Representing the guests: How Russians are portrayed in Antalya local media

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Abstract

Antalya is a destination favoured by the citizens of the Russian Federation not only for tourism but also for settlement in Turkey. As the Russian tourist and resident population increases in number, the interest of the Antalya local media to Russians increases too. In this study, we examine how Russians are portrayed in Antalya local media by employing quantitative and qualitative methods. Russian representations in two local online newspapers were analysed using the content and frame analysis methodologies. The findings reveal that the number of stories presentation of Russians have increased over the historical process. The sentiments for the Russians were generally positive in the news stories. In addition, Russians were framed mostly as tourists, residents and artistsathletes. It is concluded that Antalya local media use an attentive language for representing the Russians in the news stories.

Keywords

Russians, Antalya, representation, portrayal, image, local media, content analysis.

Introduction

Representation is a visual and written depiction of an entity, such as a person, a social group, a nation, a place, a country, or an object. This term usually refers to what images and texts mean, the meanings that they potentially convey, and how they come to take on those meanings (Beltran, 2018). Furthermore,

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these meanings are created and transmitted through media, and when we speak about representation, we usually refer to the media representations. Study of media representation is currently an important and prevalent field of study among communication and media scholars. The literature usually deals with the issue of representation in the context of stereotyping effect of media. Stereotyping practices of media usually deforms the reality, and contribute to the reproduction of the dominant discourses and ideologies. Especially, cultural studies scholars studied the media representations extensively. According to Hall (1997), representation is a process by which meaning is produced and exchanged between the members of a culture, and the mass media create stereotyped representations as shared meanings. Stereotyping reduces, exaggerates, simplifies and "divides the normal and the acceptable from the abnormal and the unacceptable" (Hall, 1997: 258). Fiske (2017) discusses prejudices in more detail and suggests that stereotypes can be categorized into two: shared stereotypes (gender, age) and variable stereotypes (race, ethnicity, religion).

This study will primarily trace the latter type of stereotypes, as they are reflected in media outlets. However, these categories may overlap in certain news stories, as in the case of representing Russian young women. Our study aims in advancing the existing body of scholarly knowledge on the representation of Russians in media. It focuses on the representations in local media of Antalya, a southern Turkish city, where Russians prefer both as a touristic and a settlement destination.

Literature review

There is a large body of literature on the representation of nations and countries in media (see e.g. Kunczik, 2002; Ogunyemi, 2011; Hammarlund, & Riegert, 2011; Tarasheva, 2014; Bunce, Franks, & Paterson, 2017; Segev, 2019). Media outlets portray nations and countries in a particular way so that the perception of the audience is shaped accordingly. While the media's influence in image-building is not absolute, governments attach great importance to image-building efforts in the media. In this context, image-building efforts always require a political strategy with profound sociological, cultural and ideological evaluations, aiming at soft power accumulation. These efforts are also related with disciplines such as international public relations and public diplomacy. As put by Kunczik (2016), the image of a nation develops through a complex communication process starting from early childhood with fairytales, children books etc., and matures in media content such as TV programs and newspapers.

Within the context of tourism marketing, a country's image is a multi-dimensional construct based on political, economic, technological, and social desirability (Martin, & Eroglu, 1993). The image of a country is reproduced through mass media representations, and circulated into the international public opinion.

As suggested by Hall (1997: 270), "meaning can never be finally fixed" in media representations, therefore the representations of a nation and a country may change throughout historical periods. For instance, according to the longitudinal study of Magnusson, Zdravkovic and Westjohn (2022), between 2008 and 2020 the country image of South Korea improved while that of Japan deteriorated, measured in terms of brand origin recognition accuracy, as perceived by US consumers. Similarly, Boeva-Omelechko et al. (2019) found that the image of Russia in British mass media has changed from positive to negative, between the years 1991-1993 and 2013-2019, due to the changes in the political evaluations of journalists regarding the post-Soviet Russia's international positioning.

The image of Russia and Russians in Turkey is a function of political, military, economic and cultural relations of the two countries, both of which have a long-standing powerful imperial past. Throughout their history, Russia and Turkey have fought twelve wars between each other since the mid-16th century. Apparently, such long history of conflicts had created the seeds for reciprocal negative images. Both of the imperial states had collapsed at the beginning of the 20th century. Then, the Soviet Union was an ally of the newly emerging Turkish Republic, not only for the military aid but also for the economic cooperation. However, after the second half of the Century, there was the Cold War, during which they became "ideological enemies" due to the membership in rival military pacts. The change of the image of Russia and Russians after the start of the Cold War could be traced in Turkish history books; the positive images during the first years of the Republic had deteriorated after the 1950s (Akta, 2006). Unfriendly attitudes towards Soviet Union and Russians were particularly strong among the supporters of Turkish right-wing political circles, who ardently revived historical hostilities in an anti-communist fashion during the Cold War years (Me e, 2017). Nevertheless, this did not restrain the two countries from improving economic relations, especially during the d tente years when USSR provided credit and know-how for heavy industries in Turkey.

During the Cold War, negative stereotypes of Russians and Eastern Europeans have been common in the West for decades (Ibroscheva, 2002). However, such negative views somehow continue to persist even after the end of the Cold War. A new kind of Orientalism still functions for a distorted view of

Eastern people and cultures by the West. The current views of Russians by the West can be explained within this context. Russia and other Eastern states are perceived by Western governments as presenting a threat to their international dominance, and Russia has begun to replace the Islamic world among perceived threats (Gray, 2018). In order to overcome these image challenges, the Russian Federation has initiated several communication campaigns in the post-Yeltsin period to rebrand itself within the context of soft-power politics (Simons, 2011). Nye's (1990) concept of soft power suggests that technology, education, and economic growth are becoming more important in international power relations. After the end of the Cold War, the international politics shifted from hard power to soft power, public diplomacy being a primary tool. Russia's rebranding efforts are to be conceived as a part of such public diplomacy. On the other hand, as witnessed in the Sochi Olympic games, the Russian media seem to redefine a new Russian identity through the Russian symbolic politics of 'the derzhava' which is supposed to be rooted in Russian history, providing social support and cohesion (Akopov, Aslanyan, Boliatchevets, & Slusarchuk, 2017). Nevertheless, reconciliation of the Soviet past with the new Russian image is not always an easy task for strategic communications efforts, especially in connection with the international public opinions.

After the dissolve of the USSR, following a short period of ambiguity, the Turkish-Russian relations of have again improved, especially in the economic sectors. Although political crisis had deteriorated the relations, the leadership of Putin and Erdogan was able to restore a relatively stable partnership. Leadership styles of Putin and Erdogan is an important factor for developing the Turkish-Russian relations (Ergezen, 2022). Nuclear energy, natural gas trade and tourism were the main areas of partnership. Declaration of Turkish Russian Cultural year in 2019 is an apparent sign of commitment to further improving the bilateral relations. Lastly, the Ukrainian crisis has played the role of a catalyzer to strengthen the tested relations in a stressful international environment.

As explained by Repina et al. (2018), Russia's recent negative image in the West is largely based on last century's stereotyped evaluation of the Russian foreign policy, described as aggressive, and grounded on imperial ambitions. This idea that the foreign policy is one of the most important components of the image of a country is in parallel with the findings of Boeva-Omelechko et al. (2019). Therefore, the progress in the Turkish-Russian relations on the international level is a key factor for advancing the image of Russia and Russians in Turkey, and vice versa. Although there are limited empirical evidence, we can suggest that, in parallel with the improvements in the Turkish-Russian relations,

the image of Russia and Russians is improving in Turkey. A previous study (Bakan & Tabak 1, 2008) had found that 38% of Turkish university students felt themselves closer to Russia as compared to 46% to US, and 17% to EU. A later study in 2021 however, shows the improvements of the positive attitudes of Turks towards Russian, 50,4% of Turks believe that the US as the biggest threat, while only 8,9% believes it is Russia (Cengiz, & en, 2021). Recently, Aydın et al. (2022) has found that 50,9% of Turks define the Turkish-Russian relation as partnership, while only 11.9% as problematic. Another recent study by Ya ar and U urhan (2022), using a 5-point Likert-like scale, also confirms that Turks believe Russia is more honest and reliable (m=2,08) than the USA (m=1,54), and find the Russian leader much wiser (3,21) than the US leader (2,27). It is also possible to suggest that the leader of a country is an indicator of the image of that country. According to Pew Research Center 2019 survey, confidence to the Russian president (35%) is much higher than that of the US president (11%) among Turkish citizens. The same year, the ratio of favorable opinions of Russia (39%) was higher than that of the US (%20). It should be noted that favorable opinions have increased from 15% in 2015 to 39% in 2019 (PEW, 2022). On the other hand, the attitudes of Russian towards Turkey have also improved in parallel with the current strong relations, and ratio of positive views by Russians increased from 25% in 2016 to 68% in 2022 (Levada-Center, 2022).

The literature on Antalya local media is relatively limited. These works usually concentrate on the history (see e.g. G l, 2012; st n, 2019; z etin, abuk, & z etin (2019), and structural and technological problems (Bayram, & Atabek, 2010; i ek, & Atabek, 2006) of Antalya local media. The only study on the representations of social entities in Antalya local media concerns with how local newspapers represent foreign women (U ar- lbu a, & Sepet i, 2010). This study had relatively a small sample size of newspapers in only one-month, from mid-June to mid-July in 2009. The findings of the study revealed that foreign women were usually stereotyped as young, beautiful, nude, flirty blonde tourists in visuals while Russian and Eastern European women were slightly depicted in news about show dancing business, crime related prostitution, and being converted to Islam. These results may be attributed to what Bauhn and Tepe (2017) name as "Occidentalism in Turkish media" which causes the morally othering of the Western women.

However, it may also be argued that the mainstream media in Turkey is not much different than that of other countries in stereotyping both local and foreign women, and nations. As emphasized in several documents of the international organizations such as UNESCO (see UNESCO, 2014) and EU (see European Commission, 1999) gender stereotyping is a common problem for all mainstream media around the world. The same is true for nation stereotyping in Turkish mainstream media, which is arguably not much problematic than the mainstream media of other countries. Nevertheless, we think that the representations of Russians in Antalya local media must draw further academic attention in parallel with the recently increased interest of Russians towards visiting to and/or settling in Antalya. Additionally, considering the fact that the research on Russians' representation in Turkish media is very limited, our study on Antalya local media will not only contribute to this scarce literature but will also develop and enrich the academic understanding of Turkish-Russian intercultural communications. We also believe that current fragile status of international relations on global level urges and justifies the importance of our study that aims in exploring the national stereotypes on a local media of Antalya, where Turks meet more Russians not only as tourists, but also as residents in their daily life.

Research questions

This study addresses three research questions. The first research question is about the change of Russian representations in Antalya local media over time. After the end of the Cold War, Russians had started to travel to Turkey, and particularly to Antalya, in the 1990s. The reasons for Russians' interest in Antalya are manyfold, possibly tourism was at the top. Since then, the number of Russian travelers and residents had grown rapidly, and surpassed Germans and other north Europeans who had previously been Antalya devotees. Currently, Antalya receives more than 2 million Russian tourists a year, and almost 50,000 Russians have obtained residence permits in the central Antalya. However, through the years these numbers have fluctuated in parallel with certain political and social events. Therefore, the first research question investigates the variations of Russians' coverage in Antalya local media. As explained by Hutter and Kriesi (2019) crisis increases politization and reshapes the political culture of countries. In relation to this, reshaping of the political culture also effects the stereotypes towards other nations. For instance, Fokas, Jelenfi and Tardos (2022) have shown that recent financial and refugee crises have impacted the stereotypes of others in Europe. Therefore, it is worth to investigate if such crises have some impact on Russian representations over history.

RQ 1: How does the coverage of Russians in Antalya local media change through years?

The second research question is about the sentiment of the news stories in Antalya local media. The sentiment, or the tone of the news, is a qualitative variable, and it will be handled accordingly. This qualitative aspect of the news stories is important in exploring the overall representations of Russians in Antalya local media. News stories have a general tone: positive, neutral and negative. The polarity of news is also called valence or direction, and based on the positive/negative aspects of evaluations. Baumeister, Bratslavsky, Finkenauer, and Vohs (2001) suggest that bad news is more effective in shaping the opinion of readers, and bad impressions and bad stereotypes are quicker to form than good ones. In this respect, investigating the overall sentiments of news stories is needed to clarify the Russian representations in Antalya local media.

RQ 2: What is the overall emotional and evaluative tone of the news stories about Russians in Antalya local media?

The third research question is about another qualitative aspects of the Russians' representations in Antalya local media. This research question is intended to explore the bias and stereotyping in the representations through the frames of Russians related stories. Framing theory suggests that meaning is not given but created (Olsson & Ihlen, 2018). We will scrutinize the frames as the key attributes that are expressed in the news stories. Consequently, the meaning creation in representations may be better explained within the context of the frames created in media.

RQ 3: How are the Russians framed in Antalya local media news stories in terms of the key attributes?

Addressing these research questions, our research is expected to advance the current body of scholarly knowledge on media representations of Russians. We believe that its focus on Antalya local media will fill a gap in the literature, which generally focus on international and national media outlets. This particular case from Turkish media will shed a light on the general discussions about the representations of Russians.

Materials and method

The main method of analysis pertaining to the research questions is content analysis. Content analysis is an established method for analyzing the media content both quantitatively and qualitatively. It is not merely limited to counting words or sentences, and it may have different formats. However, it is imperative that content analysis should be systematic and replicable (Krippendorff, 2019). We employed a quantitative content analysis for the first research question. The unit of analysis was the news stories, that included the words Russian and/or Russians.

For the second research question, we also employed content analysis method, but this time with a qualitative perspective. The news stories were coded into three categories, in accordance with their tone. Positive, neutral and negative categories were defined for the overall sentiment of the whole of a news story, and decided by the coder in terms of words that were used in the news story. Sentiment or tone of communication is one of the central topics of communication research (Lengaue, Esser, & Berganza, 2012). Conventionally, sentiment of the news stories is measured using manual annotators. However, there are also automated methods of sentiment analysis using computer software. Computational techniques are using either lexiconbased dictionaries or machine learning algorithms. These techniques are obviously very useful for large sets of data, however they are not much better than the human coded results (Atteveldt, van der Velden, & Boukes, 2021). Manual coding especially in smaller data sets performs much better, therefore in this study the first author manually annotated the overall tone of each news story.

For the third research question, we analyzed the frames in which Russians were represented. In his seminal work, Goffman (1974) defined frames as schemata of interpretation that allow people to locate, perceive, identify, and label occurrences or events. Applying the frame analysis to the media studies, Tuchman asserts that the news media set the frame in which citizens discuss public events (Tuchman, 1978). In short, framing is selecting some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in communication (Entman, 1993). Wimmer and Dominick (2008) considers frame analysis as a form of qualitative content analysis. Without going deep to the methodological discussions, we preferred to call this methodology as qualitative content analysis. After examining the literature, we developed six different frames. These frames are "Russian as guest/tourist"; as "business person/investor"; as "artist/athlete"; as "resident/pensioner"; and as "criminal". These frame categories are coded as mutually exclusive categories, in such a way that each story is coded only for one frame, which is the dominant one. The frames were initially reviewed in accordance with the examination of a small amount of news stories by the authors. As a result, seven frames were defined as tourists, business persons, artist-sports persons, residents, criminals, accident victim, and others. All coding was performed by the first author, therefore inter-coder reliability issues were prevented.

In compliance with the purposes of the study, the sample is composed of two online newspapers, *Antalya Ekspres* and *Yeni Alanya*. Purposive sampling is the

selection of the richest situations in terms of information that can be obtained in the context of the research purpose (Patton, 2002). Started in 1983, Antalya *Ekspres* is purposively selected for the sample as one of the oldest newspapers which still continues publication in print. It has also an online searchable archive since 2015. Yeni Alanya is also selected purposively in order to include Alanya, a long-time hotspot for foreign tourists and residents in Antalya province. Yeni Alanya has also a searchable online archive system since 2010. The time scope of our study is from 2016 to 2022, with one-year intervals. Therefore, we collected a total of four years of data, which was considered sufficient to examine the change over the period from 2016 to 2022. The month of October is selected as the sample month for each of these four years. October is considered suitable for the sampling since it is a month when tourism movements are neither very high nor very low. In this way, it is assumed that a better representative sample is obtained in which the effect of tourism is normalized. The retrieval of the news stories is performed by using the Turkish equivalents of the search words, "Russian" and "Russians". As a result, the sample yielded 191 news stories in total.

Results

Table 1 shows the overall distribution of news stories over the years. As can be seen from the table, there is a slight increase in the total number of the news stories (191) about Russians in Antalya media. As can be observed from the Graph, the slope equation of this slight increase in the number of news stories is y = 5,9+33 with a mid-level correlation ($R^2 = 0,4197$) for the regression line. The examined time period from 2016 to 2022 includes several important events which may be explanatory for the changes in the numbers of news stories. 2016 is the year just after the jet plane shut down event (in 2015) which obviously effected the Turkish-Russian relations worst. However, the July 2016 coup d' tat in Turkey was an opportunity to repair the relations following the Russian support of the Turkish government. Unfortunately, the merely repaired relations in 2016 had again deteriorated severely after another shocking event in December, the assassination of the Russian ambassador in Ankara. After all these events, the number of the news stories jumped to 53 in 2018 when the leaders of both countries were successfully able to normalize and improve the bilateral relations.

Despite the Covid restrictions, the number of the news stories continued to increase and hit the highest (58) in the year 2020, which witnessed a continuation of Russian tourists' influx to Antalya in the milieu of friendly relations between

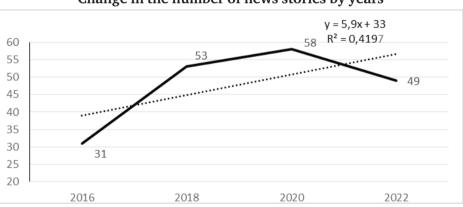
the countries. Nevertheless, a slight decrease in the number of news stories in 2022 may be attributable to a small decrease of incoming Russian tourists due to the Ukrainian conflict in February. In addressing RQ1, we conclude that the coverage of the Russians in Antalya has increase in numbers over the years, and this increase is partially a function of the relations of between the two countries. On the other hand, this trend of increase does not differ according to the sampled media outlets. Both *Yeni Alanya* and *Antalya Ekspres* follows the same trend of increase in the number of the news stories between 2016 and 2022. However, in the same period *Yeni Alanya* produced more news stories (139), as compared to *Antalya Ekspres* (52), which is statistically significant (X2 = 39,628, df=1, p=0.01).

Table 1

Distribution of news stories by years

2016 2018		2020 2022		Total	
31	53	58	49	191	





Change in the number of news stories by years

In addressing RQ2, we find that the overall tone of the news stories in Antalya local media is positive, as shown in *Table 2*. Additionally, as in the case of findings for RQ1, the ratio of positive representations increases slightly in parallel with the improvements in the Turkish-Russian relations. It is also found that the negative representations are very low, 6% only. We think that this is much lower than the negative connotations of Russia in national Turkish media, which mostly use Western media sources in their Russia related news stories. Additionally, Turkish national media is more concerned with the security and economic issues in the context of Turkey-Russia relations (Kalaycı, 2017). Therefore, this highly positive attitude of Antalya local media may be attributable to its attentive approach towards Russians in terms of the tourism industry in Antalya region. We observed that Antalya local media used an attentive language even when stereotyping Russian women

Table 2

	2016	2018	2020	2022
Positive	12(39%)	34(64%)	30(52%)	28(57%)
Neutral	16(52%)	19(36%)	21(36%)	20(40%)
Negative	3(10%)	0(0%)	7(12%)	1(2%)

The tone of news stories about Russians

The findings regarding RQ3 are presented in Table 3. As expected, "tourist" is the largest category the Russians are framed in. As of the end of 2022, Russians are the largest incoming tourist group in Antalya region; therefore, it is expected that Russians are represented mostly as tourists in Antalya local media. The second-largest frame was "residents" of Antalya region, and this is also as expected, since the Russians are the largest foreign resident group in Antalya. We observed that an attentive language is used for both the tourists and residents, usually naming them as "guests" for the tourists and "our neighbors" for the residents. When the news story used the officials from government or tourism industry as sources, they were particularly attentive in referring to the Russians in Antalya. The third-largest frame was the Russian "artists and athletes" either visiting Antalya for a special event, or permanently residing in Antalya. There are many artistic or sportive events with Russians participation throughout the year, organized either by Turkish authorities or by Russian cultural institutions in Antalya. The fourth-largest frame was the "victims of accidents". Unfortunately, many Russians become victims of traffic accidents yearly. Framing Russians as "business person" is relatively low (5,8%). A small Russian business community in Antalya is growing; however, many Russians work as freelancers on-line. The smallest frame for the representations of Russians is "criminals" (4,2%). This is quite low for such a large group, especially when compared with other foreign large groups such as Syrians and Iranians in Turkey.

Table 3

Tourist	Business	Artist- Sports	Residents	Criminals	Accident	Others
82	11	30	35	8	21	4
42,9	5,8	15,7	18,3	4,2	11,0	2,1

Frames for representations of Russians in Antalya local media

Discussions and conclusion

This study examined how Antalya local media portrayed Russians. It aimed to expand the body of scholarly knowledge on the representation of Russians, with a focus on Antalya local media. *Yeni Alanya* and *Antalya Ekspres* were sampled as local online news outlets. The month of October is included in the sample for the period from 2016 to 2022 with one-year intervals. The sample yielded 191 news stories in total. The news stories were analyzed quantitatively and qualitatively with content and frame analysis methodologies. The findings revealed that the coverage of Russians in Antalya local media have increased through the years, and the representations are mostly positive. Russians are mostly framed as tourists (42,9%) and residents (18,5%) in the news stories. Usually, an attentive language is used for labelling them as "guests" and "our neighbors". The smallest frame for the representations of Russians is "criminals" frame (4,2%).

The overall results indicate that Antalya local media uses an attentive language for positive representations of Russians, both as visitors and residents. These findings are quite different than the ones that were reported in some other research (see e.g. Ibroscheva, 2002; Repina et al. 2018). It is observed that quantity and quality of these representations are mostly in parallel with the Turkish-Russian political relations, which is also indicative for the number of Russian tourists and residents in Antalya. Subsequently, we may suggest that Russia and Turkey relationships are very important with respect to the fluctuations in their political cultures (Hutter, & Kriesi, 2019) and political crises (Fokas, Jelenfi, & Tardos, 2022).

Apparently, in parallel with public authorities, Antalya local media wishes to contribute to the improvement of Turkish-Russian relations from their tourism industry perspective. It is evident that this perspective needs to be more realistic than being emotional. On the other hand, the positive approach of Antalya local media seems to be sustainable. Although there have been some minor provocative incidents exploiting the Ukrainian-Russian dispute and aiming at transferring the tension to Antalya; this attentive positive role of the local media has not changed. However, further precautions need to be taken for the sustainability of the positive role that Antalya local media currently plays.

Obviously, reciprocal positive images of Russia and Turkey in respective public opinions is important in order to maintain the friendly relations in the international arena. Russia, having the 27th and Turkey, having the 38th places in current Nation Brands Index (Ipsos, 2022) must pay watchful attention to media representations. In the context of National Branding Index, Anholt (2006) lists four main reasons for nation branding as introduction, targeting, correction and improvement. Considering the level of Russian-Turkish relations, we may suggest that further public communication efforts need to be designed for the improvement phase.

It is obvious that Turkish public opinion still has certain associations of Russia with the Soviets, which are usually negative due to Turkey's ideological connections in NATO over the years. This seems to be a significant obstacle for implementing positive values of Turks towards Russia and Russians in general. However, the more they encounter with the Russians themselves in their everyday life, the more they witness that the life style of Russian tourists and residents are not much different than that of other foreigners in Antalya. Additionally, through matrimonial and business relationships, Turks discover some cultural elements in the personalities of Russians that are similar to theirs. Such similarities contribute positively to improve the relationships between the two peoples with mutual non-Western cultural characteristics.

On the other hand, the global domination of the Western media has a contributing role in developing the negative images of the non-Western world. As Kim (2002) states, due to this domination, there is an ethnocentric tendency to assume what is true of the mainstream US media is true of other parts of the world. In this context, he suggests that communication theory must be freed from the Euro-American confines. Accordingly, re-evaluation of stereotypes and negative media representations issues from a non-Western perspective may open new paths to comprehend the dynamics of Russian and Turkish representations in Western media.

Antalya is a characteristic place in experiencing positive shifts in the images of Russians. It is interesting to note that Antalya local media outlets do not refer to the Soviet past of Russians, and only few reader comments bring negative issues. Therefore, we may conclude that reconciliation efforts of the Soviet past with the new Russian image are not much relevant in the case of Antalya local media. The public communication campaigns by the associations of Russian residents in Antalya is also important in this direction. Especially, artistical and athletic events draw the attention of the Turkish public opinion in Antalya. Especially, artistical and athletic events draw the attention of the Turkish public opinion in Antalya. It is clear that joint organizations will further strengthen and sustain these positive relations.

These empirical results suggest that the study's primary goal of expanding the corpus of scholarly knowledge on the representation of Russians, with a focus on Antalya's local media has been accomplished. Nevertheless, this study has certain limitations. A longer period could have been sampled for covering an extended period, in order to examine the whole scope of change. Additionally, more local media outlets could have been included in the sample for a better representation of Antalya local media. A comparison of Antalya local media and Turkish national media could also improve the explanatory capacity of the research design. Lastly, our research lacks to capacity of comprising and differentiating the identities of the citizens from the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), which the Turkish public opinion may not properly distinguish through a generalized Russian identity. However, new research agendas are needed to address all these limitations. We believe that further research is necessary in order to better understand the role of Antalya local media in attentive representations of Russians. Nevertheless, we also believe that this research is a mean contribution to explore the role of public communication in understanding Turkish-Russian relations from the particular perspective of Antalya.

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