

# Analysis of the News Published Regarding the Turkish World in the Context of Public Diplomacy

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## ABSTRACT

Mass media is one of the primary environments in which public diplomacy, which is seen as a way of creating a positive image of the peoples and intellectuals of different countries and cultural attraction between countries, is maintained. Online news platforms, which are among these tools, are at the center of news production and distribution activities at the international level. While online news platforms allow the execution of journalism activities beyond the boundaries of time and space with their network infrastructure, they are preferred by the readers for reasons such as speed, the structure that allows interaction, easy accessibility and variety of content.

The aim of this study are to reveal the framing of the news in Turkmen, Uzbek, Kyrgyz and Kazakh on the TRT Avaz's website in the context of public diplomacy. In the content analysis for the news in four languages on the TRT Avaz's website; It has been concluded that general news frames are about human and place interest and responsibility, and news about political/military and cultural public diplomacy are mostly included. In addition, the news intensely conveys monologue and short-term developments to disseminate information about countries.

**Keywords:** Public Diplomacy, News Framing, Turkish World, Online Journalism, News

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# Türk Dünyasına Yönelik Olarak Yayınlanan Haberlerin Kamu Diplomasisi Bağlamında Analizi

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ÖZ

Farklı ülke halkları ve aydınları üzerinde yaratılacak olumlu imajın ve ülkeler arasında oluşturulacak kültürel çekimin bir yolu olarak görülen kamu diplomasisinin sürdürüldüğü ortamların başında kitle iletişim araçları gelmektedir. Bu araçların içerisinde yer alan çevrimiçi haber platformları uluslararası düzeyde haber üretim ve dağıtım faaliyetlerinin merkezinde yer almaktadır. Çevrimiçi haber platformları sahip olduğu ağ alt yapısı ile zaman ve mekân sınırlarının ötesinde habercilik faaliyetlerinin yürütülmesine olanak tanırken, okur açısından da hızı, etkileşime imkân tanıyan yapısı, kolay erişilebilir olması ve içerik çeşitliliği gibi sebeplerle tercih edilmektedir.

Bu çalışmanın amacı, TRT Avaz web sitesinde yer alan Türkmençe, Özbekçe, Kırgızca ve Kazakça haberlerin kamu diplomasisi bağlamında çerçevelenme biçimlerini ortaya koymaktır. TRT Avaz web sitesinde yer alan dört dildeki haberlere yönelik içerik analizinde; genel haber çerçevelerinin insan ve yer ilgisi ile sorumluluğa yönelik olduğu, politik/askeri ve kültürel kamu diplomasisine yönelik haberlere çoğunlukla yer verildiği sonucuna ulaşılmıştır. Ayrıca haberler, ülkeler hakkındaki enformasyonu yaymaya yönelik, monolog ve kısa vadeli gelişmeleri yoğun olarak aktarmaktadır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Kamu Diplomasisi, Haber Çerçeveleme, Türk Dünyası, Çevrimiçi Gazetecilik, Haber

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## INTRODUCTION

Public diplomacy, which is seen as the art of managing the perception and directing foreign public opinion in line with the objectives, includes the processes of understanding, informing and influencing the public (Mahheim, 1990, p. 75; Tunch, 1990). There are also approaches that consider public diplomacy as a strategic communication tool. As a strategic communication tool, public diplomacy is defined as a communication process that a government engages in to explain its nation's ideals, ideas, institutions, culture, as well as its national goals and current policies to the foreign public (Tunch, 1990, p. 3). Potter (2002) defines it as an attempt by a government to influence the people, opinion leaders and intellectuals of another nation in order to turn them into an advantage for their national policies. Public diplomacy, whose main purpose is to build deep-rooted relations, is to understand the needs, cultures and people of other countries; It is carried out to share viewpoints, correcting misperceptions, and finding common ground (Leonard, Stead, & Smewing, 2002, pp. 8-9).

From the past to the present, diplomatic steps have been taken to strengthen the relations and bonds between the countries and societies in the Turkish World. The concept of the Turkic World is used as a supra-national definition to express the communities speaking different Turkish/Turkic languages, the geography and the administrative units they are settled in (Tetik, 2017, p. 40) Türkiye has covered significant distances with many countries in its public diplomacy practices, especially its relations with the Turkic States. Apart from the economic relations established with the states, Türkiye as built new bridges in fields such as history, publicity, science, culture, tourism and education. Türkiye has created a positive public opinion in the context of public diplomacy in recent years by constructing schools, hospitals and similar buildings, also water, food, medicine supports and education scholarships, job opportunities with the purpose of explaining and teaching Turkish history, culture and language. In fact, Türkiye aims to touch people and to spread Turkish culture and traditional structure in these works. The Turkish diplomacy is constituted by culture, natural flow of the relevant issue and by the Turkish World which expresses geography and mass of people (Akkoyun, 2021, p. 38). Heads of State Summits of Turkic Speaking Countries, which were held with the participation of the heads of state of the Türkiye, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, and Kyrgyzstan countries, are important events in terms of public diplomacy. Because the primary goal of the Turkic Council is to reinforce the environment

of mutual trust in the Turkish world, strengthen political solidarity, accelerate economic and technical cooperation opportunities, establish healthy human relations, and record the historical and cultural accumulations of the Turkish world. (Açık, 2021, p. 70). The most important tool that ensures the dissemination of these activities in society is the media.

Media plays an important role in the development of public diplomacy. This importance has increased with the internet, communication, and information technologies, and diplomacy has started to be carried out not between states but between societies (Akkoyun, 2021, pp. 46-47). The media plays a serious role in shaping the perceptions of individuals in different societies about countries.

Journalism plays a vital role in the functioning of all modern liberal democracies as a public watchdog, fourth power, or channel through which important information flows to all citizens. The definition of the media as the fourth power after the legislative, executive and judicial powers in terms of creating social balances in contemporary and democratic societies is the biggest expression of these functions. Since it is a social communication institution, the press has an important role in the progress or backwardness of the society of which it is the spokesperson, and this public duty constitutes the backbone of social dynamics. The duty of the press to society; can be expressed as informing, monitoring, controlling, and criticizing, thus contributing to the formation of public opinion and explaining this public opinion.

When the relationship between media and public opinion is examined; It is seen that the "agenda-setting" approach developed by McCombs and Shaw (1972) is shaped by the argument that what people think is determined by the media (Severin & Tankard, 2001, p. 397; Gülnar, 2017). Framing theory has an important place in the agenda-setting approach; It is based on the fact that media frames are decisive in the way the public perceives a problem. McQuail (2005) argues that the framing theory takes place in two stages: the process of shaping the news by the mass media and the interpretation of the news by the public according to the frames of reference. In the approach, frames are important in terms of storytelling and influencing public perception; it is assumed that minor changes in the explanation of a situation affect the way the audience thinks about the situation (Bullock, Wyche, & Williams, 2001, p. 232). For this reason, the way the news is presented is important in shaping the perception of society and forming public opinion.

The emergence of new communication technologies with the development of the Internet has also led to a transformation in the understanding of diplomacy. Rapid developments in communication technologies and the emergence of the Internet in the 21st century lead the development of the online newspapers in addition to the conventional newspapers and online journalism have been actively used as a public diplomacy tool since then.(Çetinkaya, 2018, p. 6). To prevent speculative situations that may arise as a result of the increase in knowledge and information accumulation with globalization; states have started to carry out their public diplomacy activities through digital tools. Among the tools of strategic actions, online channels have begun to take more place (Çömlekçi, 2019, p. 2). According to the Digital News Report shared by the Reuters Institute in 2021, although television news continues to show a strong performance in some countries, there has been a sharp decline in the circulation of printed newspapers, and digital media has started to rise in terms of journalism (Digital News Report, 2021). The ability of online newspapers to deliver news to different target audiences without limitation of time and place has an impact on readers' orientation to this medium in news consumption. For this reason, this study is aimed to discuss the framing styles of news in Turkmen, Uzbek, Kyrgyz and Kazakh published on the TRT Avaz's website in the context of public diplomacy.

## **THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND DIMENSIONS OF PUBLIC DIPLOMACY**

The concept of diplomacy has been defined in different ways in the literature. Ernest Satow (1966, 1), a former British diplomat, defines diplomacy as the practice of intelligence and tactics, sometimes focusing on the official relations between the governments of independent states, and sometimes on the relations of these states with their subordinate states or for the conduct of business between countries by peaceful means. Versan (1995, 89) accepts diplomacy as a necessary tool for a state to protect its interests over other states without resorting to violence.

The concept of public diplomacy, first used by Edmund Gullion, the US Ambassador to Congo in 1965, was used to describe activities directed at the Eastern Bloc instead of propaganda. Public diplomacy, which traditionally focuses on the purpose of influencing foreign publics, is defined as public communication made to create a change in the feelings and thoughts of the target audience abroad (Szondi, 2008, p. 6). Manheim (1990, p. 4), on the other hand, defined public diplomacy as the efforts of states to influence the international public opinion or the thoughts of their elites in line with the interests

of the countries. Aydemir (2016, p. 206), who interprets public diplomacy within the framework of subconscious emphasis by making use of strategic communication, expresses it as a multidimensional paradigm in which non-state actors and the public are included in the process, and stories about countries are presented with the right strategies and practices in messages aimed at needs. According to Bostancı (2012, p. 39) emphasizing that non-state actors play a leading role in public diplomacy, it is the whole of activities in which cultural exchanges are at the forefront to improve the image of a country in other countries. While definitions of public diplomacy are generally focused on national identity and image, they are shaped within the framework of national interests, common consensus area, perception management and persuasion. Public diplomacy, which prepares a suitable ground for the formation of intercultural dialogue, provides the opportunity to recognize other countries' peoples, values, traditions, social structures and beliefs.

In the definitions of public diplomacy, especially the concept of establishing relations emerges as an important emphasis. The relationship is defined as "the situation where the effects of economic, social, political and/or cultural activities between the organization and its basic publics are for the good of both parties" (Ledingham and Bruning, 1998: 62). Connection, on the other hand, is defined as "the relationship between the individual/group that affects or is affected by the organization" (Bruce & Shelley, 2010, p. 30). Today, public diplomacy is considered as activities that include listening, defense and cultural diplomacy in a way that includes making connections (Andersson, Gillespie, & Mackay, 2010, p. 259).

Public diplomacy is considered as a strategy that enables states to communicate and connect with foreign publics (De Gouveia & Plumridge, 2005, p. vi). Public diplomacy is "understanding the cultures, attitudes and behaviors by states, their associations, state and non-state actors; It is a method for influencing thoughts and directing behavior in order to establish and manage relationships and realize their interests and values (Gregory, 2011, p. 353). According to Manuel Castells, public diplomacy is not propaganda or diplomacy in the traditional sense, and he says that the purpose of public diplomacy is "to communicate, not to persuade, to listen, not to say" (Castells, 2008, p. 91).

During the Cold War period, which is considered to be the first period of public diplomacy, the Eastern and Western blocs tried to explain the success of their systems in order to both protect their

existing allies and gain new allies. At that time, publications such as Voice of America Radio, Voice of Russia Radio and the America magazine prepared by the USA for the Soviet Union, events such as Bolshoi Ballet's World Tour and Olympics, Fulbright Scholarship, and institutions such as the British Council were used as tools of public diplomacy. However, the end of the Cold War caused the need for public diplomacy to be questioned. The attack on the twin towers in the United States on September 11 caused public diplomacy to come to the fore again. When the use of hard power in the fight against terrorism did not bring a solution to the issue, it was realized that this struggle was based on mutual understanding and public diplomacy practices came to the fore again (Yağmurlu, 2019, p. 1269).

It can be evaluated that the term of public diplomacy has been conceptualized in post-World War II period as a result of the conjuncture. Communism implemented by the Soviet Union in the years of the Cold War kept people under pressure and did not allow differentiation in the ideas of individuals. The USA and other Western Bloc states, who wanted to turn this situation into an opportunity, started propaganda activities targeting the Soviets, based on human rights and freedoms. Public diplomacy emerged in such a conjuncture (Karadağ, 2016, p. 10-11). The increase in the impact of developments in satellite technology in shaping global policies (Seib, 2008, p. ix) can be considered one of the main factors in the emergence of public diplomacy. The concept of public diplomacy, which emerged in the USA in the 1960s, has come to the forefront as the art of winning the hearts and minds of the world public opinion, especially as of September 11, 2001 (Sancar, 2015, p. 441).

Public diplomacy aims to draw attention to these potential resources through broadcasting, financial support for cultural exports, and exchanges. While talking about Nye's definition of public diplomacy, it is necessary to emphasize the concept of soft power. The change in the concept of "power", which is widely known in the world, is also one of the main reasons for focusing more on public diplomacy. Nye (2004, p. 7-11) defines soft power as "the ability to get what one wants through attraction rather than buying it with money or pressure". Soft power underpins a state's culture, political ideals, and the appeal of its policies. Soft power will be consolidated when the policies implemented by a state are accepted as legitimate in the eyes of other states.

Apart from conveying information and positive image marketing, public diplomacy also includes building long-term relationships that create environments suitable for government policies (Nye, 2008,

p. 101). Nye considers public diplomacy in three dimensions; “Different rates”, “requiring direct state knowledges” and “long-term cultural relations”. The first and closest dimension is “daily communications”, which includes the explanation of the general situation of local and foreign policies. In this dimension, Nye underlines the importance of focusing on the foreign press instead of the local press and emphasizes that news should be made by considering the people of foreign countries in order not to leave a negative impression. In order not to be misrepresented in the outside world, the media need to be careful about the news they broadcast in the country. The daily communication dimension also includes crisis management, coping with crises, being prepared for attacks, thanks to the ability to respond quickly, to correct incomplete or incorrect information in any broadcast when necessary, to respond immediately to false accusations and misleading information (Nye, 2005, p. 108). The second dimension of public diplomacy is “strategic communication”, which is built around a series of simple themes, as in advertising and political campaigns. It is important to plan and ensure the consistency of strategic communication in public diplomacy, just as messages and media studies are planned in a year in order to create integrity for a brand or a political activity and to increase memorability. Repetitive messages and events in compatible media channels strengthen strategic communication. The information conveyed to the public through different channels mustn't contradict and refute each other. Nye defines the third dimension of public diplomacy as the development of “long-term relationships” through activities such as scholarships, exchange programs, internships, training, seminars, and conferences, thanks to the bonds created over the years. These relationships are created and developed over the years, especially through the media, with key people. In the years after the war, especially in America, hundreds of thousands of people were educated and transferred the values they acquired to their country. All three dimensions of public diplomacy have important roles in creating a positive and attractive image of a country in front of foreign public opinion. This, in turn, increases the likelihood that that country will achieve the desired results. However, it should be noted that even the best advertisement cannot sell an unpopular product (Nye, 2008, p. 102).

It is important that the policies created serve the benefit and reputation of that country, and that what is said and what is done are compatible with each other. The actions that are done are more memorable.



American Ambassador Christopher Ross, on the other hand, evaluates public diplomacy as two-dimensional. According to Ross, the first dimension of public diplomacy is "communication of policies". In other words, it is the transfer of the country's policies to foreign peoples through the media and different languages as much as possible. These are mostly in the form of short-term studies. The second dimension is "developing mutual understanding and satisfaction" with different countries in the longer-term process (Kelley, 2009, p. 74). This last approach of Ross is similar to Nye's approach to long-term relationship building. This kind of work, which is more likely to take place in times of peace, is important in establishing more lasting bonds and friendships between peoples, despite intergovernmental hostilities.

Although Mark Leonard is similar to the others in his approaches, he generalizes a little more. According to Leonard, public diplomacy is effort to understand the needs of other countries and societies, change perceptions, and build relationships through finding common points. Public diplomacy rests on three different axes: political/military, economic and socio-cultural. Organizing news events to achieve strategic goals, creating an agenda with effective messages and perceptions, and establishing longer relations with societies for the adoption of values are the dimensions of public diplomacy (Kelley, 2009, p. 74). We can say that the most basic feature of the three different approaches of Nye, Ross and Leonard is communication, especially strategic communication. All three views necessarily agree on establishing relationships between groups and individuals.

Szondi also evaluates the dimensions of public diplomacy within the framework of "power", "content" and "purpose". The first dimension that Szondi puts forward is the situation in which communication takes place. In times of war and peace, the relationship includes the relationship between the source and the destination country. The second dimension includes levels of communication goals, from persuasion (one-way communication) to relationship building (two-way communication). Many countries and country groups, including the European Union, describe public diplomacy as symmetrical public diplomacy, which is based on dialogue and aims to develop mutual understanding. In symmetric public diplomacy, which offers a common agreement, each party has an equal chance to influence policies. The third dimension, power, is the power to influence the results (Szondi, 2008, p. 8-9).

Today's applications of public diplomacy are called "New Public Diplomacy". Globalization, a multipolar international systems, new information and communication technologies seem to trigger this change (Yang, 2015, p. 300). Today, public diplomacy is handled as activities that include listening, advocacy and cultural diplomacy in a way that prioritizes connection (Andersson, Gillespie, & Mackay, 2010, p. 259). The practices of this period are carried out through public and private partnerships rather than a one-sided effect, giving priority to establishing and developing relationships. While the concept of relationship in public diplomacy expresses the situation that the effects of economic, social, political and/or cultural activities between the organization and its basic public are for the good of both parties; The concept of connection is defined as "the relationship between the individual/group that affects or is affected by the organization (Ledingham & D. Bruning, 1998, p. 62; Bruce & Shelley, 2010, p. 30).

## THE MODELS OF PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

In the model developed by Leonard et al., three dimensions of public diplomacy are emphasized. In this model, the political (military), economic and socio-cultural aims of public diplomacy are emphasized. The dimensions of 'reactive' (short term), 'proactive' (medium term) and 'relationship-building' (long term) are mentioned. These dimensions are named as "news management", "strategic communication" and "relationship building dimensions". (Leonard vd., 2002, P. 10-20). The model represents the change from a process that includes immediate responses to news that will create a crisis, to a dimension that includes long-term relationships by subjecting messages and relationships to strategic planning.

It is emphasized that the communication to be carried out in public diplomacy should be continuous, and in this process, it is important to know not only its own citizens but also the foreign public opinion, the domestic and foreign policy of the country in question and the underlying reasons. It has been stated that the prestige of the countries that carry out the strategic communication processes correctly and receive the support of a foreign public opinion will develop positively in the international arena and also that public diplomacy and casual diplomacy will enable the creation of long-term relations by using many channels such as international conferences, media relations, student exchange programs, which are defined as daily or casual communications of civilians.

Cowan and Arsenault (2008) examine public diplomacy in three different ways in terms of practice. Each format has its own differences. They can be used separately or applied together. Depending on the situation of the international environment, the place and forms of use also change. Cowan and Arsenault's public diplomacy practice model is classified as "monologue", "dialogue" and "collaboration". While "monologue" (one-way communication) and "dialogue" (two-way or multi-way communication) are two indispensable tools of public diplomacy, academics and practitioners have been discussing a third method, "cooperation" for a long time. While some monologue elements lead the masses behind them, a good dialogue environment is effective in creating common meaning. Cooperation is also important in laying the groundwork for trust and mutual respect. Monologue tools are effective when societies need to set their attitudes, sometimes to prove their existence or when they need one-way communication tools. However, the importance of establishing a dialogue environment for the exchange of ideas, the development of social relations, and the correct perception of different beliefs, experiences and perspectives are supported by many studies. Cooperation, on the other hand, envisages joint projects and various initiatives in achieving the goals. The dimensions of public diplomacy, each of which is a separate research and study subject in itself, take place separately or together in different ways and under different conditions every day within or outside the borders of each country (Cowan & Arsenault, 2008, p. 11-12). "Dialogue", another public diplomacy method, refers to the exchange of ideas and information, mutual communication and versatility. Dialogue is a method for developing relationships and increasing understanding. It is not necessary to reach a compromise or win an argument. The key here; finding a way to listen to make people believe that their voice is heard. The way to obtain information about different societies and to create activities in this direction is through listening. Listening and understanding help governments make more careful policy (Cowan & Arsenault, 2008, p. 16-20). Although monologue and dialogue are important public diplomacy tools in international image creation and strengthening relations, in recent years, academics and public diplomacy practitioners have also emphasized another method, "cooperation". Compared to the other two methods, experts agree that cooperation is a more effective and successful method for creating mutual understanding, improving and strengthening relations.

According to Mill, if a neighbor of common interests does not team up or form partnerships with you, then he or she may simply be your competitor. (Putnam, 2000, p. 337). Cooperation is a method of

public diplomacy that envisages the meeting of different nations from different countries in common work. There are various forms of collaboration, such as focusing on solving common problems, sharing a similar vision, or completing a project. These projects are; It can be short-term in the form of writing the lyrics of a play or a song, or they can be long-term works such as healing wounds and rebuilding places after a natural disaster. (Cowan & Arsenault, 2008, p. 21).

In another approach, public diplomacy activities are classified as an 'informational and relational model'. While the informational model covers the issues of information, propaganda and perception management, which includes the design and distribution of messages to achieve political goals, the relational model refers to the construction of social structures to achieve political goals. In the first model, the aim is to transmit the information unilaterally to the other party, while in the second model, cooperation based on mutual trust is essential. In the first, a linear communication provides the transfer of information; that is, there is a situation where information is collected to develop policies, interests, images or transmitted to achieve unilateral purposes, while in the second there is a bidirectional and balanced relationship. While the informational model of public diplomacy consists of propaganda, nation branding, media relations, international broadcasting and information campaigns, the relational model covers activities such as cultural and educational exchange programs, leader tours, activities of cultural and language institutions, development aid projects, twinning arrangements, relationship building campaigns, non-political cooperation work, catalyst diplomacy activities (Zaharna, 2009, p. 86-92).

Peisert, who developed the 'cultural communication model' based on the fact that cultural communication is seen as the most important part of public diplomacy, examined this model in four sub-models. The first model, the 'exchange and cooperation' phase, defines the type of relationship in which both parties come together to solve scientific, social and cultural problems when the reciprocal parties have equal rights. The aim is to create understanding and sympathy for a country abroad. Visiting programs of academicians, students' exchange programs or research projects are shown as examples of activities carried out based on exchange and cooperation at the international level. The second model is the 'one-way transfer of a culture abroad'. This model includes the activities of centers related to foreign policy due to the imbalance in its structure. Here, persuasion rather than exchange is essential. The expansion of language schools abroad is an example of this. In the third model called "Information", the aim is to inform abroad. In this process, in which press and media relations are used intensively,

information parallel to foreign policy is given. The fourth model, the 'self-image' approach, focuses on consciously drawing a specific picture of a country abroad. In this model, the aim is to carry out planning and coordination according to the picture they want to create central organizations (Becerikli, 2005, p. 19).

In this study, public diplomacy was discussed in the context of media relations, and in this direction, the data of the research were analyzed in line with the models developed by Leonard et al., Cowan and Arsenault and Peisert.

### **THE ROLE OF THE MEDIA IN PUBLIC DIPLOMACY AND TRT AVAZ**

In addition to being a tool that conveys messages to large masses easily and quickly, many studies have been conducted and various theories have been put forward on the power of the media to shape the attitudes and behaviors of the masses. Naturally, the ability to deliver messages quickly, easily and effectively has made the media one of the indispensable actors and tools of public diplomacy practices of states. Books, pamphlets, etc. Traditional mass media such as publications, newspapers, magazines, radio, television and cinema, and new communication environments brought by internet technology are used effectively in the public diplomacy activities of countries. Radios and televisions also easily reach illiterate and less cultured masses and ensure that the opinions of the masses are shaped to the desired extent with the audio-visual messages they carry.

Advances in communication technologies have a great role in the differentiation and development of public diplomacy practices. The media is one of the most important tools in conveying the story of a country to the public opinion of other countries. For this reason, developments in communication technologies strengthen the hand of public diplomacy practitioners. According to Güngör (2013, 51), who states that international communication efforts are a method used in every period of history, the influence of the media, which can reach the international public more quickly thanks to the developments in communication technologies, is increasing.

It is a fact that the media is very important in terms of creating international public opinion in terms of public diplomacy. All the leading countries in the globalizing world benefit from the power of the media in the international arena (Ertekin, 2012, 334-335). The media is in the position of the greatest power in conveying the activities of states or institutions. Globalization and developments in technology

have increased the power of both the media and communication and expanded its sphere of influence. Among the application areas of public diplomacy, the media stands out thanks to its power to reach people all over the world and to have a certain impact on them (Yıldırım, 2015, p. 173).

It is important how international media organizations describe countries. Because they can affect the perception that will be formed about countries in the minds of the international community. The more positively a country is mentioned in the foreign press, the more investments and tourists it can attract; which can increase its soft power (Eksj, 2014 p. 114-115). The most important point to be considered in the process of using the media as a public diplomacy tool is the published content produced by the media. The only thing that will enable societies to understand and get closer to each other is the content of this broadcast. The content of the published should be prepared by the professionals of the subject, especially by focusing on the common denominators and avoiding emphasizing the differences. In this direction, a publication policy with a strategic vision is needed (Ozkan, 2017).

According to Erzen, it is thought that the positive image to be created of the people and intellectuals of the country and the cultural attraction that will be created between the countries will contribute positively to the image of the country, and for this reason, a communication process with other countries is started by getting support from various institutions and groups. Public diplomacy mostly uses local and national media as well as academic institutions, non-governmental organizations and economic unions. By providing the support of the media through these groups, it is possible to establish international cooperation and create the desired perception with the regular messages and slogans to be created. However, the point to be considered here is not the creation of perception, but the management of perception (2012, p. 54). Studies with media tools strengthen the image of countries and ensure the correct management of public opinion. Understanding the messages intended to be given to the target audience and maintaining them in accordance with the determined policies can be achieved with the successful use of the media (Aydoğan, 2016). When explaining policies to foreign societies, states should deliver exaggerated, accurate information based on real sources. It should also carry out this in accordance with the interests of the state, together with non-governmental organizations and the media, and increase its gains in public diplomacy. The media, which has the most important place in the management of perception in society in the short and long term, informs the public and mediates the impact process by providing news both at the national and international levels.

Both conventional and new media are used extensively in public diplomacy. With the conventional and new media environment, contacting the relevant publics in all regions of the world has started to happen quite effortlessly (İnceoğlu, 2000, p. 1). In particular, new media has been widely used in today's public diplomacy in terms of being fast and enabling mutual communication. Public diplomacy operating in the context of new media is defined as 'digital public diplomacy' (Koyuncu & Medin, 2017, p. 1233). For example, a positive news or article about a country published in globally reputable newspapers such as The New York Times, Washington Post and Le Monde or in magazines such as Time, Newsweek and Le Point is important in the branding process of that country's identity (Parim & Çetin, 2021, p. 31).

TRT, which started international television broadcasting for the first time in the early 1990s, now carries Türkiye's messages to different ethnic, religious and cultural communities with TRT World, TRT El-Arabia, TRT Kürdi, TRT Avaz and TRT Russian channels. TRT Avaz, which constitutes the main subject of the study, started its publishing life on March 21, 2009, "*with an understanding that adopts Gaspıralı İsmail's 'unity in language, thought, and work' approach, for Turkish-speaking peoples. It determines the geographies of Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan and Tajikistan as priority publication areas and includes publications in the dialects of the Turkish language in Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan.*" (TRT Avaz, 2022). Programs with the themes of education, culture, art, science, children and family, history and geography, language and thought constitute the general content of the channel. At the Leaders' Summit held in Kyrgyzstan in 2018, it was stated that TRT Avaz functions as the common channel of the Turkish world. In this way, the will to strengthen the cooperation between Turkish World channels and TRT AVAZ has been revealed. TRT Avaz acts as an intermediary in ensuring the communication of the geography where the people of Turkish descent live with the outside world. It is the only communication platform where belief, culture, art, political-economic developments and daily life exist in the field stretching from the Caucasus to the interior of Asia. The channel's broadcast streams, programs, photo and video galleries are featured on TRT Avaz's website, which was launched in 2017. TRT Avaz, which also carries out journalism activities on its website, shares daily news in eight languages: Turkish, Azerbaijani, Turkmen, Uzbek, Kyrgyz, Kazakh Tatar and Russian (TRT Avaz, 2022). These studies, which are among the online journalism activities, form the basis of the analysis part of the study.

## METHOD

### Purpose, Method and Model of the Research

TRT Avaz's broadcasts are also effective in the development of relations between these countries, which are close to each other in terms of the language used, with Türkiye. TRT Avaz contributes to the cooperation, partnership and agreements between Türkiye and the Turkish states in Central Asia, and the development of inter-communal relations with its broadcasts and programs (Günaydın, Saydam, Erdem, & Aytan, 2020, p. 692). TRT Avaz maintains this publishing approach on its website and also carries out the news flow for the Turkic republics on its website. Today, online news portals appear as the channels where the news flow is the fastest. Readers access news through news portals regardless of time and place. In this context, this study aims to discuss the framing styles of the news published on TRT Avaz's website in the context of public diplomacy. Qualitative and quantitative content analysis was carried out for the news analyzed in the study. The content analysis technique is defined as a systematic, methodological and objective method used to identifying, classifying and interpret the basic components in the text content; It is carried out to analyze the presence of systematically determining categories/codes in a text or image. This method, which is frequently used in the analysis of content in traditional media, is also used for the analysis of new media texts today (Baxter & Babbie, 2004, p. 314; Jensen, 2011, p. 52). Within the framework of the quantitative dimension of the method, which elements are clearly present in the messages constitute the quantitative dimension of the analysis; the analysis involving the qualitative dimension aim to reveal what or what is meant as an example in the messages (Ackland, 2013, p. 35-38).

The basis of the research model is formed by the five news frames determined by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000, p. 93). In addition, in the context of public diplomacy; Leonard Stead & Smewing's (2002, p. 10) Three Dimensions of Public Diplomacy and Reactive/Proactive Public Diplomacy, Peisert's Cultural Communication Model (Signitzer & Wamser, 2009, p. 399), Cowan and Arsenault's Monologue-Dialogue-Cooperation Model (2008, pp. 11-12) were also used in forming the research model. In addition, in the content analysis coding table, the tone of the message, the message associations and the content elements of the news are also included. In addition, in the content analysis coding table, the tone of the message, the message associations and the content elements of the news are also included.



**Table 1** Research Model

<b>GENERAL NEWS FRAMES</b>	
<b>Conflict</b>	News involving conflict between individuals, groups, institutions or countries
<b>Human and Place Relevance</b>	News that includes stories of people and places in the presentation of an event, issue, or problem
<b>Responsibility</b>	News that puts the responsibility of causing or solving a problem on the government, an individual, or a group
<b>Morality</b>	News that interprets an event or issue in the context of religious principles or moral issues
<b>Economy</b>	News that interprets an event, issue or problem through the economic consequences it creates
<b>THREE DIMENSIONS OF PUBLIC DIPLOMACY</b>	
<b>Political/Military</b>	News covering political and military issues
<b>Economical</b>	News on economic issues
<b>Socio-cultural</b>	News involving social and cultural issues
<b>PEISERT'S CULTURAL COMMUNICATION MODEL</b>	
<b>Exchange and Cooperation</b>	News about the meeting of both parties to solve scientific, social and cultural problems in cases where reciprocal parties have equal rights
<b>A cultures one-way transfer to abroad</b>	News in which an unbalanced, one-sided and persuasive culture transfer is made
<b>The Information model</b>	News about the process of creating understanding and sympathy abroad for a country
<b>Self-description</b>	News that deliberately paints a specific picture of a country abroad
<b>COWAN AND ARSENAULT'S MONOLOGUE-DIALOGUE-COOPERATION MODEL</b>	
<b>Monologue</b>	News includes identity transfer, information, nations proving themselves and their policies, speeches, declarations, closed content books, films and articles.
<b>Dialogue</b>	News about the development of relations, exchange of ideas, official summits, academic conferences, sports-arts projects
<b>Cooperation</b>	Joint problem solving, improvement of relations, mutual understanding, post-disaster recovery, news of co-created projects and events
<b>REACTIVE &amp; PROACTIVE PUBLIC DIPLOMACY</b>	
<b>Reactive</b>	News of emergency humanitarian aid and press releases aimed at resolving the short-term crises and minimizing losses
<b>Proactive</b>	Communicationis aimed at developing a long-term permanent relationship, preventing possible problems, and strategic communication. News such as development aid, educational aid, cultural aid, business skills courses
<b>COUNTRIES THAT ARE COVERED IN THE NEWS</b>	
<b>MESSAGE CONNOTATIONS</b>	
<b>Rational</b>	News using real, logical and scientific information
<b>Irrational</b>	News highlighting human feelings

<b>CONTENTS OF THE NEWS</b>	
<b>Text</b>	News where content is only available in text form
<b>Text and Photo</b>	News where content is presented in both text and photo
<b>Text and Video</b>	News where content is presented in both text and video
<b>Text, Photo and Video</b>	News where content is presented in both text, photo and video
<b>Keyword</b>	News with keywords inside or at the end of the text
<b>Link</b>	News with internal or external links

In line with the research purpose and model, the main research questions of the study were formed as follows:

1. How is the quantitative distribution of the news in Turkmen, Uzbek, Kyrgyz and Kazakh on the TRT Avaz's website during the review period?
2. What kind of quantitative distribution does the news in Turkmen, Uzbek, Kyrgyz and Kazakh on the TRT Avaz's website show in the context of general news frames during the review period?
3. What kind of quantitative distribution does the news in Turkmen, Uzbek, Kyrgyz and Kazakh on the TRT Avaz's website show in the context of the dimensions and models of public diplomacy during the review period?
4. What kind of quantitative distribution does the news in Turkmen, Uzbek, Kyrgyz and Kazakh on the TRT Avaz's website show in terms of message connotations during the review period?
5. What kind of a quantitative distribution do the news in Turkmen, Uzbek, Kyrgyz and Kazakh on the TRT Avaz's website show in terms of the content elements of the news during the review period?

### **Sample of the Study and Data Collection Tool**

The universe of the research consists of online newspapers in Turkmen, Uzbek, Kyrgyz and Kazakh languages that produce digital news in Türkiye. The sample of the study is determined by the purposeful sampling method. Purposive sampling, which is a non-probability-based sampling method, can be used in special cases depending on the researcher's goals. This sampling method, which is used extensively in studies aiming to link variables or to understand social events/phenomena depending on the selected situation, also allows for an in-depth investigation of situations that are thought to contain rich information and data (Büyüköztürk et al., 2018, pp. 92-93; Yıldırım & Şimşek, 2008, p. 107). In the sample, news in Turkmen, Uzbek, Kyrgyz and Kazakh languages on the website of TRT Avaz, a subsidiary

of TRT operating in Türkiye, between January 1 and 31, 2022 were included. The determining factor in this election was; TRT, The first public broadcaster in Türkiye and TRT Avaz, which is one of the important actors in Türkiye's public diplomacy activities in Central Asia and the Caucasus. Receiving news in Turkmen, Uzbek, Kyrgyz and Kazakh languages on the TRT Avaz's website is the limitation of the research, and the reason for sampling the news published in these languages is that there is news in these four languages in the "From Eurasia" category where the news is included. Eurasia, which has had geopolitical importance from the past to the present and has hosted many civilizations, is the center of the Turkish world. Population, geographical size, geostrategic regions and transit routes serve the Turkish world in Eurasia. The Turkish world reflects a great mosaic in terms of language, culture, race and common history from the Balkans to the Great Wall of China (Özder, 2013, p. 70).

The news in Turkmen, Uzbek, Kyrgyz and Kazakh, which are included in the category from Eurasia on the TRT Avaz's website, was converted into a dataset and the review categories in the coding table were transferred to the MAXQDA analysis program and subjected to content analysis. MAXQDA is a world-leading software for qualitative and mixed methods data analysis that analyze all kinds of data – from texts to images and audio/video files, websites, tweets, focus group discussions, survey responses, and much more. order to ensure the reliability of the analysis, all the contents were coded twice by two researchers. Miles & Huberman (1994, p. 54) and Tavşancıl and Arslan (2001, p. 81) state that in cases where there is a high agreement between the coded content categories among researchers, the consensus rate should be at least 70% for the researcher to be valid and reliable. In this study, the level of coding consensus between the two researchers was calculated as 92.6%; The study provided sufficient validity and reliability.

## Findings

The qualitative and quantitative content analysis findings for a total of 314 news items, 68 Turkmen, 78 Uzbek, 76 Kyrgyz and 92 Kazakh, included in the category of news from Eurasia on TRT Avaz's website between 1-31 January 2022 are given below.

**Table 2** General Frames of News on TRT Avaz

GENERAL NEWS FRAMES	TURKOMAN		UZBEK		KYRGYZ		KAZAKH	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Conflict	8	11,8	7	9,0	6	7,9	8	8,7
Human and Place								
Relevance	28	41,2	30	38,5	34	44,7	14	15,2
Responsibility	16	23,5	27	34,6	27	35,5	55	59,8
Ethics	4	5,9	3	3,8	4	5,3	7	7,6
Economy	12	17,6	11	14,1	5	6,6	8	8,7

When Table 2 is examined, the general news frames of the Turkmen news on the TRT Avaz's website are respectively 41.2% people and place interest, 23.5% responsibility and 17.6% economy. The general news frames of the news in Uzbek were at most 38.5% human and place interest, 34.6% responsibility and 14.1% economy, respectively, while the general news frames of the Kyrgyz news were at most 44.7% human and place interest, 35.5% responsibility and 7.9% conflict. News in Turkmen, Uzbek and Kyrgyz, in which human and place-related news are the majority; is about the life of a famous folk poet, musician, cinema or theater artist, the promotion of a museum or city and can be considered as an example of cultural diplomacy. Cultural relations covers the promotion of cultural products such as literature, films, radio and television programs, art, science, music and language abroad. The whole purpose is to bring foreign societies closer to another nation, to introduce its people, culture and language, and to create a positive image and idea about that country through culture (Szondi, 2008, p. 302). According to Nye (2005, p. 43), "policies that are not supported by the people are the most volatile element of public image, while positive views based on culture and values are more permanent". Responsibility framework, which is the second category that has the most place among Turkmen, Uzbek and Kyrgyz news, includes news about the support of non-governmental organizations, politicians and social actors operating in the country to each other. Economy-based news, which ranks third among Turkmen and Uzbek news, conveys the investments and developments in the tourism and energy sectors. Among the news published in Kyrgyz, the conflict-framed news, which has the most place, is about the public protests due to the increase in LPG prices in Kazakhstan on January 2, 2022, the state of emergency and the change of government, and the sending of soldiers to Kazakhstan by Kyrgyzstan. This behavior, which expresses the military dimension of public diplomacy between the two countries, shows the Kyrgyz government's attempt to deter the people from protests by using threats and force

to support the Kazakh government. The general news frames of the Kazakh news on the TRT Avaz's website were respectively 59.8% responsibility, 15.2% human and place interest, and 8.7% conflict and economy. The reason why the framework of responsibility in Kazakh news is higher than the others includes the reactions of political and non-state actors in the Turkic republics to the protests and government change in Kazakhstan. In addition, the constitutional arrangements that took place as a result of the government change, the support given to the Kazakh government by countries such as China, Türkiye and Russia, and the dialogues they developed were also evaluated under this category. The second-ranking news based on people and place interest, like news in other languages, is news aimed at promoting the life of a famous person or a city. The conflict frame in Kazakh news includes the protests in Kazakhstan, and the news with the economy frame is about the developments in the energy and industry.

**Table 3** Public Diplomacy Dimensions of the News on TRT Avaz

PUBLIC DIPLOMACY DIMENSIONS	TURKOMAN		UZBEK		KYRGYZ		KAZAKH	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Political/Military	25	34,2	24	30,8	33	43,4	59	64,1
Economical	14	19,2	16	20,5	8	10,5	11	12,0
Socio-cultural	29	39,7	38	48,7	35	46,1	22	23,9

As can be seen in Table 3, when the public diplomacy dimensions of the news on the TRT Avaz's website are examined, it is found out that the socio-cultural public diplomacy dimensions are more common in the news in Turkmen language with %39,7. In Kazakh news, unlike the public diplomacy dimension in other languages, political/military public diplomacy was found to be the highest (64%). The last detected public diplomacy dimension in the news in the four languages studied was the economy. The high socio-cultural public diplomacy dimension in the news in Turkmen, Uzbek and Kyrgyz indicate that they focus on soft public diplomacy activities. Countries strive to create international recognition and a positive impression by presenting common cultural elements to both their own citizens and the citizens of the countries they are in contact with. The fact that Kazakh news has a political/military public diplomacy dimension is related to the protests in Kazakhstan in January, the change of government and the soldiers sent to the country by different countries for security measures. This situation, which Joseph

Nye described as 'hard power' in public diplomacy in his book "Bound to Lead" published in 1990, has often appeared in Kazakh news.

**Table 4** Peisert's Cultural Communication Matrix Analysis of the News on TRT Avaz

PEISERT'S CULTURAL COMMUNICATION MATRIX	TURKOMAN		UZBEK		KYRGYZ		KAZAKH	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Exchange and Cooperation	9	13,2	16	20,5	20	26,3	23	25,0
One-Way Transfer of a Culture Abroad	17	25,0	10	12,8	4	5,3	13	14,1
Information Model	28	41,2	39	50,0	35	46,1	47	51,1
Self Descriptive	14	20,6	13	16,7	17	22,4	9	9,8

The German writer Peisert (1978), who approaches public diplomacy in terms of cultural communication, has developed a matrix of goals based on his cultural communication studies in the USA, Italy, England and France. As can be seen in Table 4, it has been seen that the news in Turkmen, Uzbek, Kyrgyz and Kazakh on TRT Avaz are mostly aimed at the information model. It has been observed that the countries use the news intensely to provide information about the developments experienced with themselves and other Turkic republics. The news mediates the creation of understanding and sympathy for the country that is the subject of the news, both in their own citizens and in the citizens of the countries they cooperate with. While "one-way transfer of a culture abroad", which is included in the cultural communication matrix, is in second place among Turkmen news, "exchange and cooperation" took place more in Uzbek, Kyrgyz and Kazakh news. While there is an unbalanced, one-sided and persuasive cultural transfer in Turkmen news, the countries covered in the news in Uzbek, Kyrgyz and Kazakh have equal rights and cooperation.

**Table 5** Analysis of the News in TRT Avaz According to Cowan and Arsenault's Monologue-Dialogue-Cooperation Model

COWAN AND ARSENAULT'S MONOLOGUE-DIALOGUE-COOPERATION MODEL	TURKOMAN		UZBEK		KYRGYZ		KAZAKH	
	n	%	n	%	N	%	n	%
Monologue	52	76,5	65	83,3	62	81,6	67	72,8

Dialogue	7	10,3	5	6,4	8	10,5	13	14,1
Cooperation	9	13,2	8	10,3	6	7,9	12	13,0

When Table 5 is examined, it is seen that most of the news content in Turkmen, Uzbek, Kyrgyz and Kazakh is a monologue. Countries have preferred to convey the cultures, lifestyles, habits and values of both their own and the countries they are in contact with unilaterally. In Turkmen and Uzbek news, the content on cooperation takes the second place, and these contents are about the development of relations, exchange of ideas, official summits, academic conferences, and sports-art projects. Contents on dialogue in Kyrgyz and Kazakh news take the second place, these contents are about joint problem solving, improving relations, mutual understanding, military support, co-created projects and activities.

**Table 6** Analysis of the News on TRT Avaz According to Reactive and Proactive Public Diplomacy Dimensions

REACTIVE- PROACTIVE PUBLIC DIPLOMACY DIMENSIONS	TURKOMAN		UZBEK		KYRGYZ		KAZAKH	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Reactive	35	51,5	40	51,3	40	52,6	71	77,2
Proactive	33	48,5	38	48,7	36	47,4	21	22,8

When Table 6 is examined, it is seen that the majority of news content in Turkmen, Uzbek, Kyrgyz and Kazakh are in the dimension of reactive public diplomacy. The news available in four languages on the TRT Avaz’s website is of a quality that will mediate the creation of a positive image and problem resolution in the short term. The reason why the difference between reactive-proactive public diplomacy dimensions in Kazakh news is higher than in news in other languages is the economic and political crisis experienced in the country at that time. The discourses and practices of the Kazakh government and the states and non-governmental organizations that support the Kazakh government to solve the crisis have caused the news content to show reactive weight.

**Table 7** Message Connotations of the News on TRT Avaz

MESSAGE ASSOCIATIONS	TURKOMAN		UZBEK		KYRGYZ		KAZAKH	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Rational	42	61,8	57	73,1	62	81,6	88	95,7
Irrational	26	38,2	21	26,9	14	18,4	4	4,3

When Table 7 is examined, it is seen that the majority of the news in Turkmen, Uzbek, Kyrgyz and Kazakh on TRT Avaz is rational. This result is related to the reporting of the news during the review period based on real current events, concrete information and scientific data. A small number of irrational content includes news about the promotion of a celebrity or a place, which the journalist deals with from a subjective point of view.

**Table 8** Content Elements of the News on TRT Avaz

CONTENT ELEMENTS OF THE NEWS	TURKOMAN		UZBEK		KYRGYZ		KAZAKH	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Text	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Text and Photo	68	100	78	100	76	100	92	100
Text and Video	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Text, Photo and Video	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Keywords	-	-	-	-	76	100	-	-
Link	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

When Table 8 is examined, it is seen that text and photograph elements are used together in all news in Turkmen, Uzbek, Kyrgyz and Kazakh on the TRT Avaz's website. The photograph, which is the proof of news, is the most important factor that increases the credibility and reliability of the news. When evaluated in this respect, it is seen that the credibility and reliability of the news on TRT Avaz site are prioritized. In online journalism, it has been seen that the keywords that provide convenience to the reader at the point of reaching similar content are only used in Kyrgyz news. This result shows that the willingness to present similar news and archives to the reader on the Turkmen, Uzbek and Kazakh news pages is low. Today, unlike online newspapers that use many content elements such as text, sound, photo, video, GIF, there is a limitation in the news on the TRT Avaz's website.

**Table 9** Countries Covered by the News on TRT Avaz

COUNTRIES COVERED BY THE NEWS	TURKOMAN		UZBEK		KYRGYZ		KAZAKH	
	n	%	n	%	N	%	n	%
Kazakhstan	23	33,8	26	33,3	29	38,2	73	79,3
Turkmenistan	7	10,3	5	6,4	6	7,9	4	4,3
Azerbaijan	11	16,2	12	15,4	11	14,5	4	4,3
Kyrgyzstan	10	14,7	14	17,9	22	28,9	14	15,2



Türkiye	19	27,9	22	28,2	18	23,7	21	22,8
Russia	2	2,9	2	2,6	2	2,6	3	3,3
Uzbekistan	8	11,8	22	28,2	11	14,5	6	6,5
Bosnia- Herzegovina	3	4,4	1	1,3	1	1,3	-	-
Tajikistan	2	2,9	3	3,8	3	3,9	4	4,3
Crimea	3	4,4	3	3,8	3	3,9	1	1,1
China	2	2,9	2	2,6	2	2,6	3	3,3
TRNC	2	2,9	2	2,6	2	2,6	-	-
Czech Republic	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1,1
USA	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1,1
Macedonia	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1,1

When Table 9 is examined, it is seen that the countries covered in Turkmen's news are mostly Kazakhstan (33.8%), Türkiye (27.9%) and Azerbaijan (16.2%). While the news about Kazakhstan in Turkmen's news covered the news about the public protests, government change and cooperation between countries, the news about Türkiye covered the dialogues between Kazakhstan and Türkiye regarding the process, news about Türkiye's historical, natural and cultural places, culture and arts events. The news about Azerbaijan also includes news about the historical, natural and cultural places of Azerbaijan and the Bloody January Massacre. It has been determined that the countries that are the subject of news in Uzbek are mostly Kazakhstan (33.3%), Türkiye (28.2%) and Uzbekistan (28.2%). The news about Kazakhstan includes news about public protests, government change and the cooperation between countries. The news about Türkiye includes news about the dialogues between Kazakhstan and Türkiye regarding the process, cooperation between Uzbekistan and Türkiye, Türkiye's historical, natural and cultural places, and cultural and artistic events. The news about Uzbekistan includes news about economic developments, historical, natural and cultural places, Covid-19 and cooperation of Uzbekistan with other countries. It has been determined that the countries that are the subject of news in Kyrgyz are mostly Kazakhstan (38.2%), Kyrgyzstan (28.7%) and Türkiye (23.7%). As in the news in other languages, the news about Kazakhstan covers the news about the public protests, government change and international cooperation, while the news about Kyrgyzstan is about sending soldiers to Kazakhstan, the government's diplomatic relations, tourism and cultural places. Kyrgyz news about Türkiye is about Türkiye's historical, natural and cultural places and diplomatic dialogues between Kyrgyzstan and Türkiye. Kazakhstan (79.3%), Türkiye (22.8%) and Kyrgyzstan (15.2%) were the countries that were

subject to the most news in Kazakh. While the Kazakh news is about the internal turmoil and politics in the country, the news about Türkiye and Kyrgyzstan is about the diplomatic relations between the two countries and the historical, natural and cultural places of the countries.

## CONCLUSION

Türkiye, like many states, effectively uses the media in its public diplomacy activities. TRT carries the historical, economic, political and cultural developments of the Turkish world to the entire World through its international channels.

This study, which aims to reveal the framing of the news in Turkmen, Uzbek, Kyrgyz and Kazakh on the TRT Avaz's website in the context of public diplomacy, also helps to consolidate the role of TRT Avaz in public diplomacy. As a result of the analysis made by accessing a total of 314 news, it has been determined that the news published on the official website of TRT Avaz are focused on politics and culture, especially highlighting the cooperation and common culture between Türkiye and the target geography.

When the news in Turkmen, Uzbek, Kyrgyz and Kazakh on the TRT Avaz's website are evaluated in the context of general news frames, it is seen that human and place interest and responsibility frames are used extensively in the news. The news about human and place interest includes famous people who come to the fore in cultural and historical terms in the Turkish world, and places with common heritage ruins and natural beauties. The responsibility framework covers the activities of governments, non-governmental organizations, and diplomatic organizations related to their own peoples and peoples in Turkic republics in areas such as education, health, science, culture, law and economy.

When the news in Turkmen, Uzbek, Kyrgyz and Kazakh on the TRT Avaz's website are evaluated in the context of dimensions and models of public diplomacy, it is seen that the news of public diplomacy activities in the political/military and socio-cultural fields is intense. These news stories aim to provide information to the citizens living and not living within the geographical boundaries of the countries and their target audiences with a common language. When evaluated in the context of public diplomacy, the news is predominantly monologued, and countries have preferred to convey the cultures, lifestyles, habits and values of both their own and the countries they are in contact with, in a one-way and rational

language. The majority of the news focuses on current developments in the Turkish world and does not aim to be a part of a long-term proactive communication process.

The content elements of the news in Turkmen, Uzbek, Kyrgyz and Kazakh on TRT Avaz's website are only shaped around texts and photographs. Audio and animated contents, which are commonly used in online journalism, were not used. In addition, the keywords that allow the reader to reach more news are used only in Kyrgyz news. For this reason, in terms of online journalism, it can be said that TRT Avaz's website functions to provide simple information to the Turkish-speaking target audience but does not aim to provide rich content.

It has been observed that Kazakhstan is frequently mentioned in the Turkmen, Uzbek, Kyrgyz and Kazakh news on the TRT Avaz's website. The reason for the high number of news about Kazakhstan in this period is the internal turmoil in the country due to economic reasons, the change of government and the messages of support and military aid from the countries with which the country cooperates. However, it has been determined that there is also news about Türkiye in the news in four languages. This is because TRT Avaz is geographically located in Türkiye.

These findings show that TRT Avaz's news portals/website, one of the most important media pillars of Türkiye's public diplomacy practices towards Central Asia and the Caucasus, has turned the Turkish identity into a source of soft power and focused on the target geography and socio-cultural. It clearly states that it aims to develop political and economic relations. Based on all these findings, it was concluded that it was aimed to develop the awareness of belonging to the common identity through the news in TRT Avaz and to increase the emotional relations between Türkiye and the region through this identity. However, when evaluated in terms of format, the news on TRT Avaz's website lags behind many online news platforms. If the transfer of information takes place within the professional functioning of online journalism, it will be possible to reach a wider audience.

## GENİŞLETİLMİŞ ÖZET

Bu araştırma TRT Avaz web sitesinde yer alan Türkmençe, Özbekçe, Kırgızca ve Kazakça haberlerin kamu diplomasisi bağlamında çerçeveselme biçimlerini ortaya koymaktır. Araştırmanın birinci bölümünde kamu diplomasisi kavramsal olarak açıklanmış, ikinci bölümde ise medya ve yeni medyanın kamu diplomasisi üzerindeki rolü ele alınmıştır. Devletlerin uluslararası kamuoyunu ve seçkinlerinin

düşüncelerini ülkelerin çıkarları doğrultusunda etkileme çabaları olarak ifade edilen kamu diplomasisi bağlamında, ülkelerin tarihi, ekonomik, kültürel ve politik değerleri farklı ülke ve ülke vatandaşlarında olumlu imaj yaratmak amacıyla medya aracılığıyla yayılmaktadır. Ülkemiz açısından düşünüldüğünde hem Türkiye'nin hem de Türk dünyasının sesi olmak adına TRT'nin faaliyetleri ön plana çıkmaktadır.

Çalışmanın metodoloji bölümünde, inceleme döneminde TRT Avaz web sitesinde yer alan Türkmençe, Özbekçe, Kırgızca ve Kazakça haberlerin, haber çerçevelerinin, kamu diplomasisi öğelerinin, mesaj çağrışımlarının, içerik öğelerinin niceliksel olarak nasıl dağılım gösterdiğinin yanıtları aranmaktadır. Araştırmanın evrenini Türkiye'de dijital haber üretimi gerçekleştiren Türkmençe, Özbekçe, Kırgızca ve Kazakça dillerindeki çevrimiçi gazeteler oluşturmaktadır. Örneklem ise amaçlı örneklem yöntemi ile belirlenmiştir. Örneklem içerisine, Türkiye'de faaliyet gösteren TRT'ye bağlı bir alt kuruluş olan TRT Avaz'ın web sitesindeki Türkmençe, Özbekçe, Kırgızca ve Kazakça dillerindeki 1-31 Ocak 2022 tarihleri arasındaki haberler dahil edilmiştir. Bu seçimdeki belirleyici unsur, Türkiye'de ilk kamu yayıncılığını başlatan kuruluşun TRT ve TRT'nin bir alt kuruluşu olan ve 21 Mart 2009'da yayın hayatına başlayan TRT Avaz'ın Türkiye'nin Orta Asya ve Kafkasya'ya yönelik kamu diplomasisi faaliyetlerinin önemli aktörlerinden bir tanesi olmasıdır. TRT Avaz web sitesindeki Türkmençe, Özbekçe, Kırgızca ve Kazakça dillerindeki haberlerin alınması araştırmanın sınırlılığı olup, bu dillerdeki yayınlanan haberlerin örnekleme alınma nedeni ise, haberlerin yer aldığı "Avrasya'dan" kategorisinde bu dört dilde de haberlerin olmasıdır. Geçmişten günümüze jeopolitik bir öneme sahip olmuş ve birçok medeniyete ev sahipliği yapmış Avrasya, Türk dünyasının merkezi konumundadır. Avrasya, Balkanlar'dan Çin Seddi'ne kadar dil, kültür, ırk ve ortak tarih bakımından büyük bir mozaiği yansıması açısından önem arz etmektedir.

Araştırmada, incelenen haberlere yönelik olarak nitel ve nicel içerik analizi gerçekleştirilmiştir. İletilerde açık olarak hangi unsurların bulunduğu (örneğin görsel kullanımı/video kullanımı, kelime sayısı gibi) analizin niceliksel boyutunu oluşturmakta olup; niteliksel boyutu içeren analizler ise iletilerde örnek olarak neyin ya da nelerin kast edildiğidir. Araştırma modelinin temelini ise Semetko ve Valkenburg (2000) tarafından saptanan beş haber çerçevesi, kamu diplomasi bağlamında, Leonard, Stead & Smewing (2000)'in Kamu Diplomasisinin Üç Boyutu ve Reaktif/Proaktif Kamu Diplomasisi, Peisert'in Kültürel İletişim Modeli (Signitzer & Wamser, 2009), Cowan ve Arsenault (2008)'un Monolog-Diyalog-İş Birliği Modeli oluşturmaktadır. Ayrıca içerik analizi kodlama tablosunda, mesajın tonu, mesaj çağrışımları ve haberin içerik öğeleri kategorilerine de yer verilmiştir.

TRT Avaz web sitesinde yer alan Türkmençe, Özbekçe, Kırgızca ve Kazakça haberlerin kamu diplomasisi bağlamında çerçevelenme biçimlerini ortaya koymayı amaçlayan bu çalışmada, toplamda 314 haber analiz edilmiştir. TRT Avaz'ın resmi web sitesinde yayınlanan haberlerin politika ve kültür ağırlıklı olduğu, özellikle Türkiye ile hedef coğrafya arasındaki iş birliklerini ve ortak kültürü öne çıkardığı tespit edilmiştir. TRT Avaz web sitesinde yer alan dört dildeki haberlerin genel haber çerçeveleri, insan ve yer ilgisi ile sorumluluk çerçeveleridir. İnsan ve yer ilgisi konulu haberler, Türk dünyasında kültürel ve tarihi anlamda ön plana çıkan ünlü kişileri ve ortak miras kalıntıları ve doğal güzelliklere sahip olan yerleri içermektedir. Sorumluluk çerçevesi ise, hükümetlerin, sivil toplum kuruluşlarının, diplomatik örgütlerin kendi halkları ve Türki cumhuriyetlerdeki halklarla ilgili eğitim, sağlık, bilim, kültür, yasa ve ekonomi gibi alanlardaki faaliyetleri kapsamaktadır. TRT Avaz web sitesinde yer alan dört dildeki haberler kamu diplomasisi bağlamında değerlendirildiğinde, politik/askeri ve sosyo-kültürel alanlardaki kamu diplomasisi faaliyetlerinin haberlerinin yoğunlukta olduğu görülmüştür. Bu haberler, ülkelerin kendi coğrafi sınırları içinde yaşayan ve yaşamayan vatandaşlara, dil birliği olan hedef kitlelerine politik/askeri ve sosyo-kültürel alanlarda enformasyon sağlama amacı taşımaktadır. Haberler monolog ağırlıklı olup, ülkeler hem kendi hem de ilişki içinde oldukları ülkelerin kültürlerini, yaşam tarzlarını, alışkanlık ve değerlerini tek yönlü olarak ve rasyonel bir dille aktarmayı tercih etmişlerdir. TRT Avaz web sitesindeki dört dildeki haberlerin içerik öğeleri ise yalnızca metin ve fotoğraf etrafında şekillenmiştir. Çevrimiçi gazetecilikte yaygın olarak kullanılan farklı içerik formatlarından yararlanılmadığı görülmüştür. Ayrıca okurun daha fazla habere erişimini sağlayan ve daha fazla okura ulaşmayı sağlayan anahtar kelimeler ise yalnızca Kırgızca haberlerde kullanılmıştır. Bu sebeple çevrimiçi habercilik anlamında TRT Avaz web sitesinin Türkçe dil konuşan hedef kitleye basit bir enformasyon sağlama işlevi gördüğü, buna karşın zengin bir içerik sunma amacı taşımadığı söylenebilir. TRT Avaz web sitesinde yer alan dört dildeki haberlerde Kazakistan'a sıklıkla değinildiği görülmüştür. Bunun sebebi, ülkede ekonomik sebeplerle yaşanan iç karışıklık, hükümet değişimi ve ülkenin iş birliği içinde olduğu ülkelere gelen destek mesajları ve askeri yardımlardır. Bununla birlikte dört dildeki haberlerde Türkiye konulu haberlerin de yoğunlukta olduğu tespit edilmiştir. Bunun sebebi TRT Avaz'ın coğrafi olarak Türkiye'de konumlanmasıdır. Nitekim bu bulgular, Türkiye'nin Orta Asya ve Kafkasya'ya yönelik kamu diplomasisi uygulamalarının en önemli medya ayaklarından bir tanesi olan TRT Avaz kanalının, Türk kimliğini yumuşak güç kaynağı haline getirdiğini ve 'ortak millet' vurgusu üzerinden hedef coğrafya ile sosyo-

kültürel, siyasi ve ekonomik ilişkiler geliştirmeyi amaçladığını açıkça ortaya koymaktadır. Tüm bu bulgulardan hareketle, TRT Avaz'daki haberler üzerinden ortak kimliğe olan aidiyet bilincinin geliştirilmesinin ve bu kimlik aracılığıyla Türkiye ile bölge arasındaki duygusal ilişkilerin arttırılmasının amaçlandığı sonucuna varılmıştır. Ancak biçim açısından değerlendirildiğinde TRT Avaz web sitesindeki haberler, birçok çevrimiçi haber platformunun gerisinde kalmaktadır. Günümüz çevrimiçi habercilik anlayışına uygun içerik ve kapsamda haber üretimi, haberlerin ulaştığı kitlenin de genişlemesinin yolu açacaktır.

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