



DOI: 10.22363/2313-2272-2024-24-4-1148-1157

EDN: OVZBJL

## Sociological approach to the study of Russia's image in the Indonesian media\*

V.L. Muzykant, Panca Syurkani

RUDN University,

*Miklukho-Maklaya St., 6, Moscow, 117198, Russia*

(e-mail: [vmouzyka@mail.ru](mailto:vmouzyka@mail.ru); [pancasyurkani@gmail.com](mailto:pancasyurkani@gmail.com))

**Abstract.** The concept of a multipolar world is based on the idea of balance and equal rights for every country in the international world, and this concept was outlined in the Russian Foreign Policy Concept already in 2000. On several occasions, the President of Russia campaigned for a multipolar world order, which can be seen in some news reports in the Indonesian media. The sociological interpretation of the image is based on the descriptive qualitative framing analysis aimed at identifying how an event is understood and framed by the media. The authors collected the media data and conducted an analysis that allowed to make the following conclusions: first, a multipolar world is a concept that based on the idea of balance and equality; thereby, the geopolitical model of a multipolar world order is to replace the existing paradigm dominated by one civilization which extends throughout the world under the slogans of globalization, Westernization, Americanization, universalization, standardization and liberalization. Second, the image of Russia in the Indonesian media in relation to the multipolar world order creates the representation of the country as the one that encourages other states experiencing rapid growth to assert their sovereignty and defend their national interests, traditions and culture. Another image of Russia implies the same accent on the presence of countries experiencing free rapid development as confirming that the contemporary world is no longer under the influence of just one country or one pole, because every country has the same sovereign rights. Thus, Russia's position as presented in the Indonesian media certainly finds the approval and support of the Indonesian society.

**Key words:** image of Russia; multipolar world; BRICS; Indonesian media; national interests; framing analysis

The model of the world order has changed dramatically in the postwar era — from the bipolarity (the US and Soviet Russia) that characterized the Cold War to the unipolarity following the fall of Soviet Union in 1989, when America became the sole superpower in a complex multipolar world following the Global Financial Crisis in 2008. Some reseachers argue that the world economic order consists of three dominant poles: the United States, China, and the European Union even

---

\*© V.L. Muzykant, Panca Syurkani, 2024

*The article was submitted on 20.06.2024. The article was accepted on 14.10.2024.*

though politically the world structure is more complex due to the emergent Sino-American bipolarity [15]. In the present era, relations between countries are no longer dominated by the struggle between two superpowers (the United States and the Soviet Union — now the Russian Federation), which was the situation in the Cold War era, but develop in the direction of a multipolar world consisting of new centers of power [19]. Many scholars believe that “because the world order is supported by a system of socio-political interaction between countries that still exists, the world order must benefit both parties. Therefore, states that are able to influence interactive discourse in the society of states that are considered sovereign will have a privileged position in establishing rules of conduct for other states. This essentially violated the principles of the Westphalian system, which considered all sovereign states to be equal. Multipolar world theories propagate ideas that advocate the civilizational integration of countries based on their cultural and political similarities... Such integration... will help weaker countries gain a more productive voice in the process of formulating world order discourse. This can also explain the weakening of state sovereignty and its replacement by civilizational (or alliance) sovereignty” [6].

Image of Russia in the multipolar world attracts attention of many countries, including Indonesia as participating in the birth of a multipolar world together with Russia, China, India and Brazil [3]. The concept of multipolarity was introduced in the 1960s as a response of Western scholars to changes in the bipolar system, characterized by the emergence of the third world — countries with a fairly independent stance towards one of the blocs and even more independent foreign policy ambitions. K. Deutsch and J. Singer were the first to discuss multipolarity by summarizing weaknesses of the bipolar system and its possible changes. The possibility of transformation to a multipolar system is justified by the increasing potential of different countries to stabilize the world political power [2]. In addition, Ch. Krauthammer predicted that “multipolarity will come in time ... perhaps in the next generation, there will be great powers equal to the United States, and the structure of the world will resemble the era before the World War I” [10]. The transformation of the bipolar system seems very possible, because it is far from perfect and has clear limitations. Therefore, multipolarity is considered a possible future option — with an increasing number of poles, which would minimize the risk of confrontation between two different poles and international politics from a zero-sum game. Since international politics is not a zero-sum game, states’ actions do not require a countervailing response from their opponents. R.N. Rosecrance’s thesis can be summarized as follows: multipolarity is better than bipolarity, but unpredictable actions of all poles is quite challenging for the whole system [7].

There are three main factors that determine the development of the multipolar world theory. First, the unipolar order experienced significant difficulties while strengthening. Recent turmoil in the Middle East, refugee crises and political challenges in other parts of the world have demonstrated that one power cannot

manage world affairs successfully and that the participation of other countries is necessary to ensure lasting peace and stability. Second, the unipolar world order has not yet been framed institutionally, giving rise to further difficulties in terms of legitimacy. Indeed, over the last quarter century the United States created a series of precedents — such as “humanitarian intervention”, “regime change” and “disarmament” — that could consolidate its global leadership and frame the main dimensions of the unipolar world. Third, there are regional alliances in various parts of the world, for instance, BRICS, integration processes in Latin America, the post-Soviet region, Asia and Africa [6].

Discussions about multipolarity often contain a bias regarding how society wants the world to develop compared to how the world does work. Supporters of the multipolar world consider events as determined not by the actions or interests of a global hegemon but by the competing interests of various centers of power. Such supporters often argue that a multipolar world implies that countries with equal power work together to realize their interests, which makes this world more peaceful and desirable for everyone [24]. The concept of a multipolar world was born from the idea of balance and equal rights of every country in the international world. At the Munich Conference on Security Policy on February 10, 2007, V. Putin stated: “I consider the unipolar model not only unacceptable but also impossible in today’s world” [7]. At the 11<sup>th</sup> Moscow International Security Conference, Putin added that a multipolar world order would ultimately contribute to a stable and sustainable global development and would help solve pressing social, economic, technological and environmental problems. According to the Russian Defense Doctrine declared by D. Medvedev, the world must be multipolar; a single pole (power, domination) is not acceptable, no country should have the right to make all decisions, even as influential as the United States, since this makes the world unstable and threatened by conflicts. Moreover, to prove its readiness to create a multipolar world, Russia focuses on the development of BRICS (the term was introduced by US economist J. O’Neal in 2001 as an acronym for Brazil, Russia, India, China and later South Africa). The strategic goal of the BRICS group is to ensure a democratic world balance in a multipolar world system, an equitable development and the UN’s central role in all world affairs [17].

Today the media is “a guided market system” driven by profit and guided by the government to follow some agenda — whether political or financial, which determines the importance of emphasizing propaganda in the media as a common means to convince the public [20]. The term “mass media” refers to its use for and by public [5], and the development of information technology has encouraged mass media to transfer from print to online forms [1]. Online media implies that a computerized media system is connected directly to the network [13]. Online media is very different from conventional media (radio, television and print media), because on online media sites communicators can interact directly through channels

or networks, and the news of the online media are updated and disseminated instantly [27].

There are many reports in the Indonesian online media on Russia and the multipolar world, presenting a specific image of Russia. We will consider five such essential news stories from the most popular Indonesian online media: Koran-jakarta.com, Kompas.com, Sindonews.com, Antaranews.com, and kompas.tv. Our study was conducted with the framing analysis method that allows to identify how an event is framed by the media: to frame means to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a text in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation [8]. We chose a case study approach supplemented by a review of various relevant works and the following main terms: country image — a sum of beliefs, attitudes and impressions that a person or a group has of an object (In this case of a country) [4]; multipolar world concept [8]; mass media (its history in Indonesia began during the Dutch colonial period and witnessed a significant development after the reform at the end of the 1990s [14]). We considered the following reports in the online Indonesian media on Russia and the multipolar world:

- On Jakarta.com — “Multipolar World Vision: Civilization Factors and Russia’s Position in the New World Order”: civilization platform in each country has a unique structure and characteristics, which can be developed by networks or cooperation with other countries to make a pathway to a fundamentally new system which will replace the existing paradigm dominated by one civilization. In this report, Russia is defined as a country that supports the idea and movement to a multipolar world [9].
- On Kompas.com — “Russia Calls Indonesia a Strong Candidate to Join BRICS”: Indonesia has not officially applied, although its President Joko Widodo attended the last BRICS conference. The BRICS group has gone through two waves of expansion since its founding in 2006: in 2011, South Africa joined the founding members — Brazil, Russia, India and China; in 2024, five new members (Egypt, Ethiopia, Iran, Egypt, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates) started working as BRICS member countries [21].
- On Dindonews.com — “Putin: the Multipolar Campaign and Indonesia”: the Russian President considers the world as developing towards many central poles of power or multipolarity. This change is driven by the rapid growth of such countries as China, Russia and Brazil. Putin called Indonesia a country supporting the world multipolarity due to the strong hegemony of the United States and its allies. Putin reminded that the development of the Indo-Pacific strategy basically aims at creating a military-political association controlled by Washington, and that the US steps to integrate NATO and AUKUS aim at building a neo-colonial West and at delaying the formation of a multipolar world by destabilizing and triggering tensions in various regions. According to Putin, most countries were ready to defend their national sovereignty and interests, traditions, culture and

way of life, which is why they developed new economic and political centers for a stable and progressive global development of multipolarity [22].

- On *Antaraneews.com* — “Putin Discusses the Stable Development of a Multipolar World Order”: at the 11<sup>th</sup> Moscow International Security Conference, Putin mentioned the stable revival of a new multipolar world. When discussing the global shift towards multipolarity, Putin said that most countries were ready to assert their sovereignty and defend their national interests, traditions and culture; thereby, a multipolar world order would contribute to a sustainable global development [29].
- On *Kompas.tv* — “Putin: Indonesia as a Driver for the Birth of a Multipolar World Together with Russia, China, India and Brazil”. According to Putin, “a multipolar world is being formed and already exists due to the growing potential of many countries, including China... India is developing in Asia just as Indonesia. In Latin America, Brazil is developing. Russia is rising and getting stronger. And I repeat once again that this is a manifestation of the objective development of a multipolar world... And today a global approach to human history... has become even more relevant” [28].

Framing analysis aims at identifying how the media constructs reality [25] by using special frames that limit the selected information and determine the focus of attention (what perspectives journalists use when selecting issues and writing reports) [20]. It is technically impossible for a journalist to present the entire picture, i.e., only parts of important events (happenings) in a story (news) become objects of journalists’ framing [26]. There are four key ways to frame news: (1) identification of the problem (how the event is seen, its positive or negative value); (2) identification of a cause of the problem (causal interpretation); (3) moral evaluation (an assessment of these causes); (4) suggestions for dealing with the problems (recommendations on how to handle the problem and/or to predict its result; thus, framing basically refers to providing definitions, explanations, evaluations and recommendations to emphasize a certain frame (a particular definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, etc.) for discussing an event [8] (Table 1).

Table 1

### Framing Analysis

Define a problem	How is an event/issue considered?
Identify its causes	What is the cause of this incident?
Make a moral judgment	What moral values are presented to explain the problem?
Make recommendations	What is offered for solving the problem?

The findings and analysis of the 1st news report from *Jakarta.com* “Multipolar World Vision: Civilization Factors and Russia’s Position in the New World Order” [9] are presented in Table 2.

**News matrix**

Define a problem	<p>Shared future will require a dialogue between the West and new centers of the multipolar international order</p> <p>Civilizational methodological basis for understanding, describing and building multipolar systems</p> <p>The West lost its potential but strives to hinder the development of other civilizations</p> <p>A multipolar system will replace the existing paradigm dominated by one civilization under the slogan of globalization, Westernization, Americanization, universalization, liberalization and elimination of national boundaries</p> <p>Multipolarity unlocks every potential for the benefit of the whole world, so everyone wins</p> <p>Russia aims at restoring historical justice: there is an “opportunity to establish effective patterns of interaction and development not against the West, but in circumvention of the West and without its involvement”</p>
Identify its causes	<p>Western dominance started in the 1960s under decolonization</p> <p>The system of international agreements and foreign exchange reserves is based on the US dollar, the Bretton Woods institutions, the cross-border movement of capital by Western transnational corporations, and represents a new, more sophisticated and legally (but not morally) defensible form of colonial domination. Neo-colonialism is designed to ensure the continuous extraction of resources from developing countries to meet the needs of the “Golden Billion”</p> <p>Western ruling elites sought to restore the “unipolarity” of the early 1990s by force and divided the commonwealth of civilization into segments suitable for absorption in line with the principle “divide and control”</p> <p>Western ideology is always ready to fight against “poles” independent from it</p> <p>Rules-Based Order (RBO) goes against the aspirations of developing countries and the world’s majority does not support it</p> <p>Liberal globalization means depersonalization and imposes the Western model on the entire world</p>
Make a moral judgment	<p>Multipolarity will replace the existing paradigm dominated by one civilization under the slogan of globalization, Westernization, Americanization, universalization, liberalization and elimination of national boundaries.</p> <p>Multipolarity is not against the West, it is against its control and involvement</p>
Make recommendations	<p>The world should not be dominated by a particular pole because the equality of sovereignties is guaranteed and secured by the UN Charter</p>
Framing conclusions	<p>The civilization factor in international affairs is a characteristic feature of the time — the transition to a new historical era, the struggle of ideas and notions about the future. This collision does not occur in the abstract world or in a vacuum of power. Its framework is determined by the geopolitical and civilizational vision of a multipolar world, which is being formed today.</p>

The findings and analysis of the 2nd news report from Kompas.com “Russia Calls Indonesia a Strong Candidate to Join BRICS” is presented in Table 3, of the 3rd report from Sindonews.com “Putin: the Multipolar Campaign and Indonesia” — In Table 4, of the 4th report from Antaranews.com “Putin Discusses the Stable Development of a Multipolar World Order” — in Table 5, of the 5th report from Kompas.tv “Putin: Indonesia as a Driver for the Birth of a Multipolar World Together with Russia, China, India and Brazil” — in Table 6.

Table 3

**News Matrix**

Define a problem	Indonesia is a strong candidate to join BRICS Russia hopes that Indonesia can apply to join BRICS
Identify its causes	Indonesia has not officially applied, although the Indonesian President Joko Widodo attended the last BRICS conference
Make a moral judgment	Russia respects Indonesia's decision to join BRICS
Make recommendations	Let's wait for the results of the Indonesian presidential election
Framing conclusions	Indonesia is a strong candidate to join BRICS, but the decision is in its hands

Table 4

**News Matrix**

Define a problem	Putin believes that the world as developing towards many central poles of power, or multipolarity Putin calls Indonesia a driver of multipolarity Putin emphasized his commitment to reducing confrontation at the global and regional levels, striving for a multipolar world order
Identify its causes	Putin's support to multipolarity is determined by the strong hegemony of the United States and its allies, and its actions in relation to other countries The US and its allies have clear goals, namely profiting from humanitarian tragedies and conflicts by forcing countries to submit to neo-colonial systems, and from exploiting resources To achieve the above-mentioned goals, the US and NATO continue to develop their offensive capabilities to spread military confrontation into space and information domain with both military and non-military means [18] Together with its allies, the US strengthens its hegemony in political, economic, military, ideological and other spheres by various means ranging from the most subtle such as proxy wars to the most aggressive such as attacks on other countries, among which Iraq was the victim Although the US and its allies still look very strong, their hegemony has recently shown a downward trend, which is confirmed by the strengthening position of China on the global stage
Make a moral judgment	Basically, humans have a pessimistic, greedy and power-hungry nature, which explains the lack of morality in political behavior Humans are wolves for each other, which can be seen in various ways the US strengthens its hegemony
Make recommendations	If Indonesia is truly one of the global multipolar powers, it should defend its national interests without ignoring the fate of other countries
Framing conclusions	Indonesia needs to strengthen the Non-Aligned Movement, ASEAN, and organizations outside the alliance-oriented coalition blocs. South-South collaboration, Archipelagic and Island States need to strengthen in order not to get trapped in polarization and to work together for peace, justice and prosperity.

Table 5

**News Matrix**

Define a problem	Putin: the world is witnessing the steady rise of a new multipolar order Putin: most countries are ready to assert their sovereignty and defend their national interests, traditions and culture, to which a multipolar world order will certainly contribute
Identify its causes	The US intends to reformat the existing system of international relations in the Asian Pacific region according to its wishes Washington's Indo-Pacific strategy aims at creating a US-led military and political association. NATO member states actively increase their offensive potential to control other states with military and non-military means
Make a moral judgment	In a multipolar system, countries assert their sovereignty and defend their national interests, traditions and culture, which contributes to a stable and sustainable global development
Make recommendations	The world must not be controlled by one country or one pole, because every country has the right to assert their sovereignty and defend its national interests
Framing conclusions	The world is witnessing the rise of a new multipolar order as a fair system of international relations

Table 6

**News Matrix**

Define a problem	Putin: there are many centers of power in the contemporary world, which is determined by the rapid growth of China, Russia, India, Indonesia and Brazil
Identify its causes	Rapid growth in China, Russia, India, Indonesia and Brazil
Make a moral judgment	This growth drives the world towards a multipolar order
Make recommendations	This growth should be used to develop many power centers
Framing conclusions	A multipolar world is a result of the rapid growth in several countries

Based on these news matrixes, we can define the multipolar world presented in the Indonesian media as a concept emphasizing the idea of balance and equal rights for every country in the system of international relations. This multipolar world develops due to the rapid growth in several countries, which contributes to the global transition from the existing paradigm dominated by one civilization under the slogan of globalization, Westernization, Americanization, universalization and liberalization to the state of multipolarity as not opposed to but rather ignoring the West. To make such conclusions from the framing analysis, we took the following steps: defined the problem by identifying its causal agents with their costs and benefits, found moral judgments to evaluate causal agents and their effects, proposed treatments for the problem and their possible effects. The image of Russia in Indonesia in relation to the multipolar world order is that Russia encourages countries experiencing rapid growth to assert their sovereignty, to defend their national interests, traditions and culture, and to give up the idea of unipolarity.



In other words, today's news framework is determined by geopolitical and civilizational presentations of a multipolar world as being born today, and Russia supports this birth, arguing that the world must not be ruled by any one or two poles, since every state has the right to assert its sovereignty, defend its national interests and strengthen its regional cooperation.

### References

1. Andhita P.R. Assistance in writing online media opinions on PC IMM Banyumas using a group achievement approach. *LPM Newsletter*. 2021; 24 (2).
2. Andreevich D.D. Concept of multipolarity in the Western, Russian and Chinese academic discourse. *Sententia*. 2020; 2 (2).
3. Anholt S. The media and national image. *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy*. 2009; 5 (3).
4. Buhmann A. *Measuring Country Image*. Wiesbaden; 2016.
5. Canggara H. *Communication Dimensions*. Jakarta; 2003.
6. Chebankova E. Russia's idea of the multipolar world order: Origins and main dimensions. *Post-Soviet Affairs*. 2017; 33 (3).
7. Degtarev D.A. Multipolar world order: Old myths and new realities. *RUDN Journal of International Relations*. 2019; 19 (3).
8. Entman R.M. Framing: Toward clarification of a fractured paradigm. *Journal of Communication*. 1993; 43 (4).
9. Kaban K. Multipolar world vision: Civilization factors and Russia's position in the new world order. URL: <https://koran-jakarta.com>.
10. Krauthammer C. The unipolar moment. *Foreign Affairs*. 1991; 70 (1).
11. Narbut N.P., Trotsuk I.V. Neighboring countries' images: Persistent stereotypes of the Russian student youth. *RUDN Journal of Sociology*. 2017; 17 (3).
12. Narbut N.P., Trotsuk I.V. Sociological evaluation of neighbor countries' images: Methodological issues. V.A. Mansurov (Ed.). *Russian Sociology in the Period of Crisis, Critique and Changes*. Moscow; 2013.
13. Nur E. The role of mass media in facing the invasion of online media. *Journal Mass Communication*. 2021; 52 (2).
14. Nurudin N. *Development of Communication Technology*. Jakarta; 2017.
15. Peters M.A. The emerging multipolar world order: A preliminary analysis. *Educational Philosophy and Theory*. 2023; 55 (14).
16. Pinontoan N.A., Wahid U. Analysis of the framing of Jakarta flood reports in January 2020 in the daily Kompas.com and Jawapos.com. *Community: Journal of Communication and Information Technology*. 2020; 12 (1).
17. Priangani A. Development of Brics (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa) in the global political economy. *National Journal*. 2015; 4 (7).
18. Putri R.M. Russia's interest in collaborating with Indonesia in the field of space technology. *Jom Fisip*. 2016; 3 (2).
19. Rosmawandi H. Indonesia's geopolitical position in the rivalry between China and the United States. *Changing Thinking*. 2022; 1 (2).
20. Santosa R. Framing analysis of ethnic Chinese reporting in the online media in February 2016. *E-Communication*. 2016; 4 (1).
21. Sapto A.I. Russia Calls Indonesia a Strong Candidate to Join BRICS. URL: <https://www.kompas.com>.
22. Saputra A.A. Putin: the Multipolar Campaign and Indonesia. URL: [Sindonews.com](http://Sindonews.com).
23. Saragih M.Y. Mass media and journalism: A study of the meaning between the print mass media and journalism. *Community Empowerment*. 2019; 6 (1).
24. Shapiro J. Is a multipolar world forming? URL: <https://geopoliticalfutures-com>.

25. Sinaga K.C.S. Analysis of the framing of Sarinah bomb reporting on Kompas.com and Merdeka.com. *Jom Fisip*. 2016; 3 (2).
26. Sobur A. *Media Text Analysis*. Bandung; 2012.
27. Warouw D.M.D., Rembang M. The importance of websites as tourism information media for Minahasa regency. *Acta Diurna Communications*. 2020; 2.
28. Shri Bimo E. Putin: Indonesia as a driver for the birth of a multipolar world together with Russia, China, India and Brazil. URL: <https://www.kompas.tv>.
29. Xinhua: Putin discusses the stable development of a multipolar world order. URL: <https://www.antaranews.com>.

DOI: 10.22363/2313-2272-2024-24-4-1148-1157

EDN: OVZBJL

## Социологический подход к изучению имиджа России в индонезийских средствах массовой информации\*

В.Л. Музыкант, Панча Сюркани

Российский университет дружбы народов,  
ул. Миклухо-Маклая, 6, Москва, 117198, Россия

(e-mail: vmouzyka@mail.ru; pancasyurkani@gmail.com)

**Аннотация.** Концепция многополярного мира основана на идее баланса и равных прав каждой страны на международной арене, и эта идея была подробно изложена в Концепции внешней политики России еще в 2000 году. Президент России неоднократно выступал за многополярный мировой порядок, что отчетливо прослеживается в целом ряде новостных сообщений в индонезийских средствах массовой информации. Социологическая интерпретация любого образа основана на описательном качественном анализе фрейминга, направленном на выявление того, как событие понимается и фреймируется средствами массовой информации. Авторы отобрали релевантные информационные сообщения в индонезийских онлайн-медиа и провели анализ, который позволил сделать следующие выводы: во-первых, многополярный мир — это концепция, которая основана на идее баланса и равенства; таким образом, геополитическая модель многополярного мирового порядка должна заменить существующую парадигму, в которой доминирует одна цивилизация, распространяемая по всему миру под лозунгами глобализации, вестернизации, американизации, универсализации, стандартизации и либерализации. Во-вторых, образ России в индонезийских СМИ, конструируемый в связи с идеей многополярного мирового порядка, создает представление о России как стране, которая призывает другие государства, переживающие быстрый рост, утверждать свой суверенитет и защищать свои национальные интересы, традиции и культуру. Схожий образ России конструируется в тех новостных сообщениях, где делается тот же акцент на объективном наличии стран, переживающих быстрое развитие благодаря независимой политике, но здесь цитируются высказывания Президента России о том, что современный мир больше не находится под влиянием только одной страны или одного полюса, поскольку все государства сегодня имеют одинаковые суверенные права. Таким образом, позиция России, представленная в индонезийских СМИ, безусловно, находит одобрение и поддержку у индонезийского общества.

**Ключевые слова:** образ России; многополярный мир; БРИКС; индонезийские СМИ; национальные интересы; анализ фрейма/фрейминга

---

\*© Музыкант В.Л., Сюркани Панча, 2024

Статья поступила в редакцию 20.06.2024. Статья принята к публикации 14.10.2024.