

Representation of Türkiye in Yemeni Media: A Case Study of El-Mesira Channel and Aden Independent Channel

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Abstract

This study aims to examine the representation of Türkiye in news and news programs broadcast by private Yemeni television channels, focusing on discourse type, ideological frameworks employed in news coverage and the editorial policies followed by these channels. For this purpose, discourses from news and news programs published on the websites of El-Mesira, affiliated with Ansar Allah (Houthis) and Aden Independent Channel, aligned with the Southern Transitional Council, were analyzed using van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis model for the period from July 1 to December 31, 2020.

The analysis revealed that Aden Independent Channel concentrated on Turkish-Qatari relations accusing both countries of providing financial and military support to the legitimate government forces, which the channel deemed affiliated with the Muslim Brotherhood (Al-Islah Party). The channel also asserted that the legitimate government was aligned with Türkiye and Iran, implementing Qatar's agenda in Yemen. Simultaneously, the channel considered the forces of the Southern Transitional Council as the sole faction fighting against the legitimate government forces and Ansar Allah (Houthis), who aimed to thwart the council's project of establishing an independent state in southern Yemen. On the other hand, El-Mesira reacted negatively to the presence of Turkish armed forces in Syria. Regarding the Yemeni crisis, the channel viewed Türkiye positively, particularly in light of Türkiye's criticism of the negative role played by the United Arab Emirates in Yemen, which resulted in the deaths of thousands and the spread of famine among millions of Yemenis.

Keywords: Representation, Türkiye, Aden Independent Channel, El-Mesira Channel, Yemen.

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* Bu çalışma intihal tespit yazılımlarıyla taranmış intihal tespit edilmemiştir.

** Çalışma tek yazar tarafından yürütülmüştür.

*** Çalışma kapsamında herhangi bir kurum veya kişi ile çıkar çatışması bulunmamaktadır.

**** Bu çalışmada "Yükseköğretim Kurumları Bilimsel Araştırma ve Yayın Etiği Yönergesi" kapsamında uyulması belirtilen kurallara uyulmuştur.

***** Bu çalışma Abubakr Al-owaa'nın Marmara Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü'nde yürütmekte olduğu doktora tezinden üretilmiştir.

Yemen Medyasında Türkiye Temsili: El-Mesira Kanalı ve Bağımsız Aden Kanalı Örneği

Öz

Bu araştırma, Yemen'deki özel televizyon kanallarının yayınladığı haber ve haber programlarındaki Türkiye'nin söylem türü, haberlerde kullanılan ideoloji ve bu kanalların izlediği yayın politikası açısından nasıl temsil edildiğini belirlemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bu amaçla Ansar Allah'ı (Husiler) destekleyen El-Mesira Kanalı ile Güney Geçiş Konseyi yanlısı Bağımsız Aden Kanalı'nın internet haber portallarında yayınlanan haber söylemleri ve haber programları 1 Temmuz - 31 Aralık 2020 tarihleri arasında van Dijk'in eleştirel söylem analizi modeli kullanılarak analiz edilmiştir.

Haber metinlerinde kullanılan söylemlerde, Bağımsız Aden Kanalının, Müslüman Kardeşler'e (Al-Islah Partisi) ait olduğu düşünülen meşru hükümet güçlerine iki ülkeyi mali ve askeri destek sağlamakla suçlayarak Türkiye-Katar ilişkilerine odaklandığı ortaya çıkmıştır. Kanal ayrıca meşru hükümetin Türkiye ve İran ile ittifak içinde olduğunu ve Katar'ın Yemen'deki gündemine vurgu yapmaktadır. Kanal aynı zamanda Güney Geçiş Konseyi güçlerini, meşru hükümetin güçleriyle ve konseyin güney Yemen'de bağımsız bir devlet kurma projesini engellemeye çalışan Ansar Allah'ın (Husiler) güçleriyle savaştan tek taraf olarak sayılmıştır. El-Mesira kanalı ise Türk silahlı kuvvetlerinin Suriye'deki varlığını olumsuz karşıladığı sonucuna varılmıştır. Kanal'da, Yemen krizine ilişkin olarak Türkiye'nin Yemen'e yönelik olumlu bir duruş sergilediği görülmüştür. Türkiye'nin bu durumu, BAE'nin Yemen'de binlerce kişinin öldürülmesi ve milyonlarca Yemenlinin açlığa mahkûm edilmesiyle sonuçlanan olumsuz rolüne yönelik eleştirisiyle de ortaya çıkmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Temsil, Türkiye, Bağımsız Aden Kanalı, El-Mesira Kanalı, Yemen.

Introduction

Television is currently considered one of the primary sources for obtaining news and information across various aspects of life. The three fundamental functions of television are news transmission, education and entertainment. The importance of these functions varies based on the nature of the television channel and its adopted publishing policy. Throughout history, human beings have shown a consistent desire to be informed and acquire more knowledge. The purpose behind this endeavor is to increase awareness and gain information that aids in understanding past events and anticipating future developments (Aksu, 1992, p. 28). Undoubtedly, news in its variety attempts to provide information, data, ideas and different cultures. These contents contribute to increasing the audience's knowledge of events and shaping their priorities accordingly from one context to another (Al-Moussawi, 2021, p. 135). Recognizing the pivotal role of television in disseminating news, nations have swiftly established satellite television channels to communicate news to their audiences and simultaneously, to introduce their news, culture and history to other nations. The importance of television channels lies in their comprehensive coverage of events. They also prepare reports from diverse sources and various regions which helps provide the audience with a comprehensive view of global developments.

Television does not provide its news services only through news bulletins and news programs. Every television program contains news elements, especially if daily events are discussed in the programs (Aksu, 1992, p. 45). The production of television news

is not done easily; it requires human resources and material capabilities. The goal is to achieve integration and provide multiple and varied news bulletins in both form and content throughout the day. Naturally, these human and material resources vary from one channel to another (Al-Moussawi, 2021, p. 38). Simultaneously, the process of news selection is fundamentally subject to the media institution's policy and the ideology it follows. Consequently, the institution's policy determines the decision to broadcast news and its placement in the news bulletin. Some television channels also process news according to the opinions and orientations of their owners.

Due to the importance of television channels, the Yemeni government and various political entities have established television channels to broadcast news, reports and diverse programs. Yemeni government and private television channels not only limit their coverage to Yemen-related news but also address news from other Arab, Islamic and global countries. News related to Türkiye, whether political, economic, or military, is one of the topics covered by these channels, both in their news bulletins and on their online platforms. This study was conducted due to the scarcity of academic studies on the representation of Türkiye in Yemeni media. The aim is to obtain information on how El-Mesira Channel and Aden Independent Channel cover news related to Türkiye, whether political, economic, or military, using van Dijk's critical discourse analysis model.

1. The Concept of Representation

The definitions related to representation have varied according to the intellectual frameworks of researchers and the methodological approaches they adopt. These definitions have diversified along with the diversity of researchers, much like other concepts. In this context, numerous definitions attempt to specify, describe and establish the purposes of this concept. Regarding the word "representation," it means "reflection with its distinct characteristics, making it a symbol, encoding." The English origin of the word "representation" in the sense of encoding has been used since the fourteenth century (Williams, 2005, p. 323). Stuart Hall is considered to have conducted a more detailed study on representation. According to Hall (2017, p. 24), representation is the process of producing meaning through language. According to him, the Shorter English Dictionary provides two definitions for the concept of representation: Firstly to represent something, depict it, describe it, bring a copy of it to our minds or senses or revive it in the mind through imagination and secondly it comes to mean to represent, to symbolize, to intend, to create an example or to stand for something.

At the same time, Hall uses the concept of representation to refer to the process through which meaning is sent and created, i.e., the "signification" process. According to him, representation is not a process of encoding or reflecting things that exist in the physical world using forms, written signs, or verbal signs, instead, representation is a process that participates in this signification process by producing meaning and allowing the alteration of these meanings (Hall, 2017, pp. 27-28). According to Vieira and Runciman (2008, pp. 2-3), representation exists in the lives of all individuals, even if they are not aware of it. Our deep thoughts are formed by representations of the external world, the language we use consists of words that represent those ideas. In this context, language is the primary element in the process of representation. What is represented in our minds is verbally expressed using language and then conveyed to others.

Therefore, representation serves as the connect between concepts and language, granting us the ability to express the real world of things, people, events or the imaginary world of fictional characters or events. Representation is also the process through which language is used to generate meanings for concepts in our minds (Hall, 2014, pp. 89-90). However, at this stage, language does not function as a mirror during the production of meaning, as meaning is composed of different representational systems called languages. In this context, it can be said that meaning is created at the end of the production process (Boztepe, 2015, p. 222). This production process may involve symbols and forms with implicit or explicit ideological meanings aiming to influence the receiver and convey information to them.

In recent years, the world has witnessed significant progress in the production of signs, symbols and visual images, rapidly reaching a large number of recipients. In the context of technological advancements, representation has become a two-way process. The production process not only involves creating representation and conveying it to others but also includes receiving and interpreting representation. In this context, Hall suggests that representation creates meanings for phenomena on a conscious level through language. This does not only occur within the ontological structure of language but also forms through vision (Hall, 2017, pp. 25-28). In short, representation relies primarily on language because it is the fundamental element that contributes to the production of meanings. It also helps others express their thoughts. Various media use language components such as symbols and signs to convey ideas to the recipient about a person, topic or country.

2. Representation of Country in Television News

In general, the formats existing in the minds of editors influence the process of selection and presentation of news based on their news values. These formats help make the news more attractive and impactful to viewers. Therefore, it can be said that reality is reconstructed through the presentation and transmission of news on television, supported by video and images. As a result, a common perception is formed that the existing reality is transformed into a reality reflected on television (Karaduman, 2007, p. 47). On the other hand, ideology and the news policy followed by the television channel also influence the way news is presented and selected.

Television channels reproduce ideologies through news discourses and convey them to viewers. News forms one of the fundamental discourses through which people learn about what is happening around them and in the world. These discourses, integrated with ideologies, influence people's behaviors and thoughts (Göker and Keskin, 2015, p. 234). During times of war, television channels play a crucial role. According to various communication theories, media messages serve as ideologies. They are used as a medium by dominant powers to shape the political and social life of individuals (Şen, 2013, p. 164). Therefore, dominant powers tend to utilize television channels to serve their interests during times of war and diplomatic tensions between countries. Consequently, information that serves the interests of these powers is disseminated, whether by highlighting positive aspects, concealing negative ones or directing the broadcast of information that emphasizes the negative aspects of the represented state. As a result, individuals may develop negative perceptions towards other countries due to receiving information from these channels.

On the other hand, parties and countries that have issues with other nations attempt to propagate their propaganda through television channels. The aim is to gain societal support for their actions, whether in war or otherwise, and also to create a positive image about themselves in society (Önk, 2011, p. 3991). Therefore, media institutions produce ideas and representations through the information they publish. They attempt to implant this information in the minds of people and aim for them to coexist with this polarization (Kussainova, 2016, p. 18). In conclusion, the representation of a state in television news depends on several factors. Among the most important are the state's system of governance, its history, cultural system, customs, traditions, economic status, political system, tourism resources and diplomatic relations with other countries. These factors collectively shape how a state is portrayed and perceived in the media. Consequently, the public forms either a negative or positive image of a specific country based on the news they receive from television channels, which relates to the aforementioned factors.

3. Overview of Yemen Television Channels

Television broadcasting in Aden began on September 11, 1964. The channel ranked tenth in terms of establishment among Arab channels (Al-Agbari, 2014, p. 202). Television broadcasting in San'a started under the name "San'a Television" in September 1975. After the declaration of the Yemen Republic in 1990, San'a Channel was renamed Channel One, while Aden Channel became Channel Two (Al-Shaberi, 2011, p. 55). The 1990s marked a significant turning point in Yemeni television. Following the unification of Yemen, the Radio and Television Authority established in the northern part of Yemen merged with the Public Corporation for Radio and Television in the south to form a new institution called the Yemen General Corporation for Radio and Television.

Yemen TV started satellite broadcasting on INTELSAT 59 with an analog system on the C-BAND in 1995. The channel's transmission covered the Middle East, North America, Europe, Asia and a significant part of Africa. In 2000, the broadcast shifted to the ArabSat A2 satellite (Al-Agbari, 2014, p. 219). After 2000, all government channels began broadcasting on both Nilesat and ArabSat A2 satellites. The state monopolized television and radio broadcasting for an extended period. In 2007, the private sector initiated the establishment of television channels free from government restrictions. Al-Saeedah Channel became the first private channel to broadcast from the Egyptian capital, Cairo, in 2007, marking a significant shift in the television landscape.

On another note, the events of the Arab Spring in 2011 played a significant role in the media sector in Yemen. The government allowed private and partisan television channels to open media offices and broadcast live from within Yemen. These events also marked the beginning of the opening of several partisan and private channels. Simultaneously, this led to intense competition among them, especially since most of these channels are owned by political entities. The number of private and partisan satellite channels exceeded twenty. These channels differ in orientation and goals and are characterized by the diversity of their media content (Al-Tamimi, 2020, pp. 68-69). These channels work to convey the ideologies and ideas of the parties that own them to the audience. Here, we can say that these channels have become propaganda tools exploited by parties to tarnish the image of others or convey a negative image about

them. Examples of government channels include Sheba Channel, Yemen Channel and Al-Iman Channel. Examples of partisan channels include Suhail Channel (The Yemeni Congregation for Reform)“Al-Islah Party”, El-Mesira Channel (Ansar Allah/Houthis), Yemen Today Channel (The General People’s Congress party) and Aden Independent Channel (Southern Transitional Council).

4. The Methodology of the Study

4.1. Objective and Questions of the Study

This study aims to examine how Türkiye is represented in the news and programs broadcast by the El-Mesira and Aden Independent channels, focusing on discourse types, the ideologies employed in the news and programs and the editorial policies of these channels. Accordingly, the study’s research questions are as follows:

How is Türkiye represented in the news and programs broadcast by the El-Mesira and Aden Independent channels? The following are subsidiary questions stemming from this main question:

- What type of discourse is developed by the El-Mesira and Aden Independent channels, and what rhetorical elements do they use in constructing their ideologies?
- Does the ideological structure of the El-Mesira and Aden Independent channels impact the neutrality of these channels?
- How does the ideological structure of the El-Mesira and Aden Independent channels influence the perspectives of news editors in these channels?
- What is the impact of the editorial policies of the El-Mesira and Aden Independent channels on the editing of news related to Türkiye?

4.2. The Method of the Study

The discourse analysis method, considered one of the qualitative research methods, was used in this study. It is widely employed by researchers in media studies, especially for analyzing media texts such as news and programs. The study utilized the critical discourse analysis model developed by van Dijk, considering it an extension of discourse analysis and the most suitable model for analyzing the content of news and programs in the practical part of the study. This model was chosen for its ability to reveal the structure of news and the ideology embedded in news texts and programs.

Van Dijk’s model of critical discourse analysis consists of two parts: the macrostructure and the microstructure. The analysis of the macrostructure focuses on news headlines, introductions, main event presentations, background information, news context, sources and images. The microstructure, on the other hand, focuses on sentences, words and the rhetoric of news (Devran, 2010, pp. 64-65). The microstructure aims to uncover causal, functional and referential relationships within the news text. It also seeks to reveal eyewitness statements, particularly because the discourse and linguistic structures of news texts often contain ideologies.

When considering news texts as a form of discourse, a methodical analysis of structural characteristics alone is insufficient to reveal the true meaning of the news text and the implicit messages it contains. This is especially true since news texts are primarily connected to the social, political, cultural, and military contexts that shape them. Additionally, not all research questions can be answered through the analysis of structural features alone. Therefore, it is essential to examine other elements of the text, such as the first sentence following the introduction, the conclusion of the news and the context of the news as well.

4.3. Population and Sample of the Study

The sample used in this study was a purposive sample chosen to achieve the research objectives and answer its questions. Purposive sampling is typically employed to select cases rich in information related to the phenomenon of interest. In this type of sampling, the researcher identifies a sample group from the population using specific criteria and then selects a small subset believed to significantly contribute to the research (Palinkas et al., 2013, p. 533). In this study, news discourses related to Türkiye that were published on El-Mesira Channel and Aden Independent Channel were analyzed. A total of 286 news items related to Türkiye were collected from these channels during the six-month period from July 1 to December 31, 2020. Specifically, there were 211 news items from El-Mesira Channel and 75 from Aden Independent Channel.

From these news and programs, 6 were selected from Aden Independent Channel and 8 from El-Mesira Channel using purposive sampling. The news and programs related to Türkiye published by Aden Independent Channel were accessed through its YouTube channel due to the unavailability of complete news and programs on its official website. News from El-Mesira Channel were obtained from its official website.

4.4. The Limitations of the Study

Subject Limitations: The researcher focused this study on examining how Türkiye is represented in the news and programs broadcast by private Yemeni media outlets. The study analyzed the ideologies present in the news, discourse types, and editorial policies of these outlets.

Spatial Limitations: This study focused exclusively on two private television channels in Yemen: El-Mesira Channel and Aden Independent Channel.

Temporal Limitations: This study analyzed news discourse and programs related to Türkiye published on El-Mesira Channel and Aden Independent Channel during the period from July 1 to December 31, 2020. This time frame was selected due to the heightened conflict between Yemeni parties during this period, involving the legitimate government forces and Ansar Allah (Houthis) forces on one side, and the legitimate government forces and Southern Transitional Council forces on the other. Türkiye is considered an international supporter of the internationally recognized legitimate government and advocates for resolving the Yemeni crisis through dialogue rather than military intervention.

5. The Results of the Study

5.1. Representation of Türkiye in Aden Independent Channel's Discourses

Aden Independent Channel (AIC) was launched on October 14, 2019, on the ArabSat satellite. The channel conducted a trial broadcast for several months before officially launching its programs (Al-Tamimi, 2020, p. 68). The channel is affiliated with the Southern Transitional Council and is overseen by the National Southern Media Authority. It was established with the goal of conveying all news related to the Southern Transitional Council and events in the city of Aden (Marefa, n.d.). In this part of the study, various topics related to Türkiye were analyzed as they appeared in the news bulletins of Aden Independent Channel, which airs daily at 9:00 PM. Additionally, the study examined topics covered in the talk show "Zoom Siyasi" (Political Zoom) based on the following categories.

5.1.1. Turkish-Qatari Relations and Their Implications on the Yemen Crisis

"Türkiye and Qatar Obstruct the Riyadh Agreement by Supporting the Terrorist Muslim Brotherhood Party" (Aden Independent Channel, July 31, 2020).

Aden Independent Channel highlighted in the main headline of the news report the parties hindering the implementation of the Riyadh Agreement. The Riyadh Agreement, signed between the legitimate government and the Southern Transitional Council on November 5, 2019, is considered one of the most important agreements as it is expected to contribute to halting military confrontations between the parties. Therefore, mentioning Qatar and Türkiye in the main headline as countries obstructing the agreement will create a negative perception about both countries. On the other hand, the channel specifically addressed the term "terrorist Muslim Brotherhood," referring to the Al-Islah Party, which is one of the participants in the legitimate government. Using this expression will create a negative image of Qatar and Türkiye, as it implies that these countries support a party described as terrorist. At the same time, the channel reinforced the negative perspective with the word "obstruct," which means hindering the agreement's implementation. The channel aims to influence viewers and persuade them that the Al-Islah Party is implementing the agenda of Qatar and Türkiye. In this way, the news report was presented in line with the channel's editorial policy. Regarding the photos, the channel used photos showing persons affiliated with the Al-Islah Party and the parties that signed the Riyadh Agreement. The goal of doing so is to convince viewers of the information presented in the report.

"Despite the attempts by the terrorist Muslim Brotherhood militias to sabotage the Riyadh Agreement, the mechanism for expediting this agreement announced by the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia last Wednesday has broken the axis of evil, including Iran, Türkiye, Qatar and their tools" (Aden Independent Channel, July 31, 2020).

Aden Independent Channel reinforced its ruling on the Muslim Brotherhood with a sentence that supported the headline in the introduction to the news report. The channel described the soldiers of the legitimate government near the cities of Abyan and Aden as "terrorist Brotherhood militias." Using this description for official soldiers reveals the channel's ideology and their negative view of government forces. This is

because these forces pose an obstacle to the Southern Transitional Council's project to divide Yemen into two states. The channel aims, through the use of these terms, to emphasize the negative perception it seeks to establish in its news content, especially when describing the soldiers of the legitimate government as "militias." The channel's use of the term "militias" aims to imply that the soldiers of the legitimate government are irregular, unlike the professional soldiers of regular armies engaged in combat operations. On another note, the report's introduction presented the situation of the Riyadh Agreement and the main event. As in the headline, the report critically referred to the positions of Türkiye, Qatar and Iran regarding the agreement. The report's introduction emphasized that the signing of the agreement thwarted these countries' efforts to undermine it. The channel's use of the expression "Axis of Evil" creates a negative image of Qatar, Türkiye and Iran for the viewers.

"The acceleration of the Riyadh Agreement, which comes as a continuation of Saudi Arabia's efforts to achieve security, stability, and support the Southern Transitional Council in the Arab coalition's endeavors, has caused a significant shock to the Yemeni Muslim Brotherhood. This development led them to resort to revisiting their tactics to undermine it once again. Since the signing of the Riyadh Agreement on November 5th last year, the Brotherhood elements have spared no means in their attempts to sabotage the agreement in service of the Houthis project. In contrast to a series of online campaigns, military escalation and the attempt to invade the capital Aden have been among the most prominent roles played by the Qatar and Türkiye axis." ([Aden Independent Channel, July 31, 2020](#)).

The Aden Independent Channel attempted, in the first sentence of the news report, to create a negative perception. This is manifested in accusing the Muslim Brotherhood (Al-Islah Party) of seeking to sabotage the Riyadh Agreement. The report pointed out that the Muslim Brotherhood attempted to enter the city of Aden and escalate militarily with the aim of undermining the agreement. This information presents a negative image of the legitimate government forces. On the other hand, it is noteworthy that the report mentioned the date of the signing of the agreement, serving as a reference to the context of the event. The purpose is to inform the readers and viewers about the political background of the event which involved armed clashes between the Southern Transitional Council forces and the legitimate government forces, leading to the signing of this agreement. At the same time, the correspondent explained the news by providing information about the positions of the parties involved in the agreement, such as Saudi Arabia and the Arab coalition countries. Additionally, the repetition of mentioning Türkiye and Qatar in the first sentence of the report confirms the negative image the channel is trying to shape about these two countries. These details also reflect the editorial policy and ideology of the channel.

"According to the expectations of observers and political analysts, the interests of the Muslim Brotherhood are expected to come to an end with the implementation of the Riyadh Agreement, which has become a tangible reality today and is deemed necessary. Political analysts also noted that there are officials affiliated with the Yemen Muslim Brotherhood project who have turned into warlords and are unwilling to relinquish their positions...." ([Aden Independent Channel, July 31, 2020](#)).

The report also indicated that the implementation of the Riyadh Agreement will pose challenges for the Muslim Brotherhood (Al-Islah Party). The channel interpreted this

information through statements from political analysts. Additionally, the channel conducted a comparison using the ‘us versus them’ approach, describing the Al-Islah Party as engaging in unlawful activities and being rebels, while portraying the Southern Transitional Council as seeking peace. On the other hand, the phrase ‘warlords’ forms a negative image of the soldiers of the legitimate government, which the channel consistently asserts belong to the Muslim Brotherhood (Al-Islah Party). It is also noteworthy that the channel presented an image of Vice President Ali Mohsen Al-Ahmar when providing information about ‘officials affiliated with the Yemeni Muslim Brotherhood project.’ This can be seen as a negative portrayal of the vice president, especially when the report mentioned that they are ‘warlords’ seeking ‘the seat of power’.

“The Transitional Council was negotiating for a real partnership in decision-making, and the management of political, military and economic files during this stage. This by no means implies that the Transitional Council has abandoned the goals and strategic principles it declared upon its establishment...” (Aden Independent Channel, July 31, 2020).

The Aden Independent Channel seeks to shape a positive image of the United Arab Emirates by showcasing photos of protesters raising the UAE flag. Conversely, the channel aims to create a negative image of Türkiye and Qatar by emphasizing their support for the Muslim Brotherhood (Al-Islah Party). The channel also addressed the project of establishing a state that the Southern Transitional Council seeks to establish in southern Yemen. Here, the channel wanted to convey a message to supporters of the Southern Transitional Council that it cannot abandon its strategic goal. The report also exhibits coherence within the text by mentioning functional, causal and referential relationships. The functional relationship is that the goal of the Transitional Council is to establish a state in southern Yemen. The causal relationship is that the reason for signing the Riyadh Agreement is the military confrontations between the forces of the Southern Transitional Council and the forces of the legitimate government. Regarding the referential relationship, it involves using statements from the head of the Southern Transitional Council and political analysts as references for the report. Clear expressions, understandable words, and active verbs were used in the report.

In conclusion, this news text was analyzed using van Dijk’s critical discourse analysis model. In this context, the Aden Independent Channel worked to create a negative stereotype of Qatar and Türkiye. This image was primarily constructed by accusing these two countries of obstructing the implementation of the Riyadh Agreement through their support of the legitimate government forces. Here, the channel aimed to establish a distinct identity for the Southern Transitional Council forces by portraying them as defenders of southern Yemen. News plays an important role in reconstructing identity, and the reality created in the news affects the audience. Thus, in the macrostructure, the news headline formed the basis of the first sentence in addition to the other sentences followed. In the microstructure, clear words and active verbs were used. In the news that relied on the attempts of the legitimate government forces to thwart the Riyadh Agreement, Qatar and Türkiye were presented in a biased manner. Especially since Türkiye seeks to resolve the Yemeni crisis through dialogue, not military confrontations. Türkiye is considered a regional state that can act as a mediator between the conflicting parties. On the other hand, Türkiye works to support the legitimate government in international forums, such as the United Nations and

relief organizations, not by sending weapons to the legitimate government forces.

5.1.2. The Relationship Between the Legitimate Government of Yemen and the Government of Türkiye

“The Yemen Interim Government: Between Opposition to Qatar and Implementation of Its Agenda” (Aden Independent Channel, July 22, 2020).

The Aden Independent Channel highlighted in the main headline of the report the Southern Transitional Council’s stance regarding the actions of the legitimate Yemeni government towards Qatar. Qatar is facing an extensive boycott by the UAE, Saudi Arabia and Egypt. Despite the report’s title in the Political Zoom program not explicitly mentioning Türkiye, other sentences focused heavily on Türkiye. Therefore, the inclusion of Qatar in the main headline created a strong and credible perception of the news, as Türkiye is considered one of the key countries that stood by Qatar during the Arab and Gulf boycott. The channel also used the expression “Opposition to Qatar, and Implementation of Its Agenda” in the headline, revealing that the legitimate government is both implementing Qatar’s agenda on one hand and opposing it on the other. The phrase “Implementation of Its Agenda” creates a negative perception of the Yemeni government. This implies that the government supported by Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates is engaged in an unlawful act by implementing Qatar’s agenda, which is subject to a boycott by both countries. The negative image of the Yemeni government is further emphasized by the term “interim,” indicating that the Southern Transitional Council does not recognize the current government because it is not participating in it. The channel aimed to influence the viewers by using effective sentences that criticize the legitimate government, following its editorial policy. In this way, the news was presented in a manner that resonates with the channel’s audience and the editorial policy it follows.

“The divisions within the interim Yemeni government have escalated. One faction has aligned itself with what is now described as the ‘axis of evil,’ including Qatar, Türkiye and Iran, while another faction is led by the Yemeni government’s president, who claims alignment with the Arab coalition project, as reported in the media. This division has caused significant confusion and hindered all efforts aimed at liberating northern Yemen from the control of the Houthi rebels....” (Aden Independent Channel, July 22, 2020).

The sentence cited by the Aden Independent Channel in the report’s introduction supports the channel’s assertion regarding the Yemeni government in the main headline. According to the report, members of the Yemeni government are aligning with what the report labels as the “axis of evil,” namely Türkiye, Qatar and Iran. Conversely, other ministers, under the leadership of the Prime Minister, align with the Arab coalition. Through the term “axis of evil,” the channel aims to emphasize the negative image it seeks to portray of Türkiye, Qatar and Iran. Once again, the channel critiques the government’s policies using expressions that align with its editorial policy. The use of the word “division” has contributed to creating a negative image of the Yemeni government because it has hindered efforts to liberate “Northern Yemen” from the Houthi rebels. The channel’s use of “Northern Yemen” is perceived negatively as it suggests Yemen is divided into North and South. By highlighting this division, the channel aims to underscore the Southern Transitional Council’s opposition to

Qatari and Turkish expansionist plans, as the Council seeks to establish a state in South Yemen. Additionally, the report included photos of Iranian President Hassan Rouhani, Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan, Qatari Amir Tamim Al Thani, Yemeni Prime Minister Maeen Abdul Malik, and several members of the Yemeni government. The purpose of displaying these photos is to enhance the credibility and persuasiveness of the information presented in the report.

“From Cairo, the head of the interim Yemeni government, Maeen Abdul Malik, flirts with Egypt, a country he is visiting with a stance against Qatar. Qatar is considered a staunch opponent by one of the poles of the boycotting countries, resulting from Doha’s hostile stances towards several Arab states. However, his deputy interior minister and other members of his government are working on the ground in Shabwa, Al-Mahra, and Wadi Hadramout to implement the agendas of Doha, Ankara, and Tehran” (Aden Independent Channel, July 22, 2020).

The Aden Independent Channel described the Prime Minister in the first sentence of the report as dishonest in his stance towards Qatar. This description created a strongly negative perception of the Prime Minister. The use of the term “flirts” in the report aims to indicate that the head of the government intended, during his visit to Egypt, to convey a message to the UAE and Saudi Arabia that he stands against Türkiye and Qatar as well. Additionally, the channel accused the Deputy Prime Minister, the Minister of Interior and some government members of forming terrorist groups affiliated with Qatar, Türkiye and Iran, thereby shaping a negative image of these countries and the Minister of Interior. Furthermore, the repeated mention of these countries aims to convince viewers that these nations are hostile to the Southern Transitional Council and the Arab coalition. On another note, the report begins by addressing the state of Qatari-Gulf relations and the Yemeni government’s stance on the Qatar blockade in its opening sentence. The report also highlights the main event: the Yemeni government aligning itself with Qatar, Türkiye and Iran. The conclusion drawn from the report is that the channel’s policy stands against the current government because the Southern Transitional Council is not involved. The background and context of the event lie in the Qatar blockade and the Riyadh Agreement. Simultaneously, the report explains the news to viewers by repeatedly mentioning the names of the active parties, such as Prime Minister Maeen Abdul Malik and the Minister of Interior. The way in which the report handles the names of the active parties is highly deliberate, reflecting the channel’s ideology. Additionally, highlighting these two names increases the credibility and persuasiveness of the information in the report. Therefore, the negative image of the government and emphasizing its alignment with Türkiye and Qatar reflects the channel’s editorial policy and ideology.

“Qatar, which Maeen Abdul Malik claims supports the Houthi militias, is the same Qatar that supports officials in his government. These officials have come to possess terrorist militias no less extreme than the Houthi militias...” (Aden Independent Channel, July 22, 2020).

The Aden Independent Channel once again mentioned Prime Minister Maeen Abdul Malik’s stance towards Qatar, asserting that it supports the Houthi militias. However, the report also indicated that there are government members receiving support from Türkiye and Qatar, who possess ‘terrorist militias.’ The channel intended to convey a message that the Yemeni government would face difficulties in its political

relationships, especially since its headquarters are in Aden, controlled by forces of the Southern Transitional Council. The channel emphasized this by stating “will not last,” suggesting that the Southern Transitional Council seeks to establish a new government with half of its members. Furthermore, the use of the term ‘terrorist militias’ reinforces the negative portrayal the channel conveys about Qatar and Türkiye.

The report also employs clear expressions and active verbs. Simultaneously, there is coherence within the text through functional, causal and referential relationships. The functional relationship lies in the fact that the Southern Transitional Council seeks to form a government hostile to Qatar and Türkiye while aligning with the UAE and Saudi Arabia. The causal relationship indicates that Qatar’s withdrawal from the Saudi Arabia-led Arab coalition against the Houthis heightened tensions between Qatar and the coalition countries. This withdrawal is reflected in the media content broadcast by the channel, which aims to disseminate content against Qatar and in support of Saudi Arabia and the UAE. The channel relies on authoritative sources, primarily members of the Yemeni government.

In this analysis, rather than simplifying the information, a wide range of details about the report’s subject was provided. The report elaborated that the legitimate government receives support from Qatar and Türkiye. It also emphasized the presence of ministers in the government allegedly associated with ‘terrorist militias.’ The macrostructure highlighted the report’s title as its central element. The microstructure clarified causal, functional, and referential relationships, as well as sentence construction. It can be observed that the report’s information reflects a biased perspective based on negative stereotypes, indicating that the Aden Independent Channel holds a critical stance towards Qatar and Türkiye. Despite concrete evidence from the situation in Yemen, the report did not feature statements from the individuals responsible for the information cited, revealing the channel’s ideological position towards Qatar and Türkiye. Here, it appears that the channel seeks to form a distinct identity that asserts that what the Southern Transitional Council is doing is correct.

5.1.3. The Rhetorical Devices Used in News

The Aden Independent Channel, affiliated with the Southern Transitional Council, employed several rhetorical devices in its presentation of news related to Türkiye. Prominent among these devices are analogy, interrogation, comparison, expressions of concern, appeals to intimidation, repetition and reliance on sources.

For example, the following quotation uses questions. The program host employs these questions as an introduction to the report, aiming to capture viewers’ attention and provide information about the topics to be discussed in the political program (Political Zoom): *“How does the re-sending of mercenaries to Libya bring to mind the role of the terrorist Muslim Brotherhood in sending fighters to Afghanistan, known as the Arab Brotherhood? What was the cost of sending these mercenaries obtaining smuggled weapons from the Turkish base in Somalia?”* (Aden Independent Channel, July 6, 2020). At the same time, the channel uses repetition as a rhetorical device to persuade and remind viewers of those playing a negative role in the southern regions. For example, the channel frequently repeats the expression “coalition of evil” in most of its news reports and in the Political Zoom program. By this expression, Türkiye, Qatar and Iran are meant: *“For years, the coalition of evil led by Doha, including Ankara and Tehran, believed that it could achieve what the Houthis*

rebels failed to accomplish during their war on the South in 2015..." (Aden Independent Channel, August 19, 2020).

In the news reports, there is also a clear reliance on sources, aiming to persuade viewers that the information presented is obtained from reliable sources. For example, the channel cites an American report published by Al-Jamainar newspaper: *"An American report, published by Al-Jamainar newspaper, revealed that the Turkish regime seeks to exploit the current situation in the south to make it a new front in the proxy wars it is waging..."* (Aden Independent Channel, July 13, 2020). The channel also employs rhetorical devices of appealing to concern and intimidation as a means to warn viewers of potential dangers. For example, in the following quote, the channel uses both concern and intimidation: *"Sixty violations committed by militias affiliated with the Muslim Brotherhood, funded by Qatar and Türkiye, against the ceasefire called for by the Saudi Arabia-led Arab coalition in the coastal town of Shakra in Abyan governorate over the past four days..."* (Aden Independent Channel, July 3, 2020).

5.2. Representation of Türkiye in El-Mesira Channel Discourses

The first experimental satellite broadcast of El-Mesira Channel began in March 2012 on the NileSat satellite (Al-Tamimi, 2020: p. 64). According to the channel's website, its primary focus is advocating for the causes of the oppressed, with a strong emphasis on the Palestinian issue. Additionally, the channel aims to counteract media manipulation by imperialist powers and expose their conspiracies through professional, credible and creative methods (El-Mesira, 2012). El-Mesira Channel broadcasts a variety of content including news, cultural, political and religious programs, as well as series. Additionally, the channel has correspondents in several countries worldwide.

5.2.1. The Syrian Crisis and Image of Türkiye

"Syrian President: The War against Terrorism is Not Over" (El-Mesira, October 8, 2020).

El-Mesira Channel prominently featured Syria's reaction in its main headline by directly quoting the Syrian President's statement without additional commentary. This approach not only provided a powerful representation of the news but also added credibility, especially when addressing sensitive issues such as terrorism. By emphasizing the engagement of presidents on significant matters like terrorism, the channel implied that the reaction's magnitude is significant and should not be dismissed lightly. It is notable that the channel specifically highlighted the expression "war against terrorism," used by the Syrian President to describe negative actions carried out by groups supported by Türkiye and the United States. However, the main headline did not directly mention the entities supporting terrorism in Syria. This approach aims to prompt readers to explore the news in greater detail and to draw attention to the discussed topic. This method aligns with the editorial policy of the channel and caters to its readers and viewers.

"Syrian President Bashar Al-Assad affirmed that the war against 'terrorism' is not over as long as there are 'terrorists' occupying certain areas in Syria. Moreover, they continue to commit various crimes and assassinations..." (El-Mesira, October 8, 2020).

El-Mesira channel reinforced the sentence that appeared in the news headline with another sentence supporting the main title in the introduction of the news. The information directly pointed to Syrian President Bashar Al-Assad, while the headline only mentioned “the Syrian president” without specifying the name. Consequently, mentioning the name of the Syrian President encouraged readers to read the news to the end and added credibility to the news. At the same time, placing the expressions “terrorists” and “terrorism” within quotation marks aimed to emphasize a more negative view of the entities supporting terrorism. The channel informed the readers about the current situation in Syria, characterized by the occupation of certain areas by groups referred to as ‘terrorists’ who are committing various crimes. Similarly, in the headline, the Syrian President criticized the policies implemented by these ‘terrorists’ in Syria, leading to significant difficulties for the citizens. Bashar Al-Assad’s mention of terms such as ‘crimes’ and ‘assassinations’ creates a negative image of the groups carrying out these actions. Additionally, the channel used a photo of President Bashar Al-Assad alongside the main headline, contributing to a better understanding and interpretation of the news.

“In an interview with the ‘Rossiya Segodnya’ news agency, President Al-Assad emphasized that the American and Turkish presence on Syrian territory is an occupation. This occupation must be ended by removing the pretext used for this occupation, which is the terrorists. If the Americans and Turks do not leave, the natural course of action should be popular resistance. President Al-Assad clarified that Erdogan’s regime supported terrorists in Syria and Libya. It is the instigator and primary catalyst for the conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh between Azerbaijan and Armenia. This is a dangerous behavior” (El-Mesira, October 8, 2020).

In the opening sentence of the news, President Al-Assad aimed to create a negative perception by emphasizing the presence of Turkish and American forces in Syria, labeling them as ‘occupation’ forces. The correspondent quoted Al-Assad’s statements criticizing Türkiye and the U.S., citing his remarks made to a Russian news agency. Additionally, Al-Assad’s characterization of Turkish and American forces as ‘occupation’ portrayed a negative image of both countries. Furthermore, the channel conveyed President Al-Assad’s assertion that Syrians would resist Turkish and American forces if they did not leave Syrian territories. The channel aimed to demonstrate that Syrian forces, under Al-Assad’s leadership, possess the necessary capabilities to expel these forces. The first sentence of the news presented the main event, illustrating the current situation in Syria. The news context provided details on the political background, emphasizing that Turkish and American forces intervened in Syria to eliminate terrorists. The result mentioned in the news was that Turkish and American forces used the pretext of combating terrorism to “occupy” Syria. In addition, in the first sentence of the news, Al-Assad pointed out that the “Erdogan regime” supports terrorism in Syria, Libya, and Nagorno-Karabakh, which created a negative image of Türkiye. Mentioning the names of active entities in the news, namely the Turkish regime and the Syrian president, along with the U.S., was highly effective and aligned with the channel’s editorial and ideological policy. Furthermore, highlighting the names of the Syrian and Turkish presidents enhanced the persuasiveness and credibility of the news.

“He stated that Türkiye used these terrorists coming from various countries in Syria, employing the same method in Libya. They used Syrian terrorists in Libya, possibly in addition

to individuals of other nationalities. Therefore, it is obvious and highly likely that they are using the same method in Nagorno-Karabakh” (El-Mesira, October 8, 2020).

El-Mesira Channel discussed Türkiye’s recruitment of “terrorists” in Libya, Syria and Nagorno-Karabakh. The channel highlighted the term “Syrian terrorists” to underscore Türkiye’s alleged deployment of Syrians to combat in Libya. The channel aimed to convey a message that Türkiye plays a negative role in Libya, Syria and Azerbaijan by emphasizing President Al-Assad’s statement about its recruitment of “terrorists” in several countries. The news was explained through Al-Assad’s statements and the Russian news agency (Rossiya Segodnya). Clear expressions and active verbs were also used in the news, with cohesion in the text through functional, causal and referential relationships. The functional relationship lies in the Syrian army’s resistance if these forces do not leave Syria, while the causal relationship suggests that the reason for Syria’s instability is the presence of American and Turkish forces. The referential relationship is manifested in the channel relying on the Russian news agency and President Al-Assad as reliable sources for the news.

As a result of the analysis, it can be said that information was omitted from the headline, and a phrase aimed at attracting readers was chosen. An event containing a stereotype was reported, including negative generalizations attributed to Syrian President Bashar Al-Assad’s remarks about terrorism. This reflects an ideological approach, revealing the orientation of the El-Mesira Channel. It is noticeable that the channel is attempting to create a distinct identity aligned with the pro-Syrian regime channels. Notably, the news allegations were made to criticize the negative behaviors of Türkiye and America in Syria. Despite Türkiye’s positive efforts such as hosting Syrian refugees and calls for dialogue, the channel portrayed negative stereotypes about it. According to the macrostructure, the title summarized the information that the news would cover. The microstructure explained the news more clearly, whether through words and verbs or by using causal, functional and referential relationships.

5.2.2. Türkiye Position on the Yemen Crisis

“Türkiye Accuses the UAE of Threatening Peace, Citing the Killing and Starvation of Millions in Yemen” (El-Mesira, July 3, 2020).

El-Mesira Channel used photos of the UAE President, Mohammed bin Zayed, and the Turkish President, Recep Tayyip Erdogan, to enhance credibility and attract attention. The use of photos of prominent figures such as ministers, presidents and scholars contributes to encouraging readers to continue reading the news until the end. The headline focused on the main event, specifically Türkiye accusing the UAE of threatening peace and causing starvation among millions in Yemen. The channel conveyed Türkiye’s reaction to the negative role played by the UAE in the Middle East. However, the headline did not mention the specific Turkish official who expressed their position on the UAE’s negative actions, particularly in Yemen. Mentioning Türkiye in the main headline thus provided credibility and a strong perspective for the news. The channel particularly highlighted negative expressions about the UAE in the headline. For example, the phrase “threatening peace” creates a negative portrayal suggesting that the UAE supports armed groups in certain countries that pose a threat to peace and international security. Innocent civilians are often the victims of hostile

actions carried out by these groups. The negative image was further emphasized by the phrase “killing and starvation of millions in Yemen,” indicating the military operations conducted by the Saudi-led Arab coalition against Ansar Allah (Houthis), which have led to the deaths of hundreds of innocent civilians. This presentation of the news aligns with the editorial policy of the channel and its readers.

“Türkiye accused the United Arab Emirates of threatening peace of regional, as well as international security in various countries and regions in the Middle East and North Africa. The International Security Council was called upon to remind the Gulf country of its responsibility to adhere to international and humanitarian law” (El-Mesira, July 3, 2020).

El-Mesira Channel worked to reinforce a negative perception of the United Arab Emirates by incorporating statements that supported the main headline in the introduction of the news. The introduction addressed the challenging situations experienced by several countries in North Africa and the Middle East due to negative Emirati policies. The channel repeatedly used the phrase “threatening peace of regional, as well as international security” to emphasize that the negative perception of the UAE is increasing. This is particularly significant given its stance on the events in Egypt during President Morsi’s tenure and its support for Khalifa Haftar’s forces in Libya. The news resulted in Türkiye urging the International Security Council to press the UAE to adhere to international and humanitarian law. As in the headline, the news introduction critically highlighted the UAE’s negative policies in the Middle East and North Africa. The repeated use of the phrase “Middle East and North Africa” helped frame and contextualize the news, revealing the editors’ perspective of the channel toward the UAE.

“According to Anadolu Agency, the Turkish Permanent Representative to the United Nations, Feridun Sinirlioğlu, stated that the UAE has pursued ‘subversive’ policies to suppress democratic movements in the region and seek control over them. In a letter sent to the United Nations Security Council and Secretary-General Antonio Guterres, Sinirlioğlu added that the UAE has caused the death and injury of a large number of individuals in Yemen, using the weapon of ‘starving millions.’ He continued, ‘What the UAE is doing in Yemen constitutes a war crime. The United Nations and other international organizations have documented the UAE’s sending of mercenaries to Yemen, using child soldiers and funding terrorist groups.....” (El-Mesira, July 3, 2020).

The statements of Türkiye’s permanent representative to the United Nations, Feridun Sinirlioğlu, have contributed to creating a strong negative perception of the UAE, accusing it of pursuing “subversive” policies in the region. Sinirlioğlu based his accusations on the premise that the UAE suppresses democratic movements in Arab countries. This testimony conveys a message to readers that the UAE supported counter-revolutions against the Arab Spring. The channel placed the word “subversive” in quotation marks to emphasize the negative image that has been formed about the UAE. The term “subversive” implies that the UAE deliberately obstructed the course of change in some Arab countries by supporting opposition forces against this path. The news context also referred to events in some Arab countries in 2011, interpreting the information provided by Sinirlioğlu and relying on Anadolu Agency as a news source. The reporter quoted Sinirlioğlu’s statements against the UAE, citing information confirming its war crimes in Yemen and the deliberate starvation of millions of people.

The UAE is also accused of sending mercenaries to fight in Yemen and recruiting children for combat. Simultaneously, the negative image is reinforced by mentioning information that suggests the UAE funds terrorist groups linked to Al-Qaeda. Furthermore, Feridun Sinirlioğlu's characterization of the UAE as using the weapon of "starving millions" reinforces the negative perception of the UAE in the eyes of Türkiye and the international community. The context also pointed out that the UAE, along with Saudi Arabia, has been blockading Yemen's airports and ports since 2015, causing a food crisis in the country. On another note, Türkiye's permanent representative's call for holding the UAE accountable creates a positive image of Türkiye among Yemenis and Arabs. The channel's classification of the UAE as engaging in negative actions in Yemen reflects its editorial policy and ideology.

"The Turkish permanent representative to the United Nations pointed out that the UAE imposed an illegal blockade on Qatar in 2017 and contributed to exacerbating the state of political instability in Somalia" (El-Mesira, July 3, 2020).

El-Mesira Channel also highlighted the historical context of events by providing information about the blockade of Qatar and the instability in Somalia. Consequently, a negative image of the UAE was formed due to its role in the blockade of Qatar and the political chaos in Somalia. The channel aimed to convey the message that the UAE would face difficulties in its political relations with Türkiye in the future. Clear expressions and active verbs were used throughout the news. There is coherence within the text through the presence of functional, causal and referential relationships. The functional relationship is that Türkiye stands by the countries negatively affected by the UAE. The causal relationship is that Türkiye sent a message to the UN Secretary-General because of the UAE's negative actions in several Arab countries. The referential relationship is reflected in the channel's reliance on Anadolu Agency as a reliable source for the news.

As a result, an introduction to the main idea in the news was provided by summarizing the topic in the headline. The persuasive strength of the news was reflected in the quotes from the Turkish Permanent Representative to the United Nations Feridun Sinirlioğlu, which also enhanced the rhetoric of the news. The entire news piece was organized around the statements of the Turkish Permanent Representative to the United Nations. These statements reflected the ideological stance of both the reporter and El-Mesira Channel towards the UAE. According to the news, the negative actions of the UAE have led to the deaths of thousands and the starvation of millions in Yemen. It can be said that these statements will create a negative stereotype about the UAE among Yemenis. El-Mesira Channel, through this news, aimed to form a distinct identity expressing Yemenis' negative views towards the UAE. On the other hand, the news contributes to forming a positive image of Türkiye among the readers. Türkiye is one of the countries that has called for resolving the Yemeni crisis through dialogue since the beginning of the Arab coalition operations in Yemen, in which the UAE has participated since 2015. In the macrostructure, the headline summarized the content of the news. The microstructure helps convince the reader by using clear words and causal, functional and referential relationships.

5.2.3. The Rhetorical Devices Used in News

El-Mesira Channel has employed various rhetorical devices in its news content related to Türkiye. These rhetorical devices appear to be specifically organized to shape both positive and negative images of Türkiye. Most of the news content related to Türkiye on El-Mesira Channel seems to be geared towards creating a positive image, unlike what was observed in our analysis of previous topics. The channel has used rhetorical devices such as satire, numerical information, comparison, sympathy, representation and contradiction.

For example, the following quote cites the use of satire to describe French President Emmanuel Macron: *“Erdogan told reporters as he left Hagia Sophia in Istanbul after Friday prayers that ‘Macron is a disaster for France, and under Macron’s presidency, France is going through a very dangerous period...’”* (El-Mesira, December 4, 2020). Simultaneously, the channel used sympathy as a rhetorical device to create a negative image of Türkiye. For instance, the following quote illustrates the use of sympathy: *“Sources indicated that the Turkish occupation deliberately loots crops in the northern countryside of Hasakah by seizing lands and preventing farmers from entering, leading to poverty and hunger among the region’s residents. This has forced them to leave their villages and accommodate the families of occupation mercenaries instead”* (El-Mesira, December 27, 2020). Representation is considered one of the most frequently used rhetorical devices in news. For example, the following quote uses representation to describe forces supported by Türkiye as “terrorists”: *“Sources revealed that these repeated attacks on the town and surrounding villages, by areas where terrorists supported by Türkiye are spread, disrupt the public life of civilians residing in the area...”* (El-Mesira, October 21, 2020).

Numbers are also one of the rhetorical devices used in El-Mesira’s news contents. For example, the following quote uses numbers to persuade the reader of the importance of boycotting French goods: *“According to data from the ITC Trade website, France’s exports to Türkiye amounted to about \$6.655 billion in 2019...”* (El-Mesira, October 26, 2020). On the other hand, contradiction is another rhetorical device employed by El-Mesira Channel in its news content. For example, the following quote illustrates the use of contradiction: *“The Turkish Ministry of Defense announced that Turkish F-16 fighters conducted joint military exercises with the ‘Euro Fighter Typhoon’ of the British Royal Air Force”* (El-Mesira, November 18, 2020). Furthermore, the channel uses comparison as a rhetorical device to convince readers of the information in the news: *“The Turkish president denounced American sanctions targeting Turkish defense industry efforts, noting that such sanctions have not been applied to any NATO country other than Türkiye...”* (El-Mesira, December 16, 2020). These rhetorical devices effectively engage readers and encourage them to read the news in its entirety.

Conclusion and Discussion

Before 1990, Yemen consisted of two states: the Yemen Arab Republic and the People’s Democratic Republic of Yemen. The forces affiliated with the Southern Transitional Council aim to protect the project of southern Yemen’s secession from the north. Any moves by the legitimate government’s army against the Southern Transitional Council forces are considered a significant mistake. The channel has worked to shape a hate speech narrative in its media texts against the forces of the legitimate government

by accusing them of loyalty to what it terms the axis of evil, which includes Qatar, Türkiye and Iran.

The channel also focused specifically on Turkish-Qatari relations. However, the focus is not on reviewing the development and importance of these relations, but rather on portraying Qatar and Türkiye as financial and military supporters of the Muslim Brotherhood forces (Al-Islah Party). This support is seen as an effort to prevent the implementation of the Riyadh Agreement signed in November 2019 between the government forces and the Southern Transitional Council. These accusations against Qatar and Türkiye align with the channel's ideology and broadcast policy, which involve branding the Muslim Brotherhood (Al-Islah Party) as a terrorist group and considering Qatar and Türkiye as its supporters. The channel has also accused the Yemeni government of implementing Qatar's agenda and aligning with Türkiye and Iran.

On the other hand, El-Mesira Channel, affiliated with Ansar Allah (Houthis), has focused extensively on international news related to Türkiye rather than highlighting Türkiye's role in the ongoing war in Yemen. The channel conveyed the negative role of Türkiye in Syria by quoting Syrian President Bashar Al-Assad, who referred to Turkish and American forces in Syria as "occupying forces." This description reveals the channel's ideology, aligning with the ideology and editorial policy of media outlets supporting the Syrian regime. Regarding the Yemeni crisis, the channel highlighted the positive role played by Türkiye at the United Nations. This is reflected in the Turkish representative at the UN Feridun Sinirlioğlu accusing the UAE of threatening international peace and causing the deaths and starvation of millions in Yemen. This news aligns with the channel's ideology and editorial policy. It was noted that the channel focuses most of its news on the negative role of the Arab coalition led by Saudi Arabia and the UAE in Yemen.

In conclusion, Türkiye-Yemen relations date back to the era of the Ottoman Empire. These relations did not cease with the Ottomans' exit from Yemen in 1918 but have persisted to this day across various fields. It can be argued that the discourse of Aden Independent Channel and El-Mesira Channel regarding Türkiye does not stem from weakened relations between Yemen and Türkiye but rather from the war that Yemen has been experiencing since 2015. The war has contributed to the fragmentation of Yemen and the emergence of Yemeni groups and forces supported by external parties that do not maintain favorable relations with Türkiye. Therefore, Türkiye needs to find a way to change the stereotypical image adopted by El-Mesira and Aden Independent Channel against it. Additionally, Aden Independent Channel and El-Mesira Channel need to refrain from habitually portraying events negatively so as not to impact the opinions of the Yemeni people, who share strong cultural and historical relations with the Turkish people.

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