

Framing News About Turkey in Albanian and Kosovo Online Newspapers: The Case of Lake Memorial About 2016 Coup Attempt in Turkey

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ABSTRACT

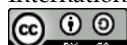
This research examines the language used in media articles with framing content against Turkey in the Balkans, specifically in Albania and Kosovo. Albanian national identity and the nationalism that arose following the breakup of the Ottoman Empire have periodically resurfaced throughout modern history. Today, Albanian nationalism can sever ties with modern Turkey, often portraying the past and present in a negative light. The study focuses on how Albanian media with a nationalist perspective covered the construction of a Turkish memorial in Tirana's park, which was intended as a symbol of friendship between the two countries and as a tribute to the martyrs of July 15th. A total of 69 news articles were analyzed using both quantitative and qualitative methods, and categories of news framing related to a nationalist perspective in the journalists' reporting were identified. The results showed that media outlets in both countries covered the event, but Kosovo media displayed a higher level of framing against Turkey, despite the fact that the event took place in Albania. This nationalist approach suggests that Turkey continues to be perceived as a geostrategic, political, and cultural threat to the Albanian nation in the Balkans.

Keywords : Albania, Kosovo, Turkey, Nationalism, News Framing

Arnavutluk ve Kosova'daki Çevrim içi Gazetelerde Türkiye Hakkındaki Haberlerin Çerçevelemdirilmesi: 2016 Darbe Girişimi ile İlgili Lake Memorial Örneği

ÖZ

Bu araştırma, Balkanlar'da, özellikle Arnavutluk ve Kosova'da Türkiye aleyhine çerçevelene içerikli medya makalelerinde kullanılan dili incelemektedir. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun dağılmasının ardından ortaya çıkan Arnavut ulusal kimliği ve milliyetçiliği, modern tarihin farklı evrelerinde zaman zaman alevlenmiştir. Bugün Türkiye ile ilişkilerde bu milli yaklaşımın sembollerinin, şürsel unsurlarının ve retoriğinin izlerini silmek mümkündür. Bununla ilgili olarak bu çalışmada Arnavutluk'ta Türk-Arnavut halklarının dostluğunun simgesi olarak dikilen 15 Temmuz şehitleri anısına Tiran parkına Türk anıtına yapılmasına Arnavut



medyasının milliyetçi bir bakiş açısıyla nasıl yer verdiğine, devrim, milliyetçilik retoriğinin nasıl yeniden gündeme geldiğine odaklanmaktadır. Toplam 69 haber hem niceł hem de nitel yöntemlerle analiz edilmekte ve gazetecilerin haberlerinde milliyetçi bakiş açısına ilişkin haber çerçevelene kategorileri belirlenmiştir. Nitelik her iki ülke medyasının milliyet ile ilgili haberler yaptığı, ilgili olayın Arnavutluk ile yaşanmasına rağmen Kosova medyasının Arnavutluk medyasına göre daha fazla haber kullandığı tespit edilmiştir. Bu milliyetçi yaklaşım, Türkiye'nin Balkanlardaki Arnavut ulusu için jeostratejik, siyasi ve kültürel bir tehdit olarak algılanmaya devam ettiği şeklinde görülebilir.

Anahtar Kelimeler : Arnavutluk, Kosova, Türkiye, Milliyetçilik, Haber Çerçevelene

INTRODUCTION

The portrayal representation of Turkey in Albanian media is frequently a subject of political and cultural debates, which are often characterized by a critical perspective. This can be attributed to the shared history and the emergence of nationalism that divided these nations during the Ottoman Empire. It is not uncommon for discussions about the perceived threat of Turkey to Albanian sovereignty to be featured in the media, often espoused by intellectuals. This alarmism is often perpetuated by Albanian nationalists who draw upon the history of the Albanian National Awakening, in which they view Turkey as an enemy of the Albanian nation. This perspective asserts that any connections with Turkey are perceived as an attempt by Turkey to reclaim influence in the Balkans, either economically or politically.

It is frequently argued that aligning with the Western world or Western Christianity is necessary for the Albanian people to secure a positive future within the Euro-Atlantic region. This discourse is not limited to nationalists, but is also prevalent among Albanian academics, politicians, and the general public. Sulstarova argues that the construction of a Western identity was perceived as a matter of survival for Albanian elites in the late 19th century (Sulstarova, 2006). Given the rise of nationalism and the decline of the Ottoman Empire at the time, as well as the increased influence of the Western world in the Balkans, this nationalist discourse served as a strategy for ensuring the future sovereignty of Albania, which was perceived as threatened by Slavic Orthodox powers. Sulstarova notes that many Albanian intellectuals and politicians, seeking to present themselves as descendants of the Illyrians and to be included among the "westernized" peoples, highlight the early Christianization of Albania and portray Christianity as "the true religion of the Albanians" or "the religion of the ancestors" (Sulstarova, 2006). This issue of identity occasionally emerges in the public discourse, as evidenced by the frequent statements of public figures asking "to which identity do Albanians belong?"

The present study aims to determine which of the two countries, Kosovo and Albania, exhibits higher levels of nationalist discourse in their daily press, based on agenda setting and

framing of daily news. The event we use as a sample is the construction of a Turkish memorial in Tirana in August 2019, which was intended to honor the fallen martyrs of the July 15, 2016 coup attempt against the Turkish state and the ruling Justice and Development Party (AKP). The road leading to the memorial was named "15 July Martyrs' Road" and the park where the memorial was erected, funded by the Turkish International Cooperation and Development Agency (TIKA), was renamed "15 July Democracy Park." The construction of this memorial has generated tension in the media and public sphere, culminating in the vandalism of the memorial by unknown individuals.



Figure 1: Vandalized Turkish memorial in Tirana, which was erected in honor of the martyrs of the July 15, 2016 coup attempt against the Turkish state. The memorial was located in the Lake of Tirana.

The event in question occurred in Tirana, the capital of Albania. It garnered significant media attention in both Albania and Kosovo. It is worth noting that our research may be limited, as a more comprehensive study would involve examining an event in Kosovo and assessing whether Albania exhibits similar levels of interest, in order to make a valid comparison of attention between the two countries. However, such events are difficult to come by, and thus a comparison may not provide an accurate depiction. Nevertheless, this event serves as an illustration of the level of attention given to events related to Turkey by both Albania and Kosovo.

1. THE ALBANIAN ORIGINS OF NATIONALIST ATTITUDES TOWARD TURKEY AND THE PERCEIVED THREAT POSED BY THIS STATE

The history of the nationalist discourse that has fueled opposition to and the eventual vandalism of the Turkish memorial in question dates back hundreds of years, with a longstanding tradition of nationalist sentiment against Turkey. A reexamination of Albanian nationalism reveals that its origins can be traced back to reactions against the Ottoman Empire, the predecessor of modern-day Turkey. Following Russian victories in a war with the Ottoman Empire, Slavic states in the Balkans sought to annex as much territory as possible from areas

inhabited by Albanians. In response, Albanians led by Abdul Frasher organized the League of Prizren (June 10, 1878) shortly before the Congress of Berlin. Albanians petitioned European powers to halt these expansions and requested cultural autonomy, advocating for the unification of all Albanian-populated provinces into a single autonomous political-administrative unit. The Ottoman Empire viewed the League of Prizren's request for the unification of all Albanian-populated areas into a single Vilayet as a threat, leading to a breakdown in relations. Albanians later engaged in an uprising and took control of Skopje and Pristina, leading the Ottoman Empire to send expeditions to suppress the rebellion and arrest its members, who were subsequently exiled to the island of Rhodes.

After the League of Prizren, Albanian nationalism remained dormant for several years. It was revitalized by the second generation of intellectuals, including Sami Frasher and Pashko Vasa, both of whom held high positions in the Ottoman Empire and contributed to the development of Albanian nationalism through their writings. This period from the League of Prizren until the declaration of independence is known as the Albanian National Awakening, during which numerous intellectuals worked to raise nationalist consciousness and advocate for the rights of Albanians. Naim Frasher, the brother of Sami Frasher (also known as Semseddin Sâmi in Turkey), was a poet who was particularly vocal in his condemnation of the "Asiatic Turks" in his poetry. These authors focused on the cult of Skanderbeg, a national hero who had fought against the Ottoman Empire (1443-1468), and sought to continue the work he had left unfinished (Sulstarova, 2012, s. 6).

During the reign of Sultan Abdulhamit II, relations between Albania and the Ottoman Empire were relatively amicable. Abdul Hamit believed that Albanian activism could be useful in containing the spread of revolutionary ideas from Serbia, Bulgaria, and Greece (Psilos, 2006, s. 28) and he sought to utilize Albanians as a bulwark for the empire. However, this plan began to unravel with the emergence of the Young Turks, whose calls for Turkish-Ottoman nationalism exacerbated Albanian revolts (Fischer, 2005, s. 2). In 1908, Albanians at the Congress of Monastir adopted a standard Albanian alphabet. The Young Turks subsequently closed these schools and sought to eradicate Albanian identity, leading to increased independence efforts in 1909 that often-involved uprisings across almost the entire Albanian territory. After numerous conflicts and the decline of Ottoman lands in the Balkans, Ismail Qemali declared Albania's independence in 1912.

Since its independence, Albanian nationalism has consistently viewed Turkey as an "old enemy," though the intensity of this sentiment has varied over time and depending on the political context. After independence, Albania was ruled by Prince Vid, followed by Ahmed Zogolli, who declared himself king in 1928. Zogu's policies on religion and social issues also contributed to the rise of nationalism, as he sought to control religious clergy, educate the public on nationalist issues, and build infrastructure through the army (Fischer, 2005, s. 5). Zogu was a conservative Muslim who had received education at Lycée de Galatasaray in

Constantinople and was the leader of "conservative landowning beys and tribal heads of bajraktars." During this period, tensions arose over Albania's declaration of a kingdom, which displeased Atatürk. However, relations were eventually restored, and Atatürk referred to Turkey as the "big brother" of the Albanians in a conversation with the Albanian ambassador (Perparim, 2017).

Following the deposition of King Zog, Enver Hoxha came to power in Albania as a communist ruler. Hoxha's reign lasted from 1944 until his death in 1985 and was characterized by the continuation of Zogu's nationalist program (Prapaj & Kolasi, 2013, s. 38). Despite his Stalinist orientation, Hoxha's primary political focus was also on nationalism (Sugar, 1995, s. 25). During his rule, literacy rates in Albania significantly improved due to the establishment of compulsory schools. Additionally, Hoxha implemented the complete removal of religion from the state and declared Albania the world's first atheist state. The figure of Skanderbeg and his castle in Kruja were also reconstructed during Hoxha's time in power.

Enver Hoxha, a communist leader in Albania, advanced a nationalist agenda through propaganda and the development of the theory of Illyrian-Albanian continuity (Clayer, 2015, s. 3). Hoxha viewed the three dominant religions in Albania as "alien agents" and believed that the Ottoman Empire, which ruled Albania for 500 years, was the main factor for the country's backwardness (Prapaj & Kolasi, 2013, s. 41). In addition to implementing educational reforms, Hoxha also used cinematography for propaganda purposes, often producing films that were critical of religion and the Ottoman past.

However, Albanians who lived outside of Albania in Kosovo and Macedonia experienced a different fate. Kosovo was taken by the Serbs, who planned to settle Serbs in the region. In 1913, the Treaty of London resulted in western Kosovo being ceded to the Kingdom of Montenegro and eastern Kosovo being left to the Kingdom of Serbia, which later became a province under Yugoslavia. Many Albanians and Bosnians migrated to Turkey to escape Serb repression, and Albanian nationalists reference the "Turko-Yugoslav" agreement of 1939-1944 as a period of deportation and displacement of Albanians from their lands (Hoxha, 2007, s. 34).

According to Serbian historiography, Serbians have faced centuries of oppression at the hands of the Muslim-Ottoman Empire and have sought to restore their medieval Serbian empire. The myth of Kosovo, which emphasizes Serbian martyrdom and suffering as well as the inherent conflict between Christianity and Islam, continues to influence Serbian historiography (Duijzings, 2000, ss. 8-9). Albanians living in Yugoslavia shared textbooks with Serbs and were therefore exposed to this historiographical approach, which was based on myths of the past and was anti-Ottoman in nature. In September 1991, Serbian forces were at war in Croatia and Serbian police surrounded schools in Kosovo, preventing Albanian teachers and students from entering the buildings. Albanian teachers had refused to teach with

the new Serbian curriculum, so they were fired by the state. In response, Kosovo established a parallel education system in the spring of 1992. After the war, Turkish authorities requested that Albanian school textbooks, which contained prejudiced representations of Turks, be revised in order to avoid inciting hatred. This request was made by the former National Education Minister of Turkey, Ömer Dinçer, during his visit to Kosovo in August 2011. His request received mixed reactions from Albanian intellectuals (Tuncer, 2012, s. 71).

2. AGENDA SETTINGS AND ITS ROLE IN NEWS FRAMING

Nationalist ideology, with its ambivalent attitude towards the Ottoman Empire, also permeates contemporary perceptions of Turkey in Albania. This ideology and discourse frequently appear in the Albanian media through processes of agenda setting and news framing. Agenda setting refers to the process of identifying and prioritizing social issues or problems as policy concerns at the national level. It involves the decision-making process by which certain issues and potential solutions gain or lose public and elite attention. According to Cohen's famous statement (1963: 13), "the press may not change our minds by telling people what to think, but it plays a vital role in making its readers what to think about." People often believe that their actions and beliefs are based on personal preference, but mass communication tools, through their daily selection and presentation of news, can shape our worldviews and focus our attention, influencing our understanding of what is important. Althusser (1970) refers to this process as ideological interpellation, in which external influences construct our inner reality (Becker & McCombs, 1978, ss. 301-307). The media, through their display of information, have the power to affect the community they serve and shape our perceptions of reality (McCombs, 1997, s. 438).

Agenda setting, the process by which media outlets influence the perceived importance of certain issues by consistently featuring them in news coverage (Carroll & McCombs, 2013, s. 36), was first studied by McCombs and Shaw (1972: 177). They argued that the media "set the agenda for each political campaign, influencing the sustainability of attitudes towards political issues" (Severin & Tankard, 1997, s. 219). They also posited that "the prominence of elements in the news influences the prominence of those elements among the public," as media outlets can use repeated coverage to raise the importance of an issue in the public mind. In order to keep a story alive and fresh, media outlets may emphasize certain elements and attributes of an event while leaving others out, either consciously or unconsciously (Chyi & McCombs, 2004, s. 22). This process involves focusing on only a few elements of a news story and repeating that story in order to keep it active and in the public eye.

The theory of framing, which refers to the way in which information is presented to the public and the contextual cues that are provided to guide the interpretation of that information, is closely related to agenda setting (Chyi & McCombs, 2004, s. 22). In order to report on an issue that has been prioritized through agenda setting, a particular topic needs to

be highlighted, which can also increase the overall amount of news coverage on that topic. However, Texbury and Power argue that the two concepts should not be equated, as agenda setting focuses on the selection of topics for media coverage and their perceived importance, while framing focuses on the specific ways in which those issues are presented (McCombs, 1997, s. 184). Both agenda setting and framing are closely interconnected and are often conflated.

According to Gamson and Modigliani (1987), framing refers to "the central idea of how an event or a story is shaped by meaning." Within the field of communication, framing is understood as the meaning and interpretation that provide "conceptual tools" for media and individuals to convey, interpret, and assess information (Neuman, Just & Crigler, 1992, s. 60).

The concept of framing pertains to the subtle modification of the framing or presentation of judgment problems and choices (Iyengar, 1194, s. 11). Currently, the effects of the media can be described as "social constructionism," as mass media constructs social reality by shaping images of reality (Scheufele, 1999, s. 103).

3. METHODOLOGY

This study aims to illustrate an example of the agenda setting approach through news framing by examining how the discourse surrounding nationalism is reconstructed in Albanian online news about the construction of a memorial for Turkish martyrs in Tirana's lake. The placement of this commemorative plaque was intended to symbolize friendship between the Turkish and Albanian people, but for nationalists, it represented a problem with roots in the past. The study aims to demonstrate how the media's selection and presentation of information can influence public perceptions of issues and shape the political landscape.

The 15 July 2016 coup attempt in Turkey, which involved intense violence and the active resistance of the civilian population and made effective use of social media, has become a significant and tragic event in Turkish political history. The coup attempt was carried out by a religious community led by Fetullah Gülen, who resides in the United States. This community, which had previously been considered a legitimate partner by the political establishment, has come to be known as the "Parallel State Structure" (PDY) and the "Fethullahist Terrorist Organization" (FETÖ) following the attempted coup. It is believed that FETÖ underwent a lengthy process of national and international organization, infiltrating the state apparatus and planning the operation (Aygen, 2018).

The attempted coup, which was closely followed by the public through both traditional and digital media, began with the closure of the Istanbul Bosphorus Bridge by a group of soldiers, later renamed the 15th of July Martyrs' Bridge. The coup attempt continued with the low flight of jets over the capital city of Ankara and the seizure of state television TRT, during

which a statement was read. The Ankara Gölbaşı Special Operations Department was also bombed by F16 jets, leading to the loss of many police lives and the declaration of a curfew for the civilian population. The bombing of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey (Parliament) and the harassment of President Erdogan's holiday return to Istanbul by F-16 jets were further confusing events in the history of successive coups.

The 15 July Coup Attempt resulted in the detention of 210 police officers, 6,319 soldiers, 1,481 judges and prosecutors, and 650 civilians, with 990 people being arrested. According to Anadolu Agency, 62 police officers were involved in the attempt, with 55 of them being in Ankara, 5 in Istanbul, 2 in Muğla, and 1 in Istanbul. Among the soldiers, 78 were in Ankara and 94 were in Istanbul. In total, 240 people were martyred in Malatya, with 173 of them being civilians (CNN Türk, 2021).

During the attempted coup, messages of unity and solidarity were disseminated across various channels and an epic narrative of independence was deployed. President Erdogan utilized his mobile phone to connect with a TV channel and called on the people to take to the streets in resistance to the coup attempt. The active resistance of the people on the streets was effective in thwarting the attempt. Additionally, the successful efforts of the Turkish Armed Forces (TSK) and the Police Forces neutralized the actions of the FETO terrorist organization, which had infiltrated the TSK.

Following the unsuccessful coup attempt, the official holiday of July 15 was established as "Democracy and National Unity Day" through Law No. 6752, which was published in the Official Gazette on October 29, 2016. The Bosphorus Bridge, where the coup attempt originated, was renamed the July 15 Martyrs Bridge, and a monument to the July 15 Martyrs was erected at the entrance to the bridge. Additionally, various place names throughout the country have been changed to commemorate the event.

According to literature, there are similarities among agenda-setting, framing, and priming, but upon closer examination, it becomes apparent that they differ. Specifically, framing has been studied extensively in a variety of contexts, including social movements, bargaining behavior, foreign policy decision making, jury decision making, media effects, political psychology, public opinion and voting, campaigns, and many others (Druckman, 2001, s. 226). In our particular case, we are interested in examining how news related to Turkey is presented in Albania and Kosovo, particularly in terms of framing and agenda-setting, which in our case is more related.

The purpose of this research is to address the following questions:

1. Is there a clear difference in the coverage of news related to Turkey in Albanian and Kosovo digital media?

2. Is there a difference in the amount of news related to Turkey that is posted on online media in Albania and Kosovo?
3. From a nationalist perspective, what are the main framing points that are emphasized in the coverage of news related to Turkey in Albanian and Kosovo digital media?
4. Is there any evidence of agenda-setting in the online media in Albania and Kosovo with regard to news related to Turkey?

In order to assess the media's approach, we examined the coverage of a specific event: the vandalism of the Turkish Memorial, which commemorates the victims of the July 15 coup in Turkey. We analyzed the media's coverage of this event at the time of the incident and in the aftermath, with a focus on the prominence given to the event by the selected media outlets.

To perform this study, we have determined that it is necessary to employ both quantitative data and qualitative interpretation. To achieve this, we have adopted the approach developed by Matthes and Kohring (2008), which is based on Entman's (1993) definition of framing as "the selection of certain aspects of a perceived reality and making them more salient in a communication text, in order to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and treatment recommendation." This framework allows us to analyze the problem definition, or the manner in which the issue is presented and understood, as a crucial aspect of framing. Examining the different actors and the definitions they assign to the problem is a crucial aspect of the problem definition. The causal interpretation involves identifying the agents responsible for the problem and understanding their motivations for their actions. The moral evaluation assesses the event from a moral perspective, considering whether it is viewed positively, negatively, or neutrally. The treatment recommendation involves weighing the pros and cons of the action and suggesting potential solutions to the problem.

While the method outlined by Matthes and Kohring (2008) does not fully encompass the scope of our research, we have also chosen to employ the approach proposed by De Vreese (Rachid vd., 2011, ss.3-19) which specifically examines the presence of five types of frames: economic threats, cultural threats, and national security threats. De Vreese's work focuses on the framing of Turkey in European media and whether it is perceived as a threat or a potential opportunity for the European Union if Turkey were to join the EU. Given that our research also considers both economic and cultural factors, we have found it relevant to utilize De Vreese's method in examining the framing of Turkey by Kosovo and Albanian online media, as there are similarities between the two.

In order to assess the media coverage in Albania and Kosovo, we have selected the five most popular online media newspapers in each country based on Alexa ranking data, as

shown in Tables 1 and 2. It is important to note that, due to political considerations, many electronic platforms do not recognize Kosovo as a state, and as a result, the domains of media newspapers based in Kosovo are registered as being located in Albania. Nonetheless, these media outlets are widely known to operate in Kosovo. To identify these media outlets, we analyzed the ranking of online newspapers in Albania and Kosovo and selected the five most highly ranked online newspapers in each country. To identify the most widely read online newspapers in Albania and Kosovo, we have ranked the outlets from 1 to 5, with those in Albania designated with the letter "A" and those in Kosovo designated with the letter "K". We have chosen these outlets based on their popularity, as their influence is likely to be greater due to the larger number of readers they attract. To gather data for our analysis, we used Google's advanced search function and searched for the keywords "Memoriali Turk".

After performing the search, we included any news articles, regardless of whether they were purely reporting or included opinion or reaction about "Turk Memorial". Using the procedures described above, we conducted a framing analysis of these articles, beginning with their titles. If a post emphasized a particular type of framing more than once, we only counted it as one instance. If the same news was published in multiple media outlets, we treated it as separate articles, each with its own instance of framing, as it was being disseminated through a different medium.

In Graph 1, we have compiled the data on the number of news articles about the event in question and have presented it in three categories. The first category is the total number of news articles. The second category is the number of news articles that include framing content, and the third category is the number of news articles with either framing or neutral content. This allows us to see which online newspapers in each country have published the most articles about the event and what claims they have made. This provides a clear picture of the activity of the media outlets in terms of publishing news about the event.

3.1. Findings

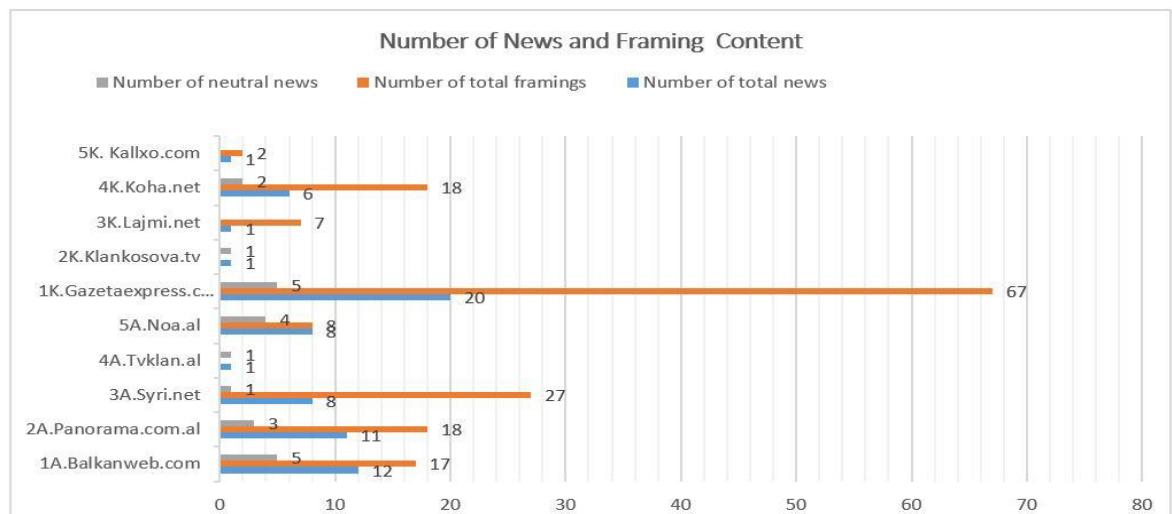
To provide context for the media outlets under analysis, Tables 1 and 2 present the most popular online newspapers in Albania and Kosovo, respectively, according to Alexa data. The subsequent graphs compare the two countries using this data as a reference. This enables a clearer understanding of the specific media outlets being considered in the analysis and facilitates comparisons between the two states.

Table 1: Top website ranking by countries [from](#) Alexa site, for Albania based on date 18.06.2020

Albania	Alexa country rank
1A.Balkanweb.com	5
2A.Panorama.com.al	6
3A.Syri.net	7
4A. Tvklan.al	14
5A. Noa.al	17

Table 2: Top website ranking by countries [from](#) Alexa site, for Kosovo based on date 18.06.2020

Kosovo	Alexa country rank
1K. Gazetaexpress.com	4
2K. Klankosova.tv	13
3K. Lajmi.net	15
4K. Koha.net	16
5K. Kallxo.com	28


Graphic 1: Graph data in Albania and Kosovo, on the amount of news in general, the amount of neutral news, and those that contain framing.

Based on the number of news and reports on this event in Albania, we see that;

Table 3: Presents the data on the number of news articles and reports about the event in question that were published in Albanian media. It also shows the number of articles that contained framing content and the number of news that were neutral and did not include

framing content. This table allows us to see the extent of coverage of the event in Albanian media and the distribution of framing and neutral content within that coverage.

NEWSPAPERS IN ALBANIA	TOTAL NEWS RELATING TO MEMORIAL	NEUTRAL NEWS	FRAMING CONTENT INSIDEN THE NEWS
Balkanweb.com	12	5	17
Panorama.com.al	11	3	18
Syri.net	8	1	27
TvKlan.al	1	1	0
Noa.al	8	4	8
TOTAL	40	14	70

Table 4: Displays the data on the number of news articles and reports about the event in question that were published in Kosovo media. It also presents the number of articles that contained framing content and the number that were neutral and did not include framing content. This table allows us to see the extent of coverage of the event in Kosovo media and the distribution of framing and neutral content within that coverage.

NEWSPAPERS IN KOSOVO	TOTAL NEWS ABOUT MEMORIAL	NEUTRAL NEWS	FRAMING CONTENT IN NEWS
Kallxo.com	1	0	2
Koha.net	6	2	8
Lajmi.net	1	0	7
Tvklan.al	1	1	0
Gazetaexpresss.com	20	5	67
TOTAL	29	8	94

The following data reflects the categorization of news containing framing in Albania and Kosovo:

Table 5: Table 5 presents the data on news articles that contain framing, categorized according to the method outlined by Matthes and Kohring (2008) and De Vreese (2011). There are a total of nine framing categories, which are compared between Albania and Kosovo. This table shows the distribution of framing within the news articles in each country, based on the identified categories.

News Framing Criteria Related to the Martyrs' Memorial	Albanian Online Newspapers	Kosovo Online Newspapers
1. Problem Definition	17	18
2. Causal Attribution	16	15
3. Moral Evaluation	19	14
4. Treatment Recommendations	15	11
5. Geopolitical Security Advantages	0	0
6. Economic Advantages	3	1
7. Economic Threat	6	6
8. Cultural Threat	13	16
9. National Security Threat	11	14
10. Neutral News	12	8

4. DISCUSSION

Based on the data on the number of news articles about the event involving the memorial, we observe that the online newspapers in Albania and Kosova have similar levels of coverage, with roughly 10 to 8 articles on the subject. This indicates that the volume of news about the event in Albania is slightly higher than in Kosovo. In Albanian newspapers, there were a total of 40 headlines related to the event, while in Kosovo, there were 29 headlines. Despite the fact that the event took place in Albania, there was also a significant level of interest in Kosovo, as demonstrated by the number of news articles published in the country's newspapers.

The data on the number of news articles about the event in Kosovo reveals a significant discrepancy in the levels of coverage, with one medium (*GazetaExpress*) publishing 20 articles and the others publishing significantly fewer, ranging from 1 to 6 articles. This finding supports our hypothesis about the differences in the amount of news coverage on online media between the two countries. *GazetaExpress*, a newspaper based in Kosovo, published more articles on the event than the Albanian media outlets. The fact that a newspaper operating outside of Albania is providing more coverage of the event than the Albanian media suggests the presence of agenda-setting in the presentation of Turkey by this outlet.

4.1. Framing on News

The data on the number of neutral news articles about the event indicates that there are 14 articles from Albania and 8 articles from Kosovo. This finding suggests that the media in Albania, when reporting on a problem that is part of their own country, produce a greater volume of neutral news compared to the media in Kosovo, which report on a problem outside of their country. This difference may be indicative of a nationalist and subjective tone in the Kosovo media when covering events involving Turkey. It is important to consider multiple perspectives and sources in order to gain a more comprehensive understanding of the media's coverage of events.

Our analysis has revealed that, despite the greater number of news articles from Albania, the number of articles containing framing was higher in Kosovo, with 94 articles compared to 70 in Albania. This finding is particularly notable in the case of *GazetaExpress*, which published 67 articles with framing content. The high volume of news and the negative framing of issues related to Turkey suggests a clear agenda-setting and bias in the presentation of these issues by this medium.

Our hypothesis that media outlets in Albania and Kosovo focus on certain framing points from a nationalist perspective when reporting on Turkey has been supported by the results of our analysis. When examining the framing points used in media coverage of Turkey,

we found that the country is more often presented as a threat rather than as a potential partner for cooperation. This finding suggests that the media outlets in these countries may be using nationalist framing to depict Turkey in a negative light.

According to the method proposed by Matthes and Kohring (2008), our analysis has identified a focus on problem definition in the media coverage of this event. Specifically, a significant portion of the news articles identified the cause of the problem as being the actions of Edi Rama and the Mayor of Tirana, Erion Veliaj. These individuals were accused of placing the memorial without public debate and without informing the media. This emphasis on problem definition suggests that the media outlets were primarily concerned with identifying the cause of the issue rather than presenting a nuanced analysis of the situation.

Our analysis has identified a focus on causal attribution in the media coverage of this event, with a significant portion of the news articles accusing Edi Rama of placing the memorials in Albania for personal benefit and to support Erdogan's power. These articles also accuse Rama of being a vassal to President Erdogan. This emphasis on causal attribution suggests that the media outlets were primarily concerned with identifying the motivations behind the actions of certain individuals.

Our analysis has identified a focus on moral evaluation in the media coverage of this event, with a significant portion of the news articles stressing that Albania should not be involved in foreign policies or favor one group over another. These articles also raised questions about the need for similar memorials in Albania for countries other than Turkey and suggested that with changes in power, those previously considered martyrs may no longer be considered as such.

The treatment recommendation framing identified in this analysis primarily focused on the idea that the memorial should be removed. Many of the news articles suggested that a public debate should be held on whether or not the memorial should be placed at all. The majority of voices were in favor of removing the memorial.

In the geopolitical security advantages framing category, we found that there was no content in either Albanian or Kosovo media that suggested that relations with Turkey could provide any benefits in terms of geopolitics for Albanian states. This lack of discussion suggests that nationalism may have influenced the discourse surrounding the future of Albanian states and their perceptions of Turkey as a potential partner in geopolitical cooperation. No news articles in the analyzed sample mentioned Turkey as an important geopolitical actor. This finding highlights the potential influence of nationalism on the way in which Turkey is perceived and discussed in Albanian media.

In the category of economic benefits, there is minimal emphasis on the potential advantages of cooperation with Turkey for Albania. One exception is the defense of Erion

Veliaj, the Mayor of Tirana, who claimed that Turkey is a major investor in Albania through the TIKA organization, which has invested in the construction of schools, roads, and other important infrastructure projects in Albania. Overall, the analyzed news does not highlight Turkey as a significant economic partner for Albania.

In the category of economic threat framing, “Turkish colonization of Albania and Kosovo” is described as a potential concern. Calls are made to establish a commission to investigate Turkish investments and uncover any instances of corruption. The portrayal image of Turkey in this framing is one of a country seeking to exert control over the economies of Albania and Kosovo.

The cultural threat framing in the media emphasizes the perceived danger of Turkey's influence on Albanian culture, with claims that Albania's membership in the Euro-Atlantic community means that it should not have close relations with Turkey. There are accusations that Prime Minister Rama has personal ties with Erdogan and that Turkey is attempting to colonize Albania and Kosovo economically and culturally. This framing also includes warnings for Albanians to be cautious, as Turkey is seen as a former occupier attempting to reclaim Albanian land through other means.

In terms of National Security Threat framing, the emphasis is on the importance of Albania's membership in Europe and how its relations with Turkey may send negative signals to the European Union and Western countries, potentially jeopardizing Albania's political standing. It is suggested that the construction of this memorial is part of a broader campaign to undermine Albania's sovereignty and coerce the Albanian government into acting in Erdogan's interests. These nationalist framings highlight the perceived dangers of aligning with Turkey, positioning it as a threat to Albania's national security.

In Albania, there were 12 articles that not include instances of framing within the news, while Kosovo had 8 articles. Analysis of neutral news (i.e. news without framing attributions) revealed that the media in Kosovo tend to present Turkey as a threat, while the media in Albania are more neutral in their coverage. Specifically, we found that the media in Kosovo are more likely to frame Turkey as a cultural threat, a national security threat, and an economic threat, while the media in Albania tend to be more objective. In general, our findings suggest that the media in Kosovo have a more nationalistic perspective when reporting on Turkey.

CONCLUSION

The Albanian nationalist ideology, which has its roots in the struggle for independence from the Ottoman Empire, has had a significant influence on Albanian culture, thought, and identity. This ideology continues to shape contemporary Albanian nationalism and has manifested itself in anti-eastern and anti-Turkish rhetoric in the media. Events that do not pose

a threat to the state, such as those related to Turkey and its relations with Albania, are often presented in a biased manner through agenda setting in the press. In our study of the event of the placement of the memorial of Turkish martyrs in the lake of Tirana, we observed a highly biased portrayal of the Turkish state. Our findings suggest that the media presents the relationship between Albania and Turkey as dangerous and potentially leading to submission to modern-day Turkey. This biased portrayal is evident in the detailed depiction of the event in the media.

The results of our study on the media coverage of the placement of the memorial for Turkish martyrs in the lake of Tirana reveal a heavily biased portrayal of the Turkish state. The analysis of the news content shows that the media presents the relationship with Turkey as dangerous and portrays it as a form of submission to the modern Turkish state. Our findings also highlight that, while the event in question took place primarily in Albania, the media in Kosovo also extensively covered it with a strong emphasis on framing. This level of coverage is unusual for Kosovo media reporting on events in another state, even though we are dealing with the same nation. The coverage by some media in Kosovo portrays the act as a betrayal of the nation and submission to the Turkish state. According to our analysis, it appears that agenda-setting occurs when the number of news stories about a particular event is significantly increased. In Kosovo, there are many media outlets similar to gazetenexpress.com that have similarly reported on events related to Turkey as dangerous, although they were not included in our sample. However, both in Kosovo and Albania, there are media outlets that have reported on this event without significantly increasing the number of news stories. The media outlets that published the most news about this event also seem to have higher levels of news framing.

The successor of the Ottoman Empire, Turkey, is often viewed with skepticism in regard to its economic and cultural ties with Albania, with many perceiving these connections as a threat to the country's sovereignty. This sentiment is particularly prevalent among politicians, elites, and the general public who hold nationalist views. The debate surrounding this issue originated with the opposition Democratic Party in Albania and gained further traction among intellectuals and opinion leaders, leading to protests and even the destruction of the memorial in question. The media have played a role in perpetuating the perception of Turkey as an invader and a source of past oppression for Albanians, despite these events being part of history. This manipulation of historical events to present them as current threats must be carefully examined.

The reactions from party opponents, which are often motivated by electoral and competitive concerns, may contribute to the creation of a crisis that does not necessarily pose a threat to the state. Party debates can easily escalate into public debates, potentially leading to a situation that may escalate into violence. This paper examines the lasting impact of media on how framing can incite individuals to take various actions, including violent reactions. The

media has focused on the reactions of those who have responded to this event, while the voices of those who seek to protect against such reactions are not shown in the media. These individuals may fear speaking out due to the risk of being isolated and perceived as traitorous by their fellow citizens.

In conclusion, it is important for the Turkish state to work on improving its image in Albania and Kosovo. Albanian nationalism, which is influenced by the country's history with the Ottoman Empire, often leads to a negative view of Turkey and its relations with Albania and Kosovo. This negative perception is exacerbated by media coverage that employs framing and agenda-setting techniques to present Turkey as a threat. To improve relations, Turkey should engage with Albanians and address historical misunderstandings, as well as adopt a clear and effective political strategy. Additionally, Turkey should consider working with local media outlets to present a more balanced and accurate portrayal of its relations with Albania.

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