

THE REPUBLIC OF TÜRKİYE
SOCIAL SCIENCES UNIVERSITY OF ANKARA
INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES



**A COMPARATIVE DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF
INTERNATIONAL MEDIA COVERAGE ON
KOSOVO'S PATH TOWARD INDEPENDENCE**

MASTER THESIS

TRINGA DRESHAJ

Peace and Conflict Studies

October 2022

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THESIS SUPERVISOR: Asst. Prof. Nevfel BOZ

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Academic life is not easy to follow, work and the will to realize the dream of being someone in life and achieving the peaks of success are unbreakable journeys in the life of every young person. Living and studying in another country is a challenge in itself. However, I was lucky enough to have a fully supportive family behind me.

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ABBREVIATIONS

BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
CNN	Cable News Network
DW	Deutsche Welle
EU	European Union
FRY	Former Republics of Yugoslavia
ICJ	International Court of Justice
KLA	Kosovo Liberation Army
KFOR	Kosovo Peacekeeping Force
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
EULEX	European Union Rule of Law Mission in Kosovo
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nation
UNMIK	United Nation Mission in Kosovo
UNSC	United Nation Security Council
USA	United States of America

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ÖZ

KOSOVA BAĞIMSIZLIK YOLU İLE İLGİLİ ULUSLARARASI MEDYA'NIN SÖYLEMINİN KARŞILAŞTIRMALI ANALİZİ

Medya, günümüzün dünya gündeminde kilit bir role sahiptir. Rollerini farklı biçimlerde yer alabilir. Bu tezin amacı, Kosova'nın Bağımsızlık Yolu üzerine uluslararası medya haberlerinde karşılaştırmalı bir söylem analizi yapmaktır. Araştırma, beş uluslararası medya kuruluşuna ve bunların Mart 2004 ile Haziran 2010 arasındaki beş dönüm noktasına ilişkin yayınlarına odaklanmaktadır.

Yazar, BBC, New York Times, DW, Ria Novosti ve Al Jazeera'dan seçilmiş haberler, makaleler, sütunlar ve başyazılardan Kosova'nın Bağımsızlığa Doğru Yolu hakkında beş uluslararası medya kapsamının karşılaştırmalı bir söylem analizini yapmaya çalışıyor. Haberde ve beş uluslararası medya tarafından yazılan tüm makalelerde kullanılan söylem, Kosova'da meydana gelen olayları, ilgili medyanın Kosova'nın bağımsızlığa giden yolundaki özel konumunu bulmak için karşılaştırıldı.

Bu ülkelerin medyasında yer alan haberlerin analizine olan ilgi, bu ülkelerin Kosova'yı uluslararası gündemin bir parçası haline getirmede büyük etkisi olduğu gerçeğine dayanmaktadır. Elde edilen bulgulara dayanarak, Kosova'nın bağımsızlığa yönelik süreci, bu araştırma çalışmasında incelenen medyanın çoğunluğu tarafından nesnel olarak ele alınmakta ve Kosova davasına ilişkin uluslararası medya arasında söylem farklılıkları tespit edilmektedir.

Anahtar kelimeler: *Kosova Bağımsızlığı, Uluslararası Medya, Karşılaştırmalı Söylem Analizi*

ABSTRACT

The influence of media in today's worldwide agendas is crucial and their role can take place in different forms. The main purpose of thesis is to identify the media discourse differences of five international media covering the Kosovo's path toward the independence process. The research is focused on the five international media outlets and their coverage on five turning points in the period of March 2004 to June 2010.

A comparative discourse analysis of five international media coverage on Kosovo's path toward Independence of the selected news, articles, columns, and editorials from BBC, New York Times, DW, Ria Novosti, and Al Jazeera is applied. The discourse used in the news and in all the articles written by the five international media describes the events that took place in Kosovo, which were compared to find the specific position of the respective media towards the path of Kosovo to independence.

The interest in analyzing the news covered by the media of these countries relies on the fact that these countries have had a major impact on making Kosovo part of international agendas.

Based on the findings gained, Kosovo's process toward the independence and finalization is covered objectively by the majority of media analyzed in this research study and discourse differences are identified between the international media regarding the Kosovo case.

Key words: *Kosovo Independence, International Media, Comparative Discourse Analysis*

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Chapter 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 General Introduction

Communication is critical in the formation of societies as well as the coverage of conflicts and how they are molded and carried out. The nature of a conflict and its settlement can be transformed by the media. The media has a crucial role in raising public awareness and disseminating information that influences public opinion and attitudes. Whether it is television, radio, or the internet, the media is becoming a more potent instrument. In general, mass communication is a two-edged sword. They both empower and unite people by informing and educating them, as well as dividing and turning them against one another. The media contribute to developing mass societies by assisting governments in educating and informing their populace, as well as creating literate public opinion. However, they instilled animosity, voiced one-sided attitudes and objectives, and sparked the twentieth-epic century's wars (Legatis, 2015).

When there are wars and conflicts, the public wants to hear what it wants to hear and rejects everything else, regardless of whether it is true or incorrect. It acts based on its own prejudices about the other side (Ramsbotham et al., 2011). On the other hand, in terms of the role of the media in a post-conflict society and their impact on reporting on events that represent the turning points of countries in peace building and state-building. Under ideal circumstances, establishing a post-conflict society should not be difficult. The required efforts should also be targeted at identifying and determining the truth in relation to recent occurrences, including the achievement of the truth for all individuals who have been directly affected by injustice, which should also involve society.

In any community, media responsibility should be an absolute must. The media's function in post-conflict societies elevates it even further. In some countries, the media play an autonomous and crucial role in the development of a stable and tolerant society oriented toward peace (Šimić et al., 2016).

The importance of the media and its impact on society and individuals is enormous, so media representatives must, by all means, assume responsibility for all that they present to the public. There is an effect that expresses the correlation between media attention and political action. The effect is known as the *`CNN effect`*, which according to the author implies the probability that media, particularly television and written media are able to influence the decisions of political leaders, including the foreign policy agendas of Western governments (Robinson, 1999). In contemporary societies, radio, television and newspapers analyze news and manipulate it according to their preferences to have an impact on society.

The important role of the media, whether positive or negative, can be determined by the nature of their reporting (Bajraktari & Parajon, 2008). In this direction, when it comes to conflicts in the case of Kosovo, the media's influence on politics in the Kosovo conflict had a positive side that reports of which were leaked to the press by official sources in an attempt to sway public opinion in favor of military intervention which led to international military intervention, and prevented more bloodshed in the this conflict (Salhani, 2006). For instance, the bombing of Yugoslavia was framed by the British government as a "humanitarian war." The U.K. government committed its vast media operations resources to the campaign and to the aim of rallying world and British public opinion in favor of the war from the bottom (Curtis, 2002). Moreover, after the end of the war, Kosovo was faced with a key process which was the path towards the declaration of independence. In one form or another, this was one of the most important issues that the citizens of the country demanded.

The defining moments such as the conflict of March in 2004, the death of President Ibrahim Rugova, the Determination of Kosovo status Kosovo Independence Day, and the International Court of Justice Decision for Kosovo are some of the most important turning points of the post-conflict period of Kosovo.

This study will analyze and compare the discourses of international media on the coverage of the background and path of Kosovo toward Independence from March 2004 until June 2010 which is considered as the finalization of Kosovo's independence process. A comparative discourse analysis of the international media is sought to draw a clear picture of the main events that took place after the end of the war in Kosovo and Kosovo's path towards independence and concluding as a process.

1.2 History of the Kosovo Conflict and Kosovo's path toward Independence

Considering the historical background Kosovo was a province of Yugoslavia during the regime of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The beginning of the disintegration of Yugoslavia in 1991 in Kosovo began the first steps of conflict between Serbs and Albanians. The removal of the autonomy that Kosovo had under Yugoslavia from 1974 to 1990, meant the acquisition of all leadership and participatory rights in the former Yugoslavia (Pavlovic, 2004).

In 1995, the Dayton Accords were signed for him and a prayerful end to Bosnia and Herzegovina as a peace pact for the country (United Nation General Assembly Security Council, 1995). One of the most important parts is the emergence of the Kosovo Liberation Army at the end of 1997 as one of the first beginnings of the civil revolt against the Serbian regime in Kosovo (Bekaj, 2010). In 1998, this situation took another turn for the fate of Kosovo. In February 1998, Robert Geldard, the US Special Representative to the Balkans, welcomed the accession of Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic to the Dayton Accords, which ended previous Balkan wars, and at the same time the introduction of the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) (Shawcross, 2000).



Figure 1: NATO bombing campaign against Serbia

Source: BalkanInsight

In addition, in September, NATO countries, led by the United States, threatened the Serbs with military action if they did not stop their assault on the Kosovo Liberation Army.

Milosevic agreed to NATO's request in October and withdrew his forces to avoid the risk of NATO military action (Bartlett, 2000). Later on, the conflict escalation happened when ethnic tensions, secession, and low riots had been common capabilities at some stage in Kosovo's greater current history. The massive escalation started in March 1998, when Serbian Security Forces started the offensive against the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA). Furthermore, the conflict between the KLA and the Serbian Security Forces attracted world media attention by triggering international diplomatic activity that in Kosovo a human rights violation was present.

Later, the conflict intensified in 1999 that caused more than 13,500 people killed or missing during that period (Domanovic, 2014). The most important event that changed the history of Kosovo was the massacre when 45 ethnic Albanians were brutally killed on January 15, 1999. Ambassador William Walker, the former head of the OSCE Verification Mission in Kosovo at the time, claimed that the atrocities committed in the Recak Massacre were crimes against humanity (EuroNews, 2022).

Moving forward, the attempts by countries outside of Yugoslavia to mediate a solution to the situation in Kosovo were thwarted when Belgrade refused to accept the outcomes of the Rambouillet talks, a proposed peace accord between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and a delegation representing the ethnic Albanian majority population of Kosovo, officially known as Interim Agreement for Peace and Self-Government in Kosovo, was made. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) created it, and it bears the name of the Château de Rambouillet, where it was first proposed in early 1999 (United Nation Peacemaker, 1999) which would have given Kosovo significant autonomy. As ill-treatment of the Kosovars became more severe, NATO launched a bombing campaign against Yugoslavia on the 24th of March 1999 that lasted for 78 days, with the goal of arresting Serbian persecution and eventually reversing Belgrade's unparalleled program of the so-called ethnic cleansing of Kosovo's Albanian population (Judah, 2002). The Yugoslavs were convinced to stop attacking Kosovars, remove their forces from Kosovo, and accept a Security Council-approved plan for Kosovo's future with Russian assistance. This was United Nations Security Council Resolution 1244 which was created to put in place an interim administration after post-war Kosovo (Milano, 2003). The Kosovo Force (KFOR), on the other hand, it is a force authorized by the Security Council composed mainly of NATO contingents, and its mission is to maintain a safe and secure environment, the freedom of

movement of oneself, the international civilian presence and other international organizations, which continues to provide security in the country (Osmani, 2014).

The interim administration of Kosovo served as a temporary measure of assistance as Kosovo bodies developed and established Kosovo's provisional institutions to continue establishing a long-term rule for the territory (Krieger, 2001). Following the deployment of UNMIK and KFOR peacekeeping and administrative missions in the country, Kosovo began the rest of the preparations for state development and the establishment of authorities.

According to UN standards of field operations, from 1999 to 2004, UNMIK's mandate was virtually unprecedented in terms of scope and administrative structure. This mandate was not only aimed at the authority to exercise full administrative control over the territory of Kosovo for a temporary period, but also a key role in the policies of resolving the conflict between Kosovo and Serbia. As a result, the installation of an international administration in Kosovo was considered a risky endeavor (Yannis, 2001). Kosovo during this period had begun the process of establishing its rule in an attempt to establish institutions and the state not to return as part of Serbia.



Figure 2: Kosovo after the war

Source: Stephen J. Boitano Photography

Number of Turning Point	Turning Point	Date
1	<i>Conflict of March 2004</i>	14th to 18th March 2004
2	<i>The death of President Ibrahim Rugova</i>	21th of January 2006
3	<i>Determination of Kosovo status</i>	10th to 19th December 2007
4	<i>Independence Day</i>	17th of February 2008
5	<i>ICJ Decision</i>	22nd of June 2010

Table 1: Critical moments toward the Kosovo's Independence

1.2.1 Conflict of March 2004

Ethnic Albanians became part of the violent unrest in Kosovo on March 17 and 18, 2004, the largest since the end of the war sparked by allegations that Serbs were responsible for the strangulation of three young Albanian children. Kosovo Security Structures - The NATO-led Kosovo Force (KFOR), the United Nations International Police (UNMIK) and the Kosovo Police Service (KPS) which was locally recruited, almost completely lost control for almost 48 hours, as more than thirty major riots erupted in all cities of the country, involving about 51,000 people.

The violence in March forced a large portion of the Serb population to flee Kosovo cities, including the capital, Pristina, in a similar way to other ethnic groups in Kosovo, such as the Roma and Ashkali. At least 550 homes and twenty-seven Orthodox churches and monasteries were burned during the riots, causing some 4,100 Serbs, Roma, Ashkali and other non-Albanian communities to be displaced from Kosovo (Collaku, 2015).

1.2.2 Negotiations Process

Kosovo as a sui generis country in the form of resolving its status and in the format of final status negotiations in Kosovo was a complicated case. The UN Security Council developed a kind of framework for negotiations based on the suggestions of Ambassador Eide and the UN Secretary General, when Security Council Resolution 1244 on Kosovo (1999) was established (Weller, 2008). Discussions focused on the practical aspects of forming the government of Kosovo, such as decentralization, community rights and cultural heritage. Within this framework it was envisaged that these parts could be treated in a neutral and status-specific manner.

In essence, these principles set out irrevocable tasks for the mediators in the negotiations. According to Weller (2008), these tasks were the protection of human rights, democratic values and the principles of Euro-Atlantic integration; mechanisms to ensure that all ethnic groups, including minorities, political participation, facilitate the return of refugees and displaced persons, protection of cultural and religious heritage, regional stability and economic development, and acceptance of ongoing international oversight of implementation of this status package.

1.2.3 Death of President Ibrahim Rugova

Ibrahim Rugova was the first Albanian leader of Kosovo during the former Yugoslavia, and who formed the Democratic League of Kosovo (LDK) political party in 1989. The majority of Kosovo's ethnic Albanian supported the LDK during that time which pushed for the peaceful independence of Kosovo. The party developed a "shadow administration" that gave the Kosovo Albanian population essential governmental and social services, like healthcare and education, effectively establishing a parallel state. Rugova was chosen as the president of this parallel state in May 1992. He was elected president of Kosovo in March 2002, while the United Nations Mission in Kosovo was in charge of running the country. Up until his passing in January 2006, he served in this full-capacity. Kosovo previously lacked a representative figure like Ibrahim Rugova.

The death of the President of Kosovo, Ibrahim Rugova, was considered influential in the process of independence considering his inclusive leadership style of different key actors in the process, approach applied during the negotiation processes, and the widespread connections and support

gained for many decades domestically and in the international arena. In addition, Rugova's death created a vacancy to the leading Democratic League of Kosovo (LDK) party which did not have a representative successor for the party. Rugova had no replacement in his Democratic League of Kosovo leadership group or at the helm of the Kosovo leadership group he led, causing destabilization and uncertainty among Western negotiators on the Kosovo issue, who were concerned about a possible war and loss of control, which could destabilize the situation in Kosovo (The Indian Express, 2006).

Different historians see Ibrahim Rugova, as one of the most important figures in Kosovo's modern history and an undisputed champion of peace through the peace with which he attempted to handle the sensitive Kosovo's case. He was considered as a "*father of the country*" who never carried a weapon or wore a military uniform, despite the fact that his country was at war (Rouighi, 2021). Rugova also received the epithet "*Balkan's Gandhi*", standing unmoved and committed to his ideals of peace during the harsh 1990s (Lippman, 2009). After the death of President Rugova, the situation in Kosovo took a different direction. For a certain period of time the negotiation process was postponed in a search for the new successor in the process. International actors involved in the process were interested the negotiation process to continue as previously performed in order to lead to a closer final agreement between the parties involved.

1.2.4 Failure of negotiations and the final status

For a long time after the establishment of the main principles of resolution 1244 of the year 1999 by the UN Security Council, all countries participating in the formation of this resolution tried to find an answer to the final status of Kosovo. February 2007 marks another turning point: the discussion on Kosovo's final status is progressing. The Special Representative of the UN Secretary General for Kosovo, Mr. Martti Ahtisaari, discovered an agreement to put Kosovo on the path to status. The agreement, which was fully supported by Western countries, was a hot topic of discussion in Serbia and Russia as countries that opposed the insistence on Kosovo's independence (Criekemans, 2007).

In December 2003, the UN set the conditions for launching agreements on Kosovo's final status, which would begin in 2005. The UN Security Council (UNSC) approved the prolongation of the agreement on the future status of Kosovo on October 24, 2005.

Martti Ahtisaari, a former president of Finland, was chosen to serve as the so-called UN special envoy for Kosovo's future status in November 2005. Ahtisaari's central goal was to work with a political concept that would determine Kosovo's future status (United Nation General Council, 2007). Talks between the parties were set as the content structure of the status settlement, where the primary rounds of face-to-face talks on the last status, which were postponed after Rugova's death, were held in Vienna.

On February 17, 2006, this aimed at the issue of decentralization as an essential process to establish stability in the country. In July 2006, the first coordinated talks between the delegations of Serbia and Kosovo on the establishment of Kosovo's final status were held in Vienna. In February 2007, Special Representative for Kosovo Martti Ahtisaari discovered his proposal for an agreement to put Kosovo on the path to independence. The Ahtisaari Plan or the so-called "Ahtisaari Package" consisted of 14 points that Kosovo had to fulfill before the international authorities regarding the final status of Kosovo (United Nation Security Council, 2007). They mainly concerned Kosovo's governance capacity, minority rights, economic security and decentralization.

On July 10, 2007, Mr. Ban Ki-Moon, the UN Secretary General, spoke out against any further hold ups in deciding Kosovo's long-term status. Considering that "any delay in aid will have a tremendously bad influence on peace and security, not only in Kosovo," he predicts that the UN will quickly put into effect a draft resolution giving Kosovo Serbs and Albanians four months (120 days) to come to a compromise. Meanwhile, Kosovo President Fatmir Sejdiu took a different stance, saying in July 2007 that if these efforts failed, Kosovo would unilaterally declare independence on November 28, 2007. This statement became a 'time bomb'. For international authorities who were trying to reach a suitable agreement for both parties in a very fragile situation in which they found themselves.

In August 2007, the EU, Russia and the US each appointed a representative as an attempt to establish Kosovo's final status. These ambassadors were given four months to prepare a compromise agreement that would involve both parties (United Nation Security Council, 2007). On this occasion, a Troika was created consisting of representatives of the European Union, the Russian Federation and the United States to lead a mediation process for the determination of

Kosovo's future status (United Nation Security Council, 2007). The Ahtisaari and Troika processes, it is hoped, would serve as a model for future proceedings (Perritt, 2010). The Secretary-General announced that the established Contact Group would report to him by the end of December 2007. During this time, neither Belgrade nor Pristina were able to agree on Kosovo's latest status, as explained in one of the reports which was submitted to the Security Council by the troika set up by the so-called Contact Group of countries - USA, UK, France, Germany, Italy and Russia. The troika report published the failure to reach an agreement, saying it was in the best interest of both parties to do so, but failed to do so.



Figure 3: Celebration of Independence

Source: Daniel Mihailescu Photography

The failure of negotiations between Kosovo and Serbia led by international authorities and the contact group failed completely and this marked the first beginnings of the declaration of independence as stated by the then President of Kosovo Fatmir Sejdiu (United Nations Security Council, 2007).

1.2.5 Declaration of Independence

Due to the inability of international diplomacy to find a solution, a new country declared unilateral independence. This occurred on February 17, 2008, apparently after the Kosovar government had received approval from their most powerful international ally, the United States. On February 17, 2008, the Assembly of the Republic of Kosovo in Pristina declared Kosovo's independence. On February 17, 2008, Hashim Thaçi, the Prime Minister of Kosovo, the President of Kosovo Fatmir Sejdiu together with the members of the Kosovo Assembly signed the Declaration of Independence of Kosovo in Pristina, the capital of Kosovo, the youngest state in the world, declaring Kosovo an independent and sovereign country. The United States and the United Kingdom were among the first to recognize Kosovo's independence, followed by the majority of the European Union (Philipps, 2008).

The Declaration of Independence of Kosovo was signed by 109 deputies who were present in the hall of the Assembly of Kosovo that day. The voting procedure was boycotted by eleven deputies of the Serb minority (Assembly of The Republic of Kosovo, 2008).

Kosovo's declaration of independence emphasizes the principles derived from the Ahtisaari Plan, which states that Kosovo's independence is limited to the principles of this plan. Kosovo's independence offers the best opportunity for eventually resolving one of the Balkans' most intractable feuds, overcoming Serbia's remnants of radical nationalism, and establishing the groundwork for a Balkan politics that focuses on future opportunities rather than past wrongs (Kupchan, 2005).

Other de facto governments have been watching Kosovo's recent declaration of independence with bated breath, hoping that this case will set a precedent and boost their chances of international recognition. Russia has echoed this interpretation in its harsh condemnation of states like the United States (US), the United Kingdom (UK), France, and Germany for accepting Kosovo's unilateral declaration of independence (Parsons, 2006). The most important part of the declaration is the point at which Kosovo is barred from joining any other country, offers limited military space, and that Kosovo will continue to be overseen by international authorities and is obliged to provide security for all ethnic in the country's minorities (Di Lellio, 2006).

Immediately after the declaration of independence, the first recognition of Costa Rica took place, which became the first country to recognize Kosovo as an independent state on February 18, 2008 on the day of the declaration of independence. After this recognition, other recognitions were presented, including the United States of America, France, Albania, Turkey and many other major countries. At the moment of writing this thesis, Kosovo is recognized by 117 countries around the world (Republic of Kosovo-Ministry of Foreign Affairs, n.d.). Kosovo has continued the process of state building and institutions with the support of international authorities, and the phase was completed in cooperation with the international element and EULEX (European Union Rule of Law Mission in Kosovo).

This mission started working in 2008 as one of the largest civilian missions of the European Union, which would operate within the framework of the Common Security and Defense Policy. This mission was included in the Constitution of the country, which was introduced three months after the declaration of independence, in the Kosovo Security Forces, the Intelligence Agency and other institutions of the new country (Brovina & Ramadani, 2017).

1.2.6 International Court of Justice Decision

After Kosovo Declared its Independence on February 17, 2008, the Serbian government declared on March 26, 2008, that it will seek an advisory opinion on the validity of Kosovo's declaration of independence. According to (resolution 63/3), on October 8, 2008, the General Assembly asked the Court to provide an advisory opinion on whether the unilateral proclamation of Kosovo's independence is legitimate under international law. After the verification of this authority on 22nd of July 2010, the International Court of Justice (ICJ) released its judgment on Serbia's challenge for the validity of Kosovo's declaration of independence on 17th of February 2008. The Court stated in its Advisory Opinion, which was issued on July 22, 2010, that "the proclamation of independence of Kosovo, adopted on February 17, 2008, did not breach international law" (Jacobs, 2011). The ICJ was not questioned regarding the legal ramifications of the declaration of independence, the Kosovo people's right to self-determination, or whether Kosovo met the criteria for statehood. Serbia decided to contest the legal legitimacy of the U.N.-supervised Provisional Institutions of Self-Government of Kosovo (PISG) to declare independence because it believed that its advantage rested in a focused approach.

The ICJ, however, turned the spotlight away from the PISG. According to its conclusion, "persons who acted collectively in their position as representatives of the people of Kosovo outside the framework of the interim administration" rather than the PISG were responsible for the independence proclamation (Caplan, 2007).

1.3 The significance of the research study

The main purpose of this research study is to identify the discourse differences of five international media covering the Kosovo's path toward the independence and finalizing as a process. The study will analyze and compare the discourse of international media on the coverage of the background and path of Kosovo toward independence from March 2004 until June 2010. Five different international media outlets will be the hot spot in analysis to compare the discourse and different views of the coverage of specific media outlets in every turning point.

The importance of critical media discourse relies on the fact that it enables to better understand an issue presented on media in reviling relationships and motives behind the text. According to Mogashoa (2014) Critical discourse analysis examines the root causes and long-term effects of problems and it requires a careful analysis of the connections between text, talk, society, and culture. Fulcher (2010) asserts that discourse analysis can be used to comprehend social interactions. The traditional definition of discourse, which is based on formalist presumptions, states that discourse is language that comes before a sentence or a clause (Oroujlou, 2012).

The importance of taking Kosovo as a prime example of the path to independence as a country emerges from a more serious ethnic conflict of the last century, which has left great marks in history. The country plays a key role in the political stability and future prosperity of the Western Balkan region. From the academic perspective the research is important because it will enable the researchers to understand the process of Kosovo toward independence and how it is covered by international media. The importance of objectively presenting Kosovo's independence from the beginning to the end will enable the readers to fully understand the process and when other cases are presented in the international media and taking Kosovo case as a reference they can make comparisons between the cases. In addition, the number of studies taking Kosovo as a case

study and analyzing important turning points of the country after the conflict in 1999 and what discourse is used by international media in covering these events is limited which will definitely add value to the existing literature.

1.4 Research Questions

This research seeks to find the answer to the following Research Questions:

- What are the discourse differences identified between the international media covering Kosovo's process toward independence?
- Is there any relationship between media discourse and foreign policy?

1.5 The research outline

The thesis is organized into five chapters to enable a better presentation of the research problem analyzed.

In the introduction chapter, a brief presentation of the topic is presented followed by background information of Kosovo conflict and the turning points analyzed. The chapter includes also the importance of this research study, research questions and ends with research limitations.

In the second chapter, the methodology chapter starts with the research method used in the research study, followed by the stages of analysis (micro and macro structure analysis as qualitative methodology of data collection process) and the sampling.

In the third chapter, literature review starts with the role of media on peace and conflicted cases. The chapter presents the factors which influence the media coverage on different cases and the foreign policy of the international media is analyzed. The chapter also includes how the Kosovo conflict and Kosovo's path toward independence is presented in international media.

In the fourth chapter, the research findings derived from the micro and macro analysis conducted for 25 news and 5 news for each media in each turning point are presented.

Findings generated from the comparative discourse analysis are presented in tables with Titles, Syntactic/Lexical style and Rhetoric of the news for microstructure analysis and Title and Entry of the News Thematic and Schematic Structural Analysis for microstructure analysis while summarizing with paragraphs.

In the last chapter, discussion and conclusion and research findings are discussed. At the end of the dissertation, the lists of references as well as the appendices are provided.

1.6 Limitations of the research

The limitations of this research are mainly identified as the following: Firstly, the sampling in the analysis can be considered small because it includes only five different international media. Secondly, the focus of this research is on five international media such as BBC, New York Times, DW, Al Jazeera and Ria Novosti, while other international media from other important countries are not evaluated. Thirdly, the Western Balkan media is not analyzed in order to make comparisons with the international media included in the research. Finally, the list of turning points on Kosovo's journey towards independence is composed of five events and does not include other related events that occurred during the period analyzed.

Chapter 2: METHODOLOGY

2.1 Research Method

The two main research approaches widely used by researchers in academia are the qualitative research approach and the quantitative research approach. Quantitative research methods can be conducted through the collection of measurable data and the application of statistical, mathematical, or computer methods. Through the use of sampling techniques and the distribution of online questionnaires, polls, and surveys, for instance, quantitative research gathers data from current and potential clients. On the other side, qualitative methods are mainly focused on gaining insights, reasoning, and motivations; hence they go deeper in terms of research. In this study, a qualitative methodology is used to collect data and analyze it considering the fact similar studies in other places have also applied a qualitative research approach.

This research will be conducted based on the Critical Discourse Analysis by Van Dijk. According to Van Dijk (1977) Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is a type of discourse analysis research that focuses on how social power abuse, dominance, and injustice are enacted, reproduced, and resisted through text and talk in social and political circumstances. In addition, McGregor (2010) argues that critical discourse analysis requires the change of seeing language as abstract to seeing our words as having meaning in a particular historical, social and political condition. More than only examining the textual structures, critical discourse analysis will reveal the discourse's purpose. It investigates the text's implicit meaning from a few textual structural angles, as well as the ideologies and pursuits of the speaker or author. In general, CDA of the media presupposes that news is a depiction of incidents promoting ideals that are obstructed in the language and structural decisions that reporters make. As a result, the media significantly affects our opinions, attitudes, and beliefs (Shousha, 2010).

Understanding a discourse requires understanding of the context. The essence of contexts and the relations between a text and contexts should be clearly analyzed in order to understand the text (Van Dijk, 2008).

Critical discourse analysis offers different advantages to consider when applied. According to Morgan (2010) Critical Discourse Analysis can provide a positive social psychological critique of any phenomenon under the gaze of the researcher; it has a relevance and practical application at any given time, in any given place, and for any given people: discourse analysis is context specific; the technique can reveal often unspoken and unacknowledged aspects of human behavior, making salient either hidden or dominant discourses that maintain marginalized positions in society; etc. Manzoor et al. (2019) state that the discourse analysis provides a detailed understanding of how people say things, its impact on the audience, and how it affects the society, or the way society influences language/communication.

Despite this variation, CDA academics share a common perspective that language is a social activity. They are also interested in carefully examining the ideologies and covert power connections that are inherent in discourse (Jonson & McLaren, 2020). These media are considered reliable for expressing and publishing the news and events.

A specific Comparative Discourse Analysis of five international media outlets will be performed such as BBC, New York Times, DW, Al Jazeera and Ria Novosti to conduct this research.

Comparative Discourse Analysis will be concretized through micro and macro-structural analysis to create a specific insight into the discourse used in these five chosen media outlets. The researcher will analyze the words, phrases, content, and titles that are used as part of the method of Comparative Discourse Analysis to describe the turning moments on Kosovo's path toward Independence.

2.2 Data Collection and stages of Analysis

In the process of analysis 25 news will be analyzed, one for each medium and each turning point. The period of data collection is from 2004 until 2010, which represents the main period with the key turning points which influenced the Kosovo process regarding the efforts for its independence. The six-year period is fragmented into five parts or turning points.

- ***The first turning point*** in its analysis will include news from the media from 6th to 22nd of March 2004.
- ***The second turning point*** will analyze the news from specific media from 21st to 22nd of January 2006.
- ***The third turning point*** will be focused on the analysis of the news from 10th to 19th of December 2007.
- ***The fourth turning point*** will pinpoint the specific day, which is Kosovo's Independence day, on 17th of February 2008.
- ***The fifth turning point*** will contain news regarding the International Court of Justice Interpretation regarding the validation of Kosovo Independence and its legality in compliance with 1244 UN Resolution for Kosovo. The approximate dates will be from 16th of July to 24th of July 2010.

The chosen media focus is on written news, articles and columns, and from each medium, five different news will be analyzed at five different turning points. The analysis is performed through the Micro structural analysis and Micro structural analysis which are explained in the following section.

2.2.1 Micro Structural Analysis

The news analysis of each medium starts with the Micro Structural analysis followed by Macro Structural analysis. *Micro analysis* is a theoretical approach of proposition structuring analysis, while macro analysis as a theoretical approach is more focused on combining textual context. Synthetic styles, lexical styles and news rhetoric will be evaluated as a form of microstructural analysis. Contextually, syntactic style refers to sentence structure. For example, how actions and passive sentences in particular can have different meanings (Davidson, 1984).

Moreover, lexical style is concentrated on the meaning of words and serves to analyze particular words as the first stage of discourse analysis (Kamalu & Osisanwo, 2015). Potentially, the rhetoric of news is more about personal approaches and its effectiveness. By creating critical discourse analysis, the focus is to highlight the importance that the news shows in the beginning,

and the summary that the titles can give to the audience. In particular, it is clearly understandable that by evaluating the entry, we can obtain information on the general topic of the news (Karakoc & Eke, 2013). The usage of metaphors and pictures can be linked to rhetoric, since they improve the effectiveness of the news.

2.2.2 Macro Structural Analysis

The research will also be conducted through Macro Structural analysis, which will be divided into ‘thematic’ and ‘schematic’, as forms of this theory. According to Maguire & Delahunt, (2017) the purpose of a thematic analysis is to find themes, i.e significant or intriguing patterns in the data and then utilize those themes to discuss the research or make a point. It includes the analysis of proposal, local coherence and presupposition, to create a genuine comparative analysis to identify, describe thematic analysis as a way to understand the author's interpretations of any kind of analytical phenomenon (Wooffitt, 2005).

Moreover, a typical stereotypical, passive, rough outline of material or text is what constitutes a schematic analysis. For example, in an analysis conducted by Smagorinsky (2002) it is described that schematic analysis reflects more literature rather than literary criticism and this can undoubtedly be presented as a topic that creates an interesting field to explore.

2.3 Sampling

A specific Comparative Discourse Analysis of five international media outlets will be performed such as BBC, New York Times, DW, Al Jazeera and Ria Novosti to conduct this research. The number of selected news is 25 regarding the Kosovo's path toward independence and the news publication volume on the five turning points that consist of this journey. The period of news selected is 2004 to 2010 which corresponds with the turning points analyzed and up to two weeks is the time span between the news published by different media analyzed in this research.

During the process of analyzing different international media coverage in the case of Kosovo regarding the path to independence it is identified that media analyzed in this research have published news and stories which relate to the Kosovo's path to independence.

Other media considered during the process for instance French and Italian did not have available published news in English regarding the process to independence for all the turning points analyzed in this research and considering the publishing time of the news. In addition, the media sample comes from the countries which have played an important role in the political and economic developments since the war in 1999 and the researcher's interest was to identify if the media discourse of these key influencing countries in the process of country's independence had differences and what were these differences.

Four out of five media selected belong to public media sector with the aim to provide the discourse used by the public media which also states the country's position. In addition, ownership factor and media discourse is analyzed to identify potential differences. The results of co-ownership, in turn, depend on the state of the market. Co-owned written media having less of an impact on one another's coverage scope, emphasis, or diversity because a written media market offers wider scope, a harder news focus, and diversity (Baum, & Zhukov 2019). In the context of representation of specific countries, only the New York Times can be excluded from governmental sponsorship; the other media BBC, DW, Al Jazeera and Ria Novosti belong to the public or government of specific countries. Additionally, these five media provide a special contribution to the reporting and media epithet they possess.

The media outlets which have been selected for data collection are in the English language dedicated to international news readers and the availability of news covering Kosovo during the periods analyzed is at a satisfied level which enables it to perform the discourse analysis.

- **BBC British Broadcast Media (BBC)** is a public service broadcaster which is paid for by UK citizens. It broadcasts on ten national television channels, regional radio and television programs, and an extensive website (BBC, n.d).
- **The New York Times** is a daily newspaper published in New York City. It was founded in the middle of the 19th century, and since that time the New York Times has received 132 Pulitzer Prizes.

- **Deutsche Welle (DW)** is a German international broadcaster that offers broadcasting in 32 languages of the world, being considered as one of the most successful and internationally important media (DW, n.d).
- **Al Jazeera** is a state-owned Arabic-language international radio and TV broadcaster of Qatar.
- **RIA Novosti**, also known as RIA, is the state-run news agency based in Moscow, Russia. From December 9, 2013, it operated under Rossiya Segodnya and was transformed into Sputnik.



Chapter 3: LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1 The Role of Media on Peace and Conflict

The media continues to be one of the key sources of information for the general public about all the important events that affect their lives and the whole society (Weingart, 1998). However, communication scholars have come to the conclusion that the traditional media are not only disseminating information, but are influencing the perception of people on certain issues, emphasizing that in one form or another the media can be a factor influencing the way how people act and think about different issues (Yang & Ishak, 2012).

The same can happen with the attitude that people have towards peace and conflict, and the media can affect the perception of public opinion about peace but also about conflict (Tsfati et al., 2020). As a result, the media have an impact on changing a violent conflict, highlighting a coordinated and integrative planning for all key actors. In order for these plans to be effective, the media must also be present in the cooperative strategies of social and political institutions in the search for peace (Bratic, 2008). The media serves as a bridge between actors and the social changes of any society. For example, serving as a public information platform where civil society, institutions and ordinary citizens can engage without any distinction for the sole purpose of using the media and its responsible authority to create transparency in information (Kanizaj, 2017). This is why media independence is such an important component of a liberal democracy (Giddens, 1984).

In general, in countries which are involved in conflicts, the media serves as a predisposition to display the perspectives of all. This issue has been documented by researchers regarding the importance of media coverage in both the Falkland War and Western media coverage in the Gulf War (Allan & Zelizer, 2004). Considering the influence of the media in setting the agenda generally the international and local media have played an important position in conflicts. For instance, international media outlets such as the BBC, CNN, Al Jazeera, Al Arabia and TRT World, have been some of the media that have been involved in covering conflicts for most of the time and have shown a continuous effect on world agendas in the face of such conflicts (Cherkaoui, 2010).

According to Livingston et al. (2012) research in relation to the theory, the greater the losses in life and the devastation during the greatest conflicts will be the attention of the public was concluded as inadequate. The media around the world can be a predictor of potential conflicts and also one of the tools that international political agendas can use to determine their status. The media and the way it chooses what to report cannot be considered as a component that influences policy change. Based on the content of the material that media reports contain, international actors will have to be more careful in their reactions to these materials (Bajraktari & Parajon, 2007).

3.1.1 Peace Journalism and War Journalism

Considering different studies, media is found to have a stronger impact on conflict than on conflict prevention and peace building. According to Wolfsfeld & Gadi (1997), there is a gap between the way the media presents the news and the nature of a peace process where the media has often played a negative role in the impossibility of creating peace are based on the four principles of responsibility they have in immediateness, drama, simplicity and ethnocentrism.

Research has shown that news concerning conflicts frequently has a bias in favor of violence, and this has led to the development of peace journalism. Along with creating journalism for both traditional and alternative media, it also involves engaging with viewers, groups in conflict, media professionals, and journalists to address this prejudice (Galtung & Ruge, 1965). War journalism is conflict reporting with a bias for violence and violent organizations. As a result, viewers frequently place an excessive emphasis on violent conflict resolution and disregard non-violent options. It is believed that this is the outcome of well-established news reporting conventions. Due to these customs, elite positions and primarily the physical consequences of conflict are given attention (which may or may not represent the actual parties and their goals). Additionally, it is biased in favor of focusing on the differences between the parties rather than their similarities, prior agreements, and advancement on shared issues; ignoring causes and outcomes; and using zero sums (under the presumption that the needs of one side can only be satisfied through the other side's compromise or defeat) (Galtung, 1986). Research claiming that conventional conflict reporting is unethical led to the development of peace journalism.

There are several explanations for the existence and predominance of war journalism in conflict news, according to research and practice in peace journalism (Bratic, 2016).

On the other hand, the media can also be used to set the parameters of agreements, to create a favorable environment for agreement and security. Media presentation formats for example, public statements, live shows or radio projects may include as a source of treaties and non-aggression agreements. The media as a pillar of information can also help in preparing public assistance for agreements to prevent conflicts (Bratic & Schirch, 2007).

3.2 Factors influencing the media coverage

Different media theorists mention different sets of factors which influence media cover and content. The government, interest groups, advertising, and other media have been shown to be the most important factors that affect journalism or news coverage, according to a number of sources. Tuchman (1978) lists costs, time restraints and other operational factors as influential when it comes to the influence on journalist news selection and content. The media outlets appear to manage insufficient conventions, allowing supporters of the middle ground to air their opinions and chronicle the neglect of human rights. According to study by Happer and Philo(2013) the media have a significant influence in shaping public policy through repeating and reinforcing media messages. According to Oparaugo (2021) by drawing and holding readers' attention, photographs on newspaper pages significantly increase public interest in current events and human interest stories.

The former speaks about an event's newsworthiness, which can be measured by factors including significance, sensationalism, prominence, conflict, negativity, timeliness, and proximity (Sakurai, 2017). There is a Foreign Policy Decision-making that derives as an output of the agenda setting created by mass media. We can see the media playing such a significant role in contemporary thinking about foreign policy here, in the description of the political environment and the offer of the policy alternatives that give the most promise of controlling the environment (Naveh, 2002).

3.3 Foreign policy of the international actors and Kosovo case

The United States of America was not until the years immediately following World War II that The United States of America involvement in the former Yugoslavia became a significant part of US foreign policy. With the election of Bill Clinton as president in 1992, the second phase got under way. The peak of US foreign policy involvement in Kosovo was during the Kosovo War, which helped drive Serbian forces out of the country. No lives were lost as a result of the success of Operation Allied Force, which was largely credited to US air support.

In fact, Kosovo's unusually pro-American sentiment is largely due to US intervention under President Clinton. However, once Clinton left office, U.S. foreign policy in Kosovo hit another turning point, declining in importance as the country focused its attention elsewhere. Later in his presidency, in Kosovo, Clinton achieved his biggest foreign policy triumph, demonstrating his commitment to strategic action. The timing of Clinton's decision to intervene in Kosovo was perfect after all prior attempts to prevent an escalation had failed (Democracy for Development, 2021). Clinton was probably motivated to take action in an effort to stop a recurrence of the crimes that took place in Bosnia and Herzegovina, where Serbian forces routinely massacred civilians and committed genocide. Bush and his running partner made it plain that their government would oppose maintaining American soldiers stationed in Kosovo as part of the NATO peacekeeping force that was enforcing a ceasefire with Serbia. Bush used soft power strategies including diplomacy and public opinion to advance American interests in the Balkans.

Germany was one of the first nations to formally recognize and forge diplomatic ties with the Republic of Kosovo following the nation's 2008 declaration of independence. Germany actively assists the nation in its initiatives to ingratiate itself into Euro-Atlantic frameworks German (German Federal Foreign Office, 2022). In principle, the war in Kosovo, in many aspects, has revealed a fundamental change in security parameters in Europe. The Kosovo conflict also marked a turning point in German politics. The Bundeswehr took part in a military deployment for the first time and one of the cornerstones of German foreign and security policy (Friedrich et al., 2000). Regarding Germany's contribution to Kosovo's security and rule of law institutions, aid and development cooperation, political support for status recognition and relations with Serbia and the EU, and role within international organizations, particularly KFOR, EULEX, and

the EU, which seek to bring security, rule of law, and development to Kosovo and prepare Kosovo for European integration, bilateral relations between Germany and Kosovo continue to be strong. In addition to influencing Kosovo's strategic relevance within NATO and the EU, Germany's involvement in Kosovo has highlighted the country as a key player in the western Balkans (Hamilton, 2014).

United Kingdom The goal for stability in the larger Western Balkans, with Kosovo considered as the key to the region, has always guided the UK's involvement in Kosovo. Since 1999, multilateral players have shaped the UK's foreign policy towards Kosovo. The UK is aggressively pursuing a multilateral support policy for the Balkans, including by advocating for EU expansion. Because of Kosovo's high strategic importance and its political impasse within the Balkans, the UK continues to view it as a top priority (Doyle & Morina, 2013). Today, the emphasis is on the two governments cooperating to strengthen relations, make policies more effective, and support "the internal democratic processes and institutional capacity building of Kosovo." Relations between the UK and Kosovo have changed substantially in a short amount of time. The focus today is on the two governments working together to improve policy effectiveness, sustainable relations, and assist "the internal democratic processes and institutional capacity building of Kosovo." UK and Kosovo relations have significantly altered over a relatively short period of time.

The United Arab Emirates requested international action after the Serbian government launched a significant attack against the ethnic Albanian people in Kosovo in 1998 and started a significant program of humanitarian help through its Red Crescent Society. One of the earliest non-NATO nations to express support for NATO's bombing campaign was the UAE in 1999 (Abed & Hellyer, 2001). Qatar is also part of this union, and is one of the first countries to recognize the independence of Kosovo, establishing relations with the new state. In the last period, Qatar has deepened its relations with Kosovo by offering assistance and cooperation in various fields as bilateral cooperation between two countries (Kosova Press, 2022).

Russia Kosovo declaration of independence in 2008, Russia quickly adopted a pro-Serbian posture and was vehemently opposed to Kosovo's independence. Kosovo's declaration of independence, according to Vladimir Putin, is a "terrible precedent" that will "hit the West in the

face." Due to its historical links to Serbia, an Orthodox Christian nation that still claims Kosovo as its own province, Russia has violently opposed Kosovo's declaration of independence (The Sydney Morning Herald, 2008). In this regard Russian foreign behavior has become much more assertive and volatile toward the West, often rejecting U.S. diplomatic initiatives and overreacting to perceived slights (Larson & Shevchenko, 2014). The Provisional Institutions of Self-Government in Kosovo unilaterally declared the province independent in February 2008, violating the Republic of Serbia's sovereignty as well as the UN Charter and UNSCR 1244, according to a statement from the Russian Foreign Ministry. Invoking the so-called "Kosovo independence precedent," Russia used Kosovo's declaration of independence as rationale for recognizing Crimea's independence (The Washington Post, 2014).

3.3.1 Media Discourse and Foreign Policy

The media influences the agenda in one way or another by specifying a particular event which is more priority by reporting on this event and then putting pressure on leaders and policy makers to address with particular importance and urgency certain topics and you give priority to normal topics. In the case of Kosovo after the three bloodiest events during the war in Kosovo in 1998-1999, which were the Drenica Massacre, the Gornje Obrinje Massacre and the Racak Massacre, some significant Western media attention began to focus on Kosovo. Robinson (1999) claims that Media coverage has a huge potential to aid in attracting the necessary government response at times of emergency humanitarian circumstances, such as natural disasters or disease outbreaks where there is typically no possibility for government policy.

Additionally, the book *Degraded Capacity: Media and the Kosovo Crisis*, edited by (Edward Herman and Philip Hammond, 2000) is a critical interpretation of Western policy toward the former Yugoslavia with analysis of media coverage of the Kosovo crisis and war. The book deals with the war itself and the build-up to it, placing this in the context of earlier Western intervention in Yugoslavia and the media coverage, including the demonization of the enemy, and the role of CNN.

Many studies have been conducted to identify the truth related to the legitimacy of the war and the role of the media. Many of the research papers regarding the Kosovo War have negative opinions on NATO's "humanitarian intervention" and following media coverage of the conflict.

Despite this, what is important to consider is that the majority of these studies are qualitative based research and the authors' subjectivity element should be considered during the critical analysis. A study by Ke (2019) analyzed if the US media portrayed the Kosovo conflict objectively and is found that when it came to their coverage of the Kosovo War, The Washington Post and The Washington Times had one thing in common: both of them omitted certain crucial facts and failed to provide timely updates on ongoing investigations.

On the other hand, the BBC, which was stationed in Pristina a year before the crisis began to report on the war, had a different strategy, prioritizing the fighting in Kosovo. NATO bombing was covered by the BBC's largest media logistics operation since its inception (Riegert, 2003).

As far as the French media are concerned, the description or reporting on the Kosovo issue was a continuation of a theory that began in Bosnia, in which the supreme ideology had eliminated inappropriate facts and correct reporting. Le Monde newspaper played a key role in shaping the French attitude toward the conflicts happening in Yugoslavia (Rizanaj, 2018).

In the German media devastating effects of NATO bombing was raised but critics was limited regarding its legitimacy. The majority offered justifications of the war and air strikes. German politicians considered NATO as a protector of human rights and a stop to Milosevic's genocide. These claims were not only repeated uncritically but actively promoted by journalists who were openly partisan (Deichmann, 2000).

When it comes to Swedish and Norwegian media they both covered and portrayed the conflict in Kosovo but at the beginning media discourse was different regarding the NATO bombing and the war spread influence in the Western Balkan. According to Höijer et al. (2002) the media discourse of these countries regarding NATO bombing from an opposite covering approach transformed to a critical approach. Røn (2000) claims that every Norwegian newspaper had a pro-war opinion in its editorial column, with exception of the leftist Klassekampen and the Norwegian public supported the war. This kind of reporting enabled the Scandinavian readers to objectively understand the developments in Kosovo, influencing factors in the process, and the country's stance regarding the conflict in Kosovo and the support needed.

The Russian media portrayed the NATO bombing and the war in Kosovo with false statements and contradictions. The Western media portray ethnic Albanian refugees as victims of Serb crimes and label them as 'ethnic cleansing', while describing the exodus as a 'humanitarian catastrophe'. Russian journalists present something completely different, portraying refugees as victims of interference internationally armed and fleeing NATO bombing and that the airstrikes were ostensibly designed to protect Kosovo Albanians. The Russian media was concerned about the influence or the lack of presence in the conflict case. After the 'role of Russia' was recognized, most newspapers adopted a more neutral tone, carrying more articles about the Albanian refugees and the excesses of the Milosevic regime, and fewer reports on 'brother Serbs' (Hammond et al., 2000).

3.4 International Media and Kosovo Case

Despite appearing in various ways as political and cultural, Kosovo's conflict had a considerable interest among the international media, mainly those in the media regarding the element of war (Blagojević, 2004). In this respect, a key role has been played by the media, where the case of Kosovo's conflict is considered as one of the rare cases in history that has served as a moral influence for the leaders of the great powers and at the same time as a direct trajectory for the fighters of Kosovo for liberation. Western foreign broadcasters warned of a major crisis even before NATO intervened in Kosovo about 7 months ago. They increased the amount of time they spent broadcasting and expanded their reach throughout the Balkans. During this time, media outlets such as the Voice of America (VOA), the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), Radio Free Europe / Radio Liberty (RFE / RL), Deutsche Welle (DW) and Radio France International (RFI) began unprecedented reporting. Until then, a project that included two satellites feed with 24 hours reporting per day and special programs to report on the Kosovo crisis (Rizanaj, 2018).

According to Knightley (2000) when the Kosovo crisis began in 1999, about 4,000 international journalists were part of the media coverage in the country, many of them as an independent body, where after the intervention of NATO forces and the bombing campaign, over 2700 media journalists joined the coverage.

In Philip Knightley's book entitled "The First Casualty: The War Correspondent as Hero and Myth-Maker from the Crimea to Kosovo", stating that in the Kosovo war there were more war correspondents than ever before (Boylan, 2002).

The effect that the media has on setting the agenda is known as the "*CNN effect*". Steven Livingston describes the CNN effect as the influence of new global real-time media on diplomacy and foreign policy. According to the CNN Effect theory, crisis coverage prompts emotional outcries from the public to take action, forcing political leaders to alter their plans or risk losing support (Neuman 1996).

The 1990–1991 Gulf War marked a turning point in CNN's acceptance as a player in international politics and communications. At this time, CNN served as the first illustration of how the media may affect both national and international politics. Additionally, it received recognition for the part it played in the hunger crisis in Somalia as well as the wars in Kosovo (1999) and Bosnia (1995).

Although scholars have different definitions of this phenomenon, they all agree that it refers to the degree of effect that real-time media have on both elite politicians and the general public.

Scholars in addition to the concept of "CNN Effect" have developed the concept of "Al Jazeera Effect" to analyze the influence on the foreign policy decisions and the public. Palloshi (2015) states that the most important feature of the Al Jazeera Effect is that it changes perspectives and creates a balance in the international media and communications environment.

Chapter 4: FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

4.1 The Analysis of the news

The findings of the qualitative data collected in the research process will be analyzed through Comparative Discourse Analysis. Micro-structural analysis and macro-structural analysis have given a picture of how the five international media, BBC, New York Times, DW, Al Jazeera, and RIA Novosti have reported the news regarding the Kosovo's path toward Independence to best serve the public opinions of their countries and at the same time to the world wide opinion. In the following, the micro and macro structural analysis for the 25 news in a timeline order of turning points is presented.

4.2 Analysis 1st Turning point Conflict of March 2004 (6th to 22nd of March 2004)

The March 2004 riots in Kosovo were one of the most important turning points in the post-war period in Kosovo towards the country's journey to Independence. The first incident that I consider to be the cause of the beginning of the conflict and then considered as an ethnic incident occurred on March 15 in the village of Caglavica, in the capital Pristina, when an 18-year-old Serb minority named Jovica Ivi was shot. According to him, the attackers were Albanians. After this incident, three former KLA fighters organized a large protest in all cities of Kosovo. As a result, they were subsequently arrested by UNMIK administration police. To continue later, on March 16, a group of Albanians who were also former KLA fighters to protest the arrest of the former fighters staged a protest against UNMIK, which was attended by 18,000 people. One of the key reasons for the later demonstrations was because of this. Another motivation for the demonstration was the accusation of the murder of three Albanian youngsters in the Iber River north of Mitrovica (Human Rights Watch, 2004).

As a result of the escalating situation in these demonstrations, approximately 4,100 Serbs, Roma, Ashkali and other non-Albanian minorities were displaced from Kosovo, thus making the largest departure since the end of the war in 1999 (Human Rights Watch, 2004). These riots identified

damage to at least 550 Serb houses and twenty-seven Orthodox churches and monasteries were destroyed in Kosovo (OSCE, 2004).

Table 2: Micro Structural Analysis of the News Published during 1st Turning Point

Media Outlet	Titles	Syntactic/Lexical style	Rhetoric of the news
BBC	Kosovo clashes 'ethnic cleansing	Active/ Kosovo conflict escalation	The photography of NATO troops in the town of Mitrovica
New York Times	Kosovo Torn by Widest Violence Since U.N. Took Control in '99	Active/ Kosovo faces the greatest violence since the war	No photography
DW	Damage Control in Kosovo	Active/ Kosovo conflict escalation evoke memories of 1999	The photography of an Orthodox Church covered in smoke
Al Jazeera	NATO warns of Kosovo 'ethnic cleansing'	Active/ The fear of NATO troops for an ethnic cleansing	The photography of KFOR troops man a checkpoint between Pristina and Mitrovica
Ria Novosti	Russia worried about Kosovo escalation	Active/ Russia's attitude towards violence in Kosovo	No photography

Table 2 presents the Micro-structure analysis of news titles about the first turning point. Most of the titles are written short except the New York Times title. The sentences describe the escalation of the security situation in Kosovo, describing it as the most violent situation since the end of the war in 1999. In the lexical part, the term "conflict" has dominated the description of the news.

While regarding the rhetoric, the news was illustrated by BBC, DW, and Al Jazeera with a photography presenting the place in which the event was happening: the town of Mitrovica.

Table 3: Macro Structural Analysis of the News Published during the 1st Turning Point

1st Turning Point		
Media outlet	Title And Entry of The News	Thematic and Schematic Structural Analysis
BBC	<u><i>Kosovo clashes ethnic cleansing</i></u> After the conflict ended in Kosovo in 1999, the ethnic conflict situation escalated in 2004 in which 28 people died and more than 1,000 Serbs had been induced from the circumstances to leave their places after ethnic Albanians attacks. This was considered as ethnic cleansing. NATO, as head of the peacekeeping mission in Kosovo, stated that the worst outburst of violence happened since NATO forces entered Kosovo in 1999.	As a result of the security crisis and the escalation of the situation in most of the cities of Kosovo and mostly in Mitrovica in the northern city located on the border with Serbia, UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan announced that NATO reinforcements for NATO peacekeepers will take the situation under control. The focus of the news is on the problem that affected the situation and caused the conflict. The NATO mission is the main responsibility for maintaining security and restoring the situation under control. In the text, Kosovo Albanians are described as instigators of the conflict, while the Serb minority is the injured. One of the photos chosen to illustrate the news describes the damage done to Serbs by damaging Orthodox religious cults. Moreover, the news was reported from the field and contains a chronology of the events starting with the early stages of the first conflict eruption in the divided city of Mitrovica following the drowning deaths of two Albanian children, who were allegedly caused by members of Kosovo's small Serbian minority. Several quotes from country leaders and NATO missionaries were used within the text.
New York Times	<u><i>Kosovo Torn by Widest Violence Since U.N. Took Control in '99</i></u> The worst violence is happening in the province of Kosovo since the UN took over the administration of Kosovo five years ago.	The news presents the situation in Kosovo in the March riots, the biggest security crisis since the end of the war in 1999. Where at least 8 people were killed and more than 200 injured after the ethnic clash between Albanians and Serbs in Kosovo. In the news, Kosovo is considered as a

		province in the south of Serbia, which is inhabited mainly by Albanians. The cause of the escalation of the situation was the murder of two Albanian children where the protesters blamed the Serbs for the murder. The UN lost control of numerous cities in Kosovo and the attacked Serbs were from the Albanian majority. The number of casualties from these clashes was almost impossible to do because police and peacekeeping forces had lost control and it was impossible to re-establish it.
DW	<u><i>Opinion: Damage Control in Kosovo</i></u> The ethnic conflict in Kosovo in 2004 called into question what has really changed since the NATO-led war against Serbia in 1999. Kosovo conflict escalation evoked memories of 1999.	The news was an opinion regarding the Kosovo conflict that created a great deal of international uncertainty about the security of the region. The influence of the KFOR peacekeeping mission in Kosovo was questioned. The photography in the news illustrates an Orthodox church under the smoke.
Al Jazeera	<u><i>NATO warns of Kosovo 'ethnic cleansing'</i></u>	The March conflict was called by NATO troops as a warning for the "ethnic cleansing" of Kosovo, considering the level of damage caused and the possibility of escalation of the situation. The news presents the position of the American NATO troops in Kosovo regarding the escalation of the situation and the description of the event, including data from the targets of the conflict and the damage caused.
Ria Novosti	<u><i>Russia worried about Kosovo escalation</i></u> Russia's position on the Kosovo conflict in 2004 reflects concern for the future of geopolitics in the Balkans and calls for intervention.	The news criticizes the international peacekeeping mission in Kosovo and calls for immediate intervention to stop the escalation of the situation in Kosovo following the inter-ethnic conflict between Kosovo Serbs and Albanians.

The table 3 of the analysis presents the Maco structural analysis and describes the news published during March 2004 regarding the Kosovo March Conflict as the first major conflict after the war in the country.

In general, all the media reported that this conflict has destabilized the country and created a new situation regarding the security of the country and the region. The focus of the news was to highlight the current situation with a dose of acquittal of the international peacekeeping mission in Kosovo by the UN and KFOR in connection with the escalation of the situation. This was further underscored by the guilt of the Albanian ethnicity against the Serb community in Kosovo, the attitude of the Albanian ethnicity, and the violent form of passing the situation, emphasizing the material damages and the dead people created by this situation.

4.3 Analysis of 2nd turning point -The death of President Ibrahim Rugova (21st of January 2006)

Rugova, as a leader, was known for the peaceful resistance against Serbia and the attempt of Kosovo people for independence. In the history of Kosovo towards independence from the rule of the former Yugoslavia, Rugova's role is considered irreplaceable.

His strategy of lobbying for international support, primarily for US and European support for Kosovo's independence, was entirely through peaceful means and dialogue (Ismajli, 2007). Rugova died on January 21, 2006 at the age of 61 after a fierce battle with cancer. His death created an unfavorable situation for Kosovo and was seen as a key turn for Kosovo on the road to independence. His death was described as a destabilizing point for the country and the country's representation in the international and regional arena in the fight for the country's independence, as Kosovo did not have a leader to lobby for international agendas.

Table 4: Micro Structural Analysis of the News Published on 2nd Turning Point

Media Outlet	Titles	Syntactic/Lexical style	Rhetoric of the news
BBC	Kosovo leader Ibrahim Rugova dies	Active/ Ibrahim Rugova loses the battle with cancer	The photography of the leader Ibrahim Rugova before die
New York Times	Ibrahim Rugova, 61, Kosovo Albanian Leader, Is Dead	Active/ Kosovo Albanian leader dies	No photography
DW	EU, UN Call for Unity in Kosovo After Rugova's Death EU, UN Call for Unity in Kosovo After Rugova's Death	Active/ International authorities call for unity in Kosovo	The photography of the leader Ibrahim Rugova in the early 1999s
Al Jazeera	Kosovo president dies of lung cancer	Active/ The death of the president of Kosovo	Photography of the president Ibrahim Rugova
Ria Novosti	President of Kosovo passed away	Active/ The death of the president of Kosovo	No photography

In table 4 is presented the micro analysis of the titles of the selected news. The title of DW is written with long sentences while others are short and mainly describing the death of the president. In the lexical part, the term "leader" has dominated the description of the news. While regarding the rhetoric, some of the news were illustrated with no photography, while DW and BBC illustrated with the old photos of President Ibrahim Rugova.

Table 5: Macro Structural Analysis of the News Published during the 2nd Turning Points

2nd Turning Point		
Media outlet	Title And Entry of The News	Thematic and Schematic Structural Analysis
BBC	<u><i>Kosovo leader Ibrahim Rugova dies</i></u> The President of Kosovo Ibrahim Rugova died after losing the race with cancer. The tragedy happened before the final status of Kosovo that Rugova fought over years. By becoming the dominant in the 1990s as a leader of the resistance against Serbian rule.	The news was published on the same day as the day that the Kosovo Leader Ibrahim Rugova died to contain a background explanation about Rugova's life and career. In the continuing it was explained that Rugova died from lung cancer after a long chemotherapy treatment. In the news, the leader was labeled as the 'Father of the nation' by mentioning that Rugova's non-violent campaign for seeking independence earned him high respect in the international community. Continuing with the news is enriched with short excerpts from interviews with international leaders and their opinions about the deeds of leader Rugova and his death. The focus of the news was to describe the death of Ibrahim Rugova but at the same time to highlight his work dedicated to the independence of Kosovo and the resolution of its final status after the end of the conflict in 1999.
New York Times	<u><i>Ibrahim Rugova, 61, Kosovo Albanian Leader, Is Dead</i></u> The leader of the Serbian province of Kosovo administered from UN died on 21 January at 61.	The news described the death of Kosovar leader Ibrahim Rugova from the eyes of the media. In the news, Rugova is portrayed as the leader of the Serbian province of Kosovo, which is administered by me. He is further portrayed as the hope of Kosovo's two million Albanians for declaring independence from Serbia. The figure of leader Rugova was praised for his professional preparation and for his peaceful battle for Kosovo's war for independence from Serbia. Rugova's death is further seen as a shortcoming for Kosovo by international supporters in the

		ability of other leaders to lead itself. The news focuses on the attitudes of Easterners and local and international diplomats about the figure of Ibrahim Rugova on his deeds and his power in the demand for self-determination and democracy for Kosovo.
DW	<u><i>EU, UN Call for Unity in Kosovo After Rugova's Death EU, UN Call for Unity in Kosovo After Rugova's Death</i></u> Despite the leader's death, the main concern of the EU and the UN was regarding the "unity and responsibility" of Kosovo. Javier Solana, in the position of EU foreign policy chief, called on the leaders of Kosovo to be more united in front of resolving the status.	The focus of the news is on the death of Kosovo Leader Ibrahim Rugova and the process of resolving Kosovo's status without his participation. In general, the news contains the positions of the EU and UN leaders regarding the continuation of the process of resolving the status of Kosovo and the request of these authorities that the future leaders of Kosovo show "unity and responsibility". DW has published the opinions of the three main leaders of international authorities such as EU foreign policy chief Javier Solana, UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan, United Nations chief mediator in Kosovo, Martti Ahtisaari on the loss of Ibrahim Rugova, praising his work and describing his death as a great loss for the country and the region.
Al Jazeera	<u><i>Kosovo president dies of lung cancer</i></u> Ibrahim Rugova, the president of Kosovo, who had been suffering from lung cancer, has died. He was 61	The news is focused on the death of President Rugova. On this news Kosovo was highlighted as a province and the role of Rugova, who came to embody ethnic Albanians' struggle for independence from Serbia, was officially diagnosed with lung cancer last September. The president, who had a cult status among some ethnic Albanians, had been a chain-smoker until he was diagnosed with the illness. In the news Rugova was highlighted as an important person that won international respect through the peaceful nature of his opposition to Serb dominance. Also on the other side the political position of this leader was

		described as very strong, emphasizing that none of the politicians in Kosovo has held the position for so long.
Ria Novosti	<u><i>President of Kosovo passed away Kosovo</i></u> President Ibrahim Rugova died after lung cancer at age 62. The information was given under anonymity conditions from a Western Diplomat.	The news is the announcement of the death of the Leader of the Kosovo Albanians. The news is reported by a news agency and broadcast by the media. In the composition of the news, leader Rugova is presented as the President of Kosovo, which implies the media views on the existence of Kosovo as a country. The news reports that due to the deterioration of his health condition, Rugova declared to the media a week before his death to tell about his health conditions. The news was reported by a Western diplomat who wanted to remain anonymous because he has no authority to comment on the president's death.

In table 5 is the Macro-structure analysis of the news published during January 2006 regarding the death of President of Kosovo Ibrahim Rugova. The dominating theme of the news is the manner of the president's death, the importance he had as the leader of Kosovo, and as a factor in resolving the Kosovo conflict with Serbia.

In general, the media reported that Ibrahim Rugova was the president of Kosovo and he was known for his peaceful form of resolving the Kosovo conflict with the Serbs and declaring its independence. All the media except DW reported directly on the ouster of leader Rugova. The DW article briefly mentioned the death of Ibrahim Rugova and focused more on the positions of the EU and UN leaders regarding the continuation of the process of resolving the status of Kosovo after the death of Rugova. The future oriented approach indicates the German interest in the continuum of dialogue between parties and a finalization of the process. All the Media including Ria Novosti presented the death of Ibrahim Rugova despite the opinions and attitude regarding the country that he led.

4.4 Analysis of 3rd turning point -Determination of Kosovo status (10th to 19th December 2007)

The establishment of Kosovo's status was one of the most important periods for the establishment of Kosovo's independence and the final stabilization of Kosovo's status, which during this period was characterized by important events for the country. The year 2007 marks a watershed moment in the development of this status. In 2007, the Secretary General of the Security Council addressed a letter to the President of the Security Council urging that the countries of the Contact Group (France, Germany, Italy, and Russia) be recommended, according to the report (United Nations Security Council, 2007). Russia, The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the United States of America) form a so-called “Troika” of European Union, Russian Federation, and US governments to lead the negotiations on Kosovo's status. In addition, the United Nations Secretary-General appointed Martti Ahtisaari as a special representative to lead the Kosovo status process and consider the future of Resolution 1244. This Troika, established by the so-called contact group after 15 months of negotiations in order to reach a joint agreement between Kosovo and Serbia, on December 10, 2007 submitted a report to the General Secretariat on the progress of the negotiation process. This report advocated that Kosovo build its state on the basis of principles for the protection of all the rights of minorities including culture, language, education, and symbols. At the same time, all non-Albanians must be represented in the key public institutions, which necessitate the passage of laws that benefit non-Albanians in Kosovo and their equal participation in institutions (United Nation Security Council, 2007).

Table 6: Micro Structural Analysis of the News Published on 3rd Turning Point

Media Outlet	Titles	Syntactic/Lexical style	Rhetoric of the news
BBC	'Early independence' for Kosovo	Active/ Kosovo will declare the independence earlier	The photography of NATO troops talking with a Serbian orthodox religion woman
New York Times	After 8 years in Limbo, Frustrated Kosovo Awaits Its Future	Active/ Kosovo Albania demonstrate by seeking independence	No photography
DW	Kosovo Troika Calls It Quits After Failed Negotiations	Active/ Kosovo Troika quits from the negotiations	The photography of three Kosovar citizen holding the national flag
Al Jazeera	Kosovo pushes for independence	Active/ Kosovo's early independence	Photography of the protesters took to the streets of Pristina demanding immediate independence
Ria Novosti	Battle of Kosovo begins at UN	Active/ Discussion of Kosovo future	The photography of members of Kosovo troika in a meeting in London

In table 6 are presented the findings of the micro-analysis regarding the 3rd turning point analyzed. News titles are short, written in a form to describe the Troika Kosovo report to the UN secretary-general and the conclusion in a form of Kosovo status and also the early stage of Kosovo Independence. In the lexical part, the term "Kosovo status" has dominated the description of the news. While regarding the rhetoric, the news was illustrated mostly with photography, BBC showed the photography of NATO troops talking with a Serbian orthodox religious woman and DW illustrated with the photography of three Kosovar citizens holding the national flag.

Table 7: Macro Structural Analysis of the News Published during the 3rd Turning Points

3rd Turning Point		
Media outlet	Title And Entry of The News	Thematic and Schematic Structural Analysis
BBC	<u>'Early independence' for Kosovo</u> Kosovo's declaration of independence may occur earlier than expected as a result of the failure of UN-initiated talks between Kosovo and Serbia and the end of the deadline for an agreement on the country's future.	The news predicts Kosovo's independence for a faster period than the period predicted earlier. This happened because the talks between Kosovo and Serbia initiated by me failed, where at the same time the period given for deciding the future of the country ends. The news highlights the positions of the EU, Serbia and Russia regarding the status of Kosovo. The EU fails to have a common position on this issue. On the other hand, the series is seeking the interpretation of an international tribunal regarding the legal establishment of steps for Kosovo's independence from Serbia. In the news, the declaration of independence is considered as a threat by the leaders of Serbia, and in the map shown in the news, Kosovo appears as a province of Serbia. The UN representative Martti Ahtisaari had put forward a plan offering Kosovo "supervised independence", Russia, a strong backer of Serbia, warned against a unilateral declaration of independence.
New York Times	<u>After 8 years in Limbo, Frustrated Kosovo Awaits Its Future</u> After the failure of the negotiations for an agreement in Kosovo, hundreds of protesters marched in the squares of the capital of Kosovo with flags in their hands demanding independence.	International representatives called to lead the negotiating team between Serbia and Kosovo, made up of the US, EU and Russia, reported to the United Nations that these negotiations had failed. Kosovo is the one demanding independence from Serbia, while Serbia is the one demanding the return of autonomy for Kosovo and is against the declaration of independence. In the news, Kosovo is presented as a legal part of Serbia and has been in limbo since 1999 after the end of the war and NATO intervention.

DW	<u><i>Kosovo Troika Calls It Quits After Failed Negotiations</i></u> Declaration of the province's independence from Serbia can happen at any time, USA, EU and Russia resumption of negotiations between Kosovo and Serbia may be redundant before the UN meeting.	The news focuses on the presentation of the final status of Kosovo before the emergence of Kosovo's independence. After the failure of the negotiations initiated by me, the position of the USA and the EU supports the declaration of independence of Kosovo, on the other hand, Serbia and its Russian ally said when they will not accept this independence. The news reports on a match of principles between the United States and Russia for the future of Kosovo and the declaration of independence, where the American secretary criticized her Russian counterpart for this position. On the other hand, the EU was doing its job regarding the resolution of Kosovo's status, where through a meeting they are planning to support Kosovo to declare independence. Many international diplomats support the declaration of independence, saying that the future of Kosovo in the EU, after the failure of the negotiations led by the so-called Kosovo troika, among them EU foreign policy chief Javier Solana.
Al Jazeera	<u>Kosovo pushes for independence</u>	The news contains a point of view of many opponents regarding the final status of Kosovo and the early declaration of independence. The news contains the position of the representatives of Kosovo and their statements that the independence of Kosovo will happen sooner than it was planned to happen, continuing with the request that Serbia intended to make in the UN Security Council to seek an International Court of Justice opinion on the "legality or illegality" of Kosovo's possible independence. Continuing with an analysis of the possibility for Supervised transition and ending with the position of European commitment in relation to this decision. Continuing with

		an analysis of the possibility for Supervised transition and ending with the position of European commitment in relation to this decision. The focus of the news is on the analysis of the situation from different points of view and the establishment of details from the chronology of the completion of the status of Kosovo and the establishment of the final decision for it.
Ria Novosti	<u><i>Battle of Kosovo begins at UN</i></u> The independence of the province of Kosovo is a matter of time and will be done in accordance with the plan of the UN Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General Martti Ahtisaari, where this plan is categorically opposed by Serbia and its ally Russia.	In the column published US Assistant Secretary of State for Policy in the Balkans spoke about the establishment of Kosovo status. The United States insists on the adoption of the Martti Ahtisaari plan, which recognizes the partial independence of Kosovo. The declaration of independence of the province of Kosovo will remain inevitable and will be done in accordance with the Ahtisaari plan and the rejection of Serbia and Russia. The focus of the article is in the description of the situation from the geopolitical point of view where the International diplomats say that Kosovo will be an independent state but with supervised independence under international control. NATO forces will be present in the country and the presence of the UN administration will remain, and subsequently the EU.

In table 7 of the Macro analysis is described the media news published during December 2007 regarding Kosovo's final status before independence and UN and EU efforts to resolve final status following the failure of negotiations between Kosovo and Serbia. The dominant theme of the news was the report submitted by the Contact Group Troika of mediators to the UN Security Council by the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Ban Ki-moon, which indicated the failure of the 120-day talks.

In general, most of the media reported the day when the UN Security Council analyzed a report on the negotiations in Kosovo submitted by the Troika of the Contact Group of Mediators. All the media analyzed signaled that the failure of talks facilitated by Troika will lead Kosovo to unilateral declaration of independence. Having considered this, Russian media emphasized the need for UN involvement, presence and supervision in the independence process as a guarantee to protect the rights of Serbian minorities living in Kosovo. In Al Jazeera the focus of the news is on the analysis of the situation from different points of view and the establishment of details from the chronology of the completion of the status of Kosovo and the establishment of the final decision for it. The reporting of the media regarding the turning point is mainly divided on those emphasizing the independence action in the horizon and those emphasizing the UN involvement in the process which is consistent with the previous reporting of the turning points by the media.

4.5 Analysis of 4th turning point-Independent Day (17th of February 2008)

Kosovo was one of the two provinces within Serbia that existed during the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) (Borgen, 2008). The majority of the population living in Kosovo was ethnic Albanians and followed by a small Serbian minority. Great tensions between the two ethnic groups in Kosovo began in 1998, when the Serbian government launched forced actions against the country's citizens. This conflict was accompanied by a fierce war between the two countries and great losses in people and facilities. The conflict in Kosovo ended in 1999 with the intervention of NATO (Colin & McGoldrick, 2008). This is after the NATO corps launched an air campaign removing the Serbian police and army from the territory of Kosovo, after the failure of negotiation efforts to end the conflict. After NATO intervention, the UN Security Council passed Resolution 1244 (1999), granting the UN authority to govern Kosovo and creating a broad framework for deciding the nation's ultimate political and legal status. The UN was involved in administering Kosovo for the next nine years, despite the political negotiations regarding the final status being largely ineffective. This preceded Kosovo's declaration of independence with the help of international authorities (Freizer, 2007).

Kosovo declared its independence from Serbia on February 17, 2008 (Borgen, 2008). Kosovo was obliged to fulfill its obligations under the so-called Ahtisaari package, a plan proposed by

the Security Council as an agreement that offers the plan of independence for Kosovo, and on the other hand, Kosovo Serbs have broad rights, security and preferences (Weller, 2008). International monitoring of Kosovo's new institutions continued even after the declaration of independence, whether it was carried out with the establishment of a European monitoring mission on the rule of law in Kosovo called EULEX (Office of the Historian, n.d).

Table 8: Micro Structural Analysis of the News Published on 4th Turning Point

Media Outlet	Titles	Syntactic/Lexical style	Rhetoric of the news
BBC	Kosovo declares independence from Serbia	Active/ Kosovo is independent	No photography
New York Times	Kosovo Declares Its Independence From Serbia	Active/ Kosovo independence	The photography of NEWBORN monument
DW	Kosovo Parliament Declares Independence From Serbia	Active/ Parliament Declares Independence	The photography of a young boy with national flag
Al Jazeera	Kosovo declares independence	Active/ Kosovo declaration of Independence	Photography of Kosovo people celebrating independence with the new flag on hands
Ria Novosti	Kosovo conflict	Active/ The conflict ended with independence	No photography

In table 8, as in the other tables beforehand, the news is described by micro-structure analysis. The titles are placed in a form that shows that Kosovo has declared independence from Serbia, so it has been part of Serbia. In the lexical part, the term "independent" has dominated the description of the news, excluding Ria Novosti, which has described the Kosovo conflict in general. While regarding the rhetoric, the news was illustrated mostly with photography, illustrated with the national flag and Newborn monument in Pristina.

Table 9: Macro Structural Analysis of the News Published during the 4th Turning Points

4th Turning Point		
Media outlet	Title And Entry of The News	Thematic and Schematic Structural Analysis
BBC	<u><i>Kosovo declares independence from Serbia</i></u> Kosovo formally declared its Independence from Serbia on 17th of February 2008.	The news presents the declaration of Kosovo's independence from Serbia in a formal form. The author in the news highlights the situation of Kosovo under the UN since 1999 when NATO forces intervened against Serbs forces. In the text, Serbs describe militia as an unusual expression to describe a country's defense forces. Moreover, the importance of Europe and the United States in the process of Kosovo's independence is emphasized. On the other hand, it was stated that the response of Serbia and ally Russia towards the declaration of Kosovo's independence was hostile, and unacceptable.
New York Times	<u><i>Kosovo Declares Its Independence From Serbia</i></u> Kosovo province declares independence from Serbia, where hundreds of ethnic Albanians celebrate and the country's streets to end bloody conflict in search of self-determination and independence.	The news describes the declaration of Kosovo's independence from Serbia. Kosovo became the youngest country in the world after the bloody conflict with the Serbs where more than 100,000 people died and years after the limbo under me. Kosovo's independence marks the total collapse of Yugoslavia 17 years after the beginning of its dissolution. The news is also focused on the opinions of international leaders regarding the declaration of independence. Among the first countries to recognize Kosovo's newly independent state were Britain, France and Germany. The new born country is expected to be recognized by the United States and other European countries. The following news describes the history of the Kosovo conflict with the Serbs and Kosovo's efforts to declare independence, including the administrative mission of the United Nations.
DW	<u><i>Kosovo Parliament Declares</i></u>	The news begins with the description of

	<u><i>Independence From Serbia</i></u> The declaration of independence of Kosovo was made by the parliament of Kosovo were as such 10 years after the conflict with the Serb managed to create the sovereign republic of Kosovo	Kosovo's declaration of independence from Serbia. Kosovo politicians declared independence in the Kosovo parliament on February 17, 2008, ending the violent conflict with Serbia. With a show of hands, all 109 deputies present at the session in Pristina, the capital, voted in favor. Eleven ethnic minority deputies, including Serbs, were absent. Kosovo was ready to welcome the mission prepared by the EU for the implementation of the law and its first sovereign steps. The United States and a number of European Union countries are anticipated to immediately recognize the new state, Serbia is furious and has received significant support from Russia, which has called on the UN and NATO to revoke Kosovo's independence.
Al Jazeera	<u><i>Kosovo declares independence</i></u> In a special session Kosovo's parliament has voted to declare independence from Serbia.	The news describes the moment of declaration of independence of Kosovo from Serbia while also showing the jamming that Albania's ethnics made in the streets of Pristina the capital city of Kosovo. The news paraphrased the speech of the ex-prime minister of Kosovo while the formal proclamation in the parliament after the deputies voted for independence. In the news the phrase is “ the leaders of our people proclaim Kosovo an independent and sovereign state” . On the other side the news also contains the opinions given by Russia and Serbia regarding the declaration of independence and also the opinions given by the UN secretary which balance the report regarding the topic of independence.

Ria Novosti	<u><i>Kosovo conflict</i></u> Kosovo (Kosovo and Metohija) is an autonomous region within Serbia. The population of the region is predominantly Albanians.	The news is concentrated in the chronology of the Kosovo conflict with the Serbs, UN intervention and the attitude of Russia towards this conflict. Kosovo in the article is described as “Kosovo and Metohija” an old epithet left for Kosovo during the time of the Serbian kingdom in the Balkans. On the day of the declaration of independence, the media published an article with the attitude of Russia towards the solution of the Kosovo status, and emphasizing that Russia gives priority to the negotiations between the two countries, and deeming it impossible to create a hypothesis for the possible independence of Kosovo.
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The Macro Structure Analysis is focused on the 4th turning point which is Kosovo's Declaration of Independence. The table presents all the news related to this turning point. BBC, New York Times, and DW paraphrase Kosovo's declaration of independence from Serbia highlighting the fact that Kosovo was part of Serbia and is now becoming independent. These media have highlighted the support and importance of the respective countries in this momentum for Kosovo.

On the other hand, Ria Novosti on the same day when other media published news about Kosovo's declaration of independence chose to publish the news regarding the chronology of the Kosovo conflict. The strategy of publishing different news to its national public and ignoring the event portrayed by all the international media around the world is consistent with the country's policy which considers that negotiations between the parties have not been finalized, UN is not involved in the process and as a result the case is ongoing until its final product is accepted by both parties involved in the process.

4.6 Analysis of 5th turning point-ICJ Decision (22nd of June 2010)

After the declaration of Kosovo's Independence in 2008, the situation for Kosovo was still complicated. By requesting the International Court of Justice's (ICJ) ruling on the legitimacy of Kosovo's declaration of independence, the Serbian government took action to stop new procedures for the nation and international recognition of the new state of Kosovo (Ker-Lindsay, 2015).

On October 8, 2008, according to (resolution 63/3), the General Assembly requested the Court to issue an advising opinion by this court on the legality of the one-sided declaration of Kosovo's Independence if it is based on International Law.

Prior to the publication of the opinion, the Court had to decide whether it had the authority to issue the advising opinion requested by the General Assembly. After the verification of this authority on 22nd of July 2010, the International Court of Justice (ICJ) issued its opinion on Serbia's request for the legality of Kosovo's declaration of independence on 17th of February 2010. Finally, the International Court of Justice's ruling led to the conclusion that the Provisional Institutions of Self-Government of Kosovo did not directly contribute to the proclamation of independence, which can be seen as a direct violation of General Assembly Resolution 1244 on the Status of Kosovo (Jacobs, 2011).

Consequently, to anticipate the decision, the General Assembly on 9th of September 2010 adopted a new resolution on the request (resolution 64/298) to clarify the conclusion that the adoption of Kosovo's declaration of independence did not violate any applicable rule of international law (International Court of Justice, 2010).

Table 10: Micro Structural Analysis of the News Published during 5th Turning Point

Media Outlet	Titles	Syntactic/Lexical style	Rhetoric of the news
BBC	Kosovo independence not illegal, says UN court	Active/ Independence legality	No photography
New York Times	World Court Rules Kosovo Declaration Was Legal	Active/ World Court declaration	The photography of children playing on the bridge dividing the Serbian north and Albanian south in the city of Mitrovica
DW	International court to rule on Kosovo independence	Active/ ICJ rules the Kosovo Independence	The photography Kosovo flag with Kosovo citizens celebrating independence in background
Al Jazeera	ICJ rules on Kosovo statehood	Active/ ICJ opinion over Kosovo declaration of Independence	Photography of Biden and Thaci meeting on the eve of the court's verdict
Ria Novosti	ICJ statement did not affect Russia's position on Kosovo	Active/ Russian position for Kosovo Independence	No photography

In this table are presented the findings of the Micro Structure analysis. The titles are placed in a form that show the ICJ rule on Kosovo Independence, Kosovo Independence and the international law, and opinion of ICJ the pro-Kosovo Independence. In the lexical part, the term "Independence legality" has dominated the description of the news, excluding Ria Novosti which has opposed the content of the ICJ opinion on the proclamation of independence of Kosovo. In terms of rhetoric, the news was mostly illustrated with photography, DW featured a photo of Kosovo citizens celebrating with a flag in the background as a sign of victory New York Times, featured a photo of children playing on the bridge separating the Serbian north and Albanian south in the city of Mitrovica, and Al Jazeera meeting of Thaci and Biden on the eve of verdict.

Table 11: Macro Structural Analysis of the News Published during 5th Turning Point

5th Turning Point		
Media outlet	Title And Entry of The News	Thematic and Schematic Structural Analysis
BBC	<u><i>ICJ to rule on legality of Kosovo's independence</i></u> The International Court of Justice will deliver the opinion regarding the legality of Kosovo declaration of Independence from Serbia.	The news is focused on the positive or negative opinion regarding the legality of Kosovo's declaration of independence that it's going to be conducted from ICJ. Moreover the news empathizes with the idea that Kosovo would gain more recognition if the ICJ opinion regarding the declaration of independence will be positive, if not, the country will need to rethink and decide how to handle its status. The author has chosen to discuss the causes of Kosovo's declaration of independence and separation from Serbia, which are characterized as a conflict between Serbian forces and separatists of the ethnic Albanian group. This conflict did not stop until NATO forces bombed Serbia and Montenegro in 1999.
New York Times	<u><i>World Court Rules Kosovo Declaration Was Legal</i></u> The unilateral declaration of Kosovo's independence was not illegal, according to the International Court of Justice.	In its final ruling on Kosovo's 2008 declaration of independence, the International Court of Justice stated that Kosovo has declared its victory legally and does not state international rights. The news describes the opinion of the court and the statements of the legal experts regarding the declaration of independence. Moreover, political analysts describe the court decision headed by international judges as fair and citing the judge that there are no restrictions on declaring independence. Kosovo welcomed the decision, while Serbs and Russia opposed it, saying that this opinion could lead to separatist movements in Kosovo by Albanians.
DW	<u><i>International court to rule on Kosovo independence</i></u>	The International Court of Justice (ICJ) in The Hague will decide whether

	The International Court of Justice on the legality of Kosovo's unilateral declaration of independence and Serbia is against Kosovo declaration of Independence and hopes the court will rule in its favor.	Kosovo's unilateral declaration of independence in February 2008 was legal. The UN agreed in October 2008 to request an advisory opinion from the ICJ after Serbia, which does not recognize Kosovo as a separate state and considers it to be part of Serbia, pushed for the court to get involved. Serbia is backed by countries like Russia, Spain, and Cyprus, whereas Kosovo, which was placed under UN administration after the Kosovo War in 1999, is now acknowledged by 69 countries, including Germany, France, the United Kingdom, and the United States. Serbia has been forcefully discouraged from seeking new talks on Kosovo's status by pro-independence forces.
Al Jazeera	<u>ICJ rules on Kosovo statehood</u> The opinion of the International Court of Justice regarding the declaration of Kosovo's independence that international law has not been violated in this case does not affect Russia's position towards the denial of Kosovo's declaration of independence.	The opinion of the International Court of Justice recognizing Kosovo's independence and Moscow's position were announced by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and were covered by the media. This opinion was not welcomed by the Russian authorities, as the opinion of the International Court of Justice states that the Declaration of Independence does not violate international law. Russia's foreign minister said that despite the ICJ's stance on the unilateral declaration of Kosovo's independence by Serbia, stressing that this independence was one-sided, official Moscow did not change its position regarding the non-recognition of this independence.
Ria Novosti	<u>ICJ statement did not affect</u> Russia's position on Kosovo The opinion of the International Court of Justice regarding the	The media reported the announcement of the ministry of foreign affairs regarding the opinion of the international court of justice regarding Kosovo's independence and the position that Moscow has

	declaration of Kosovo's independence that international law has not been violated in this case does not affect Russia's position towards the denial of Kosovo's declaration of independence.	regarding this opinion. The opinion of the International Court of Justice states that the declaration of independence did not violate international law, in which case this opinion was not seen as pleasant by Russian officials. Russia's foreign minister said that despite the ICJ's stance on the unilateral declaration of Kosovo's independence by Serbia, stressing that this independence was one-sided, official Moscow did not change its position regarding the non-recognition of this independence.
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The last table of the analysis describes the news published during June 2010 regarding the International Court of Justice opinion for the proclamation of Independence of Kosovo if it has violated the international law principles.

In general, the dominant theme of the news is the reporting on the ICJ opinion on the declaration of independence. Four out of five media outlets clearly stated that Kosovo's statement of independence has not violated the norms of international law. The BBC, New York Times, and DW reported on the legitimacy of the ICJ's declaration of independence and the ICJ opinion on 10th of June 2010 while Al Jazeera also stressed the unchanged Russian position for Kosovo's independence.

On the other hand, Ria Novosti published the news regarding the ICJ decision, considering it inadmissible and this does not affect at all the position of Russia regarding the non-recognition of Kosovo's independence. It also emphasizes that this independence is illegal, unacceptable and strongly supports Serbia's decisions regarding Kosovo.

Chapter 5: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In this research study, five different international media outlets the New York Times, BBC, DW, Al Jazeera and Ria Novosti were selected in order to analyze their discourse about the Kosovo's path toward independence over the specific period, 2004-2010 and the method of critical discourse analysis was applied. Five news outlets were selected from each media outlet at five different turning points to be analyzed. In total, twenty-five news and discourses, photographs, and Thematic and Schematic structures were used to analyze and compare the news in comparative discourse analysis method. In this aspect, two research questions were explored, and they were evaluated and analyzed in this section.

The 1st research question: *What are the discourse differences identified between the international media covering Kosovo's process toward independence?*

In order to identify the discourse and discourse differences between the international media Micro and Macro Structural Analysis are important to be evaluated for specific turning points analyzed.

Considering the micro structural analysis for the five turning points covering the Kosovo process toward the independence is identified that in the first turning point the news have the same content, but in terms of placing the title as the main part of the description of the news, in general, the news have titles specifically related to the event of the March riots, excluding Ria Novosti which paraphrased in the title the concern about the escalation of the situation and not the description of the situation itself. Regarding the lexical style, the news headlines are written in the active form of the sentence and mainly constitute the main context of the event without content deviations. Your text will have more energy and vitality if you use the active voice (BBC Training and Development n.d). When it comes to the rhetoric of the news, the photography of the news has been selected as a convincing part to inform the audience with the content of the news.

In the second turning point, all the media describe the event which happened in Kosovo (the death of President Rugova), and some supported with the photography. In the third turning point, a difference is identified in the form of the description of the event through the headlines.

Media such as DW, Al Jazeera and Ria Novosti have focused on the Troika's report on Kosovo, while other media BBC and New York Times have highlighted the possibility of declaring independence. What is important to pinpoint is that Ria Novosti for the first time supports the news text with a photography and it can be related to the fact that the country considers the UN factor as the key determinant in solving the Kosovo case. Interesting developments are in the fourth turning point which covered the Declaration of Kosovo independence. The media headlines have almost the same content, with the exception of Ria Novosti, which purposely presents a different picture of the event happening during the period that other media news are analyzed and focused on the description of the Kosovo conflict. Russia considers Kosovo as an unsolved and ongoing case, which should involve the UN to support the process and create an acceptable agreement by both parties involved in the process. Finally, in the fifth turning point while four out of five media cover the opinion of the ICJ on the declaration of Kosovo's independence, and describe the role of ICJ in the legality of the declaration of independence Ria Novosti strongly emphasized that Russia's position against the declaration of independence does not change, regardless of the opinion of the ICJ. The media discourse regarding the Kosovo developments is consistent with discourse used in previous events presented. To further understand the media discourse and media discourse differences potential influencing factors are analyzed.

Regarding Macro structural analysis in general, the spirit of reporting and the discourse used can be closely related to the foreign policies of each country as well as the reporting style of each media.

BBC in the discourse used for reporting, showed support for Kosovo and the importance of declaring independence and establishing an order in the region. In this media, the spirit of professionalism is evident, and as reports, they are sufficiently covered simultaneously, always describing the mutual cooperation and the position of the UK regarding Kosovo case.

The New York Times in the published news is presented as an ally of Kosovo and has a softer and more comprehensive discourse in reporting, supporting Kosovo's movements towards independence, while describing the importance of the country it comes from and emphasizing the positions of that country.

DW is neutral in terms of discourse used in covering events because journalists and authors mainly express the position and describe the situations of events but having no anime about the impact and help that have had large states or the great world powers in the path of Kosovo towards independence. This by selecting a more neutral dictionary describing the events and presenting them as such but without using expressions that support or deny the described events.

Al Jazeera has shown a rather stable and non-influential spirit by presenting the events in the news as such and has not deviated from the main attitudes of the news. There is constructiveness in reporting and coherence in the content of the news, whereas in a wide-ranging media, such impartiality is necessary.

On the other hand, the primary topics in the news delivered by Ria Novosti are Russia's opposition to Kosovo's proclamation of independence and its impact on Serbian policies in the Western Balkans, with an emphasis on continued support for Serbia in its non-recognition of Kosovo as a state (Antonenko, 2007).

In addition, a critical factor to analyze and identify the media discourse differences between the media is to analyze the relationship of the media ownership and media discourse.

In this paper, four public and one private media are presented. In general, comparing the theory of who owns the media, we can assess that the division we made above is quite complex, all this taking into account. The subject of media ownership and control, and how to regulate it is fraught with legal and political complexity. For instance, in the case of the UK, media regulation is done by The Secretary of State for Business, Innovation and Skills can interfere in newspaper, broadcasting, and cross-media mergers if there are public interest issues, thanks to the media public interest test, which was implemented in 2006 (Schlesinger, 2013). Where the discourse used is in direct line with state interests as a description of the influence of the state media and the media constructivism created. On the other hand, the influence of private media in the media discourse in the case of the US private ownership tends to be linked to higher political slant in the negative or positive valence of mentions of political leaders (Benson, 2019).

The work of DW is regulated by the Deutsche Welle Act meaning that content is intended to be independent of government influence as such, the constant neutrality that has been shown in the

news in the case of coverage in all coverage of events, even though the media is public (Deutsche Welle, 2013).

When it comes to Al-Jazeera, it was hailed as the shining example of independent Arab media that challenged the dominance of western networks and turned the tide of information from the east to the west, which translates directly into the so-called consistency of the media reporting that has been done in all the analyzed news (Lahlali, 2008).

The discourse used in the news analyzed by Ria Novosti and the stance against Kosovo and the declaration of independence is closely related to the change that this medium received in 2013 where it moved to by order of Vladimir Putin, it was liquidated and the assets and personnel were transferred to the recently established Rossiya Segodnya agency even though, despite the changes according to the medium, it has been attempted to maintain full editorial independence (U.S. Department of State Global Engagement Center, 2022).

To further analyze the discourse differences from a different angle is important to evaluate the editorial style of the media and how it influenced the turning points covered.

BBC has a clear aim to offer the public high standards of writing, including all the actors in the three sides of the sources. The BBC points out that the media should always identify the source of an assertion before making it always say who first you say what they said or did (BBC training and development, n.d).The BBC also follows the principles of editorial standards while deciding to create independence from the government and guarantee editorial and artistic freedom in each of its writings; this has also been reflected in the coverage of the news (BBC Editorial Guidelines, n.d).

The principles followed by the New York Times in the form of reporting are closely related to keeping the readers as close as possible because they are the reason for their work, where the integrity of journalists is also measured by not allowing the taking than any other compensation for their work while this media freely acknowledges that outside appearances can enhance the reputation of its bylines and serve the media interests (New York Times, n.d).

As it was mentioned above, the neutrality used by DW in its reports is one of the leading worldwide media outlets for objective journalism and balanced viewpoints.

Whereas this media connects this principle with the belief that people should be able to freely express their views and have access to independent sources of information. Considering this as an important prerequisite for peace and democracy (Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, n.d).

For Al Jazeera, the importance of reporting is accuracy as the essence of editorial value for journalism to achieve editorial values such as objectivity, neutrality and impartiality. This media tends to avoid excessive rhetoric and pretentious language that will negatively affect its credibility components. Accuracy requires a high degree of professionalism, honesty and accuracy and should not be used to promote specific policies and agendas (Al Jazeera Media Network, n,d).

Considering Russia's positions, many studies have highlighted the credibility of reporting and writing styles from Reporting and programming from RT and Sputnik channels openly endorse the positions and policies of the Kremlin, both commonly disseminate false information, propagandistic efforts to undermine democracy and society built on rules (U.S. Department of State Global Engagement Center, 2022).

The 2nd research question: *Is there any relationship between media discourse and foreign policy?*

The influence of media on foreign or domestic policy has been an interesting subject for different researchers. The relationship between media and foreign policy can be considered complex considering the role that media has to bridge the public with government officials and stay independent – not manipulated by politicians. Seib (2008) argues that the media are able to influence foreign policy by shaping international and public opinion. In addition, Mody (2010) states that media influence foreign policy by putting issues on the public agenda and by framing them in a way that catches the attention and sympathy of a large audience, which then demands action from their representatives.

As previously explained, BBC discourse regarding the Kosovo's path toward independence has been very supportive and has created a spirit of support for Kosovo's independence. At the same time the United Kingdom foreign policy regarding Kosovo has been supportive, engaging and focused on close collaboration with all the internal actors during the conflict in 1998-99 but also in all the other moments that Kosovo has traveled until the declaration of independence, this has

reflected in the media reporting and the great coverage that the BBC has done in these cases. This has also reflected the help of the declaration of independence where the UK was one of the main factors of the contact group as mentioned above (Doyle & Morina, 2013). As it is presented BBC discourse for Kosovo case is in accordance with the political interests of the UK.

In the US foreign policies Kosovo had an important position considering the fact the US supported not only during the war period but also in the state formation of Kosovo. This remains a key pillar of U.S. efforts to enhance stability in the Balkan region as part of Europe (US Department of State, 2021). This strengthens the argument that key political forces like the US have had a great influence on small countries and as such have also had their media discourse. Attitudes in favor of the declaration of independence have dominated the media discourse, and at the same time emphasizing the importance that the US has continuously had in this process which led to a harmony of media discourse with foreign policy of the country regarding the Kosovo case.

Germany has been a passionate supporter of the independence and territorial integrity of Kosovo and at the same time has been one of the biggest supporters in many areas that have had to do with the creation of the state and its focus (Hamilton, 2014). Despite the great support and influence that this country has had on the processes of the country, this has not been reflected extensively in the media because the media in question has had a much more neutral attitude than the importance of Germany as an international politician in the issues of Kosovo's declaration of independence which can be related with the reporting style of DW.

Russia's position related to the Kosovo case has never been good, and the precedent that Kosovo has created for other conflicts has also served Russia. Russia had consistently advocated against the right to unilateral secession and refused to recognize territorial changes. As a result, Russia proceeded to use the Kosovo precedent in the case of Crimea while modifying its application to account for new facts (Stepanova, 2000). This was also preceded by the war in Kosovo where soon after, during the Rambouillet meeting on the situation in Kosovo, Russia's officials made it clear that any action by NATO would be seen as acting against their interests and that an attack on Serbia would cause a "Vietnam in the Balkans (Radeljic, 2017).

As a result, this affects a powerful involvement of Russia in Kosovo, initially as a protective force for Serbia's security interests in the Balkans, as well as as a trajectory to ensure its influence in Europe (Radeljic, 2017). The narrative raised in the discourse of the Russian media in relation to Kosovo is closely related to foreign policies of this country, both at the time of the unification of the Soviet Union and in the future, which is directly related to the influence that politics has on the media and how the media have been used as an instrument of influence. Media now play a more prominent role in promoting Russian foreign policy because the Russian government directly controls and operates state media (Zakem et al.,2017).

As a final note, the international media has covered Kosovo's path toward independence and a clear perspective towards the events that have characterized post-war Kosovo on its path to independence and process finalization are presented. The news not only have been a description of daily events and the actors involved but at the same time, have created media articles that have analyzed the after mentioned issues.

Considering the turning points analyzed covered by the international media, media discourse differences are identified regarding the Kosovo's path toward independence based on micro and macro structural analysis derived from the Critical Discourse Analysis applied, editorial policies and reporting followed, and the media ownership influence.

Considering the relationship of media discourse with the foreign policy it can be concluded that in all the media analyzed in this research study there is a consistency of media discourse with the political interests of the country. The direct influential element of the foreign policy in the media discourse and vice versa has not been identified considering the studies analyzed except the Ria Novosti case which is identified as a media widely influenced by Russian foreign policy. Its influence has been reflected in news presented regarding the Kosovo case.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Links of the NEWS

1st Turning Point

1. BBC / Kosovo clashes 'ethnic cleansing'

<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/europe/3551571.stm>

2. New York Times / Kosovo Torn by Widest Violence Since U.N. Took Control in '99

<https://www.nytimes.com/2004/03/18/world/kosovo-torn-by-widest-violence-since-un-took-control-in-99.html>

3. DW / Damage Control in Kosovo

<https://www.dw.com/en/opinion-damage-control-in-kosovo/a-1146897>

4. Al Jazeera / NATO warns of Kosovo 'ethnic cleansing'

<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2004/3/20/nato-warns-of-kosovo-ethnic-cleansing>

5. Ria Novosti / Russia worried about Kosovo escalation

<https://sputniknews.com/20040318/39911226.html>

2nd Turning Point

1. BBC / Kosovo leader Ibrahim Rugova dies

<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/4634562.stml>

2. New York Times / Ibrahim Rugova, 61, Kosovo Albanian Leader, Is Dead

<https://www.nytimes.com/2006/01/23/world/ibrahim-rugova-61-kosovo-albanian-leader-is-dead.html>

3. DW / EU, UN Call for Unity in Kosovo After Rugova's DeathEU, UN Call for Unity in Kosovo After Rugova's Death

<https://www.dw.com/en/eu-un-call-for-unity-in-kosovo-after-rugovas-death/a-1864078>

4. Al Jazeera/Kosovo president dies of lung cancer

<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2006/1/21/kosovo-president-dies-of-lung-cancer>

5. Ria Novosti/President of Kosovo passed away

<https://ria.ru/20060121/43113768.html>

3rd Turning Point

1. BBC / 'Early independence' for Kosovo

<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/7136233.stml>

2. New York Times /After 8 years in Limbo, Frustrated Kosovo Awaits Its Future

<https://www.nytimes.com/2007/01/27/world/europe/27kosovo.html>

3. DW / Kosovo Troika Calls It Quits After Failed Negotiations

<https://www.dw.com/en/kosovo-troika-calls-it-quits-after-failed-negotiations/a-2996241>

4. Al Jazeera/ Troika Kosovo report to UN secretary-general

<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2007/9/19/troika-in-fresh-kosovo-status-talks?fbclid=IwAR3Bc0oZRQIVBSv4wGkulgajwmCyTTtpae6BoXJQLMn-IyCBRRgNWfy5db5>

5. Ria Novosti / Battle of Kosovo begins at UN

<https://ria.ru/20071219/93157563.html>

4th Turning Point

1.BBC / Kosovo declares independence from Serbia

<https://www.bbc.co.uk/archive/kosovo-declares-independence-from-serbia-2008/z42fscw>

2.New York Times / Kosovo Declares Its Independence From Serbia

<https://www.nytimes.com/2008/02/18/world/europe/18kosovo.html>

3.DW / Kosovo Parliament Declares Independence From Serbia

<https://www.dw.com/en/kosovo-parliament-declares-independence-from-serbia/a-3131964>

4.Al Jazeera/Kosovo declares independence

<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2008/2/17/kosovo-set-to-declare-independence>

5.Ria Novosti / Kosovo conflict

<https://ria.ru/20080217/99433188.html>

5th Turning Point

1.BBC / ICJ to rule on legality of Kosovo's independence

<https://www.bbc.com/news/av/world-europe-10725234>

2.New York Times / World Court Rules Kosovo Declaration Was Legal

<https://www.nytimes.com/2010/07/23/world/europe/23kosovo.html>

3.DW / International court to rule on Kosovo independence

<https://www.dw.com/en/international-court-to-rule-on-kosovo-independence/a-5823786>

4. Al Jazeera/ICJ rules on Kosovo statehood

https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2010/7/22/icj-rules-on-kosovo-statehood?fbclid=IwAR2imdaI1DKfO4--E1Hp1vwidBJ-SakY4qy_5PJVTX0qJNsN_nHUONd3P8c

5.Ria Novosti / ICJ statement did not affect Russia's position on Kosovo

<https://ria.ru/20100722/257438322.html>



APPENDIX B

Photos of the News

1st Tuning Point

NEWS

One Minute World News

News services
Your news when you want it

Last Updated: Saturday, 20 March, 2004, 00:42 GMT

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ON THIS DAY

Kosovo clashes 'ethnic cleansing'

The Nato commander in overall charge of Kosovo has likened the recent violence in the province - in which at least 28 people have died - to ethnic cleansing.

Admiral Gregory Johnson said almost 1,000 Serbs had been driven from their homes after attacks by ethnic Albanians.

It is the worst outbreak of violence since Nato forces entered Kosovo in 1999 to end years of ethnic unrest.

Meanwhile, reinforcements for Nato peacekeepers have started arriving in Kosovo following the deadly clashes.

'Attempted pogrom'

Admiral Johnson also said he believed that some of the trouble had been orchestrated.

He added that Nato peacekeepers were investigating whether the violence had been organised by ethnic Albanian militants.

WATCH AND LISTEN

The BBC's Jonny Dymond "There has been outrage in Belgrade at the treatment Kosovo Serbs are receiving"

VIDEO

KOSOVO INDEPENDENCE

KEY STORIES

Nato chief seeks Kosovo exit plan

Kosovo marks independence day

Kosovo's security force launched

Ex-KLA men stay in Serb custody

Kosovo receives recognition boost

KOSOVO LIFE

Disputing task

EU mission struggles to reform Kosovo's justice system

"Happy birthday"

EU police get takeover reception

Karadzic with K-For

Between two Albanian worlds

Forty miles into the past

An Albanian in Mitrovica

Making a new life - again

The Serbs of the south

BACKGROUND

Comments Disabled

The New York Times

Kosovo Torn by Widest Violence Since U.N. Took Control in '99

By Nicholas Wood

March 18, 2004

At least eight people were killed and more than 200 wounded in clashes between Albanians and Serbs across Kosovo on Wednesday, in what United Nations officials described as the worst violence in the province since they took over its administration almost five years ago.

The fighting erupted in midmorning in the divided city of Mitrovica after a protest over the drownings of at least two Albanian children. The protesters blamed Serbs for the deaths.

The province, in southern Serbia, is inhabited mostly by Albanians.

By nightfall the United Nations had lost control of several city

EUROPE

Opinion: Damage Control in Kosovo

At least 17 people were killed in riots in Kosovo on Wednesday. Serbs and Albanians have yet again spiralled into conflict, raising the question of what has really changed since the NATO-led war against Serbia in 1999.



Smoke billows from Serbian Orthodox church.

Overnight, the situation in Kosovo has escalated, evoking memories of 1999. Back then, NATO decided to put an end to the persistent violence through air strikes. An international peacekeeping force was deployed and Kosovo was placed under a United Nations mandate.

Five years on, the question of the future status of Kosovo remains unresolved. In the eyes of Albanians, Kosovo should be made independent; and in the view of Serbs, it should remain part of a federation with Serbia and Montenegro.

The first important talks between the two sides have gotten underway in recent days to discuss important questions of principle, like the fate of missing people and how to ensure steady energy supplies in the region. The international military presence, U.N. police and local security forces have ensured a certain level of peace. But the latest violence isn't isolated to the disputed city of Kosovska.

Date: 18/03/2004

Author: Bernd Johannes (HN)

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Permalink: <https://ipr.doe.com/1000/1>



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RUSSIA WORRIED ABOUT KOSOVO ESCALATION

14:49 GMT 18.03.2004

Subscribe 

MOSCOW, March 18, 2004 (RIA Novosti) - Moscow believes that unrest in Kosovo can flare up the situation in the province, said official spokesman for the Russian foreign ministry Alexander Yakovenko. "We are calling on the instigators of the unrest to stop it immediately," he said in an interview with the RTR channel on Thursday.

In his words, Moscow was sorry to learn about the ethnically motivated riots in Kosovo, which have already led to victims on both sides and injuries among peacekeepers.



ALJAZEERA

LIVE

NATO warns of Kosovo 'ethnic cleansing'

A senior NATO commander says Kosovo Albanian attacks on Serb villages this week have not been far from turning into "ethnic cleansing".



KFOR troops man a checkpoint between Pristina and Mitrovica

20 Mar 2004



Close to 1000 Serbs living in isolated villages among the majority Albanian

2nd Tuning Point

LIVE 11 ABC NEWS CHANNEL

News service that was when you want it

News Front Page

Last updated: Saturday, 21 January 2006, 25:04 GMT

World

Kosovo leader Ibrahim Rugova dies

Kosovo leader Ibrahim Rugova has died after losing a battle with lung cancer.

Mr Rugova, 61, died on Saturday in his residence in the Kosovo capital, Pristina, his office announced.

UK

Regarded as a moderate ethnic Albanian proponent of independence, he came to prominence in the 1990s as leader of the resistance against Serbian rule.

He had been leading the Kosovo Albanian negotiating team in the talks despite his illness, and has no obvious successor.

Kosovo has been under UN administration since 1999 when a Nato bombing campaign stopped Serb forces expelling ethnic Albanians during a separatist war.

UK

He carried his battle with cancer with great dignity and courage until his last breath

Mohamed Hoxha, Spokesman

Obituary: Ibrahim Rugova

Kosovo's future: Your views

KOSOVO INDEPENDENCE

KEY STORIES

- * Nato chief calls Kosovo war plan
- * Kosovo marks 'independence day'
- * Kosovo's security force launched
- * UN-led mission in Serb custody
- * Kosovo receives recognition from

KOSOVO LIFE

Counting back

100th anniversary of the birth of Ibrahim Rugova

100th anniversary of the birth of Ibrahim Rugova

100th anniversary of the birth of Ibrahim Rugova

The New York Times

Ibrahim Rugova, 61, Kosovo Albanian Leader, Is Dead

By Nicholas Wood
Jan. 21, 2006

Ibrahim Rugova, the leader of the United Nations-administered Serbian province of Kosovo, died Saturday. He was 61.

The cause was lung cancer, a statement issued by the presidency said Saturday.

Mr. Rugova encompassed the hopes of nearly two million Kosovo Albanians in their drive for independence from Serbia. His academic appearance and resolute pacifism in the face of severe repression and human rights abuses by Serbian security forces in the region made him a near legendary figure among his followers. But he was also widely criticized by ethnic Albanians who felt that

EUROPE

EU, UN Call for Unity in Kosovo After Rugova's Death

EU foreign policy chief Javier Solana called on the leaders of Kosovo to show "unity and responsibility" following the death Saturday of the province's president, Ibrahim Rugova.



Rugova had led Kosovo-Albanians since the early 1990s

Albanians, representing 90 percent of the population, are demanding independence, Belgrade is only offering broad autonomy for

"The loss of President Rugova comes at a particularly challenging time," Solana said in a statement. "His wisdom and authority will be greatly missed. At this difficult moment I call on all leaders of Kosovo to show unity and responsibility."

Rugova, who became president in March 2002, died Saturday of lung cancer, aged 61, only days ahead of the start of talks Wednesday in Vienna on the final status of the province.

While the ethnic



Date 21/01/2006

Author DW staff (wvi)

Related Subjects European Union (EU), Europe, Serbia, Kosovo, United Nations (UN)

Keywords europe, un, rugova, kosovo, death, resolution, eu, serbia, peace. The EU and UN have called for calm in Kosovo after the death of the province's president.

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News

Kosovo president dies of lung cancer

Ibrahim Rugova, the president of Kosovo, who had been suffering from lung cancer, has died. He was 61.



Rugova was officially diagnosed with lung cancer last September

21 Jan 2006



A Western official in the provincial capital of Pristina confirmed that Rugova died on Saturday.



14/01/2006 (updated 02:20:06/01/2006) 40

President of Kosovo dies

Read news in [Russian](#) [English](#) [Google](#)

Kosovo's President, 62-year-old Ibrahim Rugova, died on Saturday of lung cancer, the Associated Press reported. This information was confirmed to the agency by a Western diplomat on condition of anonymity, since he is not authorized to make an official statement about the death of the president.

MOSCOW/BELGRADE, January 21 - RIA Novosti. Kosovo's President, 62-year-old Ibrahim Rugova, died on Saturday of lung cancer, the Associated Press reported.

EDIN NEWS
One Minute World News

Just posted: Monday, 10 December 2007, 11:24 GMT

News Front Page

2 minutes to go

'Early independence' for Kosovo

Kosovo will declare independence from Serbia "much earlier" than next day, the Kosovo Albanian government says.

The statement came as a UN deadline for agreement on the future of the province expired. Months of talks had failed to break the deadlock.

EU nations failed to adopt a joint stance on whether to recognize independence at talks on Monday.

Serbia's president says he wants an international court to decide if the move to independence would be legal.

Boris Tadic said he wanted the UN Security Council to ask the International Court of Justice to examine the case.

Serbia has previously pledged to use all peaceful means to prevent Kosovo declaring independence - and it now seems the legal side of that campaign has begun, says the BBC's Nick Newman in Belgrade.

RELATED BBC NEWS

09:07
10:20:05
10:14:24
10:09:05

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Counting back

EU member states/its reform Kosovo's justice system

EU police get underway

Background

Timeline since from London to Kosovo split in 1999

The New York Times

After 8 Years in Limbo, Frustrated Kosovo Awaits Its Future

Thousands of Kosovo Albanians demonstrated in Pristina Monday, demanding immediate independence from Serbia. (Reuters/Reuters) Kosovo Albanians demand independence from Serbia. (Reuters/Reuters)

By Dan Bishday
Dec. 11, 2007

PRISTINA, Kosovo, Dec. 10 As the deadline for a negotiated agreement on Kosovo's future expired Monday without a settlement, several thousand protesters took to the streets of this war-ravaged capital, waving Albanian and American flags and chanting, "Independence now!"

International mediators from the European Union, Russia and the

EUROPE

Kosovo Troika Calls It Quits After Failed Negotiations

Ahead of the negotiation deadline set by the UN for Monday, Dec. 10, the EU, the US and Russia said further talks over Kosovo's status would be superfluous. The Serbian province could declare independence any time.



The international community is divided on how to react if Kosovo declares independence.

Key European powers and the United States are gearing up to recognize Kosovo as an independent state, while Serbia, backed by Russia, has said it will never accept a self-ruling Kosovo.

In response to the deadlock, the so-called Kosovo troika -- made up of the EU, the US and Russia -- ended four months of UN-initiated talks on Friday by concluding that negotiations had failed.

US Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice has also made it clear that it is too late for negotiations on Kosovo's future status -- a stance

Date 10.12.2007

Author DW staff (jmo, kjb)

Related Subjects European Union (EU), Vladimir Putin, Serbia, Kosovo, Dmitry Medvedev, Russia, United Nations (UN), Russia's invasion of Ukraine

Keywords Kosovo, UN, report, Serbia, EU, Russia, deadline, Dec 10, Albanians, independence

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ALJAZEERA


LIVE



News

Kosovo pushes for independence

Ethnic Albanian leaders say they will declare independence “much earlier than May”.



About 3,000 protesters took to the streets of Pristina demanding immediate independence [AFP]

11 Dec 2007





“From today, Kosovo begins consultations with key international partners to co-ordinate the next steps to a declaration of independence,” Hyseni said.



12/10/2007 08:39 PM (updated: 05/06/2012 08:39 PM) @ 75

Battle for Kosovo begins at UN

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... The independence of Kosovo is practically a settled matter, and the independence of the region will be carried out according to the plan of the special representative of the UN Secretary General Marti Ahtisaari, rejected by Russia and Serbia. Both Europeans and Americans announced this at the beginning of the week. Thus, the German diplomat Wolfgang Ischinger, who represented the European Union in the “troika” of mediators on the Kosovo issue, in an interview with the German radio station Berlin Brandenburg, said: “Kosovo will be a state entity, remaining under broad international supervision

4th Tuning Point


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ARCHIVE



Kosovo declares independence from Serbia, 2008



Kosovo formally declared its independence from Serbia in February 2008.

It had been under UN control since 1999 when Nato drove out Serb militias.

The New York Times

Kosovo Declares Its Independence From Serbia

People signed the back of a sculpture, reading “Newborn” in English, at its unveiling on Sunday in Pristina, the capital of Kosovo. Andrew Ross for The New York Times

By Dan Bilefsky
Feb. 18, 2008

PRISTINA, Kosovo The province of Kosovo declared independence from Serbia on Sunday, sending tens of thousands of ethnic Albanians streaming through the streets to celebrate what they hoped was the end of a long and bloody struggle for national self-determination.

Kosovo’s bid to be recognized as Europe’s newest country after a civil war that killed 10,000 people a decade ago and then years of limbo under United Nations rule was the latest episode in the

EUROPE

Kosovo Parliament Declares Independence From Serbia

▼ DOSSIER: KOSOVO IN PURSUIT OF INDEPENDENCE

Kosovar politicians declared independence from Serbia on Sunday, Feb. 17. Ten years after Belgrade crushed a rebellion in Kosovo, parliamentarians proclaimed the Republic of Kosovo and sovereign state.



The parliament in Kosovo voted in favor of independence from Serbia, bringing the curtain down on a long chapter in the violent break-up of Yugoslavia.

"From today onwards, Kosovo is proud, independent and free," said Prime Minister Hashim Thaci. "We never lost faith in the

Date: 17.02.2008

Author: DW staff (ame)

Related Subjects: European Union (EU), Serbia, Kosovo

Keywords: Kosovo, independence, Serbia, EU, province, Thaci, Republic, nation

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5th Tuning Point

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NEWS

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02:05

ICJ to rule on legality of Kosovo's independence

The International Court of Justice is due to deliver its opinion on whether Kosovo's declaration of independence from Serbia in 2008 was legal.

▼ Show more

© 22 July 2010 | BBC News

The New York Times

World Court Rules Kosovo Declaration Was Legal

Kosovo Albanian children played on a bridge dividing the Serbian north and the Albanian south of the ethnically divided city of Mitrovica on Thursday. *Leica Brandenk/Agence France Presse - Getty Images*

EUROPE

International court to rule on Kosovo independence

The International Court of Justice will on Thursday give its verdict on the legality of Kosovo's unilateral declaration of independence. Serbia does not recognize Kosovo and hopes the court will rule in its favor.



Kosovo says its independence is irreversible

The International Court of Justice (ICJ) in The Hague is to rule on whether Kosovo's independence, which it unilaterally declared in February 2008, is lawful.

Serbia, which does not recognize Kosovo as a state and regards it as a Serbian province, had pushed for the ICJ to get involved and in October 2008 the United Nations agreed to ask the court for an advisory opinion.

Although non-binding, Serbia hopes the ruling will resurrect internationally-mediated talks on the status of Kosovo. Years of

Date 21 07 2010

Related Subjects International
Criminal Court (ICC) International
Court of Justice (ICJ) Serbia,
Kosovo, The Hague, United Nations
(UN)

Keywords International Court of
Justice, The Hague, Kosovo, Serbia,
victims, Serbia, Albanians, UN

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ALJAZEERA

LIVE

News

ICJ rules on Kosovo statehood

International Court of Justice to issue non-binding opinion on breakaway from Serbia.



Biden and Thaci met in Washington on Wednesday on the eve of the court's verdict [AFP]

22 Jul 2010



The United Nations General Assembly requested the opinion nearly two years ago. It is ~~scheduled for release~~ at 3pm



07/22/2010 20:14 (updated: 07/22/2010 20:23) 107

The statement of the International Court of Justice did not affect Russia's position on Kosovo

