RESEARCH ARTICLE

JOURNALISM MODELS IN WESTERN DEMOCRACIES AND THE INTERNATIONAL ARENA: THE CASE OF THE 2016 FAILED COUP ATTEMPT IN TURKEY

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ABSTRACT: This paper explores the complex relationship between media and political systems in the context of the International News Flow, regarding the interdisciplinary research area between media study and International Relations. The focus is on International News Flow interactions and effects upon democratic political systems. The aim is to fill the gap concerning international relations in comparative media analysis literature.

Despite using Hallin and Mancini's framework (2004, 2012), the present research does not only apply their typology to test its validity, but it also applies the main International Relations theoretical frameworks that deepen the relationship between media and political systems to shed light on the degree of superimposition between structure-based and content-based frameworks of media systems. The case study is the 2016 failed military coup in Turkey. In particular, in terms of coverage and analysis, the study considers how the newspapers of four countries (Italy, France, Germany and England), which represent the three democracy models of Hallini and Mancini – Mediterranean, Liberal, Corporative plus one that cuts across different models – framed the failed coup attempt in the days following the beginning of the crisis.

KEYWORDS: International news flow, framing, Western democracies models, failed coup in Turkey, International arena

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1. Introduction

In recent years, new trends have established the growing influence of media logic on political systems, notably due to the digital revolution (Nitoiu, 2015; Brants and Van Praag, 2011). Some scholars highlight primarily the critical role of media in forging countries' images and in providing information to (national and international) public opinion and ruling elites, stressing their ability to spread crises around the world. (Chadwick, 2013; Salgado, 2019). In recent years, even International Relations have adopted media logic and narrative technique, which is distinctive to the political mediatization process (Brommesson and Ekengren, 2017; Strömbäck, 2008). This paper explores the complicated relationship between media and political systems in the context of the International News Flow, referring to the interdisciplinary research area between media study and International Relations (IR), usually under-studied. International (or Global) News Flow studies deal with international events media coverage by describing and explaining news circulation from one country to another and its importance (Kim and Barnett 1996). More specifically, this paper aims to fill the gap concerning international relations in comparative media analysis literature by focusing on International News Flow interaction and impact on democratic political systems. In this regard, Hallin and Mancini conceptualized three models of media-politics relations, each based on media systems and political contexts dimnsions: the Mediterranean Model is featured by strong state intervention on media, low newspaper circulation and commentary-oriented journalism; the Corporate Model has strong state intervention but with higher protection of press freedom, high newspaper circulation and more neutral press; the Liberal Model is marked by a weaker state intervention, medium newspaper circulation and information-oriented journalism.

Hypothesis and theoretical frameworks will be verified start-ing from a case study, which tests Mancini and Hallin's framework on the national media systems' reaction to an international crisis. The chosen case study is the failed Turkish coup in 2016. In particular, the study considers how it has been framed – in terms of coverage and analysis – by newspapers of the selected countries (Italy, France, Germany and the United Kingdom), which represent three different media system models (Mediterranean, Liberal, Corporative and a cross-sectional one), during the 16 days following the onset of the crisis.

Despite using Hallin and Mancini's framework (2004, 2012), the present research not only applies their typology to test its validity but also aims to shed light on the degree of overlap between structure-based and content-based frameworks on media system. Can predictions of Hallin and Mancini's framework be applied to European newspapers and democratic systems in the International Relations field? To answer this question, this study considers four IR theoretical approaches, two structure-based and two content-based. The formers take into account the crucial role of media in system relations such as interactions with the party system and the economy, mostly because of social control implications; the latters focus on media classification based on political stances. Moreover, the "CNN effect" and the "Al-Jazeera effect" interpretive models, which refer to the main consolidated factors that explain the media coverage of international events, supplement the analysis.

The focus on newspapers is pivotal in this work. Specific questions led the research and aimed to understand newspapers' orientation toward the coup, media influence on the crisis' narrative and weather the articles have analyzed the coup as a single issue or have expressed the strategic political game of the actors involved, in order to understand media's international role ad their relations with the political system and its actors.

2. Theoretical framework, methodology and hypothesis of the study

Generally, to understand the differences and similarities of European journalism, three historical-institutional "paths" can be distinguished (Mancini, 2005; Polumbaum, 2010): the first is the so-called Anglo-

American pathway - also known as Liberal/Social Responsibility model (Siebert et al., 1956) or Professional model; the second is the Corporate Model (Hallin and Mancini, 2004); the third is the polarized Mediterranean model (Mancini, 2000).

The North Atlantic or Liberal model, underlining the importance of being objective, detached and neutral (Schudson, 2001), presents an individualistic conception of news' presentation, in which the role of organized social groups is less significant than the other two models. The state's role tends to be viewed in negative terms, and the free flow of information is believed to require limited state involvement. It is also assumed that the media guarantees accountability, giving citizens useful information on the actions and decisions of their elected representatives acting as guardians of the public interest (Muller 2014). The media system provides information to the citizens-consumers, regarding the press as the "watchdog" of democracy. In this system, commercial newspapers are in a dominant position and journalism's professionalization is relatively strong, but its autonomy can be limited by commercial pressures more than political exploitation. UK newspapers fit into this model.

The model of central/northern Europe, or Corporate model, emphasizing compromise and power-sharing (Lijphart, 1999), place a strong emphasis on the role of organized social groups in society, but at the same time on a strong sense of commitment to the "common good" and shared and accepted rules. It combines a moderate degree of external pluralism with the legacy of an information-oriented type of journalism, placing increasing emphasis on the concept of the journalist profession's neutrality. Typical cases of the corporate model are Switzerland and Germany.

The Mediterranean model, or pluralist-polarized model, is instead characterized by a highly politicized style and places greater emphasis on interpretation and commentary compared to precise factual reports. The high level of politicization, which for some would also manifest in the colonization and parceling phenomena due to the obstinate intervention of the state and political parties in many fields of social life (Morlino 2016), would express robust levels of loyalty to opposing political cultures. Therefore, the exploitation of the media by the government, political parties and industrialists with political ties is widespread, while journalism professionalization is underdeveloped, and its autonomy is often limited. The journalistic tradition of Italy and France fits into this model, often mixing news and opinions for reports.

French newspapers belong to this group, but they also present some characteristics of the corporate model, as will be specified (Mancini, 2000, 2007).

Although numerous studies have focused on the degree of convergence of media systems towards the liberal model (Umbricht and Esser 2014; Brüggemann and colleagues 2014; Albæk et al., 2014; Strömbäck & Nord, 2008; Rolland 2009), the established literature shows the persistence of essential differences within the western media system (Nielsen 2013; Albaek and colleagues 2014; Allern and Blach-Ørsten 2011). Hallin and Mancini (2016) also recently argued that it is time to abandon the robust version of the hypothesis of convergence towards the liberal model in favor of more sophisticated hypotheses focused on changing the media system. Inspired by the research of these authors, several scholars have worked on the revision of the main concepts of these models, proposing, in some cases, alternative interpretations (Rolland 2009; Humphreys 2011), in others making specific variables used in the comparison of media Systems operational (Albaek et al., 2014; Goldman & Mutz, 2011). If the Italian, French, English and German newspapers responded differently from the predictions of Hallin and Mancini's models, this would mean that other logics could inform their activities such as government logic, the logic linked to the rebirth of sovereign authority (Esser and Umbricht 2013), the European or populist perspective (Fracchiolla 2017).

In structure-based approaches, the "indexing hypothesis" institutional perspective, the Entman framework systemic perspective and the CNN effect stand out. In general terms, the institutional perspective looks into media and IR relations, focusing on institutionalized norms, professional standards and journalistic practices

that define daily news coverage of international news. Accordingly, the "indexing hypothesis" argues that media tend to index news in compliance with the various sensitivities of national government debate. This perspective underestimates the role of media, which merely mirror and report the political climate in a given democratic society. The second approach deals with systemic theories that focus on the political role of media into the decision-making process, in compliance with a broader political and ideological perspective. The Entman framework (2004) embraces inter-state conflicts' levels, threat perception, and other international politics' systemic changes. Finally, the CNN effect enriches the structure of systemic relations' between international crises and media systems by offering a new inflection. The most comprehensive attempt to elucidate the CNN effect has been carried out by Steven Livingston (1997), who considers three different meanings of the notion. The first refers to an agenda-setting function in international politics, highlighting the alleged correlation between the intense media coverage of a crisis and the subsequent intervention of Western democracies to resolve the crisis itself. The second refers to the awareness-raising function towards the international and national public opinion through the emotional involvement of society, which may affect or prevent states' foreign policies. Finally, the third meaning of the CNN Effect refers to the acceleration function played by public opinion pressure concerning international political responses (Livingston 1997; Gilboa 2005).

Concerning content-based frameworks, the Propaganda Model, the globalization theories and the Al-Jazeera effect rep-resent useful references to verify the degree of diversification among political cultures expressed in media systems. The "Propaganda Model" by Edward Herman and Noam Chomsky (2002) is a milestone among structuralist socio-economic theories that examine the action of media as social institutions and investigate interest-formation and socio-economic structures that determine different societies (Barnett & Duvall 2005: 53). Media globalization theories in International Relations address homogenization processes and tendencies towards the global civil society as much as its overcoming and fragmentation processes. On the one hand, they propose the homogenization of international media narrative, which leads to the homogenization of the international public sphere – through press conferences and public resolutions, among other things – driving the international public sphere's progress (Castells 1996: 327–76; Volkmer 1999). According to Shaw (2000: 32), the reduction of emotional and psychological distance due to the transformation of the media system's public sphere has become the main driver of globalization, prompting the global civil society's formation that settles McLuhan's global village (1964). On the other hand, Castells opposes sources' multiplication and verticalization, together with oligopolistic tendencies of international media companies – especially in international crisis' coverage – as the expression of the end of the homogenization process (and the mass audience itself) a d the failure of tendencies towards the global civil society (Castells, 1996). Finally, setting the ambitious goal of structuring new political identities in a broad international community, the Al-Jazeera effect describes the impact of the increasingly influential independent media that deal with international politics, which can avoid government interference, mainstream media system and other political subjects. Seib introduces the notion of virtual state, a political community banded together by an ICT-driven "imagined comradeship", which gives cohesion to collective identities, builds supranational identities and acts as a counterweight to the state, often giving voice to marginalized groups. In this sense, the Al-Jazeera effect contributes to democratization processes and may perform (just like the CNN effect) actions of agenda-setting and acceleration/slowdown of decision-making and implementation processes. The CNN effect and the Al-Jazeera effect have been efficiently used in the Arab Uprisings' understanding, with relevant impact on the policies of directly involved governments.

In the analysis of the relation between news making and politics, the framing method has been chosen due to its effectiveness in problems' definition, in causal nexus detection, in costs-benefits evaluations and in the identification of possible solutions to the addressed problems (Entman, 1993; Berinsky & Kinder, 2006). The mainstream literature on media and communication research confirms this trend concerning international news

(Bryant and Miron, 2004). The methodological choice to deploy the framing method to analyze the three media system models, regarding international news, is supported by traditional literature on media and communication (Bryant and Miron, 2004). More specifically, the framing method identifies the mechanism through which a specific source, as a newspaper, defines a subject according to a dimension that provides the exclusion of other dimensions. It occurs through highlighting and selecting specific aspects of specific events or problems linking them to each other to promote particular interpretations, evaluations, or solutions (Reese, 2001). Frame, therefore, is not necessarily an argument for a specific political stance; rather, it emphasizes a particular perspective instead of others. In international affairs, the framing has several functions such as giving space to certain events that occur as international issues concerning national interests (agenda-setting); identify and explicate the source of any potential security threats (cognitive priming); offer recommendations concerning specific political solutions designed to overcome these problems (evaluation) (Chong & Druckman, 2007).

Following Entman claim (2009), the framing ratio between foreign policy and the press could be of mutual influence, and it may vary over time and circumstances. Framing may be intentional or unintentional (given that it is made by different social actors such as political parties and media); it may define problems, analyze costs and benefits, produce moral stances, offer solutions to problems and predict their effects. The framing of a particular text may not include all its functions, and a single sentence might include more sentences or none (Entman, 1993; Berinsky & Kinder, 2006).

Moving to the elaboration of the interpretative analysis scheme, media scholars – following McLuhan's tradition – have often overrated media's independent influence without considering the risk that the latter "cross the line" as they became more and more powerful compared to other institutions (Anderson, 2010). Bennett, and other scholars, highlighted that the mass media's news on foreign policy affairs are implicitly indexed to the elite reference frameworks, and that media coverage can even produce consensus (Bennett, 2006; Nitoiu, 2015; Salgado, 2019). Taylor (1997) and Herman (1997) deepen this concept: the former argues that the media mainly serve as the operational arm of the state and its dominant elites, focusing on issues that are useful to them. The latter claims that once the media has become interested in news, their contribution is more inclined to see the eruption of a crisis than to avoid or solve it as diplomatic negotiations tend to do.

Some features of the media system concerning international relations, controlled here, are the CNN effect (the impact on government decisions of continuous media coverage, such as for humanitarian crises) and the Al-Jazeera effect (the impact of the media on global politics, with the reduction of the government monopoly and the mainstream media on information). The latter demonstrates how media have become an integral part of world politics, have transformed the struggle for global power and have allowed the rise of other actors (Coban, 2016; Gilboa et al., 2016; Figenschou, 2013). Independently of the direction and the intensity of the relationship between the media system and governments, Taylor (1997) argues that democratic governments depend on the mass media to intervene in the field of presentation, perception and resolution of international disputes while pursuing different objectives. In this analysis, the study of Hallin and Mancini (2004) is beneficial: it identifies the main variations of the structure and the political role of the media developed in western democracies. The authors propose a theoretical interpretation to explain the variations and consequences of democratic politics.

3. Research Questions and Methodology

This article uses the research perspective of the comparative analysis of media systems. This perspective is still not widespread in the works investigating the relationship between the media and the political system, particularly in the context of international news flow. Despite considerable progress over the past ten years in

comparative analysis, the international arena has been almost wholly excluded as a field of investigation for media systems (Hallin and Mancini 2016). This lack of attention represents a loss, in term of analysis, for many reasons: firstly, the comparison of media systems' reactions to international issues reduces the methodological prejudice of choosing examples from the national level that differ in the political system, culture, institutional history and different cleavages (e.g., comparing the media coverage of the general elections). Secondly, international issues, such as election campaigns, are very responsive to comparative analysis. Finally, a transnational comparison is useful in investigating the extent to which the coverage of international issues is influenced by the structural conditions rooted in national media and political systems (Strömbäck and Luengo 2008). The comparative approach is used to fill these gaps and test Hallin and Mancini's framework, enriching and updating the literature of its applications.

The failed military coup of 2016 in Turkey could be considered a moment of crisis about which the European press has oriented itself on the position to be adopted toward the crisis of authority of the Erdogan government. On July 15, 2016, a part of the Turkish armed forces launched a coup attempt to replace President Erdogan and form a new government. The President responded with an appeal to resistance on Turkish CNN that the Turkish population welcomed by taking the streets. After few hours, the television broadcasts of the networks, occupied by the military, resumed regularly, the bridges and roads were freed, Erdogan returned to Istanbul, and the government regained control of the situation: the coup failed miserably. Erdogan's reacted harshly, with the proclamation of the state of emergency protracted for a long time, mass arrests of soldiers, magistrates, journalists and ordinary citizens. The interpretations of the attempted coup are discordant: in Erdogan's narrative, the coup was an initiative conceived by Fethullah Gulen, an exiled preacher in the United States and declared enemy of the President. Some analysts and Gulen himself, however, suggested that was a fake coup, organized by Erdogan himself, to legitimize a further authoritarian turn of the political regime and civil liberties in Turkey. The massive purges following the failed coup and the constitutional referendum of April 2017, which conferred additional power to President Recep Tayyip Erdogan, led to the formal suspension of Turkey's accession to the European Union. The situation has been made even more complicated by the Turkish government's rhetoric towards international media and European governments, which have raised several criticisms toward the violation of human rights and fundamental democratic standards. The choice to use this crisis as a case study is determined by different circumstances that increase its analytical relevance from various points of view: Firstly, the long-standing relationship between Turkey and the EU, of which all the countries whose news media systems are considered in this analysis are members; secondly, the international geopolitical relevance of Ankara, whose internal destabilization could have profound consequences throughout the region, raising the attention of the media. Considering the main features of Erdogan's power system and his foreign policy stance, this article reports the reactions of European democracies to the failed military coup. After a preliminary analysis of the crisis relevance in terms of space and position in a newspaper, the first research question concerns the newspapers' orientation toward the news of the coup: do newspapers express a condemning judgment toward the coup? There are three possible reactions: the approval, the condemning position and the neutrality, or the "wait and see" position. This research scheme checks the level of criticism expressed, describing the negative tone towards politics that emerges from the article and reflecting on the confrontation level, power struggle and mutual attacks among political actors in a given system. This research question is in line with Taylor's perspective (1997) on the role played by the news media in the orientation, presentation, perception and possible resolution of international crises for public opinion. From this point of view, apart from the option of the neutrality judgement, both the sentencing and the support assessments highlight the possible conditioning that the media can exert on public opinion, the more apparent, the higher is the authority of the media considered. On a global scale, the favorable or critical orientation of the news should be lower in corporative systems (Germany), compared to the Anglo-American system (Great Britain),

characterized by the "watchdog" role and greater commercialization. The systems of southern Europe (Italy and France) should also show a higher incidence of critical orientations, due to their polarized pluralism. This variable is implemented considering different factors: the tone (pessimistic and/or independent); attention toward political struggle, disputes or disagreements; the emphasis on weakness and political shortcomings; the manifestation of indignation, or in reaction to real or imagined unfair behavior (Lengauer et al., 2012; Nitoiu, 2015).

A second research question concerns the interpretative or descriptive style of the articles: to what extent does the editorial line of the newspapers influence the crisis's narrative? This question is a significant meter of independence level and journalistic objectivity (Salgado, 2019; Strömbäck and Dimitrova, 2006). On the one hand, the interpretative style expresses the manipulation or creation levels of consent in the international context (Bennett, 2006; Nitoiu, 2015; Salgado, 2019). On the other hand, the descriptive style may indicate the choice of the media system to pursue a personal interest through greater independence (i.e., authority, market share) (Herman, 1997) rather than pursuing shared objectives becoming the expression of political power (Taylor, 1997; Bennett, 2006; Nitoiu, 2015; Salgado, 2019). The Italian and French newspapers should have more opinions expressed by experts and political positions and a less factual and descriptive approach. The British and German newspapers should instead present more common citizen interviews, testimonials and reports of journalists on the field. For investigating the interpretative and descriptive styles, the main journalistic functions are implemented in each article considering: the presence of direct news and interviews; the context expressed in "long news with background"; the levels of explanation and speculation; the presence of analyses that unequivocally combine information with the journalist's opinions.

The third research question refers to the failed military coup's meta-framing as a "strategic game vs. an issue" taken from the comparative analysis of the media and politics (Brommesson and Eken Gren, 2017). Do the proposed articles express the strategic game of international and internal politics pursued by the involved actors, or instead analyze the fundamental characteristics of the coup, considered a single issue, without looking at the general level? This question is consequential in terms of growing political distrust. In short, the strategic game refers to news representing politics in terms of strategy or personal relationships between political actors unrelated to issues. Generally, this option is preferred by newspapers embedded with political parties and expresses an ideological political culture, just as foreseen by the Mediterranean model. Instead, the "issue frame" refers to articles that focus on individual issues and positions concerning them (Stromback, 2004); it is preferred by media close to the Liberal model, which maintains its information function as the main task. The alternative between strategic game and issue preference leads to the "Al-Jazeera effect", developed in international relations, which is based on less government control of information, in favor of greater pluralism and independent media. The aim is to break governments' monopoly on information control, showing how the media have become an integral part of world politics and have shaped international competition (Coban, 2017; Gilboa et Al. 2015; Figenschou, 2013).

Traditionally, objectivity indicators are usually implemented considering five news' features: the separation of facts from opinions, the presentation of analyses that express advantages and disadvantages, the use of expert sources, the use of regular quotes and a strictly factual primary structure (Tuchman, 1978). The pattern of this research follows the same approach: the three research questions are cross-checked with the formal positions of governments publicly expressed to check the level of alignment or criticism of newspapers compared to governments. Alignment can be considered, in certain circumstances, an indicator of consent manipulation (Bennett, 2006; Nitoiu, 2015; Salgado, 2019) by media that purses shared objectives with the political power, of which they become an expression (Taylor, 1997). Nonetheless, the alignment between positions is an expression of the CNN effect, especially in liberal countries, if it is the government that aligns itself with the media's positions in favor of the publication of the articles, especially in the following days.

This research is a qualitative content analysis that resorts to the analytical approach of framing in a comparative way to measure the impact of an international crisis over (some) Western democracies' media systems, starting from the formulation of three research questions. The sample of 228 articles involves two national newspapers for each country that represents Hallin and Mancini's framework (2004): the liberal model (United Kingdom), the corporative model (Germany), the polarized model (Italy) and a further one that plays the role of "control variable", considering the limit case of France as a polarized model.

The research focuses on the 16 days that followed the 2016 failed coup. For the sample building, I followed two criteria. Firstly, articles have not to be necessarily on the front page, thereby gaining a more extensive coverage and a deeper understanding of newspapers' editorial line. This choice differs from comparative studies' well-established practice of favoring front pages (Benson, 2010; Strömbäck and al., 2008; Strömbäck and Dimitrova, 2006; Strömbäck and Luengo, 2008). Secondly, military coup must be the article's focus. Therefore, I only included articles that explicitly refer to the coup within the title or the first three paragraphs. Sample dynamism is useful for exhibiting opinion shifts – which occurred in a few days or even hours – about the military coup in the considered countries. Taking the Roessler's principles (2012) into account for transnational content's analysis, I selected bilingual programmers who master the research language and at least one of the newspapers. Additional languages required for the research included detailed discussions on individual articles, cultural references, key concepts and implementation proposals.

Table 1 - Selection of Media outlets

Models	Countries	News Outlets	N° of articles	Articles length
Liberal	UK	London Evening Standard	8	19000 characters
Liberal	UK	Financial Times	21	88000 characters
Corporatist	Germany	Bild	34	78000 characters
Corporatist	Germany	Die Welt	28	177000 characters
Mediterranean	Italy	Corriere della Sera	51	204000 characters
Mediterranean	Italy	Repubblica	52	205000 characters
Mediterranean	France	Le Monde	15	98000 characters
Mediterranean	France	Le Figaro	19	85000 characters

Source: author's elaboration

Table 2 - Daily Relevance of the topic in newspapers. Legend: Very Relevant (VR): more than two pages, editorial or political analysis with title in the first pages; Relevant (R): more than two pages; Ordinary (OR): up to two pages; Non-relevant (NR): any news about the topic; "/" no publication available for that newspaper on that specific day. The newspapers considered have different foliation (number of pages that formed the newspaper) that has to be related to the number of pages about the topic.

	CdS	Rep.	Le Monde	Le Figaro	FT	LES	Bild	Die Welt
(VR)	5	6	3	1	1	1	2	2
(R)	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	1
(OR)	6	5	3	4	7	6	7	7
(NR)	5	4	7	8	4	4	6	6

(/)	0	0	2	3	3	2	1	0
Tot. days	16	16	16	16	16	16	16	16

Source: author's elaboration

4. The newspapers' analysis of Turkish failed coup

The first research question focuses on approval, condemnation or neutrality stances taken by newspapers that comment on the failed military coup, investigating their positioning and the overall tone towards the crisis. The tone over Turkish policies is overall critical, as inferred by the polarized Mediterranean model. In French and Italian press, this is crucial, with the emergence of deep divisions, profoundly opposed ideologies and open political conflict (Hallin and Mancini, 2004). To be fair, the critical position of these systems is greatly amplified by the Southern European tradition rather than its high level of polarization, ideological diversity and conflict. In this regard, Esser (2013) claims that "journalists rely on cues they get from political elites, and if these elites are constantly implicated in mutual attacks and confrontations it will drive up the level of "negative tone", "conflict frames" and allegations of "political incompetence". Following this trend, the Turkish democratic system's weaknesses and state of law's problems about human rights violations are emphasized. Italian newspapers' stance evolves along the time, shifting from neutrality and indirect support (denouncing the Erdogan regime for violation of human rights) through the mild condemnation of military coup's non-democratic nature (with fear of human rights abuse) to the hard condemnation of the violent Erdogan regime, labeled as a dictatorship. In the aftermath of the crisis, the French press shows a critical stance towards the failed coup through a firm condemnation, although blaming repression and authoritarian measures of the Erdogan regime, labeled as "*democradura*" (Le Monde). These conclusions may be related to Benson and Hallin (2007) and Benson's works (2010), which highlighted how the press's critical attitude is more robust in France than in the United States (Liberal model) in political affairs coverage. Similarly, Wolfsfeld (2004) comparative analysis establishes that multiparty polarized systems of France, Italy and Israel represent an acute condition (or a mediating variable) to explain news negativity. Van Dalen et al. (2011) add that the feeling of being under pressure determines high levels of political cynicism among journalists in polarized systems.

About newspapers of the liberal democracy model, the result is compliant with the idea of media as the "watchdog" or the fourth branch of government – rooted more rooted in the Anglo-American system's culture of information, which provides more incentives to journalists for investigating the political process. More specifically, although Financial Times does not show a high level of crisis condemnation (varying from neutrality to denunciation of authoritarian crisis), it shows a sharp and shared criticism for the risk of human rights violation from the Erdogan regime's repression even in the very first days. This analysis confirms journalists' preference over stories with critical issues and scandals, prompted by commercial pressure exerted on the press in Anglo-American systems (Aalberg et al., 2010).

Newspapers belonging to consensual democracy (such as Germany) are supposed to rely more on consensus and negotiation within the political decision-making, thus reducing transaction costs (cfr. Hallin and Mancini, 2004: 60). In this case study, Bild and Die Welt show a high number of frequencies. In this regard, their neutrality position fits into the model prescriptions, focusing on facts communication, alternative stances' exhibition, and, in some cases, a slight condemnation of both the Erdogan regime and the insurgents' violence.

Table 3 - Daily reactions to the Military Coup. Legend: support (S), neutrality (N), soft condemnation (LC), condemn (C); nothing / . N.B.: the evaluations have been made using the frequencies and the tones of the following keywords: democracy, sultanate, dictatorship/authoritarianism, populism, military coup, repression.

	CdS	Rep.	Le Monde	Le Figaro	FT	LES	Bild	Die Welt
(S)	0	3	0	0	0	0	2	0
(N)	6	5	6	3	5	5	6	5
(LC)	0	2	1	0	1	1	0	4
(C)	5	2	2	3	3	0	2	2
(/)	5	4	7	10	7	10	6	6
Tot. Days	16	16	16	16	16	16	16	16

Source: author's elaboration

Table 4 - Daily Coverage as Interpretative vs Descriptive. Legend: Interpretative (I): interviews, opinions, comments, analysis; Descriptive (D): reportage and chronicles. The evaluations consider the proper category of the singles articles and their characteristic features); no coverage (N)

	CdS	Rep.	Monde	Figaro	FT	LES	BILD	Die Welt
(D)	6	5	6	3	5	5	6	4
(I)	5	7	3	3	4	1	4	6
(N)	5	4	7	10	7	10	6	6
Tot. Days	16	16	16	16	16	16	16	16

Source: author's elaboration

The second research question looks for differences between interpretative and descriptive journalistic styles in Italian, British, German and French articles. The level of opinion-oriented analysis is assumed to be higher in polarized systems' news and lower in Anglo-American ones (Hallin and Mancini 2004). The Financial Times follows a descriptive approach, confirming that the Liberal model's distinctive feature is still firm, notwithstanding an opinion journalism revival even in the Anglo-American sphere (see Hallin, 2008). While some scholars consider the opinion and interpretive journalism an opportunity for a better-informed public (Bennett, 2007), traditional literature believes that it represents an inappropriate deviation from explanatory journalism's ideal. Objectivity ss considered as the distinctive feature of Anglo-American journalism. According to Schudson (2001), the United States' journalistic culture is based on an underlying professional code and shared routine practices that defend the scope of denunciation from that of criticism. The analysis of Le Monde and Le Figarò reveals that French press fits only partially to the Mediterranean polarized model, given the descriptive nature of its articles. This point is in line with Benson and Hallin's analysis, according to whom "opinion" and "interpretation" prevail over the English press.

The French press distinguishes itself from the polarized model for the relevance of legal-rational authority's historical traditions, ensuring compliance with standard rules and behavioral procedures. (Hallin e Mancini, 2004: 136). Italian newspapers show the coexistence of opinionated and negative news (promoting the creation of polarized information) and are more representative of the Mediterranean model that the French ones. However, also the Corriere Della Sera and La Repubblica differ from the polarized model by deploying a significant number of descriptive articles. It might be explained by looking at the peculiar features of news about international relations, where a more prudent and conservative approach is common. German

newspapers have a combination of news and opinions (even if they emphasize rational, factual and consensual aspects). Their level of opinion-oriented approach is less common than that of the Southern European newspapers and higher than the Anglo-American ones (Wessler et al., 2010). Strömbäck and Luengo (2008), in their comparative research on the polarized and the corporative models (taking Spanish and German newspapers into account), identify a fundamental difference, concluding that journalism in the corporative model is more interpretative than that in the polarized one. The case of this paper confirms the analyses of Hallin and Mancini and Wessler, while it does not fit Stromback and Luengo's conclusions: frequencies distribution among the three options is relatively uniform for German newspapers, even the "no coverage" one.

The third research question tests the hypothesis of politics meta-framing as a strategic game or an issue for media systems of Italy, the United Kingdom, Germany and France. Previous researches have proved that framing politics as a strategic game rather than an issue is a common trend for several countries' media (Strömbäck, 2004). Nevertheless, little is known about transnational differences (Strömbäck and Dimitrova, 2006) and international news' impact. These frames are codified on presence/absence, but there are significant differences among the use of conflict frames, interpretative frames and political strategy's frames. Strömbäck (2008), for instance, points out that the media system of Spain, which fits the polarized democracy model, seems to be more influenced by political parties than the Swedish one, which represents the Northern model.

Table - 5 Daily Meta-framing of politics as: an issue within a framework of national relevance (I); a strategic game within a framework of geopolitical relevance (S); none of the mentioned framework (N).

	CdS	Rep.	Monde	Figaro	FT	LES	BILD	Die Welt
(I)	8	12	5	4	6	5	8	6
(S)	3	1	3	1	2	0	2	4
(N)	5	3	8	11	8	11	6	6
Tot. Days	16	16	16	16	16	16	16	16

Source: author's elaboration

Research results point out that there is no significant difference between the three models of democracy regarding the newspapers' analysis. Indeed, analysts converge in considering the failed coup as an issue related to internal developments, focusing on the country's crisis and showing a lower interest in the strategic analysis of consequences at the international level. The influence of the traditional view of international and foreign politics, carried out by professionals and governments with only a limited role left to public opinion, may explain this common preference for the issue option. However, a more convincing explanation could be represented by the European public opinion's lack of knowledge and interest in Turkish politics.

An additional research question is about the level of newspapers' alignment with the national government position. Alignment is mostly determined by each political and media system's institutional incentives, depending on countries' relation models (Hallin Mancini, 2004). Press (and governments) incentives may lead to different alignment levels, which predictably vary along time. The Western press is not institutionally encouraged to play its role of "watchdog" in all circumstances: after a crisis, a more flexible attitude is more likely to occur. Although most studies on the relationship between governments and press agendas focus on what appears on their agendas, examining how these issues are framed is equally essential. The alignment process should be more evident in polarized democracies because of the pressure received by newspapers – lower in consensual democracies and almost absent in the liberal ones – if the newspapers' role of "watchdog" induces the press to distance itself from the government. In particular, according to the last researches on the temporal dynamics of media messages (Baum - Groeling, 2009), it is possible that, as news about the failed

coup decline, the press start reducing its interest in alignment. Concerning the case study, Italian newspapers show an early phase of non-alignment with government positions. The Italian public opinion features – less informed and less interested in international relations – and the overall difficulty of the polarized model to detect foreign affairs issues might explain this situation. Therefore, in the early crisis phase, news about the failed coup in Turkey did not fit the polarized model. However, when the crisis started developing, the Italian government cleared its stand, public opinion has been informed, and Italian newspapers started answering according to the reference model predictions, finding a final alignment when the issue reached an Italian national interest. This process is embodied in the public blame game between the Italian and the Turkish governments concerning Erdogan's son's judicial proceedings for illegal financial transactions in Italy. The French press has aligned with the government to support the legitimacy of power in Turkey and express concern about potential repressions. To be fair, Esser indicators of objectivity and negativity (2013, 2014), highlight how critical stances could be amplified in the Southern European media models, in which newspapers mirror the "negative tone" they receive in the blaming game with political elites. In particular, objectivity indicators check the level of news neutrality and reliability through five characteristics: the distinction between opinions and facts; representation of opposite opinions, structure based on hard facts; use of expert sources and quotes. Negativity level is implemented through four indicators: pessimistic and disrespectful tone related to the topic, the centrality of political clashes in issues treatment, political incompetence, scandals (Esser, 2013; 2014).

Finally, German newspapers present greater independence from the government, not aligning their editorial choices for several days and developing a condemnation stance independent from Berlin. Both German and French newspapers fit their democracy models. British newspapers do not fully fit the Liberal "watchdog" model, showing a more flexible restraint during the first weeks of the crisis. Reasons may vary from the indifference for international events (considered irrelevant for the international system) to a substantial agreement with government positions.

Table 6 - Alignment with the government: Alignment (A); not alignment (NA); (No) None * On the first day of coverage all the articles are considered with no position on the issue, because national governments are still elaborating the first reactions at the military coup.

	CdS	Rep.	Le Monde	Figaro	FT	LES	BILD	Die Welt
A	5	3	6	4	8	4	5	6
NA	2	4	0	0	3	1	5	4
None*	9	9	10	12	5	11	6	6
Total	16	16	16	16	16	16	16	16

Source: author's elaboration

5. Conclusions

Updating the rich literature on the application of Hallin and Mancini's model on Media Systems (2004, 2016), the article analyzed the direction, the intensity and the implications of the relationship between media systems and democratic political regimes, in the context of the International news flow, with references to media studies and international relations. The primary founded evidence strongly confirms the assumptions of Hallin and Mancini's model, albeit with some variations compared to the Liberal model, consistently in line with the Polarized and Corporate model. In short, investigation results indicate that Britain's liberal media system is characterized by coexistence between objective and interpretative journalism. Italy's polarized media

system, instead, by a coexistence of positive and negative news, which promotes a polarized vision of information. Germany's corporate media system highlights the coexistence of descriptive and interpretative approaches, albeit with an emphasis on objective and factual reporting. Finally, the French system lies in a borderline position between the Polarized and the Liberal models.

Firstly, the findings of the research questions on the possible reactions of the international press to the crisis triggered by the failed military coup in Turkey in 2016 also confirm that the pressure that the media exert on the public opinion, orienting and shaping it, it is incisive (Bennett, 2006; Nitoiu, 2015; Salgado, 2019). Starting from Taylor's hypothesis (1997), the circulation of the news of the failed coup has led to concern for stability, with a clear orientation to the assessments pertaining the (international) political dimension, rather than the economic one (Kim and Barnett 1996), in a continuous reference from the global to the local dimension and vice versa (Segev 2016). In the Italian and French press, this aspect emerges substantially, highlighting deep divisions, opposing ideologies and open political conflicts. Even in the Anglo-American system, characterized by the newspapers' role of "watchdog", this hypothesis has been confirmed. Nonetheless, the overlapping of the media structure-based models, which focus on the incisiveness of interactions with the party and economic systems, compared to the content-based models, which are based on the reference to different political cultures, it seemed to be not significant. Instead, it turned out to be a point of difference among the different analyzed models.

Secondly, the use of framing highlighted the dual nature of the investigated relationship. On the one hand, the newspapers' job is expressed in the definition of problems, the formulation of critical evaluations, the proposal of solutions, and the cost-benefits analysis. On the other hand, it has been found that a higher interpretative style expresses, even at the international level, the degree of manipulation or consent creation (Salgado, 2019). Based on the analysis carried out, the agenda-setting, cognitive priming and evaluation functions (Chong & Druckman, 2007) emerged in the countries that fall within the Mediterranean model. The preference for a less factual and descriptive journalism style represented a lower level of independence and objectivity (Strömbäck and Dimitrova, 2006). Ultimately, Bennet's (2006) hypotheses about the indexing of foreign policy news to the elites frameworks (Nitoiu, 2015) and the media at the service of the dominant groups – more inclined to see the crises break out than to avoid or solve them (Herman 1997) – are confirmed.

Thirdly, the criticism toward media scholars of overestimating newspapers' independence (in the wake of McLuhan's tradition), appears to be inconsistent with the systems that are an expression of the corporate model, typical of consensual democracies (Anderson 2010; Morlino 2016). The research question on meta-framing as a "strategic game vs. an issue" preference (Brommesson and Eken Gren, 2017) leads back to the "Al-Jazeera effect", developed in the frame of international relations, which is based on the less control of information by the government, in favor of greater pluralism and independence of the media. The aim is to break governments' monopoly on information control, showing how the media have become an integral part of world politics and have shaped international competition (Coban, 2017; Gilboa et Al. 2015). German newspapers focus on consensus and negotiation in the political decision-making process, while the descriptive style indicates the choice for greater independence rather than the pursuit of shared objectives following political power (Nitoiu, 2015; Salgado, 2019). Nonetheless, the predilection of the strategic game by other journalism models has brought out the "CNN effect", in the governments' stances compared to those of newspapers, especially in liberal media systems. In these countries, governments align themselves with the media's positions in support of the publication of the articles, especially in the days following the crisis. On the international level, this influence is identified to express CNN's action in setting the agenda, and sometimes even the orientation, of governments.

Although of exploratory imprint, this article was intended to contribute, on the one hand, to the still small IR literature on the study of media and political systems relationship, and, on the other hand, to the definition

of a new research agenda on the global communication effects in the various IR fields, as advocated several years ago by Eytan Gilboa (2005).

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