THE DIGITAL TRANSFORMATION OF THE ARMENIAN PRESS IN TÜRKIYE: CHANGING JOURNALISTIC PRACTICES AND THE USE OF ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE

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Abstract

This article examines the digital transformation of three Armenian newspapers in Türkiye -Agos, Nor Marmara, and Jamanak- by comparing news production, digital distribution, audience relations, language practices, and the use of artificial intelligence (AI). The study draws on a face-to-face interview with Nazan Özcan, digital editor-in-chief of *Agos*; written responses from Ari Haddeler, editor-in-chief of *Nor Marmara*; and transcribed audio responses from Ara Koçunyan, editor-in-chief of *Jamanak*. The material was analyzed through a comparative thematic reading. At *Agos*, online news production now follows a daily schedule that differs from the weekly print edition. At *Nor Marmara* and *Jamanak*, by contrast, the print schedule continues to shape what appears online. In all three cases, editorial choices reflect priorities beyond audience metrics. *Agos* uses AI tools mainly to assist with translation, subject to human review; AI has not become part of routine news production at the other two newspapers. Commitments to Western Armenian, the preservation of newspaper archives, and limited staffing further influence how each publication adopts new technologies. The findings suggest that digital transformation is shaped less by a common technological pathway than by the newspapers' distinct editorial aims, institutional histories, and resources.

Keywords: Armenian press; digital transformation; journalistic practices; minority press; editorial gatekeeping; artificial intelligence

1. Introduction

Websites and social media have changed the pace of news production and the ways newspapers reach their readers. Print editions increasingly operate alongside digital channels, while AI tools offer new forms of assistance with tasks such as translation and editing. These developments, however, have not produced a single pattern of adaptation. A newspaper's history, finances, staff, publishing language, and readership influence what it can do online. Such differences are especially visible in minority newspapers, whose connections to particular communities extend beyond reporting the news. For these publications, moving online also raises practical questions about preserving a publishing language, making cultural material accessible, and maintaining relationships with readers.

The historical and legal position of the minority press in Türkiye is linked to the minority protection provisions of the Treaty of Lausanne. [1] In this context, the Armenian press is also considered part of

[1] The Treaty of Lausanne (24 July 1923), Articles 37–45, addresses minority protection. Article 39(4) guarantees all Turkish nationals' freedom to use their chosen language in the press and other publications. The treaty does not name Armenian, Greek or Jewish communities individually, but these groups are treated as minorities in established official

the minority press. Armenian media in Türkiye encompass daily and weekly newspapers, magazines, audiovisual outlets, and online news platforms. *Jamanak* and *Nor Marmara* are published as daily newspapers, while *Agos* is a weekly. The periodicals also include *Paros*, with its emphasis on culture and the arts, and *Jbid*, a children's magazine. Institutional publications such as *Surp Pırgiç* and *Lıraper* form part of this publishing history. *Luys TV* is active in audiovisual journalism, while *HyeTert* publishes news and community announcements online. *Nor Zartonk* uses digital channels as a civil society movement and is therefore not classified here as an independent newspaper. These different forms of publication show that Armenian media extend beyond the print press (Petrosyan, 2015; Agos, 2023, 2026c; HyeTert, n.d.; Luys Media, n.d.; Nor Zartonk, n.d.). Within this wider field, the present study focuses on the digital publishing practices of *Agos*, *Nor Marmara*, and *Jamanak*, each of which has a history in print journalism.

Türkiye has no recent official census establishing the size of its Armenian population, so the available numbers are estimates. In 2025, Armenian Patriarch Sahak Maşalyan placed the population at approximately 35,000–40,000; *Agos* reported a figure of around 40,000 in 2026 (Ermenistan Kamu Radyosu, 2025; *Agos*, 2026a). These estimates help explain the limited pool from which Armenian newspapers can recruit readers and staff, although they cannot establish the size of any newspaper's potential audience.

All three newspapers examined here began as print publications. *Jamanak*[2] was founded in 1908, *Nor Marmara*[3] in 1940 under the name *Marmara*, and *Agos*[4] in 1996. They moved into online publishing at different times, but the adoption of digital platforms did not entail the simultaneous abandonment of print. This continuity matters for understanding the priorities that guide their digital publishing practices.

The newspapers also give different accounts of when their online activity began. Ari Haddeler, editor of *Nor Marmara*, recalls regular online publication in the late 1990s, while Simge Süllü Durul (2025, p. 588) gives 2000. *Agos* dates its online presence to 2008. According to the newspaper's announcements, it redesigned its website in 2011 and again in 2014, expanding publication in Turkish, Armenian, and English (*Agos*, 2011, 2014). For *Jamanak*, Simge Süllü Durul (2025, p. 587) records 2013 as the start of online publication; Petrosyan (2015) describes the website's reactivation in early 2015. These accounts may refer to different stages, so the initial move online is distinguished from later relaunches.

A newspaper's digital presence now includes more than its website. Interviewees at all three publications reported using Instagram, Facebook, and X. *Agos* also offers a weekly email newsletter and an electronic newspaper subscription (*Agos*, 2026b). Table 1 brings together the newspapers' print and online histories and the digital channels mentioned in the interviews.

Nieborg and Poell (2018) use the concept of platformization to examine how the production and circulation of cultural content depend on the technical and economic arrangements of digital platforms. Studying four European minority-language newspapers, Bober and Willis (2023) likewise find different approaches to digital adaptation rather than a common model. These perspectives help

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practice. Here, "minority press" refers to publications' historical and institutional ties to these communities, not exclusively to their language (T.C. Dışişleri Bakanlığı, n.d.).

[2] Jamanak (Armenian for "time") was founded in Istanbul on 28 October 1908 by the brothers Misak and Sarkis Koçunyan. First published during the Second Constitutional Era, the daily has continued under the Koçunyan family. For its history, see Anadolu Kültür (n.d.) and Simge Süllü Durul (2025, pp. 586–587).

[3] Nor Marmara's predecessor, Marmara, was founded in Istanbul by Suren Şamlıyan on 31 August 1940. For the newspaper's history under the name Nor Marmara and the editorship of Rober Haddeciyan from 1967, see Simge Süllü Durul (2025, pp. 587–588) and Petrosyan (2015).

[4] Agos is a weekly newspaper launched in Istanbul on 5 April 1996 through the initiative of Hrant Dink and his colleagues. For its founding and the period 1996–2005, see Eraslan (2007) and Agos (2026b).

explain the choices facing the newspapers examined here, particularly in relation to language, resources, and editorial control. A distinction is necessary, however: the minority press in Türkiye cannot be defined solely by whether it publishes in a minority language.

Earlier studies establish important points of comparison. Petrosyan (2015) surveys the print and online presence of Armenian, Greek, and Jewish newspapers in Türkiye. Drawing on interviews with managers of *Agos*, *Nor Marmara*, and *Jamanak*, Simge Süllü Durul (2025) examines readership, circulation, staffing, and economic survival. Eraslan (2007) traces the history and editorial orientation of *Agos* between 1996 and 2005. The present study turns to a different set of questions: how the three newspapers organize work across print and digital channels, make editorial decisions, and decide when AI tools are useful or inappropriate.

The research asks: How do *Agos*, *Nor Marmara*, and *Jamanak* organize their journalistic work as they adapt to digital publishing, and what editorial considerations lead them to use or avoid AI tools for particular tasks? The comparison covers print and online production, news selection and verification, communication with readers, social media, publishing language, archives, and organizational resources.

Table 1. Print and online publishing histories and digital channels of the three newspapers

Newspaper	Print launch	Online launch	Channels identified in interviews
Jamanak	1908	2013; website relaunched in 2015	Website, Instagram, Facebook, X
Nor Marmara	1940 (Marmara)	Late 1990s (interviewee); 2000 (Simge Süllü Durul)	Website, Instagram, Facebook, X
Agos	1996	2008; website redesigned in 2011 and 2014	Website, Instagram, Facebook, X; newsletter and e-paper

Note. Online launch dates were checked against Simge Süllü Durul (2025), Petrosyan (2015), *Agos*'s institutional announcements, and the interviews for this study. The social media entries indicate channels the interviewees reported using; their current activity was not independently measured.

2. Literature Review and Theoretical Approach

2.1. Institutional Functions of the Minority Press

Minority newspapers do more than report events. They also provide space for community concerns, cultural discussion, and the public use of particular languages. Cormack (2005) approaches minority-language media through economic arguments, language rights, and cultural ecology. In a later study, Cormack (2007) cautions that their contribution to language maintenance must be investigated rather than assumed. Bober and Willis (2023, pp. 69–70) similarly discuss the role of such media in expressing community voices and values. These insights are useful here, but the categories should remain distinct: 'minority-language media' is not synonymous with the historically and legally defined minority press in Türkiye.

Bober and Willis (2023) compare the digital transformation of four European minority-language newspapers. They find differences in the pace of change and in the relationship between print and online editions, and they do not identify a single best-practice model (pp. 90–91). Willis (2024) explores how generational differences in media consumption influence the platforms chosen by content producers. Zabaleta, Gorosarri, and Arriaga (2022), meanwhile, examine the news agendas of online outlets serving several European minority-language communities. Together, these studies suggest that digital publishing choices need to be understood in the institutional and linguistic settings in which newspapers operate.

Publishing today's news online is not the same as digitizing a newspaper's historical archive. As Ehrmann, Bunout, and Clavert (2023) explain, digitized collections make dispersed holdings and full-text searches more accessible, but missing issues and technical processing can also shape the evidence available to researchers. *Agos* maintains a digital archive that facilitates access to its previously published content, serving as a valuable resource for both researchers and general readers.

2.2. Previous Research on Armenian Newspapers in Türkiye

Drawing on interviews conducted in 2023, Simge Süllü Durul (2025) examines the publishing practices and difficulties of *Jamanak*, *Nor Marmara*, and *Agos*. *Jamanak*, published daily since 1908, distributes print copies to subscribers and uses a website launched in 2013 alongside social media accounts. In the earlier interview, Ara Koçunyan described coverage ranging from events in Armenia and the diaspora to the institutions and daily life of the Armenian community in Türkiye (pp. 586–587).

For *Nor Marmara*, publishing in Armenian serves both journalistic and linguistic purposes. According to Simge Süllü Durul (2025), the newspaper began posting material online around 2000, sharing selected print content through its website and social media. Between 2000 and 2010, it also produced a Turkish-language supplement for readers who struggled with Armenian, but discontinued it because readership remained low. Ari Haddeler linked falling circulation to a shrinking number of Armenian-language readers, writers, and prospective employees (pp. 587–588, 592–593).

Founded in 1996 and published mainly in Turkish, *Agos* sought to bring issues concerning the Armenian community into wider public discussion. In a 2023 interview, Yetvart Danzikyan distinguished the material prepared for the print newspaper from the continuous flow of current news on its website. The two formats therefore serve different publishing needs while retaining a shared editorial orientation (Simge Süllü Durul, 2025, pp. 588–589).

Simge Süllü Durul (2025) identifies falling circulation, inadequate revenue, and the difficulties of minority publishing as related problems. The declining number of Armenian-language readers and staff is particularly consequential for *Jamanak* and *Nor Marmara*; advertising, subscriptions, and community support also affect the three newspapers' financial prospects (pp. 592–594). Rather than reassessing these problems alone, this study examines how they intersect with print and digital workflows, editorial selection, verification, and decisions about AI tools.

2.3. Gatekeeping, Gatewatching, and News Circulation

Gatekeeping concerns the editorial choices through which information becomes news: what to select, how to report it, and when to publish. Bruns (2003) introduced gatewatching to describe the monitoring and recirculation of information made available by other sources online. Platform algorithms now influence the circulation of news, but Bruns (2026) also cautions against overlooking users' agency. Editorial production and the subsequent circulation of news should therefore be analyzed as related but different processes.

Karlsson, Van Couvering, and Lindell (2022) distinguish between news published by media organizations, shared by social actors, and spread through platform algorithms. Their framework helps separate the decisions made in a newsroom from the activities that affect a story's circulation after publication.

Gatekeeping is used here to examine how the three newspapers select and publish news. Gatewatching provides a narrower, supplementary lens for considering how editors monitor and pass on information from other sources. Checking a source does not, on its own, establish gatewatching; nor does reposting a newspaper's own article on social media capture the full process. The cases are therefore not ranked by their supposed level of gatewatching.

2.4. Platformization, Editorial Autonomy, and Resource Constraints

Platformization concerns the dependence of cultural production and circulation on the infrastructure and economic conditions of digital platforms (Nieborg & Poell, 2018). Social media can help newspapers find readers beyond their immediate communities, but it can also demand more frequent updates, new formats, and the moderation of audience responses. This study did not examine platform algorithms and therefore cannot determine whether they increased or reduced the visibility of stories published by the three newspapers.

In this study, editorial autonomy refers to the role that interviewees assign to their own editorial principles when they describe selecting stories, writing headlines, and setting publication schedules. It does not imply complete freedom from platform algorithms, which the interviews cannot establish. Comparing these accounts with published content and production records would show more clearly how the stated principles operate in practice.

2.5. AI-Assisted Translation and Linguistic Review

Newsrooms may turn to AI for translation, copyediting, research support, or image processing. Fast output, however, is no assurance of factual or contextual accuracy. Based on interviews with media professionals, Kermer and Bleyer-Simon (2026) explore AI-assisted translation in multilingual news production and report differing views on its usefulness and the human oversight it requires.

Western Armenian presents particular questions for language technology. Boyacıoğlu and Niehues (2024) developed a parallel corpus and a neural machine translation system for Western Armenian and English. They did not evaluate the tools used by the newspapers in this study, but their work points to the importance of developing digital resources for Western Armenian. It also provides a relevant point of comparison for interviewees' concerns about differences between Western and Eastern Armenian and the need to check meaning in translated text.

Whether a newspaper uses AI says little, by itself, about the quality of its digital publishing. What matters is the task involved, the person responsible for checking the output, and the editorial, linguistic, technical, or financial reasons behind the decision to use a tool—or leave it aside.

3. Method

3.1. Research Design and Scope

This comparative qualitative study examines three Armenian newspapers that continue to publish print editions in Türkiye: *Agos*, *Nor Marmara*, and *Jamanak*. Together, they constitute the defined population of continuing print-based Armenian newspapers used in this research; none was selected from a larger pool. *Agos*, founded in 1996, is a weekly paper published in Turkish and Armenian. *Nor Marmara*, which continues the Marmara publishing tradition, and *Jamanak*, founded in 1908, are daily newspapers with a strong commitment to Western Armenian. Each newspaper is treated as a case. The comparison rests primarily on how its manager describes the publication's working practices.

3.2. Data Collection and Analysis

The principal sources of data were the transcript of a face-to-face interview with Nazan Özcan, digital editor-in-chief of *Agos*[5]; written responses from *Nor Marmara* editor-in-chief Ari Haddeler[6]; and a written transcription of audio responses from *Jamanak* editor-in-chief Ara Koçunyan[7]. The

[5] The interview with Nazan Özcan was conducted on September 11, 2026.
[6] Written responses from Ari Haddeler were obtained on September 14, 2026.
[7] Audio responses from Ara Koçunyan were obtained on September 22, 2026.

interviews addressed print–digital relations, social media, readership, news selection and verification, publishing language, archives, staffing, financial sustainability, and AI use. Because the modes of data collection and the level of detail varied, the study does not assume that the three newspapers provided equally extensive information.

The interview material was analyzed through comparative thematic reading informed by Braun and Clarke (2006). The first reading identified passages about print and digital workflows, relations with readers and platforms, editorial selection, language and translation, archives, AI, staffing, and resources. A second reading compared these passages across three broader concerns: changes in journalistic work, editorial and linguistic responsibilities, and the conditions under which technologies are adopted. Attention was given to differences as well as recurring patterns. The categories were developed by the researcher; the study did not use quantitative content analysis or an intercoder reliability test.

3.3. Limitations

Although all three newspapers in the defined population are included, each case is represented by a single interview with a manager. These accounts cannot speak for every newsroom employee or reader. Figures for circulation, followers, audience age, and staffing were not independently verified. Nor did the study analyze a systematic sample of published news, audit web analytics, examine platform algorithms, or review financial records. The findings consequently describe the managers' explanations of their editorial decisions, not independent proof that every newsroom practice follows those accounts.

The *Agos* interview transcript contains some unclear speaker labels, and certain remarks were explicitly made off the record. Those passages were excluded from both the findings and quotations. Material from the *Agos* and *Jamanak* interviews is paraphrased; direct quotations are limited to passages that can be checked against *Nor Marmara*'s written replies. This distinction reflects differences in the source material rather than differences in the importance assigned to the three newspapers.

4. Findings

4.1. Organizing Print and Online News Production

The newspapers have organized their digital work in markedly different ways. *Agos* updates its website throughout the day, producing news independently while also making material from its weekly print issue available online. According to Nazan Özcan, uploading almost all print articles to the online archive has become routine over roughly the previous eighteen months. The relationship does not work in reverse: many online reports never appear in print. Longer pieces may be shortened for the limited space available on paper, in consultation with their authors, while the complete versions remain online. Özcan attributed these differences mainly to the timing and space available in each format, rather than to a separate editorial line.

At *Nor Marmara*, the print edition still determines the pace of publication. In his written replies, editor-in-chief Ari Haddeler explained that reports and announcements are transferred to the website, but many columns, essays, and puzzles are not. The newspaper does not maintain a separate stream of continuously updated online reporting. When an important community event occurs, however, a story may appear on social media before it reaches print. Haddeler described digital publishing as an additional responsibility, not a replacement for the printed newspaper. He recalled the newspaper first going online in the late 1990s but could not specify the year.

Jamanak also uses its website and social media chiefly to circulate material prepared for print. Editor-in-chief Ara Koçunyan said that staff post print articles online and share additional reporting

or photographs only when an event is especially significant for the community. With the same employees managing both formats, the newspaper has not developed a separate online news desk. Koçunyan did not see digital activity as a fundamental change to the daily production routine, although it has added to the team's workload.

A website and active social media accounts do not, then, necessarily indicate a digital-first newsroom. *Agos* produces a substantial stream of news specifically for the website. At *Nor Marmara* and *Jamanak*, the printed newspaper remains the starting point for most digital content.

4.2. Social Media, Audience Relations, and Visibility

According to the *Agos* interview, online publication has made the newspaper accessible beyond Türkiye, and news organizations in Armenia and the diaspora reuse its reporting. Özcan estimated that website visits had roughly doubled over the previous two years, although no analytics reports were available to check that figure. She also described a journalism workshop intended to engage younger people, while acknowledging that the newsroom knows relatively little about their news-consumption habits. The website remains the newspaper's main digital channel: articles can be revisited, linked, and shared after their initial publication.

Greater visibility has also exposed *Agos* to insults, threats, and racist comments on social media. Özcan reported that staff remove such messages or block the accounts responsible, while generally leaving less serious criticism unanswered. Her impression that some comments originate from automated accounts was not tested through account-level analysis. Even so, her account makes clear that managing hostile responses has become part of the work involved in digital publication.

Nor Marmara initially treated social media cautiously, fearing that it might draw readers away from print. Haddeler later came to regard it as necessary for reaching audiences. In his experience, online followers tend to be younger and respond more readily to visual posts, whereas print readers are older and more willing to read long articles. These impressions were not tested through audience surveys, and the follower and reach figures provided in the interview were not independently checked. Haddeler nevertheless sees the online audience as more than a digital version of the print readership.

For *Jamanak*, the ability to reach Western Armenian readers outside Istanbul is particularly valuable. Koçunyan explained that the website allows the newspaper to be followed in several countries. Social media also gives its traditionally black-and-white printed pages a more colorful presentation, which he sees as compatible with maintaining the newspaper's historic identity. *Jamanak* does not regularly analyze website traffic. Staff instead gauge interest through social media followers, email messages, and direct contact with readers.

All three managers associate digital publication with reaching readers in more places. Their comments offer insight into what they value about this reach, but cannot establish the demographic profile of readers, the scale of audience growth, or the effects of particular stories.

4.3. News Selection, Verification, and Editorial Priorities

At *Agos*, publishing news quickly does not mean covering every new development. Özcan described human rights, freedom of expression, significant events in Türkiye's history, and Türkiye–Armenia relations as enduring editorial concerns. A prominent political statement may be left out, while a seemingly minor development affecting relations between Türkiye and Armenia may warrant attention. These examples reflect Özcan’s description of the newspaper’s editorial priorities rather than findings form a systematic content analysis.

For coverage from Armenia, Özcan reported consulting official institutions, Armenpress, CivilNet, and other news websites, then checking information against additional sources and social media accounts. Headlines and photographs may be adjusted for the website, which is updated throughout the day. She maintained, however, that the desire for clicks does not determine the newspaper's editorial line. This account links source checking to editorial choice, but does not document every step involved in gatewatching.

Nor Marmara monitors audience metrics but, according to Haddeler, does not let them determine editorial decisions. In his written response, he stated: 'Yes, we monitor them. However, click counts do not affect our editorial policy' (author's translation). This expresses the manager's own understanding of the newspaper's priorities; the study did not test it against published content. Koçunyan similarly emphasized *Jamanak*'s established editorial line and the trust of its readers, despite the newspaper's lack of regular website analytics. Both accounts suggest that adopting digital channels does not necessarily mean allowing audience numbers to dictate news selection.

These accounts describe how the managers say they select stories, but they cannot establish whether those principles are followed consistently in published articles. The interviews also offer different levels of detail about where stories are first found and how they subsequently circulate online.

4.4. Language Responsibilities and Archives

Since its founding, *Agos* has published in Turkish and Armenian as part of its effort to bring developments concerning the Armenian community to a wider audience in Türkiye. Özcan related the newspaper's commitment to Armenian-language pages to the declining number of Western Armenian speakers and to *Agos*'s identity. A separate staff member prepares English-language content, and selected articles are translated for readers in the diaspora; the whole newspaper is not reproduced in three languages. Özcan also said that material dating from the first issue is accessible through a digital archive whose preservation is important to the Hrant Dink Foundation. The study did not independently check the archive's completeness.

At *Nor Marmara*, keeping Western Armenian in print is both a journalistic choice and a commitment to the language's continuity. Haddeler expressed concern about the declining number of Armenian readers and speakers. Selected reports and commentaries are translated into Turkish when the newspaper seeks a wider audience. He also views the archive as a record that should remain available to future generations, not merely a store of old issues. Because online platforms cannot guarantee the permanent availability of published material, he places particular value on preserving the newspaper's own records. Digitizing older issues is a goal, but the funds for doing so are not yet available.

For *Jamanak*, digital language work is complicated by the differences between Western and Eastern Armenian. Koçunyan explained that the newspaper writes in Western Armenian using traditional (classical) Armenian orthography. In Armenia, Eastern Armenian and reformed orthography are more common. When editors search online for a word's spelling, an Eastern Armenian form may appear first, requiring additional checking. The differences also concern vocabulary and verb forms. The distinction between Western and Eastern Armenian as language varieties should not be confused with the distinction between traditional and reformed spelling systems.

Online access may give Western Armenian writing a wider readership, particularly in the case of *Jamanak*. Whether it leads more people to learn or use the language is another question, and one this study did not measure. Across the three newspapers, wider distribution has not removed the need for careful language editing or the preservation of earlier issues.

4.5. Artificial Intelligence: Applications and Human Oversight

Agos uses AI tools mainly to assist with Turkish–English translation and, occasionally, to propose alternative headlines. Özcan explained that staff can check translations in languages they know, while Armenian-language output requires a colleague with the relevant expertise. Ecclesiastical titles, place names, and culturally specific expressions can be rendered incorrectly even when a translation reads fluently. This makes human review essential. *Agos* did not, according to the interview, have a written policy on AI use. The study did not independently test the accuracy of any particular system.

At *Nor Marmara*, AI is used chiefly for some photograph-editing tasks. Haddeler remains cautious about automatic translation because systems may not adequately distinguish Western from Eastern Armenian. He nevertheless sees value in using an AI-produced draft as a starting point. His position is therefore not a rejection of the technology, but an insistence that language and editorial decisions remain subject to human review.

Jamanak likewise does not routinely use AI to write or translate news. Koçunyan reported only minor AI-assisted adjustments to photographs. His doubts about Armenian translation came from examples he had encountered, not from tests carried out at the newspaper. He also linked decisions about new tools to the need to protect readers' trust. Koçunyan explicitly distinguished this editorial caution from a lack of money or staff.

These accounts reveal differences both in use and in motivation. *Agos* applies AI to translation and headline suggestions; *Nor Marmara* and *Jamanak* use it largely for images. Limited adoption should not automatically be read as inadequate technical capacity. The ability to check a translation, maintain credibility, and assign skilled staff to review the output matters just as much to the managers' decisions.

4.6. Workload, Resources, and the Future of Publishing

According to Özcan, two people work on the *Agos* website, while the print edition has an editor and a reporter. Because employees also take on tasks across formats, these figures do not describe wholly separate teams. She recalled that the newspaper once had more staff and has since reduced its workforce. Nor, in her account, has greater online reach brought a comparable increase in advertising revenue. The study did not examine financial records to verify this assessment.

Nor Marmara reported six permanent employees and no dedicated online team. Haddeler described posting material on the website as work added after the print edition is prepared. He hopes to develop paid digital subscriptions, although the widespread availability of free news poses an obvious challenge. This remains a proposed source of revenue rather than an established subscription system.

Jamanak reported approximately four people working in its Istanbul office, alongside support for printing, distribution, and voluntary contributions. The same employees manage print and online production. Koçunyan would like to publish electronic editions of the newspaper's books and develop video content, but limited staffing, equipment, and investment have delayed both projects. The newspaper continues to follow technological developments, he said, without adopting tools before considering whether they suit its needs.

For all three newspapers, digital publishing has added work to the demands of print. The scale and cost of that work were not independently measured. Their plans also differ: *Agos* seeks to sustain frequent online reporting with a small staff, *Nor Marmara* is considering paid digital subscriptions, and *Jamanak* has deferred projects involving e-books and video.

Table 2. Comparison of the three newspapers' digital publishing practices based on interviews

Outlet	Print–digital relationship	Audience and platform use	AI use and main limitation
Agos	Independent current online reporting; print and digital content do not coincide completely.	Frequent updates and multiple platforms; editorial selection remains central.	Translation and headline assistance; human review and contextual accuracy required.
Nor Marmara	Print schedule sets the pace; selected items posted online; exceptions for urgent news.	Social-media reach; metrics are monitored but reportedly do not determine editorial policy.	Photo enhancement; Western/Eastern Armenian distinction; interest in digital subscriptions.
Jamanak	Daily print production remains central; digital activity is mainly redistribution.	Diaspora reach; indirect feedback; no regular web analytics.	Limited use for photo enhancement; caution about translation accuracy and editorial trust.

5. Discussion

5.1. Does Digital Transformation Follow a Single Path?

A shared history of print publishing has not led the three newspapers to the same digital practices. *Agos* uses its website to publish current news beyond the page limits of the weekly edition. At *Nor Marmara* and *Jamanak*, most online material still begins in print. Treating these arrangements as higher or lower positions on a single scale of digital progress would obscure the different purposes and constraints involved. Bober and Willis (2023, pp. 90–92) similarly describe varied strategies among four European minority-language newspapers without identifying one best-practice model. Their cases, however, differ from Armenian minority newspapers in Türkiye in their legal and institutional settings; the two groups should not be treated as directly equivalent.

The interviews also show why online readership cannot be understood through click counts alone. *Nor Marmara*'s manager sees a distinction between print readers and social media followers. *Jamanak* values its contact with readers in the diaspora. *Agos* seeks engagement while also dealing with racist responses online. Digital platforms thus create work and responsibilities as well as opportunities for distribution. What the platforms' algorithms actually do to the visibility of these newspapers remains outside the evidence collected here (Nieborg & Poell, 2018).

5.2. The Persistence of Gatekeeping and the Limits of Gatewatching

One point emerges consistently: all three managers connect news selection to the identity of their newspapers. At *Agos*, Özcan emphasized human rights and Türkiye–Armenia relations; at *Nor Marmara*, Haddeler maintained that clicks do not determine editorial policy; and at *Jamanak*, Koçunyan stressed continuity with the paper's established editorial line. Each account reflects a continuing role for editorial gatekeeping. Özcan's use of the term 'peace journalism' describes how *Agos* understands its approach; it has not been verified through an independent analysis of its articles.

Agos gave a comparatively detailed description of monitoring outside sources and checking stories against more than one account. That evidence is not enough to reconstruct the full process of discovering, selecting, and recirculating information described by Bruns (2003) as gatewatching. Similarly, *Nor Marmara* and *Jamanak* do not become examples of gatewatching simply by sharing their own print stories on social media. Karlsson, Van Couvering, and Lindell's (2022) distinction between publishing, sharing, and spreading helps keep these activities separate.

The evidence does not support a claim that gatewatching has replaced gatekeeping at any of the three newspapers. It supports a more limited conclusion: monitoring outside sources and publishing across several digital channels can take place alongside established processes of editorial selection and verification.

5.3. Language, Archives, and Community Relations

For newspapers that publish in minority languages, reaching more readers online is not the same as sustaining a language. Cormack's (2005) discussion of language rights and cultural ecology helps interpret the choices described in the interviews. *Agos* uses Turkish, Armenian, and selected English-language content to address different readerships. *Nor Marmara* maintains Western Armenian while translating selected pieces into Turkish. *Jamanak* devotes additional editorial work to traditional Armenian orthography. These decisions involve more than technical translation. The interviews provide no basis, however, for concluding that wider digital access has increased Armenian literacy or transmission between generations.

Historical archives present a different challenge. Özcan stated that all issues of *Agos'*s are accessible to researchers. *Nor Marmara* wants to digitize its older collections but lacks sufficient funding. Putting current news on a website is not equivalent to preserving a newspaper's history. Ehrmann, Bunout, and Clavert (2023) show why the availability and condition of digitized historical newspapers matter to researchers, although their work does not examine the Armenian press in Türkiye.

The newspapers also maintain different kinds of relationships with their communities. *Jamanak* uses online publication to remain in contact with Armenian-speaking readers abroad. *Nor Marmara* wants future generations to have access to the records it produces. *Agos* must manage discriminatory responses to its journalism on social media. None of these responsibilities can be captured adequately by a single figure for online visibility.

5.4. Artificial Intelligence and Editorial Responsibility

The interviews place the accuracy of AI output—and the capacity to check it—ahead of speed. *Agos* uses AI to assist with translation and headlines but requires human review. *Nor Marmara* and *Jamanak* use it mainly for limited image-editing tasks. Kermer and Bleyer-Simon (2026) address AI-assisted news translation, while Boyacıoğlu and Niehues (2024) examine machine translation for Western Armenian. These studies help situate the managers' concerns, but neither measures the accuracy of the systems used by the newspapers examined here.

Nor Marmara's caution about translation stems particularly from differences between Western and Eastern Armenian, even though Haddeler sees a possible role for AI in drafting text. Koçunyan's hesitation at *Jamanak* also concerns accuracy, but he framed it principally as a matter of editorial responsibility and readers' trust rather than a shortage of staff or funding. Describing both newspapers simply as resistant to AI would erase this distinction.

How often a newsroom uses AI is a poor measure of its journalistic quality. A more useful assessment asks what the tool does, whether its output can be checked by someone with the necessary language knowledge, and how its use fits the newspaper's editorial commitments.

5.5. Contribution to the Literature and Limitations

This study extends two earlier lines of research. Petrosyan (2015) documented the print and online presence of minority newspapers in Türkiye. Based on interviews with managers of the same three newspapers in 2023, Simge Süllü Durul (2025) addressed editorial identity, readership and staffing difficulties, and economic survival. New interviews make it possible to compare the newspapers'

present print and digital workflows, their approaches to news selection, their responsibilities toward language and archives, and their reasons for using or avoiding AI. The central contribution lies in showing how managers' editorial reasoning helps explain differences that cannot be understood from technology adoption alone.

These interpretations have clear limits. They rely on managers' accounts rather than independently checked figures for circulation, online reach, audience demographics, or staffing. The study did not systematically examine published stories, platform algorithms, the completeness of archives, or the quality of AI-assisted translations. Nor does a comparison with interviews collected in 2023 constitute quantitative or causal longitudinal research. Content analysis, audience surveys, and web analytics would provide useful tests of the patterns identified here.

6. Conclusion

The three newspapers have taken different routes into digital publishing. *Agos* now uses its website as a separate channel for daily news production, while *Nor Marmara* and *Jamanak* primarily publish online material first prepared for print. For each newspaper, however, digital channels offer a way to maintain contact with readers beyond the local community.

Those differences reflect editorial priorities as well as resources. *Agos* checks information across sources, reviews AI-assisted translations, and manages hostile comments on social media. *Nor Marmara* balances the continuing demands of print with an interest in historical archives and future digital subscriptions. *Jamanak* gives particular attention to Western Armenian orthography and weighs new technologies against its obligations to readers. In each case, speed and reach are considered alongside accuracy, continuity, and credibility.

Digital transformation, then, is not well described by the number of technologies a newspaper has adopted. It also involves decisions about which stories to report, whom to address in which language, how to divide a small staff's time, what to preserve, and which new tools can be trusted. This conclusion is grounded in three management interviews and should not be read as a comprehensive account of the newspapers' newsroom practices or audiences.

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