

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Background

Since the four theories of journalism was published in 1956, literature of political communication has been growing rapidly. Without a doubt, this fundamental shift in communications and technology is the source of this unprecedented rapid growth. News media give a lot of perspective from another state through its framing. The Arab revolutions of 2011 provided an once-in-a-lifetime chance for news executives. It was the biggest story of the century, and it was unfolding on home turf, and the channel had the experience and correspondents on the ground that its rivals lacked. AJE was the go-to source of knowledge on what was going on for English speakers all over the world. (Seib P. , 2012).

In 2011, when Al Jazeera English was on its fifth year, Al Jazeera English stated that they served voice for voiceless since the beginning. Qatari Empire is one of the famous funder of Al Jazeera with stable funding. However, it is burdened by Al Jazeera's politic, at least in some fields. After television news business of west dominated the world for half the century, in 1996, Al Jazeera started to air and redefine news industry in the Arab world. It solved social problems long considered taboo, challenges entrenched Arab leaders, exposes corruption of sanctions against

them, and criticizes the West, especially the United States, for attacking Muslim countries and killing tens or more thousands of Muslims. Borders are meaningless, which allows for a more expansive view of events.

AJE has offered the world a chance to look at events through a filter that varies dramatically from the Western-created lens that has so long established the world's concept of "news" through satellite (and, for those without access, through streaming Internet content). AJE's work is far from flawless, as is every news organizations. It makes mistakes and even falls into cheerleading and self-congratulation. Journalism is an imperfect art, as demonstrated by AJE's work. (Seib P. , 2012).

In the United States, AJE had limited access to television audiences. Just three cities, Washington, DC, Toledo, OH, and Burlington, VT, had complete access to AJE in cable systems by early 2011, accounting for a very small percentage of American households. One of the most important was the Bush administration's characterization of AJ as a terrorist-affiliated network. (Radio). Some people in United State considered Al Jazeera was a part of Al Qaeda and Osama bin Laden. (Khamis, 2007). AJE assisted in the internationalization of the Arab Spring reform movement, which questioned conventional state power structures and promoted lines of unity between different communities. It may have also favored online activists by providing coverage and rebroadcasting their content, allowing them to define and frame the uprisings in their own terms. This cut through the lies of the government. This cut through government propaganda and outside observers' and advocates' attempts to force their own interpretations on the events. (Tau, 2011).

A terrorism from basic definition by U.S. Department of State (1998) is a violence that is planned

and politically motivated that done towards non-combatant target by subnational group or clandestine agent, basically intended to influence the audiences. To force the goal in politics and social field, they are frightening the life of human to cause dangerous effect that violating criminal law by intimidating or suppressing a government, civil society or its parts. According to Law No. 15 of 2003 concerning the Eradication of Criminal Acts of Terrorism, the definition of a criminal act of terrorism is any action by a person who deliberately uses violence or threats of violence that creates an atmosphere of terror or fear of the public at large. According to the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), terrorism is the use of violence or violence that is not against people or property to intimidate or coerce a government, civil society or its parts, to impose socio-political goals (Sulistyo, 2002).

According to Firmansyah (2011) some violence that include as the category criminal acts of terrorism are irrational terrorism, criminal terrorism, political terrorism, and state terrorism. Irrational terrorism is a terror that doesn't make any sense of the goal and motif. Criminal terrorism is usually defined as the revenge from the group of some religion or certain beliefs. While, political terrorism is a terror with politics as the motif. Term state terrorism for the first used by the United Nations to define the conflict in South Africa and some state in Europe. State violation towards the civilians was full of intimidation and persecution done by the state elements or law enforcers towards the activist.

Turkey planned to conduct a military operation in Idlib, Syria. In February 2020 President of Turkey, Erdogan said that Ankara was ready to launch military attack to Idlib for forcing the Syrian troops out of that country. However, according to Ankara, the option of military operations in Idlib would be taken as an

alternative to a massive military offensive by the Damascus regime. It is feared that the Syrian regime's massive offensive will cause a large exodus of refugees from Syria to Turkey. Russian Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov said that Syrian government forces acted in Idlib in response to gross violations of the Sochi Agreement by anti-government armed groups. In at least two incidents clashes between the two countries' forces resulted in the death of several Turkish soldiers which angered Ankara. The Russian military said one of the incidents may have been caused by the failure of the Turkish side to warn about the movement of their convoy. (Muhaimin, 2020)

As we know that Syria is in the war condition since 2011, between four groups of people, one of the group well known as YPG (People's Protection Units). YPG and its allies are designated as terrorist by Turkey and Qatar. (Irish, 2018). YPG is a branch of PKK, a militia who most of the member of its group is the Kurds who live and operate in Syria also the main component of SDF (Syrian Democratic Forces). (Barfi, 2016). In this case, YPG who mostly the member is Kurds, can be concluded as the criminal terrorist. Although some Kurds didn't count as the YPG because they won't join in YPG. Some Kurds who didn't join in YPG was living in Turkey. That's why the reason Turkey is close to Kurds.

Operation Peace Spring against YPG terrorist is the military operation done by Turkey in northern Syria in order to create peace among Turkey, Syria and other ethnics so the original civilians who lived there is capable to back to their land safely. There is a lot of actor in this operation, but Turkey is the main actor who creates this operation addressing to Northern Syria. According to the Syrian Observatory for Human Rights, the Turkish army is deploying military assistance to areas held by Turkish-backed rebels in

rural areas of Idlib and Aleppo provinces, northern Syria. (Hatta, 2020). Turkey attacked Syrian regime who armed and interfere the welfare in Northern Syria, which is YPG who was designated as terrorist. The first attack from Turkey operation was in Tall Abyad from Turkish land in Akcakale district, Mardin Province. Since the start of the operation on Wednesday at 16:00 local time, Turkish forces had continued to fire rocket and artillery fire against terror points in that area. (Azzam, 2019). The reason Turkey did this operation was to create peace and also keep it's interest among the state. Turkey currently hosts for 3.6 million Syrian refugees, more than any other state in the world. Ankara has so far spent \$40 billion on the refugees, according to official figures. (Sabah, 2019). Turkey troops sent 2,000 military vehicles to Northern Syria. They were convoying which involved 50 military vehicles to enter Northern Syria on early days. Approximately 6.500 Turkey's troops were sent to Idlib and Aleppo simultaneously. This plan to send the troops happened when the Syrian troops managed to seize important areas in both city. They also unleashed the rocket and artillery over the terror point in Tall Abyad.

The reason of this operation held by Turkey was to create peace especially for Kurds who live in Turkey since 2011 when the civil war in Syria start. There are lot of citizens who wants to get back to their land but they have not home. Turkey planned to build new settlement for them, Erdogan said in his meeting with AK party leaders in Ankara. Also Turkey does not want to rob Syrian land, they just want to attack the terrorist there. Turkey's troops will not harm the civilians who lived there under YPG power. Erdogan said that Syrian family no need to be worry because they just fight the terrorists who was attack, against, trap them and armed by some groups. Turkey wants to build real peace for Syria, so Turkey fight the terrorist

groups. This operation named peace to create peace among them also spring because there are lot of spring in Northern Syria. Turkey was not alone to attack the terrorist group. Together with Syrian and some NGOs who will help them.

Despite the conflict in Syria and action did by Turkey, media coverage to its case was close to Al Jazeera. That's the big news company to inform some case in Arab states. Ankara and Doha partnership make Turkey always highlight in Al Jazeera especially its operation. But media outlet supported by Qatar government coverage biased news about Ankara over this operation. In one recent example, Al-Jazeera English specifically presented Turkey's plan to create a safe zone to host millions of Syrian refugees in northern Syria under the title "Turkey forcibly deported Syrian refugees," although Turkish officials deny this claim as "untrue and imaginary" many times.

“The Turkish government has been forcibly deporting refugees to war-torn Syria, two international rights groups have alleged, days after Ankara concluded a cross-border operation partly aimed at creating a so-called “safe zone” to settle millions of refugees living in Turkey.”

“Amnesty International said in a report, which was released on Friday and was based on 28 interviews with refugees, that Turkish police had beaten, threatened or tricked them into signing documents stating they were asking to return to Syria.”

(Umut Uras, 2019)

Claiming that the government has been “forcibly deporting Syrian refugees,” the media outlet also used the term “so-called safe zone” for Turkey’s planned safe zone for the voluntarily return of Syrian refugees to their homelands. Turkey stressed at every opportunity that the return of refugees must be voluntary, safe and in line with international law. As the write above, there is assortment from President Erdogan that Turkey’s troops will keep the Syrian save. They just want to attack the terrorist group there. The refugees in Turkey will be sent back to their homelands without any forces and voluntarily under the international law constitution. So the action to send them back will save because it is protected by its constitution as Turkey has promised it.

One of the other biased narrative written by Al Jazeera is labelling YPG as Kurd’s fighter. That phrase is usually used in English outlet over Turkey’s operation in Syria to create biased perception that threatens national peacekeeping in Syrian border. The term ‘Kurds’, ‘Syrian Kurd’, and ‘Kurdish Forces’ used to describing the terrorist group, YPG. One of the Al Jazeera highlight is “Erdogan warns Kurds as Syria ceasefire gets off to rocky start.” Seems that is the policy from its organization news. By labelling Kurds as part of YPG, YPG de facto regarded as the representative of a whole Kurdish. Definitely it makes Kurdish who are on the contrary to YPG/PKK group ideology were scathe. Besides, they often become their victims. President Erdogan also said that Turkey have not any problem with Kurds there. Turkey’s operation in northern Syria to expelled group of terrorist. (World, 2019)

Turkey has been under propaganda blitz by Al Jazeera English since the operation they sent to northern Syria against terrorist group, YPG/PKK. That's news organization is failed to present Turkish reality with accurate and fair. Al Jazeera coverage news about Turkey's operation caused by terrorist group who unsettling the marginal between Syria and Turkey. So Turkey decide to savings their refugees and citizens. The framing of YPG as a Kurds present what basically conflict is. The conflict that waged to ensure the security of Turkish as war motivated by ethnic's hatred. This framing gives bad impression over Middle East who hates each other above the ethnics. In this case, Al Jazeera English and Al Arabiya step further even omitting some context about the history of Kurds. Al Arabiya wrote biased content is not surprised as it follows that Al Arabiya is under Arab who clashes with Turkey and Qatar. According to Uzunoglu, from the side of political function of international media and its role in political life, this case shows that media that supported by the government perceived as the voice of the state. Soner Cagaptay, director of the Turkey Program at the Washington Institute, said that the latest incident is a sign of a crisis in Turkey-Qatar relations which will be a big problem for Ankara and Doha as both countries. (News, 2019).

B. Research Question

As the explanation above, then the writer formulate the problem that is **“Why did Al Jazeera’s Qatar conducted propaganda anti-turkey over ‘Peace Spring’ operation in Syria?”**

C. Theoretical Framework

By identifying this case to answer the research question related to the background above, the writer use 2 theories. The first is propaganda and the second is framing. The explanation of propaganda will explain below this.

1. Propaganda

The term “propaganda” from the Roman Catholic Church originally means the dissemination of information (facts, arguments, rumours, lies). Based on the Britannica Encyclopaedia, Propaganda is an effort to manipulate other people’s beliefs, attitudes, or actions by means of symbols (words, gestures, banners, monuments, music, clothing, insignia, hairstyles, designs on coins and postage stamps, and so forth). In the era of Martin Luther, he used that propaganda to shape an attitude. Terrence Qualter defined it as an effort of individuals or group with the using of communication instrument in order to show their reaction in specific situation influenced like what propagandist wanted. Propagandist has a goals, and to achieve these goals, they should select the information, facts or symbol that they want to disseminate it. They will use media information in this globalization with reduce or exaggerate the information so that can play the public opinion. The theory of propaganda by Harold Laswell defined it as the opinion control with important symbols or talk concreter through story, rumours, news, picture or other the social communication. The strong of propaganda is based on the vulnerability of people thought. Laswell said that the condition of people full of conflict and depression in politics, influenced them

to accept all kind of propaganda. The propaganda work through show the important symbol combined it with the strong emotion so that can influenced mass attitude. Harold D Lasswell's version of theory propaganda, this theory adapts the theory of Freudianism and the theory of behaviourism, the pinnacle of its implementation to achieve the effect of mass support. This theory is sublimated in the formulation of the famous communication paradigm (who says what to whom in which channel with what effect). Lindsey Fraser said that "Propaganda can be formulated as an activity or art, to invite or cause others to behave in such a way, things which would not have happened without the propaganda." It means that Fraser emphasizes the condition, if there's no propaganda, there will be no change in public activity, thought or attitude. It means, the role of propaganda is very strong in play the opinion of people, so that they can do as what they get as the invitation.

In the world of politics, propaganda is a method as well as a very effective tool to gain the advantage of a political position while simultaneously dropping the political position of an opponent which is done more than once or continuously (repetitive action). (Dokpri, 2019). Propaganda can be called as success if the propaganda can play the public opinion which as a rival in order to disseminate the hate while it just a manipulation. In political aspects, propaganda is negative action to lose the rival. Conceptually, propaganda is a message to influence the thought, argument, perspective or point of view of public and group of people. Basically, propaganda is arranged in order to influence whoever read, hear or see it. Even propaganda can be seen as a contests of persuasive communication. In politics, propaganda usually involve specific party, government and group of specific people or clan or ethnics to gain the believers.

Many academics analysing the media have long taken for granted the idea that messages disseminated through the media can, and typically do, have a major effect in shaping public opinion. The assumption typically operates as follows: if consumer trust in media is strong, then propaganda originating from within that media system will be more effective in influencing the opinions and ideologies of audiences; conversely, if public trust in media is relatively weak, media propaganda may be less accepted or convincing to those who follow the news. In other words, if the public, by and large, does not trust media, then why bother studying the effectiveness of media propaganda in the first place? (Dimaggio, 2008).

The monopolistic dominance of the media, frequently supplemented by official censorship, makes it clear that the media serves the interests of a ruling class in countries where the levers of power are in the hands of a state bureaucracy. When media is a personal ownership, it is hard to see that media used effective publicity system. This happen when media actively compete each other, regularly exposing and against corporate and government prejudice, then actively represent freedom of speech and public interest. Enormous inequality in control of resources and their impact on private media systems and their behaviour and performance. This disparity in wealth and influence, as well as its multilevel impact on mass-media interests and decisions, are the subject of a propaganda model. It tracks the channels by which money and power can filter out news fit for print, marginalize opposition, and allow the government and powerful private interests to interact with the public. (Chomsky, 1988).

The following are the basic ingredients of our propaganda model by Herman and Noam Chomsky, or collection of news "filters" (Theory, 2013) :

a) Size, Ownership and Profit orientation of mass media

A small group of insiders control the major media outlets. Huge corporations and conglomerates own the main news outlets, newspapers, and other forms of mass media. The details provided to the public can vary depending on the organizations' interests.

b) Funding

It is normal for news to be skewed by the media in favour of their ad providers. The ethics of the mass media are often changed by the media in order for them to survive. For example, a corporate corporation could threaten the media by threatening to cancel advertising contracts if the media publishes any news that damages the organization's credibility.

c) Source

The media takes appropriate measures in support of the source in order to provide a constant flow of news. Relationships with these outlets must be preserved. A prime minister's or president's spokeswoman, for example, is regarded as a powerful news outlet. The organizations keep the sources satisfied by fine-tuning the news in order to ensure a seamless flow of information.

d) Flaks

The bulk of the media never reports news that depicts religious figures in a negative light unless there is clear evidence to support it. Since it could tarnish the public's perception of the media company.

e) Anti-Communism

In the eyes of American corporations and elite organizations, communism was the supreme evil because it robbed them of their wealth and influence, and it undermined their superior roles and social status. As a result, the media's elites pursued a strategy of censoring stories and news that discuss the positive aspects of communism.

Noam Chomsky in his book "Media Control: Spectacular Propaganda Achievements" reviewed the important role of the media for the US government. (Chomsky N. , 2002). In the 1930's, the US government believed that media could help them through public relations controls, control of his public consciousness. The political factor started Influencing the construction of American mass media coverage. Even according to Chomsky, who controls the media, can control the public mind. (Rosalia, 2014).

There are 4 types of propaganda, there are white propaganda, grey propaganda, black propaganda and ratio propaganda. Propaganda also has the technique by IPA (Institute for Propaganda Analysis) these are:

- a) Name Calling: bad labelling on someone, something like idea, object, or a goal, so that people will refuse it without knowing the reality.

- b) Glittering generalities: use good words to draw something in order to gain the support without investigate its accuracy.
- c) Transfer : identify a goals with symbol
- d) Testimonial: get the expression from people who are respected or hated in order to promote or underestimate something.
- e) Plain folks: appeal about the speakers siding with the audiences in the effort with collaborative.
- f) Card stacking: choose thoroughly a statement is accurate or not, logic or not, etc. in order to build the case.
- g) Bandwagon: an attempt to convince the audience of the popularity and truth of the goal so that everyone will rise. As long as the development a media, it became the basic of propaganda.

The circumstances surrounding commercial journalism are more intricate than the simple quest for profit, however; it must also perpetuate the system that sustains it. (Jaramillo, 2009).

Actually on 2006, Al Jazeera adopted 10 ethic codes, internally known as the Ten Commandments. The code calls on journalists to “distinguish between news material, opinion and analysis to avoid the snares of speculation and propaganda. (Al Jazeera English 2014). Al Jazeera English also adopted that codes, but this was better seen as the media propaganda for Qatar. Clifford Christians said about Al Jazeera English over their anti-propaganda which reflected in their ethic codes. In their ethic codes about propaganda by way of “Distinguish between news material, opinion and analysis to avoid the pitfalls of speculation and propaganda.” (Sadig, 2019)

The reason why this conflict uses its theory, propaganda can answer the research question above. Media that state use to spread their interest and make some good impression is easy nowadays. Globalization era made world become one and easy to deliver information each other. As we know that Al Jazeera is the news organization centre in Arab beside Al Arabiya. Al Jazeera is under the government of Qatar. They are also called as the representative voice of Qatari. Media deliver something happen in some state in order to make a good image or make others as the guilty party, so that public can see how good it state from the media coverage. Media coverage can labelling something appear to inform it wrongly so the public will receive it without knowing the truth.

Al Jazeera coverage about military operation by Turkey in Syria labelling on the terrorist group there. Bad labelling on someone can make wrong perception about some group or ethnics. Public will see it as media cover it. It called as propaganda by labelling on it. By cover it information, media can also use a word to change public opinion. Media news by television is the easiest way to receive it cover in public even internationally.

2. Framing

Framing is one of the effect mass media theory, it's about how the media served the information, not just the effect of mass media. The served done by affirm specific part and show on the focus content and highlight it with how the story telling from the reality. The media relate it with the case and focus on the specific aspect that want to become a highlight so that the mean can be remembered by the public. Frank D. Durham said that framing make a world become more understandable. Simply, framing analysis draw as a

analysis to know about the case (actor, case, group of people, etc) framed by the media. The framing must be through the construction. According to Erving Goffman sociologically the concept of frame analysis maintains the continuity of our habit of classifying, organizing and actively interpreting our life experiences to be able to understand it. According to Robert N. Entman what we know about reality or about the world depends on how we frame and interpret that reality. Entman sees framing in two broad dimensions: issue selection and emphasis or highlighting certain aspects of reality / issue. Framing is carried out by the media by selecting certain issues and ignoring other issues. Framing is an approach to find out what perspective is used by journalists when selecting issues and writing news. (Anggoro, 2014). "To frame is to take certain facets of a perceived fact and make them more salient in a communicating text, in order to facilitate a certain issue description, causal understanding, moral judgment, and/or treatment suggestion for the item described," Entman explains. As a result, the causal and care roles of a news story as framed and communicated to the media are essential aspects of framing. (Entman).

Framing of the news refers to much more than a simple slant or bias of each individual story. Framing is the means by which an entire social reality is constructed. American corporate media has overwhelmingly taken the position that the U.S. presence in the Middle East is driven by a noble effort to promote self-determination, human rights, justice, and democracy. (Dimaggio, 2008). That is one of the evidences that US done. It made the public opinion towards US is kind. Different way of framing conflicts focuses instead on the victims of crises. (Robinson, 2002).

According to Immanuel Castells, in the journal *Communication, Power and Counter-Power* in the

Network Society, he said that the media is a social room where the authority is shaped, it shows the direct relation among politics, media, scandal, and legitimacy of politics in global perspective. But it's not mean that politics is in media control. There are actors who has a big role over the media. Actually the importance of media is the owner. Media is just a tool to deliver something that the owner wants to disseminate it. It refers to the background political life of the owner. We can say that media as a tool to deliver the propaganda through the framing it.

The function of framing:

- a) Define problems, namely determining what agents do to prices and profits, generally measured in the form of cultural values.
- b) Diagnose causes is identifying the strength of creating the problem.
- c) Make moral judgments, namely evaluating causal agents and their effects.
- d) Suggest remedies offer and assess treatment for various problems and predict the same effects.

Define problems is a main element of a frame. It focuses on how the journalist can understand the case, how that case can understand by other. Because the understanding can be different every people. In the case of Al Jazeera coverage about military operation in Syria, the journalist wrote the title of the news by labelling on the group called as other group. Public opinion will see Kurds as part of terrorist group. In the other hand, some Kurds who live in Turkey is contra with YPG/PKK.

Diagnose causes or estimate the problem or root of the problem is a framing element to frame the

actor of that case. The research of this element is 'what', but can change into 'who', how the case can be identified. How the case can be identified of what and who as the root of a problem. The actor of this problem is the media, which is Al Jazeera as we know that their relation with Qatar is close. Al Jazeera covers about something that Turkey do towards their interest in Syria. Qatar and Turkey have strong relation because they are ally.

Make moral judgment or create a decision is an element of framing that is used to give the argument about identified of the case or problem. When the problem was identified, the cause of problem was found, we need argumentation to support the statement. The statement must be famous or general in public. Turkey has been hosted for million refugees from Syria with various ethnicities. The famous ethnics from Syria is Kurds. But not all the Kurds is pro with YPG/PKK who live in Syria and include in its group. Al Jazeera call them as Kurdish who familiar in Turkish because Kurds is dominant refugees there.

Treatment recommendation or focus on the settlement is used to give a value on what the journalist wanted and what the path that chosen by him/her to settle the problem. The settlement depends on the perspective of what the cause of problem. Because of the framing that Al Jazeera done, famous media based on Turkey reply it with a news about Al Jazeera English. They suggest Turkey to join with Arab league which enemy of Qatar. To respond its news, President Erdogan always respond to biased information that it's untrue and imaginary.

D. Hypothesis

Based on the concept and theoretical framework that the writer uses, hypothesis over the research question about propaganda of Al Jazeera as the strong media under Qatar government over the military operation in Syria by Turkey.

1. Followed the concepts above, the political factor from Al Jazeera itself follows the interest of the ownership of the media.
2. Its relations with the funder, started influencing the construction of the coverage.
3. Followed the concept of framing, Al Jazeera defined the operation rise in Syria by frame it with decrease the information about Turkey hosted Syrian refugee and highlight the war and its operation motivated by ethnics rather than good news about Turkey who has hosted 3,6 million refugees with various ethnicity.

E. Research Methods

In writings this thesis, writer uses qualitative methods. According to Moleong, qualitative methods is a methods that is used to understand the phenomena about what happened to subject research, for example are behaviour, perception, motivation and action holistically, The writing methods uses descriptive method by arranging certain sentences and words using scientific method.

In the methods of collecting data, the writer uses secondary collecting technique. Secondary

collecting technique is used literature study done by writer through the seeking facts and data of some journals or book. Using of literature like book, magazine, newspaper, journal, news sheet, paper and etc. Beside it, the writer also uses computer and internet to seek the relevant reference as an assist tool.

F. Research Purpose

The purpose writings that want to be reached by the writer is to analyse the relation between Al Jazeera and Qatar also the reason why Al Jazeera's Qatar conducted propaganda anti-turkey over Turkey's Operation Peace Spring in Syria.

G. Writing System

Chapter I of this thesis proposal, the writer writes the background which consists of the reason why the writer takes this case, research question that relevant to this case, theoretical framework, hypothesis, research methods, purpose of the research and the writings system.

Chapter II explains about the Al Jazeera's Qatar in general and the role in propaganda tool. This chapter also explains about the propaganda made by Al Jazeera that influenced Daily Sabah's Turkey recommend Turkey to end the relation with Qatar.

Chapter III this chapter is an analysis of the way and reasons of why Al Jazeera did propaganda towards Turkey's Peace Spring Operation in Syria.

Chapter IV contains of conclusion related to the whole thesis.