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**THE REPRESENTATION OF TWO COUNTRIES
IN THE TURKISH AND INDONESIAN MEDIA**

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MAWADDAH

Supervisor

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İKİ ÜLKENİN TEMSİLİ

YÜKSEK LİSANS TEZİ

MAWADDAH

Danışman

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ÖZET

Bir ülkenin medyası o ülkenin incelenmesinde önemli bir analiz birimini oluşturmaktadır, çünkü ülkenin algısını yönlendiren bir işlev üstlenmektedir. Endonezya ve Türkiye'nin her ikisi de demokratik temele sahip olup, güçlü bir ilişkiye de sahiptir. Bu çalışmanın amacı Türkiye ve Endonezya'nın hem kendi medyalarında hem birbirlerinin medyasında karşılıklı olarak nasıl temsil edildiğinin araştırılmasıdır. Çalışma sürecinde, Türkiye medyasında Endonezya ile ilgili 97 haber tespit edilmişken, Endonezya gazetelerinde Türkiye ilgili 418 haber sayısı belirlenmiş ve yazar tarafından incelenmiştir. Hürriyet gazetesinin haberleri Türkiye medya örneklemini olarak seçilmiştir, aynı şekilde The Jakarta Post ve Republika gazetesi Endonezya medya örneklemini olarak yer almaktadır.

Endonezya'nın ve Türkiye'nin karşılıklı medya betimlemelerini belirlemeye yönelik içerik analizinde, Türkiye medyasının Endonezya hakkındaki haberlere göreceli olarak daha az ilgi gösterdiği bulunmuştur.

Endonezya ile ilgili haberlerin Türkiye medyasında başlık yapması genellikle doğal afetlerle ilgili olmuştur. Endonezya medyasında ise bunun tersine olarak Türkiye haberleri daha fazla bilgi sunmakta, haber konuları da daha çeşitli konularda oluşmaktadır. Türkiye hakkındaki haberlerde en sık rastlanılan konular ulusal politika ve iç işleri ile ilgilidir.

Bu çalışmanın sonucunda Endonezya'nın Türkiye medyasında "doğal afet ülkesi" imajına sahip olduğu, Türkiye'nin ise Endonezya medyasındaki genel ve ana imajının güçlü ulusal politika yönelimlerinin olumlu ya da tartışma konusu olarak ele alındığı bulunmuştur.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Medya Temsili, Endonezya Medyası, Türkiye Medyası, Türkiye – Endonezya İlişkileri*



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Tezin İngilizce Adı	The Representation of Two Countries in the Turkish and Indonesian Media

SUMMARY

Countries are considered as an important subject for media analysis, because the media act as agents that shape the people's perception of a country. In fact, both Turkey and Indonesia have democratic backgrounds and strong bilateral relations. This study aims to explore how the media in Turkey and Indonesia informed their audiences about each other. During the period that was studied, there were 97 news stories about Indonesia in the Turkish media. On the other hand, the number of stories about Turkey was considerable in the Indonesian newspapers with 352 news articles. Hurriyet Daily News was selected as the Turkish media sample, while The Jakarta Post and Republika newspaper for the Indonesian media sample. Content analysis was used to examine the media portrayal of Indonesia in the Turkish media through their news columns and also how Indonesian media reported about Turkey in order to obtain a comparative study of the media of both countries. After having collected and analyzed the news from those newspapers, the writer found that Turkish media paid less attention to news about Indonesia rather than Indonesian media in informing about Turkey. The result of this study showed that in general portrays of the Turkish media, Indonesia was described as the country where the natural disasters take place. Unlike the Turkish media, Indonesian media provided more space about Turkey that mostly covered internal politics and internal affairs.

Keywords: *Media Representation, Indonesian Media, Turkish Media, Turkey-Indonesia Relations.*

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Introduction

Globalization has consequently pushed media to undergo fundamental transformations (William 2011: 33) and furthermore, the said “Age of information” has lessened the significance of the traditional national-territorial factors to the point that it became less capable in explaining international media coverage (Castells, 2001; Hammond, 2007). International newsgathering and reporting have radically altered over the past few decades and continues to alter in the digital age. Moreover, convergence has occurred in the media industry. The news organizations are spending less on actual reporters and are spending more to utilize technology in gathering the news. Many might argue that globalization and digitization should afford the chance of public to obtain more information about other countries and other cultures.

Similarities in certain backgrounds, such as historical, political, religious and cultural backgrounds between Indonesia and Turkey have allowed the two countries to continuously maintain interaction in various areas of cooperation. The relations of Turkey and Indonesia are harmonious, peaceful and with a wide array of fields for cooperation to be developed even further. Indonesia is the world’s third largest democratic government; furthermore it has the largest Muslim population in the world. Commanding very important passages between the Indian Ocean and the Pacific Ocean, Indonesia occupies one of the most important strategic positions in the world. It can be said that the relations between Turkey and Indonesia go back to times as early as the 12th century. The role of Turkish Islamic scholars, who visited Indonesia during that period, had been significant in the Islamic expansion in the archipelago. Later, in the 16th century, the encroaching of Portuguese colonizers pressurized The Sultanate of Aceh to call for help from the Ottoman Empire. This event has marked a starting point in the relations between the two countries.

History of *Soeltan Atjeh Marhoem* has narrated the sincerity of the Ottoman Sultan in allowing expertise to the Aceh Empire. The Ottoman Empire had sent experts to teach and construct War craft to the Aceh Empire, beside that Ottoman Empire had also sent cannons that were later used in the battle. It has also been narrated that in the year 1565, the Sultan of the Ottoman Empire had supported the

Sultan of Aceh Empire who was in battle against the Portuguese colonizer in Malacca.

The support included the delivery of the battleships and the Ottoman Empire had given permission to the Acehnese navy to fly the flag of Ottoman Empire during that time. It has been noted in the history that the attack to the ships with Turkish flag implied sovereignty to Turkey. The historical evidence has proven that the connection between Aceh and Turkey has been strong since a long time. In fact, the connection itself had started since the reign of the Ottoman Sultan Selim I, Sultan Süleyman I and Sultan Selim II, respectively.

In a more contemporary occurrence, Turkey has also taken part in humanity actions related to the development of Aceh. During the months after the Indian Ocean Tsunami disaster hit several regions across the Indian Ocean, more significantly Aceh, on December 26th, 2004, Turkey had sent significant relief to Aceh. The reliefs sent from all-over Turkey to Aceh included the assistance from volunteers, relief teams, state agencies, and non-governmental organizations. The Indian Ocean Tsunami disaster brought not only humanitarian aid from Turkey, but also instigated Turkish entrepreneurs to seek business opportunities in the Indonesian market.

Foreign policy wise, both Turkey and Indonesia are members of multilateral institutions and forums. Both countries are a member of the United Nations (UN), Organization of Islam Conference (OIC), Group of Twenty (G-20), Development Eight (D-8) and both countries are also part of an unofficial consultation and coordination platform among Mexico, Indonesia, Korea, Turkey and Australia (MIKTA). Both Indonesia and Turkey share similar philosophical views on foreign policy. Turkey's foreign policy was rooted from the philosophical teaching by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk that was "*Yurtta barış, Dünyada barış*" (Turkish: peace at home, peace in the world). Meanwhile, foreign policy of Indonesia was also rooted from a vision of "participation in the establishment of a world order based on peace and social justice" (Haryadi, 2014: 1).

The media plays a vital role in the course of a democratic country, as Denis, Groshek and Elasmara have mentioned in their work, that information about the world matters to people of the world (Denis, Groshek and Elasmara, 2016: 1). Media keeps

people informed about the occurrences around them, beyond them and all over the world. As media plays its role in disseminating information, people eventually get immense knowledge on various subjects. However, the question of “to which degree that mass communication should be considered as national or international phenomenon” has always been somewhat tricky and the answer is left uncertain. The matter has both theoretical and practical implications, as some theories have posited mass media as having importance as a strong force for national unity, while some other theories regard it as force that undermines national cultural identity and autonomy (McQuail, 2004: 213).

A country is posited as one of important units of analysis for media, and media itself acts as an agent that plays role in forming perceptions of a country (Gartner, 1994). In addition “Representation of countries in the media is pivotal to how the world is understood as well as to the external recognition and self-identity of a country within the world system (Grosher et al, 2016: 18)”. Both Turkey and Indonesia have democratic backgrounds and strong bilateral relations. As a comparative news content study, it is interesting to examine the representation of both Turkey and Indonesia by the media of each one country. The research will analyze the way how the media in each country perceives the image of another country, and the comparative content of the news in relation to both of the two countries.

The study contains 5 chapters, the first Chapter as the conceptual part is made up of introduction to the relevant theoretical framework, the theory of representation and its application in the news media. The second chapter contains the Turkish and Indonesian media structure and mentions about the Turkish-Indonesian Relations. The third chapter highlights content analysis as the methodology that is adopted for the study of the news in the three dailies *Hürriyet Daily News*, *Jakarta Post* and *Republika* through the years 2015 to 2018. Chapter four follows with the findings from the content analysis, which constitutes the empirical aspect of the study. The last chapter closes with conclusion and recommendations.

CHAPTER I

News Media and Media Representation

1.1. The importance of Media

Etymologically, media is a plural form of a latin word *medium*. Media has the meaning of mediation, something in the middle or in between, seen by the public, and ownership sharing. The meaning of media is actually impossible to be separated off from the historical problematic friction between the private (*privates*) and public (*publicus*) authority. Thus, media's domain encompasses physical places in the society not only in the courts, streets and theatre, but also to imaginary forums like the media and "any space for social interaction which has the power to shape life and culture" (Nugrohu et all, 2012: 19).

The spaces for social interaction in the media which are denoted as various forms of media have all been grouped together under the collective term of "mass media" because they showed similarity in their potential to provide large volumes of information. It is disseminated from a central point to masses of individual receivers (McQuail, 2004: 3). Mass media are the technological tool where mass communication takes place (Turow, 2003: 15). According to McQuail (Devereux, 2003: 7), the significance of mass media is arising from its universality, great popularity and the character of the public.

Media is one of the essential elements in the 21st century. It has many relevance with the structure of the social life within it grows. The social structure itself produces norms and attitudes, and then it claims many aspects of social life which either interests or is important to the people. In the context of social life, mass media has social significance at both macro and micro levels. At macro level the mass media play an "important central role in the continuation of various kinds of social inequalities at all levels; local, national and global" (Devereux, 2003: 10). "At micro level the mass media ideally act as agents of socialization, constitute a powerful source of social meaning and infest a significant amount of people's leisure time" (Devereux, 2003: 10).

Mass media has five fundamental aspects those are; dependency and pervasiveness of information, source of information, source of entertainment, binding influence and a persuasion forum (Vivian 1999: 5). The first, mass media as a pervasive in the modern life, we explore and understand everything we want and need to know about the world beyond our nearest circle and environs. Through mass media, in modern democracy, an informed and involved citizen is possible. Citizenry need the mass media to express their attitudes, and media is also a powerful force to be used to influence the ideology of the people. It is used as professional interest for commercial purposes. Propagandists and advertisers use mass media as their main weapon for persuasion.

Second, the function of media informing lies in messages in the news. News is reported on subjects which people want to or need to know. Third, as an entertainment source, the mass media could be a mesmerizing entertainer; it would bring huge number of audiences. Forth, as a forum for persuasion, in editorials and commentaries, usually persuasive purposes are obvious enough. Mostly, news media add messages into the news that are already designed to persuade. The last function of mass media is binding influence. The mass media connect and gather communities by giving message and thus constitutes a place for experience-sharing (Vivian 1999: 10).

Mass media have become slowly but surely an essential and the most basic element in the democratic process by offering a debating arena, for making the political candidates widely known to the public and also for distributing various opinions and information. The mass media is also a virtual tool of exercising and raising power. It is a relatively privileged access which “politicians can claim from the media as a legitimate right” (McQuail, 2000: 4).

The mass communication media is a tissue of democracy. They are principal tools with which people and their elected representative could communicate, share and influence (Gunther and Mughan, 2000: 1). According to the liberal theory, the principal role of media in democracies is to act as a check to the government. Media should always monitor all range of political activity, and should fearlessly communicate the violation of the official authority to the people (Toker, 2004: 21). News as a certain essential of the media has a significant role in this process of

informing, and the watchdog role surpass in importance all of the other purposes of the media.

1.2. The Role of the Media in Democratic Countries

Democratic countries mean to have a commitment to be ruled by the people. It also has limited government and representative political institutions. Democracy is a system based on people's demands; it is not just a mechanical situation where most of the decrees are issued in: isolation (Sen, 1997: 97). It needs the active participation of citizens when something is to be called 'democratic'. For this, the media has a role to engage and involve citizens, and put them in the picture in the business of governance by informing, educating and mobilizing them. It is a democratic society, when the media purposes to inform the citizens about processes of making and taking decisions and making the society conscious to give their active contribution in these processes (Sen, 1997: 109).

The role of 'functioning democracy' is being emphasized in the media since centuries. It was when the 17th century enlightenment theorists had discussed and argued that openness will suffice as the best protection against tyranny. Openness is the medicine for the abuse of power in tyranny as the French political philosopher, Montesquieu, prescribed. Most of thinkers of the Anglo-Saxon realm in the same century agreed with Montesquieu, the press was crucial in providing feedback communication from the ruled audiences to the rulers (Holmes, 1991: 21-65).

Thus, the status of the press has been stated as the 'Fourth Estate'. It means a mechanism that will provide the check and balance without it governments cannot effectively work. Therefore the press has been regarded as an important instrument that provides information and education to citizens. Habermas (1989: 3) stated that the press establishes public circles which not only give information but also offer emancipation. Inversely, Althusser doesn't agree with the emancipatory role in the media; that in capitalist systems, freedom is an artificial ideological creation to serve the individual or group interests of the elites.

According to Lasswell (1948: 51), the media acts in three roles in the democratic process: one of supervision of the communication environment, second,

the interaction and relevance of the materials of the society in responding to the environment and third, the transmission of the social legacy. Related to the function of media in a democratic society, John Keane (1991) says that the quality of democracy could be negatively affected by market liberalism. Keane stated that “time has long passed when it could be credibly assumed that rivalry in the market ensures freedom in communication” (Keane, 1991: 88-89).

Patrick H. O’Neil who formed a theoretical structure for the analysis of the relationship between mass media and the political transition process with democratization where he argued that the media participation in democratization is depending on “the structure and the role of media in a society, and it is shaped by cultural, socio-economic and political factors” (O’Neil, 1998: 7). Gurevitch and Blumler (1990) show various democratic functions which the media provide. These functions include the control of socio-political growth, giving a place for debate across the various views, talking about the most correlative topics, and inducing citizens to be aware of political issues and processes and to get involved. From a similar point of view, Wilbur Schramm (1964: 42-44) argues that in a democracy, newspapers have three basic functions. The first function is to act as a watchman who means to guard the public interest by widely spreading news, the second is a policy-shaper that introduces public’s notions and channels debates, and the last is to be a teacher when it has to be opinion and information provider and a guide.

The media builds public opinion through three fundamental ways; agenda-setting, priming and framing. As an agenda-setter, the news media offers information about any problem in society and then connects citizens to be concern too in being decision-makers in the government. “Media frames, widely unspoken and unacknowledged; organize the world both for journalists who report it and for us who depend on their reports” Gitlin (1980:7). Framing tends to be the frame of reference within a problem that is reported, while priming means the fact that one part of the reported information can influence how people interpret ensuing parts of information by making them concern just to some specific areas of opinion (Fog, 2004: 12-13).

Media can strongly affect values and development in politics through three potential ways: by defining the thinking of elites; by shaping the preferences of the

public; and by providing as a site for the framework to formation in maintenance or change of elite's thoughts (Somer, 2010: 558). Elites can utilize their political power by putting pressure on the media for the sake of controlling the discourse. They may attempt to limit press freedom by using the label of 'national security'. They can try to limit press freedom using real or perceived threats to 'national security' and they may also use financial means to force oppositional media. Generally that kind of limitation and restriction can be found in countries that can be considered as democratically weak (Somer, 2010: 570).

According to Schiller (1993: 40) the commercial media operates under the order of its commercial rules and relies on the advertisements for its earnings. Because it can be controlled by some multinational conglomerates, it can be stated that the commercial media can consist an antidemocratic power that supports the status quo. It has also been argued that, due to commercialization, the media has not served the interest and importance of the public as it has to be done in a democratic society (Curran, 2002: 221). It has been emphasized that public opinion is always shaped by commercial media institutions that generally have relations to interests and priorities of the elites.

1.3. The Importance Of News

Informed, involved and actively participant citizens are needed in democracies to overtake their general 'affairs'. It is also believed that public debate can result in rational and rightful outcome if various opinions and interest are represented (Curran, 2000: 128). According to liberal theory, the principal role of media in a democracy is to check the actions of the state or government. Media should always monitor all kinds of political activity, and inform the people of the violations by the official authorities. News as a primary function of the media has a significant role in this process of informing, and its role as a public watchdog is the most important one of the purposes of the media (Curran, 2000: 121). McQuail emphasized the importance of the news by stating that: "the news could not exist without media institutions and the media as an institution could not exist without

news” (McQuail, 1994: 267). Thereby media as the main public agenda setter chooses what should be important and interesting enough to be made news.

Current events and issues can be reported as news. News is recent information, so it has to be about something that has just happened or will be happening soon. Current events are being reported as news in all platforms; newspapers, television, radio or internet. Teun Van Dijk stated that as a term, news has different meanings; “a news report or item, i.e., a text and a discourse on TV, newspaper or in the radio, in which new information is given and is about recent happenings” (Van Dijk, 1998: 4). In the physical way, news can be considered as a news item or article which can be read, seen or clipped from the newspaper.

News is not just about giving information in a narrow definition, news is a contribution to dialogue, discussion and sharing about values or collective identity within a particular society, as mentioned by Tuchman, “news is actually all of the cultural phenomena that grows in succession and in joint with any political and socio-economic institution” (Tuchman, 1978: 157).

Critical media theorists are claiming that news are like constructing buildings of the realities, and do not exactly mirror of society (1978, cited in Toker 2004: 24). Walter Lippmann separated truth and news by saying that the news’ function is to signalize and highlight an event whilst the function of truth is to show and open up the hidden fact, a statement that is setting them both into strong connection to each other and is making it a frame of reality in action (Romano, 1986: 42). Besides the ‘product’ aspect of news, there are another economic, political, cultural and social dimensions to understand its genuine meaning in society.

Michael Schudson accentuated three perspectives for news making. First, the political economy view which connects the final result of the news process with the country’s economy and structure, and also the economic foundation behind the news organization. Secondly as a sociological approach that studies the social organization, job, profession and ideology in the social construction of news. It seeks to understand how the maximum effort of journalists are restricted by the demands of the organization. Third, the power of pressing broad cultural traditions and symbolic systems by the cultural approach, regardless of the organizational

structure in the economy or in the character of the routines at work (Schudson, 2000: 177).

For democracy, which needs an informed citizenry, news and the media are the primary tools for establishing an attitude (Dahlgren, 2000: 322). However, according to Schudson, if the media in general tends to reflect the opinions or views and the voice of a government official, the media is more likely to be the natural provider of the democratic order (Schudson, 2000: 185). One most basic point about the deep function of the news in distributing values and standards: for much of their history the media has been to an important degree the supporter of the status quo (Hulteng, 1979: 99). News media will tend to support and protect the structure to which they belong as well as the media is always in interaction with the segments of social and political structure. The hegemony in social order that has been broadly accepted is produced and reproduced by the media.

Tuchman (1978: 99) has an argument that news relies not only on the facts of reality but also on the structure of its media organization, its journalistic values. Therefore constraints in news production will give an insight to understand this phenomenon. Structural and organizational imperatives are also needed to be known and also journalistic procedures or principles which are really fundamental for framing and building the environment conceived by the news.

News is regularly-made production of irregular commodities and the news organization takes attention to the attributes of news quality (Tiffen, 1989: 15). The current events or recent problems or issues have to be within the scope of a reporter or a news organization to become or to be called as news (Tuchman, 1978: 138). Though many theorists claim that news is made by the work of professional news reporters, it is clear that the values of the organization determine most the selection of news. It is actually an argument of both structural commercial imperatives and division of labor that influence the choice of the 'story'.

According to Gans (1980: 79) both as member of a profession and as individuals, journalists do apply news judgment. "However they are by no means one hundred percent free agents, and in any case they rarely could make a selection decision on their own ideological background. Organizations give them only a very

limited amount of leeway in selection decisions and it is a part of obedience to professionally shared values” (Gans, 1980: 79).

The ‘deadline’ and the ‘news hole’ pressures are the most dilemmatic issues in news organizations. There are billions of potential events to be informed yet they can only choose a fragment because of their limited space. Due to these parameters, the organizations have to manage and reduce their tasks. Their decision which is also influenced from the cultural values in the society will likely affect who or what will be news in the media (Huteng, 1979: 102).

Generally, the media does not and cannot create new codes, standards and attitudes alone; usually, the media introduces and gradually familiarizes the public to new practices or trends (Huteng, 1979: 100). Herbert Gans (1980: 97) mentioned that news organizations are pyramidal. There is limited number of jobs and every journalist who is involved and has an influence in the value judgement for the production of stories implements excessive organizational considerations, though the power of editors and head producer are not absolute.

1.4. Media Representation

Representation is known as a common term which is used in many different areas, domains and professions. Representation is strongly related with the news and information; it makes an appearance in everyday conversations with peers. A brief examination of any dictionary will give a number of definitions of the word ‘representation’. Some uses are philosophical; others are more or less linguistic uses, discussing how meanings are made through the production and organization of signs (Webb, 2009: 1). Stuart Hall (1997: 2) stated that representation is a more short term production of meaning by language use. In the process of representation, there are two systems. In the first system called mental representation, “all kinds of objects, people and events are connected and correlated with a set of concepts which we carry in our minds. It is used to interpret words or things meaningfully and it forms abstract things” (Hall, 1997: 2).

In this system, the meaning relies on the concept system. And images formed in our thoughts enable us to deal with things both outside and inside our head. The

second representation system is language. It is a translation system that transforms the abstract concept in our heads into a non-abstract form. It will correlate our concept and ideas with some particular written words, visual images or spoken sound. The common term we basically and generally use for sound, images or words that carry meaning is called sign. These signs which we carry around in our minds stand for the conceptual relations that together build the meaning system called culture. Language is a more organized form of sign; signs are the raw materials of language that translate thoughts and concepts into words and images. A particular language system is organized as a writing or spoken system. Those terms are used here in a very broad and inclusive sense. Hence just like visual images, words can be reproduced by any technological means (Hall, 2013: 4). Any abstract concept that is haunting inside our heads must be translated into a common way to be understood, so that we can relate our ideas in certain signs and symbols.

Foucault approached (cite in Hall, 2013: 51) discourse with a focus on the making of knowledge and meaning. Foucault analyses certain text and representation as well as semiotic analyses, but he is more into the whole unrelatable structure both in text and practice. His concern is more the ability of the human and social sciences to manage and organize, the ability for conducting, understanding, and practicing; a regulation of a body as well as a population.

There have been found three theories of representation that describe how the production of meaning could be used in social construction. The first theory is an approach that suggests the function of language as just like a mirror which is reflecting the truth that is actually existing in the world. On the other hand, visual signals bring a relationship like that of a shape with the object it represented (Hall, 1997: 24-26).

The second theory or approach is intentional approach. The author or speaker distributes through language a unique meaning about the world. The spoken words include an intention. Nevertheless, there is still the debate over the subjectivity of language in communicating largely subjective things. However as a theory of language representation, the intentional approach is still counted as a flawed approach. Language is considered as a continuous social system which cannot be separated from society and people. Our individual thoughts are needed to negotiate

and understand each other's meanings of words or pictures which all have already been formed in the language system itself. Our use and practice of the language system itself will undeniably trigger something that is called an action. The third theory or approach is an action approach. It emphasizes the public character of language. It also acknowledges the meaning that is used to convey through the language cannot be determined wholly by any individual user, it is more or less a social construct (Hall, 1997: 26-30).

Things don't make meaning; meaning is constructed by many users of the language, - communication or receiving-, through the signage of the representational system. According to this approach that is called the constructivist or constructionist approach, we must not confuse the real world, where things and people exist, and the symbolic representation of these by utilization of the language which consists of conceptual packages already constructed as culture of a society. The social actors who use these ready cultural conceptualizations through the linguistic system of their culture are involved in the social construction of meaning about the world and communication it again into the society (Hall, 1997: 40).

Representation through the media by way of symbol usage is a most crucial interaction (Hall, 1997) which "feed the way we see, think of and feel about the world, about our relations with others and about our place in the world" (Orgad, 2012:19). Thus, media representation constitute an important act in the cycle of social reproduction of culture. "Beyond being simply products of different media genres, media representation act as "imaginary institutions" (Castoriadis 1987 cited in Orgad, 2012: 22) by constantly informing us about ourselves as well as about different people and places in the world."

Media representation differs from other forms of social representation by their crucial function of "production of meaning" that tries to "capture 'reality' in some way in signs" (Orgad, 2012: 47). Stuart Hall adds to this that hence meaning is very much context dependent, the prevailing meaning is not existent in pre-given structures, it has to be *constructed* by continuously competing meanings. Partial meanings that are *embodied in structures and in social relations* are "articulated in different social positions and within specific political and cultural practice" to form social subjects (Hall, 2002: 116-117).

Hall, assigns three functions to the media in modern societies. First, the media constructs social imagery that conveys knowledge about the subjective realities of the lives and the worlds to reassemble them on the social imagination into 'lived totality', 'world of the whole' (Hall, 1997: 340-341). Second, the media "reflects on the plurality and complexity of experience in late modern societies", order to "provide a constant *inventory* of the lexicons, life-styles and ideologies which are objectivized there". The media ranks social knowledge according to "normative and evaluative classifications" and also on the deliberate preferences of media actors (Hall, 1997: 340-341).

1.5. Representation in News

The news is basically not an empty field, nor is it in a non-valuable category. Reality requires certain conditions to be used as news. Within the media working mechanism, rules called news values reserves place to news that determine reality and qualify for mediation. Included in the working mechanism are these who determine the value of the news. This is the work of reporter-journalists and/or editors. They can add meaningful meanings to information or frame them in an attractive narrative flow report that follows the contracts set by the news organizations and society (Berkowitz, 1997).

With the news media, they shared the truth that they perceive and believe about people, actions and events. But like an iceberg, the reality on the news media may not be the same as the reality that other witnesses perceive. From the social cognitive viewpoint of journalism, it can be seen that these journalists and/or editors are capable of prejudiced or distorted representations because of the strong influence of ideologies, past experience and 'reality' perceptions (Buckingham, 2013: 40).

According to David Buckingham (2013: 42), "the media do not just offer us a transparent 'window on the world' but a mediated version of the world. They don't just present reality, they represent it". This reality has created new meaning by producing media representations, commercials, television shows and drama series, films and news. They all entered in the life of the people.

McQuail, stressed the importance of the news with these words: “media institutions could barely exist without news and news could not exist without media institutions” (McQuail, 1994: 267). The media as main setters of public agenda choose what they consider important enough to be news (Cited in Toker, 2004: 21).

According to the topics discussed above, this demonstration is simply the process by which these meanings are produced and constructed. The concept of representation has not been used as an empirical reality; hence the things presented in the media have usually a sub-conscious part which is like the submerged portion of an iceberg. The apparent part beyond the surface is only a fragmental reality, where the reality can only be whole with the inclusion of that part under the surface.

In the Oxford English Dictionary, John Hartley said “tidings/news; the report or account of recent events or occurrences, brought to or coming to one as new information; new occurrences as a subject of report or talk”. News is a report of a current event, something unknown, recent events and realities that are happening. Not all information will become news, but when the news value is added, information can become news.

Teun A. Van Dijk in Eriyanto (2001: 261-262) says, "The journalist mental consciousness, opinions, beliefs may influence the news text." Here, journalists are not seen as neutral individuals, but individuals who are influenced by a set of values, experiences, and ideology of their life. Berger and Luckmann (1966 [2011] added that the reality is a result of the process of social communication, and so it can be said that news speech is the “social construction of reality”. Nesbitt (1971) argues that news writer and /or editors are people who, at the same time, perceive the events around them, like other people, and interpret them according to the cultures they have grown in. Moreover, the creation of reality through news texts is very much dependent on the instructions and intervention of media owners, not only the background ideology of journalists and editors, but also the political-economy situation of the media. This relation between journalist, editor, media owner and market request is behind the representation of the news media (Eriyanto, 2001: 261-262).

It is clear that, in relation to news and representation; journalists, editors, media owners mediate events as “real” objects while as a product of this

representation, readers act as spectators. Journalists, editors and media owners use selective criteria to determine which events will be reported, which and how the actors are represented, and on which right the values are to be emphasized (Eriyanto, 2001 : 270).

As it can be understood from the first connection between news and representation, it is also possible to create the news which are needed to be represented. How the facts are described in the news is not the same as the “real” events, because as representatives the authors have given different realization of realities, namely “foreground” and “background” factors of re-texturing (Fairclough, 1992, 1995a; vanLeeuwen, 2008). Shoemaker & Vos (2009), defined this strategy as 'gatekeeper', that is the control of what was included and whose voice is heard in the news (Eriyanto, 2001: 271).

Many researchers have found prejudices, misrepresentations, inadequate publicity and stereotypes leading to prejudice and racism in news texts. The reason for this is that news authors and editors, or news organizations and media owners, have the power to identify facts and events that readers should or should not know. There seems to be a general agreement about the criteria for choosing the news that are to be published. Allan (2004: 57) summarizes the most commonly used news values: conflict, relevance, composition, distinguished international reference, references to the elites, cultural specificity and negativity.

The greatest concern in the news media is when the representation or reality is referenced in the news text (Fairclough, 1995 Cited in Allan, 2004: 46). Since many news media are bound to the ruling government, ruling or sovereign class, it is possible that there are their realities for their benefits which readers in general come to accept this as righteousness. The media's control of meaning is the perfect prejudice that interpretations and these representations make use of. The control of the news content means the meaning implied by the representatives. As a society, the maps of reality are dictated by what they represent (Allam, 2004: 47).

CHAPTER II

THE TURKISH AND THE INDONESIAN PRESS

2.1. History of the Turkish Press

The Ottoman Empire's press history will inevitably face some problems. The reason is that the unavailability of extensive and detailed information on the press-publishing world during the Ottoman period. Research on this period is considered somehow inadequate, and despite the increasing number of communication studies in recent times, many other aspects of the communication in Ottoman society are left undiscovered. Nevertheless, there were still general and basic evaluations that can be made in line with our knowledge and the positive and negative aspects can be emphasized (Alemdar, 1999: 1).

The development of the press in the Ottoman Empire showed differences from that of the European press history. The bourgeois class which emerged with the development of trade in the feudalism era of Europe had settled in towns and has driven the society economically, politically and culturally. In such an industrializing process, the press was emerged in Europe with the development of capitalism. Neither the Ottoman nor the Russian Empires stood up to follow these developments which started in Western Europe. As it was known, the press in Russia emerged in their role from the Tsar's decree and as the state's ideological apparatus. In the Ottoman Empire, which encountered capitalism much later than Western Europe, the history of the press also followed specific scenarios (İnuğur, 2005: 165).

2.1.1. The Press in the Ottoman Empire

Before the emergence of the national press in the Ottoman period, there were newspapers published in foreign languages. The first newspaper in the imperial territory was published in Istanbul on August 1795, and it called "*Bulletins Des Nouvelles*". It was French and was printed at the French Embassy in Istanbul. The bulletin "*Bulletins Des Nouvelles*" was published until 7 March 1796 when the ambassador was changed. Newly appointed French ambassador General Aubert Dubayet began to publish a monthly newspaper, "*Gazette Française De*

Constantinople” in October 1796, with four pages at the embassy’s printing house. This newspaper would also be closed after two years (İnuğur, 2002: 167).

The third of the French newspapers, “*Le Spectateur Oriental*”, was launched by a French man named Alexandre Blacque in Izmir on 24 March 1821. Since the publication policy of “*Le Spectateur Oriental*” was against the interests of the French Government, it was closed in 1824 after the efforts made by the French Consulate (Girgin, 2001:1). Other newspapers published in the Ottoman language in French are listed below:

1. “*Le Symrneen*” (1824)
2. “*Le Courrier de Symrne*” (1828-1831)
3. “*Le Moniteur Ottoman*” (1831-1836)
4. “*Courrier de Constantinople*” (1846)
5. “*Journal De Smyrne*” (1832-1842)
6. “*Echo de L’Orient*” (1838-1846)
7. “*Journal De Constantinople*” (1846-1866)
8. “*Gazette Medicale d’Orient*” (1857)
9. “*La Turquie*” (1866)
10. “*İmpartial*” (1841-1915)
11. “*La Reforme*” (1868-1922)
12. “*Le Phare Du Bosphore*” (1868-1898)
13. “*Courrier d’Orient*” (1854)
14. “*Revue d’Orient*” (1871) (Girgin, 2001: 2-3).

Apart from French, many other newspapers were also published in other languages. Among the foreign press,

- Greek: “*Filos Ton Neon*” (1831), “*Amalthia*” (1838), “*Bizantis*” (1850-1888), “*Eklisiastiki Aliteia*” (1881-1922) ve “*Neologos*” (1863);
- Armenian: “*İştemeran Bidani Kidelyats*” (1839), “*Masis*” (1852), “*Jamanak*” (1863), “*Hayrenik*” (1870), “*Manzume-I Efkar*” (1866-1896), “*Envar-I Şarkıyye*” (1867),

“*Ceride-I Şarkiyye*” (1885-1913);

- Arabic: 1850-1877 era, in Beyrut 21, in İstanbul 3, in Cebeli Lebanon 1, in Syria 1, in Aleppo 3, in Baghdad 1, in Jerusalem 2, in Tripoli 1 Arabic newspapers;
- Bulgarian: “*Ljuboslowije*” (1842) ve “*Tsarigradski Vestnik*” (The courier of Tsar City) (1848-1861);
- Persian: “*Ahter*” (1875-1896);
- English: “*Levant Herald*” (1856-1914) ve “*Presse Times and Shipping*” (1868-1874);
- Latin language: “*La Buena Esperenca*” (1874-1914), “*El Tiempo*” (1871-1930), “*La Epoca*” (1875-1912), “*Torat Zion*” (1862) newspapers (Girgin, 2001: 3-4).

The first Ottoman newspaper was published in 1831 under the name “*Takvim-I Vekayi*”. In the meantime, 200 years had passed since the first newspaper was published in Europe, and the first daily newspaper “*Daily Courant*” was published in 1702. The first newspaper was published in the Ottoman Empire after 129 years. During this period, European newspapers developed qualitatively and quantitatively. These developments include the increase in the articles, changes in journalistic styles, and the incorporation of different graphic elements into newspaper design (Bulunmaz, 2012: 87)

A special printing house for the “*Takvim-I Vekayi*”, as the “*Takvimhane-I Amire*”, was established. In 1839, this printing house was technically developed with machines imported from abroad and later in 1862; a large building was built (Kabacalı, 2000: 38). There were difficulties in printing because of the Arabic alphabet during this period. It had to take 450 letters and figures in some places on the Arabic alphabet because of the separate writing and the joined writing in some places. After some attempts to print some letters separately, the issues were solved. (Kabacalı, 2000: 58)

Development in the printing press technology in the world made printing newspapers easier. At first, it was only possible to print on one side of the paper, and to print the second page, the paper had to be loaded again into the machine. Later on, William Bullock, an American national, developed a method of printing on both sides of the newspaper. The paper for the newspaper became cheap and some developments in the sorting technology also made upgrading the printing press to a newer level easier (Altun, 2006: 19). Interestingly, while the western newspapers were following these developments, the first Turkish newspaper “*Takvim-i Vekayi*” was more like a brochure than a newspaper.

The newspaper consisted of 8 pages with the size of 27 x 40 cm. The writings were arranged on two columns. Visually, the only mobility was the “look” in the headline of the newspaper. There were no titles for the articles. In the same type size with the *hurufat* (fonts) arranged by the newspaper, the title “*Umuru Dahiliye*” (domestic issues) attracted attention. Later on, various columns were opened with columns 24pt *hurufat* titled as “*Mevad-ı Askeriye*” (Military), “*Umuru-u Hariciye*” (International Issues), “*Fünun Tevcihati*” (Technology), “*İlmiye*” (Science) and “*Ticaret ve Esaslar*” (Commercial issues) (Altun, 2006: 22).

The second Turkish newspaper “*Ceride-i Havadis*” was established in 1840. It was a first in Turkish press history because it was published by private capital and efforts even though it is supported by the state, and thus it was a semi-official newspaper. “*Ceride-i Havadis*” was issued by British journalist William Churchill on 1 August 1840. “*Ceride-i Havadis*” emphasized economic and political issues, as well as special advertisements, as opposed to the official gazette. However, “*Ceride-i Havadis*” sold not very well, and even if it was published weekly and later every 10 days. There were occasional disruptions in its continuity (Girgin,2001: 6-7). After 1860, “*Ceride-i Havadis*” started to publish the “*Ruzname*” addition to the newspaper.

After the death of William Churchill, his son Alfred Churchill united both publications and “*Ruzname-i Ceride Havadis*” was formed. Another breakthrough of this journal in Turkish press history was that it renewed the design of newspapers and increased the number of columns from 2 to 3 columns (Altun, 2006: 23).

On 21 October 1860, the first copy of “*Tercüman-ı Ahval*” newspaper was published. The newspaper was published by Agah Efendi who studied in Paris, worked in finance, language and literature fields and worked in the Paris Embassy with Şinasi. Therefore, they may have been influenced by French newspapers. “*Tercüman-ı Ahval*” had consistent continuity in its own time: it was first published two days a week, however from 22 January 1861 on it has been published three or even four or five days a week.

In addition to domestic news and foreign news, the newspaper also included “official news”, “*Hattı Hümayun*”, memorandum, regulations, agreement, market and stock market news, price lists, various translations, and economic articles and economic reviews. “*Tercüman-ı Ahval*” also published a wide range of official and private advertisements on its internal pages (Topuz, 2014: 19). Over the years the public recognized and accepted “*Tercüman-ı Ahval*” as the first Turkish newspaper.

In 1960, a ceremony was held as the 100th anniversary of the Turkish press. According to Hıfzı Topuz this idea was wrong. The reason why “*Takvim-i Vekayi*” and “*Ceride-I havadis*” are not considered by most scholars as the first Turkish newspapers is that one of them was an official journal of the state press and the other was directed by a foreigner. Yet, Hıfzı Topuz argued that the legacy of the Turkish journalists working in these two newspapers should not be omitted ((Topuz, 2014: 21).

In the early days of Turkish press history, Ottoman newspapers differed in many aspects from the European press. The press was not strong enough, the press was carried out by the state itself, the newspapers were not widely distributed in the country, and the café and halls (together with mosques) which were important factors in the formation and spread of public opinion, still had strong influence in the Ottoman state. They would address the need for community communication in these social areas, and face-to-face communication was important in socializing the community (Yazıcı, 1999: 751).

When we reconsider the new period, it is interesting that the Ottoman state was not left behind with the advancements in Europe or the United States. In fact, in August 1847, the first electric telegraph lines were established in the country, while it was not yet used anywhere in Europe. But when the first facility was operated, it was

left behind by those in Europe and as of 15 September 1855, it was expected to be running late. (Yazıcı, 1983: 751).

Apart from the three newspapers which were mentioned, major newspapers such as “*Muhbir*” (1866), “*Basiret*” (1869), ve “*İbret*” (1870) and other smaller newspapers were published during the period of Sultan Abdulaziz.

- “*El Cevaib*” (1860)
- “*Ayine-i Vatan*” (1866)
- “*Muhip*” (1867)
- “*Utarif*” (1867)
- “*Terakki*” (1868)
- “*Mümeyyiz*” (1869)
- “*Hakayikül Vakayi*” (1870)
- “*Asır*” (1870)
- “*Devir*” (1870)
- “*Hadika*” (1869)
- “*Hülasatül Efkar*” (1883)
- “*Medeniyet*” (1874)
- “*Sadakat*” (1875)
- “*Vakit*” (1875)
- “*İstikbal*” (1875)
- “*Sabah*” (1876) (Topuz, 2014: 29-31).

2.1.2. The Republic Era and New Period of Turkish Press

On 1 November 1928 through the Alphabet Revolution, Turkey has changed from the Arabic alphabet to Latin; this caused many changes in the printing of newspapers. The transition from right-to-left Arabic alphabet to left-to-right Latin alphabet required a general arrangement in newspaper design. In instance, if the columns were previously counted from right to left (because the newspaper had two or three columns this time), counting from left to right, the title, sub topic, photos and forms had to be included as such on the page (Köktener, 2004: 14).

The establishment of the Anatolian Agency at the beginning of the 20th century is one of the important events in Turkish press history. In First World War there was the Ottoman agency, working as a news agency and working under an agreement with Havas and Reuter agencies. Anadolu Agency was established in 1920. Yunus Nadi (owner of *Yeni Gün* newspaper) and Halide Edip Adivar agreed that there should be a news agency at the national level and they came to Ankara and suggested that Mustafa Kemal Pasha establish the telegraph system as a specialized agency. After the acceptance from Mustafa Kemal, the Anatolian Agency was established on 6 April 1920 (Özkaya, 2013: 6).

While Mustafa Kemal was dealing with the preparations of the National Struggle in Anatolia, the press in Istanbul was divided into two sides which supported and opposed the National Struggle. The newspapers “*Alemdar*”, “*İstanbul*” and “*Peyam-ı Sabah*” took positions against this struggle while the newspapers “*İleri*”, “*Vakit*”, “*Yenigün*” and “*Akşam*” supported the National Struggle. Beside these two sides there were neutral newspapers such as “*İkdam*”, “*Tasvir-IEfkar*”, “*Tercüman-ı Hakikat*”, “*Sebil-ürReşad*”, “*Tanin*” and “*Aydınlık*” that sometimes reported predominantly National Struggle related news (Demir, 2012).

In 1930, while Mustafa Kemal continued the establishment of the republic, Turkey entered the era of westernization. Important newspapers in this era were: “*Akşam*”, “*İkdam*”, “*Cumhuriyet*”, “*Hakimiyeti Milliye*”, “*Vakit*” and “*Milliyet*”. The newspapers were of different size because there was no accepted standard in the arrangement of the newspaper size. Nevertheless we can divide Turkish newspapers into three groups in term of size. These groups were:

1. Group: Size of 45 x 62 cm (*Cumhuriyet*, *Vakit* -until the change of size on 12 November 1929),
2. Group: Size of 43.5 x 59 cm (*Milliyet*),
3. Group: Size of 40 x 55 (*Vakit*, *Akşam*, *Ulus*)” (Altun, 2006: 38).

Significant changes were also made in newspaper design and presentation; the number of columns increased, new design styles have been introduced, the use of photography increased and logos for newspaper name began to be used. That is, the

presentation of the newspapers began to resemble those of contemporary modern newspapers (Oğuzhan, 2001: 112).

Laws during single-party and multiparty eras were adopted in for press regulation. After the proclamation of the Republic, the Republican People's Party began accusations against oppositional journalists. The famous 50th article of the Press Law, adopted in 1931, stated that “newspapers and magazines can be closed temporarily by the decision of the Executive Board because of publications that touch the general politics of the country”. The consequence of closed newspapers was that they were not allowed to publish newspaper under different name during the closure (Girgin, 2001: 32-33).

In the multiparty period, the Press Law No. 5680 was prepared by the Democratic Party in 1950. This law abolished the official agencies that were authorized by the 1931 Press Law. It is no longer necessary to obtain permission to publish a newspaper, announcement is sufficient. Press offences are being put on trial in “Press Courts”. Newspaper owners were not legally responsible for publications (Girgin, 2001: 36).

Turkish Press history has seen a lot of ups and downs with Press Law, the Press Law in multiparty era, the removal of anti-democratic laws in 1960, the 1961 Constitution's Freedom of Expression, the 1980 coup, the 1982 Constitution's Freedom of Press, 1983 the State of Emergency Act up to the present situation. The press in the new era will take on new forms along with the globalization process, monopolistic movements in the world and the development of new technologies. The process of monopolization of press began all over the world and in Turkey in the 1980s. Erol Simavi, owner of the *Hürriyet* newspaper, has *Hürriyet* Holding and *Hür* Holding which cover 18 companies, including the press agencies. The purchase of the *Milliyet* newspaper by Aydın Doğan in 1980 is the first example of foreign capital entering the press sector. However, Asil Nadir, who has investments in agriculture, construction, food, textile, real estate, electronic manufacturing and maritime sector in foreign countries, purchased press agencies with different press and publication policies. For the time, it had created new development in the monopolization process in Turkey (Altun, 2006: 123).

Between 1983-1993 Turkey's important newspapers were dailies such as, *Sabah*, *Hürriyet*, *Cumhuriyet*, *Milliyet*, *Tercüman*, *Zaman*, *Güneş*. Significant increase had also been noted in circulation of newspapers (Tutar, 1993: 45). In the beginning of the 1990s, Turkish newspapers with the widest circulation were *Sabah*, *Türkiye*, *Hürriyet* and *Milliyet*. As we have seen in the 1970s, *Hürriyet* was leading with 521 thousand circulations, *Milliyet* with 185 thousand, and *Tercüman* with 315 thousand. Looking back to the first years of the Republic, the number of newspapers and magazines in the country has also increased. For example, in 1923, the total number of newspapers published in Ankara and Istanbul was 30 newspapers. In 1950, the number of newspapers reached 477 and the number of magazines reached 479 (Tutar, 1993: 49).

In Turkey, conglomerates have shaped the communication sector from the early 1970s up until now. Newspapers, magazines, television and radio companies have been conquered by huge conglomerates. Until the end of the Second World War, the press organs were self-sustaining by the boss-journalist tradition. In other words, they were newspaper bosses or people who were grown up in newspaper. Examples were "Yunus Nadi (*Cumhuriyet*), Necmettin Sadak (*Akşam*), Ahmet Emin Yalman (*Vatan*), Ali Naci Karacan (*Milliyet*), Sedat Simavi (*Hürriyet*), Falih Rıfkı Atay (*Dünya*), Cemalettin Saracoğlu (*Yeni Sabah*)" (Topuz, 2014: 329). The table below describes media ownership in Turkey (Sözeri, 2015: 30).

In the 2000s, Doğan Group ranks first among the major media group in Turkey. Bilgin, Ciner, Çalık, Çukurova, Doğuş, İhlas group are also the mayor media groups (Toruk, 2008: 139-148).

Table 1. Media Ownership in Turkey

No.	Company	Media Investment
1.	Doğan Group	<p>Newspaper: Hürriyet, Hürriyet Daily News, Posta, Fanatik, Radikal, TME Newspapers (İz Ruk ve Ruki, Aviso, Express, Oglasnik)</p> <p>Magazine: Doğan Egmont, Doğan Burda Dergi, Doğan Kitab.</p> <p>Printing: Doğan Printing Center (DPC), Doğan</p>

		<p>Ofset</p> <p>Distribution: Dergi Pazarlama Planlama-DPP), YAYSAT (Doğan Dağıtım).</p> <p>News Agency: DHA TV (National Channels), CNN Türk, Kanal D, Tv2.</p> <p>Radio: Radyo D, Slow Türk, CNN Türk Radio, Show Radio.</p> <p>TV and Music Production: D Productions, InDHouse, Kanal D Home Video, Doğan Music Company (DMC).</p> <p>Digital TV Platform: D-Smart, Doğan Teleshopping.</p> <p>Media Online: hurriyet.com.tr, kanald.com.tr, yenibiris.com.tr, hurriyetemlak.com, hurriyetoto.com, arabam.com, yakala.co.</p> <p>Europe: DMG International, TME, Kanal D, Euro D, Romania.</p> <p>Others : Doğan Dış Ticaret (Foreign Trade), Doğan Factoring.</p> <p>Social Activity: Aydın Doğan Foundation.</p>
2.	Doğuş Group	<p>TV: NTV, Star TV, NTV, CNBC-E, SPOR TV, NTV Spor, Smart HD, Kral TV, e2.</p> <p>Radio: NTV Radio, NRV Spor, Kral FM, Virgin Radio, Radio Eksen.</p> <p>Magazine: Vogue, GQ, National Geographic Turkey, National Geographic Kids, Robb Report, CNBC-e Dergi.</p> <p>Media Online: ntvmsnbc.com, ntvspor.net, oley.com, cnbce.com, tvyo.</p> <p>Publishing: NTV Yayınları.</p>
3.	Çalık Group	<p>Newspapers: Turkuaz Media Group (Sabah,</p>

		<p>Sabah Avrupa, Yeni Asır, Takvim, Fotomaç)</p> <p>Magazine: Turkuaz Dergi Yayıncılık (Monthly; Cosmopolitan, Cosmo Girl, Auto Motor Sporları, Sinema, Harper's Bazaar, Esquire, Forbes, Sofra, Bebeğim, House Beautiful, Global Enerji, Transport, Touch İstanbul, China Today.</p> <p>Weekly, Para, Otohaber, Şamdan, Aktüel.</p> <p>TV: ATV, ATV Avrupa, A Haber, Minika TV</p> <p>Radio: Radyo Turkuvaz</p> <p>Media Online: sabah.com.tr, ahaber.com.tr, takvim.com.tr, Sabah TV</p> <p>Distribution: Turkuvas Dağıtım Pazarlama A.Ş., Turkuvas Kitap, Turkuvas Matbaacılık.</p> <p>Advertising-Marketing-Consultancy: Turkuvaz Reklam Pazarlama Danışmanlık.</p> <p>News Agency : Turkuvas Teknik Hizmetler.</p>
4.	Ciner Group	<p>Newspaper: Habertürk.</p> <p>Magazine: Ciner Gazete Dergi.</p> <p>Printing: Habertürk Gazetecilik and Matbaacılık</p> <p>Production: C Yapım Filmcilik, GD Gazete Dergi (Dergi yayıncılığı)</p> <p>TV: Habertürk, Show TV , Bloomberg HT.</p> <p>Radio: Habertürk Radio, Bloomberg HT Radio</p>
5.	Çukurova Group	<p>Newspaper: Akşam, Güneş.</p> <p>TV: SkyTurk360</p> <p>Digital Platform: Digitürk</p> <p>Radio: Alem FM</p> <p>Magazine: Alem, Platin, FourFour, Autocar</p>
6.	Albayrak Group	<p>Newspaper: Yeni Şafak</p>

		TV: TVNET İnternet: Yenişafak.com.tr Magazine: Derin Tarih
7.	Koza İpek Group	Newspaper: Bugün TV: Kanaltürk, Bugün TV Radio: Kanaltürk Radio
8	FOX Group	TV: Fox TV, Foxlife, FX, 24Kitchen Baby, Foxcrime. İnternet: Myspace.com
9.	İhlas Group	Newspaper: Türkiye TV: TGRT Haber, TGRT Haber, TV EU, TGRT Belgesel. News Agency: İHA Adversiting: İhlas Reklam Ajansı Media Marketing: TGRT Pazarlama Magazine: Türkiye Çocuk, Toyuncak, Baby Store, Tekstil & Teknik, Konfeksiyon Teknik, Home Textile Exports, Contract Textile International, Home Textile Sourcing, Decor, Sleep Well, Fiber and Yarn Trends, Yemek Zevki, Food Turkey, Beauty Turkey, Automotive Exports, Nalbur Teknik, Boru ve Teknolojileri, Günes Enerjisi ve Teknolojileri, Medikal Teknik, Pharma Turkey, Dijital Teknik, Matbaa Teknik, Partner, Hi-Tech, Made in Turkey Media Online: İhlas.net
10.	Hayat Görsel Yayıncılık A.Ş. and Nokta Elektronik Medya Ltd.Şti.	TV: Kanal 7, Kanal 7 Europe, Ülke TV Radio: Radio 7 İnternet: Haber7.com, Haber 7 Emlak News agency: Yurt İletişim ve Haber Ajansı

		A.Ş Production: Set Programcılık Tanıtım ve Teknik Hizmetler Ticaret A.Ş Marketing: Mepa Medya A.Ş.
11.	Demirören Group	Newspaper: Milliyet, Vatan Marketing: Demiören Digital Dağıtım A.Ş.
12.	Dünya Group	Newspaper: Dünya Magazine: Dünya Gıda, Makina Magazin ve Dünya İnşaat Publishing: Dünya Süper Web Ofset A.Ş Distribution: Dünya Süper Dağıtım Online media: kobiden.com, dunyastore.com, pcworld.com.tr, computerworld.com.tr, byte.com.tr, duniyagida.com.tr, duniyainsaat.com.tr, Dünya Ekonomi TV.
13	Termikel Group	TV: Kanal A Radio: Radio A
14	Spectrum Media	Radio: Süper FM, Metro FM, Joy FM, JoyTurk, Radyo Mydonose, Mydonose Türk Pop.
15	Power Group	Radio: Power FM, Power Türk. Power XL
16	Saran Group	Radio: RAdyo Spor, Radyo Trafik, Radyo Müzik, Radyo Slow Time Dubbing: Saran Digital Studios Syndication: Saran Medya Online Media: tuttur.com, jansspor.com, NBA.com, 724sinema.com.

Source: Sözeri, 2015: 30.

In January 2008, the average newspaper sales in Turkey was 5,1 million (Toruk, 2008: 132). After the military coup in 2016, more than 150 media outlets were closed. According to the Committee to Protect Journalists, a total of 73

journalists were jailed as of December 2017. Government attempts to block news sites and other online information sources continued in 2017, most notably with a nationwide block on Wikipedia, which had begun in late April. The mainstream media, especially television, reflect government positions and routinely carry identical headlines.” (Freedom in the World 2018).

2.2. Indonesian Press History

“Indonesia is a sovereign archipelago located in Southeast Asia and the fourth most populous country on earth after China, India and the United States. Indonesia is made up of more than 17.000 islands with over 1.9 million square miles of land, which makes it the 15th largest country and has a population estimated at 268, 12 million in 2018” (World Population Review, 2018). As of early 2000s, the Republic of Indonesia (RI) was a fascinating place to study the current status of the press in a diverse, dynamic, rapidly urbanizing, and populous nation: the interplay of press and political forces, the changing economy (Encyclopedia, 2019) and with an expectation of vast changes in the role and situation of the press.

Indonesia has been undergoing a remarkable change in social, political, and cultural terms over the last three decades. Historically, the state had and has been ruled by different political ideologies-from “Guided Democracy” in the Old Order; “Developmental” in the New Order; “*Reformasi*” era in the transition period; until the current regime-which directly and indirectly also shapes the development of mass media (Mukrimin, 2013: 58).

2.2.1 Early Period of Indonesian Press

Indonesia and its media are going through a rapid stage of transition. While the goal of this reform movement is the transition to a civil society and creation of a more democratic media system, the main result so far has been the liberalization of the media market, in line with global media trends (Gazali, 2003: 85). The first newspapers in the Indonesian language were issued by Dutch publishers. The *Surat Kabar Bahasa Melayu* (literally The Newspaper in the Malay Language) was established in 1856 in Surabaya by a Dutch firm (Lubis, 1952: 90).

The early years of the 20th century in the Dutch East Indies saw first nationalist criticism against some aspects of colonial rule. “During 1931-1936 at least 27 newspaper were penalized for having contravened the *Persbreide Ordonantie*. More broadly, newspapers were fined and banned if these were considered to be dangerous or subversive and reporters were often exiled. During the Japanese occupation (1942-1945) all newspapers using the Dutch language had to stop publishing. The Japanese reintroduced the pre-censorship system that had characterized the press control in the Netherland-Indies until 1906. The Japanese were no less authoritarian than the Dutch had been, and both systems combine the absence of democracy with a weak rule of law and strong state intervention .” (Kakialatu, 2007: 62).

Indonesia declared its independence in 1945 and a new Indonesian constitution of 1949 aimed the establishment of a democracy with a strong parliament. During the 1950s, a multiparty democratic system evolved. The formation of various numerous political groupings reflected the different regional, ethnic, cultural or ideological diversities of the young country (Johansson, 2016: 14). As described by Romano (cited in Johansson, 2016:14) the journalism of this era mirrored the political system as almost all newspapers could be affiliated to a political party.

After the failure of a political coup attempt on 30 September 1965 which was supported by PKI (Communist Party), Lieutenant-General Suharto took control of the country. Although Sukarno technically was still the President, Suharto de facto obtained all political power through a “Letter of Command of 11 March 1966” for himself. “Suharto then consolidated military control, outlawed the PKI and instigated a thorough and far-reaching ‘political cleansing’ of Indonesian citizen. In 1967, Suharto officially replaced Sukarno as President” (Kakialatu, 2007: 62).

2.2.2. Indonesian Press During the New Order Era

With the coup, Suharto established what he called the New Order (*Order Baru*). From 1963 to 1967, the purge shut down 163 newspapers with alleged leanings to the left, thousands of media workers were arrested or killed as

communists. Up today, no accurate number of the killed citizens in this era could be verified, but the total number is estimated between 1 million to 2 million lives. Oppositional or critical journalists were arrested as political prisoners. Newspapers criticizing the actions of the New Order government had to face increasing pressure (Vickers, 2005: 156-160).

In 1982, the Ministry of Information required with a regulation from media outlets a Press Publication Enterprise Permit (SIUPP). In the New Order regime, reports that were critical of government policies, writing on corruption and mismanagement scandals, were treated as media offences. The New Order regime banned 43 of the 163 newspapers during the period. All journalists were members of the Indonesian Journalists' Association (PWI) that functioned as a professional control mechanism whose administration consisted of representatives of the totalitarian government. "A 'telephone culture' also came to prevail as the Ministry of Information or Ministry of Defense and Security issued their orders to editors and owners of the mass media to resist publishing specific news items, reporting certain incidents, or releasing sensitive facts or information" (Hill cited in Kakiailatu, 2007: 63).

In the early years of the New Order, Suharto made strategic use of the mass media, particularly newspapers managed and staffed by military journalists. The government controlled broadcasting media, such as TVRI (Television of the Republic Indonesia) and RRI (Radio of the Republic Indonesia), broadcast permission was denied to all others. To control the media, the Suharto administration regulated the radio broadcasting. In 1970, private radio stations and limited campus-base radio stations were legalized.

In the 1980s, with its powerful Ministry of Communication and Information, the New Order government controlled radio stations through government regulation. The role of radio at the period was a social function which aimed to provide 'education, information and entertainment' and radio programs were 'not be used for political activities' (Sen and Hill, 2000: 84). Additionally, to disallow from political activities, the government regulation set three practical elements. First, radio station were obliged to relay the news of the RRI; second, 'no relays of foreign broadcast;

third, radio stations were obligated 'to maintain recordings of all broadcast' (Sen, 2003: 580).

Practically, in order to regulate radio broadcasters, the Ministry of Information established the so-called PRSSB (The Indonesian Private Commercial Radio Broadcasters Association) and Siti Hardiyanti Rukmana (President Suharto's eldest daughter) was the general chairperson. The other important electronic medium is television. As in other countries, TV is also vital in shaping Indonesians' culture, social and politics (Gazali, 2003: 3).

In 1963, TVRI (*Television of Republic Indonesia*) was initially a foundation agency (*yayasan*) under the authority of the Ministry of Information. Private-owned Television emerged since 1988 mainly through the Palapa satellite that covers throughout the Indonesian archipelago. The Suharto administration established a comprehensive system to ensure that the mass media functioned according the lines: broadcast licenses were issued with foresight and then as a penalty, news texts were routinely controlled and recorded, the careers of journalists were under direct authority of the government. The state television station, TVRI, was the only television channel until 1987. The first five commercial television stations were controlled by Suharto's relatives and trusted friends. The government-run RRI (Radio of the Republic Indonesia) was without competition until 1970. Entrepreneurs loyal to the government could obtain broadcast licenses for private radio stations (Gazali, 2003: 87).

Suharto's press control was secured through three steps: first, the journalist had to report with respect to the government under the watchful eyes of the editor, this was named self-censorship; if accidents happened, this caused coaxing and warnings; and the third step resulted in a final threat of SIUPP and license cancellation. "The government was determined that 'Indonesia's press must be a *Pancasila* press', defined as 'being responsible', obeying the rules, following instructions, and complying with the ideology and interest of those in power. For three decades the Indonesian press was used to cover up scandals and mismanagement, to hide facts and ignore unpleasant realities". News coverage complied with the official point of view. The audiences largely had no means to

obtain a dependable view of the actual relations that had consequences on their life (Kakiailat 2007: 65).

In 1998 political unrest claimed lives of students in the campus Jakarta's Trisakti University that led to a public upheaval. Thousands citizens occupied the Parliament building, while military units that were directed to put them down refused to do so. Deprived of his actual power base, Suharto was forced to step down on 21 May 1998 and Vice-President B.J. Habibie took full control as President, promising early democratic parliamentary elections (Madu, 2017: 60).

2.2.3. Indonesian Press During Reformation Era

Despite the fact that B.J. Habibie's term lasted shorter than a year, he accomplished four important reforms: he achieved press freedom by abolishing censorship and control mechanisms, he opened the way for political freedom for new political parties and went to a referendum to 'solve' the East Timor Problem. With support of his Minister of Information, General Yusuf Yosfiah, Press censorship and the Press Licensing System (SIUPP) was abolished, anyone with the necessary means could launch new media, and finally journalists were allowed to found their independent professional association known as *AJI Aliansi Jurnalis Independen* (Alliance of Independent Journalist).

These major reforms resulted in an excitement and enthusiasm in journalism but also in interest in political life. "Journalist recruitment increased by thousand, and hundreds of new newspaper and magazine appeared Also as anyone could establish a political party, hundreds of new parties were born, all concerned to see that a fair, clean and safe election was achieved and all sponsoring or getting support from the mass media" (Kakiailat, 2007: 66).

"After the fall of the Suharto regime in 1998, political and media climate in Indonesia changed from authoritarian and tight state control to the current situation which have been characterized by liberalization, a highly competitive market and significantly less state intervention" (Heryanto and Adi 2001:1). The abolition of the Press Licensing System (SIUPP) through President B.J Habibie's policy in 1999 resulted in a growth of the Indonesian media. His successor as president,

Abdurrahman Wahid abolished the Communication Ministry altogether and issued the Press Law Number 40/1999 and Number 32/2002, but a “governmental partner for monitoring the behavior of media on the application of democratic culture in the interest of the public” was established in the form of the Indonesia Broadcasting Commission (KPI) (Madu, 2017: 461).

The political opening was supported by all segments of Indonesian society as the new way for reforming the authoritarian political structure with the aim of building a new Indonesia which placed democracy as its political foundation. The most concrete outcome of the 1998 democratization was media liberalization what resulted in media industrialization which raised the problematics of media ownership and media power that is controlled by powerful industrial-financial-political interest groups (Madu, 2017: 459).

In addition to the old media groups with their roots in the New Order regime, a rapid expansion of various news outlets were accompanied by the emergence of new media conglomerates. According to Nugroho et al. (2012: 49), conglomeration in Indonesia’s media sector had its roots much older than the *Reformasi*. It began with the members of President Suharto’s family started to get involved in the media industry. One of the reasons for media conglomeration after 1998 was the goal to strengthen the economical financial base of the media groups (Johansson, 2016: 17).

Media concentration deteriorated the runaway conglomeration and platform convergence, media owners with that owned a media platform (such as print, radio or television) were quick to build large, powerful multi-platform oligopolies (Tapsell, 2015: 32). The concentration of media ownership impacted negatively on the independence of media workers. The conglomerates have the authority of imposing their agenda with the consequence of content uniformity in all sectors of their media business for their sake of obtaining higher rating and market size (Madu, 2017: 465).

2.2.4. Indonesian Press: Today

Nowadays 12 media groups control nearly Indonesia’s entire media channels in print, broadcast and online media. They are the MNC Group, Media Group, Kompas Gramedia Group, Jawa Post Group, Visi News Asia, Mahaka Media Group,

Elang Mahkota Teknologi, CT Corp, MRA Media, Femina Group, Tempo Inti Media and Beritasatu Media Holding. These groups own five of six top circulating newspapers and all of the most popular online news sites. Currently, only a handful media companies control whole of the TV market and large TV companies buy into other platforms to become ever larger. Many of these companies represent business interest in diverse economic sectors (Tapsell, 2014: 6).

Powerful media oligarchs with political relations like Aburizal Bakrie (Golkar Party/Visi News Asia), Surya Paloh (Media Indonesia/Nasional Demokrat Party), Hary Tanoë (MNC Group/Hanura Party) and Dahlan Isan (Jawa Post Group/currently state-owned enterprises minister). Constrain Indonesia's electoral democracy's functioning. According to Tapsell (2014: 8) owners are generally maintaining that their political activities don't influence their media business. For example, Surya Paloh frequently used his media for voicing the political party *Nasional Demokrat* and also in the case of Aburizal Bakrie who was rumored to promote his presidential candidacy in 2014 through his media group (Madu, 2017: 467).

A relatively small number of conglomerates control most of the media in Indonesia and some of them are directly related to key political actors whereas some others actively support politicians. The overall level of media capture in Indonesia underlines the limited actual influence of traditional media in the political process (Johansson, 2016: 22).

The centralized ownership of media by business conglomerates consist a paradox in countries in transition to democracy. The transitional phase makes it nearly impossible to regulate media ownership by imposing limitations, on the other hand, this situation puts the very democracy at risk since the media has almost ultimate control over the issues to be published or broadcasted publicly (Haryanto, 2007 cited in Madu, 2017: 459).

Figure 1. Media Ownership in Indonesia

Media Group	Group Leader	TV stations		Radio stations	Print		Online media	Other businesses
		National	Other		Newspapers	Magazines/ Tabloids		
Media Nusantara Citra (MNC) Group	Hary Tanoesoedibjo	RCTI, Global TV, MNCTV (ex TPI)	Indovision, Sky Vision, SINDOtv network	Sindo Radio (Trijaya FM), Radio Dangdut, ARH Global Radio	Seputar Indonesia (Koran Sindo)	High End magz, Genie, Mom & Kiddle tabloids	Okezone.com SeputarIndonesia.com, Sindonews.com	IT, content production and distributions, talent management, automobile
Mahaka Media Group	Erick Tohir	—	Jak TV, Alif TV	JakFM, Prambors FM, Delta FM, Female, Gen FM	Republika, Harian Indonesia (in Mandarin)	Parents Indonesia, A+, Golf Digest, Area, magazines	Republika Online, rilleks.com, Rajakarcis.com	Entertainment, outdoor advertisement
Kompas Gramedia Group	Jakob Oetama, Agung Adiprasetyo	—	Kompas TV network	Sonora Radio network, Otomotion Radio, Motion FM, Eltira FM	Kompas, Jakarta Post, Warta Kota, + other 11 local papers	Intisari + 43 magazines & tabloids, 5 book publishers	Kompas Cyber Media	Hotels, public relation agencies, university & telecommunication tower (in plan)
Jawa Pos Group	Dahlan Iskan	—	JPMC network	Fajar FM (Makassar)	Jawa Pos, Indo Pos Rakyat Merdeka, Radar + others (total: 151)	Mentari, Liberty magazines + 11 tabloids	Jawa Pos Digital Edition	Travel bureau, power plant
Media Bali Post Group (KMB)	Satria Narada	—	Bali TV network, Jogja TV, Semarang TV, Sriwijaya TV, + others (total: 9)	Global Kini Jani, Genta FM, Global FM, Lombok FM, Fajar FM, Suara Besakih, Singaraja FM, Nagara FM	Bali Post, Bisnis Bali, Suluh Indonesia, Harian Derpost, & Suara NTB	Tokoh, Lintang, & Wiyata Mandala tabloids	Bali Post, Bisnis Bali	—
Elang Mahkota Teknologi (EMTEK) Group	Eddy Kusnadi Sanaatmadja	SCTV, Indosiar	O'Channel, Elshinta TV	Elshinta FM	—	Elshinta, Gaul, Story, Kort, Mamamia	—	Wireless broadband, pay-TV, telecommunications, banking, IT solutions, production house
Lippo Group	James Riady	—	First Media, Berita Satu TV	—	Jakarta Globe, Investor Daily, Suara Pembaruan	Investor, Globe Asia, & Campus Asia magazines	Jakarta Globe Online	Property, hospital, education, insurance
Bakrie & Brothers (Visi Media Asia)	Anindya Bakrie	antv, TVOne	Channel [V]	—	—	—	VIVAnews	Telecommunications, property, metal, oil & gas, agribusiness, coal, physical infrastructure
Femina Group	Pia Alisyahbana, Mira Kartohadiprojjo	—	—	U-FM Jakarta & Bandung	—	Femina, Gadis, Dewi, Ayahbunda + others (total: 15)	Femina, GitaCinta, Ayahbunda, Gadis, Parenting Online	Production house, event management, boutique, education, printing
Media Group	Surya Paloh	Metro TV	—	—	Media Indonesia, Lampung Post, BorneoNews	—	Media Indonesia Online	—
Mugi Reka Abadi (MRA) Group	Dian Muljani Soedarjo	—	O'Channel	Cosmopolitan FM, Hard Rock FM, I-Radio, Trax FM	—	Cosmopolitan, Cosmogit, Fitness + others (total: 16)	—	Holder of several international boutique brands
Trans Corpora (Para Group)	Chairul Tanjung	Trans TV, Trans 7	—	—	—	—	Detik Online	Banking, venture capital insurance, theme parks, resort, retail, cinema

Source: Lim, 2012: 2

2.3. Comparison of Turkish and Indonesian Media Structure

Turkey and Indonesia are two countries which implement democracy within their governmental system. There are a number of similarities between the two media structures. First of all, the media which dominates and influences these two countries is television media. According to Turkish Statistical Institute (TÜİK), in 2017 Turkish print media sector has 6124 papers and magazines with a total annual circulation of newspapers and magazines about 1.661.102.580 and 93,9 percent of them are newspapers.

The number of newspapers decreased 2, 3 percent from 2016 and the circulation also decreased about 2, 6 percent from 2016. The decline in the number and circulation of the print media was also suffered by the Indonesian media since 2011. In 2017 there were only 793 active print media and the circulation of newspaper was about 17,175,238 copies. The number of papers has decreased by 45 percent and the amount of circulation has also decreased by 30 percent over a period of six years (TÜİK, 2017).

According to Radio and Television Supreme Council (RTÜK), there are 255 television and 1078 radio broadcast license applications available in Turkey. Television is the most far reaching medium with about 18 million households. “The public broadcaster TRT and several small and big commercial broadcasters offer hundreds of television channels. But the majority of the audiences are shared among the five network-style channels, Kanal D, Show TV, ATV, Fox and Star. There is some international investment from Time Warner, News Corp., Al-Jazeera and others but television remains mostly a domestic business” (TÜİK, 2017).

A lot of national, local and major internationally based broadcasts, thematic channels, as news, sports and documentary channels, as well as movie packages and pay-per-view broadcasts constitute the satellite and cable media offering. Digiturk as the owner to the broadcast rights of the Turkish premier soccer league is the market leader of subscription platforms. The past decade saw the Turkish cinema rising again as a top-selling business from the onslaught of TV (See the accompanying *Newsletter* article by Deniz Bayrakdar). Ticket sales saw 40 million in 2010, with more than 50 % consisting of Turkish productions. Turkish films

remained blockbusters even in the weeks with Hollywood hits. The increased profitability of Turkish films stimulated further interest in domestic productions (TÜİK, 2017).

There are some differences in the number of media broadcasting of Turkey and Indonesia. The chairman of the Indonesian press council recently claimed that Indonesia had the most mass media in the world. There are around 47,000 online print, radio, television and online media. From this number, 2,000 are print media, 674 radios, while 523 are television channels including local and more online media. However, if seen from the number of media, it is expressed that there are still many basic media which do not fulfill the requirements as a media but can still exist because it is assisted by the regional development budget (APBD) (Berita Satu, 2018).

Television is the dominant source of news and entertainment for Indonesians. According to research from AudienceScapes, a subsidiary of the US-based media research organization of Inter Media, 90 percent Indonesian households own at least one television set. The channels of RCTI and SCTV are two most popular channels (Audience Scapes, 2018). Just behind television media, Internet has the second biggest subscriber in Indonesia with an estimated 57% penetration rate, followed by newspapers, radio, and magazines, respectively. Nowadays there are more than 132 million active internet users in Indonesia (Hootsuite,2018).

The rapid growth of the internet in Indonesia has established the country among the biggest markets for Facebook and Twitter. Increasing smartphone penetration has also placed Indonesia as the world's second largest mobile ad market by volume after the United States. As for English-language media, there are only a handful of influential outlets (Asia Market Research, 2018).

In Turkey, more than 46 million, consisting about 59,6 % of the population) are active internet users with a significant portion of them using social media platforms (Internet World Statistic, 2016). While the traditional media still enjoys predominance, the social media usage is increasing significantly and rapidly. Furthermore, media ownership structure seems to be similar in both countries' media structure. Family or political party owned dailies have been bought by major commercial media companies. This has been regarded with some concern by the

authorities as well as by editors and journalists. It is now being debated how this may effects the freedom of the press, which is considered very important in this country (Global Digital Report, 2018).

In Indonesia, the availability of communication technology, together with a media oligarchy resulted in an underdeveloped public trust towards mainstream media. As a consequence, Indonesians find social media an alternative way for information access. No alternative media has yet assumed credibility and trust of mainstream media (Tapsell, 2015: 32). The Incoherent alternative media landscape supports the tendency of the audiences to be confirmed in their views and nurtures a culture of fake news and polarized views that go easily viral. Alongside groups who are trying to make easy money from fake news, media oligarchs have readily embraced the opportunities of the new media. Aggressively expanding media owners see the technological platform as a perfect means to integrate all their businesses and invest in digital media and communication infrastructure (Tapsell, 2015: 41).

The power of communication encourages some media owners to assume political roles by launching political parties and endorsing their cadres in governmental positions. The political realm and the media companies spawn their new dynasties (The Conversation, 2018).

2.4. Turkish-Indonesian Relations

There are so many things in common between two countries of Indonesia and Turkey. The relations between the countries could be tracked back since the early 16th century when the Portuguese began to dominate trade across the Indian Ocean. The Portuguese threatened the spice trade and also the Sultanate of Aceh, a region in the western section of Sumatra Island. They also threatened the safety of Acehnese pilgrims on their way to Mecca in around 1538. The Sultan of Aceh, Alauddin Riayat, approached caliph of the faithful, the Ottoman Sultan, Suleiman the Magnificent and sought assistance against the Portuguese threat.

The Ottoman Sultan then sent more than Sultan of Aceh ever expected in weapons, military instructors, shipwrights and other experts. They also helped in securing the pilgrimage routes of Acehnese Muslims to Mecca to do Hajj (Reid,

2014: 84). So began a long period of military cooperation between the Ottoman Sultan and the Sultanate of Aceh, at the western tip of the archipelago that would form a part of modern Indonesia. It was followed by closer diplomacy between both kingdoms, resulting in 1547 in the first exchange of ambassadors (Middle East Education, 2013).

After the sixteenth century, the Ottoman Empire entered into a period of gradual decline, and could not sustain naval warfare so far away, thus relations between the Ottoman Empire and Aceh entered a period of decline. In the mid-seventeenth century, there was a loss of Ottoman influence in Yemen. With the loss of naval bases at the Arab Sea, the Sultan's armada left the Indian Ocean permanently. Nevertheless, Turkish and Ottoman influence in Sumatra did not cease. Not only in Sumatera, but also to some extent in the other islands of the archipelago of the region, particularly militarily effects could be seen, because of the Turkish military model, the Sultanate of Aceh became a regional power in that time (Altı, 2013)

In the nineteenth century, most of Southeast Asia countries and regions were colonized by western powers, mainly led by Britain and the Netherlands. One of the aims of colonialism was religion, Christian dominance. Sultanates such as Aceh and Riau saw Ottoman protection as preferable to domination by those Christian powers. Again, the Ottomans sent diplomatic missions to these sultanates, and the first one was in 1864 in the region of Singapore. Then it was followed by the opening of an Ottoman consulate in Batavia (modern-day Jakarta, the capital of Indonesia) in 1883 (Altı, 2013). These missions didn't have any particular purpose, but they were the continuation of the Ottoman tradition in promoting an Islamic union. Batavia was under the eye of the Dutch, and whilst the Dutch, did not try to prevent the opening of the Batavia office, they became undoubtedly really concerned about Ottoman influence on the Muslim population and they succeeded in limiting them to a great extent (Altı, 2013).

This possibly contributed to a passive state in Islamic geopolitics history of the archipelago in World War I when the Ottoman sultan proclaimed a "holy war" and called on Muslims worldwide to join. The Dutch ambassador in Istanbul protested about the "calling on Muslims" a claimed that the Netherlands was a

neutral state in this conflict and therefore the Muslims in the regions under Dutch rule should be excluded from the call. The protest found a positive response by the Ottoman government and the proclamation text was revised to exclude Indonesian Muslims (Altı, 2013).

As a result of the defeat of the Allied powers in WWI, the Ottoman Empire was partitioned by the victorious powers. The occupying powers decided to go further and dismantle the state altogether which caused the War of The Turkish Independence. After the war, on a part of the territory of the Ottoman Empire, the Republic of Turkey has been established in 1923. Indonesians celebrated the defeat of the imperialists, as well as the birth of a new country in West Asia, the Republic of Turkey. Indonesian leader Mohammad Hatta even wrote, "In Turkey's struggle for independence, Indonesians found new inspiration and strength in a victory fueled by the Turks under the leadership of Kemal Ataturk. Ankara is considered a Mecca of modern nationalism. The victory of the Turkish Army in Sakarya and Afyon Karahisar will remain in the memory of Indonesians as an important determinant of the course of history: the dawn of Asian freedom begins to break" (Göksöy, 2002: 1-36).

However, after Indonesia's independence in 1945, Turkish-Indonesian relations actually slowed down. Turkey aspired to western ideals, with the goal of becoming a member of the European family. Meanwhile, Indonesia lived through three decades of Suharto's autocratic rule. Never ending domestic worries kept the two countries busy and caused them both to relatively introvert international visions. Then, two historical processes that developed in Turkey and Indonesia can begin now a new chapter in their relationship (Bruinessen, 2018: 1).

Basically, Turkey and Indonesia have a strong sense of friendship rooted in history related to their major population of Muslims. Both countries have never had serious or even light problems, fundamental or not, and this is an advantage in two-way cooperative relations in various fields. Since its independence, even though each country has focused on domestic problems, Indonesia has always tried to continually re-establish its friendship with Turkey through its attitude in international conflicts which often resembles to the attitude of the Turkish state. Turkish and Indonesian

international political and economic relations have been strengthened. Each country needs each other and becomes an important and strong partner in the economy of complementary needs (The Jakarta Post, 2011).

In the early 2000s, as a developing country that was progressing and quite leading, both countries were preparing themselves for a more serious relationship. The devastating tragedy of the 2004 tsunami disaster in Aceh, Indonesia became an opportunity for Turkey to begin. Turkey was one of the nations that tried to help tsunami victims in Indonesia with great assistance. In Turkey itself, news about this tsunami was widespread (Islam, 2018: 29).

Turkey sent many donations and volunteers to Aceh through private assistance teams, state institutions, etc., that distributed food, established medical facilities, and even emergency schools for the children of the tsunami victims. The Turkish Red Crescent even built 1,050 housing units and several buildings for various emergency services. The catastrophic tsunami was certainly heartbreaking, bringing attention to Turkey, including attention to Turkish business. Indonesia accepts this opportunity well and openly (Islam, 2018: 34).

After the 2000s, the number of high-level visits increased. First, Erdogan who at that time served as Prime Minister visited Indonesia in 2005 after the Aceh earthquake and tsunami. In April 2011, one year after the Indonesian President went to Turkey in June 2010, Turkey returned the state visit to Indonesia. These visits were a huge and extraordinary turning point in bilateral relations between the two countries (Reid, 2014: 85).

In 2015, as President, President Erdogan again visited Indonesia with discussions on various economic and counter-terrorism issues. The visit resulted in a Turkish-Indonesian Business Forum; also a memorandum of understanding to attract trade, investment and technological exchange between the two countries was signed by the Turkish Foreign Economic Relations Council (DEIK) and Indonesian Chamber of Commerce and Industry (KADIN, 2012).

In July 2017, state visits from Indonesia to Turkey were once again carried out with President Joko Widodo coming directly to discuss the issue of developing partnerships in strategic and economic industries with Turkey. In this meeting, Indonesia and Turkey have a goal to seek closer cooperation in trade and investment,

defense and energy and counter-terrorism. The two countries seek ways to increase trade and investment, including negotiations on the Indonesia-Turkey Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement (IT-CEPA) (Jakarta Globe, 2018).

Recently, Turkey and Indonesia are doing it great on an annual trade volume of around \$2 billion USD. Products of significance that were exported from Turkey to Indonesia were tobacco products, various machinery, nuclear reactors, and boilers. Other products to be noted were milling products, malt, starch, insulin, and wheat gluten. The products sold by Indonesia to Turkey were notably animal and vegetable fats and oils, as well as natural staple fibers, hand-made filaments, and rubber (t-Vine, 2018).

In September 2017, Indonesia and Turkey held a round of various collaborations. The two sides were involved in a memorandum of understanding (MoU) on industrial cooperation that was made by former Indonesian President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono who had previously visited Turkey in June 2010. Since then collaboration has begun in several fields, on certain equipment, such as radar systems and also more general issues. One of the more concrete manifestations of the collaboration carried out by the two was the joint production of a middle-class combat tank, by Turkish armored airline FNSS and Indonesian defense company PT Pindan since 2015 (Jakarta Globe, 2017).

Turkey and Indonesia are regional powers (Turkey in the Middle East and Indonesia in Southeast Asia) and have integration in the international Muslim world. Starting in July 2017, Indonesia and Turkey have stepped up bilateral cooperation in the field of counter-terror and defense during President Joko Widodo's visit to Ankara. Indonesia and Turkey have the opportunity to increase efforts in anticipating the infiltration of terrorist fighters through partnerships in sharing intelligence (TRT, 2017).

The two presidents met one day after the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs reported that the Turkish government had revoked the permission of 300 Indonesians, from 2015 to early 2017, who spread across various regions of Turkey with the aim of joining the Islamic State (IS) extremist group. Indonesia and Turkey have launched relations in field of counter-terrorism, primarily through information exchange and IT system development (Jakarta Post, 2017).

The historical, political, religious and cultural similarities between Indonesia and Turkey make it possible for the two countries to have interactions in various fields. In addition to being leaders and important at the regional level, they also greatly influence relations and diplomatic relations between other countries in the region and the western world. Indonesia and Turkey are Muslim, secular, state, and the largest population in the world together. This thesis is important not only for experts in communication but also scientists and historians who are looking for comparative studies.

CHAPTER III METHODOLOGY

3.1. Study problem

In this study, based on the above-mentioned opinion, it examines how the media in Turkey presenting Indonesia's image on their news content and for comparison how the media in Indonesia profiling Turkey on their news.

The following Questions;

1. How is the format news on Indonesian and Turkish newspapers?
2. How is the form of news headline about Indonesia and Turkey in the newspapers?
3. How is the form of news content about Indonesia and Turkey in the newspapers?
4. What are the most important topics and issues for each headline?
5. How is the editorial about Indonesia and Turkey in the newspapers?
6. How is the visual frame about Indonesia and Turkey in the newspapers?
7. Who are the actor mentions in the news?
8. What are the sources used in the news?

3.2. The Importance of Studying

Historical, political, religious and cultural similarities between Indonesia and Turkey make it possible to have a mutual interaction of the two countries in various fields. In addition to their important role at both regional and international level, they have also greatly influenced bilateral relations, foreign and diplomatic relations between the other countries in the region and the Western world. Indonesia and Turkey are two of the world's largest Muslim countries by population and in the same time uphold freedom of religion.

This thesis is important not only for experts in communication but also for the political scientists and historians whose field is comparative studies. Moreover, the study has a different value not only with the internal politics of the two countries but also with its information on foreign policy, economic cooperation, social and cultural activities. There are similarities of media presentation between two countries. Thus,

it seems that the comparison of media representatives in these two countries is very important.

3.3. Objectives of study

The purpose of this study is to determine and to analyses media portrayal of Indonesia in Turkey through their news columns and otherwise how Indonesian media represents Turkey through its news media as a news comparative study of both countries. The purpose of this study is also to contribute an everlasting and increasing literature to media presentation studies to analyze the relations of the two countries. For comparative study of countries regarding media presentations studies is not many, especially related to Turkey and Indonesia.

This study hopes to contribute to the understanding of dynamic and complex negotiations on the representation of foreign country in the news. Comparison between Turkey and Indonesia in the context of the news media based on related comparative studies is not plenty in number. This study, based on images and perceptions related to each of the two countries regarding Turkey-Indonesia will contribute to the work which has done before. So that, it is hoped that mutual understanding between Turkey and Indonesia and will contribute to improving the foreign media relations between both countries.

3.4. The Population of Study

The study population is represented through daily printed Turkish newspapers and daily printed Indonesia newspapers published in 2015 until 2018. These newspapers include;

Hurriyet Daily News: Hurriyet Daily News is the oldest English-language daily in Turkey serving as news outlet for domestic and international readers for 48 years. It was established in March 1961 where it operated for 39 years before was bought over by the Dogan Group in 2000 with pages ranging from 24-36 pages. Hurriyet Daily News has a liberal editorial policy and a slightly more critical counterpart to the pro-government Daily newspaper, Sabah. The newspaper focuses

on news from Turkey and its regions, and it sees itself as the "world's window to Turkey".

It has a daily sale output of 6000 newspapers per day (eurotopics 2018). It has strongly nationalistic a secular ideology. The newspaper offers its readers content reaches across global topical issue such as diplomatic, foreign news, and cultural. According to market segmentation, the newspaper readership comprises of sixty percent foreigners and forty percent are Turkish with highly educated. Hurriyet Daily News has partnership with the following media affiliate Holding, Axel Springer, Koc, Bild dan Dogan Media Group (Odiley, 2010: 13).

Jakarta Post: The Jakarta Post is the largest English newspaper in Indonesia that was first time published the in April 25, 1983. According to data from international media and newspaper, in 2016 the Jakarta post ranked second on Indonesia's most popular newspaper list and total daily average paid circulation of The Jakarta Post is around 40,000 copies (Merdeka, 2018). The largest English-language newspaper in Indonesia was published in 1983 owned by Bina Media Tenggara Group with pages ranging 16-20 pages.

According to data from international media and newspaper, in 2016 the Jakarta post ranked second on Indonesia's most popular newspaper list. Jakarta Post newspaper plays a significant role in the history of Indonesian news media. The Jakarta post is one of the pro-Government media which contributed directly to fourth estate functions of effective, secular governance in accordance with the pluralist ideals of the Indonesian Constitution and its supporting framework, Pancasila (Prayudi & Hendariningrum, 2014: 342).

Republika: Republika was first published in 4th of January 2013 under PT Republika Media Mandiri Corporation or mostly known as Mahaka Media. This group of corporation had also published Golf Digest Indonesia Magazine and Parents Indonesia Magazine, established some radio station; Jak FM, Gen FM, Delta FM, FeMale Radio, Prambors, and also the owner of Jak TV and Alif TV (Merdeka, 2018). According to the data obtained through researches conducted by four international media and newspaper, Republika took the 3rd place to the title of "most popular newspaper" in Indonesia with pages ranging 26 – 36 pages.

Republika newspaper has been long to be known as a national newspaper which was founded by the muslim community in Indonesia. Their main target of reader was generally Muslim people, accordingly to their publication which was done in a way of promoting religious Islamic teachings. Republika newspaper is known as a culmination of the endeavors and struggles of Muslim communities, especially for young professional reporters in order to have the capability of proper writing in relation with the strong Islamic ideology which the media holds (Fathurokhmah, 2015: 6).

Republika had been striving to portray Islam as a religion which could provide inspirations toward social awareness conformable with contemporary aspirations like openness, pluralism and advancement of information realm (Hamad, 2004:120).

3.5. Period of Study

The period of the study is the period between 2015 until June 2018. This period was chosen because during this period, world had witnessed number of events and political changes in Turkey which affected Indonesian news and also in this period, plenty of bilateral meetings between Turkey and Indonesia had taken place.

3.6. Content Analysis as a Method and Its Application

Content denoted what is contained and content analysis is an analysis of what is contained in an article. Broad content analysis may be seen as a method where the content of the message forms the basis for drawing inferences and conclusion about the content (Nachmias and Nachmias 1976, cited in Prasad 2008: 2). There are numbers of definition of content analysis. According to Berelson (1952 cited in Neuendorf 2002: 21) content analysis is a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication. According to Holsti (1968 cited in Toker 2004: 67) say that is any technique for making inferences by systematically and objectively identifying specified characteristic of message.

Kerlinger (1986) defined content analysis as a method of studying and analyzing communication in a systematic, objective and quantitative manner for the purpose of measuring variables (Dominick & Wimmer, 2006: 48). According to Kerlinger, the definition of content analysis involves three concepts that require elaboration. First content analysis is systematic. This means the content to be analyzed is selected according to explicit and consistently applied rules: sample selection must follow proper procedures, and each item must have an equal chance of being included in the analysis.

Moreover, the evaluation process must be systematic: all content under consideration is to be treated in exactly the same manner. There must be uniformity in the coding and analysis procedures and in the length of time coders are exposed to the material. Systematic evaluation simply means that one and only one set of guidelines is used for evaluation throughout study. Alternating procedures in an analysis is a sure way to confound the result.

Second, content analysis is objective; that is the researcher's personal idiosyncrasies and biases should not enter into the findings. The analysis should yield the same result if another researcher replicated the study. Operational definition and rules for the classification of variables should be explicit and comprehensive so that other researchers who repeat the process will arrive at the same decisions. Unless a clear set of criteria and procedure is established that fully explains the sampling and categorization methods, the researcher does not meet the requirement of objectivity and the reality of the result may be called into question. Perfect objectivity, however, is seldom achieved in content analysis. The specification of the unit of analysis and the precise makeup and definition of relevant categories are areas in which individual researcher must exercise subjective choice.

Third content analysis is quantitative. The goal of content analysis is an accurate representation of the body messages. Quantification is important in fulfilling that objective because it aids researcher in the quest for precision. Quantification gives a researcher additional statistical tool that can aid in interpretation and analysis. However, quantification should not blind the researcher to other ways of assessing the potential impact or effect of the content. The fact that some item or behavior was

the most frequently occurring element in a body of content does not necessarily make the element the most important (Priest, 1995: 150).

Content analysis is used to study a broad range of ‘texts’ from transcripts of interviews and discussions in clinical and social research to the narrative and form of films, TV programs and the editorial and advertising content of newspapers and magazines. Media content analysis was introduced as a systematic method to study mass media by Harold Lasswell (1927), initially to study propaganda (Macnamara, 2005: 1). According to Macnamara (2005:2) Media content analysis became increasingly popular as a research methodology during the 1920s and 1930s for investigating the rapidly expanding communication content of movies.

In the 1950s, media content analysis proliferated as a research methodology in mass communication studies and social sciences with the arrival of television. Media content analysis has been a primary research method for studying portrayals of violence, racism and women in television programming as well as in films (ibid: 2).

Lasswell, Lerner and Pool (1952: 34) said: “... content analysis operates on the view that verbal behavior is a form of human behavior, that the flow of symbols is a part of the flow of events, and that the communication process is an aspect of the historical process ... content analysis is a technique which aims at describing, with optimum objectivity, precision, and generality, what is said on a given subject in a given place at a given time.

Widely used definition of content analysis which illustrates the early focus on *quantitative* analysis was provided by Berelson (1952: 18) who described it as a “research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication. While it remains oft-quoted, this definition has been found wanting in several respects. First, the word “objective” is disputed by researchers including Berger and Luckman (1966: 17) in their classic text, *The Social Construction of Reality*, in which they point out that even the most scientific methods of social research cannot produce totally objective results. Specifically in relation to media content, they point out that media texts are open to varied interpretations and, as such, analysis of them cannot be objective. Also, some criticize the definition as restrictive; pointing out that latent as well as manifest content can be analyzed.

Barelson (1952: 20) mentioned that content analysis was regarded as being able to provide insights into the intention or objectives of media content producers and into the potential impact of content on audience. Wimmer and Dominick (1994) identified five main propose of content analysis as follows (Cited in Gunter 2000: 61-69)

- Describing pattern and trends in media portrayals: any content analysis begins with the selection of the content for description. This entail begins with the selection on the medium from which content will be obtained, then the construction of a sampling frame to select the media output to be analyzed. An analysis of newspaper coverage of a topic requires the researcher to decide which newspaper will covered, which editions within the selected publications. Once the medium has been chosen, the selection of issue, transmissions and dates follow. At this point, the time period over which the analysis takes place and issues or transmission dates selected will depend upon the nature of the topic and research question linked to that topic under consideration.
- Testing hypotheses about message producers: content analysis have gone beyond description of surface features of media output to infer from material certain characteristic, motives or ideologies of the producers and organizations that lie behind content. In some instances, certain types of content are expect to be produced by media organizations believed to have agendas of their own with respect to the shaping or manipulation of public opinion. Content analysis under this heading has news output. Media organizations have their own political agenda that is catered for in the news treatment they provide.
- Comparing media content with the real world: content analysis research is conducted to compare the extent to which media depiction of event, groups and objects match their frequency and nature of occurrence in real life.
- Assessing the image of particular groups: content analysis studies have concentrated on accounting for the appearance or visibility of social groups in the media.
- Content analysis as a basis for effect research: although content analysis itself purely descriptive form of research that cannot directly explain media effect, it

has been used in combination with other methodologies in studies designed to measure the impact of media on audience.

3.7. The Importance of the Methodology in the Study

This study on comparison of countries is represented in the press and what meaning is built by this representation. In the analysis part of research, the content analysis method was applied to the news items included in the analytical journal. According to Merten's definition of content analysis, content analysis is described as "a method for inquiry of social reality, in which conclusions from features of a manifest text are drawn on non-manifest contexts". Textual representations of social reality need further information before they truly become data. While in textual form, social reality has in fact been transferred into an alternative symbolic reality, represent by the text itself (Merten 1996 cited in Gunter 2000: 58).

This study will made identification through news from the representative of Turkey on Indonesian media and Indonesian representative on Turkish media. Factors such as the publication policy of the two countries, social importance, and the number of printings were considered as decisive factors in the newspaper selection process. This study will determine the categories in the content analysis method. According to Holsti, content analysis is a categorization process built on the basis of the researcher's basic assumption and follows the following principles when categories are created (Wimmer 2006: 152) ;

- a. The intersection of the categories, in the other words the classified unit (words, phrases, themes, etc.) only be one part of categories in the framework of research question,
- b. The scope of all the materials examined by the categories,
- c. The fact that the categories are independent of each other, so that a classification of a unit into a category does not affect the classification of other units,
- d. Establishment of all specified categories based on a single classification principle,
- e. The categories reflect the purpose of the research.

It is important to determine the categories in the content analysis method. Various categorizations were made in this study according to the contents of the newspapers and news in order to obtain comprehensive results in the research. Analysis values and categories were determined according to the newspaper pages, news numbers, news headlines and news texts content. The fact that the work undertaken a comparative dimension has caused the content analysis to be categorized as either the Indonesian press or the Turkish press. The main objective of the study is not how Turkey was represented in Jakarta Post newspaper; it is to demonstrate how it was expressed generally in the press in Indonesia. The same is for Indonesia as well.

In such studies using the content analysis method, the ability of the researcher to have a scientific basis depends on the *reliability* of the collected data. For this reason, it was concluded that the research was 95% reliable, as a result of the analysis of different coders on news texts that provided the basic data of the study.

CHAPTER IV DATA ANALYSIS

This chapter was showed and explained the compilation and data analysis that had been collected for the study. The aim of this study was to compare on how media in Turkey profiles and presents Indonesian images in their news content and vice versa. The findings could be achieved and concluded after conducting an analysis of 449 news and 49 editorial articles from both Indonesian and Turkish media.

Table 2. Number of news articles in newspaper

Country	Newspaper	Amount of news	Total of news by country
Indonesia	The Jakarta Post	231 66%	352 78%
	Republika	121 34%	
Turkey	Hurriyet Daily News	97 100%	97 22%
Total			449 100%

Table 3. Number of Editorial articles in newspaper

Country	Newspaper	Amount of news	Total of news by country
Indonesia	The Jakarta Post	40 82%	
	Republika	9 100%	
Turkey	Hurriyet Daily News	0	
Total			49 100%

Table 2 and table 3 presents the amount of news were published in Turkish and Indonesian media during the period of 2015 – 2018. Compared to Republika, as one of the media analyzed in this study, The Jakarta Post was presented more news about Turkey. The total news that were posted in The Jakarta Post was 231 news articles, while Republika had approximately half of the number, namely 121 news articles. In the data that was mentioned above, the Turkish media, Hurriyet Daily News was published its news about Indonesia even less than Republika. The total news in the Hurriyet Daily News was 97 news articles.

In this study, the number of articles and editorial opinions was compared among the three media. From the results, it was noted that as many as 40 editorial articles or opinions were published in The Jakarta Post. Meanwhile, Republika posted 9 articles and not a single editorial was found in Turkish media.

In this chapter, research with numerical data obtained through quantitative analysis was presented in the form of frequency and percentage. Data presentations for these newspapers were divided into news formats and detail descriptions of the news. This chapter also discussed the distribution and frequency of news items about Turkey and Indonesia between news organizations and time periods. Data were divided into six data sections; format of news, news headlines, news content, news source, editorials and picture analysis.

4.1. Format of news

The variable of the news format included the following four sections; period of news articles were published, type of article, section or page label, and type length.

Table 4. Period of news articles published

1) When was this news item published?				
Month/Year	Name of the News Organization			Total
2015	The Jakarta Post	Republika	Hurriyet Daily News	
January	1	3	1	5

February	2%	6%	4%	9%
	1	2	0	3
March	2%	4%	0%	4%
	4	13	0	17
April	7%	28%	0%	2%
	4	6	1	11
May	7%	13%	4%	9%
	2	2	9	13
June	4%	4%	35%	10%
	3	1	2	6
July	5%	2%	8%	5%
	9	0	3	12
August	16%	0%	12%	9%
	4	1	5	10
September	7%	2%	19%	8%
	4	0	1	5
October	7%	0%	4%	4%
	9	7	2	18
November	16%	15%	8%	14%
	9	12	2	23
December	16%	26%	8%	18%
	6	0	0	6
Total/year	11%	0%	0%	5%
	56	47	26	129
	100%	100%	100%	100%
2016				
January	4	0	0	4
	5%	0%	0%	3%
February	5	0	0	5
	6%	0%	0%	4%
March	9	0	1	10

	11%	0%	8%	7%
April	5	3	0	8
	6%	7%	0%	6%
May	7	5	2	14
	9%	12%	17%	10%
June	3	4	0	7
	4%	10%	0%	5%
July	13	15	3	31
	16%	36%	25%	23%
August	15	9	0	24
	18%	21%	0%	18%
September	3	1	2	6
	4%	2%	17%	4%
October	5	2	0	7
	6%	5%	0%	5%
November	9	3	1	13
	11%	7%	8%	10%
December	4	0	3	7
	5%	0%	25%	5%
Total/year	82	42	12	136
	100%	100%	100%	100%
2017				
January	7	2	2	11
	11%	12%	12%	11%
February	8	3	0	11
	12%	18%	0%	11%
March	6	1	0	7
	9%	6%	0%	7%
April	8	1	0	9
	12%	6%	0%	9%
May	6	1	4	11

	9%	6%	24%	11%
June	2 3%	0 0%	0 0%	2 2%
July	12 18%	1 6%	1 6%	14 14%
August	2 3%	3 18%	1 6%	6 6%
September	6 9%	0 0%	2 12%	8 8%
October	3 5%	2 12%	3 18%	8 8%
November	4 6%	0 0%	3 18%	7 7%
December	1 2%	3 18%	1 6%	5 5%
Total/year	65 100%	17 100%	17 100%	99 100%
2018				
January	8 29%	2 13%	2 5%	12 14%
February	6 21%	2 13%	5 12%	13 15%
March	2 7%	1 7%	3 7%	6 7%
April	3 11%	1 7%	4 10%	8 9%
May	4 14%	1 7%	2 5%	7 8%
June	5 18%	8 53%	2 7%	15 18%
July	0	0	3	3

	0%	0%	7%	4%
August	0 0%	0 0%	6 14%	6 7%
September	0 0%	0 0%	3 7%	3 4%
October	0 0%	0 0%	12 29%	12 14%
Total/year	28 100%	15 100%	42 100%	85 100%
Amount Total	231	121	97	449

In this study, samples of the Jakarta Post in the period of 2015 – 2018 were taken and analyzed. The source of the samples were The Jakarta Post's e-paper itself. During this period, there were 231 related news articles found in the newspaper. Table 3 provided description of the stories and articles collected and coded in a special format. This table showed the number of Turkish news publications for the research period on the Jakarta Post newspaper. During the research period, news about Turkey was most often published in 2016 with a total of 82 news articles. Meanwhile, 56 news articles were published in 2015, 65 in 2017, and 28 news articles in 2018 (counted only until June). Furthermore, in 2016, where the newspaper published its most articles about Turkey, the month of August won the crown with 15 news articles published and followed by July with 13 news publications.

On the other hand, according to the study sample in the table above, the Republika newspaper's publication about Turkey reached its peak in the year of 2015 with 47 news articles, followed by 2016 with 42 articles, 2017 with 17 articles, and 2018 (January to June) with 15 articles. In 2015 itself, 15 news, as the highest number, were published in July and 13 news in March.

In the same period, according to the Hurriyet Daily News study sample, most of the news about Indonesia was published in October 2018 with a total of 12 news items, followed by May 2015 with 9 news items and August 2018 with 6 news items. From the description of the table above, we could say that the newspaper's frequency of reporting peaked in October 2018, when many natural disasters occurred in Indonesia. While the month of May the most news was related to the Rohingya issue, again on August the publication focused on the topic of Indonesia and natural disasters.

The second category in the news format section was type of article. The data for this section could be seen in table below.

Table 5. Types of news articles

Type of news article	Jakarta Post	Percentage	Republika	Percentage	Hurriyet Daily News	Percentage
News Report	223	97%	109	90%	63	65%
Feature/news story	3	1%	8	7%	0	0%
Economic Analysis	3	1%	0	0%	0	0%
Photo	2	1%	4	3%	1	1%
Online news	0	0%	0	0%	33	34%
total	231	100%	121	100%	97	100%

Table 4 above provided information about the types of news articles published in the three media. The data stated that the most widely published type of news were news reports. Again, The Jakarta Post had the most news reports with total 223 news items published, followed by Republika with 109 news items and Hurriyet daily news with 63 news items. As mentioned in the Hurriyet daily news study sample, more than half of the sample, namely 33 news items, were taken from online media news portals. It was because during the research period, the news published in printed media was somehow very limited. Apart from the Republika, the most represented type of news in the media was Feature (8) and Photo (4). Only 3 news items about economic analysis were published in The Jakarta Post.

The next news format categories were page labels or the section where the news item was published. The data in this part displayed the placement status of news on the page. These three media had labels with different names. But to facilitate the coding of research data, the authors categorized the label variables as follows: (1) Front Page, (2) Headlines, (3) Special reports, (4) World, (5) ASEAN, (6) Lifestyle, (7) Opinion, (8) Culture, (9) International, (10) Economy, (11) Sport, (12) Business, (13) Feature, (14) Editorial, (15) National, and (16) others.

Table 6. Page label in the newspaper

Section/page label	Jakarta Post	Percentage	Republika	Percentage	Hurriyet Daily News	Percentage
Front Page	5	2%	16	13%	2	2%
Headlines	13	6%	0	0	0	0%
World	187	81%	5	4%	29	30%
ASEAN	2	1%	0	0%	0	0%
Life Style	0	0%	2	2%	0	0%
Culture	0	0%	0	0%	1	1%
International	7	3%	70	58%	52	54%
Economy	0	0%	2	2%	11	11%
Sport	6	3%	5	4%	0	0%
Business	8	3%	0	0%	1	1%
Feature	0	0%	8	7%	0	0%
National	2	1%	5	4%	1	1%
Others	1	0%	8	7%	0	0%
Total	231	100%	121	100%	97	100%

As could be seen in table 6, the most articles in the research sample were placed on the section of the World and International pages, basically The Jakarta Post newspaper had 20 to 28 pages. The number of pages in this newspaper might change according to events or moments that happened or complied with certain urgency reasons. This newspaper consists of 10 labels including "Front Page" which was the main page containing headlines or information about what happened or discussed recently.

Besides, there was also "ASEAN" label, which contains news about ASEAN countries. Furthermore, in addition to "National," "Opinion," "Sports," "Business," labels, also a "Reader Forum" was available as that collected or accommodated readers' opinions. This page was different from the "Opinion" page, which could only be written by experts in the fields related. The last two label pages were "World" and "International." These two label pages reported particularly about foreign news and, compared to the other pages, provided more space/page portions in The Jakarta Post.

In The Jakarta Post, the most news about Turkey were posted on "World" labels (187 news items), followed by Headline labels (13 news items), Business (8 news items), International (7 news items), sports (6 news items), front pages (5 news items) and ASEAN labels (2 news items).

In the daily Republika, there were variations in the number of news items. These variations depended on a particular moment or event and on advertising space obtained. During the research period, the author found 32 pages. Meanwhile, in the Hurriyet Daily News and The Jakarta Post, pages and page labels were generally interrelated that did not apply to Republika. Flexibility influenced the labeling of the pages, because the order of pages was not always the same and compatible. In addition to the total number of pages that were published in each newspaper, page labels also changed due to the conditions of the certain pages. Here, Republika provided exclusive information related to Islamic activities, because this newspaper is particularly focused on Islam/religion issues.

In this study, the author limits this section only to front page labels; national, international, opinion, economy, sports, features, public, lifestyle and others. The "Others" page with a typical page label named Khazanah or Islam Digest generally addressed issues that were related directly to Islamic activities. Unlike the Jakarta Post, in the Republika, most of the news about Turkey were found on international labels (70 news items), then on the first page (16 news items), on feature labels (8 news items), on the world, sports and national labels (5 news items), and lastly on lifestyle and economy labels (2 news items).

In the Hurriyet, according to the information stated in the table above, the most news about Indonesia was written and placed on the “International” label. The news reached up to 52 items. Besides, the Hurriyet online media also published 29 news on the “World” label, 11 news on the “Economy” label, and 2 news articles on the front page. To see the news samples published in each media, we could refer to the table below:

Table 7. Length of news

Length of news	The name of News Organization			Total
	The Jakarta Post	Republika	Hurriyet Daily News	
100-300 words	85 37%	17 14%	33 34%	135 30%
301-600 words	132 57%	57 52%	53 55%	242 54%
601 and over words	14 6%	47 39%	10 10%	71 16%
Total	231 100%	121 100%	96 100%	448 100%

Generally, from a total of 242 news articles in this study, each article consisted of more than 100 words. As a newspaper that published the largest number of articles about Turkey, 132 news articles of The Jakarta Post consisted of 301-600 words. Besides, there were also 85 news articles with 100-300 words length and 14 news articles consisting of more than 601 words published by the newspaper.

According to the data for the Republika newspaper, 57 news stories consisted of 301-600 words, 17 news stories of 100-300 words and 47 news stories with more than 601 words were published by Republika. The Republika newspaper had the highest total number of news length, consisting of 601 and more words. The Hurriyet Daily News published 33 news items with 100-300 words, 53 news items with 301-600 words and 10 news items consisting of 601 words and more.

4.2. News Headline

There were three categories for determined the headline section; headline words, headline style and headline word characteristic. The total of the headline words, headline style and headline language/word characteristic showed in the table below:

Table 8. Headline words

Headline words	The name of news organization			Total
	The Jakarta Post	Republika	Hurriyet Daily News	
Negative words	113 49%	14 12%	14 15%	141 31%
Positive words	26 11%	98 82%	3 3%	128 29%
Neutral	92 40%	8 7%	79 82%	179 40%
Total	231 100%	120 100%	96 100%	447 100%

The data above showed that each media has different results. For the negative headline words, The Jakarta Post newspaper won the crown with 113 of 231 labeled as negative. Meanwhile, Republika newspaper was published 98 of 120 news with positive headline words. The Hurriyet published 79 of 96 neutral headline words, which puts her in a neutral position.

Table 9. Headline style

Headline style	The name of news organization			Total
	Jakarta Post	Republika	Hurriyet Daily News	
Descriptive	101	63	65	229

	44%	53%	68%	51%
Analytical style	130 56%	57 48%	31 32%	218 49%
Total	231 100%	120 100%	96 100%	447 100%

The headline style applied in both The Jakarta Post and Republika displayed a difference. At The Jakarta Post, most headlines used analytical styles. Meanwhile the Republika, used descriptive styles. Just like Republika, in the Turkish daily newspaper Hurriyet Daily News, the editorial style used descriptive style also.

In the Jakarta Post, from a total of 231 news, 130 news applied the analytical style and 101 news the descriptive style on the headlines. In Republika, from a total of 120 news articles, 63 articles used descriptive style and 57 news articles used analytical style. As for the Turkish media, the Hurriyet Daily News published descriptive headline styles on 65 of 96 headlines and 31 news with analytical styles of 96 news.

Table 10. Headline language style

	The Name of organization			Total
	Jakarta Post	Republika	Hurriyet Daily News	
Plain headline	84 36%	57 48%	65 68%	206 46%
Emotionally-charged headline	147 64%	63 53%	31 32%	241 54%
Total	231 100%	120 100%	96 100%	447 100%

In relation to the use of language style in headline sections, the two Indonesian media often used headlines that include and express an emotion. On the other hand, the headline sections in the daily Hurriyet used the style of a normal or relatively neutral title.

From a total of 231 news articles that were published in the Jakarta Post, 147 news stories applied emotional headlines and 84 news stories with emotionless or normal headlines. Meanwhile Republika published 63 news stories with full emotional headlines and 57 news articles in ordinary editorial languages. In the Hurriyet Daily News, from a total of 96 news, 65 news stories used regular headlines and 31 news stories used full emotional headlines.

4.3. News content

The variable of news content were included the following four sections; main topic, news issue, favorability in news and actor. The data for these sections could be seen on the table below:

Table 11. Main topic of news

Main topics	The Name Of News Organization			Total
	Jakarta Post	Republika	Hurriyet Daily News	
Turkey-Indonesia Relations	25 11%	17 14%	13 13%	55 12%
Turkey-Foreign Relations	101 44%	48 40%	0 0%	149 33%
Indonesia-Foreign Relations	0 0%	0 0%	19 20%	19 4%
Internal Affair Of Turkey	105 45%	56 46%	0 0%	161 36%
Internal Affair Of Indonesia	0 0%	0 0%	65 67%	65 14%
Total	231 100%	121 100%	97 100%	449 100%

The main topics in this article categorized the themes of the news. The table above showed that in The Jakarta Post, the most frequently covered news category about Turkey was about internal affairs. This category, with the total of 105 news stories, described events or issues that occurred in Turkey. Meanwhile, The Jakarta Post also covered a total of 101 news stories about Turkey and foreign relations. The remaining 25 news stories were about Turkey – Indonesia relations.

From the 121 total of news that were covered In the Republika newspaper, 56 news were concerned about internal affairs of Turkey or events, which around the particular period of time were taking place in this country. While 48 news items were concerned about Turkey and its foreign policy, only 17 news articles were covering the topic of relationship between Turkey and Indonesia.

In the Hurriyet Daily News, form the 97total of news articles published, the biggest controversy was about Indonesia’s internal affairs, which counted up to 65 news items. As for the rest, 19 news items discussed Indonesia’s foreign relations and 13 news items were on Turkey-Indonesia relations.

Table 12. News Issues in News

News issues	The Name Of News Organization			Total
	Jakarta Post	Republika	Hurriyet Daily News	
Internal Politic	47 20%	22 18%	2 2%	71 16%
Terrorism	66 29%	15 12%	1 1%	82 18%
Crime/Judicial Matters	2 1%	6 5%	12 12%	20 4%
Disaster/Accident	3 1%	0 0%	40 41%	43 10%
Economy/Business	9 4%	6 5%	4 4%	19 4%

External Politic	2 1%	4 3%	4 4%	10 2%
Sport	6 3%	4 3%	1 1%	11 2%
Refugee/Migran t	7 3%	0 0%	7 7%	14 3%
Culture	0 0%	2 2%	0 0%	2 0%
Education	7 3%	6 5%	0 0%	13 3%
International Relation	62 27%	26 21%	8 8%	96 21%
Bilateral/Diplo matic Relation	12 5%	14 12%	10 10%	36 8%
History	0 0%	11 9%	7 7%	18 4%
Media	6 3%	2 2%	0 0%	8 2%
Religion	2 1%	3 2%	1 1%	6 1%
Total	231 100%	121 100%	97 100%	449 100%

The data presented in table above shows that the three media used different contents in their news coverage. While The Jakarta Post mostly covered the news about the problem of terrorism, Republika mostly discussed the news about Turkish international relations.

From a total of 232 news that were published, the news content that was the most often covered in The Jakarta Post was about the issue of terrorism, which counted 66 news items. The other news that were published covered the Turkish

international relations (62 news items), Turkish political news (47 news items) and the bilateral relations between Indonesia and Turkey (12 news items).

In the Republika newspaper, during the period when Turkish international relations was facing troubles, 26 stories discussed the problems. Other issues published in the Republika were internal political issues (22 news articles), the issue of terrorism (15 news items) and the news about bilateral relations between Turkey and Indonesia (14 news articles).

The last data sample was from the Turkish newspaper the Hurriyet news daily. This newspaper reported 40 news articles about the problem of natural disasters in Indonesia. Issues about natural disasters in Indonesia include tsunami, volcanoes, aircraft accidents, etc. While the second of the most widely published issue in Hurriyet Daily News was about criminal/judicial problems in Indonesia, bilateral/diplomatic relations with Indonesia became the third largest problem covered in the research period.

Table 13. Favorability in news covered

Favorability news	The Name Of News Organization			Total
	Jakarta Post	Republika	Hurriyet Daily News	
Favorable	8 3%	30 25%	5 5%	43 10%
Slightly favorable	13 6%	47 39%	3 3%	63 14%
Neutral	46 20%	27 22%	66 68%	139 31%
Slightly unfavorable	134 58%	15 12%	20 21%	169 38%
Unfavorable	30 13%	2 2%	2 2%	34 8%
Total	231 100%	121 100	97 100%	449 100%

In the news that was covered during the study period, in addition to the main words, the author also included favorable variables in the news. In The Jakarta Post newspaper, from the 231 total of news published, 134 news items were considering as less profitable regarding of the writing and selecting words. While 46 news counted as neutral, 30 news items were clearly labeling as not profitable.

On the other hand, in the Republika newspaper, the most dominant news published was the news with slightly profitable impact (47 news). The second of the most dominant was the profitable ones (30 news) and the least dominant was the neutral ones (27 news). In Hurriyet Daily News, neutral news dominates the publication with a total of 66 news items. However, 20 out of these 66 news items use the tone that was a bit unfavorable toward Indonesian main actor in news.

Table 14. Main actor in news

Main actor in news	The name of news organization			Total
	Jakarta Post	Republika	Hurriyet Daily News	
President Recep Tayyip Erdogan	54 23%	32 26%	0 0%	86 19%
President Joko Widodo	0 0%	0 0%	9 9%	9 2%
The Ministers	4 2%	4 3%	2 2%	10 2%
Government or state official or state organization	60 26%	35 29%	39 40%	134 30%
Representative of opposition	8 3%	7 6%	3 3%	18 4%
Representative of Army	17 7%	6 5%	7 7%	30 7%
Representative of	14	8	1	23

Society/Group	6%	7%	1%	5%
Witness/general public	23 10%	8 7%	20 21%	51 11%
Expert	9 4%	8 7%	1 1%	18 4%
Prime Minister	9 4%	0 0%	5 5%	14 3%
Representative of party	5 2%	6 5%	0 0%	11 2%
International actor	10 4%	5 4%	4 4%	19 4%
No actor	18 8%	2 2%	6 6%	26 6%
Total	231 100%	121 100%	97 100%	449 100%

Actors in news items play an important role in forming 'rhythms' and perspective of coverage. In the news about Turkey, there were 10 main actors that were frequently mentioned.

In the data above, the three most-mentioned actors were the country itself. In The Jakarta post, as many as 60 news articles write Turkey or the country itself as an actor followed by 54 news that mention Turkish President Recep Tayip Erdogan as the actor. Similar to it, the Republika media also published 35 news articles mentioning the State of Turkey as the actor and 32 news articles citing President Recep Tayip Erdogan as the main actor.

Unlike the two Indonesian media, the Hurriyet Daily News, referring Indonesia as a country, mentioned Indonesia, state officials or state organizations as the main actor in its 39 news items. While 21 of its news items mention the general public concerned, 9 of its news items mention the president as the main actor.

4.4. News Source

Table 15. News Sources

News sources	The Name Of News Organization			Total
	Jakarta Post	Republika	Hurriyet Daily News	
Own Source	23 10%	25 21%	0 0%	48 11%
Reuters	88 38%	37 31%	23 24%	148 33%
AFP	64 28%	0 0%	42 43%	106 24%
AP	42 18%	7 6%	15 15%	64 14%
Anadolu Ajans	0 0%	5 4%	17 18%	22 5%
Al-jazeera	0 0%	4 3%	0 0%	4 1%
BBC	4 2%	0 0%	0 0%	4 1% 0%
The Independent	1 0%	0 0%	0 0%	1 0%
Antara (Local Indonesian newspaper)	3 1%	8 7%	0 0%	11 2%
Agencies	3 1%	31 26%	0 0%	34 8%
Online News Portal	0 0%	4 3%	0 0%	4 1%
Bloomberg	2 1%	0 0%	0 0%	2 0%

Others	1 0%	0 0%	0 0%	1 0%
Total	231 100%	121 100%	97 100%	449 100%

Foreign media were the most used sources taken by the three analyzed media. While Reuters was being the most widely taken news source by Indonesian media, the AFP (Agency France Press) was the most frequent news source used by Turkish media. In more detail report, The Jakarta Post took 88 news items from Reuters, 64 news items from AFP, and 42 news items from AP. Meanwhile, only 23 of its news articles were published with its own sources or directly by The Jakarta Post. Republika, took 37 news sources from Reuters, 31 news sources from several different agencies, and 25 news sources from its own sources (Republika).

Unlike the two Indonesian media, in Hurriyet Daily News, all news about Indonesia was taken from foreign and other media. The most used media was AFP with 42 news items, followed by Reuters with 23 news items, Anadolu Agency with 17 news items and AP with 15 news items.

4.5. Editorial

In this research, the writer divides types of editorial articles into two. First was the Leader or Editorial-labeled articles. It was an article in the publication expressing the opinion of its editors or publishers. This type of editorial article does not include a by-line. The second type was the Commentary/Column. It was an article where opinions and/or perspectives of the writer on the given subject were placed. Some of the examples were articles written by Turkish or foreign officials, public figures, opinion leaders, academicians, etc,. This type of editorial article was including a by-line.

According to Eilders (1997: 2), opinion in the media was often considered as the subject of criticism. This was because the initial opinion formed in the media was considered as bias and was not objective views, rather than as a legitimate expression media can have. Hence expressing the opinion itself drives the news to be seen as

problematic news. However, media have the right to take their own views and openly try to influence public opinion formation or even policy decision.

The format category used in analyzing the editorial section was similar to what was used in analyzing the news substance. The analysis' results can be seen in the following table:

Table 16. Editoial Articles format

Period of publication			
	Jakarta Post	Republika	Total
2015 – January	2 5%	0 0%	2 4%
2015 – March	2 5%	1 11%	3 6%
2015 – April	1 3%	0 0%	1 2%
2015 – May	1 3%	0 0%	1 2%
2015 – June	4 10%	0 0%	4 8%
2015 August	2 5%	0 0%	2 4%
2015 – October	1 3%	0 0%	1 2%
2015 - November	2 5%	2 22%	4 8%
2016 - February	1 3%	0 0%	1 2%
2016-July	7 18%	3 33%	10 20%
2016-August	3 8%	0 0%	3 6%
2016-September	1	0	1

	3%	0%	2%
2016- December	0 0%	1 11%	1 2%
2017-February	1 3%	0 0%	1 2%
2017- March	1 3%	0 0%	1 2%
2017-April	5 13%	1 11%	6 12%
2017-May	3 8%	0 0%	3 6%
2018- January	1 3%	0 0%	1 2%
2018-April	0 0%	1 11%	1 2%
2018-June	2 5%	0 0%	2 4%
Total	40 100%	9 100%	49 100%

As stated in the data above, only Indonesian media published editorial articles. There were no editorial type articles published by the Turkish media Hurriyet Daily News. Based on the publication period, the most editorials were published in July 2016. In that month, 7 editorials from the total of 40 articles were published by The Jakarta Post and 3 editorials out of 9 articles were published in Republika.

Table 17. Type of editorial articles

Type of article	The name of news organization		Total
	Jakarta Post	Republika	
Leader/editorial	5 13%	0 0%	5 10%

Commentary/column	34 85%	9 100%	43 88%
Photo	1 3%	0 0%	1 2%
Total	40 100%	9 100%	49 100%

In relation with the type of published articles, from the total of 40 articles, there were 5 article leaders or editorial types written by the Jakarta Post itself, 34 articles were opinions and 1 article was a type of photo.

Table 18. Section/Page label in editorial articles

Section/page label	The name of news organization		Total
	Jakarta Post	Republika	
Opinion	33 83%	9 100%	42 86%
Editorial	7 18%	0 0%	7 14%
Total	40 100%	9 100%	49 100%

The majority of article published by these two media was placed in the section or page labeled as opinion. Only 7 articles were posted on the editorial label by the Jakarta Post.

Table 19. Length of editorial articles

Length of articles	The name of news organization		Total
	Jakarta Post	Republika	
100-300 words	9 23%	1 11%	10 21%
301-600 words	18	3	21

	46%	33%	44%
600 and over words	12 31%	5 56%	17 35%
Total	39 100%	9 100%	48 100%

For the length of the news, in the Jakarta Post, from the total of 39 articles, 18 articles were consisting of 301-600 words, 12 articles consisting of over 600 words and 9 articles consisting of 100-300 words. Meanwhile in Republika, 5 out of 9 articles consisting of over 600 words and only 1 article consisting of 100-300 words.

Table 20. Editorial articles headline

Articles Headline	The name of news organization		Total
	Jakarta Post	Republika	
Negative words	32 82%	0 11%	32 67%
Positive	2 5%	8 33%	10 21%
Neutral	5 13%	1 56%	6 13%
Total	39 100%	9 100%	48 100%

In the Jakarta Post, the most frequently used headlines were negative phrases. From the total of 39 articles published in this media, it was noted that 32 headlines use negative words, 5 headlines use neutral words and only 2 headlines use positive words. Meanwhile in Republika, 8 out of 9 articles were published with positive words and another 1 with neutral words.

Table 21. Editorial Headlines style

Headline style	The name of news organization		Total
	Jakarta Post	Republika	
Descriptive	19	7	26
	49%	78%	54%
Analytical style	20	2	22
	51%	22%	46%
Total	39	9	48
	100%	100%	100%

Headline styles used in both media were also different. In Jakarta Post, the headlines used were mostly analytical style. On the contrary, in Republika, the headlines used the most were descriptive style. In Jakarta Post, from the total of 39 news, 20 news were applying analytical styles and 19 news with descriptive style. In Republika, 7 articles were applying descriptive style and 2 news articles with analytical style.

Table 22. Editorials language style

Headline language style	The name of news organization		Total
	Jakarta Post	Republika	
Plain headline	14	7	21
	36%	78%	44%
Emotionally-charged headline	25	2	27
	64%	22%	56%
Total	39	9	48
	100%	100%	100%

Supposing the headline language style, in Jakarta Post, out of 39 articles' headline, as many as 25 headlines were written with emotionally charged headlines while the remaining 14 headlines were plainly written. In Republika, among 9

headlines, 7 articles' headlines were written plainly and the remaining 2 headlines were written with emotionally charged.

Table 23. Main topic of editorials articles

Main topic	The name of news organization		Total
	Jakarta Post	Republika	
Turkey-Indonesia relations	6 15%	2 22%	8 16%
Turkey-foreign relations	8 20%	4 44%	12 24%
Internal affair of Turkey	26 65%	3 33%	29 60%
Total	40 100%	9 100%	49 100%

The main topics that these two media try to convey were different. In Jakarta Post, out of 40 articles, 26 articles raised the topic of internal affair of Turkey, 8 articles related with the issue of Turkey's foreign relation and the other 6 articles were about Turkey-Indonesia relation. In Republika, from the total of 9 articles, the least topics were Turkey-Indonesia relation with only 2 articles written, followed by 3 articles about internal affair of Turkey and 4 articles about Turkey's foreign relation.

Table 24. News issue of editorial articles

News issue	The name of news organization		Total
	Jakarta Post	Republika	
Internal politic	21 53%	6 67%	27 55%
Terrorism	4 10%	0 0%	4 8%
Economy/business	2	0	2

	5%	0%	4%
Education	2	0	2
	5%	0%	4%
International relation	8	1	9
	20%	11%	18%
Bilateral/diplomatic relation	2	2	4
	5%	22%	8%
Media	1	0	1
	3%	0%	2%
Total	40	9	49
	100%	100%	100%

Appearing in both media, the topic about internal politics in Turkey were the most covered articles. In Jakarta Post itself, out of 40 articles, 21 articles covered about internal politics, 8 articles about bilateral relations, 4 articles about terrorism and the other 2 articles were about economy and international relations. On the other hand, in Republika, out of 9 articles, 6 articles covered about internal politics and 1 topic was about bilateral relation.

Table 25. Favorability of articles

Favorability of articles	The name of news organization		Total
	Jakarta Post	Republika	
Favorable	3	1	4
	8%	11%	8%
Slightly favorable	0	6	6
	0%	67%	12%
Neutral	4	2	6
	10%	22%	12%
Slightly unfavorable	23	0	23
	58%	0%	47%
Unfavorable	10	0	10

	25%	0%	20%
Total	40	9	49
	100%	100%	100%

In relation to the favorability of the news, there were quite striking differences among the three media. In The Jakarta Post, from the total of 40 news published, there were 23 slightly unfavorable, 10 unfavorable and 3 favorable news. Whereas in the Republika newspaper, out of its 9 articles, there were 6 favorable, 2 neutrals and 1 favorable news published.

Table 26. Main actors mentioned in article

Main actor mentioned	The name of news organization		Total
	Jakarta Post	Republika	
President	21	6	27
RecepTayyipErdogan	53%	67%	55%
Government/state official/state organization	9 23%	2 22%	11 22%
Representative of society or group	3 8%	0 0%	3 6%
Witness/general public	2 5%	0 0%	2 4%
Representative or party	3 8%	0 0%	3 6%
International actors	2 5%	1 0%	3 6%
Total	40 100%	9 100%	49 100%

In both Indonesia media, the most mentioned actor was President Recep Tayyip Erdogan. In Jakarta Post, out of its 40 news, 21 articles mentioned Recep Tayyip Erdogan as the actor, 9 articles mentioned Turkey as a Country, 3 articles the

Representative of Society and the Representative of Party and the remaining 2 articles mentioned general public and international representatives as the actors. In Republika, from the total of 49 articles, 6 articles mentioned Recep Tayyip Erdogan, 2 articles the Country of Turkey itself and 1 article mentioned internal people as the actors.

Table 27. Source/Author background

Source of retrieval	The name of news organization		Total
	Jakarta Post	Republika	
Own Source	15	9	24
	38%	100%	49%
Antara (Indonesian newspaper)	1	0	1
	3%	0%	2%
Bloomberg	3	0	3
	8%	0%	6%
The Australian	1	0	1
	3%	0%	2%
Project Syndicate	5	0	5
	13%	0%	10%
Yale Global	3	0	3
	8%	0%	6%
Telegraph	2	0	2
	5%	0%	4%
The Globalist	4	0	4
	10%	0%	8%
Koran Tempo	1	0	1
	3%	0%	2%
The Statesman	1	0	1
	3%	0%	2%
The China Post	1	0	1
	3%	0%	2%

The New York Times	1 3%	0 0%	1 2%
Dawn	2 5%	0 0%	2 4%
Total	40 100%	9 100%	49 100%

Regarding to the source of the articles, there were differences between the two Indonesian media. From the total of 40 articles in the Jakarta Post, as many as 15 articles were published from their own sources, 1 article was originated from Indonesian local newspapers and 24 articles were taken from foreign media. On the contrary, in Republika, all editorial article was published from their own sources.

Table 28. Authors

Authors	The name of news organization		Total
	Jakarta Post	Republika	
Editorial board	17 43%	8 89%	25 51%
Citizen	0 0%	1 11%	1 2%
Educator	8 20%	0 0%	8 16%
Writer	5 13%	0 0%	5 10%
Expert	10 25%	0 0%	10 20%
Total	40 100%	9 100%	49 100%

Seeing from the author section, there were differences between the news published in The Jakarta Post and Republika. In Jakarta Post, out of its 40 articles, 17

articles were written by editorial boards, 10 articles by experts who had experience in their fields, 8 articles by educators or academicians and 5 articles were written by writers in certain media. In the Republika, 8 out of 9 articles were written by an editorial board and 1 article was written by a citizen.

4.6. Quantitative Analysis of Pictures

This section study explained about news pictures that published in three different media in Indonesia and Turkey between 2015 until 2018. According to the sample collected, the total of 161 pictures concerning Indonesia and Turkey were found (See Table 29). The difference regarding the number of photos appearing in each country's news media was significant in number. About 81 photos were found in Indonesian newspapers. Meanwhile, the Turkish newspaper published more pictures since the samples collected also include news in online media because of the limited amount of news found in printed media.

Table 29. Number of pictures in each newspaper

	Frequency	Percentage
Jakarta Post	35	22%
Republika	46	28%
Hurriyet Daily News	80	50%
Total	161	100%

From the total of 231 news published by the Jakarta Post, 35 news articles were completed with images. In Republika newspaper, 46 images were included in its 121 news items. As for the Hurriyet Daily News, 80 out of its 97 news were published with images. The table below presents the detail information about the image, where quantitative analysis for pictures was used:

Table 30. Size of picture

	The Name Of News Organization			Total
	Jakarta Post	Republika	Hurriyet Daily News	

Full Page	0 0%	1 2%	0 0%	6 4%
Half Page	4 11%	23 50%	5 6%	24 15%
Quarter Page (1/4)	23 66%	18 39%	16 20%	48 30%
One Eight Page (1/8)	8 23%	4 9%	15 19%	36 22%
One-Sixteen (1/16)	0 0%	0 0%	9 11%	7 4%
Online news size	0 0%	0 0%	35 44%	35 22%
Total	35 100%	46 100%	80 100%	161 100%

Among the 3 media analyzed, the Jakarta Post and Hurriyet Daily News were the top two newspapers that were included images in their news with a quarter-page-size of image format. Whereas in the Republika newspaper, the largest size of the image was half-page-size image format. From the total of 35 news items published by the Jakarta Post, 23 news articles included quarter-page-size image, 8 news articles with one eight-page-size image and 4 news items included half-page-size image format.

In the Republika newspaper, from the total of 46 news articles that included images, 23 news articles included images with half-page size format, 18 news articles with a quarter-page size, 4 news articles with one eight-page-size and 1 article with full-page size format of image.

Unlike the two Indonesian media, the Turkish media Hurriyet Daily News published 45 news articles that contain photos; 16 articles included quarter-page-size image format, 15 articles with one eight-page -size and 9 articles with one-sixteen-size format of image. Meanwhile, the Hurriyet Daily News online page also included 35 photos in its news items.

Table 31. The pallet of picture in the news

	The Name Of News Organization			Total
	The Jakarta Post	Republika	Hurriyet Daily News	
Color	35 100%	15 33%	79 99%	129 80%
Black and White	0 0%	31 67%	1 1%	32 20%
Total	35 100%	46 100%	80 100%	161 100%

The pallet of the picture that was used by The Jakarta Post and Hurriyet Daily News were colored ones. In The Jakarta Post, the entire picture used was colored pallet. In Republika, 31 articles were black and white while the other 15 articles were colored. Whereas in Hurriyet Daily News, the majority of the articles were colored while only 1 article used black and white.

Several overall patterns were observed in comparing the photographs between Indonesian and Turkish newspapers. First, most photos feature people as subject; only 34 news articles had no people as the object, showing only other objects or animals. Second, independent photo without explanation (stand-alone) were rarely used for stories about either country. Only 48 of 161 photos were stand-alone, meaning they had no accompanying stories. The data can be seen in table below:

Table 32. Human element in pictures

Human element	Jakarta Post	Republika	Hurriyet Daily News	Total
Containing people	34 97%	32 70%	61 76%	126 79%
No people	1 3%	14 30%	19 24%	34 21%

Total	35	46	80	160
	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 33. Caption in the photos

Caption in the photos	The Name Of News Organization			Total
	Jakarta Post	Republika	Hurriyet Daily News	
Independent photo with explanation	31 89%	37 80%	45 56%	113 70%
Independent photo with no explanation	4 11%	9 20%	35 44%	48 30%
Total	35 100%	46 100%	80 100%	161 100%

The topic and subject matters in photo were important. Out of 35 photos in Jakarta Post's articles, 9 photos used diplomatic relation as the subject, 7 photos used the political situation in Turkey surrounding election, and 6 photos explained about military activity including the national defense and terrorism issue. In Republika newspapers, from the total of 46 photo subject, 8 photos covered about politic/election/victory and military/war/terrorism, 3 photos explained about history in which the photos used the theme that The Jakarta Post never chose before.

Unlike the two Indonesian media, on Hurriyet Daily News, from the total of 80 photos published, 24 photos showed about disaster or tragedy in Indonesia, 8 photos talked about terrorism problems and 7 photos about Rohingya issues. The data presentation can be seen in the table below:

Table 34. Topic or subject in the photos

Topic or subject photo	Jakarta Post	Republika	Hurriyet Daily News	Total
Politic/election/victory	7 21%	8 17%	6 8%	21 13%

Military/war/terrorism	6 18%	8 17%	8 10%	22 14%
Court/crime	0 0%	0 0%	1 1%	1 1%
Human Interest	0 0%	2 4%	2 3%	4 3%
Business/trade	1 3%	1 2%	4 5%	6 4%
Disaster/tragedy	0 0%	0 0%	24 30%	24 15%
Technology	0 0%	0 0%	1 1%	1 1%
Environmental/natural scenery	1 3%	0 0%	14 18%	15 9%
Social Issue	1 3%	1 2%	2 3%	4 3%
Entertainment/celebrity/art	0 0%	1 0%	0 0%	1 1%
Public celebration	0 0%	2 4%	0 0%	2 1%
Meeting between leader/diplomatic relation	9 26%	0 0%	1 1%	10 6%
Historical	0 0%	6 13%	0 0%	6 4%
Life Style	0 0%	1 2%	0 0%	1 1%
Leader portrait	3 9%	4 9%	0 0%	7 4%
Leader and public	1 3%	1 2%	0 0%	2 1%
Migrant/refugee	1	0	7	8

	3%	0%	9%	5%
Sport	4 12%	2 4%	0 0%	6 4%
Turkey-foreign	0 0%	3 7%	0 0%	3 2%
Touristic	0 0%	2 4%	2 3%	4 3%
Religious	0 0%	2 4%	3 4%	5 3%
Charity/aid	0 0%	1 2%	4 5%	5 3%
Others	0 0%	1 2%	1 1%	2 1%
Total	34 100%	46 100%	80 100%	160 100%

Table 35. Placement of picture on the page

	The Name Of News Organization			Total
	Jakarta Post	Republika	Hurriyet Daily News	
Front Page	3 9%	3 7%	1 2%	7 6%
Interior page	32 91%	43 93%	44 98%	119 94%
Total	35 100%	46 100%	45 100%	126 100%

The placement of picture on the page in printed media could only be seen on news article. On the Indonesian media, Jakarta Post and Republika placed 3 stories with pictures on the front page. Only 1 news item published with a picture on the

front page of the Hurriyet Daily News. These three media mostly put the news that included images on the interior page.

Although the total numbers of photo Indonesian and Turkish Newspapers used to illustrate each other are very different, there was no significant difference in the placement of photos on front pages. Overall, only 7 out of 161 photos were on front page. However, Republika was quite different from other newspapers, out of 121 articles that had been published, only 9 articles published full page with picture. Pictures could be seen in the figure below.

The difference in demographics of photo subjects between Indonesian and Turkish newspaper are also be the variable studied in this study. The percentage of data can be seen in the table below:

Table 36. Demographic (Gender)

Gender	Jakarta Post	Republika	Hurriyet Daily News	Total
Male	24 71%	20 43%	33 41%	77 48%
Female	3 9%	2 4%	4 5%	9 6%
Mixed	6 18%	6 13%	25 31%	37 23%
Unidentifiable	0 0%	4 9%	0 0%	4 3%
No-People	1 3%	14 30%	18 23%	33 21%
Total	34 100%	46 100%	80 100%	160 100%

Table 37. Demographic (Age)

Age	Jakarta Post	Republika	Hurriyet Daily News	Total
Youngsters (about<16)	0 0%	3 7%	2 3%	5 3%

Adult (about 18-50)	21 62%	14 30%	49 61%	84 53%
Elderly (about >50)	4 12%	8 17%	0 0%	12 8%
Mixed	8 24%	5 11%	11 14%	24 15%
No-people	1 3%	16 35%	18 23%	35 22%
Total	34 100%	46 100%	80 100%	160 100%

In comparing gender representation, both of the two countries' newspapers showed a dominant number of male in photos. In Indonesian newspaper, Republika showed more no-people (14 photos) in their photo than Jakarta Post (1 photos). In Republika, illustrated images were included in the no-people category, while in the Jakarta Post newspaper no illustrated images were found in the news. In Hurriyet daily news, 25 photos show mixed people and 18 photos contain no-people for these were picture of natural events.

There was no significant difference in age of photo subject between Indonesian and Turkish newspapers. Mostly, photos in each country's newspapers showed adults. Very few photo subjects were children.

Table 38. Type of the pictures

Picture Type	Jakarta Post	Republika	Hurriyet Daily News	Total
Story shot	23 68%	37 80%	77 96%	137 86%
Mug shot	11 32%	4 9%	2 3%	17 11%
Illustration	0 0%	5 11%	1 1%	6 4%
Total	34	46	80	160

	100%	100%	100%	100%
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There were some differences in picture type used by Indonesian and Turkish newspapers. The result shows that no-difference type of picture was mostly published. All newspapers used more story shot than mug shot. The difference was located in illustration. In The Jakarta Post, there were not many illustrations in the news. In Republika, there were 5 illustrated pictures, and in Hurriyet Daily News there was only 1 illustration.

Photographs in Indonesian and Turkish newspapers highlighted the other country's social group in different ways. The Indonesia newspaper The Jakarta Post, from the total of 34 photos published here, there were 10 photos show the leader of the country, 5 photos show Government officials, professional and common people, and 4 photos show military/police and mixed people. Unlike The Jakarta Post, from the total of 46 photos published by Republika newspaper, 16 photos show more about common people, 14 photos show no people and 8 photos show the leader of the country.

In Turkish newspapers, 80 photos from printed and online media were analyzed. The most common type of people shown in the pictures was common people (39 photos). The rest 18 photos show no people at all.

Table 39. Social status in the pictures

Social Status	Jakarta Post	Republika	Hurriyet Daily News	Total
Leader of country	10 29%	8 17%	2 3%	20 13%
Government official	5 15%	1 2%	3 4%	9 6%
Professionals	5 15%	5 11%	2 3%	12 8%
Military or police	4 12%	1 2%	9 11%	14 9%

Common people	5 15%	16 35%	39 49%	60 38%
Mixed	4 12%	1 2%	7 9%	12 8%
No people	1 3%	14 30%	18 23%	33 21%
Total	34 100%	46 100%	80 100%	160 100%

There were also differences between the three newspapers regarding to the social status of photo subjects. The Jakarta Post (10 photos), for example, showed the picture of the country leader more than Republika (8 photos) and Hurriyet Daily News (2 photos). Here, Republika and Hurriyet Daily News had a similar pattern. Most of the photos in this two media show Indonesian and Turkish common people and only a small number of the photos show Indonesian and Turkish government.

Table 40. The assessment tone about country or the leader of the country in the pictures/tone in the pictures

	The Name Of News Organization			Total
	The Jakarta Post	Republika	Hurriyet Daily News	
Positive	13 37%	26 57%	11 14%	50 31%
Negative	8 23%	2 4%	3 4%	13 8%
Neutral	14 40%	18 39%	66 83%	98 61%
Total	35 100%	46 100%	80 100%	161 100%

In relation to the assessment tone about country or leader in photo, from the total of 35 photos published by The Jakarta Post, 14 photos show neutral tone, 13 photos show positive tone and 8 photos show negative tone. In contrast, more than half of the photos (26 out of 46) in Republika were positive, while the other 18 photos were neutral and only 2 photos show negative tones. In Hurriyet Daily News, from the total of 80 photos published by the media, 32 were neutral toned photos, 11 were positive toned photos and 3 were negative toned photos.

There were differences between the two Indonesian newspapers in regard to the assessment tone of the country. In The Jakarta Post, there were more news describing the leader or country with a neutral tone (14). Republika on the contrary, the positive-toned news were dominating (26). Meanwhile, similar to The Jakarta Post, the Turkish newspaper Hurriyet Daily News also features the neutral-toned news the most (32 photos).

The last category in quantitative photo analysis was visual frames which were evident in the photographs in Indonesian and Turkish newspapers. The table below will show how Indonesian newspaper framed Turkey:

Table 41. Visual frame of Turkey

Frame of Turkey	Jakarta Post	Republika	Total
Democracy country	2 6%	2 4%	4 5%
Authoritarians country	2 6%	0 0%	2 3%
Turkey threat	5 15%	7 15%	12 15%
Benevolent Turkey	1 3%	2 4%	3 4%
Muslim/religious Country	0 0%	3 7%	3 4%
Strategic country	2 6%	0 0%	2 3%
Historical Country	0	6	6

	0%	13%	8%
Migrant country	1 3%	1 2%	2 3%
Turkey, EU, NATO or International organization relation frame	1 3%	0 0%	1 1%
friend country	7 21%	1 0%	8 10%
Erdogan and supporter portrayal	1 3%	3 7%	4 5%
Erdogan portrayal	4 12%	3 7%	7 9%
Urban	1 3%	0 0%	1 1%
Rural	1 3%	0 0%	1 1%
Nationalism Turkey	0 0%	10 22%	10 13%
Erdogan and international leader portrayal	0 0%	2 4%	2 3%
Beauty of Turkey	0 0%	2 4%	2 3%
Turkish Sport	4 12%	2 4%	6 8%
Mode country	0 0%	1 2%	1 1%
Others	2 6%	1 2%	3 4%
Total	34 100%	46 100%	80 100%

In Indonesian newspapers, with the total of 12 photos (see table 41), the most common frame about Turkey was “Turkey threat”. The photos included in the frame of Turkey threat were photos of events that pose a threat to the Turkish State. Some of the photos were showing about terror incidents, threats from other countries and also activities of groups classified as terrorists.

Nationalism in Turkey was the second most common frame (10 photos) published in the two Indonesian media. In relation to this news framing title, where Turkey was considered a country that possesses strong sense of nationalism, photos where people of Turkey were celebrating election victories, actively joining convoys and supporting their leaders, etc. was commonly used to highlight the news frame.

On the other hand, Indonesia was framed in a very contradictory style by the Turkish Newspaper. 30 out of 80 photos presented in the data showed Indonesia as a disastrous country. The information detail can be seen in the table below:

Table 42. Visual frame of Indonesia

Frame of Indonesia	Hurriyet Daily News
Democracy Country	1 1%
Disaster country	30 38%
Indonesia natural beauty	6 8%
Indonesia threat	9 11%
Poor Indonesia	12 15%
Rising Indonesia	2 3%
Traditional Indonesia	1 1%
Islamic country	2 3%

Rohingya case	7 9%
Friend country	5 6%
Demonstration	2 3%
Others	3 4%
Total	80 100%

In Turkish newspapers, the most common frame about Indonesia was the image of Indonesia as a disaster country which accounted 30 out of 80 photos (see table 42). While Indonesia as a poor country was the second most common frame (12 photos) used in Turkish media, Indonesian threat (9 photos) was numbered as the third. From the results of the data above, it can be clearly identified that in Turkish Media, Indonesia had been framed as a disastrous State and a pitiful country. During certain periods of natural disasters, the frequency of news about Indonesia was published more often in this newspaper. For the category of Indonesia as a poor country, the media published the news with photos that express poverty, criminal incidents and the environment problems happened in Indonesia. These photos resulted in framing or creating an image of Indonesia as horrible and disheveled country. The third most published frame which was the news about Indonesian threat, the focus of publication was the issues and events related to terrorism.

FINDING AND DISCUSSION

1. News Format

The category format of news in this study was examined with the views of each news outlet on Turkey and Indonesia. Firstly, it will be discussed about Indonesian Media; The Jakarta Post and Republika. The Jakarta Post “digital newspaper” has 20 to 28 pages. The number of pages in this newspaper could be changed according to the incident or moment that was happening during that time. In the research period, the writer found 231 news stories about Turkey that covered in The Jakarta Post. Among the majority, there were 82 news stories published in 2016, that was followed by the years 2015 (56), 2017 (65) and 2018 (28). The highest number of news was covered in August 2016 with 15 news stories published, and then followed by 13 news stories on July in the same year. Right after the military coup incident in 15th of July, there were no big differences in the publication case or particularly in its publication amount of the news. Unless there was a certain issue, but there will not be increased in publication number.

In The Jakarta Post, news stories about Turkey were mostly placed on the pages 11 and 12. From a total of 231 stories, there were mostly labeled as “World” on the page, which there were 10 different labels found in this newspaper. This newspaper contained of the front page which was located in the first pages, headlines that contain very important news or information that became the hot issue at time, ASEAN labels contains news about ASEAN countries, besides there were also national, opinion, sport, business labels and readers forum which contains a page about the readers opinion. Readers’ forum was different from the opinion page because anyone can contribute to write and to publish on this page while on the opinion page, the page can only be written by experts and academicians. The last two page labels were World and International, and those two pages present foreign news.

Generally, The Jakarta Post provides more portions in informing foreign news. Most of news about Turkey in The Jakarta Post was written within the pages with "World" label that had covered 187 news. Moreover, in the label of "Opinions" it found 37 news. While on the front page there were only 5 news. Two news items published on 4th of November 2015 and 29th of July 2016 were only in the form of

titles and pages written in one small column. The news posted on the front page can be seen below:

Figure 2. News article placed on the front page in The Jakarta Post (November 4, 2015)



Figure 3. News article placed on the front page in The Jakarta Post (July 29, 2016)



The two other articles which were covered in the front pages can be found in the publications on 15th of March 2015 and 7th of January 2017. There were no images in that news.

Figure 4. News article placed on the front page in The Jakarta Post (March 7, 2015)

Sports 111 | Handball draws pole position for FI Asian Cup

The Jakarta Post

MARCH 15, 2015 | YOKOHAMA-INDONESIA PUBLISHED IN Rp. 12,000.000 | **Monday edition**

Down at the playground

Freelancers find allure in promises of more MONEY & TIME

Missing Indonesians still in Turkey, say cops

Lies, damned lies — and car sales

inSide

7,500

Freelancers

Figure 5. News article placed on the front page in The Jakarta Post (January 7, 2017)



In the context of newspapers the use of language has a vital role and it was very important in transmitting the intended message, because it requires more space than the image. Richardson (quoted in Elyazale, 2014: 26) in more detail has identified the function and role of language, namely representing, producing and reproducing social life, in order that language was always related to the social

context. In this research, the writer found there were 2 news in the front page with images. Those articles were published in 18th of July 2016 and 7th of July 2017.

In that news, the picture has a function to link the news context. Language itself, as for the role of producing, can be a mean of a picture explanation that was not necessarily identical to the real one. While reproducing a picture means republishing an important message to public repeatedly. First picture was about military coup in Turkey, while the second one was a meeting of Indonesia's and Turkey's Presidents, Jokowi and Erdogan (See figure 7).

Figure 6. News article placed on the front page in The Jakarta Post (July 18, 2016)



Figure 7. News article placed on the front page in The Jakarta Post (July 7, 2017)



On the issues that were booming in Turkey at that time, The Jakarta Post placed on the front of page. Moreover, during the research period, The Jakarta Post provided a large portion of the news in Turkey, particularly the country's politics.

To see how important news was in media coverage, length of news was also a part of the study in this research. Most of the articles were longer than 300 words, while few of articles were containing between 100-300 words. The news headlines in The Jakarta Post were mostly negative with 113 news, neutral headlines were 92 news and 26 news were positive. From the headline in this media, it can be assumed that The Jakarta Post expresses the negative image towards Turkey; the reason of this negative expression was mainly attributed to the fact and information that provided from other foreign Medias.

The media reported the issue by having a strong editorial stand, despite of the presumption of objectivity that the media entitled to. They claimed that The Jakarta Post had taken no sides and presented a balanced perspective in accordance with its editorial policy and the standards of the fourth estate.

In another hand, Republika newspaper chose to see how Turkey was represented in media through Islamic ideology in Indonesia. In the period of research, there were 120 news items covered and this research sample was not in equal stand with other recent Indonesian media. The Jakarta Post covered more news than Republika. In the Republika newspaper, news about Turkey was only covered by major events or moments. For most publications, both media cover the most news in July 2016 and the news about Turkey was mostly included in the International/World label category.

Republika gives more space in front page for Turkey at certain publications. From the total of 120 news items, there were 16 news items posted on the front page. This picture below will be shown the news was published in front page by Republika newspaper.

sum up, it can be assumed that Republika gives significant concern to the developing issues in Turkey.

Figure 9. News article about Turkey on Republika front page (July 17, 2016)

MAHAKA GROUP
Ahad
 17 JULI 2016
 12.300,000
 NOMOR 101.700/001.2016

REPUBLIKA

REPUBLIKA.CO.ID
 Rp 3.500 / 10 Malam
 LURUP 15000 Rp 4.300
 (Eksklusif ongkos kirim)

JADWAL SHALAT
 Subuh 04.45
 Dhuha 05.00
 Ashar 15.23
 Maghrib 17.54
 Isha 19.18

MOBI 1 01.018
 ANAK AKTIF, SEHAT JIWANYA
 ROKOK 1 01.018
 GOETZE INGIN PULANG
 REPUBLIKA DIGITAL
 Refleksi
 Kesungguhan dalam Membangun Sinergitas Umat

'KITA AKAN MELEWATI INI'

Turki juga mengkritik Amerika Serikat (AS) karena dianggap tidak memahami kondisi negaranya.

1. Ratusan Turki berkumpul di luar Bandara Ankara di Istanbul, Sabtu (16/7) dinihari untuk kudeta yang gagal.
2. Seorang warga berbaring menyalakan tank militer di Bandara Ataturk, Istanbul, Sabtu (16/7).
3. Warga Turki memukul tank di Bandara Ataturk, Istanbul, Sabtu (16/7).

ANAKAKA — Berhenti di depan benteng, saat sudah di Istanbul, Sabtu (16/7). Presiden Turki Recep Tayyip Erdogan mengatakan, kudeta yang dilakukan militer berhasil ditolak. Ia pun mengemukakan sikap menentang kudeta semacam itu. "Kita akan melewati ini," kata Erdogan saat pertidihari Al-Azhar, Sabtu.

Ia juga menyebut, kudeta tersebut sebagai aksi pengkhianatan dan pihak yang terlibat di belakangnya tidak akan membayar harga yang mahal. "Presiden, yang dia pilih oleh rakyat, punya kewajiban, menentang kudeta," kata Erdogan. "Mereka tidak akan berhasil karena kita melangkah dengan mempertahankan prinsip-prinsip demokrasi."

Sejarah Kudeta Militer Turki

Dua kali kudeta berhasil menggulingkan pemerintah sipil di Turki. Kudeta pertama terjadi pada tahun 1960, dan kudeta kedua terjadi pada tahun 1980.

KUDETA 1960
 Pada 1960, sekelompok tentara menggulingkan pemerintah sipil. Presiden Ismet Inönü dan Perdana Menteri Celal Bayar, yang dianggap koruptif, digulingkan. Peristiwa kudeta ini dikenal sebagai kudeta 15 Juli 1960. Setelah kudeta, tentara mendirikan Dewan Perencanaan Nasional, yang berwenang untuk memilih pemerintah sipil baru.

KUDETA 1980
 Pada 1980, sekelompok tentara menggulingkan pemerintah sipil. Presiden Fahri Koca dan Perdana Menteri Bülent Ecevit, yang dianggap koruptif, digulingkan. Peristiwa kudeta ini dikenal sebagai kudeta 12 September 1980. Setelah kudeta, tentara mendirikan Dewan Perencanaan Nasional, yang berwenang untuk memilih pemerintah sipil baru.

KUDETA 1997
 Pada 1997, sekelompok tentara menggulingkan pemerintah sipil. Presiden Süleyman Demirel dan Perdana Menteri Necmettin Erbakan, yang dianggap koruptif, digulingkan. Peristiwa kudeta ini dikenal sebagai kudeta 28 Februari 1997. Setelah kudeta, tentara mendirikan Dewan Perencanaan Nasional, yang berwenang untuk memilih pemerintah sipil baru.

KUDETA 2016
 Pada 16 Juli 2016, sekelompok tentara menggulingkan pemerintah sipil. Presiden Recep Tayyip Erdogan dan Perdana Menteri Ahmet Davutoğlu, yang dianggap koruptif, digulingkan. Peristiwa kudeta ini dikenal sebagai kudeta 16 Juli 2016. Setelah kudeta, Erdogan mengumumkan bahwa kudeta telah gagal dan dia akan memimpin Turki untuk memulihkan demokrasi.

Polri akan Putus Produksi Vaksin Palsu

EDUKASIKAN MASYARAKAT
 JAKARTA — Polri akan menargetkan rumah distribusi vaksin palsu. Berdistribusi vaksin palsu akan ditindak tegas untuk mencegah penyebaran penyakit infeksi.

Direktur Eksternal Polri, Husein Husein, mengatakan, Polri akan menargetkan rumah distribusi vaksin palsu yang beroperasi di seluruh Indonesia. Polri akan menargetkan rumah distribusi vaksin palsu yang beroperasi di seluruh Indonesia. Polri akan menargetkan rumah distribusi vaksin palsu yang beroperasi di seluruh Indonesia.

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The picture in the figure 9 contains the news published during the period of Coup attempt in Turkey on 15th of July 2016. Republika newspapers had published the news stories on the coup attempt on the main page and its space occupied more than a half page. The photo attached in the news stories depicts the unity of Turkish

people in fighting the coup. For such common news stories, there was a difference between the news stories published by The Jakarta Post and Republika newspapers. The photo attached by The Jakarta Post does not actually reflect the unity of Turkish people to fight the coup, as it mainly exposes the role of military within the *coup*. News about Turkey in Republika were varies, including the soft news. Compared to The Jakarta Post, Republika newspaper was more colorful in presenting information related to Turkey, starting from history, culture and even life style.

From whole of the samples, there were 109 news types reported in hard news, followed by the second most editorial or opinion as many as 46 articles and followed by news of 8 soft news or feature forms. Most of the news articles (57 news) in the research sample were longer than 300 words while 47 news were longer than 600 words. According to Paksoy (Cited in Bora, 2015: 247) since longer articles often include more detailed background information on the subject in focus, it can be assumed that the media outlet that cover news about Turkey in relatively longer articles have more interest in the country.

In Turkish media, Hurriyet Daily news was chosen to be researched in this study. Quantitative analysis was conducted on 97 news items that were published in Hurriyet Daily Newspaper between the years of 2015 to 2018. In the period of January 2015 to June 2018, the writer found 63 news about Indonesia published on the daily news of Hurriyet's print media. In the online media by using the keyword "Indonesia", writers found 49 news stories has been published. The time period of news items which were found in the online media was only from March 2016 to October 2018. There were 16 news stories in the online media with the same headline title and news content as well as the ones in print media. Hence the news that could be analyzed in the online Medias was about 33 news items. Therefore the total number of news in Hurriyet Daily News examined in both printed and online media were 97 news. The length of news in the Hurriyet Daily News mostly reaches 301-600 words. The results of this data were the same as the two Indonesian media that have discussed earlier.

During the research period, Hurriyet Daily News was published news about Indonesia mostly in October and August 2018, for the reason that the writers were unable to get print media, the news items for these two months were mostly posted

on online news. During those months an earthquake and tsunami disaster has also occurred in Indonesia.

Most of the news items about Indonesia were posted on pages 8 and 9 which labeled as “International”. From a total of 64 news articles published on Hurriyet daily news print media, 63 news items with the type of news report and 1 news article was the photo or feature. In this media, the news items published about Indonesia were straight news and there was no news in the form of opinions or types of soft news on this media. From this case it can be concluded that the Turkish media did not provide good interest about Indonesian on its media.

Newspapers were not read as often as books and readers may skip the pages of international news (Anderson and Weymouth, 1999: 168) since readers will only read what was most related and close to them. Thus, page numbers could influence the chance of news item to be read. Empirically, it has been proven that news items that were placed in the cover page can reach wider audience than other pages (Paksoy, 2012 : 125). It was undeniable, the most visible and the most influential part of a newspaper was its front or cover page. Every day millions of people glance through front pages of newspapers in supermarkets, off licenses and news agents even if they do not buy or carefully read them (Bora Birce, 2015: 345).

In the period between the years 2015 to 2018, there were only 2 articles about Indonesia published on the front page of Hurriyet Daily News, both of these articles were published in May and July 2015. The first picture (see figure 10) shows the natural disaster that occurred at that time and the second picture (see figure 11) shows about an Indonesian citizen who will be executed in Saudi Arabia. On the Hurriyet newspapers, the news items about Indonesia that were published on the front page showed the concern towards Indonesia. Both images can be seen below;

Figure 10. Indonesian story on Hurriyet newspapers' front page (July 5, 2015)



Figure 11. Indonesian story on Hurriyet newspaper's front page (May 27, 2015)



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er draws away. p.12



Lesvos the land of hidden harmony
Local photographer Tezli Hadjimitriou's show in Istanbul paints Greek island in a new light. p.66

İzmir Festival to welcome music, ballet
Aegean city set to be treated to range of performances. p.67

Hürriyet DAILY NEWS
WEDNESDAY, MAY 27, 2015, TL 3
LEADING NEWS SOURCE FOR TURKEY AND THE REGION
www.hurriyetaidailynews.com

Still no US-Turkey deal for Syria rebels

Word of a Turkish-US deal on air support for Syrian rebels is premature, says FM Çavuşoğlu announcing the details must still be fleshed out

Turkey and the United States are still discussing technical aspects of providing support for Syrian rebels, says Foreign Minister Çavuşoğlu. He said the two countries agreed in February to train and equip up to 15,000 Syrians under a \$500 million US program designed to



add a credible ground force to an air bombing campaign against the militant groups.
"There is no issue of US and Turkish soldiers and intelligence units have been meeting," Çavuşoğlu said in an interview with Daily Sabah.

Expecting them to enter from an area under control of Daesh would be wrong," Turkish Foreign Minister Çavuşoğlu said in remarks published yesterday, referring to the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL).

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add a credible ground force to an air bombing campaign against the militant groups.



Iraqi military moves to take back Ramadi

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Smart power solution to current threats

80 picked from 6,300 for nuclear training in Russia

Automotive workers' protests deserve more attention

Saudi's execute 88th this year, topping 2014

CHP vows to support farmers



President joins PM in another opening

Turkish President Erdoğan (left) and Prime Minister Davutoğlu (right) attend the opening ceremony of the Çarşamba Airport in Trabzon.

Gül doesn't want to join Erdoğan's game

President choosing sides, HDP criticizes

Hidden facts about Syrian refugees

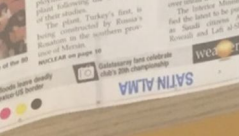
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2. News Headline

According to Van Dijk (1983: 70) headlines express the most important topic of the news, it may therefore be used as expedient signals to make effective guesses about the most important information of the text. The news headlines in The Jakarta Post were mostly negative; counted up to 113 of the total of 231 news items. Meanwhile the headlines that were neutral were counted up to 92 news items. From the analysis, positive headlines were found if the news was talking about the diplomatic or any relation between Indonesia and Turkey

A very striking difference between The Jakarta Post and Republika was the writing of headlines on each news report. In the Republika newspaper, mostly news had positive headlines about Turkey. It can be assumed that Turkey was more positively represented in this media. In line with the ideology of this media which was an Islamic state, aspects that were highlighted in making headlines were also related to Islam. Headline was the most conspicuous part of a news report, and every single word within headlines was carefully chosen to represent the ideological desired meaning in report (He Miao, 2010: 95).

In term of news headline style (as showed in the following table 7) the percentage of the analytical style was higher than the percentage of the descriptive style. Analytical style of headline adopts emotionally-charged language to raise question, analyze an event or issue, or express (or cite) particular opinion. From the result above, Indonesia Media indicated that most emphasized the role of giving opinions to represented Turkey.

For headline language characteristics, the were two category include plain headline, delivers information with plain, clear and straightforward words and emotionally-charged headline delivers information that carries sensitive words and has powerful emotional impact in the audience. Indonesian media was dominated by emotionally-charged headline which suggest these two newspapers were intended to be more eye-catching through headlines.

In Turkish Media, the headlines of the news items on the Hurriyet Daily News were mostly written in neutral sentences tend to be less attractive. The percentage of the descriptive style headline was higher than the percentage of the analytical style headline which indicated that newspapers mostly emphasized the role

of providing information in their news headlines. In this news media, plain headlines dominate which can be assumed that the headline of this media became plainer and clearer.

3. News Content

The news content that will be explained in this study includes; main topic, news issue, and favorability in news and actor which was mentioned in the news. Firstly, it will be discussed about news content in Indonesian news media. In The Jakarta Post, Turkey's internal affairs appeared the most with 105 news items of the total articles during the research periods. Many events took place in Turkey and the major events were military coups, constitutional change referendums and presidential elections. Foreign relations was the second most important topic, there were also issues included in this category including the EU and Turkey's relations, Turkey's relations with international organizations and Turkey's relations with other countries. As for Turkey and Indonesia relations, The Jakarta Post only covered 25 articles of the total of 231 articles.

The issue which was covered in The Jakarta Post was mostly about terrorism, Turkey-International relation, and internal politics of Turkey. Turkish political situation was the most covered issue in The Jakarta Post. According to Haller (2013: 237) the relations between different countries and continents have always been important political issues, relevant scientific and interesting topics for everyday conversations. News about terrorism mostly discussed about the Islamic State (ISIS) issue and FETO (Fetullah Gulen Terrorism Organization) issue. Issues about ISIS and FETO also have an influence on Indonesia. Whereas, in 2015 many Indonesian citizens were suspected of joining the ISIS group who entering or crossing into Syria through Turkey.

Then the FETO case was once news that had shocked Indonesian citizens after the coup attempt. Fetullah Gulen's figure was known as the *Ulama* in Indonesia, besides there were several schools in Indonesia affiliated with this group, even many students from Indonesia who got scholarships to study in Turkey through this foundation and some of them have been arrested and suspected of being caught in the FETO group. According to Galthung and Ruge (Cite in Bora, 2015: 305) a news

outlet will pay more attention to the situation that has similar culture with its target audience and journalists want to make any given international news story more relevant to their audience.

Most of the news items published in The Jakarta Post slightly use unfavorable sentence, because it mostly comes from foreign sources. Whereas news originating from The Jakarta Post itself, for example, on bilateral relations between Turkey and Indonesia often uses favorable and neutral sentences.

As opposed to The Jakarta Post newspaper, Republika newspapers covered more about the foreign affairs of Turkey. News items covered in this media mostly concerns about internal politics of Turkey and also Turkish foreign relations. For such news items about the relations between Indonesia and Turkey, both Indonesian media (The Jakarta Post and Republika) were at the last position with the highest frequency of publication. It can be assumed that the Republika newspaper was more interested in the issues that exist in the country of Turkey. The most published ones were about internal politics, coups attempt and FETO as has been discussed before. The military coup in Turkey also has an impact to Indonesia; moreover this media tends to have Islamic ideology which has been reported as one of the great scholars in Turkey.

Another issue that covered by Republika newspapers which make it different from The Jakarta Post was about Turkish history; it also raises a lot of news about the history of the Ottoman Empire. Many scientific figures in history were discussed in Republika. This can be assumed from the news that Republika cover, this media presents Turkey in line with the Islamic ideology of the media itself. From the wise of news writing style in Republika newspapers, the percentage of news with slightly favorable and favorable dominates. Out of 121 news items, there were 77 news stories were written with sentences representing issues about turkey positively.

Turkish media has a different comparison with Indonesian media in news content. News writing style in the Hurriyet Daily News was mostly neutral and there were only 20 news items from total 97 news articles written with slightly unfavorable sentences. The main topic was mostly about internal affair of Indonesia. This main topic covers the events that were happening in Indonesia. The issues that were prominently showed about disaster such as earthquake or tsunami, volcano and

others issues were covering diplomatic cooperation between Indonesia and Turkey. According to Galtung and Ruge (1965: 81), the more distant a nation was, the more will an event have to satisfy the frequency criterion. The distant nation will have to produce events that capture attention particularly easily in order to be recorded.

Natural disasters and accidents will play an important role, and changes of government. The build-up of events, based on small quantitative changes, will go under-reported - it was only when they lead to the big qualitative changes that they make news. This again may provide readers with an image of these countries as places where things happen all of a sudden and in an unpredictable way - in other words inherently dangerous and inherently different places.

The last category discussed in the news content was the actor that was mostly mentioned in the news. Actors in news items, play an important role in shaping the tone and point of view of the coverage. In news stories about Turkey in Indonesian media, there were 2 main actors that were often mentioned. From total of 352 news articles, there were about 86 news stories mentioned Recep Tayyip Erdogan as an actor and other 95 news stories mentioned the country Turkey itself as main actors.

Official actors in the news story (government and state representatives) receive more media attention than the ones calculated as informal actors such as activists and community groups; governing officials more than non-governing officials (Korthagen, 2013, p: 26). In another words, executives use actor roles in a story to subject themselves to the use of writerity. Journalists usually quote the words from these actors, because public consider their words to be more factual, writeritative and legitimate. Statements and comments from these actors were also more accessible to the work of professional practitioners in public relations who were employed by their offices (Bora, 2015: 325).

Looking at the rest of the Turkish actors in the research sample, it can be seen that factors that were explained in the beginning of this section were influential in journalists' decision about who to quote or mention in their news reports. While Recep Tayyip Erdogan, the official with the highest writerity in the country, was the most popular actor followed by other state officials or Turkey itself as a country with no big comparison ratio in between, the representatives of the group refer to ISIS and

FETO which in the research period many issues regarding these two groups included those that had relations with Indonesia.

Turkish army was also a dominant voice in the coverage about Turkey in The Jakarta Post newspaper, it were quoted or mentioned in a total of 23 news items. This was the consequence of the army's influential role in the Turkish political life as well as the military coup attempt, which put the demilitarization process in Turkey under the spotlight. Clashes with the Kurdish militants and military coup in July 15 also raised the importance of the Turkish army as an actor in this media.

The difference between the two Indonesian Medias can be seen in Republika, Erdogan was being mentioned with the image of Islamic leaders while in The Jakarta Post newspaper, Erdogan has an image as an writeritarian president. The writer assumed that in The Jakarta Post, the news item was directly taken from foreign source, while in the Republika newspaper, the news was the result of translation from foreign media from English to Indonesian. In this translation, the writer looks at the Republika media, changing the news text in accordance with the ideology of the media itself.

In the news stories which were covered by Hurriyet daily news, the most mentioned actors were government, state official or state organization with 39 news articles, and general public with 20 news articles discussed about natural disaster which were also mentioning victims. According to Bora (2015; 324) the main actors in the news, be the institutions, politicians, state officials, experts, or members, have an important role to play in such tones and public views. To mention, a news item can be determined because the news itself was the only topic or can be called as a central issue that revolves surrounding as well as certain people, groups, or institutions. In other considerations of events and issues, journalists can have an opportunity to choose which actors they will quote in their reports.

4. Source

According to Tuchman (Cited in Koh 2012: 3) news source was a fundamental part of producing news. Sources will influence news content by providing information differently (Shoemaker & Rees cited in Koh 2012: 3). From the data, Turkish news stories for Indonesian newspapers were mostly taken from foreign

sources. In the data (See table 13) from total 352 news articles, foreign sources consisted of News agencies, which were Reuters with 125 articles, AFP with 64 articles and AP with 49 articles.

The different parts of Indonesian media are; The Jakarta Post published news directly from the sources, while in Republika, the news was translated from foreign media. In the translation process, the writer analyses and changes the texts according to ideology of the media. As can be seen from the table 12, the difference between Republika and The Jakarta Post was that Republika attach the source which supports or presents positive information towards Turkey, just like Al-Jazeera, Anadolu Ajans, and numbers of Turkish local news agencies that supports Turkish government.

In Turkey, the rules were the same, such as in Hurriyet daily news, all news items about Indonesia were taken from foreign agencies. In providing the data, they were taken from AFP with 42 news articles which it made AFP becomes a media with sources that was taken the most, followed by Reuters with 23 news articles, Anadolu Ajans with 17 articles and AP with 15 news articles. Within the Hurriyet Daily News newspapers, there was no news article that directly reported by those media. This fact does not indicate the view of this media itself to Indonesia. Indonesian image from the view of this media can be seen through the news items from the foreign news outlet chosen to be published.

5. Editorial

In the period of research, there were 49 editorial articles published in Indonesian media. Meanwhile, the writer did not include the editorial in Turkish. There were 40 editorial articles in The Jakarta Post and 9 editorial articles in Republika. Article which was included in the commentary/column label, among others was an article that gives opinions of the writer on subject and editorial. It means an article expressing the opinion of its editors or publishers. In this research, the writer divides two types of editorial articles to two “forms of Leader or Editorial-labeled articles” which means an article in a publication expressing the opinion of its editors or publishers, but it does not include a by-line. While the commentary/column means that an article giving opinions and/or perspectives of the

writer on a given subject, such as articles written by Turkish or foreign officials, public figures, opinion leaders, and academicians with by-line.

According to Eilders (1997: 2), opinion in the media often considered as the subject of criticism, because initial opinion in the media was often considered as a “bias and un-objective” rather than legitimate. Hence, expressing the opinion puts the news seen as a problem. However, media have the right to take their own views and influence the public opinion even the policy decision. In the media, editorial and commentator were legitimately to express their views, relevant issues and their position in the policy choices. It will reflect their opinions about certain events or actors and arguments in order to support and strengthen it.

Both of those media, the most editorial publication of articles about Turkey was in July 2016. A total of 40 of editorial articles were uploaded in The Jakarta Post and 9 were published in Republika. In both media, The Jakarta Post contains as many as 5 articles in leader or editorial types, while there were no leader/editorial articles published on Republika. The use of headlines in writing these articles was also different. In The Jakarta Post, most headlines were written in negative words, by using analytical styles and headlines in their characters were more emotionally-charged headlines. In contrary to The Jakarta Post, Republika headlines were written using positive words, descriptive styles and using plain headlines.

The issues in the editorial article in two media were also different; The Jakarta Post discussed more about the topic of the internal affair of Turkey, while Republika discussed more about Turkey's foreign affairs. However, in choosing three contents of the news' issue that covered by those two media, there were many discussion about internal political of Turkey. In writing the article, in The Jakarta Post the writers used more sentences that slightly unfavorable with 23 articles and unfavorable with 10 news articles from all the total of the articles. The field angle of the writer's opinion about Turkey can be assumed to be negative in The Jakarta Post. Conversely, in Republika, more opinions were written with slight favorability with 6 articles and 2 articles with neutral sentences. It can be seen the differences in the two media that the Republika newspaper prefers giving positive opinion about Turkey.

On the editorial article, the most mentioned actor in the article was President Recep Tayip Erdogan. The writer found the same results in those two

media. In The Jakarta Post the article discussed Erdogan's figure as a dictator and a leader with a negative image. In contrary, in Republika, when writing opinions about Turkey and Erdogan as the actor, they were portrayed as a welcome figure for a new Islamic civilization in the world. Erdogan's image in that media was adapting the ideology of the media itself.

In editorial media and commentary, they not only convey their relevance to complete problems and events, but they can also relate to specific aspects of subject or event, with particularly emphasis on these issues, particular actors or particular dimensions of a subject. This emphasis on the subject implied the writer's view and determined the specific interpretation. If it was true that mass media will influence the perceptions rather than the attitudes, the instrumental emphasis of the dimensions of the jurisdiction may have a greater influence than the open ideas (Kepplinger et al., 1989; Eilders, 1997: 5).

Sourced from editorial column and comments in both media, The Jakarta Post published 15 opinions while 25 articles were edited from foreign sources (9 sources) and 2 local sources. Contrary to this, in Republika newspaper, all articles of opinion type originated from Republika itself. The writers or opinions that were published in The Jakarta Post newspaper during the research period can be seen in the table 25 above, 10 articles were published by The Jakarta Post written by local writers from Indonesia. The rest were opinions taken from writers from foreign media, and mostly from Project Syndicate. Project Syndicate was an international media organization that publishes and syndicates commentary and analysis on a variety of important global topics. All opinion pieces were published on the Project Syndicate website, but were also networked with partner publications for the print version. The Jakarta Post also contains opinions from a Turkish writer such as Harun Yahya, there were around 5 articles covered in this media during the research period.

Unlike The Jakarta Post, opinions about Turkey in the Republika daily newspaper were written mostly by local writers from Indonesia that from the total 10 opinions that were published, all of those opinions written by the local. What was striking from these newspapers was when it comes to the conveying opinion about FETO case, the opinion published was more in favor to Fetullah Gullen as the actor in the writing. While in Turkey itself, FETO was an organization that opposes the

government. When it comes to writing opinions about Turkey and Erdogan as an actor, they were portrayed as a welcoming figure for a new Islamic civilization in the world. Despite writing a positive opinion about Gullen, they also wrote a positive opinion to Erdogan which was represented as an Islamic leader. In the opinion sections of the various media outlets, the media assign relevance to certain issues or events by selecting them for commentary and thereby communicate their perception of issue salience to the audience (Eilders, 1997: 15).

From 40 editorial articles published in both media, only one article of The Jakarta Post shows the image in the article. Image can be seen below:

Figure 12. Editorial articles with picture

The screenshot shows a page from The Jakarta Post, dated Tuesday, July 15, 2016. The main headline is "Of shame and sham on resolving the 1965 issue". To the right of the headline is a cartoon illustration of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. He is depicted in a suit with a crescent moon and star on his chest, shouting and pointing. Below him, a man is being crushed by a large, heavy wheel labeled "PRIDE AND AMBIGUITY". The cartoon is signed "Dud Buhk".

The article text is partially visible on the left side of the page. It begins with a sub-headline "Of shame and sham on resolving the 1965 issue" and a byline "By [unclear]". The main text starts with "President Joko Widodo's decision to..." and continues with several paragraphs discussing the 1965 issue in Indonesia. The text is partially obscured by the cartoon and the right margin.

On the right side of the page, there is a section titled "OPINION" with a sub-headline "Turkey's baffling coup and democracy". Below this, there is a column of text starting with "After the military..." and continuing with several paragraphs. The text is partially obscured by the cartoon and the right margin.

Picture in the figure 13 depicts the power that Erdogan had during the *coup* attempt. This article was published in 19 July 2016. In the article, Erdogan's figure was depicted as a leader who has super power and the picture was depicted with negative tone.

6. Finding for quantitative of picture

From the results of this research, it was found that Indonesian media published images of Turkey less than the Turkish media did, which from total 352 news; there were only 29 percent that enclosing images. While out of the 97 news in the Turkish newspaper, there were only about 45 percent that included images. Although in the Turkish newspaper more images were included in each news items, the news and images about Indonesia were only found at the moment of the incident. Unlike the Indonesian newspaper which published more news about Turkey even though the percentage of news with images were fewer.

The different part in the number of photos may have something to do with the design style of the newspapers. The Indonesian newspapers, in general run larger and fewer photos than Turkish newspaper, however Indonesian newspaper tend to run photos on one page of varying sizes, some with thumbnail size. Republika had a tendency to mix a group of photos into a visual package for one news story. In Indonesian newspaper, Republika was the newspaper that gives the most attention to information about Turkey. The comparison of published photos were different; in Republika, the size of the photos more varies and the size that dominated the most was the half-page, reaching 50 percent of the total page. However, in The Jakarta Post newspaper, the photos mostly occupied as big as quarter page space. In Turkish newspaper, the size of the image published in print media was mostly with a quarter page size and one-eight page size. The comparison of the photography coverage can be seen in figure 15, 16 and 17.

Another fact, the Indonesian newspapers covered a wide range of news topics about Turkey, while Turkish newspapers were more focused on a few topics about Indonesia, including disaster and social issues. Indonesian media pays more attention to Turkish political and its relation with Turkey. This indicated that Indonesian media were focused on the way that Turkey was impacting the Indonesia directly; in

other words, besides as a news item concerning Turkey it could also be interpreted as a self-interested view of Turkey. However, Turkish media imaged Indonesia as disaster country. The portrait of damage from disaster was the most covered in this picture attachment in news stories in this media.

The placement of the picture on the page becomes one of the important things in news coverage. From the results of this research, the news containing the most images was placed in the interior courtyard. In Indonesian media, photos placed on the front page have the same number, with a total of 3 photos. Whereas in the Turkish media, there was only one photo placed on the front page. From the research, both Indonesian newspapers have differences in the style of photo design; In *Republika*, when the news article discusses Turkey on the front page, the space of the article occupies a full page. *Republika* positioned itself closer to general readers instead of a few elite readers like *The Jakarta Post*.

The difference in segmentation of these two Indonesian newspapers makes a difference when publishing news and also the choice of photos at the time of publication. In the *Hurriyet Daily* news, very few photos placed on the front page show that the image of Indonesia does not really pay any attention to this media.

The concern of photo frame in both Indonesian media samples was different. At *The Jakarta Post*, Erdogan's image alone was more often displayed, emphasizing more about Erdogan as a leader (see figure 18). While in *Republika*, the image that was more often displayed was Turkish society in general. In this media, the image described about the State of Turkey was a country with citizens who strongly support the government as a whole, as displayed in the pictures was showing Erdogan and his supporters (see figure 19). Through the picture depicted by both Indonesian media, it was safe to assume that *The Jakarta Post* depicts Erdogan as a leader who possesses supreme power, in contrary; *Republika* depicts Erdogan as a leader who was really close and dear to Turkish people.

In Turkish media, Indonesian people mostly framed with chaos condition. The images that mostly displayed were about how pitiful Indonesian people. For example, this hypothesis can be proven during the time of disaster, environmental damage and criminal occurrence (see figure 17). Overall, the frame about Turkey in Indonesian media displayed a picture of Turkey related to political issue in this

country and also threats that occur in this country, such as the threat from terrorism, ISIS and some threats from other countries that had happened between Turkey and Russia. The second framing of Turkey in the Indonesian media was showing the sense of nationalism and unity of the people of Turkey when the people and leader of Turkey interacted. In Turkish media, the pictures that appeared the most were the pictures of disasters and concerns for the people of Indonesia. Thus, it can be concluded that Indonesia in the Turkish media was portrayed as a very apprehensive country.



Figure 13. Full page Turkish news stories in Republika (June 27, 2018)

REPUBLIKA RABU, 27 JUNI 2018

Para pendukung pejawat Presiden Recep Tayyip Erdogan bersuka ria di Istanbul, Turki, Ahad (24/6).



Turki Rangkul Sistem Baru

OLEH CRYSTAL LIESTA PURNAMA
Turki resmi memiliki presiden eksekutif.

Pernyataan suara yang digelar pada Ahad (24/6) menandai pertama kalinya pemilih Turki memberikan suara mereka dalam pemilihan presiden dan parlemen secara bersamaan. Pesta demokrasi dengan dua pemilihan sekaligus ini sejalan dengan perubahan konstitusi yang disetujui dalam referendum tahun lalu yang mengubah sistem parlemen negara itu menjadi presiden eksekutif.

Sistem baru ini antara lain diatur untuk memisahkan kekuasaan eksekutif penting presiden beserta menghapuskan

perdana menteri dan menghapus peran pengawasan parlemen. Di era baru ini, kantor kepresidenan akan memiliki kekuasaan untuk menunjuk wakil presiden, menteri, pejabat tingkat tinggi, dan hakim senior. Presiden juga dapat membubarkan parlemen, mengeluarkan keputusan eksekutif, dan memberlakukan kondisi darurat.

Presiden Recep Tayyip Erdogan dipastikan memenangkan pemilu setelah menang lebih dari 50 persen suara. Juru bicara Dewan Pemilu Tinggi (YSK) Sinaid Gonen menyatakan, total suara yang sudah masuk dilaporkan mencapai 99 persen. Dengan kemenangan yang diterimanya, presiden berusia 64 tahun itu akan membawa banyak perubahan di Turki.

Perubahan itu terutama karena perubahan konstitusional tersebut. Dalam perubahan konstitusional negara itu tahun lalu, Erdogan mengatakan, reformasi ini akan memberikan stabilitas di negara baru.

gara calon Ulu Erguc pada saat terjadi gempa dan menegak kembalinya ke koalisi rasul pada masa lalu. Namun, opsi tak reformasi ini akan menandakan penertarikan yang semakin ekstrim.

Perubahan konstitusional yang disahkan pada 16 April 2017 ini juga membuat kebijakan bahwa presiden dapat bekerja hingga dua periode. Oleh karena itu, Erdogan dapat mencalonkan diri pada pemilihan saat ini.

Menurut informasi dari parlemen yang dicetak di Twitter resminya, rancangan undang-undang reformasi konstitusi disetujui 399 suara dari 550 anggota di Majelis Perundang-undangan tersebut membutuhkan setidaknya 320 kursi untuk merudukannya agar dapat menjadi pemilihan publik.

Posisi presiden sebelum referendum tersebut sebagai besar haruslah referendum. Erdogan menjabat pada tahun 2014 setelah lebih dari satu dekade sebagai perdana menteri dengan Justice and Development Party (AKP) yang berkuasa, yang ia dirikan bersama.

Sekarang, ia mendorong kekuatannya sampai batas maksimum, terus mendorong partai berkuasa ke depan. Dengan reformasi, presiden akan diizinkan untuk mempertahankan hubungan dengan partai politik, yang berpotensi meningkatkan Erdogan melanjutkan kepemimpinannya di AKP. Partai-partai oposisi mengatakan, langkah itu akan mengabaikan kesepakatan yang tidak terbalik.

Erdogan menyebutkan, reformasi ini adalah keinginan rakyat. Dalam pidato pertama kalinya sejak penobatan suara parlemen saat ini, ia meminta pendukungnya bekerja secepatnya untuk memenangkan referendum. "Rakyat saya akan memberikan keputusan akhir... Saya yakin periode reformasi ini akan berakhir dengan keinginan rakyat kami," kata Erdogan pada upacara pembukaan di Istanbul.

Internasional 19



Kandidat presiden dari kubu oposisi, Muharrem Ince, menerima kekahannya, Senin (25/6).

Sistem presidential yang baru ini, menurut Erdogan, akan menjadi "peluang besar" bagi Turki untuk mencapai tujuan jangka panjangnya. Beribarat pada jansan makna dalam di Ibu Kota Ankara setelah perubahan tersebut. Erdogan berkata, "Mari kita bersama-sama membuat Turki menjadi target 2023."

"Mari kita membangun basis di mana anak-anak kita dapat mewujudkan visi 2023 dan 2071," katanya. "Itu sebabnya kami memberikan janji kepada rakyat kami untuk memiliki parlemen yang kuat, pemertintah yang kuat, dan Turki yang kuat dalam pemilihan 24 Juni."

Turki menentang tekanan dan target spesifik yang mencakup perbaikan besar dalam ekonomi, energi, kesehatan dan transportasi untuk 2023, yang menandai 100 tahun berdirinya Republik Turki. Selama itu, tahun 2023 juga akan menandai peringatan 1.000 tahun Pertempuran Manzikert, yaitu ketika pasukan Seljuk Turki yang dipimpin oleh Sultan Alparslan mengalahkan tentara Bizantium dan membuka Anatolia untuk kemudian didominasi Turki.

Dengan sistem presidential, parlemen akan menjadi satu-satunya otoritas untuk mengubah undang-undang, katanya. "Perubahan-perubahan seperti jumlah Kementerian, pengembangan institusi, dan status kepegawaian yang sama akan dilakukan melalui pemilihan publik."

Tidak akan ada keraguan bahwa presiden akan bekerja dengan baik dan independen dalam iklim di mana kekuatan legislatif dan eksekutif seluas mungkin. Erdogan menambahkan, seperti dilansir di Anadolu Agency.

Sementara, Menteri Kehakiman Bekir Bozdogan bersama dengan partai berkuasa lainnya, menugaskan pernyataan melalui Twitter setelah pemilu. "Kami bangga dengan keputusan yang diambil oleh rakyat Turki dan dalam kehidupan orang-orang Turki telah dibuka hari ini. Dengan suara 'Ya' orang-orang kami, pintu ini akan benar-benar terbuka," cicit Bozdogan di Twitter.

Namun, tidak semua suara setuju. Sebelumnya, pemimpin utama Republikans People Party (CHP) Kemal Kilicdaroglu menentang sistem presidential mengkhawatirkan "kebebasan sejajar." Ini adalah pengkhawatiran oleh parlemen sebelum pemilihan. Orang-orang kami pasti akan menanggapi dan bertanggung jawab atas keputusan yang diambil. Kami akan pergi dari pintu ke pintu dan menjelajahi ini kepada orang-orang kami," kata Kilicdaroglu tahun lalu.

bulan, itu harus dipublikasikan di surat kabar resmi dan diserahkan ke parlemen untuk disetujui. Presiden dapat memberlakukan undang-undang tertentu dengan keputusan tentang isu-isu yang berkaitan dengan area eksekutif di bawah sistem baru, menggunakan peraturan hak-hak dasar dan tugas-tugas ke cabang legislatif. Tetapi keputusan presiden tidak dapat dikukuhkan pada topik yang diatur oleh hukum.

Jika parlemen dan presiden mengeluarkan undang-undang atau dekret tentang topik yang sama, keputusan presiden menjadi batasan. Juga, sebelum itu parlemen dapat membawa keputusan presiden ke Mahkamah Konstitusi untuk ditinjau. Sementara itu, Anggota Perimbangan dan Belanja Negara (APBN) tahunan yang sebelumnya ditetapkan oleh parlemen sekarang disusun oleh presiden. Namun, itu harus disetujui oleh parlemen, jika tidak, anggaran tahun sebelumnya akan digunakan sementara dengan peningkatan tingkat inflasi.

Parlemen kehilangan haknya untuk memantau para menteri, tetapi parlemen memegang azidat maksimum pengawasan di cabang eksekutif melalui penyelidikan parlemen, debat umum, dan pertanyaan tertulis. Pertanyaan harus dijawab oleh wakil presiden dan menteri dalam 15 hari.

Parlemen juga dapat memulai proses impeachment atau penyelidikan presiden dengan suara mayoritas dua pertiga parlemen. Presiden dapat diadili dengan dua pertiga mayoritas parlemen. Jika dia dinyatakan bersalah, maka jabatannya akan berakhir.

Parlemen dengan suara minimal 360 anggota parlemen, dan juga presiden dapat meminta pemilihan umum ulang. Dalam hal ini, pemilihan parlemen dan presiden akan diadakan pada hari yang sama.



Suka cita kemenangan Recep Tayyip Erdogan terhadap sistem cermin cambung di Istanbul, Ahad (24/6).

Presiden Sekaligus PM

OLEH CRYSTAL LIESTA PURNAMA

Perubahan konstitusional Turki dari sistem pemerintahan parlementer menjadi sistem pemerintahan presidensial memberikan perubahan kondisi yang signifikan dalam pemerintahan negara tersebut. Logika utama di balik perubahan ini adalah untuk membuat campur tangan militer terhadap pemerintah terlarang.

Turki telah mengalami tujuh intervensi militer besar dan beberapa tindakan peradilan terhadap pemerintah dalam enam dasawarsa terakhir. Para elite militer Turki telah memaksa empat pemerintahan yang tergilis secara demokratis dari kekuasaan sejak tahun 1960, mereka mengasili, memverjar akan, dan bahkan mengesekusi tokoh-tokoh politik, termasuk perdana menteri yang dipilih secara demokratis, campur tangan dalam urusan sipil.

Dilaporkan RTT World, banyak politisi Turki dari sayap kiri dan kanan menyatakan keprihatinan tentang sikap militer selama masa jabatan mereka. Keprihatinan itu termasuk konservatif seperti Presiden Erdogan, yang mengabaikan kasus Justice and Development Party (AKP) yang kini sebagai partai berkuasa.

Selama periode kepemimpinan AKP, dengan bantuan dukungan rakyat, pengaruh militer terhadap politik berkurang secara bertahap. Dengan sistem baru, pencegahan pengaruh militer dijamin secara konstitusional.

Erdogan sebelumnya membawa raiat komando militer di bawah wewenang Kementerian Pertahanan Nasional yang pernah berada di bawah komando perdana menteri dan presiden. Di bawah sistem baru ini,

kinerja militer tidak lagi menjadi syarat untuk menjadi kandidat parlemen.

Untuk pertama kalinya dalam sejarah Turki modern, militer tunduk pada penyelidikan oleh Dewan Pengawasan Negara sipil. Langkah itu menempatkan militer setara dengan cabang-cabang eksekutif lainnya. Pengadilan militer dibatali hanya untuk masalah disiplin di kalangan perwira militer. Yurisdiksi pengadilan ini yang didefinisikan sangat luas sebelumnya akan dihilangkan ke pengadilan sipil.

Selain itu, dua slot untuk hakim militer di Mahkamah Konstitusi dari sebanyak 17 kursi dihilangkan. Pengadilan sipil sekarang memiliki 15 hakim dan semuanya warga sipil. Tiga hakim di pengadilan akan ditunjuk oleh parlemen, dan 12 kursi sisanya akan ditunjuk oleh presiden seperti sebelumnya.

Danurat militer juga dihapus karena sempat disalahkan oleh elite militer pada masa lalu untuk kembali ke pemerintahan militer. Pencabutan ini memang simbolis, tetapi bermakna.

Kekuatan cabang eksekutif Turki telah dibagi antara kepala negara dan kepala pemerintahan. Kedua pemisahan ini dari waktu ke waktu saling bertentangan, yang dilatih sebagai penyebab konflik dan ketidakstabilan oleh sejumlah politisi.

Suleyman Demirel dan Turgut Ozal—mantan perdana menteri kemudian seperti Erdogan—keduanya aktif mendukung sistem presidensial di Turki dengan alasan serupa. Namun, mereka tidak memisahkan gagasan tersebut dan malah diadukan di parlemen.

Dengan perubahan baru ini, presiden menjadi kepala



Koran edisi Senin (25/6) atau sehari setelah pemilihan umum, memuat kemenangan Recep Tayyip Erdogan.

permerintahan serta kepala negara, memegang semua wewenang dan akan ditunjuk oleh perdana menteri. Pos baru wakil presiden akan dibentuk dan anggota kabinet yang akan ditunjuk oleh presiden.

Sistem baru ini tidak memunculkan sorot anggota parlemen untuk menjadi anggota kabinet. Jumlah wakil presiden tidak diberikan dalam undang-undang baru. Eksekutif tingkat tinggi dari lembaga publik dan presiden universitas juga akan ditunjuk oleh presiden setelah pemilihan umum ini.

Kemudian, pemilihan presiden dan parlemen akan diadakan pada hari yang sama setiap lima tahun, keduanya akan terbuka untuk pemilihan umum. Kedua perubahan yang patut dicatat berkaitan dengan parlemen. Jumlah anggota parlemen meningkat dari 550 menjadi 600, dan usia minimum untuk

mencalonkan diri untuk pemilihan parlemen diturunkan dari 25 menjadi 18 tahun.

Ada beberapa perubahan pada peradilan juga. Pertama, peradilan di samping "kemerdekaan" telah didefinisikan sebagai "tidak meributkan" dalam teks baru. Dewan Hakim dan Jaksa Penuntut—badan disiplin dari sistem hukum—pun telah diinstruksikan.

Jumlah kursi turan menjadi 13 dari sebelumnya 22 kursi dan wakil menteri kehakiman diberikan kursi permanen. Dewan terdiri atas menteri kehakiman, wakil menteri, tujuh anggota yang ditunjuk oleh parlemen, dan empat anggota yang ditunjuk oleh presiden dari dalam kandidat.

Menurut sistem baru, sebagai kepala negara, presiden dapat menyatakan keadaan darurat di sejumlah daerah atau di seluruh negeri untuk jangka waktu tidak melebihi enam

Figure 14. News stories with picture on The Jakarta Post (June 26, 2018)



TURKEY

Erdogan wins sweeping new powers after election victory

Tuvan Gumrukcu and Nevzat Devranoglu
REUTERS/ANKARA

Turkish President Tayyip Erdogan won sweeping new executive powers on Monday after his victory in landmark elections that also saw his Islamist-rooted Justice and Development Party (AK Parti) and its nationalist allies secure a majority in parliament.

Erdogan's main rival, Muharrem Ince of the Republican Peo-

ple's Party (CHP), conceded defeat but branded the elections "unjust" and said the presidential system that now takes effect was "very dangerous" because it would lead to one-man rule.

A leading European rights watchdog that sent observers to monitor the voting also said the opposition had faced "unequal conditions" and that limits on the freedom of media to cover the elections were further hindered by a continuing state of emer-

gency imposed in Turkey after a failed 2016 coup.

Erdogan, 64, the most popular — yet divisive — leader in modern Turkish history, told jubilant, flag-waving supporters there would be no retreat from his drive to transform Turkey, a North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) member and, at least nominally, a candidate to join the European Union.

He is loved by millions of devoutly Muslim working class Turks for delivering years of stellar economic growth and overseeing the construction of roads, bridges, airports, hospitals and schools.

But his critics, including rights groups, accuse him of destroying the independence of the courts and press freedoms. A crackdown launched after the coup has seen 160,000 people detained, and the state of emergency allows Erdogan to bypass parliament with decrees. He says it will be lifted soon.

Erdogan and the AK Parti claimed victory in Sunday's presidential and parliamentary elections after defeating a revitalized opposition that had gained considerable momentum recently and looked capable of staging an upset. "It is out of the question for us to turn back from where we've brought our country in terms of democracy and the economy," Erdogan said on Sunday night.

His victory means he will remain president at least until 2023 — the centenary of the founding of the Turkish republic on the ashes of the Ottoman Empire by Mustafa Kemal Ataturk. Erdogan's foes accuse him of dismantling Ataturk's secular legacy by bringing religion back into public life.

Erdogan responds to such criticism by saying he is trying to modernize Turkey and improve religious freedoms.

With virtually all votes counted, Erdogan had 53 percent against Ince's 31 percent, while in the parliamentary vote the AK Parti took 42.5 percent and its MHP nationalist allies secured 11 percent, outstripping expectations.

Turkish markets initially rallied on hopes of increased political stability — investors had feared deadlock between Erdogan and an opposition-controlled parliament

— but then retreated amid concerns over future monetary policy.

The vote ushers in a powerful executive presidency backed by a narrow majority in a 2017 referendum. The office of prime minister will be abolished and Erdogan will be able to issue decrees to form and regulate ministries and remove civil servants, all without parliamentary approval.

"The new regime that takes effect from today is a major danger for Turkey[...]. We have now fully adopted a regime of one-man rule," Ince, a veteran CHP lawmaker, told a news conference.

The secularist CHP draws support broadly from Turkey's urban, educated middle class. It won 23 percent in the new parliament and the pro-Kurdish HDP nearly 12 percent, above the 10 percent threshold needed to enter parliament.



One-man shows: A supporter holds a photo of Turkish President Tayyip Erdogan while walking past the Turkish flag in front of Turkey's ruling Justice and Development Party (AK Parti) headquarters in Istanbul, Turkey, on Sunday.

THIS ODD WORLD

Brazil bar to give shots every time Neymar falls

RIO DE JANEIRO, BRAZIL: A Rio de Janeiro bar has invented a new drinking game: free shots every time Brazil's superstar Neymar falls down during a crucial World Cup group game against Serbia on Wednesday.

"At each Neymar fall, it's a round of shots on the house!" the Sir Walter Pub in northern Rio posted on its Facebook page. The offer is the latest twist in Brazil's new national sport: making fun of the talented but divisive Paris Saint-Germain striker.

In Brazil's first two games he dislocated many fans and inspired

Figure 15. News stories about Indonesia with picture on Hurriyet Daily News



Figure 16. Portrayal Erdogan as leader in Republika Newspaper



Figure 17. Portrayal Erdogan as leader in The Jakarta Post Newspaper



Conclusion

Countries are considered as an important subject for media analysis, because the media itself acts as an agent that plays a role in shaping the perception of a country. The representation of countries in the media is very important for the audience to form an understanding of the world and also for the external recognition and the identity of a country in the world system (Grosher et al, 2016: 18). The media produces news, not truth. Although the media claims to report only what happened, they actually build the news through frames, values and conventions. After making the initial decision for an incident that it deserves to be treated as news, journalists and editors make a number of choices that highlight some elements of the potential narrative and obscure others, and then they define and describe problems through a series of choices including title, descriptive word choice, photographing and what must be reported (Birrel and Cole 1994: 215).

This study explored how Turkish and Indonesian media represented each other country. During the study period, there were 97 news stories about Indonesia in the Turkish Media. On the other hand, the number of stories about Turkey in Indonesian newspapers was considerable with 352 news stories about Turkey in Indonesian media. This research was conducted using the IBM SPSS 20 statistical tool.

In general, both Turkish and Indonesian media have the same format in news coverage. Although page and section allocation differed in both countries, news classification was the same with the “International” or “World” label. Although the length of most news written on these three media was similar, the two Indonesian newspapers provided more space for news about Turkey. Particularly if there were important incidents or events in Turkey, both news reports and editorials about Turkey could be published in succession each day, for example during the July 2016 coup attempt incident. Only in the *Republika*, the length of news articles was found to be written longer, reaching 300 to 600 words.

Indonesian media featured current issues about Turkey on the front page, but in the Turkish media, a very little amount of news related to Indonesia was published on the front page, and these were related to natural disasters. In contrast, the two

Indonesian media, The Jakarta Post and Republika, placed news on any major issues in relation to Turkey including the country's political issues on the front page.

The second category in this study was the news content covered in the headlines, the main topics and issues that were discussed in the news. Meanings of the headlines were studied by the usage of positive, negative and neutral words. In the Hurriyet Daily News and The Jakarta Post newspaper, the headlines were more found using neutral words. Nevertheless the frequency of neutral and negative title usage has a ratio that was comparably close.

Both Turkish and Indonesian media were containing the same primary topics; each of these countries' media was concerned about the internal affairs of each other as news coverage. However, the differences exist in the issues covered; the Indonesian media mostly covered the issue of Turkey's politics, while the Turkish media covered more about natural disasters in Indonesia.

Editorial opinions were also one of the important categories in this research. In the Hurriyet Daily News, articles about Indonesia were never included in the editorials during the study period. In both The Jakarta Post and Republika, articles about Turkey were included in the editorial rubric. But the opinions in the two dailies' editorials differed as The Jakarta Post criticized Erdogan's leadership, while in the Republika newspaper Erdogan's leadership was presented rather positively as a government that should be followed by Indonesia. Based on opinions and also the style of the news coverage, the Republika newspaper made an impression of Turkey as a role model for Indonesia's government.

The next category that was studied was the actor. Actors who were mentioned by the Turkish and Indonesian media were basically the same. Media in these two countries, whether they were conveying news about Turkey or Indonesia, used important official actors representing the government. Anyway, the main actors who were most mentioned in the news coverage of both county media were the presidents.

The last category in this study was the news sources used in the compilation of the news. The three media outlets studied here used as news sources foreign news agencies in relation to the concerned country. However, some particular news concerning diplomatic relation between Turkey and Indonesia showed difference in

the coverage by each countries' media. Hurriyet Daily News also used local resources such as Anadolu Agency in Turkey or also local sources from the Indonesian media, in addition to sending journalists to cover them directly.

As discussed in the previous chapters, this study showed the similarities and differences of both countries' media. The news, main actor, format and sources that were used in the news are rather similar generally. The differences of both countries' media lie in the way how they cover issues and approach of the editorials. The previous discussion explained how important these two approaches of the respective media were in shaping the media images of a country.

This study concludes that the Turkish media does not take significantly into account the news about Indonesia. In general, Turkish media portrays Indonesia from the headlines only when natural disasters happened. Natural disasters and accidents will play an important role in the dynamics and changes in government. News will be made only when events lead to large qualitative changes. "It gives the readers an image of these countries as a place where things happen suddenly and in unpredictable ways or in other words places that were inherently dangerous and inherently different (Galtung and Ruge, 1965: 81)."

Unlike the Turkish media, Indonesian media provided more space for news about Turkey. In this study, the writer took samples of two media outlets that differed ideologically. The first newspaper was The Jakarta Post which has a nationalist ideology and Republika which has a moderate Islamic ideology. Indeed those two media were pro-government. The news relating to Turkey in the Indonesian media was covered more diversely, but the most frequently covered topic about Turkey was the internal politics and affairs of this country. In the Indonesian media, in addition to different ideologies, these two media outlets have also different segments and perspectives. In The Jakarta Post, the frequency of the coverage of the internal affairs of Turkey with the coverage of foreign affairs was relatively comparable. Whereas on the Republika, the topic that was often written and published were only the internal affairs of Turkey.

In relation to the formatting of the news, as page, news placement, both media outlets also have the same method. In the Republika newspaper, the frequency of front page news about Turkey was higher than that of The Jakarta Post. In The

Jakarta Post newspaper, headline writing with neutral sentences and negative sentences have very close frequencies while in the Republika newspaper most headlines were positive or neutral sentences. Topics and issues of Turkey's internal affairs can only be found in the Republika newspaper which also featured soft news about the history of Islam as a religion and culture in Turkey.

Apart from the hard news and soft news covered by the Indonesian media, the article about Turkey was also covered as opinions in their editorial columns. The media assigns relevance to certain issues or events by selecting them for commentaries and those who communicate with them. As discussed in the previous discussion, there was no article in the editorial section on the issues in Indonesia, but in the Indonesian media, both editorials including the rubric of differing opinions were in The Jakarta Post, the opinion was more critical to the Turkish government.

Actors that were often mentioned in the news on both media were the same. Turkey was presented as a country and also the main character most often mentioned was Recep Tayyip Erdogan. This pattern was also the same as the Turkish media which mentions Indonesia and President Joko Widodo as the main actor in every news that was published. Both Indonesian media; The Jakarta Post and Republika newspaper, took sources from foreign agencies. In The Jakarta Post newspaper, the most commonly used sources were Reuters, AFP and AP. The content of the news that was published depends on the sources they use to cover the news. The Republika newspaper, took mostly sources from Al-Jazeera and some Turkish local media, then in one article they mix some sources hence all the news written in this newspaper were seemingly adapted to their ideology.

It can be concluded in this study that the Turkish media and Indonesian media have an eminent difference in presenting each other country. In the Turkish media, the image of of Indonesia was a disaster country, while in Indonesia the general and basic image of Turkey was a country with strong nationality and political orientation whether it was great or controversially harsh. At the same time correlating with the Islamic ideology which is rooted in some societies in both countries, Turkey was represented as a moderate Islamic country that can be a new axis in the world and it was viewed as a role model in relation to its popular culture, for instance in Islamic fashion.

Despite the fact that Indonesia and Turkey have good relations, it was also found that Turkish media concerns less about the internal politics, foreign affairs and the development of Indonesia. Turkish media puts more importance to events such as disasters and terrorism in Indonesia, which can influence the image of Indonesia in the public opinion in Turkey.

Recommendations for further

This research was conducted to see portraits of both countries in general. Henceforth, this research can be done by selecting samples with a longer period and also using different media between the two countries such as online media and so on. This research is expected to be useful as a collaborative reference for both countries Turkey and Indonesia to have good bilateral relations and also be useful in the academic section to add references in relation to media representation. This media representation relationship is expected to have an effect on the form society, society's views and in general terms, it also influences government in order to more forces and concerns on media freedom, justice etc.

Therefore, when conducting any study related to Indonesian and Turkish media, consideration should be given to strengthen the image of Indonesia through the improvement of Indonesia-related news in Turkish media, to increase the quantity and quality of researches which concern to the relation between Indonesia and Turkey, to shed more light on the Indonesian media because of its influence on public opinion in these country, to increase the quantity of Turkish news representative agency in Indonesia and to initiate news contributor exchange between Indonesia and Turkish media in each country, so that contributors can functions as the source of news in each country.

Through this research author hopes that Turkish and Indonesian media could put more emphasis on tourism in its substance, especially to Turkish media. So that it would eventually change the stereotype of Indonesia as a disaster country and would attract Turkish people to come visiting Indonesia.

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Appendix

A. Detailed info on the coding sheet for news report

Section 1 : News Format (Questions 1 to 5)

The first questions of the coding sheet will be focusing on the format. The category of “format” will allow us to examine the views of each outlet on Turkey and Indonesia.

Seeing how many long, medium and short articles a broadsheet published on Turkey, as well as examining how many of these were features, columns or news reports will give us an important insight about the importance the newspaper gives to this subject. Also, looking at the labels of the pages these articles were placed on can be extremely useful for our analysis.

The information we gather in this section may help us answer question such as:

- Is there a difference in the amount of coverage Turkey and Indonesia gets from each newspaper?
- Under which section each newspaper prefers to publish articles about Turkey and Indonesia?
- Which event got the most and least coverage in Turkish and Indonesian newspapers?
- How many columns, features, editorials, news reports and economical analysis about eac country were published in each newspapers?

1- Date of the Issue: When was the news item publish? Put in Month

1= 2015- January; 2= 2015-February; 3= 2015- Mart; 4=2015-April; 5=2015-May; 6=2015-June; 7=2015-July; 8=2015-August; 9=2015-September; 10=2015-October; 11=2015-November; 12=2015- December; 13= 2016- January; 14= 2016-February; 15= 2016- Mart; 16=2016-April; 17=2016-May; 18=2016-June; 19=2016-July; 20=2016-August; 21=2016-September; 22=2016-October; 23=2016-November 24=2016- December; 25= 2017- January; 26= 2017-February; 27= 2017- Mart; 28=2017-April; 29=2017-May; 30=2017-June;

31=2017-July; 32=2017-August; 33=2017-September; 34=2017-October;
 35=2017-November 36=2017- December; 37= 2018- January; 38= 2018-
 February; 39= 2018- Mart; 40=2018-April; 41=2018-May; 42=2018-June;
 43=2018-July; 44=2018-August; 45=2018-September; 46=2018-October;

2- Name of the news organization

- (1)The Jakarta Post
- (2)Republika
- (3) Hurriyet Daily News

3- Length of item

- (1) 100-300 words
- (2) 301-600 words
- (3) 601 & over words;

4- Type of article:

- (1) News article: An article reporting events, press releases, news of the moment (Should be shorter than 600 words, does not openly include opinions of the writer. Reporting of facts, numbers, declarations, happenings, events etc.) – When in doubt news article should be used as default category.
- (2) Leader/ Editorial: An article in a publication expressing the opinion of its editors or publishers. (Does not include a byline. Sometimes starts by saying “*Guardian* thinks” or “According to the *Telegraph*” etc.)
- (3) Commentary/ Column: An article giving opinions and/ or perspectives of the writer on a given subject. (Articles written by Turkish or foreign officials, public figures, opinion leaders, academics and artists should be coded as a Commentry/ Column)
- (4) Feature: A prominent or special article in a newspaper or periodical. A broader discussion, can be written at any time.(Should include at least 3 interviews, should be longer than 600 words)
- (5) Economic Analysis: An analysis on Turkish economy. Should include the word “economy” and focus on the economics of a given subject.

(6) Photo : only showing photo without news stories

(7) Online news: News retrieval from newspapers website

5- Page label: What is the label of the page the article was printed on? If the article was printed on a page labelled anything other than the first 16 options, code under “other” and specify.

(1) Front Page

(2) Headline

(3) Special Report

(4) World

(5) ASEAN

(6) Lifestyle

(7) Opinion

(8) Culture

(9) International

(10) Economy

(11) Sports

(12) Business

(13) Feature

(14) Editorial

(15) National

(16) Others

Section II : Headline (Question 6 to 8)

Headlines were coded to identify how the words used, their style and language characteristics.

All this categories were coded into the following

6. Headline words (How the news headline construct in the newspapers?)

(1) Negative words

(2) Positive words

(3) Neutral

7. Headline style (What the headlines style in the news?)

(1) Descriptive style : This kind of headline raises a question, analyzes an event or issue, or expresses (or cites) a particular opinion.

(2) Analytical style. This kind of headline adopts emotionally-charged language to raise a question, analyze an event or issue, or express (or cite) particular opinion.

8. Headline language characteristic (How the headline characteristic?)

(1) Plain headline. This kind of headline delivers information with plain, clear and straightforward words

(2) Emotionally-charged headline. This kind of headline delivers information that carries sensitive words and has powerful emotional impact on the audience.

Section III : News Content (Question 9-12)

In this section, information gathered in this category will help us understand which topic, issues and the most mentioned actor in the news. Categories were coded into the following

9. Main topic (What the main topics does the news item cover?)

- (1) Turkey and Indonesia relation
- (2) Turkey and foreign relation
- (3) Indonesia and foreign relation
- (4) Internal affair of Turkey
- (5) Internal affair of Indonesia
- (6) Others

10. News Issue (Which issues does the news item cover?)

- (1) Internal Politic
- (2) Terrorism
- (3) Crime/Judicial Matters
- (4) Disaster/Accident
- (5) Economy/Business
- (6) External Politic
- (7) Sport
- (8) Refugee/Migrant
- (9) Culture
- (10) Education
- (11) International Relation
- (12) Bilateral/Diplomatic Relation
- (13) History
- (14) Media
- (15) Others

11. Favorability of news reporting

The variable of favorability includes the favorability toward America and toward China respectively. They were determined according to McQuail's (1992, p. 227) strategy, that is say, the decision was made based on a 'speculation of a common-sense kind on the likely impression made on an average audience'. This attitude includes both the author's attitude toward the United States and/or the reporting angel in the news article. For example, an author may be writing in a neutral tone, but only negative opinions are presented, so this article would be classified as unfavorable.

Based on previous literature (e.g., Husselbee & Elliott, 2002), the favorability is set as five categories:

- (1) Favorable. It refers to those articles dealing with the country from positive angle (complimentary words might be used) and giving readers an overall favorable impression of the nation (such as social cohesion, stability and strength or an image of being welcome and supported).
- (2) Slightly favorable. It refers to those articles dealing with the country without obvious tendency while certain good aspects were mentioned.
- (3) Neutral or balanced. It refers to those articles covering the country without explicit evaluative references or the positive and negative sides in the content are balanced.
- (4) Slightly unfavorable. It refers to those articles dealing with the country without obvious tendency while certain bad aspects were mentioned.
- (5) Unfavorable. It refers to those articles dealing with the country from a negative angle (critical words might be used) and giving readers an overall unfavorable impression of the nation (such as conflicts, instability and weakness, or an image of being unwelcome and unsupported).

Section IV : sources

- (1) Own Source
- (2) Reuters
- (3) AFP (Agence France Presse)
- (4) CNN (Cables News Network)
- (5) AP (Associated Press)
- (6) Anadolu Ajans
- (7) Al-Jazeera
- (8) BBC (British Broadcasting Cooperation)

- (9) The Independent
 (10) Antara (Local Indonesian news agencies)
 (11) Two source
 (12) Agencies (More than two sources)
 (13) Online website
 (14) The Australian
 (15) Bloomberg
 (16) Others

B. CODING SHEET FOR EDITORIAL

QUANTITATIVE TEXT OF EDITORIAL ARTICLES			
N O	Variable	Instruction and values	Code
1	Name	Newspaper title 1= The Jakarta Post 2= Republika 3= Hurriyet Daily News	
2	Date	Enter a string variable	
3	Type of Article	1= News report 2= Leader/Editorial 3= Commentary/Column 4= Feature/News story 5= Economic Analysis 6= Photo 7= Others	
4	Section	1= Front Page 2= Headline 3= Special Report 4= World 5= ASEAN 6= Lifestyle 7= Opinion 8= Culture 9= International 10= Economy 11= Sports 12= Business 13= Feature 14= Editorial 15= National 16= Others	
5	Length of news	1= 100-300 words 2= 301- 600 words 3= 601 and over words	
6	Headline words	1= Negative words 2= Positive words 3= Neutral	

7	Headline style	1= Descriptive style 2= Analytical style	
8	Headline language characteristic	1= Plain headline 2=Emotionally –charged headline	
9	Main Topics	1= Turkey and Indonesia relation 2= Turkey and foreign relation 3= Indonesia and foreign relation 4= Internal affair of Turkey 5= Internal affair of Indonesia 6= Others	
10	News Issue	1= Internal Politic 2= Terrorism 3= Crime/Judicial Matters 4= Disaster/Accident 5= Economy/Business 6= External Politic 7= Sport 8= Refugee/Migrant 9= Culture 10=Education 11=International Relation 12= Bilateral/Diplomatic Relation 13= History 14= Media 15= Others	
11	Favorability of news reporting	1= Favorable 2= Slightly Favorable 3= Neutral or balance 4= Slightly unfavorable 5= Unfavorable	
12	Main actor in news	1= President Recep Tayyip Erdogan 2= President Joko Widodo 3= The ministers 4= Government or state official 5= Representative of opposition 6= Representative of army 7= Representative of group 8= General public 9= Expert 10 = Prime minister 11= Representative of party 12= International Actor 13= No actor 14= Others	
13	Sources	1= Own source	

		2= Reuters 3= AFP 4= CNN 5= AP 6= Anadolu Ajans 7= Al-Jazeera 8= BBC 9= The Independent 10= Antara (Indonesian local newspaper) 11= Two sources 12= Agencies 13= Newspapers website/online newspaper 14= The Australian 15= Bloomberg 16= The Australian 17= Project Synndictae 18= Yale Global 19= Telegraph 20= The Globalist 21= Koran Tempo 22= The Statesman 23= The China Post 24= The New York Times 25= Dawn	
14	Authors	1= Editorial board 2= Citizen 3= Educator 4= Religious leader 5= Government employees 6= Politician 7= Observer 8= Writer 9= Expert 10= The Nation	

C. CODING SHEET FOR EDITORIAL PICTURES

QUANTITATIVE OF PICTURES			
1	The number of photograph in each newspapers	Insert by month and year	
2	What the size of photo in the news articles?	1= Full page 2= Half page 3= Quarter page 4= Eight page 5= Others	
3	Pallet of picture	1= Color 2= Black and white	

		3= Cartoon/illustration 4= B/W cartoon/illustration	
4	Is there containing people in pictures?	1= Human 2= Non-human	
5	Is there a caption in the pictures?	1= Independent photo with explanation 2= Independent photo with no explanation	
6	What topics and subject are represented in dominant photographs about Turkey in Indonesian newspapers? What topics and subject are represented in dominant photographs about Indonesia in Turkey newspapers? How do the topics in each newspaper compare?	1= Politic/election/victory 2= Military/war/terrorism 3= Court/crime 4= Human interest 5= Business/trade 6= Education 7= Disaster/tragedy 8=Health/medical 9=Science 10=Technology 11=Environmental 12= Social issue 13= Entertainment/celebrity/art 14= Public celebration 15= Meeting between leader/diplomatic relation 16= Historical 17= Life style 18= Leader portrait 19= Leader and public 20= Migrant/refugee 21= Sport 22 = Other country/Turkey-foreign portrait 23= Touristic 24= Religion 25= Charity	
7	Where is the placement of the photos on the page?	1= Front Page 2= Interior Page	
8	Is there a difference in the demographics (Gender) of photo subjects between Turkish and Indonesian newspapers?	(Gender) 1= Male 2= Female 3= Mixed 4= Unidentifiable 5= No people	

9	Is there a difference in the demographics (Age) of photo subjects between Turkish and Indonesian newspapers?	(Age) 1= Youngsters (about <16) 2= Adult (about 18-50) 3= Elderly (about >50) 4= Mixed 5= No people	
10	What the type of the pictures?	1= Story shot 2= Mug shot 3= Illustration	
11	Is there a difference in social status of the subject pictures in Turkish and Indonesian newspapers?	1= Leader of country 2= Government official 3= Professionals 4= Military or police 5= Common people 6= Mixed 7= No people	
12	What is the assessment tone about country or the leader of the country in the photo? How the tone of images?	1= Positive 2= Negative 3= Neutral	
13	What visual frames are evident in the photographs in Turkish newspapers?	1= Democracy country 2= Disaster country 3= Indonesia natural beauty 4= Indonesia threat 5= Poor Indonesia 6= Rising Indonesia 7= Traditional Indonesia 8= Islamic country	
14	What visual frames are evident in the photographs in Indonesia newspapers?	1= Democracy country 2= Authoritarian country 3= Turkey threat 4= Benevolent Turkey 5= Muslim/religious country 6= Secular country 7= Strategic country 8= Historical country 9= Migrant country 10= Migrant country	

		11= Turkey and international organization frames (EU, NATO, etc) 12= Both country relation frame 13= Death 14= Erdogan and supporter 15= Erdogan portrayal 16= Urban 17= Rural 18= Nationalism 19= Beauty Turkey 20= Sport	
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