

Content Analysis of Western Balkans Daily Newspapers on July 15 Coup D'état in Turkey

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Abstract

In the Western Balkans Turkey is often perceived as a rising power because of its population, territory, resources, strong economy, political and diplomatic influence and military power. According to such perceptions, Turkish presence in the Western Balkans has been aimed at peace, stability, mediation, trade, and commerce. However, due to the strong impact of other great powers on the Western Balkans countries, Turkish diplomatic and political presence is sometimes questioned. This paper makes assumptions that the great powers, especially in the West, were either supporting the coup or were indifferent regarding the events of the July 15. Thus, being under strong American, Russian, Turkish and European influence, it is of utmost importance to research the political and diplomatic inclinations of the Western Balkans countries about July 15. This paper employed the content analysis in order to determine how July 15 events were presented in the daily newspapers in Montenegro, Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia. In order to test research objectives on subjective vs. objective daily newspapers reporting and overall on the nature of daily newspapers' coverage of July 15, the research will analyze randomly selected news from the following newspapers, *Dnevni avaz* (Bosnia and Herzegovina), *Večernji list* (Croatia), *Večernje novosti* (Serbia) and *Vijesti* (Montenegro). The convenience sample will be used to select samples to be analyzed. The research is limited to a period between July 15, 2016, and July 15, 2017. The research findings will indicate the Western Balkans newspaper perceptions of July 15 coup d'état in Turkey.

Keywords: July 15; Turkey; Western Balkans and Daily Newspapers Reporting

Türkiye'de 15 Temmuz Kalkışması üzerine Batı Balkanlar Günlük Gazetelerinin İçerik Analizi

Özet

Batı Balkanlar'da Türkiye, nüfusu, toprakları, kaynakları, güçlü ekonomisi, politik ve diplomatik nüfuzu ve askeri gücü nedeniyle sıklıkla yükselen bir güç olarak algılanmaktadır. Bu algılara göre, Türkiye'nin Batı Balkanlar'daki varlığı barış, istikrar, arabuluculuk ve ticaret konularına yöneliktir. Bununla birlikte, büyük güçlerin, özellikle Batı'nın, Batı Balkan ülkeleri üzerindeki güçlü etkisine bağlı olarak, bu ülkeler içinde bazen Türk diplomatik ve politik varlığı sorgulanmaktadır. Bu makale, özellikle Batı'daki büyük güçlerin kalkışma girişimini desteklediğini veya 15 Temmuz'daki olaylarla ilgili kayıtsız olduğunu varsayıyor. Bu nedenle, güçlü Amerikan, Rus, Türk ve Avrupa etkisi altında olmak, Batı Balkan ülkelerinin 15 Temmuz ile ilgili siyasi ve diplomatik eğilimlerini araştırmak için büyük önem taşıyor. Bu makalede, 15 Temmuz kalkışmasının Karadağ, Sırbistan, Bosna Hersek ve Hırvatistan gibi seçili Batı Balkan ülkelerindeki günlük gazetelerde nasıl sunulduğunu belirlemek için içerik analizini kullanıldı. Araştırma hedeflerini subjektif ve objektif günlük gazetelerde ve genel olarak günlük gazetelerin 15 Temmuz'un kapsamı ile ilgili analiz etmek ve araştırmaktır. Araştırmamız aşağıdaki gazetelerden rastgele seçilen haberleri analiz edecektir. *Dnevni avaz* (Bosna-Hersek), *Večernji list* (Hırvatistan), *Večernje novosti* (Sırbistan), *Vijesti* (Karadağ). Analiz edilecek numuneleri seçmek için çok aşamalı örnekleme yöntemi kullanılmıştır. Araştırma 15 Temmuz 2016 ve 15 Temmuz 2017 tarihleri ile sınırlandırılmıştır. Araştırma bulguları Batı Balkanlar'daki medyada Türkiye'de olan 15 Temmuz kalkışma girişiminin algılarını ortaya koymaya çalışacaktır.

Anahtar kelimeler: 15 Temmuz; Türkiye; Batı Balkanlar; Günlük Gazeteleri Raporlama.

1 Introduction

In the past two decades, Turkey strengthened its relations with the Balkans and ensured far-reaching political, diplomatic, economic and cultural impact. Actually, "Vision 2023: Turkey's Foreign Policy Objectives," was unfolding in all countries and regions of a Turkish sphere of influence (Onis, 2011, pp. 47-65; Jeftić-Šarčević, 2010, 691-714). In 2009, Turkey reached its diplomatic climax and began playing very constructive mediator's role in the Western Balkans by using multidimensional foreign policy based on common geography, history, economics, and culture. Indeed, such an approach colored with "a zero problems with neighbors" and "win-win" policies has entirely changed an image of Turkey in the Western Balkans (Davutoglu, 2009, p. 12; Becev, 2012, p. 137; Mitrović, 2014, p. 24 and Ekinci, 2013, 28-32). This year was significant because of the beginning of the trilateral relations between Turkey, Serbia and Bosnia-Herzegovina and the adoption of the Istanbul Declaration. This paper purposefully provided a brief survey of Turkish-Western Balkans relations to demonstrate Turkish economic, trade, political and cultural activities in the Western Balkans (Mulalic & Kulanic, 2016, p. 495). However, in spite of such proactive Turkish foreign policy, numerous conflicts and the struggles of the great powers have significantly affected the continuity of Turkish constructive approach and overall Turkish image in the Western Balkans (Küçükcan and Küçükkeleş, 2012, 6-9). Unfortunately, the latest events related to the coup d'état in Turkey and media manipulation with the post-developments have furthermore affected Turkish image in the Western Balkans.

Therefore, it is significant to analyze Turkish-Western Balkans economic, political and cultural relations from 2009-2016 as to determine to Turkish influence on the prosperity of the region. Then, it is important to analyze how the Western Balkans daily newspapers have represented Turkey from July 15, 2016, to July 15, 2017? Do daily newspapers emphasize mostly negative news by overshadowing Turkish economic, trade, cultural, social and education impact?

2 A Survey of Turkish-Western Balkans Relations

Since the 1990s the historical and cultural relations between Turkey and Bosnia and Herzegovina significantly contributed toward greater bilateral economic and trade cooperation. However, in the past two decades, Turkey gradually became an important economic and trade actor in the Western Balkans, which Turkish companies consider a desirable investment destination. In 2009, Bosnia and Herzegovina received \$61 million of Turkish foreign direct investment, while in 2015 Bosnia and Herzegovina received € 32.1 million of Turkish foreign direct investment. In 2015, Bosnia and Herzegovina exported €181.32 million worth of products to Turkey, which positioned Turkey as the ninth top market of Bosnian products. In 2015, Bosnia and Herzegovina imported €329.57 million worth products from Turkey. Finally, in 2015 the trade volume between Turkey and Bosnia and Herzegovina stood at 999.24 million BAM. In 2012, the Turkish government approved credit for €100 million for the sustainable returning process of displaced people. In 2014, new credit line was introduced for "soft-loan" €50 million intended for credits for small and medium companies in sectors of tourism, agriculture, and trade. Then, then the number of leading Turkish companies conducts their business in Bosnia and Herzegovina. These companies include Kastamonu Entegere - Natron-Hayat (paper company), Soda Sanayii - Soda Lukavac (chemical enterprise), Cengiz Insaat (construction), Sezer Group (agriculture) and T. C. Ziraat Bankasi - Turkish Ziraat Bank Bosnia (Ganić and Branković, 2016, 50-65). Turkish soft diplomacy has also been spread through different non-governmental organizations, education institutions and agencies such as Sarajevo Education Development Foundation (SEDEF), the Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TIKA) and Foundation for the Development of Relations with Bosnia and Herzegovina (BIGMEV) (Mulalić, 2016, p. 505). Yunus Emre Institute is a good example of fostering Turkish effective cultural diplomacy in Bosnia and Herzegovina through language courses, seminars, conferences, concerts, art exhibitions, literature nights etc. Then, TIKA realized more than 700 projects in Bosnia, including restoration of the "Ferhadija Mosque" in Banja Luka, "Mehmed Pasha Sokolovic Bridge" in Visegrad, "Emperor's Mosque" in Sarajevo, "Old Bridge" in Mostar and "Blagaj Dervish House" in Blagaj-Mostar (Nuroğlu, 2013, pp. 279-298). According to BH Agency for Statistics, tourism sector between Turkey and Bosnia and Herzegovina furthermore strengthened due to frequent flights between Sarajevo and Istanbul by airlines Pegasus, Turkish Airlines and BH Airlines. For example, in 2009, 13, 000 visitors from Turkey visited Bosnia while in 2017 53,295 visitors, which is more than four times increment.

Throughout history, Turkey has been using its international authority and power to help the Bosnian cause (Bishku, 2014, pp. 16-37). Turkish support during the war was tremendous and after the war Turkey began playing an active role as PIC member in peace building and the implementation of the Dayton Peace Agreement. In order to play the constructive foreign policy role in the Western Balkans, Turkey initiated a trilateral meeting between Turkey, Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. The meetings were held with a focus on trilateral foreign minister's meetings, trilateral conferences of the heads of the state and trilateral gatherings of economy and trade ministers (Mulalić, 2018, 43-53; Rasidagić, 2013, pp. 179-196). As a result of these meetings, Bosnian ambassador to Serbia was appointed, the Serbian National Assembly condemned the 'crimes' (not genocide) of Srebrenica and Turkish president visited Serbia after 23 years. In 2011, the second trilateral meeting was held in Serbia while in 2013, the third trilateral meeting was held in Ankara, which led to the adoption of the Declaration on economic and trade cooperation and the Protocol on the establishment of the Trilateral Trade Committee (Petrović and Reljić, 2011, p. 160-161; Pavlović, 2015, p. 20-21; Türbedar, 2013, pp. 139-158). These initiatives contributed towards greater economic cooperation and trade exchange between Turkey, Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. According to the Foreign Trade Chamber of B&H in 2011, Bosnia and Herzegovina exported 162.259.196 BAM million worth products to Turkey and imported 407.012.057 BAM million worth products from Turkey. However, in 2017 Bosnia and Herzegovina exported 432.117.779 KM and imported 656.150.310 BAM worth products from Turkey. In 2011, the trade volume between Turkey and Bosnia and Herzegovina stood at 569.271 million BAM while in 2017 it stood at 1.088.268 BAM.

Since 2009 Turkish-Serbian diplomatic, economic, trade and cultural relations have been rapidly developing. Among all Western Balkans countries, Turkey has the best trade relations with Serbia. Better relations were direct result of diplomatic initiatives by the Turkish government. Very often Turkish officials state that for Turkey, Serbia is the most important regional power and a key to the Western Balkans stability and security. In 2009, Serbia and Turkey signed a Free Trade Agreement, which significantly contributed towards trade exchange. Actually, from 2009 until today trade exchange increased 3.5 percent while Serbia export to Turkey has increased by 7.5 percent. In 2010, the Istanbul Declaration was signed by the Presidents of Turkey, Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina (Petrović and Reljić, 2011, p. 160-165). This Declaration had positioned Turkey as a mediating power in the Western Balkans. In the same year, Mr. Erdogan in the capacity of Prime Minister visited Serbia and furthermore strengthened bilateral relations with Serbia. Consequently, Turkey began investing mostly in communication infrastructure, energy, telecommunications, banking, education, and tourism. According to the Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia in 2011, the total trade volume between Serbia and Turkey was 421,5 million EURO while in 2017 it was 1,041 billion EURO which is a 50 percent increase in the span of seven years.

In 2018, the President of Turkey, Mr. Erdogan participated in Turkish-Serbian Business Forum, together with more than 200 Turkish businesspersons and investors. Serbia and Turkey work hand in hand to strengthen economic relations and to increase the trade exchange of \$800 million in 2016 to one billion in the following years. According to the Turkish Statistical Institute (YurkStat), "Turkey's export to Serbia stood at \$442 million while its import from the country was more than \$284 million in January-August 2017." More than 70 Turkish companies have a total investment volume of \$113 million in Serbia, mainly in textiles, food, communication, tourism, banking, and manufacture and construction sectors. Turkish investors made significant investments in the textile industry. Dzinsi, Birlesik, Jeanci, and Aster companies have their textile factories in Leskovac, Nis, Lazarevac and Leban. Teklas Company, one of the leading Turkish manufacturers of car parts, opened a new plant and invested \$711.35 million. In 2015, Halkbank acquired 76% shares of Cacanska Bank (<http://www.pks.rs/MSaradnja.aspx?id=53&idjezik=1>).

Since 2008 Turkey-Croatian diplomatic, economic, trade and cultural relations began to develop gradually. For instance, from 2009 Turkish foreign direct investments in Croatia rose from 7 million Euros to 121, 3 million Euro in 2012. In Croatia, Turkish investments were mostly directed towards tourism and banking. One of the most important is Doğuş Holding that has diverse businesses in Turkey from banks, media, ports, and hotels. This company in Croatia owns hotels in Sibenik, Zadar, and Dubrovnik. Turkish company Rixos Group owns the hotel Rixos Libertas Dubrovnik. Finally, in the banking sector, Turkish Suzer Group holds ownership of Kent Bank.

Since 2006, Turkey has excellent diplomatic relations with Montenegro. In the past years, Turkey contributed a lot towards Montenegro NATO membership. In the past years, two countries had numerous high-level bilateral relations. One of the most important investments in the past was the construction of "Gintas" or Mall of Montenegro with an investment of €50 million. Then, Turkish Tosyali Holding and Turkish Global Ports made significant investments in steel and transportation industry. Turkish Ziraat Bank opened its banks and made a significant investment. Trade exchange between Turkey and Montenegro is at €75 million. In 2015, Turkey's foreign direct investment in Montenegro was € 10.1 million (http://www.privrednakomora.me/sites/pkcg.org/files/multimedia/main_pages/files/2012/09/sdi_0_0.pdf). It is important to mention that both TIKA and Yunus Emre, as cultural diplomacy actors, have been active in Montenegro as well.

3 Methodology

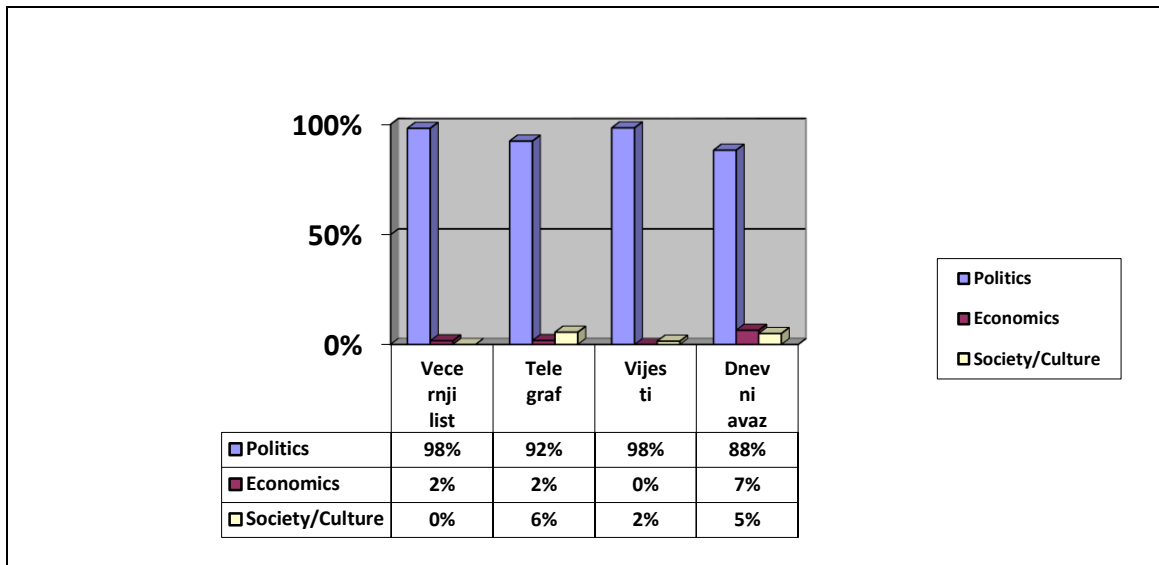
As a prelude to the main research question, this paper briefly analyzed Turkish presence in the Western Balkans and its contributions towards peace, stability, mediation, trade, and commerce. However, it is especially significant to examine Turkish-Western Balkans relations in the light of post-July 15 coup d'état in Turkey and growing influences of other great powers in the Western Balkans countries. This paper makes an assumption that the Western Balkan countries followed the great powers, especially in the West, with regards to their support for the democratically elected government, the organizers of the coup d'état or they were neutral. This paper will show to what extent Western Balkans countries were under the strong foreign influence. The analysis of July 15 will certainly indicate the patterns of inclination among the selected Western Balkans countries. It is worth analyzing the frequency of newspaper reporting on different socio-political issues, which include politics, economics, and society.

For testing the first objective on the degree of Turkish socio-political presence in the Western Balkans, the research analyzed leading regional newspapers by considering socio-political issues. We randomly selected news from July 15, 2016, to July 15, 2017, from the following newspapers: Vecernji list (Croatia), Telegraf (Serbia), Vijesti (Montenegro) and Dnevni avaz (Bosnia and Herzegovina). Analyzed socio-political news (politics, economics, and society) were determined to show the degree of Turkish presence in the Western Balkans. In order to give clear answer to the research question we randomly selected news that were only dealing with Turkish presence or influence on the Western Balkans. Such news were classified as negative, extremely exclusive, positive and constructive. The research sample of analyzed news was as follows: Vecernji list (Croatia) 116 news, Telegraph (Serbia) 53 news, Vijesti (Montenegro) 66 news and Dnevni avaz (Bosnia and Herzegovina) 198 news.

In order to examine the second objective on positive, neutral and negative reporting on coup d'état in Turkey, the researcher adopted similar methodology as in the above. We randomly selected news on coup d'état in Turkey from Vecernji list (Croatia) 116 news, Telegraph (Serbia) 53 news, Vijesti (Montenegro) 66 news and Dnevni avaz (Bosnia and Herzegovina) 198 news. From the given sample we identified positive, neutral and negative news on coup d'état in Turkey. The subjects of analysis were both titles of daily newspapers and their contents. The frequency of the following terms was evaluated: coup, revolution, liberation, government, political change, military success etc. Selected news indicated a positive, negative or neutral position on the coup d'état in Turkey.

4 Analysis of Daily Newspapers on July 15 Coup D'état in Turkey

For testing the first objective on the degree of Turkish socio-political presence in the Western Balkans, the research analyzed leading regional newspapers by considering socio-political issues. We randomly selected news from July 15, 2016, to July 15, 2017.



Graph 1. Newspapers reporting on Turkish socio-political presence in the Western Balkans

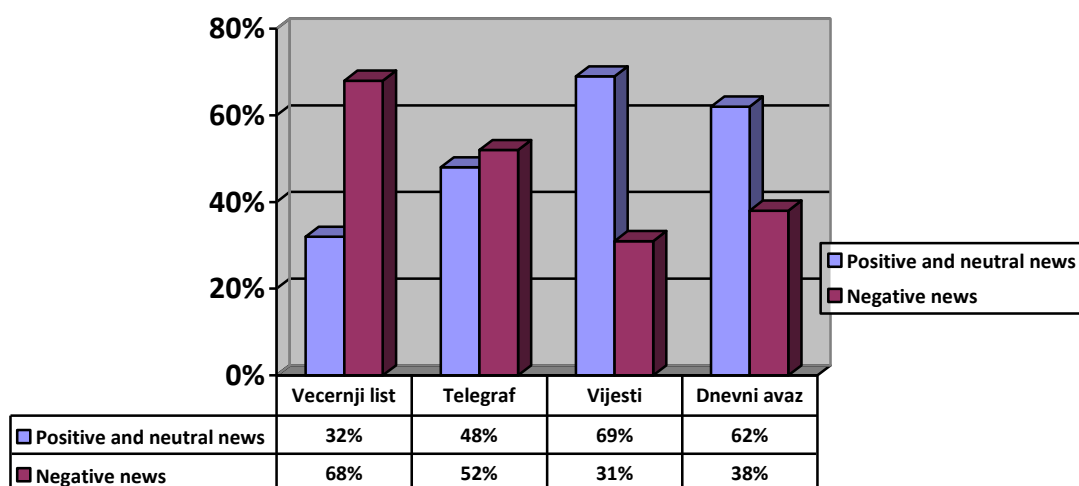
From July 15, 2016 to July 15, 2017 selected Western Balkans newspapers included the following number of news on politics, economics and society/culture: Vecernji list (Croatia) 116 news, Telegraf (Serbia) 53 news, Vijesti (Montenegro) 66 news and Dnevni avaz (Bosnia and Herzegovina) 198 news. In comparison to Serbian and Montenegro newspapers, Dnevni avaz (Bosnia and Herzegovina) and Vecernji list (Croatia) included the highest number of news on Turkey. All four newspapers made more than 90% of their news on political issues not on economics and social issues. The data clearly indicated a significant trend of daily newspapers to neglect economic, social, cultural, educational, touristic and artistic relations between Turkey and the Western Balkans countries.

Table 1. Selected news on Turkish political presence in the Western Balkans

Newspaper	Politics
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Vecernji list (Croatia) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The army has already made several coups in Turkey The return of Ataturk's secular Turkey is strong blow for Islamists and the way for the peace in the Middle East The conspiracy theorists argue that the military coup was orchestrated by Erdogan The coup could have been just an introduction to the civil war in Turkey Erdogan made cleansing of more than 50000 people; soldiers, police officers, professors and clerks at mercy of the president of Turkey
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Telegraf (Serbia) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Turkish army has officially taken the power: the state in crisis The worst form of communism: Turkish government closed 130 media outlets Detour: Turkey turns back to NATO, plans to unite with Russia Turkish police arrested four suspects for assassination of ambassador Turkish minister returned back to Istanbul as she was exiled from the Netherlands
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Vijesti (Montenegro) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Erdogan's ultimatum: USA should choose between Gulen and Turkey Turkish terrorist arrested in Croatia A campaign in Turkey: Sweden is a country of a rape Erdogan: If you continue this way no European will walk safely on the streets Turkey seeks the support from NATO allies
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Dnevni avaz (Bosnia and Herzegovina) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ankara: the brother of Fethullah Gulen arrested Balkan became the battleground for the clash of the great powers The clash between Erdogan and Iraqi Prime Minister: You are not at my level On the spot: Turkey was seeking help in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the fight against Gulen Unknown future of Turkish ambassador in Zagreb

All four newspapers included mostly news on politics, which focused on Turkish internal issues, Turkish-EU relations, Turkish-Russian relations, and Turkish involvements in Syria and Iraq. Therefore, media reporting made the significant shift from balanced reporting on political, economic, social and cultural issues, whereby Turkish presence in the Western Balkans and its cultural

diplomacy as a whole had changed the Turkish image. From 2008 to 2016 Western Balkans daily newspapers were significantly reporting news on Turkish social, cultural, artistic and educational relations but probably due to coup d'état and rocky Turkish-Western relations more focus of daily newspapers was placed on politics, international relations, and diplomacy. However, reporting on political issues, mostly with negative connotations by the Western Balkans newspapers is certainly tarnishing positive and constructive role of Turkey in the Western Balkans. Certainly, the excessive covering of the political issues has overshadowed Turkish investments in the Western Balkans countries, contributions to the domestic growth and development by leading Turkish companies and the role of media, cultural and educational institutions. Thus, Turkey must reconsider the strategies of how to balance its political, economic and social/cultural presence through the media by reviving its cultural diplomacy as to maintain a constructive and positive image in the Western Balkans. According to Mulalic & Kulanic (2016) on the question "Turkish diplomatic activities are not covered enough in Bosnian media" 56.1 percent of participants agreed, and 43.9 percent disagreed; similarly on question 23 "The public in Bosnia and Herzegovina has a high sense of prejudice towards Turkey" 47.6 percent agreed and 42.2 percent disagreed. Data obtained on these two questions justified initiatives of the Turkish government to show its presence through own media outlets" (p. 501).



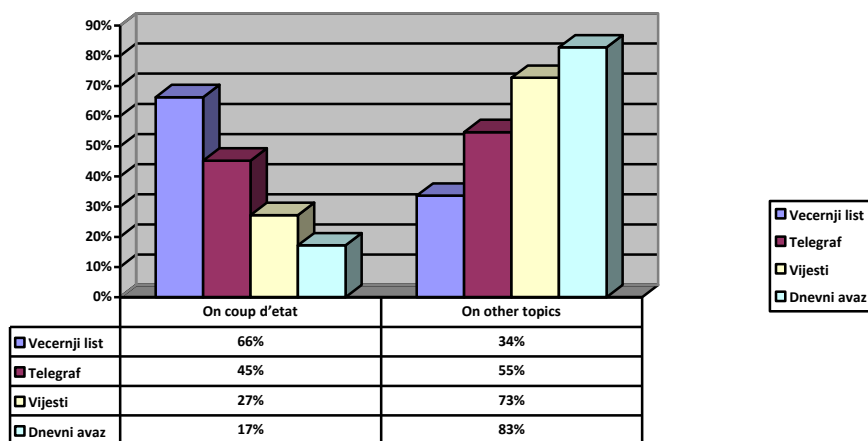
Graph 2. Newspapers reporting on Turkish socio-political issues

Table 2. Selected newspaper news on Turkish socio-political issues

Newspaper	Positive news	Negative news
<i>Vecernji list</i> (Croatia)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Minister Kovac: We support democratically elected government in Turkey Turkish Dogus group the leading investor, follow Jadranka, ZLZ... Erdogan after the coup makes increadibla rise in the popularity Erdogan: There were significant security flows before an attempted military coup Turkey aims to join the EU until 2023 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ataturk united the nation and Erdogan divided it Erdogan's enemy number one Gulen is Western ally and favorite Could the Russian 'tzar' and Turkish 'sultan' cooperate at all Junker articulated: You will not soon join the EU Wien: We will stop Erdogan
<i>Telegraf</i> (Serbia)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Don't worry about the current events, Turkish beaches work effectively with excellent offer and domestic hospitality Turkey made an announcement in newspapers, Serbs thanks for not supporting the coup People from Novi Pazar gave the support to Erdogan: Turkey and Serbia in Sandzak united Turkey and Kurds made an agreement: we will not clash in Syria Turkey and Russia made an important agreement 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The worst follows: Turkey will suspend European human rights convention Erdogan doesn't stop: Turkey fired additional 2400 soldiers Etinger: Turkey will enter the EU when Erdogan leaves Rape of 15 years old girls will be legal: Turkey one step towards adopting disgusting law An absurd continuation of diplomatic clash: Turkey exiled 40 Dutch cows

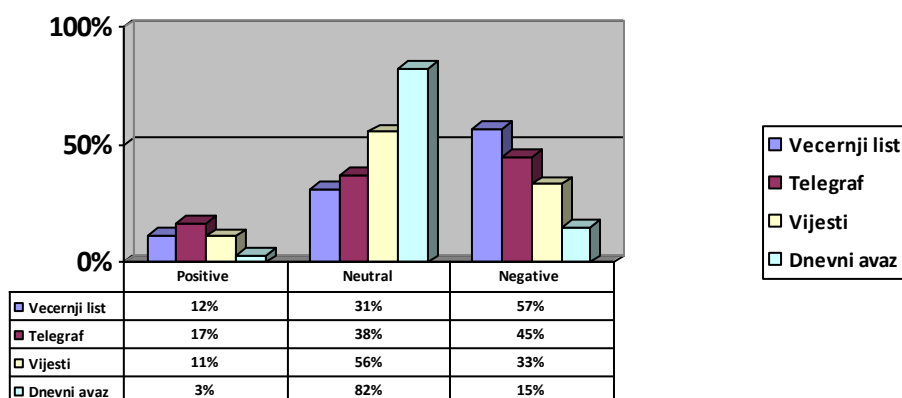
<p><i>Vijesti</i> (Montenegro)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Obama talked with Erdogan • US greeted an agreement between Russia, Turkey and Iran regarding peace agreement in Syria • Turkey opens new chapter in EU negotiations • Turkey seeks the support from NATO allies • Turkey the biggest flour exporter 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The fall of Turkish lira due to an inflation and terrorist attacks • Greek and Turkish military ships at disputed islands, seven tense minutes • Cleansing continued in Turkey, 4464 public servants moved from their offices • Junker: Turkey is not ready at the moment to join the EU • Turkey arrested three former diplomats
<p><i>Dnevni avaz</i> (Bosnia and Herzegovina)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Meryem Uzerli came to Sarajevo • Turkish investors ready for financing Sarajevo-Belgrade highway • Erdogan: Alija Izetbegović preserved the most important Islamic Community in Europe • Šarović from Istanbul: Significant support to overall cooperation • In Bosnia and Herzegovina 7.263 pupils in schools study Turkish language 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Kurz: close borders instead of an agreement with Turkey • Dizdarević: Turkey will explode, Erdogan lost the political compass! • Kurz: Turkey has no place in the EU • Fahrudin Radoncic: Bosniaks are European people not the Turkish pendant • Balkan became the battleground for the interests of the great powers

Graph 2 and Table 2 clearly indicated the Western Balkans media reporting on Turkish socio-political issues. In the research, so-called socio-politics implies diverse types of news in the newspapers that could cover political issues, economics and trade, diplomacy, internal and external relations, culture, education, investments, security, arts, media etc. The classification of the news into positive, neutral and negative was based on their title and contents. The news that was exclusively negative, neutral or positive in both contents and title were classified. We must admit that such classification might be subjective, however such classification provide us a general idea of media emphasis. We selected news as negative because of their negative title, hidden linguistic agenda, negative contents and negative connotation. The results have indicated that three newspapers, namely Vecernji list (Croatia) with 68%, Telegraf (Serbia) with 52%, Vijesti (Montenegro) with 31% and Dnevni avaz (Bosnia and Herzegovina) with 38%, have included mostly negative news. The data clearly indicated that Vecernji list (Croatia) with 68% and Telegraf (Serbia) with 52% have negative tendency of reporting on Turkish socio-political influence in the Western Balkans. However, among daily newspapers Vijesti (Montenegro) and Dnevni avaz (Bosnia and Herzegovina) had more positive and neutral news on Turkish socio-political influence on the Western Balkans.



Graph 3. Newspapers reporting on coup d'état in Turkey

Graph 3 has indicated that the highest emphasis on coup d'état in Turkey had Vecernji list (Croatia) with 66% coverage while the second was Telegraf (Serbia) with 45% coverage. Daily newspaper from Montenegro (Vijesti) with 27% and Bosnia and Herzegovina (Dnevni avaz) with 17% were the least covering coup d'état in Turkey. Selected daily newspapers in Montenegro and Bosnia and Herzegovina were focusing more on other topics. We assume that Vecernji list (Croatia) had the highest number of news on coup d'état in Turkey because of similar trends of reporting in Austria and Germany. Being a traditional Western ally Croatian newspaper was but supportive of media campaign in the West. Telegraf (Serbia) had 45% news on the coup, which is high as well, because of an opportunity to balance and mediate its position between Russia, EU and Turkey.



Graph 4. Positive, neutral and negative reporting on coup d'état in Turkey

Table 3. Selected news on reporting the coup d'état in Turkey

Newspaper	Positive	Neutral	Negative
<i>Vecernji list</i> (Croatia)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Erdoğan cannot go home: Interview on TV over a mobile phone of a journalist • Merkel and Tusk supported elected government in Turkey, support given also by China and Japan • Minister Kovac: we support democratically elected government in Turkey • EU strongly condemned an attempt of the coup in Turkey and called for the dialogue • After the coup Erdogan makes extraordinary rise of popularity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Several times army attempted to make the coup in Turkey • Military airplanes flow over Ankara, two main bridges closed • Erdogan declared the state of emergency in Turkey • For the mobile phone that saved Erdogan they offer to me 250000 \$ • 7000 armed Turkish police officers surrounded NATO base Incirlik 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fethullah Gulen: From Erdogan's ally to sworn enemy • Conspiracy theorists argue that the coup was orchestrated by Erdogan • US warn Turkey because of speculations about their role in the coup. Show legitimate evidences • Attaturk united the nation, Erdogan divided the nation • Great cleansing continue, 6000 people arrested in Turkey • With a hit and the foreign policy Erdogan is trying to deceive the world
<i>Telegraf</i> (Serbia)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Don't worry about the current events, Turkish beaches work effectively with excellent offer and domestic hospitality • Turkey made an announcement in newspapers, Serbs thanks for not supporting the coup 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Turkish army officially took the power, the state is in crisis • Turkish army fires from helicopter at the demonstrates, the number of wounded is not known yet • Turkey made the formal request from the USA to arrest Gulen • Turkey has extended the state of emergency for another three months 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The worst follows: Turkey will suspend the European human rights convention • The worst form of Communism: Turkey government closed 130 media outlets • No one dears to speak, Turkey fired 1500 prison guards and imprisoned 12 • Predictions for Europe, because of Ergogan's victory Turkey is on the verge of the civil war

<p><i>Vijesti</i> (Montenegro)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Obama had a talk with Erdogan 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Erdogan: there is a possibility of new coup • Spiegel: Ankara requests Berlin to extradite the supporter of Gulen • An explosion in Turkey, 17 people were killed and 27 wounded 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In Turkey 1700 officers were fired, more than ten media outlets closed • Erdogan's ultimatum: The USA to choose between Gulen and Turkey • Erdogan makes cleansing: the end of democracy in Turkey • The cleansing continues in Turkey, 4464 public officers suspended
<p><i>Dnevni avaz</i> (Bosnia and Herzegovina)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Turkey: more than 6000 teachers returned to job 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mogherini expressed her worries about arrests in Turkey • Turkey: Explosion after arrests, there are wounded and dead • Ankara submitted new evidences against Fethullah Gulen • Ankara: A brother of Fetulah Gulen is arrested 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • For Erdogan the West is guilty for all, he accused the West for supporting ISIL, PKK and Gulen • Thousands of people in Istanbul protested Erdogan's suppression • Turkish authorities fired new 15.000 people • The largest prison in Europe! Erdogan's AKP makes real concentration camp in the 21st century

The researcher attempted to determine news on the coup d'état in Turkey based on daily newspapers positive, neutral and negative reporting. The data in Graph 4 and Table 3 clearly indicated that Vecernji list (Croatia) with 57% of negative reported news showed the tendency that Croatia does not support Turkey with regards to the coup d'état. The relations between Turkey and Croatia perhaps have been affected because of Croatian turning back to Turkey and blindly accepting to play a proxy state-role of the EU. On the other hand, Serbian newspaper Telegraf with 45% negative is close to the position of Croatia with regards to the coup d'état in Turkey. Yet, Serbian daily newspaper clearly indicated that Serbia is more supportive of the democratically elected government in Turkey. This is the reason why Turkey made an announcement in newspapers, Serbs thanks for not supporting the coup. Newspapers in Montenegro and Bosnia and Herzegovina have clearly indicated that these two small countries have been trying to keep their neutrality. Daily newspaper Vijesti (Montenegro) had 56% of neutral news while Bosnian newspaper Dnevni avaz had 82% of neutral news. Further interpretation of the data in these two countries showed that determined neutrality actually indicated the support for the democratically elected government in Turkey.

5 Concluding Remarks

The foregoing discussion and analyzed data has indicated in brief the past two-decade relationships between Turkey and the Western Balkans countries. Turkey began its more active relations with the Western Balkans in the 1990s through an active military, peace and humanitarian contributions as a responsible NATO member. In the post-war period, Turkey participated in the Western Balkans in building security, stability, state-building and overall post-war recovery. More active diplomatic, economic and political relations with the Western Balkans were evolving hand in hand with Turkish economic growth and development. Beginning from 2009 Turkey embarked on a proactive foreign policy approach within Balkan's geographical, historical and cultural contexts. Turkey's "neighborhood policy," "maximum cooperation," "zero problems with neighbors" and "win-win policies" were paying off (Ekinci, 2013, 28-32). Becev (2012) rightly asserted that "the Western Balkans became one of the testing grounds of his doctrine of "strategic depth," that is the pursuit of deeper economic, societal and cultural links with Turkey's neighbors" (p. 138). Consequently, Turkey gradually moved towards being economic, trade, diplomatic and cultural actor in the Western Balkans. Turkey's impact was widely accepted by the Western Balkan countries and by the great powers. That is why the paper has articulated Turkish constructive impact in the Western Balkans in terms of economic, trade, diplomatic and cultural contributions.

Unfortunately, in the past few years due to migration crisis, wars in Syria and Iraq, Kurdish issue and rocky relations with the great powers, Turkey's influence in the Western Balkans began to be misrepresented. In terms of actual economic, trade and cultural influence, Turkey has continued the same trend as in the past; however, because of media and political misrepresentation, Turkish image in the Western Balkans started gradually to be questioned. The research clearly indicated that excessive negative reporting of "politics" in the media, which neglected Turkish economic, trade and cultural activities will continue to harm and to diminish Turkey's position and constructive role in this region. There is an urgent need to reactivate Turkey's diplomatic emphasis,

economic investments, trade exchanges and cultural contributions of Turkey to the region as to stop this negative trend of the creation of a negative Turkish image in the Western Balkans.

The last part of the paper analyzed Western Balkans newspapers on the coup d'état in Turkey. The data has indicated that Croatia, being the EU member, reported the most on the coup and had mostly negative views on the same. It is obvious that after 2013, with the the EU membership Croatia began turning back to the Balkans and eventually to Turkey as well. Then, although there is Turkey's foreign policy shift towards Serbia, obtained data indicated a balanced and pragmatic position of Serbia. Serbia continued to balance between Russia, Turkey and the EU. Finally, obtained data also indicated very much neutral position of Montenegro and Bosnia and Herzegovina as these two small countries do not have strong foreign policy position.

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