

## Indonesian Media Framing Analysis of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan in the 2023 Turkish Presidential Election

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### ABSTRACT

Presidential elections in Turkey always attract global attention, as Turkey is a country that has significant influence in the international arena. This article aims to analyse national media framing sentiment in Indonesia towards Erdoğan in the 2023 Turkish presidential election. This article uses framing theory to analyse media coverage of the Turkish presidential election and the post-election period from March to August 2023. The author reads news from three Indonesian media outlets namely CNN Indonesia, BBC Indonesia, and CNBC Indonesia to see how they framed the news about Erdoğan. The purpose of this framing analysis was to determine whether the coverage of Erdoğan was positive, negative or neutral. The results of this study show that the highest percentage of national media framing in Indonesia is neutral. Erdoğan was often reported with negative sentiments, especially in relation to his controversial policy issues. News with positive sentiments towards Erdoğan was the lowest. In fact, after the election, news coverage tended to be neutral. This shows that national media in Indonesia generally endeavour to maintain objectivity and professionalism in news coverage, by balancing various perspectives and not leaning too much towards certain sentiments. This research fills a gap in international media studies by focusing on how Indonesian national media framed news coverage of Erdoğan during the 2023 Turkish presidential election. While many studies examine media framing in Western countries, this research provides new insights into media perspectives from developing countries such as Indonesia, which is important for understanding regional views on global leaders.

**Keyword :** Turkiye, Presidential Election, Erdoğan, Media Framing, Indonesia



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## 1. INTRODUCTION (10 PT)

The presence of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan as president of Turkey has become a force to reckon with in the world (Eissenstat, 2021). Erdoğan symbolises the rise of Islam in the Asian and European regions. During his leadership, Erdoğan has always been close to Muslims and is known as an influential Muslim figure. This is due to several factors. Firstly, Erdoğan's contradictory character with his various political statements affecting global political dynamics (Aydın-Düzgüt, 2016). Second, Erdoğan's leadership style is different from previous Turkish leaders, such as Abdullah Gül and Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (Çuhadar et al., 2021). Under Erdoğan, Turkey has tended to take a more authoritarian and nationalist approach, prioritising domestic interests (Wastnidge, 2019). With his Islamic politics, Erdoğan wants to bring back the glory of Turkey during the Ottoman Empire, convincing people that with Islam, the country will be victorious and developed. The combination of Islamic policies and an authoritarian and nationalist political approach has changed the face of Turkey on the international stage, making it an increasingly powerful and influential country (Hazır, 2022).

In his foreign policy, Erdoğan has brought significant changes in various sectors, including restoring Islamic values in political policy. Turkey, which used to be secular, is slowly turning into a respected country due to its Islamic political policies. Therefore, Erdoğan is considered a major influence in the global political scene, both positively and negatively. One of the political policies that impact the global political order is the anti-gender movement supported by Erdoğan. This movement opposes gender mainstreaming efforts in European countries such as France, Spain, Italy, Poland, and Turkey (Perger, 2018). Erdoğan has openly expressed his disapproval of the feminist movement and the concept of gender equality (Resdifianti et al., 2022). His views are reflected in his policies, including the decision to withdraw Turkey from the Istanbul Convention. Ironically, Turkey, which was the first country to sign the Convention, decided to leave in 2021. Turkey's withdrawal from the Convention sparked widespread protests from women's groups and criticism on social media, stating that the decision signals a major setback for women's rights in Turkey, which still has high rates of gender-based violence (Resdifianti et al., 2022). Turkey's official reason for withdrawing from the Istanbul Convention is because it is considered that the convention has been hijacked by a group of people trying to normalize homosexuality, which is contrary to Turkey's social and family values. However, many political experts believe that the real reason is Erdoğan's political strategy to maintain power by gaining support from religious fundamentalist groups in the upcoming presidential election.

This policy has not only fuelled controversy against Erdoğan's policies, but also triggered widespread public protests. The anti-gender movement in Turkey has been growing in the public sphere and social media, with the demands of Turkish society against the Istanbul Convention playing an important role in the government's decision to withdraw from the convention. This decision was seen as a response to strong public pressure (Kancı et al., 2023). In addition, the interest rate cut policy implemented by Erdoğan in 2021 was an unconventional move that fuelled high inflation and weakened the value of the Turkish lira. As a result, public dissatisfaction increased and Erdoğan's popularity declined, mainly due to economic issues. Support for the Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi or AKP and Erdoğan waned in major cities, as evidenced by the defeat of AKP candidates in the Istanbul mayoral election in 2019 (Yin, 2024). Ahead of the 2023 presidential election, Erdoğan launched various projects to improve his public image, including the launch of Turkey's first electric car, a nuclear power plant, and an armed drone carrier. He sought to portray himself as a strong leader who had the interests of the people in mind. To influence public perception, Erdoğan is also active on social media, particularly Twitter, where he posts pictures of himself wearing an air force outfit and aviator glasses, as if he is about to fly a fighter aircraft. Twitter has become Erogan's strategic platform for expanding its influence in the digital world (Numan, 2024). Erdoğan utilised this strategy to portray himself as a leader who represents all Turkish people as well as a figure who is strong enough to bring Turkey to glory in the global arena. In addition, he seeks to promote himself as a populist saviour for his people. In the context of Turkey's economy facing crisis, Erdoğan increasingly relied on personalised governance and presented himself as the main defender of the Turkish people from 'imperialists' such as the Americans, Europeans, as well as from domestic collaborators with imperialists such as Kurds, and Gulenists (Yilmaz et al., 2023). Through media coverage, Erdoğan is a controversial figure in carrying out his foreign policy. The policy attracted media attention related to negative coverage of the Turkish economy. Among them, Arab media described his ambiguous stance on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Erdoğan's foreign policy often comes under media scrutiny, with negative coverage of the Turkish economy and an ambiguous stance on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The media has an important role in influencing public perception and the political image of a figure (Bradshaw et al., 2020; Sahide et al., 2024).

This issue has been responded to by many scholars. This is based on in fact that Erdoğan's foreign policy has sparked controversy and debate about Turkey's new direction (Arin, 2018; Dolatabadi & Rezaei, 2022; Günay, 2016; Haugom, 2019; Iqbal & Fatima, 2021; Makaradze & Makaradze, 2023; Ozkan & Korkut, 2013; Petriaiev, 2022). Kuru (2015) criticised Erdoğan's foreign policy approach, highlighting that the overemphasis on domestic politics, limitations in military and diplomatic capacity, as well as the inability to cope with the influence of major countries in the region, have caused controversy and created problems in Turkish foreign policy. In addition, these controversial policies have an impact on the economy and corruption (Cifuentes-Faura, 2024; Tsang, 2023), handling Covid-19 (Laebens & Öztürk, 2022), Arab Spring (Kuru, 2015) education (Istiqomah & MoHa, 2023), football industry (Genç, 2022), geopolitics of Turkey (Melakopides, 2018). Meanwhile, research by Kimya

(2019), Ahmed (2023), and Nature & Ali (2023) highlighted that Erdoğan's leadership has been linked to many corruption cases in Turkey. One of the significant impacts of these policies and conditions, especially in the context of earthquakes, is the inability of governments to function effectively. Research by Mavroulis et al (2023) and Chen et al (2023) showed that the earthquake affected the structure of government, exacerbating the problems of transparency and responsiveness of state institutions. This results in a lack of transparency and responsiveness from state institutions, as described by Doğan & Evrenk (2021) and Ustaoglu & Aydınoglu (2020).

Erdoğan's victory in Turkey's presidential election in 2023 was marred by allegations of fraud from the opposition and international observers. Reports pointed to statistical irregularities in the electoral process, intimidation of voters and the media, and the use of state resources to support Erdoğan's campaign. Nonetheless, the Turkish government denied all these allegations and asserted that the election was fair and transparent (Klimek et al., 2023).

Research analysing Indonesian media framing has so far been limited, especially in the context of Erdoğan's election period. Therefore, this study uses framing theory to analyse how three Indonesian media outlets, namely CNN Indonesia, BBC Indonesia, and CNBC Indonesia, portrayed the election. From this mapping, the author explores the election topics covered during the election period, and conducts a comparative analysis based on the perspectives and sentiments provided by the media.

## 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

### *An Overview of Erdoğan's Leadership Created Content*

The controversial view of Erdoğan as one of the most influential figures in the world makes him an interesting subject for scholars to study through various framework analyses. Many articles in reputable international journals discuss various aspects of Erdoğan, including his leadership style, personality, and foreign policy. In previous literature, studies on Erdoğan utilised a series of theories and models to determine variables or concepts that could explain the dynamics of Erdoğan's leadership, and policies implemented. These approaches include discourse analysis, populism theory, neo-Ottomanism, and leadership analysis, each of which offers a different perspective in understanding Erdoğan's role in domestic and international politics. Table 1 below presents the classifications and models that have been studied so far. To fill this gap, this research focuses on media framing analysis which no one has previously adopted and used this approach.

*Table 1. Previous Research*

Author	Purpose and Focus	Framework	Depiction of Erdoğan
(Aydın-Düzgit, 2016)	Analyzing Erdoğan's political discourse and rhetoric on Europe and the European Union	Discourse Analysis	Erdoğan is one of the most dominant authority figures in the AKP government, as well as the most powerful figure in Turkey since the end of his second term (2007-2011)
(Yavuz & Öztürk, 2019)	Exploring the role of religion, particularly Sunni Islam, in Turkey's transformation under the leadership of Erdoğan and the AKP	Secularism	Erdoğan is described as a central figure in Turkey's transformation, particularly in reshaping the role of religion, particularly Sunni Islam
(Wastnidge, 2019)	Exploring neo-ottomanism used in the analysis of Turkey's foreign policy under the AKP	Neo-ottomanism	After his election as president, Erdoğan was portrayed as a leader who consolidated his power, and his actions reflected an authoritarian leadership style
(Destradi et al., 2022)	Analyzing powerful populist groups using foreign policy to gain domestic support	Conceptualizing populist politicisation of foreign policy	The more populist Erdoğan emphasizes anti-elitism and often politicizes Turkey's

(Ozturk, 2021)	analyze Turkey's Islamic policy in domestic and foreign affairs.	Islam and Foreign Policy	foreign policy by building foreign threats Under Erdoğan's leadership, the country has transformed from a country that favors democracy and the European Union to an aggressive country that blends Islam and nationalism
(Çuhadar et al., 2021)	Analyzing the decision-making styles of Turkey's six leaders in foreign policy	Leadership trait analysis (LTA)	Erdoğan is in the leadership style in the expansionist and independent categories
(Hazır, 2022)	Analyzing anti-Western patterns in Turkey's foreign policy under President Erdoğan from 2014 to 2021	Constructivism	Erdoğan is described as a leader who uses anti-Western rhetoric and neo-Ottoman discourse to strengthen his domestic political position and expand Turkey's influence, although this has led to tensions with Western countries.
(Fernandes & Carvalhais, 2018)	Explores the reasons behind the political and social changes that have occurred in Turkey under Erdoğan's leadership, in particular the shift from democratic and secular values to a more conservative and authoritarian perspective.	Political Leadership	Erdoğan is considered a charismatic leader, i.e. the ability to attract and influence others through personal charm, speaking skills, and a strong presence.

Source: Scopus database

In this section, it is explained the results of research and at the same time is given the comprehensive discussion. Results can be presented in figures, graphs, tables and others that make the reader understand easily [2, 5]. The discussion can be made in several sub-chapters. From the table above, the study provides an overview of Turkey's foreign policy under Erdoğan's leadership. In 2016, Aydın-Düzgit wrote an article entitled De-Europeanisation through Discourse: A Critical Discourse Analysis of AKP's Election Speeches. The study explains that Erdoğan has a very strong influence and remains a central leader both within the AKP party and in the context of Turkey's national politics (Aydın-Düzgit, 2016). In addition, some articles focus on Turkey's foreign policy. Yavuz dan Öztürk (2019) wrote an article on Turkey's foreign policy with the title Turkish secularism and Islam under the reign of Erdogan. This article highlights how Erdoğan used Sunni Islam to strengthen his political control and change the direction of Turkey's politics towards more conservative. Moreover Wastnidge (2019) shows that Erdoğan used the concept of neo-ottomanism to strengthen Turkey's influence in the region and increase its power domestically through an authoritarian leadership style. Destradi et al (2022) explores how Erdoğan uses populist rhetoric to politicize foreign policy and rally domestic support by creating a narrative of foreign threats under Erdoğan's leadership. In addition, Erdoğan incorporated elements of Islam and nationalism in his foreign policy to strengthen Turkey's position in the international arena and consolidate its power domestically (Ozturk, 2021).

Another article, focuses on Erdoğan's leadership style. Çuhadar et al (2021) in his research shows that Erdoğan's expansionist and independent leadership style influences Turkey's foreign policy decisions, emphasizing autonomous measures and efforts to expand the country's influence. Article title Anti-Westernism in Turkey's Neo-Ottomanist Foreign Policy under Erdoğan highlights how Erdoğan used anti-Western and neo-Ottoman rhetoric to strengthen his power at home and expand Turkey's influence internationally, despite sacrificing relations with Western countries (Hazır, 2022). As a charismatic leader, Erdoğan is able to inspire and motivate his followers with his political vision and



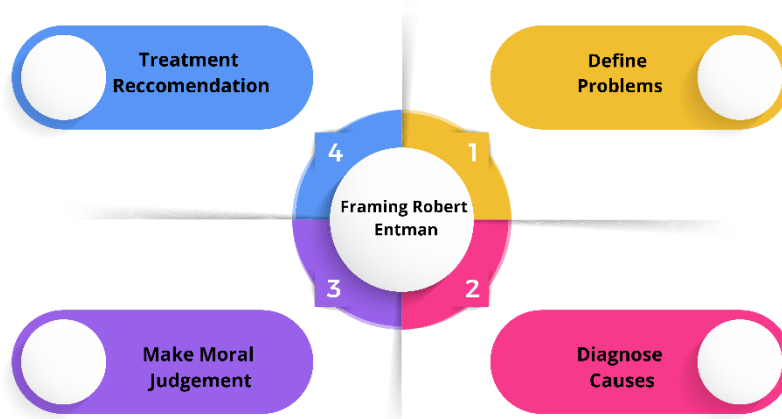


Figure 2. Robert Entman's Framing Scheme

Meanwhile, according to McQuail, framing is a way of providing an overall interpretation of isolated items of fact. News framing is used as a tool to place fact verification in a meaningful context, which can help the audience in understanding the news. At the same time, frames can exclude certain aspects and sounds from the news while privileges other aspects (Joye, 2023). In line with McQuail's view, Eriyanto also argues that framing analysis functions to find out how the media frames reality, be it events, actors, groups, or other phenomena (Eriyanto, 2005).

From this theory, media framing of facts presented as news has a huge influence on readers' perceptions. The framing theory proposed by Robert Entman is used by the author to analyse the coverage of national mainstream media in Indonesia, namely CNN Indonesia, BBC Indonesia, and CNBC Indonesia during the Turkish presidential election in 2023. Through this analysis, the author aims to understand how these media framed news related to the Turkish presidential election and how the framing influenced readers' perceptions of the event. This research will explore the aspects emphasised in the news, the causal interpretations given, the moral judgements implied, and the solutions or recommendations suggested by the media in their coverage.

#### 4. METHODOLOGY

##### Data Collection

This research uses media framing analysis to comprehensively identify articles that are relevant to the theme used. The media framing method itself has been used in various news such as gender themes (Akinmusuyi, 2023; Avalos et al., 2023), food poverty (Kerins et al., 2023), pandemic (Kerins et al., 2023; Santos et al., 2021), radicalism (Figureux & Van Gorp, 2020; Zamroni et al., 2021), and political figure (Karabiyik, 2021; Sahide et al., 2024). This article aims to examine the framing and sentiment of national mainstream media in Indonesia in the lead-up to the 2023 Turkish presidential election. This research involves three mainstream media in Indonesia, namely CNN Indonesia, BBC Indonesia and CNBC Indonesia, through four stages, namely: define problems, diagnose causes, make moral judgements, and treatment recommendations. The author uses three keywords when reading news content or opinion articles in the media, namely positive, negative and neutral.

CNN Indonesia (<https://www.cnnindonesia.com/>) targets a broad segment of society with an emphasis on actual news, both national and international. CNN Indonesia tries to focus on presenting news that is in accordance with the facts and is easily understood by readers. In addition, CNN Indonesia explores events sharply from various points of view without ignoring the meaning of the event. News is also accompanied by arguments supported by existing data and relevant context.

BBC Indonesia (<https://www.bbc.com/indonesia>) is known for its high-quality journalism and presents news by adhering to the BBC journalism principles of accuracy, fairness, transparency and

independence. Their coverage often offers in-depth and contextual analyses of global events that impact Indonesia, as well as local issues that capture the world's attention.

Meanwhile, CNBC Indonesia (<https://www.cnbcindonesia.com/>) in its broadcasting uses strong data and analytics to support reports and provide deeper insights to its readers, through text, graphics, moving images and videographics.

Table 2. Election Period and Post-Election Turkey 2023

Media	Election Period			Total News	Post-Election			Total News
	March	April	May		June	July	August	
CNN Indonesia	-	2	48	50	-	-	-	0
BBC Indonesia	-	-	8	8	1	-	-	1
CNBC Indonesia	1	-	8	9	3	2	1	6
Total	1	2	64	67	4	2	1	7
	Election Period 67 News				Post-Election 7 News			

### Data Analysis

Data collection was conducted using NCapture through three stages. In the first stage, the keyword "Turkish presidential election 2023" was determined. Relevant news articles were then searched using search engines or news websites such as CNN Indonesia, BBC Indonesia, and CNBC Indonesia. The author divides the news into two periods, namely 3 months during the presidential election and 3 months after the presidential election. The election period covers March to May 2023, while post-election covers June to August 2023.

The second stage involved using NCapture to store the articles, where NCapture would store the article content along with relevant metadata. All files that had been collected with NCapture were imported into Nvivo 14, and then the data was organised and categorised based on relevant themes, such as sentiment (positive, negative, neutral). The procedure for conducting this analysis was organised in three stages as shown in Figure 3.

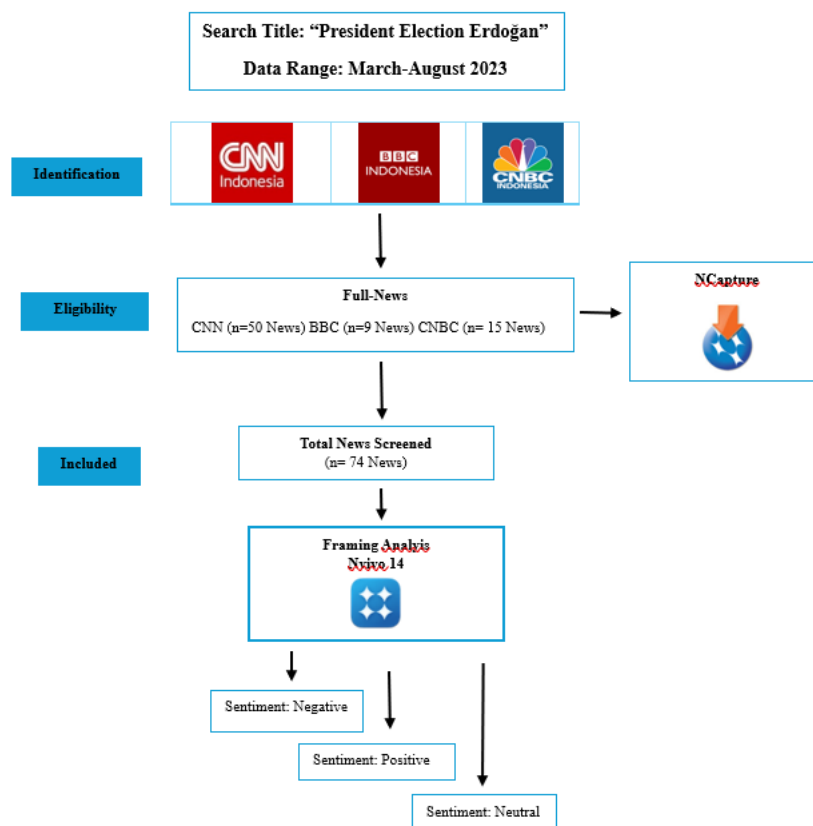


Figure 3. Research Flow

Source: Processed by the Author

## 5. RESULTS AND

### Framing Erdoğan by CNN Indonesia

CNN Indonesia, as one of the leading media outlets in Indonesia with a broad multimedia approach, is not left behind in covering international issues, including the 2023 Turkish elections. During the election period from March to May 2023, CNN Indonesia published a total of 50 news stories related to the Turkish presidential election. However, after the election, from June to August, there were no news stories discussing the election or Erdoğan's victory. The peak of coverage occurred on 29 May 2023, when CNN Indonesia published ten stories, including analyses of the reasons for Erdoğan's victory in the presidential election (CNN Indonesia, 2023e), allegations of election fraud (CNN Indonesia, 2023f), congratulations from international actors (CNN Indonesia, 2023a), declaration of victory (CNN Indonesia, 2023c), Erdoğan's career trail after two decades in power (CNN Indonesia, 2023d), as well as the impact of Erdoğan's victory on the lira's plunge (CNN Indonesia, 2023g). Of the overall news reports, 20 (40%) news were negatively framed, 1 (2%) news was positively framed, and 29 (58%) news was neutrally framed. The framing conducted by CNN Indonesia reflects various aspects of the election, including the political background, challenges faced, as well as the public's perception of Erdoğan's leadership, providing an in-depth picture of Turkey's political dynamics and its implications on a global scale.

Negatively framed news stories about the 2023 Turkish elections often focus on criticism of President Erdoğan's policies and the challenges he faces in securing a majority in the first round of the 2023 Turkish elections. Some stories uncovered facts that could potentially threaten Erdoğan's hold on power, highlighting the history of electoral fraud in Turkey and its impact on the democratic process. They also explored possible scenarios and repercussions should Erdoğan win another election and the

strategies and tactics he is using to maintain power. In contrast, positively framed news emphasised Erdoğan's achievements, support from his supporters, and positive assessments from some observers who believed that Erdoğan's popularity was still high and he was predicted to gain an advantage in the second round of the election (CNN Indonesia, 2023b). On the other hand, neutral news presented Turkey's economic performance under Erdoğan's leadership over two decades, including challenges such as high inflation and efforts to bring it down and improve economic growth. These news also discussed Erdoğan's controversial policies, such as the lowering of borrowing costs that went against conventional economic theory, while highlighting efforts to increase economic growth and reduce poverty, providing a balanced perspective on the successes and challenges of his policies (CNN Indonesia, 2023h).

Based on the news of Erdoğan's victory, CNN Indonesia defined the issue by highlighting Erdoğan's victory as a reflection of his continued political power in Turkey. It emphasises that the victory also presents challenges in maintaining stability as well as facing criticism from the opposition and the international community. In diagnosing the causes of Erdoğan's victory, CNN Indonesia attributed it to strong support from a loyal voter base as well as his success in consolidating power and managing domestic issues important to Turkish voters. In terms of moral judgement, CNN Indonesia portrayed Erdoğan's victory as demonstrating the success of his political strategy, but also warned about the potential risks to democracy and human rights in Turkey if his rule becomes increasingly authoritarian. As a recommendation, CNN Indonesia suggested that the Turkish government under Erdoğan needs to adopt a more inclusive approach and listen to the aspirations of various groups of people to prevent greater social and political tensions.

#### **Framing Erdoğan by BBC Indonesia**

As a media recognised for its global perspective, BBC Indonesia provided an in-depth look at the 2023 Turkish elections. From May to June 2023, BBC Indonesia published nine news stories covering various dimensions of the presidential election process in Turkey. Of the eight stories released during the election period, 4 (50%) were negatively framed, 1 (12.5%) was positively framed, and 3 (37.5%) were neutrally framed. This coverage included important aspects such as the political background, the challenges faced by the candidates, and the public's reaction to the election. BBC Indonesia started covering the Turkish elections in May 2023. During this period, BBC Indonesia published eight stories covering various aspects of the election process, including the political campaign, the challenges faced by the candidates, and the public reaction to the election. Through the framing analysis applied, BBC Indonesia presented an in-depth perspective on Erdoğan's leadership and the dynamics of Turkish politics, giving readers an insight into how this election influenced and was influenced by the domestic and international political context.

News stories about the 2023 Turkish elections that were negatively framed included a report titled "Kemenangan Erdoğan Menyisakan Polarisasi Masyarakat Turki" "published on 29 May 2023. It highlighted the polarising impact left by Erdoğan's victory, reflecting the high tensions among different groups of Turkish society and emphasising Erdoğan's divisive attitude towards his political opponent, Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu, as well as his perceived controversial pro-LGBT policies. It portrays Erdoğan as non-inclusive and divisive (BBC Indonesia, 2023b). In contrast, the news headlined "*Erdoğan: Pedagang Bagel Mengubah Turki dalam Dua Dekade Kepemimpinannya*" published on May 12, 2023, highlights Erdoğan's achievements during his two decades of leadership. This article describes Erdoğan's life journey from humble background to reaching significant leadership positions, and emphasizes the positive aspects of his policies that have reshaped Turkey, despite criticism of his authoritarian leadership style. Neutral news such as "*Mengapa Kemenangan Erdoğan Penting bagi Negara-Negara Barat?*" published on May 29, 2023, provided a broad view of how Erdoğan's victory was viewed by various world leaders, including Vladimir Putin, Joe Biden, and Emmanuel Macron. It presents perspectives from both candidates, Erdoğan and Kılıçdaroğlu, by mentioning Erdoğan's achievements and criticisms of his policies, as well as conveying Kılıçdaroğlu's message of power overreach. It aimed to provide a balanced picture of the political situation in Turkey (BBC Indonesia, 2023a).

After the election ended, BBC Indonesia published one news item in June 2023 with negative framing that discussed the assassination case that overshadowed Erdoğan's government, highlighting the challenges faced by his government post-election.

Based on the news of Erdoğan's victory, BBC Indonesia framed by defining issues related to the controversy surrounding Erdoğan's victory, including allegations of violations in the electoral process and its impact on democracy in Turkey. In diagnosing the causes of Erdoğan's victory, BBC Indonesia stated that his strong control over the media and state institutions, as well as his political manipulation, had strengthened his position among voters. BBC Indonesia's moral judgement is that Erdoğan's victory reflects the decline of democracy in Turkey and the rise of authoritarianism, with potential negative impacts on civil liberties and regional stability. As a recommendation, BBC Indonesia suggests that the international community continue to monitor the situation in Turkey and support efforts to strengthen democratic institutions and the protection of human rights in the country.

### **Framing Erdoğan by CNBC Indonesia**

As a media that prioritises economic and business news, CNBC Indonesia pays particular attention to the economic impact of political events and government policies. In the context of the 2023 Turkish Elections, CNBC Indonesia did not miss a beat to report on the latest developments and their implications. During the election period from early March to May 2023, CNBC Indonesia published nine related stories, covering various important aspects of the election process. Of these, 3 (33.3%) stories were negatively framed, 1 (11.1%) story was positively framed, and 5 (55.6%) stories were neutrally framed. These reports include in-depth analyses of the political campaigns, the challenges faced by the candidates, as well as the public's reaction to the election. Through this coverage, CNBC Indonesia highlights how Turkey's election process and its outcome could affect the economic landscape, providing valuable insights for readers who follow global political and business developments.

Negatively framed stories about the 2023 Turkish election often highlight the impact of Erdoğan's economic policies, such as high inflation, falling currency exchange rates and market instability. For example, a story with the headline *"Mohon Maaf! Pelaku Pasar Benci Erdoğan Menangi Pemilu Turki"* published on May 29, 2023, discussed the decline in the value of Turkish bonds and investors' concerns over Erdoğan's economic policies, emphasising the market instability triggered by the government's economic policies. On the other hand, positively framed news highlighted Erdoğan's economic achievements. For example, articles discussing Erdoğan's economic achievements provided context by comparing Turkey's economic situation with countries that experienced worse economic performance, such as Lebanon and Zimbabwe. Although the article also notes the weakness of the lira currency and Erdoğan's controversial policies, it provides a balanced view by explaining the rationale behind Erdoğan's economic decisions and policies that are considered successful in maintaining economic stability (CNBC Indonesia, 2023a). hereas neutrally framed news presents information without providing judgement or opinion. An example of this news is a report that presents data and information about the election results, including how Erdoğan managed to gain support despite surveys showing otherwise (Puspadini, 2023).

After the election ended, CNBC Indonesia published six post-election stories from June to August 2023, which included 2 (33.3%) stories with negative framing, 1 (16.7%) positive story, and 3 (50%) neutral stories. The news stories were related to the Turkish economy, including the decline of the lira currency and massive gold sales by the central bank before the election. Based on analysis from World Gold Council Senior, Krishan Gopaul, the gold sales were influenced by domestic dynamics and Erdoğan's presidential policies (CNBC Indonesia, 2023b).

Based on the news of Erdoğan's victory, CNBC Indonesia framed the issue by focusing on the economic implications of Erdoğan's victory, particularly how his economic policies would affect Turkey's financial markets and economic stability. In diagnosing the causes of Erdoğan's victory, CNBC Indonesia stated that his populist strategy succeeded in attracting support from the working class and rural voters, as well as his economic measures that have gained widespread support. CNBC Indonesia's moral judgement suggests that Erdoğan's victory brings short-term stability to the Turkish economy. However, there are concerns about long-term economic management and potential political instability that could undermine investor confidence. As a recommendation, CNBC Indonesia suggests that the Turkish government needs to focus on sustainable and transparent economic reforms, as well as building trust with the international business community to ensure stable economic growth.

**Percentage of Media Sentiment Comparison**

Based on the results of news analysis from CNN Indonesia, BBC Indonesia, and CNBC Indonesia, there are significant differences in sentiment related to Erdoğan's framing of the 2023 Turkish presidential election, both before and after the election. This analysis shows that each media has a different point of view in assessing the event. These differences in viewpoints affected the way each media framed the news before it was delivered to the wider public, which in turn affected public perceptions of Erdoğan's victory. The following is a comparison of media sentiment during the period before and after the 2023 Turkish election:

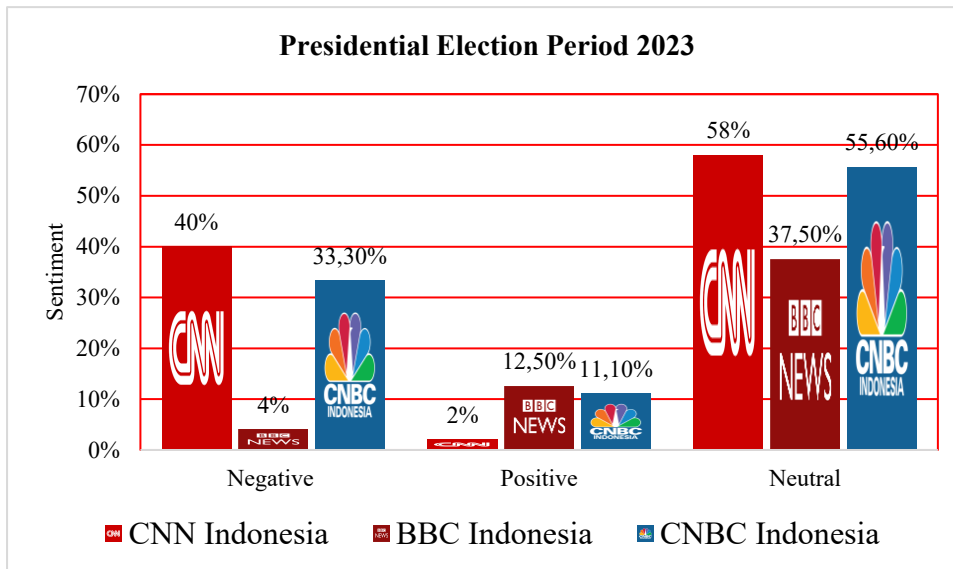


Figure 5. News Sentiment for the March-May 2023 Election Period

Source: NVivo 14

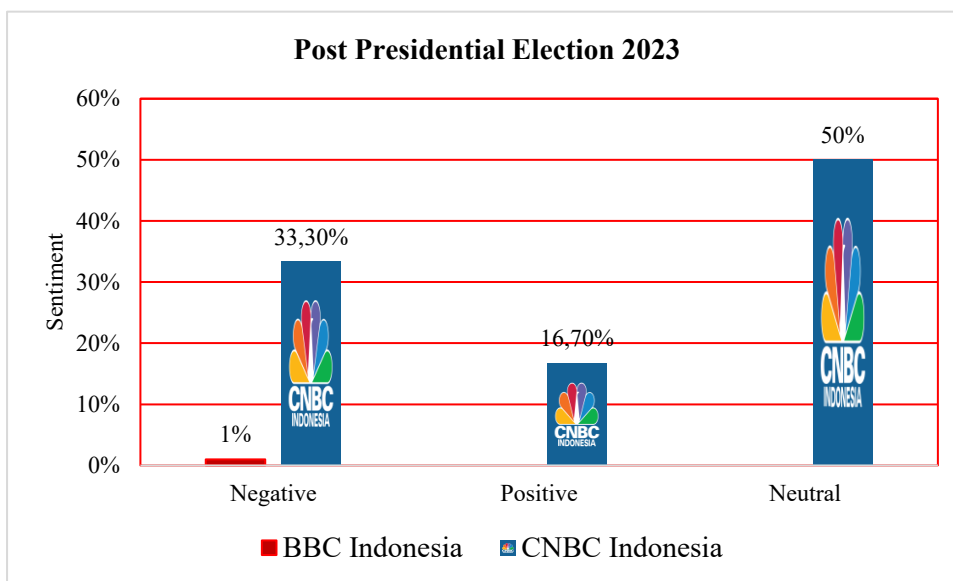


Figure 4. Post-Election News Sentiment June-August 2023

Source: Nvivo 14

#### 4. CONCLUSION

An analysis of media framing of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan in the 2023 Turkish elections shows that CNN Indonesia, BBC Indonesia, and CNBC Indonesia have different approaches in reporting Erdoğan's victory. This analysis reveals that national mainstream media in Indonesia reporting on the 2023 Turkish presidential election tend to use neutral framing with CNBC Indonesia recording 56.6%, BBC Indonesia only 37.5%, and CNN Indonesia a high 58%. The percentage of positive framing towards Erdoğan is very low, each media only reaching 1%. Meanwhile, the percentage of negative framing is quite significant, the high percentage of negative framing can be attributed to Erdoğan's controversial leadership style. CNN Indonesia had the highest percentage (40%), followed by CNBC Indonesia (33.3%) and BBC Indonesia (4%).

Post-election, only two media outlets consistently reported on Erdoğan, namely BBC Indonesia and CNBC Indonesia. In this period, BBC Indonesia reported negative news at 1%, while CNBC Indonesia recorded the highest negative news at 33.3%. Positive news about Erdoğan on CNBC Indonesia reached 16.7%, with neutral news at 50%. Overall, CNBC Indonesia's post-election coverage shows a framing that tends to be neutral towards Erdoğan. Although each media gives different emphasis, overall, they show views that tend to be neutral towards Erdoğan's leadership. Erdoğan's victory in the 2023 presidential election was greeted with mixed views internationally. His victory was seen as strengthening his position, marking Erdoğan's return with a renewed mandate to lead Turkey.

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