

**REPUBLIC OF TURKEY
ANKARA UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
Department of Media and Communication Studies**

**REPRESENTATION OF TURKEY IN INDONESIAN ONLINE
MEDIA SITES**

Master Thesis

Vera Febrina Harludi

Ankara, 2020

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Thesis Advisor
Prof Dr. Abdulrezak Altun

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Thesis Acceptance Page

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Representation of Turkey in Indonesian Online Media Sites

Master Thesis

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17.07.2020

Ethics Statement

I hereby declare that; all the information in the master thesis I prepared under the advisory of Prof. Dr. Abdulrezak Altun with the title “Representation of Turkey in Indonesian Online Media Sites (Ankara.2020)” was collected and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct; that all materials in this thesis which I obtained from other sources have been fully cited and referenced; that I acted in accordance with the rules of scientific research and ethical conduct during the course of the study; and in any contrary case of above statements, I will accept any form of legal consequences.

Date:

Vera Febrina Harludi

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List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

AFP	Agence France-Presse
AP	Associated Press
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
BUMN	State-Owned Enterprises
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
COVID-19	Coronavirus Disease 2019
EMTEK	Elang Mahkota Teknologi
GOLKAR	Party of Functional Groups
HANURA	People's Conscience Party
IT-CEPA	Indonesia-Turkey Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement
KBBI	Great Dictionary of the Indonesian Language of the Language Center
Kemendikbud	Ministry of Education and Culture
MI	Mutual-information score
MIKTA	Mexico, Indonesia, South Korea, Turkey and Australia
OIC	Organisation of Islamic Cooperation
PASIAD	Pacific Countries Social and Economic Solidarity Association
PERINDO	Indonesian Unity Party
PKK	Kurdistan Workers' Party
PWI	Indonesian Journalist Association
PYD	Democratic Union Party
RRI	Radio of the Republic of Indonesia
SDF	Syrian Democratic Forces
TVRI	Television of the Republic of Indonesia
US	The United States of America
UN	United Nations
YPG	People's Protection Units
YTB	Presidency For Turks Aboard And Related Communities

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Introduction

The relationship between Indonesia and Turkey dates back to the Ottoman Empire in the 16th century. Nevertheless, due to wars, colonialization, independence, and other circumstances in the following centuries; the two countries focused on their internal and regional affairs. Hence, despite the historical past and similarities in religion, the relationship between the two countries was rather dormant. Indonesia-Turkey relations began to blossom at the beginning of the 21st century, as high-level visits between the two countries became more frequent and the number of common membership to international organisations increased. Despite the geographical distance, Indonesia and Turkey have numbers of similarities; both countries are democratic Muslim-majority country with a flourishing economy. Therefore, Indonesia-Turkey relationship is expected to develop more rapidly in the following years. However, the advancement of communication technology over the past years has created a new actor that plays an important role in this relationship: the media.

As communication technology advances, the importance of media in influencing general public is becoming more determinant day by day. This is due to one of the mechanisms through which the media practice their influence on public opinion by assessing the saliency of a particular issue and its attribution according to its agenda. This is especially an important case on international news, as a major part of the society relies heavily on media to receive information about a foreign country. International news refers to news from abroad, either about a particular country or global issue. International news can be of many different issues; from natural disaster and foreign trade to terrorism.

While discourses surrounding a foreign country can influence the relations between society and that particular country, the public generally has little or no say in the discourses concerning objects or events from abroad. Thus, the subject of international

news tends to be outside of the public concern. It is the work of media that the public begins to gain interest and holds stance in subjects or events that occur abroad. Media as the main disseminators of information possess the ability to shape and disseminate discourses which consequently determine the interest and saliency of the public to a particular subject or event. This ability of media is referred to as agenda-setting.

The concept of agenda-setting refers to the ability of media to influence the importance of certain topics in the mind of its audience. Lang and Lang (1966) argues that media force attention to certain issues, and by consistently presenting objects, they suggest their audience what to think about, know about and have feelings about. It is the basic agenda-setting role of media to focus the attention of the public to only small numbers of issues and topics; as media can only cover limited stories deemed most newsworthy (McCombs & Guo, 2014).

The concept of agenda-setting is not limited to influencing the salience of any topics in the mind of the public, but it also influences the understanding and perspective of the audience on that particular issue. McCombs and Shaw (1977) develop a concept of attribute agenda-setting which focuses the salience of a particular trait or attribute belonged to the agenda object. Therefore, regarding international news, how and how often media represent a certain country, influence the knowledge and shape the perception of the public about that country and consequently affect the relations of the society toward that country.

In the light of agenda-setting theory, analysing the representation of Turkey in Indonesian media shows some interesting circumstances. According to Hester (1973), cultural affinities and economic relations influence the likelihood of a country coverage on the news. Indonesia and Turkey, despite the geographical distance, share a cultural affinity to some degree due to the fact that both are Muslim-majority countries. Moreover, the

relationship between Indonesia and Turkey has historically been positive, since even before the conception of the two republics. The two countries maintain this relationship through positive interactions in various areas of cooperation in both bilateral and multinational level. Considering this alone, one would assume that news about Turkey in Indonesian media would be positive. However, literature research also shows that news reports are selected and organized based on their news values; in which dimensions of deviance appear to be a significant determiner (Shoemaker & Reese, 1995).

Among other factors, the media environment in Indonesia itself may influence the representation of Turkey in the media. Ownership of media in Indonesia possesses a considerable impact on the media agenda. Unlike media in other Asian countries where they are used to disseminate ideas of state leaders; media in Indonesia are traditionally a “*presse d’opinion*” rather than “*presse d’information*” (Oetama, 1978). This refers to the historical tendency of Indonesian media to voice the interests of certain groups or political parties. The role and position of the Indonesian media are always influenced by the history of the country and the dominant political system of a certain period (Oetama, 1978). From the pre-independence period to the beginning of the independence period, the media had a significant role in keeping up the fighting spirit in the national movement. The media also showed a similar endeavour during the New Order as they supported demonstration criticising the regime’s policies by giving sympathetic coverage.

However, the end of Suharto’s New Order era triggered some changes in the media environment in Indonesia. The new era began with the abolishment of various publishing and broadcasting licenses which led to the establishment of various new media companies. Henceforth, media companies, both newly established and the old major media players during the previous era, have shown a trend of conglomeration. Media companies in Indonesia have shifted to more business-oriented management, and begin

to position themselves amidst the political arena in Indonesia through their affiliation with political parties.

The main goal of this thesis is to find the key ways by which Turkey is represented in the Indonesian media; and how do they relate with the media environment in Indonesia and the relationship between Indonesia and Turkey. As the use of language is pivotal in the representation of a foreign country in a news; it is seen as fitting to pursue the goal of the study by examining the language used to represent Turkey. However, to simply examine the linguistic feature of the news would be an insufficient approach to this study given the complexity of the news production process. Thus, the methodological approach chosen for this study is the combination of corpus-linguistic and critical discourse analysis (CDA).

There are numbers of reasons why this study chooses this methodology. First, the use of corpus linguistic approach allows the researcher to conduct a systematic analysis of the language used in the text to gather more concrete and statistically significant evidence, instead of an impressionistic examination. Second, CDA informed analysis enables the researcher to incorporate a critical perspective based on the agenda-setting effect in international news coverage and the socio-political aspect of media in Indonesia in examining the discourse in the data. Lastly, this methodology enables the researcher to incorporate and automatically process a large number of texts to provide general findings as well as to enhance the reliability of the evidence.

This study examines the media representation of a foreign country in the light of agenda-setting theory by taking into account the effect of media political economy. Research on foreign country representation in media is limited, especially in the context of Indonesia and Turkey. Previous researches on Indonesia-Turkey media show a trend of comparative studies and media representation approach of analysis on the topic. Thus, by employing

a corpus-linguistic approach of CDA and theoretical tools of agenda-setting, this study attempts to contribute to the methodological diversity and add a different perspective to the issue.

This thesis consists of five chapters. The first chapter covers the theoretical background on the media agenda and representation of foreign countries in media. The second chapter highlights the media environment in Indonesia while taking into account the socio-economic dynamics of the process. The third chapter provides relevant information about the relationship between Indonesia and Turkey. The fourth chapter describes the methodology used to conduct this research. Lastly, the fifth chapter of the thesis presents the main part of the study which examines the empirical aspect of the study as it focuses on answering the research question by explaining the research methodology and design and presenting findings of the study.

Chapter One: Media Agenda and Representation of Foreign Country

This chapter aims to provide a theoretical background of the study by defining the concept of agenda-setting and its relation to the representation of a foreign country. This chapter consists of three sub-chapters; the definition of media agenda, the representation of foreign countries in media, and understanding the relations between media agenda and representation of a foreign country.

1.1. Definition of Media Agenda

Agenda-setting is a social science theory in the field of cognitive media effects that study the relationship between media and the perception of the audience. The term 'agenda' refers to a sequential set of issues perceived to be most important at a certain point of time. Whereas the term 'setting' describes the process in which media influence the perception of the audience of a certain issue or topic (Roessler, 2008). Therefore, the general idea of agenda-setting is that media affects the perception of the audience on how important certain topics are in a given time.

The concept of agenda-setting can be traced back to the first chapter of Walter Lippmann's 1922 book *Public Opinion*, "The World Outside And The Pictures In Our Heads". In that book, Lippmann (1922) proposed that mass media is the main connection between events that happened in the world and images on people's mind. Subsequently, Cohen (1963) stated that the media, "may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think about". Similar to Lippmann, Cohen did not use the term agenda-setting in his work. However, Cohen's study heavily influenced McCombs and later Shaw in the formalization of agenda-setting theory (1993). McCombs and Shaw (1972) launched the concept of agenda-setting during the 1968 US presidential election in Chapel Hill, North

Carolina. In their work, they measured media agenda by a systematic content analysis of the issue covered in nine major news sources employed by the voters of Chapel Hill. They found evidence of agenda-setting by discovering the correlation of the salience of the news agenda and the agenda of the undecided voters.

McCombs and Shaw developed their Chapel Hill Study during the 1972 presidential election and introduced the concept of second-level agenda setting; the attribute agenda (1977). They argue that the agenda-setting effect is applicable on two-level; media agenda and its object attributes. First-level agenda-setting refers to how media emphasizes certain 'objects' on the news to gain public attention; be it a public issue, public figures, organizations, countries, etc. These objects possess numbers of 'attributes', certain traits and characteristics defining the objects. Second-level agenda-setting refers to how media emphasizes certain attributes, while at the same time ignore some other attributes. Similar to how media puts different importance on each object, it does so with each attribute. Therefore, for every agenda, there is an agenda of attributes, which represents a significant part of what the journalists said and thereupon what the audience think about when they came across any particular news objects (McCombs & Valenzuela, 2007). To summarize this, first-level agenda-setting tells the audience "what to think about" and second-level agenda-setting tells the audience "how to think about" any particular issue (McCombs M., 2005).

The theory of agenda-setting often overlaps with other concepts in the field of communication; namely, framing, priming, and gatekeeping. The theoretical similarities and differences between agenda-setting and framing are among most-discussed topics of the coinciding concepts (McCombs & Valenzuela, 2007). Roessler (2008) defines frame as patterns of interpretation which classify information to efficiently handle based on (yet not identical with) cognitive schemata. Also, media frame refers to a central organizing idea "that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events" (Gamson & Modigliani,

1987), and “for news contents that supply a context and suggest what the issue is through the use of selection, emphasis, exclusion and elaboration” (Tankard, 1991). The idea of framing is similar to attribute agenda-setting as both focus on the salience of topics attributes. Researchers such as Weaver, McCombs and Shaw (1998) argue that framing is an extension of agenda-setting theory which operates on the second-level. However, Scheufele (2000) strongly oppose this stance by arguing that agenda-setting and framing are based on different assumptions hence creating distinctively different theoretical statements, operates on different cognitive processes, and associate with different outcomes.

With such impacts, it is illogical to think the agenda-setting effect comes from an isolated newsroom and is single-handedly managed by journalists. Agenda-setting results from and in the relationships of multi-influencing determinants. Rogers and Dearing (1988) proposed three main components of the agenda-setting process; media agenda-setting, public agenda-setting and policy agenda-setting. Media agenda refers to the homogenization of news into a set of topics conveyed by the media. Using the term agenda-building instead of media agenda, Cobb and Elder (1971) conceptualized this theory in the field of political science, in which they raised the questions of “how is an agenda built?” and “who participates in building it?” Lazarsfeld and Merton (1971) argued that the media agenda is the result of the influence of powerful groups, mainly organized business as a subtle form of social control. In addition to that, media operates within the border of a country, hence it also needs to comply with the rules and regulation of that particular country. Therefore as Rogers and Dearing (1988) argued, media cannot be entirely objective in questioning and investigating the socio-economic structure of the society.

The public agenda is another component of the agenda-setting process that deals with how public opinion is influenced by the media. The conversion of media agenda into

public happens through the incidental learning process of the audience from media content (McCombs & Valenzuela, 2007). The effectiveness of such learning process varies based on the attention and reception of the people to the given media contents based on their level of education and interest in given topics. Nevertheless, with the advancement of telecommunication technology and the increasing dependency of the public on media, it is plausible to assume that the effectiveness of the media agenda on influencing public opinion has increased as well.

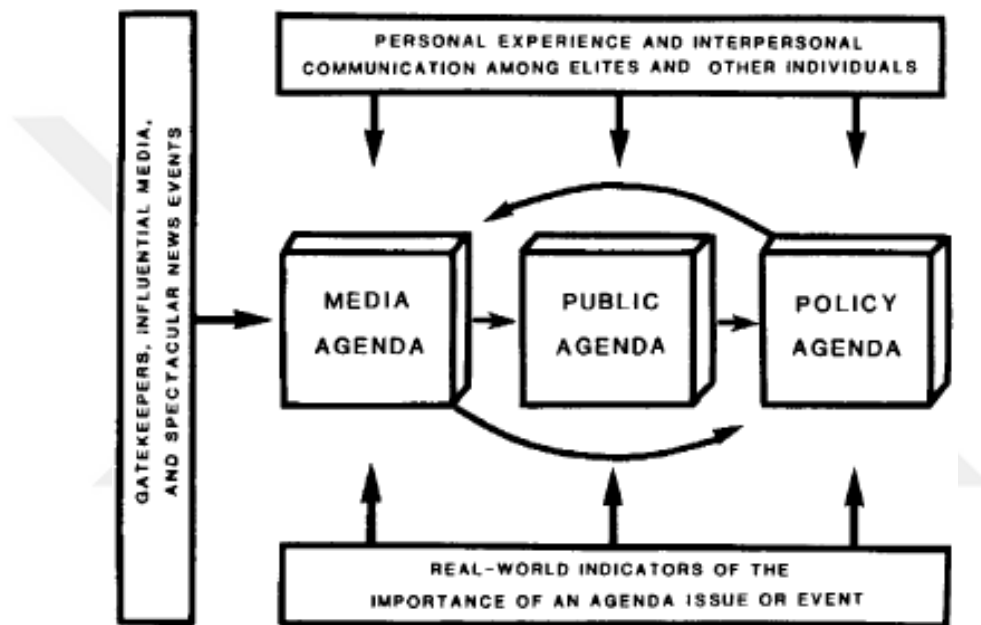


Figure 1. Three primary components of the agenda-setting process: media agenda, public agenda, and policy agenda (Rogers & Dearing, 1988).

The last component of the agenda-setting theory, policy agenda-setting is shaped based on the assumption about democratic societies of the relationship between public opinion and the decisions and actions of the policy elites (Rogers & Dearing, 1988). Policy agenda-setting is concerned with how agenda items which are salient to the public transfer to the agenda of the policymakers. As illustrated in Figure 1, the media agenda can affect policy agenda directly or through public agenda and can be influenced directly by the policy agenda. In a more recent version of the model, Rogers, Dearing and Chang (1991)

also added that media agenda and public agenda mutually affect each other, which can be explained by the current state of social media and how it may affect the media agenda.

The research scope of agenda-setting theory generally focuses on the relationship between media agenda and public agenda (Weaver & Choi, 2017; Kim, Kim, & Zhou, 2017; McCombs & Shaw, 1972). Researchers who work on the branch of the media agenda tend to include the study of factors that may affect the formation of the media agenda. McCombs and Valenzuela (2007) argued that the media agenda is a result of exchanges from news sources, daily interactions among journalists, and journalism norms and traditions. Similarly, Weaver and Choi (2017) concluded five possible influences of media agenda; news sources, intermedia interactions, journalism norms and traditions, media audiences and unexpected events as other possible influences of the media agenda.

The leader of a country is the most influential news source, as almost all activities and statements from a political leader are newsworthy. Moreover, as a political leader can affect a future media agenda, he or she may also respond to a current media agenda. In addition to political leaders, another influential news source comes from political campaigns, especially in countries that hold regular elections. Political campaigns aim to influence the public agenda through extensive use of advertisements. They spent plenty of efforts and financial resources to control the media agenda due to its ambiguous nature; that caused it to be more credible in the eye of the public.

Another factor that may influence media agenda is intermedia interactions which happen as journalists tend to closely follow their colleagues' news stories. Intermedia interaction can also translate into the influence of alternative media on mainstream media agenda. Besides, in the recent wake of social media, the public may also directly affect the media agenda. Previously, public concern tends to precede media coverage especially on issues that are obtrusive to them, although often not considered newsworthy, such as civil right,

energy or the environment (Weaver & Choi, 2017). The recent development of online platforms turns the audience into a more active participant, with little or no bond to the mainstream media agenda. Nevertheless, Weaver and Choi (2017) argued that traditional media remains powerful in influencing the agenda of other media, even though they are losing their dominance. Lastly, the occurring of unexpected events such as natural disasters, unexpected violence or accidents can dominate the media agenda, taking away the news control from the journalists, state and markets. Nevertheless, journalists still actively responding to unprecedented events by deciding how to cover and narrate them.

1.2. Agenda-Setting Effect on International News

The news from abroad, about foreign countries and global issues, fall in the scope of international news. This type of news can be of any topics, from terrorism to foreign trade; and agenda-setting plays a role in how the audience perceives such stories. According to Wanta and Hu (1993), the level of agenda-setting effect may vary in different categories of coverage. They also argue that the sub-issue of the news frame reported affects the agenda-setting influence on the public. For example, repeated coverage on France election may not increase the perceived importance of the US audience. However, the increased media coverage of a terror attack against American may affect the perceived importance of the US audience.

Wanta and Hu (1993) argued that the vast majority of individuals do not concern with international affairs as they have little to no direct involvement with such issues. Hence, coverage of international issues shows a strong agenda-setting influence rather than of public interest. However, the amount of agenda-setting effect in international news coverage may vary depending on the types of stories. The understanding of individuals of certain topics directly influences the level of agenda-setting effect in a particular story. Individuals can give more significance to concrete issue such as energy, or global

epidemic compared to more abstract issues such as foreign trade (Yagade & Dozier, 1990). Moreover, news stories with high-degree of conflict also possess a greater degree of agenda-setting effect (Mackuen & Coombs, 1981). Conflict news stories which trigger fear of personal safety in individual, such as news stories about global epidemic has a stronger agenda-setting effect compared to news stories about foreign trade agreements.

Despite being the primary source of information about a foreign country for most people, the media does not give each country equal visibility on the platform. In traditional media such as television or newspaper, the news gatekeepers often choose some countries as being more newsworthy than the others, based on the time and space limitation of the platforms (Golan, 2006). Although the internet offers unlimited time and space, this issue remains persistent on online news media. This lack of balance in coverage may influence the opinion and knowledge of the public of foreign countries and international affairs. In their research on international news coverage of US media, Wanta et al. (2004) discovered that the amount of media coverage a country received positively affect the perceived importance of that country to US interests. Moreover, they found that negative coverage of a country prompts the audience to think more negatively about that country. Former researches suggested that the political and economic dominance of a small number of countries has dominated the news content and flow of international news (Wanta & Hu, 1993). This First-World bias of selecting and reporting news may affect the images which individuals have about other countries.

The perspective of the journalist to regard a set of agenda as important is referred to as newsworthiness. Newsworthiness played an important role in the decision of whether an article should be published or not. This concept of newsworthiness is also used as a determinant of international news coverage. The newsworthiness of a particular country or region affects the amount of media coverage they receive. In his study, Golan (2006) summarized four determinants that influence the newsworthiness of international news

coverage; deviance, relevance, cultural affinity and location in the hierarchy of nations. Deviance refers to the state where the state or norm of a country is diverging from the acceptable standard; hence can cause a potential social change. Relevance and cultural affinity refer to the physical distance between countries, in terms of both geographical and cultural which affect the audience interest positively. The last determinant, which also is the key predictor of international news coverage, refers to the argument that media is more likely to cover countries which rank higher in the hierarchy of the world system. Golan (2006) based this hierarchy mainly on economic power, foreign-trade scale and population size. This determinant refers to how the news stories regarding the US and some European countries dominate the international news.

1.3. Understanding the Relations between Media Agenda and Representation of Foreign Country in Media

The current advancement of telecommunication and transportation industry affect the mobility of people around the world. In the time when the world entered a global era and the mobility of the people is higher than ever before; the importance and thus the demand for international news increases. Moreover, this dependency on media to obtain information about foreign country emphasize the role of media on shaping public opinion about a foreign country.

Abovementioned studies have shown that as foreign affairs do not concern individuals directly, and that the coverage of international news possess agenda-setting effect. Some factors, such as geographical and cultural distance between the two countries may affect the likelihood of a particular country being covered by the media. However, media also considers some countries with greater economic, political and military power newsworthy, regardless of their distance and affinity. This indicates the dominance of some Western countries on the international news flow.

Not only media are most likely to cover news from the US and other western countries as they are considered more newsworthy; the agenda of these countries may also be reflected on the news about a foreign country. Although the knowledge of the people about certain countries may affect the perceived importance of those countries; it does not go hand-in-hand with whether or not the public consider that particular country as favourable. This is where second-level agenda-setting takes effect. The second-level agenda-setting influence the perceived salience of the attributes belong to the agenda object, hence telling the audience how to think about that particular object.

The dominance of some Western countries can also be seen in how media represent a particular country. In general, the news sources of international news are foreign correspondents or news wires. However, with the advancement of communication technology and the fact that not all news organization have the financial capability to send their journalists abroad; most of them rely on news wires through a subscription for the supply of international news. Currently, there are three western news wires which dominate the world: US-based Associated Press (AP), and Europe-based Agence France Presse (AFP) and Reuters (Horvit, 2006).

The domination of big western news wires raised some issues. These news wires tend to report news based on the perspective, assumptions and interests of their home countries (Rauch as cited in Horvit, 2006: 430). As previously mentioned, news sources and interactions among journalists are some of the determinants of the media agenda (McCombs & Valenzuela, 2007). Thus, the use of information from abovementioned enables the agenda of the news wires to transfer to the news organization which published the news. Furthermore, the reliance of news organizations around the world on small numbers of news wires create a lack of diversity in news reporting.

Chapter Two: General Overview of Indonesian Media

This chapter assesses the media environment in Indonesia by providing a brief history of the mass media in Indonesia, discussing the issue of media ownership and analyse the media consumption pattern in Indonesia. Understanding the media environment in Indonesia is crucial for this study because it will give a better comprehension of the media agenda in the news platform in Indonesia and its role in representing foreign countries.

2.1. Brief History of Mass Media in Indonesia

The history and development of the media industry in Indonesia are inseparable from Indonesian political history. After its independence in 1945, Indonesia has undergone some massive changes in social, political and cultural aspects.

Media in Pre-Independence Indonesia

The earliest history of mass media in Indonesia traced back to the era of Dutch Colonialization. In 1619 the Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies, Jan Pieterszoon Coen introduced the first hand-written Dutch newspaper called “*Memories der Nouvelles*” which primarily contains information intended for the Dutch (Hetharia, 2015). Correspondingly, the Dutch colonials brought the first printing press to Indonesia directly shipped from the Netherlands with the missionary purpose of publishing Christian literature (Chaniago & Umairah, 2018). Merchant and the secretary of Secretary-General Office Jan Erdman Jordens published *Bataviase Nouvelles en Politique Raisonnementen* under the liberal Governor-General Van Inhoff in 1744 (Triarsotomo, 2011). The newspapers published by the Dutch in Indonesia during this time is referred to as *pers kolonial* (colonial press). Nevertheless, the early newspaper did not have any political meaning as they were an advertisement newspaper and was heavily regulated by the colonial government.

Another media group formed in pre-independence Indonesia despite the restrictive censorship is the *pers Cina* (Chinese Press). The rapid economic growth during liberalism period of Dutch colonialization increased the welfare of the people of the Dutch East Indies. During this period of change, the Chinese minority who was in a hierarchically higher position and economically better off compared to the indigenous people began to adapt by pursuing education. These circumstances encouraged the start of the Chinese newspaper industry in pre-independent Indonesia. Newspapers published during this time are in Chinese and Malay (after 1928, Bahasa Indonesia) (Wakhid, 1999). In addition, Wakhid (1999) also argued that, unlike *pers colonial* and later on *pers nasional* whose publications were highly political, the Chinese publications solely aim for commercial profit.

The last media group of this period, *pers nasional* (national press) came out much later compared to the previous two groups. The indigenous Indonesian cultivated the idea of a national press to voice their interests and demands during the colonialization era. The national movement which was part of the process of people's mobilization in Indonesia could not be separated from the emergence of the national press (Triarsotomo, 2011). Kartodirdjo (cited in Yuliati, 2018: 255) defined the role and function of the national press as; establishing a communication revolution from spoken communication to written communication that can no longer be altered in the process; creating an open communication in which information can be obtained by any groups; raising collective consciousness in the people regarding with safety, prosperity, sociological issue, state administration, etc.; increasing political awareness in readers; and integrating the educated community both regionally and nationally, as well as creating segmentation based on political views, group interests, and other social communities.

Media played an important role in Indonesia's independence, even during the Proclamation of Independence by Sukarno and Mohammad Hatta on August 17th 1945,

the national media enthusiastically report and support the establishment of the new republic (Hill, 2007). Moreover, the role of the media remained unchanged even after the declaration of independence. During the national revolution era (1945-1949) the national press continued to spread nationalism among the public because even after the declaration, the Netherlands still did not recognize Indonesia as an independent state (Yuliati, 2018).

Indonesia went through various changes after the Dutch recognized its independence. Between 1949 and 1950, Indonesia has changed their constitution from parliamentary democracy to liberal multiparty democracy; and government form from the Republic of the United States of Indonesia (*Republik Indonesia Serikat*) into the Republic of Indonesia (*Republik Indonesia*). This establishment of various political parties, as well as ethnic, religious and other conflicts, led to countless political groupings in Indonesia. Romano (as cited by Johansson, 2016) argued journalism was not neutral at the time, as although a great number of newspapers was being established, yet almost all somehow affiliated with a specific political party.

The 1950 constitution marked a new era of Indonesian media. Sukarno deemed liberal democracy was ill-suited for the country, thus the Indonesian government again changed its constitution from liberal democracy to guided democracy (*demokrasi terpimpin*). In this system, the role of the state-guided media was to act in opposition to counter-revolutionary influences and spread information about Indonesian socialism (Romano as cited by Johansson, 2016). Ultimately, the various changes during the early years of the republic led to political instability which ended the 21 years reign of the first president Sukarno and marked the beginning of the New Order.

Indonesian Media in New Order Era

Indonesian media industry experienced a major setback during the year 1965. At the beginning of the year, 29 newspapers were shut down for their support of anti-communist and arguably anti-Sukarno bloc; and ironically after the 1 October political chaos another 46 newspapers were closed down due to their presumed associated with or sympathized for the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) and its allies (cited in Hill, 2007: 34). The nationwide purge of the communists resulted in the arrest of hundreds of press staff, including the expulsion of leftist members from Indonesian Journalists Association and 30% of the editorial staff of the national Antara News Agency (Hill, 2007: 34-35).

The new policy of the new administration did not only affect the abovementioned groups; it affected Indonesian media wholly. The remnants of Indonesian media initially gave a positive response to the changes which they considered as a shift from the rigid state-guided media to “free but responsible” media system (Schwarz cited in Johansson, 2016: 15). However, in the 1970s a tension arose in the relationship between the government and these remnants of Indonesian media. During this period, Indonesian media began to adopt a campaign-style inspired by the pre-independence media spirit and supported the public criticism of government policies (Hill, 2007). The new regime gave a harsh response to these media by implementing various restriction and control mechanisms.

These control mechanisms implemented by Suharto affected almost the entire aspects of media. Hidayat et al. (cited in Gazali, 2002: 122) summarized the control mechanisms in the New Order as; the ownership control in which newspaper publishers had to obtain a Permit to Publish (SIT) from the supposedly civilian Department of Information and the Permit to Print (SIC) from the military security authority, KOPKAMTIB (Hill, 2007); the journalism practitioner control, such as control in selection and regulation, i.e. government requirement of the journalists to be a member of Indonesian Journalist Association (PWI); the control of appointed individuals for certain positions in the government-owned media; the news production control; the resource control, such as

paper; and access control of the press. Nevertheless, it should also be noted that various misconducts as trivial as ‘telephone culture’, which refers to an order from a government body to a media institution to resist publication of specific news items or report of certain events; to a more serious case such as government criticism which can lead to ban or loss of licenses occurred during this period. The media which once worked alongside the state during the national struggle could no longer maintain its role as the fourth estate.

The scope of control of government under Suharto’s administration was not only limited to the press, as the regime also took over the control of the broadcasting media, namely the national television TVRI and public radio network RRI. As the regime considers the media as state ideological apparatus (Gazali, 2002), television and radio programmes are used to “... stress education and information, adhere to the state’s philosophy (the Pancasila), shall not be involved in political activities, and shall relay some RRI programmes such as the news and other important events of the day” (Oetama, 1978). Similar to the press, the government also issued the broadcasting license for radio and television. RCTI received its broadcasting license in 1987 and became the first privately-owned television network in Indonesia.

Indonesian Media in the Reformation Era

The fall of Suharto’s authoritarian ‘New Order’ regime in 1998 was seen as the dawn of media democratisation in Indonesia. B.J. Habibie administration that lasted less than a year managed to bring some important reforms: press freedom through the abolition of censorship and government control mechanisms; political freedom for new political parties; and East Timor referendum (Mawaddah, 2019). Moreover, major deregulations and the abandonment of the Ministry of Information dramatically changed the Indonesian media landscape. In addition, the restrictive 1982 Press Law was replaced by 1999 Press Law, which abolishes the requirement of publishing license to open a media business and

establish an independent Press Council to arbitrate over a public complaint against the media (Haryanto, 2011). These changes have enabled the growth of the media industry in Indonesia.

This exponential growth of media industry in Indonesia did not last long. Rachmah Ida (2011) observed that media companies begin to engage more in business, and gained more power through the convergence of information technology, entertainment and education. Robinson and Hafiz (2004) stated that in post-Suharto Indonesia, the interest of business entrepreneurs, including the “national media barons nurtured during the Suharto regime, have been accommodated within new alliances and political coalitions”. Thus Ida (2011) concluded that with this commercial entity and economic power of their owners, media gained the potential to challenge government’s regulatory mechanisms by arguing such limitations would restrain media independence and hinder its economic growth.

With the increasing economic power of the media, the government interferes less and ease regulations in media sector; a situation which Ida (2011) argues, has been utilised by major business players to establish a market environment that is advantageous to them. The Broadcasting Bill No. 32/2002 article 18 regulates and limits media ownership in Indonesia to prevent the concentration of ownership. However, both the government and the Indonesian Broadcasting Committee (KPI) seem to turn blind-eye on such obvious violations. Also, the public seems to be more preoccupied with the moral effect of media content and oblivious to the political consequences of concentrated media ownership.

2.2 Media Ownership in Indonesia

This rapid growth and immense power of Indonesian media organisations have resulted in a trend of conglomeration. As seen in figure 2, Lim (2012) analysed the prints, broadcasts and online media in Indonesia and categorized them in a rather short list of media groups consisted of; Mahaka Media Group, Kompas Gramedia Group, Jawa Pos

Group, Media Bali Post (KMB) Group, Elang Mahkota Teknologi (EMTEK) Group, Femina Group, Mugi Reka Abadi Group and Trans Corpora (Para) Group. Including state-owned media, these names conclude of what she referred to as *the league of thirteen* which dominates the media environment in Indonesia. Moreover, Susilo (2017) claimed, these media conglomerates commonly affiliate with a political party. For example, the president director of MNC Media Group, Hary Tanoesoedibjo, founded PERINDO Party in 2015, not long after he quitted HANURA Party; owner of Media Group which owns Metro TV, Surya Paloh who is also the general chairman of NASDEM Party, and; chairman of GOLKAR Party Aburizal Bakrie who owns Visi Media Asia Group. The lists still go on, as this phenomenon is rather common in Indonesia media and political realm.

The three-decades of authoritarianism and anti-communist propaganda in the New Order has shaped the political spectrum in Indonesia. Prominent political parties in Indonesia are generally positioned on the centre or the right end of the spectrum, although ideologically hold little to no differences. The division of these centre-right political parties is based on the degree to which they believe Islam should play a role in the public affair (Aspinall, Fossati, Muhtadi, & Warburton, 2018). Among the abovementioned political parties, GOLKAR is the oldest secular-nationalist political party and was the official government party who controlled the parliament during the Suharto's New Order Era (Bulkin, 2013). Meanwhile, founded by ex-GOLKAR politician Surya Paloh, NASDEM is a new secular nationalist political party separated from GOLKAR after a disagreement over chosen candidates. Hary Tanoesoedibjo was also a member of NASDEM before he joined HANURA and afterwards founded his own party PERINDO. Hence among the political parties affiliated to these media groups, none of them are Islamic conservative parties.

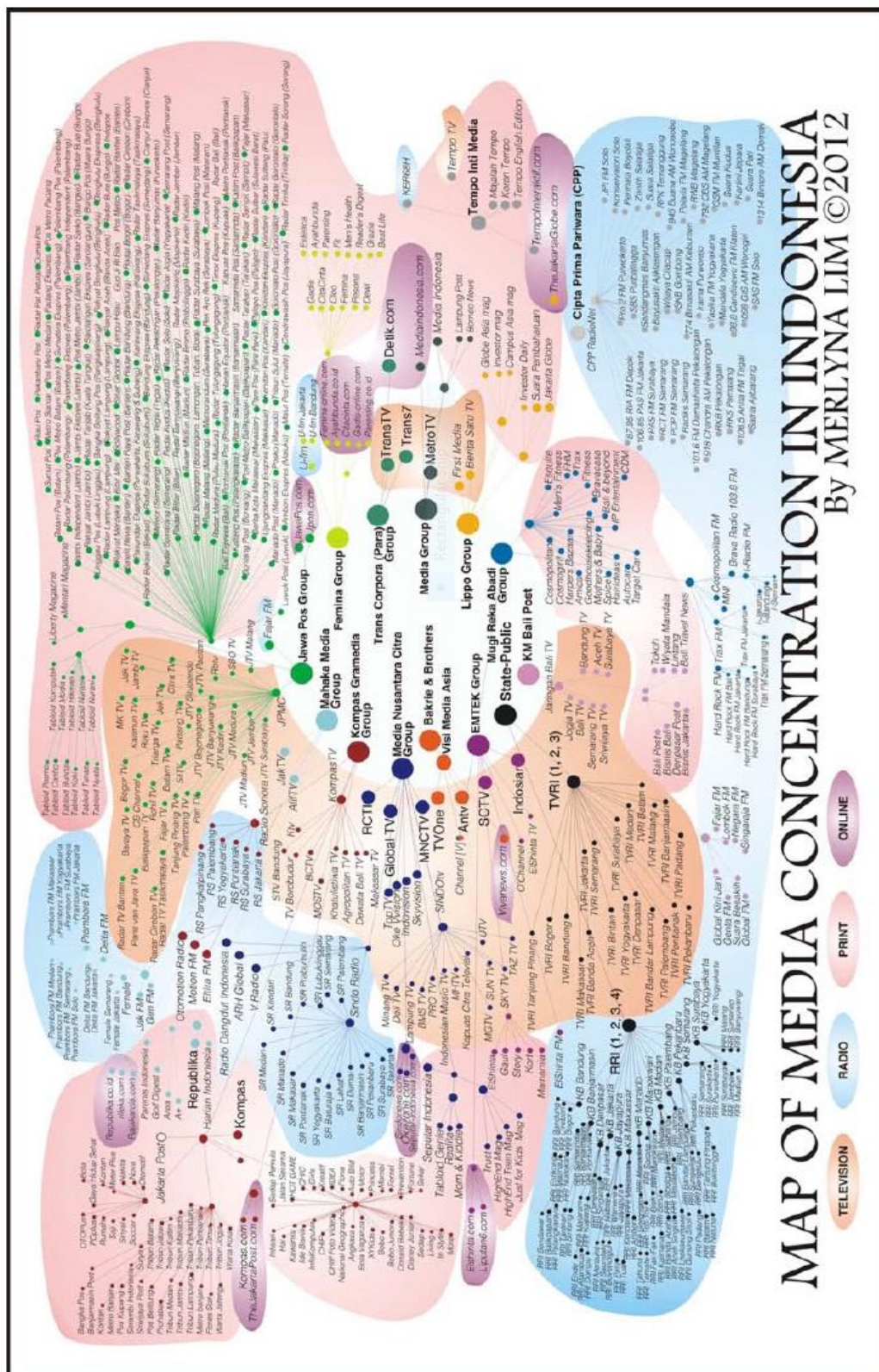


Figure 2 Map of media concentration in Indonesia (*Lim, 2012*)

The development of communication technology, especially the internet has brought many hopes to create a more symmetrical, dialogic and 'free' way for people to communicate and practice democracy. However, the Indonesian media giants are still the dominant player of the news portal on the internet. Each media group launches their own news-portals, such as Kompas Gramedia Group who launched Tribunnews.com and Kompas.com; Trans Media group launched Detik.com; MNC Group launched Okezone.com and Sindonews.com. There are also more recent players in the industry such as KapanLagi Youniverse Group with Liputan6.com and start-up based Dynamo Media Network with Kumparan.com. However, it is not unordinary for these new news portals to be acquired by media giants, as seen in the example of the merger between EMTEK and KapanLagi Youniverse Group.

The ownership of a media may influence the news production; as it can affect the journalistic practices, as well as values and target audience of the news. In relation to the representation of foreign countries, media ownership may influence how it frames the news due to differences in press freedom and government press relation, the presence of foreign news organisations and cultural differences among and within the countries (Kiwauka-Tondo, Albada, & Payton, 2012). Furthermore, the circumstances in relation with media ownership such as the involvement of media owners in politics or the economic power of these conglomerates matter in the representation of events, media and social problem in the media. Because, media representation also build on the ways other social actors construct issues in their multifarious discourses (Carvalho, 2008: 164).

This problem of ownership concentration in the Indonesian media sector is similar to the global world, as currently, five major companies dominated the whole industry. In the US context, McChesney (1999) famously argued that concentration of ownership reduces the democratic rights and responsibilities of the media. Such concentration severe the role of 'free' media in the production and reproduction of democratic processes in the country.

2.3. Media Consumption in Indonesia

The wave of the new media technology has hit every part of the world including Indonesia. As the fourth most populous country in the world with its 262 million population (The World Fact Book: Indonesia, 2019), roughly half of them are connected to the internet (We Are Social, 2018). The internet has become the first preferred means to access news in Indonesian metropolitan area such as Jakarta, Bandung and Surabaya (Open Society Foundation, 2014). Nevertheless, conventional media such as television is still the most common source of information and entertainment in Indonesia. However, it has a different consumption pattern hence it should not be lumped together with other media consumption (Open Society Foundation, 2014).

Chapter Three: Indonesia – Turkey Relationship

This chapter aims to create a contextual background of the study by providing general information about the political and cultural relationship between Indonesia and Turkey. This chapter is structured in two subchapters. The first subchapter discusses the history and current political and economic activities of the two countries. The second subchapter focuses on the presence of Turkish culture in Indonesia. While the first subchapter covers the general idea about the relationship between the two countries, the second chapter aims to introduce specific information about the study.

3.1. Political and Economic Relations: Brief History and Current Activities

Despite their geographical distance, Indonesia and Turkey share numbers of similarities. Among those similarities, both countries are Muslim-majority countries with 87.2% of Indonesian (Kusnandar, 2019) and 99.2% of the Turkish population (Özer, 2014) proclaim their beliefs in Islam. Moreover, the governmental system of the two countries is a democratic presidential republic and both countries hold a regular election. This coexistence of Islam and democracy in both Turkey and Indonesia show the two countries as dynamic modern Islamic nations that may serve as “role models” (Ghosh, 2011).

The relationship between Indonesia and Turkey dated back before the formation of the two republics. The relationship between the Aceh Sultanate and Ottoman Empire is recorded in the Mühimme Records, stating the arrival of envoys from Aceh Sultanate in Istanbul and their request of military aid from the Ottoman to fight against the Portuguese Empire in Malacca during the 16th century (Republic of Turkey, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, n.d.). Following this request, the Ottoman sent its fleet of ships, with 500 Turkish soldiers, gunsmith and engineers; along with supplies of weapons and ammunition (Tarling, 1993). Afterwards, several Aceh delegations came to Istanbul in the 19th century to renew their loyalty after protected by the Ottoman three centuries before (Consulate

General of the Republic of Indonesia Istanbul Turkey, n.d.). Nevertheless, the relationship between the two nations remained dormant in the next centuries due to colonializations and various internal changes within the two countries.

The relationship between the two countries progressed after Indonesia declared its independence from the Dutch Colonials in 1945; in which Turkey was among the first country who offered its recognition in 1949 (Turkish Embassy in Jakarta, n.d.). The diplomatic relations between the two countries strengthen as Turkey opened its embassy in Jakarta on April 1957. Bilateral relations between the two countries began to vivify in 2004 with the increase of mutual high-level visits. In April 2011, Turkish President Abdullah Gül and Indonesian President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono signed the joined declaration of “Turkey and Indonesia: Towards an Enhanced Partnership in a New World Setting” in Jakarta (Republic of Turkey, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, n.d.). Afterwards, Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan did a state-visit to Indonesia in 2015 with the focus of enhancing trade corporation between the two countries (Kompas.com, 2015).

Indonesia and Turkey shared similar value in terms of their view on foreign policy. After its independence, Indonesia adopts the independent and active (*bebas dan aktif*) foreign policy. Independent, as Indonesia refuses to take a side in neither the Western bloc nor the communist bloc; and active, as Indonesia aims to actively carry out a peaceful policy as a loyal member of the UN (Hatta, 1958). Similarly, the founding father of modern Turkish Republic Mustafa Kemal Atatürk set the principle of “Peace at Home, Peace in the World” (“*yurtta sulh, cihanda sulh*”) which guide the current Turkish foreign policy (Republic of Turkey, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016). Moreover, active diplomacy is also one of the characteristics of Atatürk foreign policy (Gönlübol, 1991). Therefore both Indonesia and Turkey foreign policy promote peace while actively participating in foreign diplomacy as can be seen in their membership and close cooperation in numbers of international forums and organizations. Among them are; the United Nations (UN),

Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC), G20 Forum, Developing-8 Organization for Economic Cooperation (D-8), and MIKTA (Mexico, Indonesia, South Korea, Turkey and Australia) Partnership. Turkey also began to take part as a Sectoral Dialogue Partner of Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) since July 2017 (Republic of Turkey, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, n.d.); in which Indonesia is among the founding members of the organization.

With the increasing positive contacts between the two countries, Indonesia and Turkey relationship is expected to grow more in the upcoming time. Indonesia's Coordinating Minister for Politics, Legal and Security affairs Muhammad Mahfud MD said that Indonesia and Turkey will continue to cooperate in all fields, especially in defence and humanitarian issues (Koswaraputra, 2020). Similarly, in his capacity as Indonesian Ambassador for Ankara, Lalu Muhammad Iqbal considers Turkey as a "friendly country", and he expects the diplomatic cooperation between the two countries in economy and defence can influence the resolution of problems in Islamic countries (Atanur, Indonesia sees Turkey as friendly country: envoy, 2019).

In addition to abovementioned fields of cooperation, trade between Indonesia and Turkey has shown some progress. The two countries expect to overcome the obstacles and increase their trade performance after the finalization of Indonesia-Turkey Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement (IT-CEPA) negotiation in 2019 (Nantu, 2019). Indonesia's Trade Minister Enggartiasto Lukita also said that the two countries expect to increase their bilateral trade up to USD 10 billion, with the 2018 total trade recorded at USD 1.8 billion (Khaliq, 2019).

Indonesia-Turkey cooperation also occurs in the field of education. Turkish government continuously support Indonesian students who aim to pursue higher education in Turkey with various governmental and non-governmental scholarship and grants. Currently,

there are 230 Indonesian students in Turkey under the scope of the Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities (YTB) Turkish Scholarship program (Rufinaldo, 2019). Moreover, in the form of non-governmental organization managed by Turkish Presidency of Religious Affairs, Religious Foundation of Turkey (TDV) provide scholarship for students who wish to pursue Islamic studies at high school and university level (Gozali, 2019).

Religion in Indonesia and Turkey

Numbers of political and cultural affinity between Indonesia and Turkey occurred because of their similarities in religion as both are Muslim-majority country. Historically, the role of Islam before the formation of the two republics was different. In Indonesia, Islam was seen as an identity which unified the *pribumi* (indigenous Indonesian) against the colonial power. The Islamic Union (*Sarekat Islam*) was the first political movement in Indonesia which established a modern national awareness (Wahyudin, 2016). On the other hand, Islam was integrated into the major part of the society in Turkey as the Ottoman Empire was under the caliphate system for centuries before the abolition of the system in 1924 by Turkish Grand National Assembly (Al-Rasheed, Kersten, & Shterin, 2015).

In modern-day Indonesia and Turkey, the relationship between religion and state is positioned differently. The 1945 State Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia (*Undang-Undang Dasar Negara Republik Indonesia Tahun 1945*) set forth Pancasila as the foundational philosophical theory of Indonesia. Pancasila, derived from Sanskrit “*panca*” (“five”) and “*sila*” (“principle”), composed the five principles:

1. Belief in the Almighty God ("*Ketuhanan Yang Maha Esa*")
2. A just and civilized humanity ("*Kemanusiaan yang Adil dan Beradab*")
3. A unified Indonesia ("*Persatuan Indonesia*")

4. Citizens led by the wisdom of representative consensus (*"Kerakyatan yang dipimpin oleh Hikmat Kebijaksanaan dalam permusyawaratan/perwakilan"*)
5. Social justice for all Indonesians (*"Keadilan Sosial bagi seluruh Rakyat Indonesia"*).

Furthermore, chapter XI article 29 of the Constitution also stated that;

- (1) The State shall be based upon the belief in the One and Only God.
- (2) The State guarantees all persons the freedom of worship, each according to his/her religion or belief.

Pancasila and the constitution showed that Indonesia is neither a secular nor an Islamic-state; where religion becomes one of the important principles, yet no single religion predominates in the state (Hosen, 2005). Indonesian Government officially recognize six religions; Islam, Protestantism, Roman Catholicism, Hinduism, Buddhism and Confucianism.

On the contrary to Indonesia, Turkey is officially a secular republic. According to the Constitution of the Republic of Turkey (*Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Anayasası*), the characteristic of the Republic of Turkey is “democratic, secular and social state”. Moreover, in the fifth paragraph of the preamble of the constitution, it is also stated that;

“The determination that no protection shall be afforded to thoughts or opinions contrary to Turkish National interests, the principle of the existence of Turkey as an indivisible entity with its State and territory, Turkish historical and moral values or the nationalism, principles, reforms and modernism of Atatürk, and that as required by the principle of secularism, there shall be no interference whatsoever of sacred religious feelings in state affairs and politics”.

This secularism based on the six principles of Turkey's Founding Father Mustafa Kemal Atatürk can be broadly defined by the state showing its respect by being impartial to the most divine liberty which is the freedom of thought (Yücel, 1988).

3.2.Cultural Relationship between Indonesia and Turkey

Globalization and technological advancements that came along with it have enabled more people to travel day by day. As more flights flying between the two countries and loosen visa regulation, more Indonesian tourists began to visit Turkey. According to the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism, the numbers of Indonesian tourist visiting Turkey in 2017 has increased by 97.3% compared to the same period the previous year (Milliyet, 2017). Many of Indonesian tourists visit Turkey on their return trip from Saudi Arabia after performing Umrah, a pilgrimage to Mecca (Anadolu Agency, 2017). Many views their visit to Turkey as an extension of their previous trip as Turkey possess numbers of important cultural heritage, specifically Islamic historical sites such as the *Hagia Sophia* or the *Blue Mosque*. Therefore, Indonesian tourists often consider their visit to Turkey as a form of religious tourism.

Numbers of Indonesian celebrities shared their experience visiting Turkey in their social media. Indonesian celebrities such as actress Luna Maya (Diananto, 2020), TV presenter Olla Ramlan (Azasya, 2018), actor and host Rafi Ahmad (Rahmawati, 2020), and singers Ayu Ting Ting (Akmala, 2019) have visited Turkey and each documented their travel photos and videos in their social media accounts. Their stories reached to millions of their followers and often transfer to mainstream media, primarily television and online news media outlet. This occurrence increases the knowledge of the public about Turkey and promoted Turkish tourism to the Indonesian market.

In addition to tourism, the virtual cultural exchange between Indonesia and Turkey occur in the media through popular culture. Turkish entertainment industry penetrated the

Indonesian market with the broadcast of Turkish TV series *Elif* in Indonesian television network SCTV in 2015. Not long after the success of *Elif*, ANTV followed the trend by airing *Abad Kejayaan (Muhteşem Yüzyıl)*. Among other Turkish TV series aired in Indonesia are, *Cansu dan Hazal (Paramparça)*, *Cinta di Musim Cherry (Kiraz Mevsimi)*, *Efşun dan Bahar (O Hayat Benim)*, and *Antara Nur dan dia (Asla Vazgeçmem)* (Jauda, 2019).

Indonesian television networks have broadcasted foreign TV series throughout the years. These series, mainly from Latin America, India, South Korea, Turkey and the Philippines; managed to gain popularity among various audience group (Alfanani, 2017). Turkish TV series, or usually referred to as *dizi* offered similar plot to Indonesian TV series or *sinetron*, refer to *sinema-elektronik* (electronic cinema). Both *dizi* and *sinetron* generally touch upon certain elements such as class-differences, moral conflicts and family conflicts dramatically with slow progressing and intersecting storylines which result in hundreds of episodes. Putri (2016) argued that the popularity of Turkish *dizi* is based on the visual of the actor and actresses in the drama, and cultural affinity of the two countries. She argues that Indonesian audience considers the physical appearance of the actors and actresses, such as height and facial hair, to be unusual hence interesting. In addition, the existence of cultural similarities also increases the popularity of the shows, such as the names of the character in Turkish *dizi* sound familiar to Indonesian audiences; specifically, names rooted from Arabic, such as Ayşe, Zeynep or Selim. Moreover, as these series target daytime audience and often dubbed, these names are translated into Indonesian spelling of the names; into Aishah, Zaenab or Salim. This familiarity increases the likeability of the show. Also, Islamic cultural elements, such as the expression of “Masha Allah” or “Insha Allah” in the drama create a cultural association within the audience. The portrayal of modern, yet still preserving conservative norm in Turkish *dizi* increased the popularity of the show in Indonesia (Vasandani, 2017).

Chapter Four: Research Methodology

This chapter provides information about the methodology of the study. This chapter consists of three sub-chapters: research methodology, research sample, and data collection.

4.1. Research Methodology

The main objective of this study is to find out how Turkey is being represented in Indonesian online news sites. Based on this objective, this study addressed these two central lines of enquiry:

1. What are the key ways by which Turkey is being represented in Indonesian online news sites?
2. How do they identify with the media environment in Indonesia, and the relationship between Indonesia and Turkey; according to the previous literature focusing on the media agenda?

The use of language is pivotal in representing a foreign country on the news. Therefore, to provide a relevant answer to the research questions, it is seen as fitting to analyse the language used in reporting Turkey in Indonesian media. However, rather than analysing some impressionistic samples, this study wanted to conduct a more systematic analysis which incorporates a larger number of news articles extracted from different Indonesian online news sites. Yet, this systematic analysis of language use also has to be flexible enough to be incorporated with concepts from other fields of study, e.g. media and political science; which are the primary field of interest of the current study. Consequently, critical discourse analysis (CDA) informed corpus linguistics seem to be the most suited methodology which can cater to these requirements.

Corpus-based CDA seems like an attempt to combine the somewhat opposing approaches of corpus-linguistics and CDA. However, Corpus linguistics and critical discourse analysis are not entirely a different method. Corpus-based linguistics approach studies real-life texts or *corpora* stored digitally and implements statistical techniques typically used in quantitative analysis, such as frequency, to observe the pattern of language use. Although such calculations can be done automatically using computer programmes; human observation is still needed to interpret the data. Therefore, corpus linguistics still involves a series of qualitative techniques in the interpretation. On the other hand, CDA is a qualitative methodology which examines meaning construction through language.

Corpus linguistics approach in CDA allows the researcher to systematically analyse discourses, by providing them with comprehensive evidence of language use in the texts for a different type of linguistic data, e.g. lexical items, propositions, implications, descriptions, etc. Moreover, Corpus-based CDA also offers the researcher opportunity to simultaneously analyse large numbers of texts using a computer programme. The researcher believes that analysing large a larger number of sample is more likely to reveal the big picture, which is harder to detect using an only smaller amount of texts.

This study has observed numbers of notable research on the combination of corpus linguistics and discourse studies (Baker, 2006; Biber, Conrad, & Reppen, 1998; Bednarek, 2006), and limited numbers of researches which used this combination in the research of representation of a group of people or a country in the media (Spiegelman, 2013; Kandil, 2009; Kim K. H., 2014). It occurs to the researcher, the use of corpus-based approach limits the scope of discourse analysis only to verbal written language. Online news articles possess other non-verbal discourses such as picture, which would not be taken into account in the analysis. Moreover, the corpus-based approach also took texts out of the context, as data are processed and presented in lists. Besides, although the use of corpus-linguistic might reduce researcher bias to some extent, it does not diminish it

entirely. The interpretation of the data provided by corpus-based analysis still requires a level of interpretation of the researchers.

However, the combination of corpus-linguistics and CDA also offers numbers of advantages to the research, as Baker (2006) laid out. First, the use of corpus enables the researchers to put some restrictions in their cognitive biases, thus it helps to produce a more reliable analysis. Second, corpus-based discourse analysis invites researchers to become more aware of the use of language in shaping, creating or circulating discourses. Thirdly, corpus data provide more clear-cut evidence of particular hegemonic discourses, as well as its opposition. Lastly, the use of multiple research analysis facilitates the researchers to check the validity of their hypothesis and help to create rich interpretations and explanations in findings.

Similar studies have been focusing on the comparative media representation in Indonesia and Turkey by employing critical discourse analysis on 39 samples (Anjelawati, 2018) and content analysis on 498 samples (Mawaddah, 2019). The researcher of the current study aims to add methodological diversity on the subject by employing corpus-based discourse analysis, which enables the study to both employ larger size of samples while at the same time provides a reliable in-depth evidence.

The methodology used in this study is greatly influenced by the book “Using Corpora in Discourse Analysis” written by Baker (2006); the research done by Spigelman (2013) with the title “The Depiction of Polish migrants in the United Kingdom by the British press after Poland’s accession to the European Union” using corpus-based discourse analysis; and work of Kyung Hye Kim (2014) with the title “Examining US news media discourses about North Korea: A corpus-based critical discourse analysis”.

The following subsections will give more detail about the methodology used in this study.

4.1.1. Corpus Linguistics

Corpus refers to a body of the electronically encoded text. Spiegelman (2013) defines corpus as a collection of spoken/written data taken from a wide range of sources; ranging in size between thousands to hundreds of millions of words. Based on their research goals, researchers carefully curate their corpora to make sure it represents the use of language. Yet, there is no direct answer to the question of how large a corpus should be. Whether it is large or small, Baker (2006) believed that the size of a corpus in an analysis may vary according to its eventual use in the research.

Biber et al. (1998) identified four characteristics of corpus-based analysis:

1. It is empirical; it analyses the actual patterns of use in natural texts;
2. It utilises a large and principled collection of natural texts, known as a “corpus, as the basis for the analysis;
3. It makes extensive use of computers for analysis, using both automatic and interactive techniques;
4. It depends on both quantitative and qualitative analytical techniques.

The corpus-based analysis provides researchers with information regarding the use of language. The use of the corpus-based approach in a study allows researchers to examine what Biber et al. (1998) refer to as “association patterns” which is the systematic ways in which linguistic features such as a word or grammatical construction, are used in relation to other linguistic and non-linguistic features. Thus, the study on association patterns focuses mainly on two kinds of research questions: the one that focuses on the linguistic feature, or the kind that investigates characteristics or varieties of texts. Close investigation on the linguistic association is further split into two categories: lexical association, which examine how linguistic feature is associated with particular words

systematically; and grammatical associations which investigate how linguistic features are related with the grammatical feature in the context.

The commonly used techniques of corpus linguistic in discourse analysis are the frequency list, concordance list and collocation analysis. Despite being the simplest form of corpus linguistic techniques, frequency list provides researchers with a general idea of the corpus, on the other hand, concordance is one of the most effective technique use to analyse corpus for patterns of interest. Concordance refers to a list of the entire occurrences belong to a particular search term in a corpus, presented within the context that they occur in: usually a few words to the left and right of the search term (Baker, 2006: 74). Concordance lines are created using a programme called concordancer which searches the corpus for a chosen word or phrase and displays the searched word or phrase with words that come before and after them (Hunston, 2002). The aim of creating concordance lines is to identify patterns of language used based on their repetitions (Baker, 2006: 77). Concordance analysis is more of a qualitative form of qualitative linguistics, as the researcher has to observe, organize and interpret concordance lines through manual observation. However, using concordance lines to examine a large number of texts might be problematic; as the researcher may only process limited numbers of information at a time. In addition, in researches which involve a large number of lines, identifying patterns and assessing frequency and significance may be more challenging.

Collocation analysis is another technique used in corpus linguistics. The use of collocation analysis aims to identify “collocate” of the searched word or phrase. Collocate refers to words which co-occur with the searched word or phrase regularly and in a statistically significant way throughout a particular corpus (Baker, 2006). Analysing collocation list may help to reveal a pattern of relations between two co-occurring words, and identify whether or not there is a logical explanation behind them.

According to Smyth (2016), a high frequency of two co-occurring words do not necessarily show high significance. This is due to the high probability of the word in question also co-occur with grammatical words such as articles, preposition or conjunction words which are some of the most frequently used words in languages. Therefore, total occurrence should not be the sole basis of investigating collocation lists. There is a number of statistical calculation which can be used to measure the significance of collocates. Concordancing programme WordSmith Tools 8.0 (Scott, 2020) offers six different options to calculate the strength of collocation: Mutual Information (MI), MI3, t-score, z-score, dice coefficient and Log-Likelihood.

Collocation is calculated by analysing words in the left and right side of the searched word or phrase. This space between the most left and most right of the search is referred to as span. The resulting collocate may differ based on the span set by the researcher. Researchers may experiment with different spans in order to confirm their initial hypothesis. However, according to Smyth (2016) that the span of collocate search is usually performed within the four words to the left and four words to the right.

4.1.2. Critical Discourse Analysis

Discourse is a broad term used in both social and linguistic fields which in general refers to written and spoken language. Foucault (1972) defined discourse as “practices which systematically form objects of which they speak”. Burr (1995) categorized discourse as “a set of meanings, metaphors, representations, images, stories, statements, and so on that in some way together produce a particular version of events”. In addition, Phillips and Jørgenson (cited in Rasiński, 2011: 8) argued that discourse is “a particular way of talking about and understanding the world (or an aspect of the world)”. In another word, discourse refers to meaning constructions that surround an object, events or any other aspects of the world.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is an approach of discourse analysis commonly used in media studies. The research of CDA emphasizes on the relationship between discourse and power. According to Van Dijk (1993: 1.), CDA focuses on the crucial role of discourse to reproduce or challenge the social power exercised by the privileged social groups. These privileged social groups typically have access to control and manipulate media discourse in their favour. This group maintain their dominance by continuing to redistribute their discursive practices in the media. Therefore, in this context, discourse is seen as a valuable social resource not equally distributed among other social groups. Thus, the goal of CDA as Wodak and Meyer (2001) stated is “...to investigate critically social inequality as it is expressed, signalled, constituted, legitimized and so on by language use (or in discourse)”.

CDA is a problem oriented-research which concerns with the language as a social practice. Despite the fact that the central analysis of CDA revolves around the media and its content, the research of CDA goes beyond the analysis of language through its grammatical, morphological or semantic level; instead, it focuses on the socio-political construct of language. In another word, there is no specific method of analysing text structures in CDA; instead, what important is to systematically relate the aspects of language use to a form of socio-political context.

4.1.3. Implementation of Corpus-Based Discourse Analysis in the current study

The main purpose of this study is to find out how Turkey is being represented in Indonesian media, particularly the online news portals; and how does this align with aforementioned literature research on media agenda, the media environment in Indonesia and Indonesia-Turkey relationship. As established above, the use of language is a crucial aspect of analysis in foreign country representation, in which a higher degree of agenda-

setting effect takes place. Therefore, a handful of corpus linguistics technique is used to provide a systematic analysis of the use of language in the texts.

This study focuses on two central lines of inquiry in identifying the discourse:

1. The agenda object or event Turkey appeared in, and
2. The attribution of the agenda object Turkey appeared in.

The researcher incorporated social, political, historical contexts of Turkey and Indonesia, as well as the media environment in Indonesia, in order to uncover the motivations of why certain patterns are present in the text.

This study built the corpus by curating news published in five different Indonesian online news sites which correspond to the search term “Turki”. The word “Turki” in Bahasa Indonesia generally refers to the country Republic of Turkey. However, it can also be used as an adjective for something of, from, or related to Turkey; e.g. “Bahasa Turki” (Turkish language), “orang Turki” (Turks/ Turkish people), “makanan Turki” (Turkish food).

The starting point of the corpus linguistics analysis is the collocation analysis. The first step of the analysis is obtaining a collocate list of words corresponded with the search-term “Turki”. The current study conducted a collocation analysis of items within four-word span to the left and right of every instance of the word “Turki” in the corpus. This quantitative text analytic procedure was conducted using corpus analysis toolkit for concordancing and text analysis WordSmith Tools 8.0 (Scott, 2020).

This study took into account both the raw frequency and statistical strength of the collocates. This study employed mutual information (MI) calculation to measure the strength between two collocating words. MI score focuses on the probability of two words appearing together within a particular span of words (Biber et al., 1998: 265). MI score

is the log base 2 of the result of the division of frequency of the observed collocate by its expected frequency¹. There is no actual maximum or minimum value of MI calculations, however Hunston (2002) proposes an MI score of 3 or higher be taken as evidence that two items are collocates.

The result of the collocation analysis presents a list of words which both frequently co-occur and show strong association with Turkey in the text. This alone may provide general evidence of how Turkey is being represented in Indonesian media. However, analysing lexical items alone without its contexts might be misleading. Therefore, the third step of the study is creating a concordance line of the relevant collocates to give an in-depth analysis of patterns of language use.

4.2. Research Sample

The corpus observed in this study is built by collecting news articles from five Indonesian online news portals namely; okezone.com, tribunnews.com, detik.com, liputan6.com and republika.co.id. These news portals ranked among the top 50 sites in Indonesia based on their traffic (Alexa Internet, ©2020) and were appointed based on various considerations mentioned in the following subsections. As established in the previous chapter, Indonesian media and has shown a trend of conglomeration and political tendencies of these media oligarchs. Among the five news portals, four are part of the media conglomerates and have a direct affiliation with certain political parties.

Okezone.com

Okezone.com is an online news and entertainment portal which was launched in 2007 by PT Media Nusantara Citra (MNC). MNC is the biggest integrated media company in Indonesia and South-East Asia which also manages numbers of other media businesses

¹ Expected frequency refers to the frequency of co-occurring words in reference corpus.

such as press (Koran Seputar Indonesia, Sindo Weekly, Highend, etc.), as well as television (RCTI, MNCTV, GTV, etc.) and radio networks (MNC Trijaya FM, Global Radio, etc.) (Okezone, n.d.). Founder and owner of the MNC group Hary Tanoesoedibjo, stepped down as CEO in 2016 to focus on politics (Forbes, 2019). He was a former member of Partai NasDem and Hanura before he founded his political party PERINDO (Ihsanuddin, 2015). Moreover, upon its establishment 14 out of 33 board members announced by Tanoesoedibjo were his colleagues and subordinates in MNC (Kresna, 2018).

Tribunnews.com

Tribunnews.com is an online news portal in Indonesia published by PT. Indopersda Primamedia, an internet subdivision of Kompas-Gramedia group. Kompas-Gramedia Group is a media giant founded in 1963 by P.K. Ojong and Jakob Oeatama. Kompas-Gramedia group dominated the newsprint and publishing industry during the 1970s up to these days (Hefner, 1997) in which it owns more than 150 brand names of print, electronic and broadcast media (Kompas Gramedia, n.d.). Kompas-Gramedia also currently engages in other industry aside from media; hospitality, education, property and infrastructure, retail and publishing, manufacture, as well as event and venue. Kompas-Gramedia historical and current success in dominating media group in a Muslim-majority country is seen as an achievement and source of pride for some Indonesians who considers this as evidence of religious tolerance in their country (Hefner, 1997).

Detik.com

Detikcom is an Indonesian digital media company that focuses its publishing online. Unlike other news portals that began and continue publishing prints or broadcast news, detikcom only publishes news online. Detikcom was originally founded as DeTIK tabloid during the New Order era, before losing its publishing license in 1994 for allegedly

criticizing the regime (Birowo, 2005). Detik was relaunched in 1998 and currently is one of the oldest online news platforms in Indonesia. Detikcom serves as a portal for other sites such as detikNews, detikFinance, detikFood, detikHot, detikSport, etc. Detikcom was acquired by CT Corp owned by Indonesian conglomerate and politician Chairul Tanjung in 2011. Since then operate under the management of Trans Corp. Chairul Tanjung was Coordinating Minister for Economics during the administration of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono in 2014. CT Corp (from the initials of its founder Chairul Tanjung) is a group of companies engaging in a wide range of industry such as banking and finance, media, retail, food and beverages, tour and travel, leisure, hotel and resorts, entertainment, and plantation business. Currently, detikcom publishes under Pt Trans Digital Media, which also handles cnnindonesia.com and cnbcindonesia.com (detikNews, 2019).

Republika.co.id

Republika.co.id or ROL (Republika Online) is an online news portal launched on August 17th 1995, two years after the first publication of Harian Republika daily newspaper, the biggest Islamic commercial newspaper in Indonesia (Rahman, 2017). Republika is founded by the Indonesian Association of Muslim Intellectuals (ICMI) through Abdi Bangsa Foundation which at the time chaired by Indonesia's Minister for Research and Technology B.J. Habibie (Hill, 2007). After previous failures in establishing and sustaining explicitly Muslim media during the 1970s; Republika came as a breakthrough in Indonesia, "a venture designed to produce a 'quality' paper which was broadly secular in its coverage of events and issues, yet informed ideologically by Islamic values" (Hill, 2007). Republika operates under Mahaka Media Group, a multiplatform media company founded by Indonesian politician and businessman Erick Thohir. Erick Thohir stepped down from his position as president commissioner of the group in 2019 after he was

appointed by President Joko Widodo as the Minister of State-Owned Enterprises (BUMN) (Ariyanti, 2019).

Liputan6.com

Liputan6 is a brand name of flagship television news program aired on Indonesian television station SCTV. Liputan6.com was launched on the 10th anniversary of the television programme in the year 2000. In the beginning, it only published news that has been broadcasted in the television programme, but in 2012 its parent company, media giant PT Elang Mahkota Teknologi (EMTEK) decided to separate liputan6.com from SCTV and establish it as its own company PT. Kreatif Media Karya (KMK). Liputan6.com claims to be non-partisan, that it does not serve the interests of any group or political party (Liputan6.com, n.d.). In 2016 liputan6.com was owned and managed by PT Liputan Enam Dot Com, a subsidiary of KMK. Liputan6.com changed hand once again in 2018 and currently, it is managed by PT Kapan Lagi Dot Com Network, a subsidiary of SCM, sub-holding of EMTEK's media division. EMTEK is a company group which conducts business in the field of media, telecommunications and IT solutions and connectivity (EMTEK, n.d.)

4.3.Data Collection

The observed corpus built for this study consists of news articles published by okezone.com, tribunnews.com, detik.com, liputan6.com, and republika.co.id and were published between October 1st 2019 and April 1st 2020. In order to present the current situation; the researcher chose the most recent period of study upon conducting the research. The researcher collected the corpus by typing the word “Turki” on the search tool of the respective online news sites. There was no textual selection based on the topic of the articles. Therefore, the corpus collected is not limited only to political news. Some of the articles contain sports report, editorial, and infotainment.

Also, although some of the abovementioned news portals also publish news articles in English; this study only utilize news in Bahasa Indonesia as it's the official language in Indonesia, thus these articles would be and have been consumed by the majority of the population. Moreover, articles of the same language are required to create a uniformed data to perform lexical analysis.

The corpus collected consisted of 1,453 news articles which correspond to the search-word "Turki" in their respective website. The corpus as a whole consists of 526,012 tokens² and 24,145 types³. Table 1 shows the distribution of the corpus-based on the news sites and month the articles were published in.

Table 1 Numbers of articles in the corpus by news sites and months

	okezone.com	tribunnews.com	detik.com	liputan6.com	republika.co.id	Total
Oct-19	19	6	159	36	191	411
Nov-19	9	3	138	23	72	245
Dec-19	11	0	106	20	62	199
Jan-20	3	1	109	15	34	162
Feb-20	16	7	114	28	44	209
Mar-20	15	12	115	27	50	219
Apr-20	0	0	5	1	2	8
Total	73	29	746	150	455	1453

As seen in table 1, a noticeable gap is present in the amount of news published by the five news outlets as tribunnews.com published the least amount of articles among the other four with 29 articles that corresponded with the search-word; whereas detik.com published the most with 752 articles. The researcher argued that the imbalance was caused

² Token refers to the total number of linguistic occurrence (words, numbers, etc.) in a text, regardless of how often they are repeated.

³ Type refers to the total number of unique linguistic occurrence in a text.

by different algorithms used in the web sites. The search results in detik.com and republika.co.id shows every news containing the word “Turki”; whereas okezone.com, tribunnews.com and liputan.com only present news with the word “Turki” in the title. Nevertheless, this situation will not distinctly affect the result of the analysis as this study employed MI-score calculation which does not rely on the size of the corpus.

The reference corpus⁴ used in this study for comparative and calculation purpose was taken from Leipzig Corpora Collection Bahasa Indonesia corpora (Goldhahn, Eckart, & Quasthoff, 2012). The language separation of the corpus was conducted by Nomoto, Akasegawa, Shiohara (2018). The reference corpus consists of three million sample sentences, 53,390,316 tokens, and 514,334 types taken from randomly chosen websites in 2015.

⁴ Reference corpus is a large, more general corpus collected in order to show the use of language in real-life for comparative purpose. Reference corpus offers a point of reference against the searched corpus (Baker, 2006).

Chapter Five: Data Analysis and Discussion

This chapter represents the main part of the study which is the analysis of the representation of Turkey in Indonesian online media sites. In this chapter 1,453 corpus consisted of news about Turkey gathered from five different online news sites are being analysed. The results of the analysis and the findings of the study are presented and discussed below. Firstly, the study presented the result of the collocation analysis to find out the most frequent and statistically significant co-occurring lexical and grammatical items of the search-word “Turki”. This analysis aims to give preliminary ideas of what are the key notions by which Turkey is being represented in Indonesian media. Afterwards, the discourses identified from the results of collocation analysis are given an in-depth examination using concordance lines.

5.2.Collocation Analysis

A collocation analysis of the search-word “Turki” was conducted on the corpus of 1,453 articles which correspond to the search-word on the search tool of the respective news sites. The search of collocate was done within the span of four words to the left and right and limited at every sentence break. The analysis extracted in a total of 1,640 collocation items. Listed in table 3 are the top 20 collocates which consist of both lexical and grammatical words. The lexical word refers to words which possess a semantic content and meaning (e.g. nouns, adjectives, adverbs, etc.); in contrast to grammatical or function words whose role typically is to organize relations between lexical words.

As seen in table 2, the words at the top of this list consisted of mostly grammatical words. Out of 20 words on the list, 8 of them are grammatical words. The high frequency of prepositions DI, KE, DENGAN, DARI, UNTUK, PADA and DALAM was to be expected as “Turki” may refer to a place located within the territory of the Republic of Turkey. However, despite grammatical words are generally expected on the collocate list

of any corpus; it may be beneficial to compare the studied corpus with the reference corpus in order to see whether or not such words occur differently than usual.

Table 2 Top 20 all collocates of "Turki" ranked by frequency

	Word	Translation	Frequency
1	DI	IN/AT/ON	2,260
2	DAN	AND	1,399
3	YANG	THAT/WHICH	1,254
4	SURIAH	SYRIA	971
5	KE	TO/TOWARD	703
6	DENGAN	WITH	676
7	MILITER	MILITARY	661
8	DARI	FROM	630
9	UNTUK	TO/FOR	596
10	SERANGAN	ATTACK	537
11	TELAH	ALREADY	523
12	MENGATAKAN	TO SAY	511
13	PADA	AT/AGAINST	499
14	AKAN	WOULD/SHALL	470
15	ERDOGAN	<i>n/a</i>	453
16	OPERASI	OPERATION	451
17	PRESIDEN	PRESIDENT	446
18	PASUKAN	TROOP	420
19	PERBATASAN	BORDER	418
20	DALAM	INSIDE	389

n/a: the word is a proper noun, therefore translations are not applicable to the word.

As seen in table 3, almost all grammatical words in the top 20 collocate lists of the studied corpus have similar rates of occurrence in the reference corpus. The difference in the frequency rate of the grammatical words DAN, YANG, KE, DENGAN, DARI, UNTUK, PADA and DALAM in the studied corpus and reference corpus range between 0.01% and 0.33%. This indicates that there is nothing extraordinary about the occurrence of the prepositions.

Table 3 Percentage frequencies of frequently occurring grammatical words in the studied corpus and their equivalencies in the reference corpus

	Word	% Frequency in studied corpus	% Frequency in reference corpus
1	DI	2.59	1.54
2	DAN	2.00	2.22
3	YANG	2.47	2.77
4	KE	0.67	0.34
5	DENGAN	0.95	1.14

6	DARI	1.06	0.83
7	UNTUK	0.95	1.03
8	PADA	0.68	0.62
9	DALAM	0.76	0.75

The word DI in the studied corpus stood out on the list as its frequency rate is 1.05% higher in the studied corpus compared to the reference corpus. Preposition DI is a prefix used in Bahasa Indonesia to indicate a place or location. Expectedly, upon analysing the occurrence of DI within the four-word span to the left and right of the search-word “Turki”, the highest frequency was found exactly one word to the left of the search word. The frequency of DI located right before the search-word “Turki” made up 35% of all DI occurrence within the search span.

Examining grammatical word in the collocation gives an insight to how a word is used in a text. However, grammatical words do not particularly serve the interest of discourse. The researcher took out all grammatical words from the collocation list in table 2 and went further down the list to find the top 20 lexical collocation of the search word. The result can be seen in table 4, which listed the top 20 only lexical collocates of the word “Turki” ranked by frequency.

Table 4 Top 20 lexical collocates of "Turki" ranked by frequency

	Word	Translation	Frequency
1	SURIAH	SYRIA	971
2	MILITER	MILITARY	661
3	SERANGAN	ATTACK	537
4	TELAH	ALREADY	523
5	MENGATAKAN	TO SAY	511
6	AKAN	WOULD/SHALL	470
7	ERDOGAN	<i>n/a</i>	453
8	OPERASI	OPERATION	451
9	PRESIDEN	PRESIDENT	446
10	PASUKAN	TROOP	420
11	PERBATASAN	BORDER	418
12	TAYYIP	<i>n/a</i>	342
13	JUGA	TOO	327
14	KURDI	KURDS	318
15	ANKARA	ANKARA	309

16	RECEP	<i>n/a</i>	307
17	RUSIA	RUSSIA	284
18	PEMERINTAH	GOVERNMENT	271
19	TIDAK	NO/NOT	251
20	AS	USA	249

n/a: the word is a proper noun, therefore translations are not applicable to the word.

Table 4 shows a list of words most frequently co-occur with “Turki” between October 1st 2019 and April 1st 2020. The first collocate word listed in table 5 is SURIAH which co-occurs with “TURKI” 971 times. The list goes on with MILITER as second most frequently co-occurred word with 661 occurrences, and SERANGAN which co-occurs 537 times. There are also five words in table 5 which do not serve the interest of the study which is the verb MENGATAKAN, and adverbs TELAH, AKAN, JUGA, and TIDAK. The words ERDOGAN (453), TAYYIP (324), and RECEP (307) which is derived from the name of current Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan appeared on the list, along with the word PRESIDEN with 445 co-occurrences.

The high occurrence of the collocate SURIAH is related to two Turkish cross-border military operations in Syria namely Operation Peace Spring (*Barış Pınarı Harekâtı*) which began on October 9th 2019 and reached agreement on October 17th 2019 (TRTWORLD, 2019); and Operation Spring Shield (*Bahar Kalkanı Harekâtı*) which began on February 27th 2020 (Daily Sabah, 2020). A military operation typically associated with violence, damage, and death, possess a higher degree of news value due to the negativity it implies; which tend to attract the audience (Bednarek, 2006). The two military operations may also explain the high frequency of the word MILITER, SERANGAN, OPERASI, PASUKAN, PERBATASAN. Similarly, high occurrences of RUSIA and AS may also pertain to this event due to the involvement of the two countries in the conflict.

A high frequency of co-occurrence does not guarantee a high degree of significance and certainty. This study employs a statistical calculation MI, in order to measure the strength

of two co-locating words. The study took the first 50 items out of total 1,640 collocation words of the search-word “Turki” sorted according to their MI score. This study limits further analysis as it is considered to be a manageable size. While MI score is useful to measure the relationship strength between a word or phrase and its collocate, MI tends to give high scores to relatively low-frequency words. To reduce the effect of this tendency, collocate items which occurred less than 10 times and occurred in less than 5 articles were eliminated.

Another characteristic of MI-score is that it strongly favours names, terms and specialized or technical combination (Gablasova, Brezin, & McEnery, 2017). As seen in Table 5 which shows top collocation words of “Turki” sorted by their MI score; the list is dominated by proper names, i.e. name of individuals, place and organization. Names of prominent political figures in Turkey topped the list of words strongly associated with “Turki”. The name of Minister of Foreign Affairs of Turkey Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu and Minister of the Interior of Turkey Süleyman Soylu appeared as strongly associated names to Turkey. These names are followed by the name of Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. These names are to be expected on the list, due to a great deal of newsworthiness of a country’s political elites. However, it is a common practice in International news that the name of the foreign political actor is introduced with their respective title, for example, PRESIDEN TURKI RECEP TAYYIP ERDOGAN (*Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan*). Therefore, the high value of the MI score for the combination of the name of the political leader and their origin country is to be expected.

Table 5 Lexical collocates of "Turki" ranked by strength of association according to MI score.

N	Word	Translation	Total	MI
1	MEVLUT	<i>n/a</i>	42	20.30
2	CAVUSOGLU	<i>n/a</i>	58	19.76
3	SOYLU	<i>n/a</i>	46	19.43
4	SULEYMAN	<i>n/a</i>	36	19.08
5	YPG	<i>n/a</i>	83	18.96
6	TAYYIP	<i>n/a</i>	342	18.52
7	RECEP	<i>n/a</i>	307	18.21
8	SDF	<i>n/a</i>	20	17.23
9	ANKARA	<i>n/a</i>	309	17.05
10	ERDOGAN	<i>n/a</i>	453	16.83
11	IDLIB	<i>n/a</i>	109	15.82
12	KURDI	Kurds/Kurdish	318	15.74
13	ANADOLU	<i>n/a</i>	45	15.64
14	TRUMP	<i>n/a</i>	75	15.64
15	CORONA	<i>n/a</i>	62	15.05
17	PERBATASANNYA	(its) border	23	15.04
18	USMANI	The Ottoman	38	15.02
20	UTSMANI	The Ottoman	73	14.87
21	INVASI	Invasion	128	14.58
22	MELABELI	to label	30	14.53
23	MILITERNYA	(its) military	57	14.44
24	ISTANBUL	<i>n/a</i>	150	14.41

n/a: the word is a proper noun, therefore translations are not applicable to the word.

Yet the previous reasoning does not apply to another name of political figures on the list: President of the United States of America Donald Trump. The high frequency of SURIAH co-locating with “Turki” suggested that the name of the US President is associated with the searched-word due to the US involvement in the event of Turkish military operation in Syria.

Turkish military operation and the US involvement in it consequently explained the presence of the items SDF, YPG, and KURDI on the list. The Operation Peace Spring which began on October 9th 2019 was a cross-border military operation conducted by Turkish troops and Syrian National Army. This operation is a part of Turkey’s fights against the Kurdistan Workers’ Party (PKK), a designated terrorist organization by

Turkey, the US and the European Union (Bayar, 2020); and its Syrian offshoot the PYD/YPG (Günerigök, 2019). This fight against terrorism in northeastern Syria also involves another actor: SDF. SDF refers to Syrian Democratic Forces, a “US forces trained”, and “rebranded version of YPG terror group” (Günerigök, 2019).

Two cities in Turkey were listed among the strongly collocating words with “Turki”: Ankara and Istanbul. Ankara co-occurred 309 times and Istanbul co-occurred 109 times with “Turki”. It is not surprising to see the two names, as both are major cities of Turkey: Ankara being the capital city of Turkey, and Istanbul being the largest and economically important city. Another city that strongly collocates with “Turki”, yet is not located in Turkey is IDLIB, which occurred 109 times within the span of four-words left and right of the searched-word. Given the high frequency of the co-occurrence of “Turki” and SURIAH in relation to Turkish military operation in the area, it is unsurprising to see Idlib on the list, as Turkish Spring Shield Operation occurred exactly in Idlib (Ozer, 2020).

Looking at how often “Turki” collocate with SURIAH, it doesn’t seem to be a surprise to see nouns such as *border* or *military* to strongly collocate with Turkey. Thus one might hypothesize that the collocates PERBATASANNYA and MILITERNYA pertained to Turkish Military operation in Syria. Although, it is also possible to connect the presence of the word *border* to the event in February 2020, in which Turkey opened its border for asylum seekers wanted to enter Europe (Baran, 2020). For information, –NYA suffix in Bahasa Indonesia is used depending on its context as a possessive pronoun to indicate an object belongs to someone; or object pronoun used in the sentence in which the object was previously established.

It is interesting to see the strong collocation of “Turki” and the word INVASI. INVASI co-occur with “Turki” in a total of 128 times in the corpus. The word INVASI translates

to *invasion*, and according to the translated definition of the word in Great Dictionary of the Indonesian Language of the Language Center (KBBI), INVASI means “a case or an act of entering the territory of another country by deploying the armed forces with the intention of attacking or controlling the country” (Invasi, n.d.). The use of the word *invasion* in the context of Turkish military operation in Syria imply a negative judgement; which may indicate that the speaker found the event of the military operation to be unjustifiable; thus expressed his/her disagreement and condemnation of the event. The collocation item of INVASI appeared on four out of five sources: detik.com, liputan6.com, okezone.com, and republika.co.id.

The only verb appeared on the list is MELABELI. Yet despite their statistical significance, the MELABELI cannot be examined without looking into the context. Thus this word is considered to be irrelevant for this analysis.

ANADOLU appeared on the list with 45 co-occurrences with “Turki”. Although ANADOLU refers to the peninsula which constitutes the Asian portion of Turkey; in this context, ANADOLU refers to the international Turkish news agency, Anadolu Agency. Anadolu Agency began to provide news service in Bahasa Indonesia in 2017, with the opening of its Pacific Central Office in Jakarta. Anadolu Agency Deputy Director-General Mustafa Ozkaya claimed that the launching of Anadolu Agency Bahasa Indonesia service is a part of the plan to strengthen the bilateral relationship between Indonesia and Turkey (Atanur & Rohmah, 2017). However, the real intention of this establishment is to counter biased news stories against Turkey published by other media outlets (Atanur & Rohmah, 2017). Three years after the launch, the most possible conclusion which can be reached with the co-occurrence of ANADOLU in a text is that the particular information found in that text was obtained from the Anadolu Agency. The collocation item ANADOLU was found in detik.com, liputan6.com, okezone.com, republika.co.id, and tribunnews.com.

CORONA is also listed among the collocates of “Turki” with 63 co-occurrences in the corpus. The collocate item CORONA pertained to the event of Coronavirus Disease (COVID-19) outbreak in 2019. COVID-19 is a worldwide pandemic which by the end of the data collection period of this study (April 1st 2020) has infected 72,471 people and caused 333,446 deaths (WHO, 2020). Turkey reported its first case of COVID-19 on March 11th 2020, after a male citizen returned from Europe tested positive (Zorlu, 2020). As of April 1st 2020, Turkey has reported 15,679 confirmed cases of COVID-19 and 277 deaths (T.C. SAĞLIK BAKANLIĞI, 2020). The collocation of “Turki” and CORONA can be concluded to pertain to COVID-19 outbreak in Turkey. This representation of Turkey in relation to COVID-19 outbreak was found in the texts from detik.com, liputan6.com, republika.co.id and tribunnews.com.

The collocation analysis listed UTSMANI and USMANI among words strongly collocate with “Turki”. These collocates referred to Turkish historical entity, the Ottoman Empire and caliphate. UTSMANI co-located 73 times with “Turki”, whereas its alternative spelling USMANI occurred 38 times. The English spelling of the word OTTOMAN was also found among the 1,640 collocates, and the word co-occurred in a total of 10 times. The texts which contain the collocation of Turkey and the Ottoman were obtained from four out of five sources: detik.com, liputan6.com, okezone.com, and republika.co.id.

The results of the collocation analysis highlighted the key notions by which Turkey is being represented in news articles published by Indonesian online news sites. The high frequency of co-occurrence of Turkey and the country Syria, along with nouns such as *military*, *attack*, *operation*, *troop*, and *border* indicated that news about Turkey in Indonesian media are mostly related to the event of Turkish military operations in Syria, which occurred within the data collection period of the study. Consequently, words and proper names (specifically the name of presidents and relevant ministers from the country

involved in the event) which most frequently co-occur Turkey are also related to the event.

As news about Turkey in relation to its military operation in Syria disproportionately dominate the corpus, this study conducts further analysis which focused on the strength of the collocation rather than its raw frequency. Using this scale, the study identified three statistically strong collocates of the search-word “Turki” which do not pertain to Turkish military operation, yet still relevant for the goal of the study: CORONA, UTSMANI, and USMANI. The strong association of “Turki” with these items established other notions by which Turkey is represented in the news published by Indonesian online news sites: the COVID-19 outbreak, and the Ottoman Empire.

5.2. Concordance list

This part of the study aims to provide an in-depth and contextual understanding of the ways in which Indonesian online news sites have evaluated Turkey in the news, based on the result of the collocation analysis. The collocation analysis has previously established three main areas by which Turkey is associated with the Indonesian online news site: Turkish military operation in Syria, COVID-19 outbreak, and the Ottoman Empire. These notions are examined individually by conducting concordance analysis, in order to discover how the representation of Turkey is being attributed in relation to these events.

5.2.1. Representation of Turkey in 2019-2020 Turkish Military Operation in Syria

The first notion to be analysed is the representation of Turkey in relation to its military operation in Syria. Although the collocations analysis has shown multiple words which pertained to this notion, the collocate word SURIAH is seemed to be most suited as it showed the highest frequency of collocation and encapsulated the entire event. Using

“Turki” as a search word and SURIAH as context word has resulted in 622 concordance lines. Unlike the collocation analysis, the concordance list was extracted from collocation search within the span of four words to the left and right, and limited at every punctuation break. As the amount of concordance lines is considerably large to be examined individually, this study utilized the *Reduce data to N entries* function of WordSmith Tools 8.0 (Scott, 2020), which allows the researcher to reduce the data with the random sampling method. Concordance 1 presented 70 concordance lines sample of “Turki” and SURIAH which has been sorted alphabetically first word to the left, and secondly two words to the right.

Concordance 1 70 lines of "Turki" and SURIAH

Concordance	
1	Arab Saudi Kecam Agresi Militer Turki di Suriah Serangan militer Turki di Suriah dinilai mengancam
2	dokumentasikan para korban sipil yang jatuh akibat serangan Turki di Suriah timur laut mulai 9 Oktober silam. Menurut Colvill
3	30 kilometer ke dalam Suriah. Dengan zona aman tersebut, Turki menyatakan jutaan pengungsi Suriah akan dapat kembali pulang
4	didukung oleh para militan Suriah. "Angkatan Bersenjata Turki dan Tentara Nasional Suriah telah melancarkan operasi darat
5	menimbulkan pertikaian langsung antara angkatan bersenjata Turki dan Suriah, yang jarang terjadi sepanjang sejarah kedua
6	menarik kembali pasukan dan membuka jalan bagi serangan Turki terhadap pasukan Kurdi Suriah yang sebelumnya bersekutu
7	sekutu AS. Dalam serangan itu, pesawat tempur dan artileri Turki menggempur Pasukan Demokratik Suriah (SDF) di sepanjang
8	perbatasan menjadi tempat yang aman bagi Suriah dan rakyat Turki dengan biaya berapa pun. Pemerintah Suriah dan sekutunya
9	dan waspada. Menolak pemulangan anggota ISIS dari Suriah, Turki , dan Irak merupakan sebuah langkah tegas dan perlu diapresiasi
10	dari "zona aman" yang dibangun Ankara di dekat perbatasan Turki dengan Suriah. Gencatan senjata juga bertujuan meredakan
11	dilakukan untuk menggerus kekuatan Kurdi di perbatasan Turki dan Suriah serta menciptakan zona aman sepanjang 30 kilometer
12	perusahaan dan dua individu yang beroperasi di Suriah, Turki , Teluk, dan Eropa. Mereka dijatuhi sanksi lantaran memberikan
13	jumlahnya 689 per hari ini warga negara Indonesia di Suriah, Turki , terlibat FTF itu akan dipulangkan apa tidak," kata Mahfud.
14	AS Tegaskan tidak Ikut Operasi Militer Turki di Suriah Turki akan melanjutkan operasi militernya di Suriah untuk
15	dunia maya dengan keterangan pasukan Suriah dikirimkan oleh Turki ke Libya, GNA menyebutnya tidak benar. GNA mengatakan
16	Kurdi terus berlanjut. Serangan terus dilancarkan pasukan Turki ke wilayah Suriah utara. Ngotot Turki tak akan Henggang dari Suriah Erdogan tegaskan Turki tak akan henggang dari
17	Suriah hingga negara lain keluar
18	juga mengomentari keengganan negara-negara Eropa menghadapi Turki atas tindakannya di Suriah. Menurut del Porte, hal itu
19	Negosiasi Gagal, Perang Turki dan Suriah di Ambang Mata Pasukan Turki telah membanjiri

20 jadi sarana propaganda pengaruhi opini global serangan **Turki** di Suriah. REPUBLIKA.CO.ID,
 ANKARA -- Ketika pasukan Turki
 21 pos-pos pengamatan militer negaranya di Idlib diserang, **Turki** akan membidik pasukan Suriah di
 mana pun mereka berada.
 22 dan teguran Trump Sementara itu terkait invasi militer **Turki** ke Suriah, Presiden Amerika
 Serikat Donald Trump mengatakan
 23 Turki Setop Cegat Pengungsi Suriah Datang ke Eropa **Turki** akan berhenti mencegat pengungsi
 Suriah menyeberang ke Eropa
 24 satunya solusi untuk memastikan keselamatan dan keamanan di **Turki** selatan dan Suriah utara
 adalah kehadiran tentara Suriah,”
 25 Rusia Tak Jamin Keamanan Pesawat **Turki** Melintas di Suriah ISTANBUL - Kementerian
 Pertahanan Rusia
 26 Sukarela Haytham Abdallah mengatakan, ia kembali dari **Turki** ke Suriah pada Juli 2019. Ia
 menegaskan tidak pergi dari
 27 Kerahkan 2.000 Kendaraan Militer, **Turki** Berniat Caplok Wilayah Suriah? Liputan6.com, Turki
 – Pasukan
 28 FOTO: Puluhan Kendaraan Tempur **Turki** Dikerahkan di Perbatasan Suriah Puluhan kendaraan
 militer
 29 Pernyataannya itu muncul dua hari setelah kepala intelijen **Turki** dan Suriah bertemu di Moskow
 pada Senin, dalam pertemuan
 30 bangunan di sekitar ledakan juga mengalami kerusakan parah. **Turki** dan sekutu pemberontak
 Suriah sejauh ini memang telah
 31 Turki di Suriah. REPUBLIKA.CO.ID, ANKARA -- Ketika pasukan **Turki** menyerbu Suriah
 utara pada awal Oktober, para
 32 Suriah mengatakan ia berharap dapat memediasi konflik antara **Turki** dengan Kurdi di Suriah.
 Turki melancarkan serangannya
 33 dan keamanan Pakistan mengatakan operasi kontra-terorisme **Turki** di Suriah Utara akan
 menjamin keamanan dan perdamaian
 34 senjata mulai berlaku, Anadolu Agency melaporkan pasukan **Turki** membunuh 21 tentara Suriah
 dan menghancurkan dua artileri
 35 dakan pertemuan darurat pada Kamis, untuk membahas serangan **Turki** di Suriah. Presiden
 Dewan Keamanan PBB Jerry Matthews
 36 Organisasi-organisasi kemanusiaan memperingatkan serangan **Turki** di timur laut Suriah
 mengancam nasib jutaan orang.
 37 Sekretaris Jenderal PBB Antonio Guterres mengatakan serangan **Turki** ke dalam wilayah Suriah
 telah memaksa hampir 160 ribu
 38 perlu dengan Pemerintah Suriah. Erdogan menyebut pasukan **Turki** tak berniat meninggalkan
 Suriah saat ini. “Kami tidak dating
 39 di Suriah dekat perbatasan Turki pada Oktober. Tentara **Turki** dan pejuang Suriah yang didukung
 Turki berkumpul di pinggir
 40 krisis Suriah yang telah dilakukan. Penyerangan oleh militer **Turki** di Suriah Sebelumnya pada
 Rabu (09/10), Turki telah
 41 ke daerah-daerah yang dibebaskan melalui operasi antiteror **Turki** di Suriah utara selama 10 hari
 terakhir. Hal ini disampaikan
 42 Menteri Israel Benjamin Netanyahu mengecam operasi militer **Turki** di wilayah Suriah yang
 dikuasai pasukan Kurdi.
 43 untuk AS Amerika Serikat (AS) menolak operasi militer **Turki** di Suriah. REPUBLIKA.CO.ID,
 ANKARA – Pemerintah Turki
 44 menampung 3,6 juta pengungsi Suriah Langkah operasi militer **Turki** cukup berani, mengingat
 Presiden AS Donald Trump
 45 “Kami sedang mengarah untuk melancarkan operasi militer **Turki** di Suriah tetapi tidak ada yang
 tahu kapan dilaksanakan ...
 46 Suriah, seiring dengan terus berlanjutnya operasi militer **Turki** di utara Suriah. Pernyataan itu
 disampaikan pejabat Moskow
 47 Presiden Trump karena memberikan lampu hijau pada serangan **Turki** ke Kurdi di Suriah.
 Sebelumnya, Kurdi merupakan sekutu
 48 kombatan ISIS yang saat ini mengungsi di penampungan di **Turki** dan Suriah. Keputusan itu
 disepakati lewat rapat cabinet
 49 sebenarnya sekutu AS juga. NATO setuju penghentian serangan **Turki** ke timur laut Suriah,
 supaya petempur Kurdi bisa punya
 50 pasukan Kurdi yang menguasai wilayah perbatasan antara **Turki** dan Suriah. Pasukan
 Demokratik Suriah (SDF) adalah pihak

51 wilayah Damaskus "Kami menentang pendirian pos-pos militer **Turki** di Suriah. Masalah tersebut
52 harus diselesaikan secara
53 Mengungsi Di seluruh wilayah itu, pasukan Turki dan proksi **pro-Turki** di Suriah telah
54 memperoleh keuntungan, menangkap
55 yang menyelamatkan diri dari serangan di Provinsi Idlib, **Turki** barat Suriah, menuju Turki
56 mencapai 120 ribu orang. Menurut
57 perbatasan antara Suriah dan Turki. Salah satu target **Turki** adalah Pasukan Demokratik Suriah
58 (SDF) yang dipimpin Kurdi.
59 Donald Trump telah menawarkan diri sebagai penengah. **Turki** mulai bergerak di Suriah bagian
60 utara pada hari Rabu (9/10)
61 dari zona aman sejauh 32 kilometer di selatan perbatasan **Turki** di Suriah. "Kami memiliki 35
62 jam lagi. Jika mereka tidak
63 pun menaruh perhatian terhadap gencatan senjata antara **Turki** dan Suriah yang sedang berjalan.
64 Kamis lalu, Turki sepakat
65 untuk membantu gerilyawan Kurdi menangkis serangan militer **Turki** di Suriah utara. Langkah
66 yang diumumkan, Ahad (13/10),
67 aman" di mana beberapa dari 3,6 juta pengungsi Suriah di **Turki** dapat dimukimkan kembali di
68 sana. Ankara menganggap
69 Suriah. Rusia yang mendukung pemerintah Suriah menuduh **Turki** membantu teroris di Suriah.
70 Kementerian Pertahanan Turki
71 Tentara Turki Tewas dalam Serangan di Idlib Suriah Pasukan **Turki** dikirim untuk mencegah
72 konflik di Idlib Suriah.
73 Jakarta - Perang antara milisi pemberontak Suriah **pro-Turki** dengan pasukan Kurdi Suriah
74 kembali pecah. Awal pekan ini,
75 Fatih Donmez. Sanksi tersebut dikenakan terkait langkah **Turki** di Suriah utara. Pada 9 Oktober
76 lalu, Turki meluncurkan
77 mundur 30 Km dari perbatasan Suriah dengan Turki. Tentara **Turki** dan pejuang pemberontak
78 Suriah telah lama melancarkan
79 wartawan Reuters lainnya. Pemberontak Suriah yang didukung **Turki** mengatakan sebelumnya
80 telah memutuskan jalan yang
81 memang telah diserang. Pemberontak Suriah yang didukung **Turki** merebut kendali atas pusat
82 kota Ras al Ain di timur laut
83 di dekat desa al-Nayrab Pejuang Suriah yang didukung **Turki** menembakkan howitzer di dekat
84 desa al-Nayrab (Ghaith
85 berpusat di Inggris mengatakan, para pejuang yang didukung **Turki** memasuki Suriah dan maju
86 ke Shakariya yang dikuasai Kurdi,
87 diri itu pergi ke kawasan-kawasan di Suriah yang dikuasai **Turki** dalam operasi-operasi militer
88 sebelumnya atau ke bagian
89 setidaknya 13 orang di kota perbatasan yang dikuasai **Turki** di timur laut Suriah pada Sabtu 2
90 November. Bom tersebut

Among the 70 concordance lines resulted from the analysis of the search-word “Turki” and SURIAH; 10 lines contained a direct or indirect quotation of a form of response to the event of Turkish military operation in Syria. Concordance 2 listed concordance lines which showed comments and reactions for the event; directly and directly quoted from different entities; i.e. world leaders, organizations, or their representation.

Concordance 2 Response, criticism and supports of country or organization representative to Turkish Military operations in Syria

Concordance

- 1 Arab Saudi Kecam Agresi Militer **Turki** di Suriah. Serangan militer Turki di Suriah dinilai mengancam...
- 2 *Saudi Arabia condemns Turkish military aggression in Syria. Turkish military attack in Syria is considered threatening...*
- 3 ...dan teguran Trump Sementara itu terkait invasi militer **Turki** ke Suriah, Presiden Amerika Serikat Donald Trump mengatakan...
- 4 *...and Trump's rebuke. Meanwhile related to Turkey's military invasion of Syria, US President Donald Trump said...*
- 5 ...dan keamanan Pakistan mengatakan operasi kontra-terorisme **Turki** di Suriah Utara akan menjamin keamanan dan perdamaian...
- 6 *...and Pakistani security say Turkey's counter-terrorism operations in Northern Syria will guarantee security and peace ...*
- 7 Sekretaris Jenderal PBB Antonio Guterres mengatakan serangan **Turki** ke dalam wilayah Suriah telah memaksa hampir 160 ribu...
- 8 *UN Secretary-General Antonio Guterres said the Turkish attack into Syrian territory had forced nearly 160 thousand...*
- 9 Menteri Israel Benjamin Netanyahu mengecam operasi militer **Turki** di wilayah Suriah yang dikuasai pasukan Kurdi.
- 10 *Israeli Minister Benjamin Netanyahu criticized Turkish military operations in Syrian territory controlled by Kurdish forces.*
- 11 ...untuk AS Amerika Serikat (AS) menolak operasi militer **Turki** di Suriah. REPUBLIKA.CO.ID, ANKARA – Pemerintah Turki...
- 12 *...for the US The United States (US) rejects Turkish military operations in Syria. REPUBLIKA.CO.ID, ANKARA - Turkish Government...*
- 13 ...Suriah. Rusia yang mendukung pemerintah Suriah menuduh **Turki** membantu teroris di Suriah. Kementerian Pertahanan Turki...
- 14 *...Syria. Russia, which supports the Syrian government, accuses Turkey of helping terrorists in Syria. Turkish Ministry of Defense...*
- 15 ...juga mengomentari keengganan negara-negara Eropa menghadapi **Turki** atas tindakannya di Suriah. Menurut del Porte, hal itu...
- 16 *...also commented on the reluctance of European countries to face Turkey for its actions in Syria. According to del Porte, that matte...*
- 17 ...pertemuan darurat pada Kamis, untuk membahas serangan **Turki** di Suriah. Presiden Dewan Keamanan PBB Jerry Matthews...
- 18 *...emergency meeting on Thursday, to discuss Turkey's attack on Syria. UN Security Council President Jerry Matthews...*
- 19 Organisasi-organisasi kemanusiaan memperingatkan serangan **Turki** di timur laut Suriah mengancam nasib jutaan orang.
- 20 *Humanitarian organizations have warned of a **Turkish** attack in northeast Syria threatening the lives of millions of people.*

As seen in Concordance 2, articles are embedded with response and commentaries from entities which has been referred to as countries (e.g. *Saudi Arabia, Russia*), country leaders (e.g. *US President Donald Trump, Israeli Minister Benjamin Netanyahu*), organizations (e.g. *humanitarian organizations*), the person of interest in organizations (e.g. *UN Secretary-General Antonio Guterres, UN Security Council President Jerry Matthews*), and others (e.g. *Pakistani political and security experts*).

Concordance 2 has shown that in most of the concordance lines Turkish military operation in Syria were attributed using words with negative implication such as *condemn, rebuke, or reject*; and referring to the event as *Turkish military aggression, Turkish military invasion, or Turkish attack into Syrian territory*. Out of the 10 lines listed above, the only line has shown support to the event, as seen in line 3:

Para ahli politik dan keamanan Pakistan mengatakan operasi kontra-terorisme Turki di Suriah Utara akan menjamin keamanan dan perdamaian regional yang tahan lama.
*Pakistani political and security experts say **Turkey's** counter-terrorism operations in Northern Syria will guarantee long-lasting regional peace and security.*

Abovementioned lines from an article published by republika.co.id used the term *counter-terrorism operations* to justify the military operation and attributed the event as a mean to achieve peace and security in the region. Pakistan has explicitly shown its stance on Turkish military operations in Syria. In a joint news conference during the visit of President Recep Tayyip Erdogan to Islamabad, Pakistani Prime Minister Imran Khan stated that Pakistan supports Turkish fight against terrorism in Syria (Latif, 2020).

Similar endorsement remark was also seen in line 41 of Concordance 1, in which the event was referred to as *Turkish anti-terror operation* which co-occurred with the verb *liberated*.

...ke daerah-daerah yang dibebaskan melalui operasi antiteror Turki di Suriah utara selama 10 hari terakhir. Hal ini disampaikan...

...to areas liberated through Turkish anti-terror operations in northern Syria over the past 10 days. This was conveyed...

Both concordance lines were found in the articles published by republika.co.id. Based on these shreds of evidence one may conclude that republika.co.id tend to give positive attributions of Turkish military operation which indicated the writers' support of the event; however, at the same time expressions such as *Turkish military aggression*, and *Turkish military invasion* were also found in the texts extracted from republika.co.id website.

Another striking pattern found in the concordance lines is the way Indonesian online news sites addressed Turkish-backed forces in Syria. As seen in Concordance 3, Indonesian media tend to address Turkish-backed forces as *pro-Turkish Syrian rebel*, *Syrian rebel fighters*, *Turkish-backed Syrian rebels*, *Turkish-backed Syrian fighters*, or simply *Syrian rebel*. Only one line showed the use of *pro-Turkish proxies* expression.

Concordance 3 Representation of Turkish-backed forces in Syria Indonesian Online News Sites

Concordance	
1	Jakarta - Perang antara milisi <u>pemberontak Suriah</u> pro-Turki dengan pasukan Kurdi Suriah kembali pecah. Awal pekan ini, <i>Jakarta - The war between <u>pro-Turkish Syrian rebel</u> militias and Syrian Kurdish forces broke out again. Earlier this week,</i>
2	...mundur 30 Km dari perbatasan Suriah dengan Turki. Tentara Turki dan <u>pejuang pemberontak Suriah</u> telah lama melancarkan... <i>...withdrew 30 Km from the Syrian border with Turkey. Turkish troops and <u>Syrian rebel fighters</u> have long been waging...</i>
3	...wartawan Reuters lainnya. <u>Pemberontak Suriah</u> yang didukung Turki mengatakan sebelumnya telah memutus jalan yang... <i>...another Reuters reporter. <u>The Turkish-backed Syrian rebels</u> said they had cut off the road before...</i>

- ...memang telah diserang. Pemberontak Suriah yang didukung Turki merebut kendali atas pusat kota Ras al Ain di timur laut...
- 4 ...has indeed been attacked. Turkish-backed Syrian rebels seized control of the northeastern city center of Ras al Ain...
- ...di dekat desa al-Nayrab Pejuang Suriah yang didukung Turki menembakkan howitzer di dekat desa al-Nayrab (Ghaith...
- 5 ...near the village of al-Nayrab Turkish-backed Syrian fighters fired a howitzer near the village of al-Nayrab (Ghaith...
- ...berpusat di Inggris mengatakan, para pejuang yang didukung Turki memasuki Suriah dan maju ke Shakariya yang dikuasai Kurdi,
- 6 ...based in Britain said Turkish-backed fighters entered Syria and advanced into Kurdish-controlled Shakariya,...
- ...bangunan di sekitar ledakan juga mengalami kerusakan parah. **Turki** dan sekutu pemberontak Suriah sejauh ini memang telah...
- 8 ...buildings around the explosion also suffered extensive damage. Turkey and Syrian rebel allies have so far indeed been...
- ...di Suriah dekat perbatasan Turki pada Oktober. Tentara **Turki** dan pejuang Suriah yang didukung Turki berkumpul di pinggir...
- 9 ...in Syria near the Turkish border in October. Turkish troops and Turkish-backed Syrian fighters gather on the edge...
- Mengungsi Di seluruh wilayah itu, pasukan **Turki** dan proksi pro-Turki di Suriah telah memperoleh keuntungan, menangkap...
- 10 *Fleeing throughout the region, Turkish troops and pro-Turkish proxies in Syria have benefited, captured ...*
-

The term Turkish-backed forces refer to the Syrian National Army; the military wing of the regime opposition in Syrian civil war. As reported in Anadolu Agency (Hamit & Zontur, 2019), Syrian National Army was established in 2013 under the name Free Syrian Army and remained active until 2016 after receiving damage from the regime and its Russian and Iranian ally. The military faction regained its composure after the Turkish 2016 Euphrates Shield Operation which also accelerated the partnership between Turkey and the Free Syrian Army. (Yüksel, 2019). Syrian National Army fought alongside Turkey in 2019 Operation Peace Spring and 2020 Operation Peace Spring in Syria.

10 out of 70 concordance list showed phrases pertained to the Turkish-backed forces in Syria. However, none of the lines showed the use of the term Syrian National Army nor its former name. In the texts extracted from news articles published in detik.com, liputan6.com and republika.co.id, the Turkish-backed force is attributed as PEMBERONTAK which is translated as *rebel*. By the literal definition of the word *rebel*, the armed faction and its supporter acted against established authority. This indicated the lack of support of the speaker in the news for the military operation conducted by Turkey and its ally. While the term *proxy* is emotively neutral; the term PEJUANG or *fighter*, on the other hand, hinted a more positive disposition compared to *rebel*. The term *fighter* indicated determination; that the actor continues to fight despite the hardships and struggle.

Table 6 Representation of Turkish-backed forces in Syria in Indonesian media

detik.com	liputan6.com	republika.co.id	tribunnews.com
<i>Syrian rebel fighters</i>	<i>Pro-Turkish Syrian rebel</i>	<i>Turkish-backed Syrian rebels</i>	<i>Turkish-backed Syrian fighter</i>
	<i>Pro-Turkish proxies</i>	<i>Turkish-backed fighter</i>	
		<i>Turkey and Syrian rebel</i>	

5.2.2. Representation of Turkey in the context of COVID-19 outbreak

The second notion to be analysed is the representation of Turkey in relation with COVID-19 outbreak. Unlike the previous notion, there is only one collocate which pertained to the event of worldwide COVID-19 outbreak, which is CORONA. Using “Turki” as search-word and CORONA as context word, the analysis has resulted in 30 concordance lines. The total amount of concordance lines are in a reasonable size to be examined individually, thus no sampling or reduction was necessary in order to discover patterns.

Concordance 4 presented 30 concordance lines sample of “Turki” and CORONA which has been sorted alphabetically first word to the left, and secondly two words to the right.

Concordance 4 "Turki" and CORONA

Concordance	
1	Turki Umumkan Kematian Pertama Akibat Corona Turki melaporkan kematian pertama akibat virus Covid-19 pada Rabu...
2	Melihat Aktivitas Warga Turki di Tengah Pandemi Corona Turki mengumumkan 37 kematian baru akibat COVID-19, sedangkan...
3	Turki Umumkan Peningkatan Jumlah Pasien Positif Virus Corona Turki kini merawat 18 pasien positif virus corona.
4	Turki Perpanjang Penutupan Sekolah karena Virus Corona Turki akan memberlakukan sekolah di rumah hingga 30 April karena...
5	...ke Uzbekistan dan Kyrgyzstan Alat detektor Corona dari Turki punya akurasi hingga 99,6 persen. REPUBLIKA.CO.ID, ANKARA
6	Cerita Pelajar Bandung soal Penanganan Corona di Turki Bandung - Virus Corona telah menyebar ke berbagai negara...
7	Shalat di Masjid Sampai Senin total kasus positif corona di Turki mencapai 18 orang. REPUBLIKA.CO.ID, ISTANBUL – Turki...
8	... Kasus Pertama Corona Kasus pertama positif corona di Turki berasal dari warga yang pulang dari Eropa. REPUBLIKA.CO.ID,
9	...Koca mengumumkan bahwa korban jiwa akibat virus corona di Turki telah mencapai 44 orang. Adapun jumlah kasus coronavirus...
10	...pers Jumat malam. Tingkat penyebaran Virus Corona di Turki telah melampaui sebagian besar negara lain dalam dua minggu...
11	...awalnya sempat negatif. Jumlah total kasus virus Corona di Turki kini mencapai 359 kasus, dengan adanya tambahan 168 kasus...
12	AFP, Senin (16/3/2020), total jumlah kasus virus Corona di Turki bertambah menjadi 18 kasus, setelah ada laporan 12 kasus...
13	...Total Kematian Akibat Virus Corona di Turki Menjadi 44 Orang Pada Selasa malam, Turki konfirmasi...
14	Pertama Akibat Virus Corona Jumlah kasus virus corona di Turki naik menjadi 98. REPUBLIKA.CO.ID, ANKARA – Turki...
15	43 dinyatakan positif. Jumlah kasus infeksi virus corona di Turki kini menjadi 1.872. "Berapa banyak orang tertular virus?
16	...Corona Saat ini, total korban meninggal akibat corona di Turki capai sembilan jiwa. REPUBLIKA.CO.ID, ANKARA – Turki...
17	...Pertama Akibat Virus Corona Kasus infeksi virus corona di Turki juga melonjak menjadi 191 orang. REPUBLIKA.CO.ID
18	...Semua Acara Publik di Turki Jumlah infeksi virus corona di Turki mencapai 359 kasus REPUBLIKA.CO.ID, ANKARA – Presiden...
19	...ini menjadi 168. Sedangkan kasus infeksi virus corona di Turki mencapai 10.827...
20	...terbaru, jumlah kasus virus corona yang dikonfirmasi di Turki naik menjadi 98. Turki mengumumkan kasus pertama orang yang...
21	Presiden Erdogan Larang Semua Acara Publik di Turki Jumlah infeksi virus corona di Turki mencapai 359 kasus...
22	...penumpang asal Aljazair terlantar di bandara Istanbul, Turki dikarenakan pandemi virus corona. Menurut operator bandara...
23	...Turki kami dinyatakan positif corona setelah kembali ke Turki dari London," geramnya. "Mereka semua kini tengah dalam...
24	...Belikan Kacang hingga Roti Jakarta - Virus corona membuat Turki berlakukan lockdown. Akibatnya kakek ini kesulitan mendapat...
25	...traits Time, Rabu (18/3/2020), jumlah teranyar warga negara Turki yang terpapar Virus Corona COVID-19 mencapai 98 orang.
26	...juga tertular. "Sayangnya, dua atlet kami dan pelatih Turki kami dinyatakan positif corona setelah kembali ke Turki dari...
27	Tunda Bepergian ke Turki Kedubes Saudi minta Pemerintah Turki cepat tangani virus corona. REPUBLIKA.CO.ID, ANKARA...

28	...tindakan pencegahan untuk melindungi keluarga. Korban tewas Turki yang disebabkan virus corona meningkat tujuh menjadi 44 pada...
29	Melihat Aktivitas Warga Turki di Tengah Pandemi Corona Turki mengumumkan 37 kematian baru...
30	Turki Sembelih Ratusan Domba Berharap Corona Berakhir Warga turki juga memanjatkan doa agar pandemi Covid-19 segera berakhir...

After analysing the first couple lines, the researcher began to notice a pattern that the representation of Turkey in relation to COVID-19 outbreak often contain statements from Turkish officials regarding with the outbreak situation in Turkey, as seen in Concordance 5:

Concordance 5 Statements from Turkish officials regarding COVID-19 outbreak in Turkey

Concordance	
1	Turki <u>Umumkan</u> Kematian Pertama Akibat Corona Turki <u>melaporkan</u> kematian pertama akibat virus Covid-19 pada Rabu... <i>Turkey <u>announces</u> first death due to Corona Turkey <u>reports</u> the first death due to the Covid-19 virus on Wednesday...</i>
2	Turki <u>Umumkan</u> Peningkatan Jumlah Pasien Positif Virus Corona Turki kini merawat 18 pasien positif virus corona... <i>Turkey <u>Announces</u> Increase in Number of Positive Patients of the Corona Virus Turkey is now <u>treating</u> 18 positive patients with the corona virus...</i>
3	Turki <u>Perpanjang Penutupan Sekolah</u> karena Virus Corona Turki akan <u>memberlakukan</u> sekolah di rumah hingga 30 April karena... <i>Turkey <u>Extends School Closure</u> due to Corona Virus Turkey will <u>impose</u> schools at home until April 30 due...</i>
4	Koca <u>mengumumkan</u> bahwa korban jiwa akibat virus corona di Turki telah mencapai 44 orang. Adapun jumlah kasus coronavirus... <i>Koca <u>announced</u> that the death toll from the corona virus in Turkey had reached 44 people. The number of coronavirus cases...</i>
5	Presiden Erdogan <u>Larang</u> Semua Acara Publik di Turki Jumlah infeksi virus corona di Turki mencapai 359 kasus <i>President Erdogan <u>Bans</u> All Public Events in Turkey The number of corona virus infections in Turkey reaches 359 cases.</i>

It can be seen in Concordance 5, although some statements embedded on the concordance lines were addressed by a specific person, e.g. (*Turkish Minister of Health Fahrettin*)

Koca, or *President Erdogan*; in general, the statements were simply addressed by *Turkey* without further attribution.

The geographical proximity between Indonesia and Turkey raised the question of why COVID-19 outbreak and management in Turkey are deemed to possess a certain degree of newsworthiness in Indonesian media. This line extracted from the concordance lines may give an insight into why COVID-19 in Turkey appeared in Indonesian media:

Tingkat penyebaran Virus Corona di **Turki** telah melampaui sebagian besar negara lain dalam dua minggu...

*The level of spread of the Corona Virus in **Turkey** has surpassed most other countries in the past two weeks...*

World Health Organization declared COVID-19 as a global pandemic in March 11th 2020 (Kutlu, 2020), and coincidentally Turkey reported its first case on the same date (Zorlu, 2020). The number of the infection rate in Turkey continued to grow by end of the data collection period of this study; before it hit the highest number of daily cases detected on April 11th 2020 (Ozkaya, 2020).

As seen in Concordance 6, the concordance lines extracted from the collocation of “Turki” and CORONA has shown a pattern concerning with the use of a number to quantify the COVID-19 outbreak in Turkey. The concordance lines under this pattern used verb such as *increase*, *reach*, *rise* and *jump* along with numbers to express the seriousness of the situation regarding the COVID-19 outbreak in Turkey.

Concordance 6 quantifications of COVID-19 outbreak in Turkey

Concordance	
1	Turki Umumkan <u>Peningkatan</u> Jumlah Pasien Positif Virus Corona Turki kini merawat <u>18</u> pasien positif virus corona.
	<i>Turkey Announces <u>Increase</u> in Number of Positive Patients of the Corona Virus Turkey is now <u>treating 18</u> positive patients with the corona virus</i>

- 2 Koca mengumumkan bahwa korban jiwa akibat virus corona di **Turki** telah mencapai 44 orang. Adapun jumlah kasus coronavirus te
- 3 *Koca announced that the death toll from the corona virus in **Turkey** had reached 44 people. The number of cases of coronavirus te*
- 4 Melihat Aktivitas Warga Turki di Tengah Pandemi Corona **Turki** mengumumkan 37 kematian baru akibat COVID-19, sedangkan...
- 5 *Seeing Turkish Activities in the Middle of the Corona Pandemic **Turkey** announced 37 new deaths due to COVID-19, while ...*
- 6 ...Shalat di Masjid Sampai Senin total kasus positif corona di **Turki** mencapai 18 orang. REPUBLIKA.CO.ID, ISTANBUL -- Turki...
- 7 *... Prayers at the Mosque Until Monday the total number of positive corona cases in **Turkey** reached 18 people. REPUBLIKA.CO.ID, ISTANBUL - Turkey*
- 8 ...
- 9 ...awalnya sempat negatif. Jumlah total kasus virus Corona di **Turki** kini mencapai 359 kasus, dengan adanya tambahan 168 kasus..
- 10 *... initially negative. The total number of Corona virus cases in **Turkey** has now reached 359, with an additional 168 cases ...*
- 11 ...AFP, Senin (16/3/2020), total jumlah kasus virus Corona di **Turki** bertambah menjadi 18 kasus, setelah ada laporan 12 kasus...
- 12 *... AFP, Monday (3/16/2020), the total number of Corona virus cases in **Turkey** increased to 18 cases, after there were reports of 12 cases ...*
- 13 Total Kematian Akibat Virus Corona di **Turki** Menjadi 44 Orang Pada Selasa malam, Turki konfirmasikan
- 14 *Total death due to Corona Virus in **Turkey** to 44 people On Tuesday night, Turkey confirmed*
- 15 Pertama Akibat Virus Corona Jumlah kasus virus corona di **Turki** naik menjadi 98. REPUBLIKA.CO.ID, ANKARA -- Turki...
- 16 *First Due to Corona Virus The number of corona virus cases in **Turkey** rose to 98. REPUBLIKA.CO.ID, ANKARA - Turkey ...*
- 17 ...43 dinyatakan positif. Jumlah kasus infeksi virus corona di **Turki** kini menjadi 1.872. "Berapa banyak orang tertular virus?"
- 18 *... 43 is stated positive. The number of cases of corona virus infection in **Turkey** is now 1,872. "How many people have contracted the virus?"*
- 19 ...Corona Saat ini, total korban meninggal akibat corona di **Turki** capai sembilan jiwa. REPUBLIKA.CO.ID, ANKARA -- Turki...
- 20 *... Corona At present, the total death toll from corona in **Turkey** reaches nine people. REPUBLIKA.CO.ID, ANKARA - Turkey ...*
- 21 ...Pertama Akibat Virus Corona Kasus infeksi virus corona di **Turki** juga melonjak menjadi 191 orang. REPUBLIKA.CO.ID

- ... First due to Corona Virus The case of corona virus infection in **Turkey** also jumped to 191 people. REPUBLIKA.CO.ID
- 12 Semua Acara Publik di Turki Jumlah infeksi virus corona di **Turki** mencapai 359 kasus REPUBLIKA.CO.ID, ANKARA -- Presiden...
- All Public Events in Turkey The number of corona virus infections in **Turkey** reaches 359 cases. REPUBLIKA.CO.ID, ANKARA - President ...*
- ...ini menjadi 168. Sedangkan kasus infeksi virus corona di **Turki** mencapai 10.827...
- 13 ... *this became 168. While the case of corona virus infection in **Turkey** reached 10,827 ...*
- ...terbaru, jumlah kasus virus corona yang dikonfirmasi di **Turki** naik menjadi 98. Turki mengumumkan kasus pertama orang yang...
- 14 ... *most recently, the number of confirmed corona virus cases in **Turkey** has risen to 98. Turkey announced the first case of a person who ...*
- ...traits Time, Rabu (18/3/2020), jumlah teranyar warga negara **Turki** yang terpapar Virus Corona COVID-19 mencapai 98 orang...
- 15 ... *traits Time, Wednesday (3/18/2020), the latest number of **Turkish** citizens exposed to the Corona COVID-19 Virus reached 98 people ...*
- ...tindakan pencegahan untuk melindungi keluarga. Korban tewas **Turki** yang disebabkan virus corona meningkat tujuh menjadi 44 pada...
- 16 ... *precautionary measures to protect the family. **Turkey's** death toll from corona virus increased by seven to 44 in ...*
-

Another pattern which appeared on the concordance lines of “Turki” and CORONA are lines which contained pandemic related events reported in another perspective. As seen in Concordance 7, the first line showed a line from an article about the story from an Indonesian student from Bandung about the management of COVID-19 in Turkey. The second line contained a story about an elderly Turkish man calling the police to ask them to buy him beans and bread; due to the government restrictions which hinder him to buy groceries. The third line pertained to an event occurred in Hakkari and other cities in which a group of people slaughtered 180 sheep as a sacrifice and prayed for the end of COVID-19 pandemic in Turkey.

Concordance 7 Report about COVID-19 related events

Concordance

- 1 Cerita Pelajar Bandung soal Penanganan Corona di **Turki** Bandung - Virus Corona telah menyebar ke berbagai negara...
Story from a Bandung Student about Handling Corona in Turkey Bandung - Corona Virus has spread to various countries...
- 2 ...Belikan Kacang hingga Roti Jakarta - Virus corona membuat **Turki** berlakukan lockdown. Akibatnya kakek ini kesulitan mendapat...
...Buy beans to bread Jakarta - Corona virus makes Turkey lockdown. As a result, this grandfather had difficulty getting...
- 3 Turki Sembelih Ratusan Domba Berharap Corona Berakhir Warga **turki** juga memanjatkan doa agar pandemi Covid-19 segera berakhir.
Turkey Slaughters Hundreds of Sheep Hoping Corona Ends Turkey residents also offer prayers so that the Covid-19 pandemic ends soon.
-

Negativity is a basic news value and thus news related to negative events are considered newsworthy (Bednarek, 2006). However, overtime audience expresses their frustration from the constant exposure of the negative news stories. This criticism toward media birthed a new trend in digital news outlets which focuses on positive aspects of news stories. McIntyre and Gibson (2016) defined this “Silver-lining story” as news stories which focused on the positive aspects or outcomes of an otherwise negative subject or event. The second line of the concordance list presented in Concordance 7 shows the manifestation of this trend. Although it is expected for news stories about an on-going global pandemic to contain negative overtones (e.g. infections, or death), line number two presented an uplifting interaction between a policeman and elderly man. The positive overtone of the news consequently is also implicated to Turkey.

Cultural affinity is another factor which would increase the newsworthiness of a foreign country. As seen in the third line, the text emphasized the practice of beliefs in Turkey which are also common in Indonesia. Animal sacrifice is a common ritual for Muslims as an act of obedience or expression of gratitude. Moreover, although the event occurred only in seven villages and three hamlets of Şemdinli district in Hakkari of southeastern

Turkey; the concordance line represented the event as it happened in entire Turkey. Consequently, this line showed Turkish people as a follower of tradition, a practicer of Islam.

5.2.3. Representation of Turkey in the context of the Ottoman Empire

The third area to be analysed is the representation of Turkey in relation to its history. The collocation analysis showed three words which pertained to this notion; however, the three words are the simply different spelling of the same idea: the Ottoman. Using “Turki” as a search word and USTMANI/USMANI/OTTOMAN as context word has resulted in 128 concordance lines. The resulting concordance lines were reduced to 40 lines using *Reduce data to N entries* function of WordSmith Tools 8.0 (Scott, 2020), which allows the researcher to reduce the data with the random sampling method. Concordance 8 presented 40 concordance lines sample of “Turki” and USTMANI/USMANI/OTTOMAN which has been sorted alphabetically first word to the left, and secondly two words to the right.

Concordance 8 "Turki" and USTMANI/USMANI/OTTOMAN

Concordance	
1	a sudah ada Perjanjian Damai Vasvar 1664 sebelumnya, antara Turki Usmani-Dinasti
2	Habsburg. Kaum ulama juga tidak setuju denga
3	ini mengikuti pola pembagian tripartit tradisional bangunan Turki Usmani. Menurut Yuksel
4	Bingol, istana ini memiliki luas 7.6
5	ta Mizuar. Seiring pergantian sultan di Aceh Darussalam dan Turki Utsmani, ada kalanya
6	kedua sultan ini sering dan jarang ber
7	eringatan dan informasi tentang bantuan tak terlupakan dari Turki Ottoman ini, tetapi sebuah
8	plakat di dinding sebuah banguna
9	kekurangan makanan selama perjalanan. Pimpinan utusan dari Turki Utsmani ini diserahkan
10	ke Kurdoglu Hizir yang telah ditunju
11	t Muslim," jelasnya. Mizuar menerangkan, ketika utusan dari Turki Utsmani tiba di Aceh
12	Darussalam untuk membantu perjuangan m
13	kekurangan makanan selama perjalanan. Pimpinan utusan dari Turki Utsmani ini diserahkan
14	ke Kurdoglu Hizir yang telah ditunju
15	urat permohonan bantuan dari Sultan Aceh Darussalam tiba di Turki Utsmani, Sultan Sulaiman
16	al-Qanuni sedang berperang bersama
17	Hagia Sofia memiliki kubah besar nan megah. Setelah dikuasi Turki Utsmani, Hagia Sofia
18	berubah fungsi jadi masjid. Dalam potr
19	nnya. Misalnya, penerapan bahasa dan tradisi Turki. Dinasti Turki Utsmani sendiri kemudian
20	dapat diserang oleh tentara Eropa,
21	ki Usmani merupakan campuran berbagai pengaruh. Arsitek era Turki Usmani yang terkenal
22	adalah Mimar Sinan. Di antara karyanya

12 Arsitektur masjid ini merefleksikan pengalaman dengan gaya **Turki** Usmani dan Barat.
 Kompleks kulliye di sekitarnya (madrasah,
 13 li-ahli artileri untuk membuat meriam. Pada masa itu, hanya **Turki** Utsmani yang mampu
 membuat meriam berukuran besar. Bisa dik
 14 an Islam setelah Nabi wafat, dari Khulafaur Rasyidin hingga **Turki** Utsmani. Keberadaan
 materi ini tidak menjadi masalah jika d
 15 dipimpin oleh 25 sultan Turki Utsmani hingga Republik Islam **Turki** berdiri. Namun demikian,
 dalam perjalanan kepemimpinan Utsm
 16 urki Usmani. "Mulai dari khulafaur rasyidin sampai jatuhnya **Turki** Utsmani pada tahun 1924,
 itu tetap akan disampaikan. Tetapi
 17 embangan Kaligrafi Turki Utsmani (2) Pengembangan kaligrafi **Turki** Utsmani didukung pula
 oleh pemerintah yang berkuasa. REPUBL
 18 Dia mencontohkan hal tersebut terjadi pada masa kejayaan **Turki** Usmani. "Mulai dari
 khulafaurasyidin, sampai jatuhnya Turk
 19 Dia mencontohkan hal tersebut terjadi pada masa kejayaan **Turki** Usmani. "Mulai dari
 khulafaur rasyidin sampai jatuhnya Turk
 20 ani, dengan fasih menjelaskan, sejak runtuhnya kekhalifahan **Turki** Usmani pada 1924, orang
 Islam di seluruh dunia mengalami ke
 21 eradaban baru untuk umat Islam pasca runtuhnya Kekhalifahan **Turki** Usmani. Bahkan, saat ini
 NU disebut telah menjadi rujukan b
 22 ajah Portugis sekitar 100 tahun, kemudian dikuasi kekuasaan **Turki** Utsmani di tahun 1581.
 Tahun 1740, Oman baru memperoleh kem
 23 Lengsernya Turki Utsmani dan Munculnya Mustafa Kemal **Turki** Utsmani merupakan sebuah
 kekhalifahan yang sangat kuat dala
 24 dian pada 1511 dialihfungsikan menjadi Masjid oleh kerajaan **Turki** Ottoman. Lalu pada 1945,
 hingga saat ini bangunan tersebut
 25 ahi makam ulama Tgk Syekh Di Bitai, yang berasal Kesultanan **Turki** Ottoman, di Banda
 Aceh. Di kompleks makam Tgk Syekh Di Bit
 26 eh Darussalam menjalin hubungan yang erat dengan Kesultanan **Turki** Utsmani. mani.
 27 Sejarah Aceh, Mizuar Mahdi menjelaskan, hubungan Kesultanan **Turki** Utsmani dengan
 Kesultanan Aceh Darussalam kemungkinan sudah
 28 Gerbang Meriam. Topkapi merupakan karya terbesar Kesultanan **Turki** Utsmani. Dibangun
 dengan arsitektur khas Turki yang mempuny
 29 Abbasiyah terakhir. Sejak itu, umat Islam dipimpin khalifah **Turki** Utsmani. i.
 30 Pedang Rasulullah Kini Berada Istana Topkapi jadi mahakarya **Turki** Utsmani yang di
 dalamnya ada barang Rasulullah. REPUBLIKA.C
 31 Ciri Khas Masjid di Masa **Turki** Usmani Masjid di Masa Turki Utsmani merupakan campuran
 dari
 32 ultan-sultan yang lemah. Selain itu, pemerintahan pada masa **Turki** Utsmani tidak menaruh
 perhatian terhadap segala hal yang be
 33 sariyat al-Qawasin di Damaskus Pemindahan tersebut membuat **Turki** Utsmani menjadi
 pewaris utama seni memanah peradaban Islam.
 34 1. Ini merupakan kemerdekaan Yunani dari Kekaisaran Ottoman **Turki**. Presiden Turki Recep
 Tayyip Erdogan memang berencana mengem
 35 sebuah kebiasaan yang berakar pada zaman Kekaisaran Ottoman **Turki** dan terikat dengan pilar
 iman Islam yang berfokus pada berb
 36 memang merupakan gereja. Namun di tengah kekuasaan Ottoman **Turki**, Hagia Sophia diubah
 menjadi Masjid Hagia Sophia. Tepatnya 2
 37 maupun untuk memberi makan hewan yang lapar. Sultan Ottoman **Turki** menggunakan rasa
 hormat pada roti ini untuk melegitimasi at
 38 fah itu kan pernah ada dalam sejarah Islam sampai runtuhnya **Turki** Usmani kan, pada tahun
 1923 ya. Sebelumnya, khilafah artiny
 39 merupakan kediaman resmi dan pusat pemerintahan dari Sultan **Turki** Utsmani selama sekitar
 400 tahun atau sejak 1465 sampai 185
 40 Turki Utsmani berkuasa cukup lama, yakni sekitar 625 tahun. **Turki** Utsmani pernah berjaya di
 bawah pimpinan Sultan Mehmet II y

The entire concordance lines contained an element of Turkish history related to the Ottoman Empire. However, some visible patterns can be extracted from the list based on the context in which history is being written. The first pattern showed that the search-word “Turki” and USTMANI (and its alternative spellings) tend to co-occur along with *Aceh Darussalam* or *Banda Aceh*. While both refer to the approximately same location, Aceh Darussalam refers to Aceh Sultanate which existed before the formation of the Republic of Indonesia; whereas Banda Aceh refers to the capital city of the Aceh Province in Indonesia.

Concordance 9 Relation between the Ottoman Empire and Aceh

Concordance	
1	...Mizuar. Seiring pergantian sultan di <u>Aceh Darussalam</u> dan Turki Utsmani, ada kalanya kedua sultan ini sering dan jarang... ... Mizuar. As the succession of the sultans in <u>Aceh Darussalam</u> and Ottoman Turkey, there were times when these sultans were often and rarely ...
2	...Muslim," jelasnya. Mizuar menerangkan, ketika utusan dari Turki Utsmani tiba di <u>Aceh Darussalam</u> untuk membantu perjuangan... ... Muslim, "he explained. Mizuar explained, when an emissary from the Ottoman Turks arrived in <u>Aceh Darussalam</u> to help the struggle ...
3	...surat permohonan bantuan dari <u>Sultan Aceh Darussalam</u> tiba di Turki Utsmani, Sultan Sulaiman al-Qanuni sedang berperang bersama... ... letter of request for assistance from the <u>Sultan of Aceh Darussalam</u> arrived in Ottoman Turkey, Sultan Sulaiman al-Qanuni was at war with ...
4	...makam ulama Tgk Syekh Di Bitai, yang berasal Kesultanan Turki Ottoman, di <u>Banda Aceh</u>. Di kompleks makam Tgk Syekh Di... ... the tomb of the scholar Tgk Shaykh Di Bitai, who came from the Ottoman Turkish Sultanate, in <u>Banda Aceh</u>. At the Tgk Shaykh's tomb complex in ...
5	...<u>Aceh Darussalam</u> menjalin hubungan yang erat dengan Kesultanan Turki Utsmani... ... <u>Aceh Darussalam</u> established close relations with the Turkish Ottoman Empire.
6	...Sejarah Aceh, Mizuar Mahdi menjelaskan, hubungan Kesultanan Turki Utsmani dengan <u>Kesultanan Aceh Darussalam</u> kemungkinan sudah... ... The history of Aceh, Mizuar Mahdi explained, the relationship between the Turkish Ottoman Empire and the <u>Aceh Darussalam</u> Sultanate might already ...

The literature research in the previous chapter has established the relationship between Aceh Sultanate and the Ottoman Empire before the conception of the Republic of Indonesia and the Republic of Turkey. Concordance 9 shows concordance lines that correspond to the search-word “Turki” and USTMANI/USMANI/OTTOMAN which pertain to their previous interactions. Line number 4 presented contemporary evidence of the relationship between the two sultanates as it described the tomb of Ottoman scholar located in Banda Aceh.

The second noticeable pattern found among the 40 concordance lines is related to the tendency of the Ottoman Turkey and Islam or Islam related terms to collocate. As seen in Concordance 10, the word *Islam*, *Muslim*, *caliphate*, and *the Prophet* are mentioned in the concordance lines.

Concordance 10 the Ottoman Empire and Islam

Concordance	
1	...<u>Islam</u> setelah Nabi wafat, dari Khulafaur Rasyidin hingga Turki Utsmani. Keberadaan materi ini tidak menjadi masalah jika... ... <i><u>Islam</u> after the Prophet's death, from Khulafaur Rasyidin to Ottoman Turkey. The existence of this material is not a problem if ...</i>
2	...dipimpin oleh 25 sultan Turki Utsmani hingga Republik <u>Islam</u> Turki berdiri. Namun demikian, dalam perjalanan kepemimpinan <i>led by 25 Ottoman Turkish sultans until the <u>Islamic Republic</u> of Turkey was established. Nevertheless, in the course of leadership ...</i>
3	..., dengan fasih menjelaskan, sejak runtuhnya <u>kekhalfahan</u> Turki Usmani pada 1924, orang <u>Islam</u> di seluruh dunia mengalami ke... ..., <i>eloquently explains, since the collapse of the Turkish Ottoman <u>Caliphate</u> in 1924, <u>Muslims</u> throughout the world have experienced ...</i>
4	...baru untuk umat <u>Islam</u> pasca runtuhnya <u>Kekhalifahan</u> Turki Usmani. Bahkan, saat ini NU disebut telah menjadi rujukan... ... <i>only for <u>Muslims</u> after the collapse of the Turkish Ottoman <u>Caliphate</u>. In fact, at this time NU is said to have become a reference ...</i>
5	...Lengsernya Turki Utsmani dan Munculnya Mustafa Kemal Turki Utsmani merupakan sebuah <u>kekhalfahan</u> yang sangat kuat dalam... ... <i>The fall of the Turkish Ottoman Empire and the emergence of Mustafa Kemal the Ottoman Empire was a very powerful <u>Caliphate</u> in ...</i>

- 6 ...Abbasiyah terakhir. Sejak itu, umat Islam dipimpin khalifah Turki Utsmani...
 ... *the last Abbasids. Since then, Muslims led by the **Turkish** Ottoman Caliphs ...*
- 7 ...Pedang Rasulullah Kini Berada Istana Topkapi jadi mahakarya **Turki**
 Utsmani yang di dalamnya ada barang Rasulullah...
 ... *The Sword of the Prophet Now in the Topkapi Palace is a masterpiece of the Ottoman **Turks** in which the Prophet's items are ...*
- 8 ...sariyat al-Qawasin di Damaskus Pemindahan tersebut membuat **Turki**
 Utsmani menjadi pewaris utama seni memanah peradaban Islam....
 ... *sariyat al-Qawasin in Damascus The transfer made the Ottoman **Turks** the main heir to the archery art of Islamic civilization ...*
- 9 ...sebuah kebiasaan yang berakar pada zaman Kekaisaran Ottoman **Turki** dan
 terikat dengan pilar iman Islam yang berfokus pada...
 ... *a custom rooted in the days of the **Turkish** Ottoman Empire and bound to the pillars of the Islamic faith which focused on ...*
- 10 ...itu kan pernah ada dalam sejarah Islam sampai runtuhnya **Turki** Usmani kan,
 pada tahun 1923 ya. Sebelumnya, khilafah artinya...
 ... *it never existed in the history of Islam until the collapse of the **Turkish** Ottoman Empire right, in 1923 huh. Previously, the khilafah meant ...*
-

The term *caliphate* refers to a form of government in lands ruled under the leadership of a caliph; a Muslim who claimed authority over all Muslims ("Caliph, Caliphate", 2012). The Ottoman Empire is both a state and a caliphate after it received the title at the end of 14th century ("Caliph, Caliphate", 2012) until the abolition of the caliphate system in 1924 by Turkish Grand National Assembly (Al-Rasheed, Kersten, & Shterin, 2015). The fact that the Ottoman caliphate was the last Islamic caliphate which lasted until the early modern era, seemed to explain why the representation of Turkey in historical context tend to relate with the abolition of the system (as seen in lines 3, 4, 5, 10). In a conceptual sense, the term caliphate and Islam are inseparable as the caliphate is a form of Islamic institution in which *shari'a* (Islamic law) is implemented. This pointed out the motivation behind the co-occurrence of the word *Islam* and other Islam-related terms in the context of Turkey and the Ottomans. However, the occurrence of the word *Islam* in line 2 of Concordance 10 seemed to be misleading:

...dipimpin oleh 25 sultan Turki Utsmani hingga Republik Islam Turki berdiri. Namun demikian, dalam perjalanan kepemimpinan ...

... led by 25 Ottoman Turkish sultans until the Islamic Republic of Turkey was established. Nevertheless, in the course of leadership ...

After its conception, the Republic of Turkey adopted the 1921 Consitution, of which in article 2 stated that “Islam is the religion of the state” (“*Türkiye Devletinin dini, Din’i İslâm’dır.*”) (Özkul, 2014). However, despite the fact that the article remained in the constitution until 1928 constitutional amendment of the 1924 Constitution; the Turkish Republic has never adopted the title *Islamic Republic*. Thus, the concordance line extracted from republika.co.id is misleading.

Lastly, the third discourse pattern was related to the association between Ottoman Turkey and architecture. Concordance 11 listed concordance lines related to Ottoman architecture found in the corpus which corresponds with the search-word. Words such as *building, dome, mosque, palace, and architect* were found in the concordance list.

Concordance 11 The Ottoman Empire and architecture

Concordance	
1	...ini mengikuti pola pembagian tripartit tradisional <u>bangunan Turki</u> Usmani. Menurut Yuksel Bingol, istana ini memiliki luas 7.6... ... this follows the traditional tripartite distribution pattern of Ottoman Turkish <u>buildings</u>. According to Yuksel Bingol, this palace has an area of 7.6 ...
2	...Hagia Sofia memiliki <u>kubah</u> besar nan megah. Setelah dikuasi Turki Utsmani, Hagia Sofia berubah fungsi jadi <u>masjid</u>. Dalam... ... Hagia Sofia has a large and magnificent <u>dome</u>. After being ruled by the Ottoman Turks, Hagia Sofia changed its function to become a <u>mosque</u>. In...
3	...Usmani merupakan campuran berbagai pengaruh. <u>Arsitek</u> era Turki Usmani yang terkenal adalah Mimar Sinan. Di antara karyanya... ... Ottoman is a mixture of various influences. The famous Turkish Ottoman-era <u>architect</u> is Mimar Sinan. Among his works ...
4	...<u>Arsitektur</u> masjid ini merefleksikan pengalaman dengan gaya Turki Usmani dan Barat. Kompleks kulliye di sekitarnya (madrasah,... ... The <u>architecture</u> of this mosque reflects the experience of the Turkish Ottoman and Western Turkish styles. Kulliye complex around it (madrasa, ...

- ...pada 1511 dialihfungsikan menjadi Masjid oleh kerajaan **Turki** Ottoman. Lalu
pada 1945, hingga saat ini bangunan tersebut...
- 5 ... in 1511 was converted into a mosque by the Ottoman **Turkish** empire. Then in
1945, until now the building ...
- ...Gerbang Meriam. Topkapi merupakan karya terbesar Kesultanan **Turki**
Utsmani. Dibangun dengan arsitektur khas Turki yang ...
- 6 ... Cannon Gate. Topkapi is the biggest work of the **Turkish** Ottoman Empire. Built
with typical Turkish architecture ...
- ...Ciri Khas Masjid di Masa **Turki** Usmani Masjid di Masa Turki Ustmani
merupakan campuran dari...
- 7 ... Characteristic of the Mosque in the **Turkish** Ottoman Period Mosque in the
Ottoman Era is a mixture of ...
-

5.3. Result of Analysis and Discussion

This purpose of this section is to summarize the result of the previous analysis, and provide answers to the research questions in the light of the literature research and based on the evidence collected from the analysis. As previously established, the goal of this research is to find out how Turkey is being represented in Indonesian media. The research did not aim to closely examine any particular subjects or events related to Turkey. Thus, the study did not put any thematic, or contextual limitation to the analysis; and texts collected for analysis were not limited to specific topics. The broad spectrum of topics in the samples was consequently reflected in the result of the collocation analysis. The researcher narrowed the result in three-point of analysis by categorizing the resulting collocates based on the events or object it pertained to.

As previously mentioned in the research methodology chapter, there is an imbalance in the number of samples collected from each news sites. This is because some outlets such as detik.com and republika.co.id presented every instance of samples which contained the word “Turki” instead of articles which directly concerned with Turkey; whereas other news outlets such as liputan6.com, okezone.com and tribunnews.com presented samples

of news articles directly related to Turkey. As a consequence, a large number of samples was extracted from the former two sources. The study overcame this problem by the use of MI calculation in collocation analysis, which disregarded the value of raw frequency when determining the strength of association between two collocating words. However, the source imbalance may have been reflected while performing concordance analysis; as the researcher observed that vast amount of concordance lines on the list were extracted from *republika.co.id*. This indicated that the presence of concordance lines extracted from *republika.co.id* articles had a considerable influence on the pattern identification process conducted in the study. On the other hand, the domination of samples from *republika.co.id* in the concordance list, instead of samples from *detik.com* (which contributed 51% of the research sample), served as evidence that a large number of samples does not necessarily determine the result of the analysis.

The research questions will be addressed below:

A. What are the key ways by which Turkey is being represented in Indonesian online news sites?

The researcher observed that the representation of Turkey in Indonesian online news sites between October 1st 2019 and April 1st 2020 pertained to three major events and object: Turkish Military Operations in Syria, COVID-19 Outbreak in Turkey, and the (Turkish) Ottoman Empire. The conclusion of the representation of Turkey in relation to the three events is presented below:

1. The Representation of the Turkish Military Operation in Syria

- The topic of Turkish military operations in Syria dominates the representation of Turkey in Indonesian online news sites. Turkey is most frequently represented in the five online news sites in association with its military operations in Syria.

- Turkish military operations are generally attributed negatively by the media. These are some supporting pieces of evidence for this claim:
 - Nine out of ten concordance lists which shows a line from an interview of foreign entities showed an expression of condemnation and criticism. These concordance lines were extracted from detik.com, okezone.com and republika.co.id.
 - Four out of five news outlets (detik.com, liputan6.com, okezone.com, and republika.co.id) repeatedly regarded the military operation as an *invasion*. Addressing Turkish military operations in Syria as an *invasion* signified that the speaker of the news considered the act as an unwelcomed intrusion"
 - Three out of five news outlets (detik.com, liputan6.com, and republika.co.id) who described Turkish-backed Syrian National Army as *rebels* at least once.
- Republika.co.id has shown some inconsistencies in attributing Turkish Military Operations in Syria. Republika.co.id has seen using the term *anti-terror* or *counter-terrorism* to describe Turkish military operation. The use of these terms would justify the operation, hence can be regarded as approval or support. Also, the term *fighter* used to describe Turkish-backed Syrian forces was found in the concordance line extracted from republika.co.id. In contrary to the term *rebel*, *fighter* implied approval of the writer.

2. The Representation of COVID-19 Outbreak in Turkey

- The news about Turkey is likely to be associated with the event of COVID-19 outbreak, and the Ottoman Empire. Despite the frequency of the news pertaining to the two events are considerably lower compared to the news about the military operation; Turkey showed a strong statistical association with the two events.

- Turkey is represented as a country greatly affected by COVID-19 pandemic. The representation of COVID-19 outbreak in Turkey is often accompanied by the use of quantification unit to describe the growing severity of the pandemic.
- Turkish officials are represented as being actively involved in regards to the management of COVID-19 outbreak in Turkey. This is reflected in the texts. The concordance search showed that Turkish officials constantly update the situation, and took action to overcome the crisis (school closing, or ban on public events)
- Detik.com and republika.co.id highlighted a different aspect of the COVID-19 outbreak by presenting the event from another perspective. Detik.com took used the narrative of an Indonesian student to describe the crisis management of the Turkish officials regarding the outbreak. Detik.com also illuminated a positive aspect of an otherwise negative event by reporting the news about the elderly man and the police. On the other hand, the text from republika.co.id focused on the cultural aspect of the COVID-19 response form the people.

3. The Representation of Turkey in relation to the Ottoman Empire

- The representation of Turkey in relation to the Ottoman Empire occurred in four out of five news outlets chosen for this study: detik.com, liputan6.com, okezone.com, and republika.co.id.
- The collocation of Turkey and the Ottoman Empire occurred due to Indonesian news sites regard the Ottomans as the Turkish Ottoman (*Turki Utsmani*).
- The lines which contained this collocation tend to associate Turkey with the Ottoman Caliphate, the Islamic traditions which occurred within, and the architectural and cultural heritage the empire left behind.
- Republika.co.id explicitly referred to Turkey as *the Islamic Republic of Turkey* (Republik Islam Turki). The reference implied that the caliphate was in the hands of the Turks until the formation of the Islamic Republic of Turkey.

B. How do the findings identify with the media environment in Indonesia, and the relationship between Indonesia and Turkey; according to the previous literature focusing on the media agenda?

The answer to this research question is highlighted in the following points below:

- It is possible to make sense of the coverage of Turkish military operation in Syria and COVID-19 outbreak in Turkey, as both are recent events which concerned the global stability. News about conflicts especially possesses a high level of newsworthiness.
- Similarly, international news coverage on global pandemic is an expected occurrence. The coverage on COVID-19 outbreak in Turkey in Indonesian media is given by the fact that Turkey is among the countries with the highest rate of detected infections in the world (during the analysis period). The outbreak was reported by detik.com, liputan6.com, okezone.com, republika.co.id and tribunnews.com which indicate that the five media outlets give saliency to the event. Yet, neither of the outlets have given saliency to any particular attribute of the event.
- As established in the literature research, the relationship between Indonesia and Turkey has been positive in both contemporary and historical term. Therefore, it was interesting to see the tendency of the online news sites to give negative attribution of Turkish military operations in Syria. The initial thought pertains to the inter-media agenda-setting. Only a handful of large news corporations have the means to afford to venture abroad by establishing overseas bureau; thus many news outlets outsource information about foreign countries from what's referred to as news agencies. However, the news flow in the world is currently dominated

by three agencies which are based in western countries: Associated Press (AP), Agence France Presse (AFP) and Reuters (Horvit, 2006). The dominance of the three agencies is often criticised on the ground that their reports are lack of objectivity and are written for the interest of the wealthy country (their home nations). Thus, the agenda of these agencies do not tend to align with Turkey. Based on the assumption that the news sites source their information about Turkey from these agencies, the negative overtone of the political news is granted.

- In regards to the current technological advances and globalization; the media outlets in Indonesia are at the liberty to choose their sources. It is not a coincidence that they represent Turkey by adopting the phraseology of the three dominant western news wires, also given the recent establishment of Anadolu Agency's Jakarta desk. The researcher proposed the role of Indonesian foreign policy as a determinant for the attribution of Turkish military operation. As mentioned before, Indonesia adopted an *independent and active* strategy as its foreign policy. This strategy assumed that Indonesia will actively participate in maintaining global peace; yet remain moderate and not take a side in an international conflict.
- The publications of articles containing the Turkey – Ottoman relations found in detik.com, liputan6.com, okezone.com, and republika.co.id highlight the cultural affinity between Indonesia and Turkey in terms of religion.
 - The historical narrative about the (Turkish) Ottoman Empire published by detik.com and republika.co.id indicated that the representation of Turkey in Indonesian media does not always pertain to current events. The religious aspect of the Ottoman Empire gave a sense of cultural affinity which influenced the saliency of the topic in the Indonesian audience.
 - The stance of republika.co.id as a secular-Islamic media is reflected in these publications. Frequent referral to the caliphate and use of the word

Islam in the representation of the Turkish Ottoman served as evidence of this stance. Republika.co.id also highlighted the Ottoman – Aceh relations to strengthen the perceived association between Indonesia and Turkey as Muslim countries. As previously mentioned, the two sultanates had nearly five decades of historical ties.

- Lack of articles from tribunnews.com in relation to Turkish-Ottoman association indicated that the representation of Turkey in tribunnews.com focused on the recent events.
- Despite the direct and indirect affiliations to different companies and political parties, the five online news sites showed little to no difference in language used to represent Turkey in the texts. The researcher argued that the geographical proximity of Turkey and the lack of political interest Turkey hold in Indonesia may be the main reason for the monotonous tone in reporting political news about Turkey. Otherwise, this may also pertain to abovementioned sourcing issue.

Conclusion

The goal of this study was to find out the key ways by which Turkey was represented in Indonesian online news sites; and how this representation related with the media environment in Indonesia and the relationship between Indonesia and Turkey. As the use of language is crucial in the representation of foreign countries, the research was conducted using CDA informed corpus linguistic method. The research did not determine any prior thematic requirement in the research, as the aim was to observe the consensus of the representation of Turkey on the news. During the study period between 1st October 2019 and 1st April 2020, the study collected 1,453 news articles to be analysed.

The result of the study shows that within the study period, the representation of Turkey in Indonesian news sites was most associated with three key subjects: the Turkish cross-border military operations in Syria, the COVID-19 outbreak in Turkey, and the Ottoman Empire. Although the three notions pertained to a single topic: Turkey; the five Indonesian news outlets gave different attribution saliency to each of the subjects. In general, the five news outlets took an opposing stance against military operations. However, the same negative overtone against Turkey was not found in the context of COVID-19 outbreak. In contrary, four out of five news outlets which published Turkey – Ottoman related articles; highlighted the religious similarities in Indonesia and Turkey and their good relations in the historical term.

The analysis was conducted on news items collected from five Indonesian online news sites: detik.com, liputan6.com, okezone.com, republika.co.id and tribunnews.com. Apart from their popularity, the primary reason why these news sites were chosen was that each represents a “position” in the Indonesian media environment. Detik.com, liputan6.com, okezone.com and tribunnews.com are each part of “conglomerate” media groups, while republika.co.id is a representation of secular-Islamic media. However, when it comes to

news about foreign politics; all five of the news outlets presented a monotonous tone in reporting. The interest of the agenda was seen in the representation of Turkey which pertained to Turkey-Ottoman relation. Republika.co.id revealed its agenda as an Islamic media outlet by repeatedly illuminating the Ottoman caliphate and Islamic cultural elements in the texts.

In the light of agenda-setting theory, analyzing the representation of Turkey in Indonesian media has shown some interesting results. As aspects of negativity possess a great deal of newsworthiness, media predominantly report events or objects pertaining to this trait. As reflected in the representation of Turkey in the Indonesian media, the majority of news about Turkey was related to the conflict in the region in which Turkey participated through its military operations. A similar circumstance was also seen in the coverage of COVID-19 outbreak whose effects were experienced globally. On the other hand, coverage on Turkey in relation to the Ottoman Empire highlighted cultural affinity as a determinant on the newsworthiness of International news coverage.

By the definition of agenda-setting theory mentioned in chapter one, media are not only capable of *telling people what to think about*, but rather they are also able to tell people *how to think* about something. The negative attribution of the Turkish military operations in Syria and the endorsement of Turkey-Ottoman relations pertained to this role of media. This ability of media to influence perceived salience of any given objects or events in the audience is determined by numbers of factors. As seen in the example of how Indonesian online news sites represented the Turkish military operation; the sourcing of information and government agenda are among these factors.

In conclusion, media are the main disseminators of discourses that many people rely on to obtain information about foreign countries. Media have a set of criteria to decide: which country to represent and how to represent them in the news. However, the discourses

surrounding a foreign country are not one dimensional. As reflected in this study, Indonesian online news sites represented various aspects of Turkey differently influenced by different level of media agenda.

Suggestion for further research

While the research conducted in this thesis has resulted in some useful conclusions on general research on foreign country; suggestions for further research are listed below:

1. The goal of the research was to examine the representation of Turkey in general, without any preceding thematical or categorical assumption. Therefore, the discourses of Turkey were not each examined extensively. Additional research focusing on a particular aspect or event may allow researchers a closer look at the problem.
2. Although the duration of this study was sufficient to produce a beneficial conclusion, further research on longer duration is needed to discover a more general idea about the representation of Turkey in the Indonesian media.
3. Identifying patterns of language use and deriving discourse correspond with the scientific and cultural knowledge of the researcher. In order to balance the potential subjectivity of the researcher, therefore, research triangulation such as additional survey-based analysis is recommended for further study.

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Abstract

The representation of a foreign country in the media plays an important role in public opinion, as the media is the primary source of information about a foreign country for the majority of people. The media has the power to influence its audience on what and how to think about any given subject or event. This thesis analyses the representation of Turkey in Indonesian online media, and how does this representation relate with the media environment in Indonesia and the relationship between both countries. Considering the importance of the use of language in media representation, this study employed critical discourse analysis informed corpus linguistic methodology to analyse 1,453 news articles published in five Indonesian online news portals. The result of this study shows that the representation of Turkey in the five Indonesian online news portals is dominated with articles related to Turkish military operation in Syria. Moreover, within the duration of the study, Turkey is often associated with the event-related with COVID-19 pandemic and the Ottoman Empire.

Keywords: Media Representation, Agenda-Setting Theory, International News, Indonesian Media, Turkey

Özet

Yabancı bir ülkenin medyadaki temsili kamuoyunda önemli bir rol oynamaktadır. Çünkü medya, çoğu insanların yabancı bir ülke hakkında bilgi edinmek için birincil bilgi kaynağı olmaktadır. Medya, herhangi bir konu veya olay hakkında okuyucularının neyi ve nasıl düşünmesi gerektiğini yönlendirme gücüne sahiptir. Bu tez, Türkiye'nin Endonezya çevrimiçi mediasındaki temsilini ve bu temsilin Endonezya'daki medya ortamı ve iki ülkenin arasındaki ilişki ile nasıl bağlantılı olduğunu analiz etmektedir. Medya temsiline dil kullanımının önemi göz önünde bulundurarak bu tez, beş Endonezya çevrimiçi haber portalında yayınlanan 1.453 haberi analiz etmek için eleştirel söylem analizine dayalı korpus dilbilimsel analiz metodunu kullanmaktadır. Bu çalışmanın sonucunda Türkiye'nin Endonezya beş çevrimiçi haber portalındaki temsilinin, Suriye'deki Türk askeri operasyonu ile ilgili haberlerin ön planda olduğunu göstermektedir. Ayrıca, çalışma süresince Türkiye sıklıkla COVID-19 salgını ve Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ilişkilendirilmektedir.

Anahtar Kelime: Medya Temsilciliği, Gündem Belirleme Teorisi, Uluslararası Haberler, Endonezya Medyası, Türkiye