejin-Hong, p. 370). So it becomes clear that, foreign news is related to the journalistic point of views, their thoughts and outcomes. Political and economic natures are the factors that have an effect on news flow. Apart from political and economic factors there are other factors that may influence the flow of news. These are factors that make news interesting, important and newsworthy. Ostgaard (1965) states, the main aspect of the representation of international news are that it should be comprehensive and acceptable to the readers and audience (p. 45). The way how the

news is presented is very important. It should be simple and understandable to the audience. News flow is audience oriented.

Political purposes of the country are also connected to the international news flow. In order to create a positive image of the country politicians distort international news in relation to their interests. Sometimes, they choose to censor or restrict some definite news. Politicians and officials influence the news media for their own purposes. International news flow is also connected to the diplomacy of the country. Diplomatic waves have changed through the history. One can define three kinds of diplomacy model. As diplomacy changes, international news and international negotiations have changed through the time. In a previous time, international news and international negotiations were kept secretly. Nowadays, situation has seemingly changed. If divide diplomacy models it changes from secret diplomacy, closed-door diplomacy, to open diplomacy. Currently, most of the diplomacy in the world is connected to open diplomacy model. International news has wider coverage and the doors are open for international news flow (Tsan-Kuo Chang, Brian Southwell, Hyung-Min Lee and Yejin-Hong, p. 371-374). In his article Gilboa (2000) states that, not every event, negotiation is exposed to the media and public. The event might be kept as a secret, or it might be less important for the publication (pp. 544-546). As it was mentioned above there are three diplomacy models according the media representation. In secret diplomacy model information is totally excluded from the general audience. In closed-door diplomacy only limited information is provided to the audience. And finally in open diplomacy model it is extremely difficult to keep information secret (Gilboa, 2000). As usual, public and audience are more interested in the news, in the final product. The way how the information was received and gathered is not so attractive to the audience. The

process leading to the results is less interesting for the society. Closed-door diplomacy is somehow beneficial for the politicians. As it allows substantial control over the media, politicians have a chance to control and lead international news flow. Then, journalists can benefit from the open door diplomacy model more. This model refers to the negotiations that are readily accessible to the media and to public scrutiny and debate (Gilboa, 2000, p. 558). It means everybody may have an access to the news flow. Therefore, it is complicated to keep anything secret. At present, media organizations and professionals participate in international relations, at-large and in the roles of catalysts and ‘diplomatic brokers’ (Larson, 1986; Gilboa, 1998). Then, media participate in diplomatic processes. For instance, Dov Shinar in his article gave examples such as “Walter Cronkites’ paternity claim over Anwar Sadat’s 1977 voyage to Jerusalem (Cronkite, 1996; Gilboa 1998); or ABC’s Ted Koppel’s live-on-air Jerusalem ‘town meeting’ conducted during the Intifada in 1988, and featuring unprecedented face-to-face, Israeli-Palestinian negotiations (ABC News, 1988)” (2000, p. 84). Einar Ostgaard (1965), in article gives explanation and assumptions about the factors that influence the flow of news. It was mentioned that, governments have power to control the media. But if this power distorts the news flow or not, is still a question. Each government has its own policy and interests. Mostly, media directly interacts and follows this policy. As a result, government distorts and transmits news according to its local interests. Einar Ostgaard (1965) highlights that, “the nature of the news flow out of a country, the out-flow, is probably vastly different from the news flow within a country, the within-flow” (p. 41). So news flow within country and out of country is different. So, local news differs from international and foreign news. Foreign news changes in a relation to the government’s policy. Furthermore, Ostgaard (1965) says that, “the out-flow not only

is dominated by politics, but also, generally more than the within-flow, reflects views of the people in power” (p. 41). People in power control the foreign news flow. They transmit news which illustrates their interests. Then, economy is another factor that may influence the flow of news. People who have power on economy may control and influence foreign news flow. They have a chance to decide what is to be published, and what is to be kept secret.

2.3.3 Conflict News Value

Conflict exists everywhere in the world. Azerbaijan is one of the examples of conflict areas. Media focus is very important in a war and conflicts. Most conflicts are newsworthy to some extent or degree. A country should plan how to handle the media strategy, as each step of news flow during the conflict is essential. The result and ongoing process of the conflict might rely on media campaign and news flow. Conflict news might be political, religious, ethnic or personal. Media can play an important role in conflict resolution and policy making processes. According to Shinar (2003), conflict news might be categorized differently. Cultural conflict news is one of the examples to conflict news. As it was mentioned in the article by Shinar, Palestinian-Israeli conflict finds its coverage in variety of media. Both Palestinians and Israelis describe the conflict from different angle and due to their own interests. On the coverage of this conflict there is a contradiction in explaining the situation and even agreements (Shinar, 2003). Different value was given to the representation of the conflict in the media. It is highlighted in the article that there are two mentalities such as Arab/Islamic and Israeli/Jewish. A conflict exists even in their ideologies. None of them, neither singly nor in combination has sufficed to fully explain the conflict’s nature, contradictions and implications (Shinar, 2003).

Media has possibility to contribute and promote realistic peace process. The description of the conflict on media is essential for the audience. Mostly, ordinary people get information about the conflicts through the media. Therefore, the way how the media described the definite conflict, may create opinion on people. While describing the conflict, media professionals should be very attentive and careful. They should know which words and phrases are appropriate for the audience. Media cover the war from different aspects. David Miller (2002) in his research highlighted how the media organizations in England and the US were distorting the situation in Afghanistan. He illustrated that media gave very little coverage of war. Even so, there is very minor representation of pictures of dead tolls and children. In a reality, the society is aware of what is happening around. On the other hand, the thing that audience receives from the media is misinformation and propaganda. Finally, he claims that “if Bush and Blair were really democrats, they would never have started the bombing” (2002, p. 160). According to the case study by Miller (2002) polling company was interpreted in such a way that it showed people support the war and bombing. The public opinion was misrepresented. In reality polling gave little choice to policy options. Opposition to the war was unpopular in media coverage of the war and answers opposing US policy have been downplayed in media reports (2002, pp. 159-160).

Media has some kind of involvements in international climate. Foreign media in the Middle Eastern conflict is an example for this situation. After Oslo process became public, the media have been dealing with the dilemma of how to function in a peacemaking era, and of choosing a model to guide coverage. There are two phases in this conflict coverage guide. In the first phase, the end of the conflict inspired media coverage. News about how the conflict ends up, the results of the conflict

found its place in the media. The first phase carries a descriptive character, because it mainly describes the situation and the process. In contradiction to the first phase, in the second phase media have been forced to change public opinion, to abandon reconciliation model (Shinar, 2003, p. 6). In this phase media did not have only descriptive character, but also it played an important role in modification of the public opinion and creating a purposive idea in the audience. So from here one can easily understand that media was used for different purposes such as describing and changing the news flow.

Conflict news may reflect policy anxieties. Media professionals use particular language in order to describe specific and variety conflicts. The conflict news and its coverage have possibility to shape the opinions and identities. Therefore, the representation of the conflict is very essential for particular country and politicians. According to Robison, the representation of any event by the media organizations may function as death or mother of life. An example for this situation is a demonstration of Bosnian crisis. International community considered Bosnia as a problem which required solution. Britain media represented Bosnia as the ethnic conflict after the fall of communism (2004, pp. 392-397). So the coverage of the conflict was shaped differently related to the interests of the governing figures. They decided in which way and from which aspects to shape and interpret the news.

2.3.3 Peace Journalism

“Peace journalism is a new concept in the academic circles and media sector. It is news kind of reporting, news selecting and news framing for the journalism profession” (Ersoy, 2010, p. 68). Nowadays, peace journalism is a globally distributed movement. It is being practiced by many journalists, in variety places

around the globe. In a simple way, it is easy to define peace journalism, but it is one of the most difficult things to do (Tehrani, 2002, p. 74).

Lynch and McGoldrick (2005) states that peace journalism is defined “when editors and reporters make choices- of what to report, and how to report it- that create opportunities for society at large to consider and value non-violent response to conflict” (p. 5). They also mention that there is significant consensus among various professional media and civil society ethical codes on what constitutes peace journalism.

Jake Lynch (2008) highlights that, journalist function as a “gatekeeper”, They can hide some aspects of the reality and present another part of it to the audience. They have possibility to formulate news stories according to the audience.

Jake Lynch (2008) states that” peace journalism:

- Uses the insights of conflict analysis and transformation to update the concepts of balance, fairness and accuracy in reporting
- Provides a new route map tracing the connections between journalists, their sources, the stories they cover and the consequences of their journalism- the ethics of journalistic intervention
- Builds an awareness of non-violence and creativity into the practical job of everyday editing and reporting” (p. 5).

Peace journalism flourished significantly in parts of the world in 1990s. It is a hardly new concept. Recently, war journalism appeared and has been developed as an academic discipline (Keeble, RL., Tulloch, J.& Zollmann, F, 2010, p. 2). In contrast to peace journalism, war journalism often focuses on violence as its own cause and is less open to examining the deep structural origins of the conflict (Galtung J & Vincent, R, 1992).

Peace journalism is a way of journalism that gives voice to all parties. One of the main aims of it is to give voice to the voiceless, to find out the truth in every event and story (Howard, 2009).

According to Romano (2010):

Peace journalism relies on traditions of fact-based journalism, with close scrutiny of word and images. Journalists must avoid emotive and imprecise expression, dichotomies of good versus bad, a focus on the victimhood and grievances or the abused and misdemeanor of one side only, and the use of racial and cultural identities when they are not necessary. Journalist must attribute unsubstantiated claims to their sources rather than presenting them as facts, avoid focusing on the victimhood or causes of one party to the exclusion of other and seek diverse sources and viewpoints (cited in Howard, 2009, p. 27).

Galtung (2006) in his writings illustrates that balanced reporting comprises three concerns:

1. Balance in a conflict means to give attention to all goals of all parties.
2. Balance means to give attention to people as well as to elites.
3. Balance means to give attention to all phases of a conflict, before, during, after violence (p.5).

Peace journalism consists of conflict analysis technique. For example, peace journalism suggests that a journalist while reporting news about a conflict should look at the event from many and variety angles. It will give a possibility to get much information and different views about the conflict. Moreover, peace journalism argues that, journalist should have a solution perspective toward the conflict. As this approach may create solution affected atmosphere toward the conflict. Furthermore, in peace journalism balance is an important element. A journalist should not cover the event only from one side. It is very necessary to mention two or more sides of the conflict.

2.3.5 Domestication in International News

The world where we live is a global and it is surrounded with technology. The development of technology enhances and accelerates news distribution all over the world. Nowadays, modern technology has enabled news access in each part of the world. Technological developments even have affected foreign news coverage. Developments in media technology and changes in international relations have influenced foreign news. Every country in the world tries to domesticate and localize international news in relation to its own interests. There are countries that spend a lot of money and effort for this purpose. Clausen (2004) mentions that, the process of domestication is not a cheap process. The ability of localization mainly depends on financial resources of the organization (p. 26-29).

News is distributed through specific international news agencies. All these agencies belong to variety countries. So they carry specific interests of those countries and while distributing international news add their own localization interests to this news. As it is mentioned Clausen (2004), “technological development and the distribution of news through international news agencies enable the global diffusion of information about events, while enhancing the interpenetration of universal concepts and policies....Events are framed according to particular frameworks of interpretation shared by national audiences” (p.27). Political situation of the country has influence to the representation of foreign news. Nossek (2004) illustrated that professional norms become subordinate to the national identity of the reporting correspondent (p 344). As usual journalists define news as “ours” or “theirs”. According to this characteristic they decide from which angle cover and present the news.

Actually, news contains two characteristics such as standard and culturally contextual trait. Standard characteristic is that covers universal legislations and needs, but cultural is the contextual trait that is added by each nation in relation to their own culture and interests. As it was mentioned in the introduction part, for the first time the notion of “domestication” was brought into news production by Gurevitch et al (1991).

The way how news is framed is very important, because it facilitates the comprehension of the audience. Domestication and framing process defines how the audience will understand and accept the presented news. Domestication is kind of protection of national identity. Not everybody can accept the news at the same level. Therefore, it is advantage and beneficial to domesticate definite news according to the specific needs of nations. Mostly, news is framed differently across cultures.

The media reports on international events are different. Local newspapers and national papers give variety coverage for international news. According to Gartner (2004), “newspapers that experience casualties give greater coverage than areas that did not experience casualties” (p. 139). Every country domesticates international news according to its own needs and interests. As Gartner (2004) states, press behaves uniformly, especially when covering international stories. He also highlights that media represent a powerful and critical factor in politics. According to him, local media behave differently from national media, particularly in their treatment of international stories (p. 140). Local media is somehow differs from national media. In comparison to local media, national media report more international news. But, local media mainly focus on their local communities. The main aim of local media is to fill specific need of their consumers. Local media focus on the local angle even when reporting on international events (Gartner, 2004, p.

142). Most of the time, international news is localized in order to be clearer to the audience. Every culture differs with its persuasion way, therefore each culture accept international news in a variety ways. Therefore, international news is domesticated according to the society's need.

2.3.6. Decision Makers on News Selection

Gatekeepers play an important role to make decision on what should and should not be presented on the media. The concept of “gatekeeper” was first introduced by Lewin (1947), who conceived of news as flowing in a channel containing several gates controlled by gatekeepers, each of whom decided whether a news item would proceed along the channel to eventually reach news audiences.

Journalists select international news based on market demands and local relevance. Americans' understanding of other cultures and countries is significantly influenced by the way international news is framed. A basic concept in foreign news studies suggests that journalists and editors are responsible for news selection and refers to them as “gatekeepers”. But the journalist's domestic viewpoint is inseparable from his or her professional norms and considerations (Nossek, 2004). According to some studies gatekeepers, in international news flow tend to select information that reflects unexpectedness, proximity, conflict, discrepancy, and prominence (Wu D. H., 2000, p. 110). Most of the time news over represents events that occur in neighboring countries and in the countries that has economical and political power. There is a domestic filter in every country. It is a professional requirement for every media specialist. Journalists should be careful while addressing news to a particular audience. Moreover, media practitioners should adapt to the system's demands. Some studies (Nossek, 2004) indicate a close but also distinct relationship between a journalist's professional attitudes and domestic

cultural attitudes. Sometimes, patriotism is on the first place for journalists. Journalists are more sensitive and careful while presenting any news or information about their country. Domestic factors affect to the journalistic performance. Moreover, journalists and editors “wear a pair of domestic glasses” when dealing with foreign news. These glasses, however, are not an inseparable part of the professional considerations they apply. Media practitioners have two distinct frames regarding foreign news coverage- a national frame and a professional frame (Nossek, 2004, p. 350).

There are gatekeepers almost in every media organizations and media institutions. In television stations, gatekeepers are reporters, producers, anchors and editors, depending on their specific roles and responsibilities. Gatekeepers do not have permission to make decisions independently. They are influenced by other factors, such as the media owner’s ideology, media routines, and official sources including government and corporate officials. For example, as it is highlighted in the article by Kim (2002), US news media provide more coverage of European events and issues than of those in Africa and South America (p. 433). Wu states that, the world we see and read and hear about in the news is a product of both news values and the global system of news gathering and distribution (2000, p. 111).

There are several determinants which influence the coverage that country receives. They are social, geographical, economical and political characteristics (Galtung. I & Ruge, 1965).

In a last decade there was a decline in the coverage of international news in the US. But after the terror attacks on September 11, 2001 the situation has changed. The coverage of foreign news in the US media was raised. Albeit foreign news with

domestic implications such as US actions abroad and American lives at stake was covered on the media (Kim, 2002, p. 434).

Chapter III

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the methodology used in gathering and analyzing data for this research. The study of its nature in a wider sense aims to examine media representation of Nagorno Karabakh conflict news, by extension how the foreign news representation is related to the US foreign policy and local interests. News articles on the Nagorno Karabakh conflict found in the New York Times online newspaper between the period of January 1992-December 1997 and January 2007-December 2012 constitutes the sample for this study. There are several reasons why this time of periods was chosen for this study. 1992-1997 years are the time when the conflict began and took place. It is the time when the war happened between Armenia and Azerbaijan for the Nagorno Karabakh territory. Moreover, a cease-fire was signed in 1994, and after that the political and economic situation of the region has changed. 2007-2012 years are the period which is close to our contemporary time. Recently, the relations between the US and Azerbaijan has changed due to the political and economic factors. USA oil companies became more interested in the oil production and export of Azerbaijan. All these may have influence on media representation of the Nagorno Karabakh conflict. Therefore this time of periods were chosen for this study.

Content analysis method has been applied to this piece of study. For the content analysis SPSS programme is used to obtain and analyze the data. "Content

Analysis Coding Schema” consisting of 14 questions applied to the total 268 news items published in NYT during the research periods of 1992-1997, 2007-2012. Although the search engine of NYT online newspaper gives the number of 444 news items in total, it is not so reliable. The main reason is that, numbers given above the page of search engine is not always connected to the real results in which there are an access to the news items. Only 268 news items was reachable and gathered for this study. Next, by excluding all opinionated news items such as letters, opinions, editorials and videos, while focusing on news stories which fall under the term of Nagorno Karabakh 182 news stories were left and were more relevant to the thesis.

3.2 Research Design

There is a lack of debate in the media representation of Nagorno Karabakh conflict. In this study, quantitative research was employed. Quantitative content analysis was used to see what kind of news topics were selected, which sources are used, and how these news stories are presented.

This study mainly looks how the Nagorno Karabakh conflict is represented in NYT newspaper and if this representation is related to the USA’s local interests.

New York Times online newspaper was used for quantitative analysis. This analysis shows how Nagorno Karabakh conflict was represented through the years. There are several reasons why especially New York Times online newspaper was chosen for this study. Firstly, United States of America is the biggest country with economical and social power in our global world. Secondly, The New York Times newspaper is a major American daily newspaper published in New York City. The newspaper began publishing on September 18, 1851 as the New York Daily Times. Even nowadays, it is still published daily. NYT is a newspaper that commits high quality news both in the USA and around the world. It is multiplatform in delivering

and reaching information not only in the US, but also all around the globe. This newspaper has an online archive from its first published day till to our contemporary time. The web-site of the newspaper includes all the archives of the news published from 1871 till our current time. The articles that were published years, even century ago are reachable with a help of online archive database. Its search engine gives possibility to get an access to any kind of article published in the newspaper.

Moreover, New York Times newspaper is one of the newspapers with the highest international news coverage. It covers news from almost all parts of the world including Caucasus. According to the latest report from the Audit Bureau of Circulations New York Times newspaper is on the first place among five top US Sunday newspapers (Moos, 2012).

Table 1: Average Circulation of the Top 5 US Sunday Newspapers

<i>Average Circulation at the Top 5 US Sunday Newspapers</i>					
<i>News organization</i>	<i>Print</i>	<i>Total digital</i>	<i>Total avg circ (9/30/12)</i>	<i>Total avg circ (9/30/11)</i>	<i>% change</i>
The New York Times	1,250,077	850,816	2,100,893	1,645,152	27.7%
Houston Chronicle	411,751	71,514	1,070,290	911,564	17.4%
Los Angeles Times	809,176	153,016	962,192	905,920	6.2%
Chicago Tribune	733,981	32,580	766,561	781,128	-1.9%
Dallas Morning News	296,466	64,774	700,649	374,653	87%

New York Times newspaper has the largest online readership of any English newspaper in the world (Dokle, 2005). "Of course, the best way to cover an international story is to have someone in the field who knows the area or country involved well. The New York Times is one of the newspapers that provide more foreign coverage than any other American newspapers. It has between 20 news

bureaus worldwide. Most newspapers have few or no overseas bureaus" (Wiarda, 1996). This makes it suitable choice for this study. New York Times online newspaper has more than 30 million visitors per month (Russell, 2011). The web-site motto of the NYT newspaper is "All the News That's Fit to Click" (Henry, 2007).

3.4 Sample of the Study

New York Times newspaper is the subject of this study. The archive of New York Times newspaper on 1992 January-1997 December and 2007 January- 2012 December was selected as sample for a news analyzing study, in order to evaluate New York Times newspaper coverage of the Nagorno Karabakh conflict. The samples of the news items for this research study were publications between 1992-1997 and 2007-2012, which consists of 182 news stories. All opinionated news items such as letters, opinions, editorials and videos were excluded from the study. There are several reasons why these periods of time were chosen. The hot times of Nagorno Karabakh conflict was on the period of 1992-1994. In 1994 a cease-fire was signed between two countries. After the cease-fire the economic situation of both countries has changed. Furthermore, in 1995 the contract was signed with Azerbaijan and British oil companies that had influenced economy of Azerbaijan a lot. Therefore, this period was thought to be appropriate for the study. The second time period of the research was chosen according to the closeness to our contemporary time when US-Azerbaijan relations has changed. US got more interested in Azerbaijan due to the economical factors. This time period will provide opportunity to observe the changes on US foreign policy and their effects on media.

3.5 Instruments and Data Gathering Procedures

In order to examine how Nagorno Karabakh conflict was represented in New York Times newspaper a “Content Analysis Coding Schema” was developed. Coding categories have been decided upon after detailed studying of the content of the papers in the period of 1992-1997, 2007-2012 remarked for this study as well as taking a cue from other researches. Each of these categories was further coded into numerical variables in order to make content analysis possible.

In this “Content Analysis Coding Schema” there are 14 questions related to the coverage: evaluation of the headline, quoted sources in the story, topics of news story, dominant frames that were used, and some other technical information such as size of news, date, etc.

The essential aim of this study is to find out how the Nagorno Karabakh conflict was represented in New York Times newspaper through the time and mainly, if this representation is related to the US local interests or not. In brief, the important goal is to learn if the international news coverage is connected to the country’s local interests.

The “Content Analysis Coding Schema” also addresses these issues: how journalists select headlines (descriptive, commentary, quote)? What is the length of the story? What are the dominant frames? Who writes the stories (source of the story)? Who is the most quoted source? What is the major topic? What is the orientation of the news stories? The coding protocol is included in the back page.

There were 444 items in total in the search engine of NYT online newspaper. As it is online engine, it does not always give the same number. Therefore each news item was collected and read. After gathering each article, it became clear that only 268 news items are left in the search engine published in NYT during the research

period. However, all editorials are excluded and 182 news stories composed the sample. Analyzing the 182 articles, this study has focused only on news articles, editorials, opinions, letters to editors, interactive and videos were excluded from this study, the analysis is basically on what has been written by the media organ.

Table 2: Number of News Items in NYT

Year	News items in total	Excluded news (opinion, editorial. Interview, summary, etc)
1992	64	49
1993	64	49
1994	28	20
1995	8	6
1996	8	7
1997	8	4
2007	5	2
2008	7	5
2009	11	9
2010	17	10
2011	20	7
2012	28	14
Total	268	182

Although many of the stories mentioned key words such as Nagorno Karabakh, not all were directly related to the conflict. Table 2, shows the results of data gathering and number of exclusion per year.

3.5.1 Reliability and Validity

To ensure reliability of data and findings, the method mentioned above were used- applying the method of content analysis. This way it ensures that the results achieved are more accurate and could be verified. The use of the SPSS statistical programme ensured that the coded variables were entered systematically and objectively under a coding protocol, to which findings could be generalized relying on past researches.

3.6 Research Statement and Hypothesis

This study will seek to answer the research questions mentioned in the introduction part of the study:

1. Is the media in favor of presenting foreign news in relation to its own country's interests or not?
2. How Nagorno Karabakh conflict was represented in NYT newspaper?
3. Has media representation of Nagorno Karabakh conflict changed through the time, or not?
4. Which main aspects of the conflict was highlighted and touched more by NYT newspaper in different periods of time?

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

4.1 Findings and Interpretations of the News Published in New York Times Online Newspaper

In order to find out relevant answers to the research questions a "Content Analysis Coding Schema" was designed and applied. In the following pages, we will evaluate the findings for each coding.

4.2 Evaluation of the NYT Newspaper Headlines

Before revealing the results of the study, the following evaluation benchmarks used in the process must be explained. The headline of each article was analyzed according to the "Content Analysis Coding Schema". Headlines were divided into three groups such as descriptive, commentary and quote. If the headline of the news includes any descriptive title towards the Nagorno Karabakh conflict, Azerbaijan and Armenia such as, describing the situation, or any battle and negotiation etc. it is marked as descriptive. The following are examples of descriptive headlines: "Presidential rule is imposed in Nagorno Karabakh area" and, "Pact reported on ending ethnic war in Caucasus".

A commentary headline gives comments or illustrates the comments of others on what happened in the region. For example: "NATO eyes military role to halt Azerbaijani feud" or "Amid war for enclave, Armenia sees little hope".

A quote headline can be categorized as a headline which gives direct quotes related to the conflict or the region. Examples of quote headlines are: “US warns of ‘Catastrophe’ facing Armenia” and, “Copter is downed, Azerbaijanis say”.

The results of the “Content Analysis Coding Schema” show that the majority of the NYT’s newspaper headlines related to the Nagorno Karabakh conflict, Azerbaijan and Armenia are descriptive (54.4%). The difference between descriptive and commentary headlines is not very big. Commentary headlines are also taking a big place (41.8%) in comparison to quote (3.8%) headlines. There is a minor place for quote headline news. So NYT was not only describing the events but also commenting and giving its own voice and approach. In the current study, stories were searched for evaluative languages, which is why opinions were excluded from this study in the first place. The presentation of all news headlines is found in the appendix section of this thesis.

Table 3: Evaluation of the Headlines in NYT’s Newspaper

Evaluation of the headline					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Descriptive	99	54.4 %	54.4	54.4
	Commentary	76	41.8 %	41.8	96.2
	Quote	7	3.8 %	3.8	100.0
	Total	182	100.0 %	100.0	

The press is one the most important forms of expression available. According to Jose Leon (1997, p. 86), when we comprehend a passage, we tend to form a nucleus of information on, a case concept which represents a general vision of the text. Consequently, headline of the article is important while presenting any kind of message. As headline is the first message that is caught by the audience, it is a kind of minor summary of the news or story. NYT newspaper mostly used descriptive

headlines in order to represent Nagorno Karabakh conflict. Minority headlines are quotes, in a sense NYT prefers to describe or comment the news stories related to the Nagorno Karabakh rather than just to give quotes from variety sources. To sum up, New York Times newspaper according to the evaluation of headlines tries to be objective toward the conflict and keep balance between the representation of countries by just mostly describing the events in the Caucasus region and sometimes commenting them.

4.3 The Source of the Stories in NYT

Table 3 shows that the majority of the news reports on the Nagorno Karabakh conflict published on New York Times online newspaper were written by their own reporters (58.8%). Most stories were filed by own staff reporters from different parts of the world including Turkey. The majority of the US press, highlighting New York Times newspaper is financially capable of employing journalists to meet their requirements. As such, most US newspapers, mentioning NYT's newspaper are independent in covering their own stories; therefore they are not dependent on the information made available by press agency sources.

Table 4: The Source of the News Stories in NYT's Newspaper

The source of the news stories					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Own Reporter	107	58.8 %	58.8	58.8
	News Agency	40	22.0 %	22.0	80.8
	Other Media	26	14.3 %	14.3	95.1
	Unknown	9	4.9 %	4.9	100.0
	Total	182	100.0 %	100.0	

As a result, only 22.0% news agency sources were used to cover the Nagorno Karabakh conflict on New York Times online newspaper. These news agencies mainly are Reuters, Interfax, Itar-Tass, Turan and so forth. There is less reliance on news agencies or other media. The percentage of the “other media source” in the stories is important. 14.3 % of news stories are from other sources. It includes direct information from different places such as Moscow, Istanbul, Baku, Yerevan and etc. The contrast in the sources could be explained in terms of media ideology, size of the organization and economic resources.

4.4 Quoted Sources in New York Times Newspaper

In order to get reliable results the part related to quotes used in the news stories in a “Content Analysis Coding Schema” was separated into 6 parts such as Azerbaijani quoted sources, Armenian quoted sources, the USA quoted sources, neighboring countries quoted sources, international quoted sources and the number of quoted sources.

According to Table 4, a clear majority of the news stories in NYT's online newspaper on Nagorno Karabakh conflict, Azerbaijan and Armenia are with one quoted sources (25.8%). 23.6% of news stories include two quoted sources. The results show that a big number of news stories include one or two quoted sources. These numbers are very significant for peace journalism news values.

The result of the usage more than three sources is 15.4%. Although usage of one quoted sources is high, the indicator of more than three sources is also essential for the study. According to the peace journalism news value, the number of quoted sources in the story is important. It is better if the level of quoted sources is high, because it gives possibility to hear the voice of different parties and variety sources. In an example of NYT, usage of more than three quoted sources gives a chance to

hear comments and opinions from Turkey, Iran, Russia, Georgia, United Nations and etc. On that time, the results would be more close to the objectivity of the source. But NYT prefers to use one or two quotes sources more, so it gives lack of possibility to hear all parts. As while using one or two quoted sources, newspaper becomes more oriented in one direction leaving other parts with less attention. So, here objectivity becomes a question.

Table 5: The Number of Quoted Sources in the News Stories

The number of quoted sources in the news stories					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	One source	47	25.8 %	25.8	25.8
	Two source	43	23.6 %	23.6	49.5
	Three sources	30	16.5 %	16.5	65.9
	More than three sources	28	15.4 %	15.4	81.3
	No quoted source	34	18.7 %	18.7	100.0
Total		182	100.0 %	100.0	

Table 5 indicates that NYTs online newspaper tends to give more voice to Azerbaijani public officials (15.4%) rather than to other Azerbaijani sources. The calculation of results of the all elite quoted sources such as president, ministers and public officials from Azerbaijan the number reaches 22%. In news stories published in New York Times online newspaper on the topic of Nagorno Karabakh, mostly Azerbaijani elite quoted sources was used. On the other hand, majority of the news stories (69.2%) are without any Azerbaijani quoted sources.

Usage of elite oriented quoted sources in the news stories is problematic issue for peace journalism news value. Reporters prefer to give more coverage to the elite group as they are very easily reachable. It is easy to contact to the members of elite group in comparison to the public audience. On the other hand, while using elite quoted sources, journalist became a voice and mirror of the elite group. It means,

minor coverage will be given to the voice of public. On that time objectivity of the news becomes questionable and criticism of the news stories decreasing because of close relations of journalist and elite group. The New York Times newspaper did not pay much attention to the public, ordinary people in the streets and refugee camps.

Table 4 shows that, there is lack of attention to the Azerbaijani experts (0.5%) and public (3.8%). Instead main voice was given to authorities such as president, ministers and public officials. Moreover, 69.2% of the news stories are without Azerbaijani quoted sources.

Table 6: Azerbaijani Quoted Sources Used in the News Stories

Azerbaijani quoted sources used in the news stories					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Azerbaijani President	10	5.5 %	5.5	5.5
	Prime minister of Azerbaijan	2	1.1 %	1.1	6.6
	Public officials of Azerbaijan	28	15.4 %	15.4	22.0
	Public of Azerbaijan	7	3.8 %	3.8	25.8
	Azerbaijan experts	1	0.5 %	.5	26.4
	No Azerbaijan source	126	69.2 %	69.2	95.6
	More than two Azerbaijani sources	8	4.4 %	4.4	100.0
	Total	182	100.0	100.0	

Table 6 illustrates the fact that similarly to Azerbaijani quoted sources NYT online newspaper gives more space to Armenian elite quoted sources. 10.4% of the quoted sources cover public officials of Armenia. Minor voice was given to Armenian experts (0.5%) and to the Armenian public (6.6%). Alike Azeri quoted sources, most of the news stories (76.9%) in NYT are without Armenian quoted source. When comparing the results of Table 5 to the results of Table 6, it becomes clear that the Azeri quoted sources are more than Armenian quoted sources in the

news stories. 76.6 % of the news stories are without any Armenian quoted sources, and 69.2% of them are without Azerbaijani quoted sources. Thus, NYT's online newspaper uses more Azerbaijani quoted sources while representing Nagorno Karabakh conflict. Moreover, the quoted sources analysis shows that news stories gave more space to official sources, which have an access to media, and those whose perspectives are seen by the media as legitimate.

Table 7: Armenian Quoted Sources Used in the News Stories

Armenian quoted sources used in the news stories					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Armenian president	2	1.1 %	1.1	1.1
	Prime minister of Armenia	1	0.5 %	.5	1.6
	Public officials of Armenia	19	10.4 %	10.4	12.1
	Public of Armenia	12	6.6 %	6.6	18.7
	Armenian experts	1	0.5 %	.5	19.2
	No Armenian source	140	76.9 %	76.9	96.2
	More than two Armenian sources	7	3.8 %	3.8	100.0
	Total	182	100.0 %	100.0	

According to the results of Table 7, quoted sources from the elite authorities of the USA was used on the representation of Nagorno Karabakh conflict in the news stories of NYT online newspaper. In total, approximately 12% of the news stories include the USA quoted sources. Majority of the news stories (81.9%) are without USA quoted sources. It means NYT's online newspaper does not give much voice to the local USA authorities while representing Nagorno Karabakh conflict. Mainly USA quoted sources include the voice of president Obama, Hilary Clinton and White House. Among other US sources there are American oil analysts, American diplomats. Oil analysts quoted mainly on Caspian oil pipeline projects. The main

quotes were about the dangers in the territory, as none of the neighboring countries is trouble-free, all of them are politically risky.

Table 8: The USA Quoted Sources in the News Stories

The USA quoted sources used in the news stories					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	USA president	6	3.3 %	3.3	3.3
	Ministers/ Senate members of the USA	4	2.2 %	2.2	5.5
	Public officials of the USA	16	8.8 %	8.8	14.3
	USA experts	6	3.3 %	3.3	17.6
	No USA source	149	81.9 %	81.9	99.5
	More than two USA sources	1	0.5 %	.5	100.0
	Total	182	100.0 %	100.0	

Table 8 shows that NYT tend to quote more than one international source (30.8%) in the news stories on Nagorno Karabakh conflict. This is more than related to the peace journalism news value. According to the peace journalism, the usage of sources should be distinguish and multilateral. Moreover it should include voices from each part related to the issue. Thus NYT online newspaper gives voice both to Azerbaijani and Armenian sides. Only, 18.1% of the news stories are without any international quoted source. 12.1% of the news stories include other international sources. Other international sources such as OXFAM, Red Cross, and so forth which had access to the conflict areas were quoted minimally.

As it was mentioned throughout the thesis, Nagorno Karabakh is a conflict zone between Azerbaijan and Armenia. This enclave is situated in the Caucasus region, between the borders of Armenia and Azerbaijan. The region is rich with natural resources such as oil and gas. Therefore the conflict caught the attention of neighboring countries too. Russia, Iran, Georgia and Turkey have their own interests in this conflict.

Table 9: International Quoted Sources in the News Stories

International quoted sources used in the news stories					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	UN official sources	9	4.9 %	4.9	4.9
	NATO official sources	1	0.5 %	.5	5.5
	Azerbaijani official sources	21	11.5 %	11.5	17.0
	Armenian official sources	13	7.1 %	7.1	24.2
	USA official sources	12	6.6 %	6.6	30.8
	Neighboring countries official sources	15	8.2 %	8.2	39.0
	Other international sources	22	12.1 %	12.1	51.1
	No international source	33	18.1 %	18.1	69.2
	More than two international sources	56	30.8 %	30.8	100.0
	Total	182	100.0 %	100.0	

NYT online newspaper gave voice to the neighboring countries too. According to the results of the Table 9, 11.5% Turkey quoted sources was used in the coverage of the conflict. Turkey and Azerbaijan has close relations both economically and culturally. Both of them are Muslim countries with similar language and culture. At the beginning of Nagorno Karabakh conflict Turkey gained a strategy such as observer. Russia's official sources (9.9%) are in the second row. Caucasus region was under the influence of Soviet Union for more than 70 years. In 1991, after the collapsed of the USSR the countries in the region got their independence. But still, the region is considered as a place under Russian interests.

Although majority of the news stories (74.7%) are without any neighboring country quoted source, there is minor space to Georgia (1.6%) and Iran (1.6). Most of the neighboring countries quoted sources are from the two major and influential countries of the region Turkey and Russia. During the Nagorno Karabakh war Iran has a vague strategy toward the region. At first, the country decided to close its

borders and do not allow refugees to cross the border and pass to Iranian territory. But later on, Iran changed its strategy and built refugee camps across the border with Azerbaijan.

Table 10: Neighboring Countries Quoted Sources Used in the News Stories

Neighboring countries quoted sources used in the news stories					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Russia official sources	18	9.9 %	9.9	9.9
	Iran official sources	3	1.6 %	1.6	11.5
	Turkey official sources	21	11.5 %	11.5	23.1
	Georgia official sources	3	1.6 %	1.6	24.7
	No neighboring country sources	136	74.7 %	74.7	99.5
	More than two neighboring country sources	1	0.5 %	.5	100.0
	Total	182	100.0 %	100.0	

The relations of the USA and Russia were always harsh throughout the history. The Caucasus region where Nagorno Karabakh conflict took place is under influence of Russia. The economic and political interests of the USA and Russia are always clashed with each other. The Caucasus region is one of the examples to this situation. Consequently this clash of interests found its place on the coverage of Nagorno Karabakh conflict in NYT newspaper too. So, the quoted sources of Turkey officials are majority in comparison to Russian official quoted sources. NYT give more voice to Turkish officials rather than to Russian ones.

4.5 Length of the Story in the New York Times

The length of news also determines what kind of importance was given to the coverage of the issue. This is determined by the number of words in a news story. In

this study the length of the story is divided into three categories: short (less than 200 words), medium (between 201-499 words) and long (more than 500 words).

Table 11: Length of the News Stories in NYT's Newspaper

		Length of the news stories			
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Short (less than 200 words)	28	15.4 %	15.4	15.4
	Medium (between 200-500 words)	50	27.5 %	27.5	42.9
	Long (more than 500 words)	104	57.1 %	57.1	100.0
	Total	182	100.0 %	100.0	

Table 10 shows that the New York Times newspaper writes news stories of long length (57.1%) for news related to the Nagorno Karabakh conflict. There is much difference between long and medium (27.5%) size news stories. The New York Times newspaper gives minor place to short (15.4%) type of news stories. Thus, Nagorno Karabakh conflict is represented in a wider range in the NYT newspaper. In other words, the news value of the Nagorno Karabakh conflict news in the NYT is significant. As majority of the articles are long length sized, it becomes clear that New York Times newspaper gives more importance to the Nagorno Karabakh issue.

4.8 General Topic of News on the Nagorno Karabakh Conflict

Table 11 shows that NYT newspaper is interested mainly to represent political news (30.2%) on Nagorno Karabakh conflict. But news about military action (26.9%) is also high. Furthermore, news about negotiations, peace and solution (21.4%) also covers wider space in NYT's newspaper. Newspaper gives minor space to social and cultural (9.3%) and education (1.1%) oriented news.

Table 12: General Topic of the News in the NYT's Newspaper

		General topic of the news story			
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Military action	49	26.9 %	26.9	26.9
	Trade-economy	14	7.7 %	7.7	34.6
	Politics	55	30.2 %	30.2	64.8
	Negotiations	39	21.4 %	21.4	86.3
	Social and cultural activities	17	9.3 %	9.3	95.6
	Education	2	1.1 %	1.1	96.7
	Other	6	3.3 %	3.3	100.0
	Total	182	100.0 %	100.0	

It means both countries, Armenia and Azerbaijan firstly are interested in political situation in the region. Military action and negotiations comes after that. At first both countries tried to set up their political situation. Azerbaijan and Armenia got their independence at the same time in 1991, after the USSR (United Soviet Socialist Republics) was collapsed. Therefore, there was a chaos in both countries. Nagorno Karabakh conflict complicated the situation in the region. Consequently, not only political situation but also economic situation of the region faced hard times. As a result, NYT covered the real and relevant topics in the region. Political topics include presidential elections in Azerbaija, Armenia and Nagorno Karabakh. After 1991, when Azerbaijan and Armenia got their independence, Armenian population of Nagorno Karabakh also declared their independence. Not any other country except Armenia recognized this situation. This issue might be compared to the Cyprus conflict. North Cyprus also declared its independence, but only Turkey recognized it, as the territory remains a conflict zone between Turks and Greeks. Furthermore, the period of 1991-1993 was hard time in a political situation of Azerbaijan. During

those years 3 presidents came to power in Azerbaijan. All these find its coverage in NYT online newspaper.

News about military actions, how both sides Armenian and Azerbaijan caused damage in the region is also high. For example, in one of the articles published in NYT (NYT, March 09, 1992), there is information how Azerbaijan forces fired dozens of rockets into Askeran (Armenian village). On the same article, it was highlighted that Turkey still prevents its military troops from the intervening the region. Turkey wants a peaceful solution to the conflict. In 1992, February 25 there was a Khojaly massacre against Azerbaijanis. It found its coverage in NYT newspaper from two aspects. First of all, there is information that there was an aggression and massive killings of Azerbaijani people in Khojaly. Frederique Lengaigne a Reuter's photographer said that she had seen two trucks filled with Azerbaijani bodies. She highlights, "In the first one I counted 35, and it looked as though there were almost as many in the second. Some had their heads cut off, and many had been burned. They were all men, and a few had been wearing khaki uniforms" (NYT, March 03, 1992). From another aspect, it is mentioned that Azerbaijan exaggerates the number of deaths of innocent civilians in Khojaly to mask attacks by its own community (NYT, March 07, 1992).

Topic about negations includes information about the meeting of Azerbaijan and Armenian presidents in order to solve the problem in a peaceful way. Neighboring countries, including other EU countries and USA were supporting peaceful solution. In NYT (NYT, March 10, 1992), it is illustrated that peace missions were held by neighboring and other European countries. Britain, Turkey and a coalition of Islamic nations were working on a peaceful solution of the conflict.

4.10 Dominant Frames Used in the NYT

The interesting finding of this study is that NYT gave more coverage to the news stories about politics and political issues (28.6%) on Nagorno Karabakh conflict.

Table 13: Dominant Frames Used on Nagorno Karabakh Conflict in NYT

Dominant frames used in the news story					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Military action frame	44	24.2 %	24.2	24.2
	Anti-war protest, negotiations, solution frame	40	22.0 %	22.0	46.2
	Responsibility frame 1: Azerbaijanis are responsible	2	1.1 %	1.1	47.3
	Responsibility frame 2: Armenians are responsible	3	1.6 %	1.6	48.9
	Political consequences frame	52	28.6 %	28.6	77.5
	Economic consequences frame	14	7.7 %	7.7	85.2
	Social consequences frame	16	8.8 %	8.8	94.0
	Humanitarian frame	11	6.0 %	6.0	100.0
	Total	182	100.0 %	100.0	

Then NYT prefers to give representation of military actions (24.2%) happened in the Caucasus region. The result of anti war protest, negotiation and solution frames (22.0%) is not little either. New York Times online newspaper gives minor space to the frames such as economic consequences (7.7%), social consequences (8.8%) and humanitarian frames (6.0%). There is a controversy if New York Times newspaper is peace-oriented or not. The main reason is that the results of military action frames (24.2%) are more than anti war protests frame (22.0%).

Although the difference is not so big, but again military action frames are majority. Military action frames consists of news on the battle, fights during the Nagorno Karabakh war in 1992-1994. Also there are military action frames on variety conflicts such as Abkhazia, Iraq war, Mali, Crimea and so forth. All these articles were considered as sample to this research because they carry comparative information about Nagorno Karabakh conflict.

4.11 General Orientation of the News in NYT

One of the findings of this study is that NYT newspaper prefers to publish news that is balanced according to the Nagorno Karabakh disputed region. Most of the news stories are balanced (45.1%) and it does not take any side. On the other hand, while comparing the results of Azerbaijan and Armenian politics oriented news, news stories in favor of Armenia is more than news stories in favor of Azerbaijan (26.4%). Although the difference is not so big, NYT prefers to publish news in favor of Armenian politics (28.6%).

Balanced news stories include information from both sides. When there is information about Armenian military actions and massacre of Azerbaijani people, at the same news story contrast information is also given. Such as, Armenia survives from hard winter situation, because of Azerbaijanis. Azerbaijan side during the war in 1992 cut the energy supplies of Armenia, and left it without electricity and gas. Thus, NYT newspaper uses this strategy of giving equal space to the news coverage on Nagorno Karabakh for both Azerbaijani and Armenian sides. Also, in the coverage of Karabakh, it is highlighted that at the beginning in 1992-1993 USA and one of the neighboring countries Turkey did not want to interfere to the region with their military troops. The United States of America and Turkey joined to peaceful

negotiations after the request of parties. In 1993, both Azerbaijan and Armenia requested the US to join and solve the problem in the region.

Table 14: General Orientation of the News in the NYT's Newspaper

General orientation of the news story					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	In favor of Azerbaijan politics	48	26.4 %	26.4	26.4
	In favor of Armenian politics	52	28.6 %	28.6	54.9
	Balanced	82	45.1 %	45.1	100.0
	Total	182	100.0 %	100.0	

4.12 Publishing Period of the News in NYT

The table 14 results indicate that the highest coverage of the Nagorno Karabakh conflict was during the Nagorno Karabakh war in the time period of 1992-1994 (64.8%). The hot times of the conflict caught the attention of NYT. After the war, when a cease-fire was signed in 1994, NYT lost its interest toward the issue. Consequently, the coverage of the news on the conflict went down.

For instance, in 2007 the coverage of the conflict was just 1.1%. The interesting part is that, recently US got more interested toward the Caucasus region, mainly toward Azerbaijan and Nagorno Karabakh conflict. So the coverage of the news on this conflict increased in comparison to previous years and it became 7.7% in 2012.

In comparison to 1990th, in our contemporary time the USA-Azerbaijan relations have been developed a lot. In 1990th the USA was aware of Azerbaijan only as a result of propaganda of Armenian Diaspora in the US. Although, the Azerbaijan-US relations have prospered a lot, the coverage of the conflict has been decreased throughout the years.

Approximately twenty years passed after the Karabakh war happened. Nowadays, the US media give less importance and interest toward the conflict. From time to time the importance of the conflict has been vanishing out.

Table 15: Date of the News on Nagorno Karabakh Conflict in the NYT's Newspaper

		Year of the news stories			Cumulative
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Percent
Valid	1992	49	26.9 %	26.9	26.9
	1993	49	26.9 %	26.9	53.8
	1994	20	11.0 %	11.0	64.8
	1995	6	3.3 %	3.3	68.1
	1996	7	3.8 %	3.8	72.0
	1997	4	2.2 %	2.2	74.2
	2007	2	1.1 %	1.1	75.3
	2008	5	2.7 %	2.7	78.0
	2009	9	4.9 %	4.9	83.0
	2010	10	5.5 %	5.5	88.5
	2011	7	3.8 %	3.8	92.3
	2012	14	7.7 %	7.7	100.0
	Total	182	100.0 %	100.0	

4.13 Evaluation and Comparison of the Headlines in Different Years

Table 15 shows the differences on headlines of the news according to the years. From the table, one can say that descriptive headlines were the majority in all times from 1992 to 1997, and from 2007 to 2012. Most of the news was published with descriptive headlines. Only in the year of 1994 news stories with commentary headlines were more than descriptive ones. News stories with quote headlines were almost in a last row, finding very minor space in NYT online newspaper. According to the Table 15 results, it becomes clear that through the years, NYT almost always was just describing the issues and events happening on Nagorno Karabakh conflict, trying to keep comments away.

Table 16: Evaluation of the Headlines in Different Years

**Year of the news stories * Evaluation of the headline
Crosstabulation**

Year	Evaluation of the headline			Total
	Descriptive	Commentary	Quote	
1992	32	15	2	49
1993	24	23	2	49
1994	7	12	1	20
1995	4	2	0	6
1996	5	1	1	7
1997	1	3	0	4
2007	1	1	0	2
2008	1	4	0	5
2009	6	3	0	9
2010	5	5	0	10
2011	4	2	1	7
2012	9	5	0	14
Total	99	76	7	182

The interesting point is also that the coverage of the conflict decreased throughout the years. While comparing the time periods of 1992-1997 and 2007-2012 the results of the given coverage to the Nagorno Karabakh conflict by NYT is relatively big. NYT lost its interest toward Nagorno Karabakh conflict. NYT used to cover Nagorno Karabakh conflict during the war time, when the battles were up, and there was no cease-fire between the countries. In 1994 a cease-fire was signed, and the war had been stopped. In 1995-1997 and 2007-2009 NYT was not so interested in this conflict and area. In comparison to those years, only in our recent time during 2010-2012 years the coverage of the Nagorno Karabakh conflict in the NYT press has been increased a little bit. So, the importance given to the Nagorno Karabakh conflict has been changing during the years.

4.14 Changes of General Topic of the News Story According the Years

The results driven from the Table 16, proves that there was not so much interest toward the Nagorno Karabakh conflict in NYT after a cease-fire was signed between Armenia and Azerbaijan in 1994. In the years of 1992 and 1993 NYT gave more attention and coverage of military action oriented topics. After 1994, the military actions have been stopped, and both countries were more concentrated in the development of their own countries.

After 1994, heavy attention was given to political oriented news stories. As in 1994 a cease-fire was signed, so military action and battles have been stopped in a disputed region. After that time, interested sides stepped into negotiation and political oriented discussions. Both countries Azerbaijan and Armenia opened a new page in their story after 1994, and they began to work on the political and economical development of their countries. Thus, NYT described the real situation in the region throughout the years. Recently, countries especially Azerbaijan pays more attention to the social and cultural activities in the region by concentrating in widening political borders of the country. In 2011, Azerbaijan was a winner of Eurovision song contest. One of the main priorities of this contest is that the organization of the next year's event becomes a task of the winning country. So, in 2012 the Eurovision song contest was organized in the capital of Azerbaijan, Baku. This contest is one of the big and prestigious song competitions in Europe. Organizing this event in Azerbaijan was a big advantage for its politics and economics. Hundreds of journalists arrive to Baku in order to participate and lighten the event in variety of media organizations. It gave a possibility to promote its

country in a wider sense for Azerbaijan. Within the economical outcome, this song contest also caused some political consequences.

Table 17: Changes of General Themes of the News Story According the Years

Year of the news stories * General topic of the news story Crosstabulation

Count

Year of the news stories	General topic of the news story							Total
	Military action	Trade-economy	Politics	Negotiations	Social and cultural activities	Education	Other	
1992	27	1	9	11	0	0	1	49
1993	17	4	16	8	0	1	3	49
1994	0	4	11	4	1	0	0	20
1995	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	6
1996	1	0	3	2	1	0	0	7
1997	0	2	1	1	0	0	0	4
2007	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	2
2008	1	1	2	1	0	0	0	5
2009	0	0	2	5	2	0	0	9
2010	0	1	2	3	4	0	0	10
2011	1	0	1	2	3	0	0	7
2012	2	0	6	1	4	0	1	14
Total	49	14	55	39	17	2	6	182

The border of Armenia and Azerbaijan is closed because of the Nagorno Karabakh conflict. There is not any transportation between these two countries. Armenia is one of the participants in Eurovision song contest. But in 2012, Armenia denied its participation in the contest because of the security and conflict reasons in Azerbaijan. All these consequences found its coverage in NYT online newspaper (NYT, March 07, 2012).

4.15 General Orientation of the News Stories in NYT

According to the results of Table 17, almost in all periods of time NYT tried to keep balance, and give equal space on the coverage of Nagorno Karabakh conflict

to both Azerbaijan and Armenian sides. While analyzing news stories year by year and comparing them to the political situation of the countries and relations with the USA relevant results come to the surface. For instance, at the beginning of the Nagorno Karabakh war in 1992, Azerbaijan and USA did not have any relations between their countries. The notion can be confirmed by the results of the Table 17. In 1992, the highest number of the news stories is in favor of Armenian politics. After that situation has changed and in 1993, the news stories are mostly Azerbaijan oriented. After 1994 when a cease-fire was signed between the countries the situation has relatively changed. Economic situation of Azerbaijan has developed a lot because of oil sources. Azerbaijan signed contracts with UK, USA and other EU countries on oil production sphere. So this situation has influenced economical situation of the country a lot. Recently Azerbaijan has very good relations with the USA.

Actually, at the beginning of Nagorno Karabakh conflict in 1988, also in the year of 1991 when both Azerbaijan and Armenia got their independence from Soviet Union, the USA was not so interested in the region which is under influence of Russia. Only after 1992, when the conflict of Nagorno Karabakh was in its pick stage US began to move wearily into the Caucasus and Central Asian politics (NYT, March 08, 1992). At first, US decided to keep a position of an observer and not to influence to the situation in the Caucasus. During that time, NYT mainly gave news stories about the total loss of Armenians and attacks of Azerbaijani side. Azerbaijan is highlighted as an attacker side. On the other side, Armenian attacks were described as attacks of Post Soviet Union troops. There is no direct mentioning of Armenian attacks in the news stories covered in 1992.

Table 18: General Orientation of the News Stories According the Years

Year of the news stories * General orientation of the news story

Crosstabulation

Count

Year of the news stories	General orientation of the news story			Total
	In favor of Azerbaijan politics	In favor of Armenian politics	Balanced	
1992	7	22	20	49
1993	20	12	17	49
1994	1	5	14	20
1995	2	1	3	6
1996	1	2	4	7
1997	2	0	2	4
2007	1	0	1	2
2008	3	1	1	5
2009	1	4	4	9
2010	3	1	6	10
2011	3	3	1	7
2012	4	1	9	14
Total	48	52	82	182

The US joined to the negotiations on peaceful solution of the conflict in 1993, when Azerbaijan side asked it to join and collaborate in the region. Meanwhile, NYT newspaper almost always tried to keep it balance strategy toward the conflict. For instance, when there was information about how Armenian side invaded Azerbaijani land, and the lost of Azerbaijan side, the information about how Azerbaijan cut energy and gas supply to Armenia was also given. So, with this NYT tried to give information from both sides, without concentrating and supporting one side.

Chapter V

CONCLUSION

The information included in this chapter sets out to pull strings together. It, therefore, presents a summary of the study, conclusions drawn from the study, implications and suggestions for further research.

5.1 Summary of the Study

As stated earlier, the basic aim of this study was to explore if the media is in favor of presenting foreign news in relation to its own country's interests or not. In order to answer to the research questions a case study was done. News stories about Nagorno Karabakh conflict published in New York Times online newspaper in a related time period, in 1992-1997, and 2007-2012 were examined. The results obtained from the research are general results of news story coverage.

5.2 General Results of the News Stories Coverage

In light of the analysis of the news stories, the following evaluations can be made for the New York Times online newspaper.

HEADLINES: The great majority of the NYT tends to use descriptive (54.4%) headlines in news stories. It can be précised that NYT prefers to describe events as transmitter of information rather than using comments or quotes related to the conflict. Most of the news stories on Karabakh conflict are descriptive. There is very minor place to the quote (3.8%) headlines. NYT prefers to describe or comment the

news stories related to the Nagorno Karabakh conflict rather than just giving quotes from variety sources.

THE SOURCE OF NEWS STORIES: NYT employs its own reporters for writing stories. Economically, most of the press agencies, newspapers, and media institutions in the USA have sufficient funding to employ journalists to meet their requirements. As a result, NYT does not prefer to use ready-made news distributed to the media by others. It tends to prepare and present rather than use ready materials. Most of the articles are written by NYT own reporters (58.8%). They tend to present their own work. 22.0% of the news stories were written by the news agencies. These agencies are Reuters, Itar-Tass, Interfax, Turan and etc. There are news stories (14.3%) written by other media which gives direct quotations to the countries such as Russia, Turkey, Azerbaijan, Armenia and so forth.

THE QUOTED SOURCES IN THE NEWS STORIES: The part related to the usage of quoted sources in “Content Analysis Coding Schema” was divided into several parts. This was done in order to get more reliable results. NYT tends to use more than two quoted sources (30.8%) in news stories. It is very logical and useful in peace journalism. According to the main principles of peace journalism, a journalist should gain news from variety sources and look to the event from distinguish angles. If journalist use more sources it will help to present fair and true information to the public. The quotes that were used in the stories are multifunctional. They include ordinary people, refugees, officials of neighboring countries, academic people and etc. On the other hand, most of the quotes are from elite group of the society. Azerbaijan, Armenian, the USA public officials are majority among quoted sources. This issue is problematic in peace journalism news value. Mainly the elite oriented quotes were used in the news stories, and public, ordinary people of the societies left

in the second plan. For instance, elite group of the USA such as president, secretaries were mainly used as quotes in the news stories published in NYT. It is easy for journalist to contact and make relations with elite level of the society. But, in this situation journalist become a mirror of the elite group, and other part of the society stays voiceless. Thus, New York Times online newspaper gave more space to the voice of elite group. The opinion of the ordinary people was left aside. Furthermore, quotes from neighboring countries were also analyzed in this study. According to the results, NYT mainly illustrates the voice of Turkey (1.5%) rather than other neighboring countries. Turkey is a “brother” country to Azerbaijan. These countries are close to each other from religious, cultural, economic aspects. Both of the countries are Muslim, even the language of the nations is similar. On the other hand, Russia and Armenia is close to each other. During the Nagorno Karabakh conflict post Soviet Union troops were supporting Armenian side. These countries are also close to each other from religious aspect, as both of them are Christians. In NYT newspaper Karabakh conflict was represented as an ethnic conflict between Muslims and Christians. The interesting side is that quotes from Turkey are more than quotes from Russia. According to the history, and political affairs of the USA, Russia and US was not always in a friendly relations. The World War Two, Cold War are the examples to this situation. Currently, the relations of the US and Russia has been stabilized. So, NYT preferred to give more space to Turkey, but not Russia. It proves the hypothesis of the thesis that foreign policy of the country is related to its media representation of international news.

LENGTH OF THE NEWS: NYT prefers to write long stories (57.1 %) about Nagorno Karabakh conflict. It means the USA press gives more coverage to this conflict. The number of short stories (15.4%) is minority.

NEWS STORY TOPICS: The news story topic is one of the important parts of this study. It shows which news topics are considered more valuable in NYT. The results of the study indicates that politics (30.2%) oriented news are in the first place in NYT. Military oriented news (24.2%) is in the second place. The difference between military oriented topic and negotiation, solution oriented topic is very little, just 2.2%.

DOMINANT FRAMES OF THE NEWS: The results of the study shows that political consequences frames (28.6%) are in the majority. NYT mainly framed the issue according to the political relation terms. There are news items about the presidential elections in Azerbaijan, Armenia and even Nagorno Karabakh in 1991-1994. The political relations between the countries such as Azerbaijan-Turkey, Azerbaija-Russia. Armenia-Russia, Armenia-Turkey and so forth found its coverage in NYT too. The border between Turkey and Armenia is closed, and there is no any relation between the countries. In 2010, there was a political discussion to open the border and cause the development of economic relations between the countries. Even on that time, the prime minister of Turkey traveled to Armenia for a football match in order to warm up the relations between two countries. The idea of opening the border was protested by Azerbaijani side. As a result of political consequences the border was left closed. This frame found its coverage in NYT. It was highlighted that Turkey has a new strategy of “the zero problem policy”, and it was designed by Foreign Minister of Turkey Ahmet Davutoglu in order to build strong economic, political and social ties with Turkey’s immediate neighbors (NYT, October 24, 2011). In the same article, it is mentioned that there is a chance to sign a protocol with the hope of restoring diplomatic ties and reopening of the borders between Turkey and Azerbaijan. The coverage of protests in Azerbaijan against opening the

borders is missing in NYT. But the visit of Erdogan to Armenia for a football match is covered in the newspaper. After that, military and anti-war protest frames share the place in the results. Military frames are more than anti-war protest frames. NYT newspaper described the real situation in the region, as at the beginning of the conflict the USA did not join to the process, it preferred to stay as an observer toward the issue in the Caucasus region. Later on, in 1993 the USA began to do some political steps in the region. On the other hand, the USA never sent its military troops to the region in order to participate in the conflict and to take any side. It politically took side of Armenia or Azerbaijan in different periods of time, but generally the USA kept its balance strategy toward the region. This strategy found its place in NYT online newspaper while covering the Nagorno Karabakh conflict. Most of the time, NYT gave equal space in news stories to both countries. Another interesting finding is that there is not any news story about direct relations of Armenia-USA or Azerbaijan-USA. The notion about the relations of these countries was always a part of US political affair toward the Caucasus and Asian countries. These topics were always highlighted as a part of US peaceful action in the regional conflicts including Abkhazia Georgia problem, Ukraine, Kosovo, Iraq war and so forth.

GENERAL ORIENTATION OF THE NEWS STORIES: According to the results, most of the time NYT had balance strategy (45.1%) toward the Nagorno Karabakh conflict such as newspaper tried to give equal space to the news about both countries. 28.6% news is in favor of Armenian politics, and 26.4 % is in favor of Azerbaijani politics. News about Armenian politics, include information about how Armenian population tried to get and keep their independence from Azerbaijan, how to improve economic situation of the country, a humanitarian help from the USA, political support from Russia and so forth. News about Azerbaijan includes information about

the economic development of the country, oil production, pipeline buildings, social and cultural events, the situation of refugees and so forth. Although the difference is not so big, NYT newspaper mainly published news stories which supported Armenian politics, rather than Azerbaijani one. As it was mentioned earlier, the USA and Russian relations was not always warm and Cold War was given as an example to this notion. From here the question rises up if Russia supports Armenia, why the coverage of the conflict is not more in favor of Azerbaijan? According to the findings of this study, the highest number of publication news on Nagorno Karabakh conflict in NYT is in a period of time 1992-1994. Most of the articles were published on that time. While analyzing news items it becomes clear that on the time period of 1992-1994 the relations between the US and Azerbaijan was weak. Even the US put ban on the US aid toward the Azerbaijan, in order to punish for its trade embargo against Armenia stemming from a deadlocked conflict over Nagorno Karabakh (NYT, August 04, 1997). Only after the 1994 the relations between these two countries has been changed due to the economical development of the Azerbaijan. But, the number of articles published in NYT after 1994, and 1997 is not so high in a comparison to the previous time. Therefore, the results show that news stories in favor of Armenia is in majority.

PUBLISHING PERIOD OF THE NEWS STORIES: NYT newspaper gave wide coverage to the Nagorno Karabakh conflict. The number of published news stories changes through the years. High percentage of the news (64.8%) was published in the time period of 1992-94, when Nagorno Karabakh war was in its pick level. After a cease-fire in 1994, the coverage of the conflict decreased. Currently, NYT began publishing more news on the related issue. In 2012, the results reached 7.7%. It is quite a good indicator in comparison to previous years.

5.3 Conclusion of the Study

The aim of this study has been to investigate if the media representation of the country is related to its foreign policy or not. In order to find out answers to the research questions a content analysis has been done. Nagorno Karabakh conflict was chosen as a case study. One of the goals was to find out the relations of foreign affairs of the USA and its media representation of international news. New York Times online newspaper was selected as a sample for this study. This newspaper is mainly government oriented and has a wide coverage of international news. Therefore the results driven from NYT would be an example of showing the relations of the USA media and its foreign policy. After content analysis of 182 news stories published in a period of 1992-97 and 2007-12 in NYT newspaper, the research questions of this study those were mentioned at the beginning of the thesis has been answered in a numerical order.

1. Is the media in favor of presenting foreign news in relation to its own country's interests or not?

The answer to this question comes according to the results of one USA medium, which is New York Times newspaper. The results will be given according to the study on the news stories of NYT newspaper that was published in a specific period of time (1992-1997, 2007-2012), therefore the reliability could be questioned. Although NYT is one of the biggest newspapers with wider international news coverage in the USA, it does not cover the whole press of the country. So different newspapers might give distinguish results. The answers to the questions of this study are based on the research of NYT. According to the results of the research that was held on NYT, the New York Times newspaper is in favor of presenting foreign news in relation to the USA interests.

Nagorno Karabakh is a conflict zone between Azerbaijan and Armenia, in a Caucasus region. Azerbaijan and Armenia are post USSR countries, which got their independence in 1991. The Caucasus region was under the Soviet Union for more than 70 years. Therefore, this region is considered as a place of Russian influence. Through the history the USA and Russia did not have very close political and economic relations. It is one of the main reasons why at the beginning of Nagorno Karabakh conflict the United State of America did not want to interfere and influence to the region. It preferred to keep a place of an observer. Actually, the USA never sent its troops to the Karabakh enclave in order to participate in the war. According to the article that was published in NYT (NYT, March 08, 1992), US began to move wearily into the Caucasus and Central Asian politics after 1992. But the relations of the US and Azerbaijan was not close.

According to the results of this study NYT mostly always published stories that had balanced strategy toward the conflict and region. Only in some years Armenian politics oriented news are more than Azerbaijani oriented news. For instance, in 1992, the results show that Armenian oriented news is more than Azerbaijani ones. On that period of time NYT was interested in presenting news in favor of Armenia. Even the US has sent humanitarian help for victims in Armenia. The relations of the USA and Azerbaijan were very weak and it affected the coverage of Nagorno Karabakh conflict. Until 1997, US had ban on the aid to Azerbaijan. As it is highlighted in the article published on NYT, “the ban came about because as one of USA tactics of war, Azerbaijan has blockaded Armenia, depriving the small republic of oil and gas. In turn, the politically powerful Armenian-American population has persuaded Congress to prohibit Azerbaijan from receiving aid under the Freedom Support Act, which is intended to aid the transition to

capitalism and democracy in the former Soviet republics. The United States has continued to give aid to Armenia” (NYT, February 19, 1995). So the results of NYT show that in 1992, apart the balanced strategy, news in favor of Armenia is more than in favor of Azerbaijan. This situation is related to the real foreign policy of the USA. Before, the US was getting information about Azerbaijan according to the propaganda of Armenian Diaspora in the USA. Nowadays, Azerbaijan and the USA have very strong economical and political relations.

Furthermore, in 1995 the situation has changed. A cease-fire between Armenia and Azerbaijan was signed in 1994. This caused the end of war and military actions. So both countries concentrated more on their local issues, such as economic and political development. Azerbaijan succeeded from this situation more. As it was mentioned, Azerbaijan is rich with natural sources such as gas and oil. This attracted the attention of big oil companies from variety countries including the UK and US. As it was highlighted in the article of NYT, “American oil companies- including Amoco, Unocal, Exxon, Pennzoil- have invested billions of dollars in Azerbaijan and plan to invest billions more. As a result, they have developed a strongly pro-Azerbaijan position” (NYT, September 14, 1997). It means in 1995, Azerbaijan and US had close relations in comparison to previous years in terms of economical consequences. This situation found its place in the coverage of NYT too. According to the results of this study, in 1995, apart balanced news, stories in favor of Azerbaijan is more than stories in favor of Armenia.

In brief, it becomes clear that the media representation of the country is related to that country’s foreign policy. As after 1994, the US strategy toward the Azerbaijan has changed due to the trade and oil production, the coverage of Azerbaijan in NYT has also changed after that time. Through evaluations of news it

has been explained that media is in favor of presenting foreign news in relation to its own country's interests.

2. How Nagorno Karabakh conflict was represented in the NYT newspaper? And which main aspects of the conflict was highlighted and touched by NYT in different periods of time?

The answer to these two questions was connected by the author according to the closeness of the samples. Nagorno Karabakh conflict is represented as a disputed region between two countries, Armenia and Azerbaijan. It is a conflict that remains unresolved for more than twenty years. Truly, the war over Nagorno Karabakh was framed not only as a battle between Armenia and Azerbaijan, but also such as fight between Muslims and Christians. There is a religious frame toward the conflict in NYT. Armenians are Christians and Azerbaijanis are Muslims. Therefore, Muslim-Christian category was divided (NYT, March 08, 1992). This is the way how NYT described and covered Nagorno Karabakh conflict, it gave a religious approach to the coverage of the conflict.

Then, as it was mentioned above, NYT gave equal space to the Azerbaijan and Armenian while covering Nagorno Karabakh enclave. For example, if there is information about how Armenians kill Azeri people, on the same article, there is news about suffrage of hard winter condition in Armenia without any electricity (NYT, March 08, 1992). The news stories that was published in 1992 in NYT, mainly concentrated on military actions. Azerbaijan is represented as an invading country, which collapsed Armenian populated territory. On the other hand, Armenians are not presented as invading country, but the troops that fight against Azerbaijan was illustrated as post Soviet army. Almost in all stories that cover the

period of 1992-1997, Nagorno Karabakh was represented as Armenian populated enclave under the rule of Azerbaijan.

After 1994, and also in a time period of 2007-2012 news stories that were published in NYT are more concentrated on political issues of the conflict. Mainly the topics of presidents meeting, economic development of the region, oil production, negotiations and social consequence frames are covered. One of the main issues that caught the attention of NYT in a time period of 2011-2012 is Eurovision Song contest. There were a lot of political negotiations after 2011 when Azerbaijan won a song contest. In 2012, Armenians denied to attend the contest, because it was organized in Baku. So all these process found its coverage in NYT online newspaper.

3. Has media representation of Nagorno Karabakh conflict changed through the time or not?

As it was mentioned above NYT mostly published balanced news on the coverage of the conflict by giving equal space both to Azerbaijan and Armenia. It is connected and related to the foreign policy of the USA. As US always tried to keep balance strategy toward the region, the same situation found its place in the press coverage too. The representation of Nagorno Karabakh conflict has changed a little bit. At the beginning of the conflict, in 1992-1994 mainly the religious aspect found its place in the coverage. Later on, NYT did not use religious approach while presenting a Nagorno Karabakh conflict a lot. Currently, the conflict is represented as problem between Azerbaijan and Armenia. There is no usage of Muslim and Christian approach a lot. Moreover, in the period of 1992-1994 in some articles NYT presents Karabakh enclave as not a part of Azerbaijan, but as a territory that is situated in the place by surrounding Azerbaijan controlled lands. In contrast, news stories published in the period of 2007-2012 do not have such notion about Karabakh

enclave. In all news stories Karabakh was presented as a part of Azerbaijan Republic which is under Armenian occupation. Then NYT published stories with the idea that Armenia always denied its direct involvement and said that it is Nagorno Karabakh self-defense forces that fight against Azerbaijan. This approach also did not find its coverage during 2007-2012 years. Currently, news stories published in NYT claims Nagorno Karabakh as a conflict zone between two countries, Armenia and Azerbaijan.

The interesting thing that was noticed by the author of this study while analyzing news stories in NYT is that, there are several articles with corrections. Precisely, some stories were published, but after some time, the corrections were made up. For example, in one of the articles published in NYT (May 15, 2011), there was a picture of the map which misidentified Nakhichevan as Nagorno Karabakh. Nakhichevan is a part of Azerbaijan, which does have only air transportation to the main part of the country. As Nagorno Karabakh enclave is a conflict zone, borders are closed for cars, busses and etc. There is a high-way to Nakhichevan through the Iran. Whenever anybody wants to travel between these two parts of the country, bus service from Iran or airplane from other Azerbaijani cities is a choice. In another article, which was about Armenian Turkey relations a correction was done. In the article about “the future of relations between Turkey and Armenia, a Turkish-Armenian newspaper editor killed in Istanbul on January 19, 2007, misidentified the issue between two countries that Turkey has said should be examined by a governmental history commission. It is the 195 Armenian genocide- not the political status of Nagorno Karabakh, a region that Armenia claims but that Turkey recognizes as part of Azerbaijan” (NYT, January 25, 2007).

In our current time, Diasporas of both countries fight on cold and information war. They try to spread out information from their own perspective to the world audience. With this, they aim to prove their own version of reality.

In conclusion, while summarizing all the above, the main question of this study finds their answers. It is concluded that media is in favor of presenting news in relation to its own country's interests. The USA medium NYT newspaper represented Nagorno Karabakh conflict according to the US-Azerbaijan and US-Armenian relations. In the New York Times online newspaper Nagorno Karabakh was always represented as a hot spot in the Caucasus region that almost twenty years remains unresolved. According to the research, it also becomes clear that media representation of Karabakh conflict changed partly through the time due to the relations between Azerbaijan-US. The place was always covered as a conflict zone between two countries. The economical, political aspects of the region also found its coverage in the newspaper.

The interest of the USA toward Armenia is missing in the coverage of NYT. Nagorno Karabakh conflict is remained unresolved for more than twenty years. Despite of variety meetings of president, negotiations, influence of international organizations such as OSCE, Minsk Group, UN not any solution could be found to this conflict. From political aspect, the solution of the conflict in favor of Azerbaijan, will make the country more stronger and prosperous. It will be another action in the development of the country and Azerbaijan will become the most developed country in the Caucasus region. Certainly, oil, gas and other natural sources are the main attributes of this success. On the other hand, solution of the conflict in favor of Armenia will be successful action for the country too. It will open the borders between neighboring countries of Armenia. This will cause economic development

of Armenia. But Azerbaijan side will never accept this action, it recognize Nagorno Karabakh conflict as a part of Azerbaijani territory. Although Nagorno Karabakh declared its independence none of the countries except Armenia recognized this. Moreover, from the perspective of the author, Nagorno Karabakh conflict is not a problem only between two countries, but it catches the attention of Russia, Turkey and the USA, The findings of this study is a real example to this situation. As in the coverage of Karabakh conflict in NYT variety of quoted sources were used from Turkey, Russia, US, and so forth.

The political situation, foreign affairs of each country plays an important role in the coverage of that country in international media. Therefore, as a conclusive sentence to this research it should be added that foreign affairs and media organizations of the country are inter connected to each other, and they function as a whole.

5.4 Suggestion for Further Research

This study takes an approach in term of analyzing the news coverage of print media. Further researcher must investigate the radio or television stations coverage. Furthermore, a comparative study might be done such as whether radio, television or print media is more connected to the foreign policy of the country. Not only conflict news can be chosen as a case study, but also feminine news, economic relations of definite countries might be an object for the study. In addition to the content analysis the use of discourse or frame analysis would give supportive discussions to the research question.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Evaluation of the Headlines

DESCRIPTIVE

1. Ethnic War in the Caucasus Finds New Depths of Carnage.
2. Presidential Rule is imposed on NagornoKarabakh Area.
3. Pact Reported on Ending War in Caucasus.
4. Turk Warns of a Religious War in Azerbaijan.
5. Heavy Fighting goes on for town in disputed region of Caucasus.
6. 20 reportedly killed in NagornoKarabakh.
7. Armenia-Azerbaijan clash reported to leave 60 dead.
8. Ex-Soviet troops to leave enclave.
9. Nationalist elected president in Azerbaijan.
10. Turkey and Russia ask end to strife.
11. Azerbaijan reported shelled with UN. Envoy on the way.
12. Azerbaijanis pick president; No voting in Disputed area.
13. Massacre by Armenians being reported.
14. 3 Peace missions aim to quell Caucasus war.
15. At least 24 reported killed in renewed Azerbaijan clash.
16. Fighting intensifies in Armenian-Azerbaijani war.
17. Azerbaijan retakes region from Armenians.
18. Foreign affairs; War in Nakhichevan.
19. Armenians attack holdouts in disputed area.
20. Armenians gain in new battle with Azerbaijanis.
21. Ex-Soviet force is to leave Caucasus area.
22. New ethnic fighting erupts in disputed Azerbaijan area.

23. Armenians block exit by former Soviet army.
24. Azerbaijan communists yield to nationalists.
25. 7 Die in shelling in disputed Caucasus zone.
26. Azerbaijan demands pullout by enclave's Armenian forces.
27. Baker opens tour of the Caucasus.
28. Attacks by Azerbaijanis.
29. 100 die in ethnic clashes in Azerbaijan.
30. Thousands rally in Kazakhstan to urge communists to quit posts.
31. UN giving Vance new peace mission in Caucasus dispute.
32. Former Soviet troops blamed in ethnic strife.
33. Armenia captures strategic sites in battle over Caucasus enclaves.
34. Armenia and Azerbaijan agree on a peace plan.
35. Armenia accused of major attack.
36. Russia demands withdrawal by separatists in Azerbaijan.
37. Attacks in Caucasus bring new tide of refugees.
38. Armenia takes town in western Azerbaijan.
39. Caucasus city falls to Armenian forces.
40. Blockade and winter deepen misery in Armenia.
41. UN demands Armenians give up conquests.
42. Armenia has no forces in Azerbaijan.
43. Refugees on move in Azerbaijan war.
44. Veteran communist crowns a comeback in Azerbaijan.
45. Armenian units press attack in Azerbaijan.
46. Turkey moves troops to Armenian border.
47. Armenians decline meeting on captured enclave cities.

48. 2 Caucasus regions sinking deeper into civil war.
49. Turkey holds talks on Caucasus war.
50. US rebuke Armenia on new drive in Caucasus.
51. Azerbaijan rebel claims power and support.
52. Ex-K.G.B. Aide Grabs Helm in Baku.
53. Azerbaijan moves to rejoin Ex-Soviets' commonwealth.
54. Gas flow is restored in Armenian capital.
55. Azerbaijan's parliament votes to strip elected president of power.
56. Ex-Soviet lands rebuff Yeltsin on protecting Russians abroad.
57. Azerbaijani quits; ex-communist steps in.
58. Iran warns Armenians over Azerbaijan issue.
59. Vance to resign as UN mediator on the Balkans.
60. Russian peacekeeping in the Caucasus.
61. Unease at European security parley.
62. Vazgen I, head of Armenian Church, dies at 85.
63. For Europe, Further signs of instability.
64. Clinton outlines plan to bolster Europe-wide security.
65. Albright makes her UN post a focal point.
66. Crimea is waging a war of nerves with Ukraine.
67. US and Russian differences on European stability.
68. Azerbaijanis try to learn English, under US handicap.
69. Faith reinforces hate in the Caucasus.
70. Armenian Apostolic Church picks a new supreme Patriarch.
71. US support for Turks' Anti-Kurd campaign dims.
72. Prisoners are freed in exchange in Caucasus.

73. Armenians cast ballots in presidential election.
74. US sending envoys to seek peace in Armenian-held region.
75. Yeltsin holds talks on strife in the Caucasus.
76. Viktor A. Ambartsumyan, 87, Expert on formation of stars.
77. Europe agency takes on the fight for democracy.
78. Official ready to re-examine law shielding Turks' Identity.
79. Turkey's president makes historic visit to Armenia.
80. Stakes high in Armenia-Turkey talks
81. Drills cancelled after Turkey excludes Israel
82. After hitch, Turkey and Armenia normalize ties.
83. Turkey and Armenia to establish diplomatic ties.
84. President Obama's remarks in Turkey.
85. Azeri artists take on the world.
86. Clinton urges Azerbaijan and Armenia to end dispute.
87. World Court Rules Kosovo Declaration was legal.
88. Plan for candidates chess matches is criticized.
89. Candidates matches moved to Russia.
90. Clinton seeks to reassure Russia's neighbors.
91. UEFA considers Politics in Euro Draw.
92. Azerbaijan and Armenia fail to end enclave dispute.
93. Azerbaijan and Armenia meet to end land dispute.
94. Rebuilding lives in former Soviet lands.
95. Armenia and Azerbaijan Blame each other for protracted war
96. 8 Killed in renewed fighting on Armenia-Azerbaijan border.
97. A hero's welcome for a convicted killer reignites tensions.

98. Russia increases military flights over Armenia.
99. A hero's welcome for a convicted killer reignites Azerbaijan-Armenia tensions.

COMMENTARY

1. Armenia-Azerbaijan Strife: Empires' Legacy.
2. Angry Azerbaijanis impel chief to quit.
3. In the Caucasus, ancient blood feuds threaten to engulf 2 new republics.
4. 29 Die in Caucasus enclave, as ethnic warfare worsens.
5. NATO eyes military role to halt Azerbaijani feud.
6. Armenians and Azeris; A blood Feud Only Worsens
7. Ethnic battles flaring in former Soviet fringe.
8. Cease-fire is sought in NagornoKarabakh.
9. Vance sees truce in enclave strife.
10. Azerbaijan opens a major offensive.
11. Caucasus shooting resumes after Vance and Iran efforts.
12. Azerbaijan shells the capital of disputed Armenian area.
13. Winking at aggression in Baku.
14. Shevardnadze to head a top Georgian panel.
15. An army in need of a role: A Russian goes to Nato
- 16.** Ethnic war lacerates former Soviet resort area
17. War in Caucasus shows ethnic hate's front line.
18. Azerbaijanis flee as Armenians take town.
19. New hostilities threaten Azerbaijan peace talks.
20. Armenia once again needs world support.
21. US envoy visits Azerbaijan to promote ties and peace.

22. Azerbaijan claims Armenians seized a key town.
23. The Caucasus; Bloody ethnic feuding gets even grimmer.
24. President is urged to return to Baku.
25. Foreigners fight again in the embattled Caucasus.
26. Oil but not order: A special report; War and politics clog Azerbaijan's road to riches.
27. Azerbaijan crackdown widens.
28. Amid war for enclave, Armenia sees little hope.
29. The sound of Cossack thunder.
30. Another Post-Soviet state reassesses post-communism.
31. Harm's way; US pays dearly for an education in Somalia.
32. On language; Ethnic Cleansing.
33. Yeltsin tiptoeing on sensitive issue.
34. In Ex-Soviet lands, Russian army can be a protector or an occupier.
35. Blood in faraway war seem to flow unseen.
36. Armenia enclave battles in self-defence
37. Armenian-Azeri war lacks liberators.
38. Armenia says it would welcome Russian peacekeeping offer.
39. Leverage for a Caspian peace.
40. Armenians suffer painfully in war, but with pride and determination.
41. Azerbaijan, potentially rich, is impoverished by warfare.
42. News attacks may derail Azerbaijan peace effort.
43. Clinton and Yeltsin and Hug and Set Bosnia aside.
44. Turks fear Russia role in Ex-States.
45. Russia is holding up seed bought by US for Armenia relief.

46. In Ukraine election, the issues are poverty and fear.
47. An important role for an evolving CSCE: preventive diplomacy.
48. US seeking to lift cloud over Rapport with Moscow.
49. Could a Pipeline bring peace?
50. Getting this oil take drilling and diplomacy.
51. From mother Russia with brute force.
52. Caspian oil and quicksand.
53. Peace in Caucasus urged.
54. Europe's Lifeguards should be ready to save Albania.
55. Azerbaijan has reason to swagger: oil deposits.
56. Pipe dreams; A perilous news contest for the next oil prize.
57. Just a friendly game? Good sportsmanship? May be not.
58. Kosovo Independence declaration could spark crisis.
59. Hope in a Concert hall, and later, anger and dread in the streets.x
60. Hope in a concert hall is eclipsed a year later by Rage in the streets.
61. A northern neighbour growls, and Azerbaijan reassesses its options.
62. Georgia's neighbours, watching warily.
63. A northern neighbour growls, and Azerbaijan adjusts.
64. Skirting thorniest issues, Turkey and Armenia move to ease tensions.
65. A song contest becomes a hot spot in feud between countries.
66. At Turkish border, Armenians are wary of a thaw.
67. Turkey: Peace process hits snag.
68. Russia: Lease on Base is extended.
69. Turkey takes an ambitious new path.
70. The volatile Caucasus, calmly and carefully assessed.

71. Russia: Lease on base is extended.
72. Turkey's Pact with Russia will give it nuclear plant.
73. Eurovision joy deflectscares for a while.
74. The hazards in Turkey's new strategy.
75. Iran and Azerbaijan, already wary neighbours, find even less to agree on.
76. Armenia: Dispute darkens relations with Hungary.

QUOTE

1. US warn of 'Catastrophe' facing Armenia.
2. Copter is downed, Azerbaijanis say.
3. Azerbaijan says Armenians are gaining ground in heavy fighting
4. Viktor Polyanichko, Russia aide.
5. War, blockade and poverty 'strangling' Armenia.
6. Russia Wants No Return of Cold War, Official Says
7. 'Frozen conflict' between Azerbaijan and Armenia begins to boil.

Appendix B: Content Analysis Coding Schema

NEW YORK TIMES NEWSPAPER PRESS COVERAGE OF THE NAGORNO KARABAKH CONFLICT

1- Date-Month-Year

a- 1992

b- 1993

c- 1994

d- 1995

e- 1996

f- 1997

g- 2007

h- 2008

i- 2009

j- 2010

k- 2011

l- 2012

2- Headline: (copy of the headline)

3- Evaluation of the headline:

a. Descriptive

b. Commentary

c. Quote

4. The source of the article:

a. Own Reporter

- b. News Agency
- c. Other Media
- d. Unknown

5. The number of quoted sources in the news stories:

- a. One source
- b. Two sources
- c. Three sources
- d. More than three sources
- e. No source

6. Azerbaijani quoted sources used in the news stories:

- a. Azerbaijan president
- b. Prime minister of Azerbaijan
- c. Public officials of Azerbaijan
- d. Public of Azerbaijan
- e. Azerbaijan experts
- f. No Azerbaijan source
- g. Other Azerbaijan sources
- h. More than two Azerbaijan sources

7. Armenian quoted sources used in the news stories:

- a. Armenian president
- b. Prime minister of Armenia
- c. Public officials of Armenia
- d. Public of Armenia

- e. Armenian experts
- f. No Armenian source
- g. Other Armenian sources
- h. More than two Armenian sources

8. The USA quoted sources used in the news stories:

- a. USA president
- b. Ministers/Senate members of the USA
- c. Public officials of the USA
- d. Public of the USA
- e. USA experts
- f. No USA source
- g. Other USA sources
- h. More than two USA sources

9. International quoted sources used in the news stories:

- a. UN official sources
- b. NATO official sources
- c. Azerbaijani official sources
- d. Armenian official sources
- e. USA official sources
- f. Neighboring countries official sources
- g. Other international sources
- h. No international source
- i. More than two international sources

10. Neighboring countries quoted sources used in the news stories:

- a. Russia official sources
- b. Turkey official sources
- c. Iran official sources
- d. Georgia official sources
- e. No neighboring country sources
- f. More than two neighboring country sources.

11. Article length

- a. Short (less than 200 words)
- b. Medium (between 200-500 words)
- c. Long (more than 500 words)

12. General orientation of the news story

- a- In favor of Azerbaijan politics
- b- In favor of Armenian politics
- c- Balanced

13. General topic of the news story:

- a. Military action
- b. Trade-Economy
- c. Politics
- d. Negotiations
- e. Social and cultural activities
- f. Education
- g. Other

14. Dominant frames used:

- a- Military conflict frame

- b- Anti-war protest, negotiations, solution frame
- c- Responsibility frame 1: Azerbaijanis are responsible
- d- Responsibility frame 2: Armenians are responsible
- e- Political consequences frame
- f- Economic consequences frame
- g- Social consequences frame
- h- Humanitarian frame
- i- Other