

An Analysis of the Power and Politics of Turkish Cypriots Representation in the British News

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ABSTRACT

Following historical and political events, the Turkish Cypriot community living in North Cyprus are unrecognised by the world, with economic, political and at times socio-cultural embargoes placed on them since 1974. In a somewhat subordinate position, the Turkish Cypriot's find themselves with almost no international voice of representation, with their contested representation scarcely studied by social and cultural studies scholars. This study aims to fill this gap by investigating how the Turkish Cypriots are represented in the British press. Due to Britain's role of guarantor within the Cyprus issue, and thus, a stakeholder in the fate of the Turkish Cypriot's plight, it's important to measure the perception of the British journalists towards the Turkish Cypriot community. Primarily, relying on the theoretical work of Edward Said's 'Orientalism' and Robert J.C. Young's 'White Mythology', Qualitative Content Analysis and Critical Discourse Analysis was performed upon 45 news articles with the Turkish Cypriots and the Cyprus issue as core subject, published across five British broadsheet newspapers between the dates of April 1999 and April 2004; a period of increased political activity for all involved in the Cyprus issue.

Inspired by the concepts of 'self' and 'other' in relation to the Turkish Cypriots, results from the Qualitative Content Analysis and Critical Discourse Analysis provide evidence for the representation of the Turkish Cypriot's as 'others', with orientalist narratives used in relation to the Turkish Cypriot people and the North Cyprus territory, framing derogatory images of this nation of people. An additional finding is the presence of White Mythology, where lack of background historic

information and the use and constant repetition of particular words, such as ‘invasion’, ‘breakaway’ and ‘occupied’, establishes different understandings of historical events in relation to the Cyprus issue.

Keywords: Critical Discourse Analysis, Qualitative Content Analysis, Cyprus Issue, Orientalism, Representation, Turkish Cypriots, White Mythology

ÖZ

1974 yılından bu yana yaşanan tarihi ve siyasi önem taşıyan olayların ardından, Kuzey Kıbrıs'ta, Kıbrıslı Türklere uygulanan ekonomik, politik ve bazen de sosyal ve kültürel ambargoların yanında, Kıbrıs Türk halkı dünya tarafından tanınmamaya devam etmektedir. Azınlık olarak görülen halkın uluslararası temsili bir sesi veya gücü olmamakla birlikte, itirazlarını da tam olarak ele alan bir sosyal araştırma veya akademik çalışma yapılmamıştır. Literatürdeki bu eksiklik göz önünde bulundurularak, bu çalışma Kıbrıslı Türklerle ilgili İngiliz basınında yer almayan, yansıtılmayan detaylara açıklık getirecektir. Bir başka deyişle, Kıbrıs'ın garantör ülkeleri arasında yer alan ve Kıbrıslı Türklerin kaderinde önemli bir rol oynayan İngiltere'nin, Kıbrıs Türk halkını kendi basınında nasıl temsil ettiği, ne tür bir dil ve söylem kullandığını inceleyecektir. Edward Said'in 'Oryantalizm' ve Robert J.C. Young'ın 'Beyaz Mitoloji' konulu kuramsal çalışmalarında yola çıkarak, Nisan 1999 ile Nisan 2004 yıllarını kapsayan 5 yıllık sürede, beş İngiliz gazetesinde Kıbrıslı Türkleri ve Kıbrıs meselesini konu alan 45 haber incelenmiştir. Bu dönem siyasi konuşmaların en sık yapıldığı döneme rastlamaktadır. Seçilen haberlere hem nitel içerik analizi hem de eleştirel söylem analizi uygulanarak, İngiliz basınının Kıbrıslı Türkleri nasıl tanımladığı araştırılmıştır.

"Kendim" ve "Ötekileri" kavramlarından ilham alan araştırma analizinden temelde iki sonuç ortaya çıkmıştır: Öncelikle Kıbrıs Türk halkı oryantal bir bakış açısıyla İngiliz basını tarafından ötekileştirilmiştir. Bir başka deyişle, Kuzey Kıbrıs'ta yaşayan Türkler ekonomik ve sosyal olarak, Kıbrıslı Rumlara kıyasla, küçümseyici bir şekilde alt sınıfa ait bir halk olarak yansıtılmıştır. İkinci olarak, tarihi bilgi

eksikliği ve ‘istila’, ‘ayrılık’ ve ‘işgal edilmiş’ gibi terimler İngiliz basınında sıklıkla kullanılmış, böylelikle Kıbrıs meseleleri hakkında yanlış bir izlenim ve algı oluşmasına yol açmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Eleştirel Söylem Analizi, Nitel içerik analizi, Kıbrıs meselesi, Oryantalizm, Temsil, Kıbrıslı Türkler, Beyaz Mitoloji

DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to my father; Mustafa Erisen. You are my greatest Professor.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
QCA	Qualitative Content Analysis
EU	European Union
RoC	Republic of Cyprus
TRNC	Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus
EOKA	Ethniki Organosis Kibrion Agonisdon
UK	United Kingdom
9/11	September 11, 2001 World Trade Centre Attacks
USA	United States of America
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background Information

News is “a synthetic, value-laden account which carries within it the dominant assumptions and ideas of the society within which it is produced” (McNair, 2009, p.41). News language has a crucial role in mediating reality (Fowler, 1991). The type of language (e.g., jargon, terminology, tone, form) journalists use “is not neutral, but a highly constructive mediator” (Fowler, 1991, p. 1). Journalists are acknowledged as social actors “with a key role to play in shaping our perception of what news is, and how to react to it” (McNair 2009, p.27). Journalists select facts or events and shape them into stories (i.e., narrative form) that society makes sense of and recognises as news (Manoff and Schudson 1986; Gans 1979). There are always multifarious ways of saying the same thing and they are not accidental (Hamid-Turksoy, 2015).

This research focuses specifically on news texts; those produced in the British newsrooms, by British journalists covering the Cyprus issue. By analysing a five-year period, this research will aim to decipher whether the British journalists hold an oriental perspective and whether an investment in White Mythology can be viewed when covering the Cyprus issue in general and Turkish Cypriots in particular. In other words, the purpose of the research is to analyse whether any underlying orientalist ideology and white mythology can be located in British broadsheet newspapers articles reporting on the Cyprus issue. Five broadsheet newspapers

consisting of four daily published and one Sunday sister newspaper have been selected and evaluated for the period of five years. The newspapers analysed were *The Guardian*, *The Times*, *The Independent*, *The Daily Telegraph* and the *Sunday Times*. The time frame chosen for the study will look at the period prior to the Kofi Annan Peace Plan Referendum, which was held in April 2004, starting the analysis five years prior from April 1999. This particular time frame has been chosen for a specific reason: The Kofi Annan Peace Plan Referendum marks a pivotal moment in the history of the Cyprus issue. Prior to the referendum, connotations in relation to the Turkish Cypriots were generally more unfavourable in nature when compared to that of the Greek Cypriot community, and the word on the street as well as the press presented an assuming tone that the majority of the Turkish Cypriot community would deliver a negative response to the referendum. This referendum can be noted in history as the day that the Turkish Cypriots confirmed their political stance officially, by delivering a 'yes' vote by 65 per cent, while a 'no' response was placed by the Greek Cypriots at a rate of 76 per cent, (turn-out to the referendum was considerably high, with 89 per cent participation by the Greek Cypriots, and 87 per cent by the Turkish Cypriots). The result of this referendum in turn, potentially changed this existing mind-set. This study will focus on the period five years prior to the referendum in order to analyse what kind of (favourable or unfavourable, good or bad, including or excluding, vilifying or dignifying) ideologies in relation to the Turkish Cypriots were present within the British newspapers, as well as the language, tone, narratives and terminology used by the British journalists in relation to this particular ethnicity of people.

Many academic studies evaluate the Turkish Cypriot community and north Cyprus from economic, political, cultural and tourism perspectives (see for example, Nadiri and Hussain, 2005; Katircioğlu, 2010; Çarkoğlu and Sözen, 2004). To my knowledge, there is no scientific inquiry analysing media representation of Turkish Cypriot and the Cyprus issue from a critical media studies point of view. This study aims to fill this gap. It will look at the representation of the Turkish Cypriot community in the British texts covering the Cyprus issue. The study has particularly chosen the north part of Cyprus because of the Turkish Cypriots connections to what has been represented in narratives as the ‘other’, an interesting focus point due to their location on a small Mediterranean island, of which they occupy less than half of. When western representations of the Turkish people or Turkish national identity have been analysed, we can often see orientalist narratives repeating and investing the Turks as the other. Regardless of the Turkish ethnicity displaying many western traits and their connections to Europe, the Arabian descent as well as their Islamic faith, positions them as a ‘complicated other’, but still as an ‘other’ nevertheless (Birce, 2015 p.22). The nation of north Cyprus both descend from mainland Turkey and present themselves as Turkish Cypriots, while also being identified as an Islamic nation, and these commonly shared characteristics may therefore imply that the Turkish Cypriot’s may have a stake in this negative image that has been bestowed upon Turkey and the Turkish people.

Today, we see the orientalist way of thinking and white mythology discourse in different sections of life. A sundry of western movies, soap operas, books and news circulate an orientalist perspective to their viewers and readers. Tourism agencies promote unknown, eastern destinations to western tourists with attractive ads

repacking orientalism (Boria, 2006; Öztürkmen, 2005) or reproducing cliché oriental images of mosques, minarets and covered bazaars (Bryce, 2007). Travel news journalists cover unknown countries with an oriental and authentic flavour; this is especially noted when introducing Middle Eastern and Arab countries. Antiquity, authentic, ancient, exotic, unknown and unchanged traditions are central frames in these types of texts (Turksoy-Hamid, Van Zoonen and Kuipers, 2013).

Orientalism is an old phenomena where we have seen some of its very beginnings with Ferdinand De Saussure (1916) and Jacques Derrida (1967), debating the dual connotations of single words, where they put forth that words were attributed with both positive and negative meanings. Edward Said (1978) later elaborated on this theory by stating that this characteristic of words had been utilised by the west to indoctrinate their self-serving ideology. Orientalism is defined by Edward Said (1978) as a: “Style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between the ‘Orient’ and the ‘Occident’. That any form of writer dealing with Orientalism have accepted the basic distinction between East and West as the starting point for what they will pen” (p.2). According to Said (2003, p.3): “The West essentialised these societies as static and under-developed. Implicit in this idea is that the Western society is developed, rational, flexible and superior” (p.3). For the western ideology, this was a way of dealing with the Orient. Should we very roughly take the late 18th century as the time period for this institution to be realised, the west embarked on this path of ideological success by making statements about the Orient, “authorising views of it, describing it, teaching it, settling it and ruling over it” (ibid). As highlighted by Said (1978), this was an ideology the British and other westerners invested and re-invested in over and over again for decades,

cementing it as insurmountable. They also reproduce and disseminate this ideology via media text. The product of these efforts has settled for some duration of time now; as a view of the east which firmly positions it as inferior to the west, and the west on a grandiose display. The framing of these words, especially by the daily press, will immediately provide these meanings and understandings; that whenever the east is mentioned in news, thoughts of a backward, static, primitive society will come to mind of journalists; that which is inferior to the west. Such thoughts will in turn, be passed on to the reader. When the word west is presented by the journalists; thoughts of a stronger, modern, forward, in a constant state of development land comes to that same mind, that which is superior to the east and thus, has power over the east. This is what both the reporter and the readers have been prepared to think (cf. Said, 1978).

In a similar vein, white mythology, as defined by Robert C. J. Young (1990), is the investment of an ideology by western civilisations in producing white-washed versions of historical events, thus catering to their Eurocentric ideologies. Via the implementation of white mythology, history has been represented only to tell the perspective of the western white man, ignoring any accounts of history from the perspective of anyone who is not the western white man; the other, leading to the fabrication of history as we know it. Young's white mythology is a direct challenge of the European Marxism claim to this totalising knowledge, where the grounding of a dialectal theory of history is viewed, acknowledged as eternal, presented as objective, but in reality, it is functioning completely in realms that are fundamentally a European perspective (Young, 1990). By quoting Said in his book *White Mythologies*, Young (1990: 2) puts forward that the objective is "to develop an

epistemological critique of the West's greatest myth – History". It is argued that the white mythological ideologies have among other means been possible, by the implementing of such ideologies through language and the re-representation of historical events. These representations may be found in many formats, whether folk tales, history books, novels and even the modern media we are all familiar with today. The proposal here is that the west, through white mythological efforts have invested through language and other means, an understanding of reality, and one of the greatest myths of such an ideology has been the worlds understanding of the events taken part in history, particularly colonial history.

Cyprus is an island in the eastern sphere of the Mediterranean Sea, and the third largest island in the Mediterranean. Due to its location, Cyprus has a rich history of influence deriving from a multitude of civilisations over the millennia. The rule of the British Empire officially in 1925 eventually brought with it a deluge of problems, which was cemented and enhanced by the decision to hand the island to Greek Cypriot governance, resulting in the rise of discomfort on the island and conflict between the two ethnicities previously living in harmony, the Greek and Turkish Cypriots. The discomfort ensued throughout the years, despite what appeared to be advances in reconciliation at times, eventually leading to the return of conflict in 1974 and subsequently the division of the island. The north of the island since this date remains under what is defined as an occupied rule by north Cyprus and the south of the island is under the recognised rule of the Greek Cypriot government: the Republic of Cyprus (RoC). Peace talks nevertheless have never ceased, in attempts to unite the island, where Turkey, Greece and Britain were identified as guarantors during the peace talks and process.

Given Britain plays an important role as guarantor within the Cyprus peace talks, it's important to analyse the British way of thinking. Media texts are a good source to reveal this way of thinking, since they have the power to disseminate political information to their readers about the Cyprus issue.

In order to establish whether any of the articles related to the Cyprus issue during the selected time period have any underlying orientalism and white mythology present between the lines, a mixed method of approach including Qualitative Content Analysis (QCA) and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) approaches will be utilised. Qualitative Content Analysis is a research method used to analyze text data (Schreier, 2012). This technique focuses, particularly on the characteristics of language as communication with emphasis on the content or contextual meaning of the text. In other words, it is a method for subjective interpretation of the content of text data. "CDA sees discourse – language use in speech and writing – as a form of "social practice"" (Piazza and Wodak, 2014, p.303). CDA focuses on researching how societal power relations are established and reinforced through the use of language. It is due to this very nature of CDA that this approach was decided to be implemented and the very creators of this methodology utilised its scrutinising nature to further study hierarchy, inequality and power relations within society. Teun Van Dijk was particularly interested in the role discourse plays in the production and reproduction of dominance, where many of his work in this area have produced interesting findings (Van Dijk, 2008).

It is readily accepted that the British broadsheets provide in-depth journalism, and despite the clear acceptance of their differing political statuses, they are also accepted to be reliable sources of information. What shouldn't be forgotten, however, is how

the role of the British media, particularly news press, contributes and shapes public opinion on certain issues, as it is well known that journalists not only report reality, but create it (Schudson, 2003). Over the many years, improvements have been viewed in relation to many aspects of journalism, whether the methodology used to collate the information, levels of professionalism or particular attention to media ethics, however the state of play remains that journalism will continue to construct reality and ‘make waves’, regardless of any changes observed (ibid). This very factor and the Cyprus issue have one very significant point of connection; rhetoric and language. It is through the framing nature of language that connotations are produced when words are uttered. Such connotations can only be established by the continual connection between these spoken words and other realities. Similarly, to the narratives displayed in orientalism and white mythology, which have been invested and re-invested in; should such connections be presented and re-presented often enough, we find a new reality related to the subject. Thus, language has the power to shape our realities, create boundaries, form hierarchies and support such unjust power relations, while doing this with the consent of all those that speak it. It is this power that journalists hold, their narratives becoming ours. Their spoken words over a long period of time could affect any given situation.

Changing news values over the years have had a direct impact on the news we receive and how we receive it. However, still today there is hardly one theory on the responsibility of media in society. Many theories have been coherent, many clashing. Over the years, values and principles have been re-defined to re-generate the credibility of journalistic efforts. There is no doubt that the news, we acknowledge, shapes our understanding of the world, so it is inevitable that any changing or

establishing news values will change perceptions: “News is not a mirror of reality. It is a representation of the world, and all representations are selective” (Schudson, 2003, p.33). Our concern primarily is with relation to the reporting on foreign affairs and on international events, in this case the Cyprus issue and the Turkish Cypriots. Journalism has previously been scrutinised for faltering values in relation to foreign affairs or international events. Media critic Howard Kurtz openly accused newspapers of reflecting the mood and values of the white, middle-class society (in Schudson, 2003, p.45); while Noam Chomsky and Edward Herman claimed that press objectivity weakened in the case of foreign reporting (1988). While it shouldn't be said that all journalists can be tarnished with the same unprofessional brush, it is important to highlight that “professionalism produces its own characteristic angle of vision” (Schudson, 2003). In his book ‘Media Ethics’, Kieran (1998) puts forth that journalists should work to the public interest in a manner virtuous in nature and refrain from any deceiving activities that may abuse the public's trust. He later continues that one vital role of journalists is to “report and evaluate, appropriately, events that affect our lives as members of society (...) the media must be impartial in their approach in order to arrive at and report upon what is in fact, the case” (p.23).

In the same line of thinking, according to Eid (2014), media ethics are necessary for the process of communication to be effective. However, he further elaborates that role of media responsibility during disasters, conflicts and wars, factors in the issue of labelling the actors, for example terrorists, extremists etc (ibid). Eid proposes in his ‘Crisis Decision-Making Model for Media Rational Responsibility’ the responsibility of the media towards the Self and Other. This model is made up of four central elements: 1) the emphasis of ethical principles, 2) balancing a number of

interests and responsibilities, 3) maintaining focus on the facts only; and 4) dealing with major effects on decision makers (2008). Should the media follow these elements, then reporting on such subjects will be more ethically balanced.

Nevertheless, with continually updated code of ethics, guidelines, values and principles to abide by and suggestions made by scholars, critics, editors and journalists themselves, it is wise to be reminded that journalists produce news within a cultural system, and a source of shared cultural meanings. It should be considered that journalists often feel obligated to represent news in light of the preservation and security of their country (Schudson, 2003).

1.2 Motivation for the Study

Previous studies have proven that the Turkish identity, Turkey and Turks have been continuously subjected to orientalist and white mythological representations, especially by the Europeans. North Cyprus, viewed politically as occupying the north of the island of Cyprus has many common factors that it shares with Turkey, being a direct descendent of the country. In light of these common factors it shares; are north Cyprus and Turkish Cypriots represented in a similar manner as Turkey and Turks? Are the Turkish nationals of Cyprus also subjected to orientalist and white mythological representations due to their heritage? North Cyprus is one of ten unrecognised states in the world, it holds within it the last divided city on earth and has elicited more UN resolutions than anywhere else around the globe. On this island the Turkish Cypriots remain isolated and boycotted by the world and any such presence of orientalism and white mythology connected to the Turkish Cypriot image, could be a factor in its struggle. Using a qualitative research method, this

study is motivated to either prove the presence of these phenomena's or eradicate them from having any relationship with the Turkish Cypriots.

1.3 Research Aims and Objectives

This study focuses on the Turkish Cypriots residing in north Cyprus. Due to the Turkish Cypriots plight, this study aims to analyse whether there are any further factors involved in the political difficulties faced by this ethnicity of people. With a particular focus on the self and other relationships, including orientalism and white mythology, the aim is to establish whether the Turkish Cypriots was being presented in the British press as an extension of the self, or an oriental other, within the selected British articles during the specified scope. In the case of white mythology, our aim is to decipher whether this phenomenon can be located between the lines, in an attempt to change how we remember the history surrounding these islanders. In other words, this study aims to decipher whether any orientalist and white mythologist ideology can be revealed in the British broadsheet press during the time period specified.

The objective of this study is to establish whether the existence of Orientalism and White Mythology remained within the British Press up until 2004 in relation to the Turkish Cypriots, thus interpreting their presence as a factor in the political developments in relation to the Cyprus issue, which were seen to be detrimental and vast during the selected time period. Should their existence not be evidenced, this study can contribute as eradicating this as an effective factor at the time.

1.4 Research Questions

- How are the Turkish Cypriots represented in the British media covering the Cyprus issue prior to the Annan Peace Plan referendum?

- Are the Turkish Cypriots represented with a positive or negative, strong or subordinate, superior or inferior tone?
- When reporting on North Cyprus and Turkish Cypriots, where do the British media stand in the Self and Other axis?
- When reporting on the Cyprus Issue, do the British media provide sufficient historic information in order for readers to make an informed judgement.

1.5 Significance of Study

This study is significant due to the fact that extremely limited studies have previously explored the representation of the Turkish Cypriot community. This study aims to contribute to empirical data in an area where such data is little to none and is additionally relevant due to the on-going political and historical problems faced on the island of Cyprus, and in particular the Turkish Cypriots, who it can be argued has suffered the most as a result of this conflict. The Cyprus issue, which has seen the most United Nations intervention and resolutions applied in the world, remains unresolved, but not for the lack of effort on behalf of the Greek and Turkish Cypriots, as well as the guarantor countries involved, Britain, Greece and Turkey. As there may be other factors involved within the dealings of the Greek and Turkish Cypriots, by researching whether this is the case or not, this study will contribute by highlighting whether orientalism and white mythology is a factor, or whether they are not, thus eradicating them from areas to be studied in relation to this islands' continuing problems.

1.6 Limitations of Study

As with any research conducted, this study did not establish without any limitations attached to it. While every effort was displayed to ensure that all the news articles for

the selected time period and throughout the selected newspapers were thoroughly analysed, there is a small possibility that some articles may have been involuntarily excluded from the sample of articles. Nevertheless, it is my understanding that this is the first research conducted in relation to the study of the representation of the Turkish Cypriots, and thus will provide insight into this area, particularly empirical data to build upon, aiding any future research similar to this subject area.

This study is additionally limited in the sense that the findings in relation to the representations of the Turkish Cypriots are restricted to the British press only and cannot be generalised to encapsulate any other countries representation of the Turkish Cypriot, particular western medias press.

Last of all, this study is additionally limited due to the time frame chosen for analysis. The findings of this study cannot be interpreted for any other time period outside of the five years' time scope analysed here.

Chapter 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This study is set to explore how Turkish Cypriots have been represented in the past in the British press, with a particular focus on news articles referencing the Cyprus issue. The theoretical standpoint in which I focus this study is particularly from an orientalist and white mythological perspective and will specifically analyse British press output between the dates of 24 April 1999 and 24 April 2004 via the use of a mixed method approach including Qualitative Content Analysis and Critical Discourse Analysis, in order to inspect whether underlying orientalist ideology was present within the texts and thus assess the power relations present, if any. For the sake of this historic research, it is imperative to examine the existing cultural, sociological and historical relations between North Cyprus and Great Britain. Over the years five peace plans have been presented and rejected, alongside a multitude of peace talk meetings that have not been met with success. The last peace talks in 2017 that were held in Crans Montana, Switzerland, also suffered the same fate as its predecessors. As we will observe later in this section; language and media have the ability to set a tone that is difficult to undo and gets stronger as time passes. Should it be detected, the presence of any form of orientalist tones present towards the Turkish Cypriot community in the past will still have an effect today, least of all because it affected those involved in the peace plans and peace talks at the time, but also because it may still be alive and true in modern day.

Due to the lack of previous research on the representation of the Turkish Cypriots in the British and western media's, specifically in relation to orientalism and white mythology in a political environment, particular space will be provided within this section to evaluate the media representation of the Turk and Islam, via a held focus on othering, in order to provide an understanding and a theoretical background, which this study will build itself upon. There will also be a section devoted to literature that has taken on the subject of representations of the Turkish Cypriot. By examining previous academic literature, supporting data will be allocated to this section where the subjects are similar, and the questions raised are close by nature.

2.2 The Concept of Othering and How it is Relevant to the Coverage in the Press

According to Jacques Derrida, any word or concept will contain not only a positive, but also its opposite, and Derrida states that Western thinking is founded upon the 'logic' of binary oppositions (in Pinkus, 1996). In this relationship, one of the terms is favoured at all times and always has a more privileged status over its opposite. However, the other is always present and this hierarchal relationship is constantly in existence, in a way which is typical of ideologies. This presence of difference will always be present due to its inter-textuality. Therefore; it is impossible for there to only be self, and no other. In this binary opposition, neither part is able to exist in the absence of either part, for they are related, and they are interdependent. Derrida deconstructs the metaphysics of meaning (the notion of privileging the present over the absent) in this sense, for its exclusion of the absent (in Pinkus, 1996).

In a similar line of thinking, Claude Levi Strauss (1976) in his book *Structural Anthropology* introduced to the world the concept that the 'self' requires an 'other' in

order to exist. This concept developed over time with the contributions of other well-known names in history, a list of scholars comprising of Levinas, Fichte, Sartre, Hegel and Beauvoir. The self and other conversation has been taken up in a range of disciplines such as history, philosophy, sociology and international relations, cultural studies and media studies (Criss, 2008). As Burr has highlighted: “To give anything an identity, to say what it is, is necessarily also to say what it is not. In this sense, presence contains absence. That is, to say that a quality is present depends upon implying what is absent” (1995, p.107).

Taking it one step further, Paksoy (2012) defined the same concept as identities requiring an opposite for self-definition purposes, which in turn makes them stronger. Connolly (1991) who elaborated on this same concept says: “An identity requires difference in order to exist, and it converts difference into otherness to secure its own self certainty” (p.64).

It was Edward Said who raised the concept of othering to a high-profile topic of discussion, highlighting the representation of the European identity and how the oriental culture played a role in its establishment, with its own representation in the West. Said defined that the European identity that essentially derives from culture, common history and morality, had a need for an opposite for self-definition purposes (Kösebalaban, 2007), and that the Orient was and still is utilised as the opposite/other, to fulfil this need (cf. Said, 1978). Said emphasised that the west’s general patronising attitude had a particular focus on the Middle east, Asia and North Africa, although other geographical areas that were not in Europe have been seen to

be subjected to prejudiced outsider interpretations, and particularly by the cultural attitudes of the European imperialism during the 18th and 19th centuries.

Said (2003) describes how the east was able to be othered and elaborated through what means this was established. “The basic distinction between East and West is the starting point for elaborate theories, epics, novels, social descriptions and political accounts concerning the orient, its people, customs, ‘mind,’ destiny and so on” (Said, 2003, p.4). In his book *Orientalism*, Said (2003) explains that there are precisely three ways in which the orient can be dealt with. He listed them as being academic, imaginative and historic. First of all, the academic dealing of the orient Said describes is “anyone who teaches, writes about, or researches the orient either in its specific or its general aspects” (p.3). Second of all, imaginative orientalism, refers to any work regarding the orient created by novelists, philosophers, poets, theorists, painters and musicians. Lastly, Said explained the final design of established meaning is that of historical content, as in orientalism is “something more historically and materially defined than either of the other two” (p.3). Said states that such a historical definition saw its initial steps during the late 18th century and was made possible via the means of actions such as the describing, teaching and making of statements in relation to the orient, by the authorising of any views on the orient, and by settling and ruling over it (Said, 2003). With this final definition, Said is echoing Foucault’s ideas with respect to discourse being a source of power, and how it is possible to expose the power hierarchies existing within structures via the analysis of texts. Knowledge is power, or if you will; textualised discourse is power.

This mode of thinking of the orient, in which anything that belongs to the eastern world is therefore opposite to the occident, is something of a general idea, settled in the minds of those in the west who have not taken the time or effort to establish their own independent understanding of the orient, nor to locate the real east. Western journalism practice and the journalists reporting from the occident, it can be said, are also under the influence of orientalist thinking. The western press who frequently deals with the east in their published work will indirectly contribute to the orientalist style of thinking, participating in the investment of this ideology each and every time they report on it. In the three ways Said has described the Orient can be dealt with; journalists partake in two of them. As with the first of the mentioned ways described by Said, journalists engage in orientalism by writing about it, and may even research it to a certain extent. The second occasion journalists contribute to the orientalist notion is what is described by Said as the third way the orient can be dealt with, by the describing and making statements about it. At any time, journalists refer to the orient, not only do they play a role in defining it, but they also invest in expanding its life-span.

This notion is still ever present in modern day. European nations presently continue to display their similarities in every effort to portray their 'oneness', by essentially defining the differences of the nations of the east. The best example of this can be speculated as the EU itself. On 1st May 2004, an additional ten countries officially joined the European Union, a development receiving much speculation in terms of the qualification of these new members, with some being former hostile and ex-communist countries. While these new members failed to meet some of the obligations set to join the EU, obligations were held steadfast in Turkey's bid, a

member of NATO while simultaneously being the only Islamic nation connected to the EU. “So, the civilised, moral and superior European came in to existence by defining the underdeveloped, passive and immature orient” (Birce, 2015, p.20). With Turkey’s European Union (EU) bid came a complicated situation; for admission to the EU would ultimately mean the presence of the orient in the west, however Turkey was and still is the closest of all the orients to the occident geographically, being located in the periphery of the EU.

It is clear that orientalist narratives have been bestowed upon the Turkish identity, particularly to establish definition between the complicated situation surrounding the Turk in the tradition of the self-other relationship. The more orientalised the Turk is established by definition, the further the occident becomes for this nation and nations representing as Turks. Indeed, such an orientalistic achievement for the west has a direct effect on the Turkish Cypriots, who are also placed in this narrative automatically. Discussing the case of Cyprus, Ilter and Alankuş (2009) explains this notion thoroughly:

Here, the line separating the licensed other inside and the other of the nation is ambiguous and insecure. For Turkish Cypriots and others living in the ‘Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus’ (TRNC), which is recognized by no other except Turkey in the international arena, and to which the official discourse of the internationally recognized Republic of Cyprus (RoC) in the South refers as a ‘pseudo-state’, the ontological implications of identity are very clear. ‘Pseudo’ does not only imply illegality, but also ontological non-existence” (p.263).

In a historic article taking the Cyprus issue as subject, author Lawrence Durrell – who had lived in Cyprus (1952-1956) and experienced first-hand the difficulties experienced at the time – elaborated that while the Cyprus problem continued due to the desire for Enosis, which was fought for by EOKA and right-winged Greek Cypriots, with the full support of Athens, that at the time, any security fears were

predominantly connected to these above mentioned sections of the communities present. Despite this admittance on his behalf, Durrell continues to say that he can see the Greek point of view as the Turkish Cypriots are “Moslems and that counts for something” (Durrell, 1974).

2.3 Previous examples of Othering of the Turkish Cypriot

No prior studies that are locatable have been conducted in relation to the representation of the Turkish Cypriots in the press or other forms of foreign media. What is clear by now is that othering exists, and it most definitely exists for the Turkish identity, not excluding the Turkish Cypriot community. It would be acceptable to put forth that studies focusing on the Turkish Cypriot itself and their representation in the media are limited. Regardless, for the sake of this historical study, it would be beneficial to analyse what literature is available for insight on how the Turkish Cypriot is or has been represented, even if in other subject areas. The only traceable literature that dealt with the representation of the Turkish Cypriot identity has a tourism related subject area.

Among the limited studies conducted, particular research has been made in relation to the political situation in Cyprus and travel and tourism in North Cyprus. The research and plethora of articles penned in relation to travel in North Cyprus are particularly important because, as Brummer has stated: “Travel, travel writing, and the consumption of travel writing can all be conceived of as rhetorical, as *‘the management of meaning’*” (in Bowman 2009, p.10).

In his work, Bowman has provided an analysis of travel content on North Cyprus and the representations of the Turkish Cypriot. Bowman cites an article published in

1999 for *Harper's* magazine by Sebastian Junger and Scott Anderson, describing the Greek side of the island in a more positive fashion, with fancy shops, enjoying affluence and the company of the European world, when compared to the Turkish side that is described as suffering from 'impoverishment' with 'ramshackle positions' (2009). The article also gives space to the negative attitudes towards the north by British tourists. Like most of the travel writing dealing with Cyprus since 1955, his own narrative nourishes several of the binary pairings that have long delimited cultural relations and conflicts on the island: Christian and Muslim, Greek and Turk, sun-seeking European tourist and politically-sensitive Cypriot, Western imperial/colonizing agent and Eastern colonised subject. Such differences unfold for and are constructed by western writers (Bowman, 2009).

Bowman's (2009) research is the only one of its kind, that takes to hand the representation of the Turkish Cypriot in any travel and leisure related outlets. As a conclusion of his studies, Bowman's closing chapter initiated; "For the Turks of Cyprus and the northern land they have lived on since 1974, travel narration has too often settled on seeing a darkness appealing in its simplicity, yet shallow in its ethical production" (2009, p.175). Due to the lack of further studies, no further literature can be evidenced to support this area. Nevertheless, while literature resources are weak, a high magnitude of Cyprus travel related media can be identified with regular orientalist output between the lines. Tropes relating to the Turk, Islam and the Turkish Cypriots political reality are plentiful.

2.4 The Representation of Islam in the British Print Media

The representation of Islam in western media is a subject area with a plethora of research under its title. A fair amount of this literature can be attributed to the British

media only, where detailed studies conclude that oriental othering is still a predominantly present theme in any Islam related reporting. Since the Turkish Cypriots are identified as Muslim, it is important to understand how Islam is represented in the British press, in order to make an informed evaluation on how the Turkish Cypriots may be represented also.

The British media have for some decades been heavily involved in the othering of Islam. When past Islam related content has been analysed, oriental discourse is ever-present, and can be sampled within Gulf war content as well as content relating to the Iranian revolution (Said, 1997; Poole, 2002). After the September 11th World Trade Centre attacks (9/11) in 2001, the British media's othering of the Islamic faith was noted to be more apparent than it was before. This pivotal period in history was emphasized by the famous speech made by George W. Bush after the attacks, where he was quoted as saying "Either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists" (in Birce, 2015, p.41), denoting them and us, west versus east, a good against evil demonstration.

The orientalist othering with relation to Islam, it has been observed, is not exclusive to those living outside of Britain (Poole, 2002). Muslims who live in Britain and identify themselves as British, compared to the white majority (Nandi and Platt, 2012), are subject to othering alongside foreign Muslims (Harb and Bessaiso, 2006), despite the fact that many of them have roots in Britain, going back a thousand years, when their ancestors entered as bankers, medical students, spice merchants, servants and sailors (Abbas, 2011). What this development highlights is the reality that regardless of whom they are or their backgrounds, Muslims in Britain are being

represented with their religious identity and that Islam is essentially the primary source of othering (Harb and Bessaiso, 2006). So it can be argued that such representations are made possible by the use of stereotyping that simplify and unify all Muslims in the world, despite their diversities. These stereotypes dominate the British media, resulting in the audience having a limited understanding of the faith and its followers, and the 'preferred reading' or meaning of this discourse only infers the otherness of the Muslims (Birce, 2015). "The increasing visibility of Muslims to non-Muslims in the UK in a global mediated world, in which Muslims are homogenised, has resulted in their construction as a threat to non-Muslims. This ideological threat (in the UK) allows Muslims to be suppressed" (Poole, 2004, p.22).

Following the World Trade Centre attacks, Middle East editor for *The Guardian* newspaper, Brian Whitaker made a speech at the Central London Mosque in relation to Islam and the British press post September 11. Whitaker stated that the use of four stereotypes was persistently observed in different articles. These stereotypes indicated Muslims as being misogynistic, intolerant and violent/cruel or strange/different (Whitaker, 2002).

In a thorough research in relation to the British media's representations of British Muslims, it was found that the most common nouns used in relation to British Muslims were terrorist, extremist, Islamist, suicide bomber and militant, with very few positive nouns (such as scholar) used. The most common adjectives used were radical, fanatical, fundamentalist, extremist and militant. It was found that references to radical Muslims outnumbered references to moderate Muslims by 17 to one. One in five stories about British Muslims make comparisons between Islam and other

religions. While around half of these comparisons do not make explicit value judgments, of those that do, negative assessments of Islam outnumber positive assessments by more than four to one (Lewis, Mason and Moore, 2008).

In another research aimed to study the coverage of Islam in the press, by randomly choosing a regular week and selecting nineteen national newspapers, Allen and Nielsen (2002) analysed how Islam was represented for this time period. The results displayed that 91% of the coverage on Islam was deemed to be negative. Additionally, results of this study emphasized that in these articles, Muslims were represented as individuals to be fearful of. An alarmingly significant amount of the coverage displayed Islam and Muslims as “likely to cause damage or danger”, with 50% of all the articles that week referring to Islam/Muslims as a threat, and 34% of the content relating to crisis (Allen and Nielsen, 2002, p.8).

Research conducted in 2012 (in Bail, 2015) specifically analysed the press releases sent by Muslim organisations to media outlets. More than a thousand of those sent were compared to 50 thousand articles published that year. The study concluded that since 9/11, any negative messages in relation to Muslims received a higher level of media attention, than their positive opposite, in the western world (ibid). From this study, it was also deciphered that after 9/11, Muslim organisations that expressed any emotion or anger towards any discrimination towards Muslims received a lot of media attention, whereas any releases sent by the organisations that contained messages condemning terrorism received little coverage. Overall, it could be determined that the groups that were in receipt of the majority of attention, were those of which were least representative of the organisations (Bail, 2015).

Ultimately it can be concluded that the nature of the representation of Islam and Muslims in the British media have been heavily negative. This negativity knows no geographical boundaries, and is applied to Muslims around the world, including those living in Britain and who identify as British. This negativity breeds negativity, and what is shared by the journalists is ultimately imparted to the audience. “Journalists normally work with materials that real people and real events provide. But by selecting, highlighting, framing, shading and shaping in reportage they create an impression that real people – readers and viewers – then take to be real and to which they respond in their lives” (Schudson, 2003, p.3).

2.5 The Representation of the Turk in the West: A Complicated Other

Due to the limited sources of research on the representation of the Turkish Cypriot, for the sake of building a solid theoretical background for this historic study, it is deemed necessary to provide literature on the representation of the Turk, both ancestors of the Turkish Cypriot and closest to these islanders in nature.

The west’s relationship with the Turk has always been that of a complicated one, owing to the Turks dominant role in European history, playing a large role in the shape of modern Europe today. Among those that are widely accepted as others, the Turk has been understood to be one of the most dominant ones in the pool of identities created (Neumann, 1999). It is evident that the complication faced by the west in relation to the Turk is the inability to appropriate them both materially and discursively. What has been observed can be characterised as ‘mixed messages’ on behalf of the west, where for centuries long the Turks were defined by their Islamic and oriental otherness, while simultaneously being admired for their social and

political organisations. Whether they were categorised as an ‘other’ or not; the west was obligated to deal with the Turks as one of the great states of Europe (Bryce, 2007).

The Ottoman had the military might, physical proximity, and a strong religious tradition that made it a particularly relevant other in the evolution of the fledgling international society, that evolved from the ashes of western Christendom and that took up a pivotal position in the forging of European identities. From 14th century to 19th century, the Ottoman Empire occupied and controlled a quarter of the European continent, comprising some of Europe’s most coveted territory (Neumann, 1999).

Through this confusion, Samuel Huntington struggles to place Turkey in any single category with relation to the self and other, occident and orient conflict. Thus, Huntington attempts to fit Turkey in his self-created concept of ‘torn’ countries, defined as any country that is seeking to affiliate with a civilisation that is not their own (Huntington, 1996). All relevant literature agrees that Turkey does not conventionally fit in the self and other relationships. This very situation affects the way Turkey is perceived and represented in the European media (Huntington, 1996).

This situation of ambivalence was apparent during Turkey’s EU bid, where Britain displayed a show of support for Turkey, “recent literature acknowledges that the representation of Turkey tends to be different in British press than any EU member state [...] It will not be wrong to say that on the whole the British press holds more supportive or neutral position on Turkey’s aspirations to join the EU” (Turksoy, 2011, p.147).

This positive coverage is no indication that British media accepts Turkey as part of the British or European ‘self’, nor does it eliminate Turkey as an oriental other. “These positive and celebratory portrayals of the Turkish brand of political Islam or the support for Turkey’s EU membership bid still did not cause the British media to abstain from using orientalist narratives while covering Turkey. And certainly did not include Turkey in to the European self” (Birce, 2015, p.27).

2.6 The Representation of the Turk in the British Media: A Privileged Other, But Still an ‘Other’

In an attempt to understand the British media’s outlook in relation to the Turkish nation and where they are positioned on the self – other axis, it is necessary to analyse their relationship via the examination of previous literature on this very subject, with a particular focus on their stance on Islam; the main other.

We already know, as prior research has indicated, that the British media produce biased content when in relation to foreigners, as described by Paul Hartmann and Charles Husband, “British cultural tradition contains elements of derogatory to foreigners, particularly blacks. The media operate within the culture and are obliged to use cultural symbols” (in Schudson, 2003, p.173).

In any coverage of Turkey or Turkish national identity, the British media’s output will inevitably be affected by any existing attitude with connection to Muslims and Islam. This statement is supported by literature confirming that whenever Turkey is mentioned within the British press, space is always provided to emphasise the Islamic identity of the country (Devran, 2007; Paksoy, 2012). Further to this discovery, any words, adjectives, terms and phrases that were used by the journalists

working for the British media to describe Turkey, were generally associated with their Muslim label (Devran, 2007; Paksoy, 2012).

In an effort to display the British Media's representation of Turkey with relation to their EU bid, Paksoy (2012) determined: "it can be seen in the literature that media coverage represents at the same time both Turkey's old and new image in democracy, human rights and economy. On some occasions, this even leads to a confusion concerning what Turkey has really transformed into" (p.60). On the same subject, Negrine (2008) explained that "a careful reader of the British press would be confronted by a representation of Turkey and the European Union that emphasized differences despite the overwhelming support the press gave to the bid" (p.626).

While the British press' coverage of Turkey's EU bid essentially were favourable, orientalist discourse still dominated the British coverage (Devran, 2007). The British media for the best part presented a stance supportive of the Turkey bid for EU; nevertheless, orientalist narratives were ever-present. "Whoever reads the British newspapers will face various descriptions of Turkey as a poor, predominantly Muslim, culturally alien, over-crowded country with a population of 72 million; a country with a shaky democracy and economy that lies geographically outside the boundaries of Europe" says Devran (2007, p.103).

While the British media may have displayed a level of support for Turkey during their EU bid, one should not take this to mean Turkey has experienced a status change from oriental other to self; rather that it should be understood that their support was that of a pragmatic one (Birce, 2015).

2.7 Discourse and Power in Media

The language we speak bears within it meaning that we transcend to one another each time we speak, each time any form of communication occurs. Each spoken word will refer to a symbolic understanding to establish such communication, and utterances transform from discursive context to another. Over time, many scholars have put forward their theories, arguments, thoughts and research in this area, with disciplines, paradigms and research areas dedicating themselves to observing and analysing symbols, pulling discourse apart, criticising it from every angle, and putting it back together. Language and cultural studies are as ancient as Plato and his famous student Aristotle, with many other well-known names having contributed to our understanding of discourse today, from Jacques Derrida, Ferdinand de Saussure, Michel Foucault, Charles Sanders Peirce to Claude Levi-Strauss, Vivien Burr, Roland Barthes and Teun Van Dijk and many more scholars with valuable contributions. Charles Sanders Peirce stated in his work;

A sign, or representamen, is something which stands to somebody for something in some respect or capacity. It addresses somebody, that is, creates in the mind of that person an equivalent sign, or perhaps a more developed sign. That sign which it creates I call the *interpretant* of the first sign. The sign stands for something, its *object*. It stands for that object, not in all respects, but in reference to a sort of idea, which I have sometimes called the *ground* of the representation (in Eco, 1979, p.180).

Similarly, Ferdinand de Saussure (1916) focused his studies on discourse emphasising the relationship between what he called the signifier and the signified, and how this relationship creates meaning. Jacques Derrida (1967) also expressed his opinion on this relationship, although his notion of how meaning is created differs from that of Saussure. Through the words of Vivien Burr (1995):

Saussure had claimed that, though [the] relationship [between the signifier and the signified] was arbitrary, the signifier (for example, the word 'tree') and that which it signifies, its meaning (our idea of a tree), are bound together. The

meaning becomes 'fixed' to the signified. The word 'tree' therefore has attached to it all the 'treeness' qualities we think of when we think of the real object (leafy, tall, shady and so on). But Derrida ...questioned the idea meaning could ever be present in the signifier in this way ... The meaning of 'tree' is ... to be found in all the things that are absent from it. Tree is not shrub, not flower, not animal and so on. But of course, we are not conscious of this when we use words, and mistakenly believe that the meaning of a word is fully present in the word alone ... meaning is always both dependent upon a signifier's difference from other signifiers and constantly deferred from one signifier to another in an endless chain. ... We are therefore always implicitly referring to what these things are not, to what is absent from them (p.72).

When taking into consideration both Saussure and Derrida's understanding of how meaning is constructed within language, and connecting this to Said's orientalism, one could posit via Saussure's notion that when referring to the orient, that we are pointing to the created understanding of what the orient is; underdeveloped, static and primitive East. Through Derrida's notion we understand that the signifier displays everything that it is not and everything that it is absent, the orient in this case is *not* developed, modern, rational, superior or west. The east is *not* west, the orient is *not* the occident.

Michel Foucault, who also connects discourse to knowledge and power, says that discourse is:

“ways of constituting knowledge, together with the social practices, forms of subjectivity and power relations which inhere in such knowledge's and relations between them. Discourses are more than ways of thinking and producing meaning. They constitute the 'nature' of the body, unconscious and conscious mind and emotional life of the subjects they seek to govern” (in Weedon, 1987, p.108).

Inspired by Foucault's work, Van Dijk (2008) further suggested that discourse takes the form of power, which circulates in the social field, attaching itself to strategies of both domination and resistance.

In establishing power relations, while it can be argued that discourse is arguably one of the most enabling tools, it is not sufficient by itself. We may assume that directive speech acts such as commands or orders may be used to enact power, and hence also to exercise and to reproduce dominance (...) Special social conditions must be satisfied for such discourse properties to contribute to the reproduction of dominance (p.3).

Van Dijk's (2008) claim here that in order for power relations to be established, discourse alone is not sufficient and that certain social conditions must be satisfied also in order for dominance to prevail echoes Edward Said's assertion in relation to developing an oriental identity of the east. Said (2003) claimed that the east was orientalist because it could be, in the sense that it was able to be orientalist because the social conditions were appropriate. Centuries of domination from the west, particularly the colonisation efforts, violence in the form of use of firearms, and the hundreds of years of time and energy invested in this ideology played a large role in establishing the ideal social conditions for orientalism to have been realised.

2.8 Power Relations in Cyprus: A Historic Perspective

Cyprus is the third largest island in the Mediterranean Sea, where its location on the important trade routes during colonial times and prior, made it a desirable location for any empire to rule over. Over the centuries, Cyprus has seen many rulers come and go, including the Assyrians, Egyptians, Persians, Romans, Venetians and Greeks. Historical artefacts and documentation has provided an understanding of Cyprus' history from as early as 709BC. The conquering of Cyprus by the Ottomans in 1570 AD (Göktürk, 2018), marked the beginning of the Turkish settlement on the island that is to be maintained till present day.

From this point forward the history of Cyprus is in a state of confusion, with conflicting accounts of history reported of the experiences on the island from the

time of Ottoman rule. The differing versions of Cypriot history arise from differing presentations of it (Smilden, 2003). However, when Ottomans entered the island, it was the Venetians who were the enemies of the Ottomans, not the local Greek Community (ibid). While Greek and further; western history will tend to emphasize many of the difficulties experienced on the island under Ottoman rule (the majority of the population is of Greek heritage), Turkish records produce a vision of harmony on the island:

A predominant element of the Cypriot historiography on the Ottoman period of the island is the ethnocentric projection of the political entities of the present in the past and the effort to grasp or better reconstruct the past on the basis of this projection. The teaching of history in public education the writing of a plethora of history books, and the reproduction of this specific perception of the historic past is based on the abovementioned reasoning that reproduces if not reinforces every time a stereotyped view of the Ottoman period in the history of Cyprus (Gavriel, Kappler and Michael, 2009, p.11).

Prior to the Ottoman invasion, there are reports of Greek Cypriots travelling to the then Ottoman capital city of Istanbul, to ask for help due to the oppression experienced under the Venetians in Cyprus (Smilden, 2003). During the Ottoman invasion of Cyprus, little resistance was observed by the Greek Cypriots, with some of them being punished by the Venetians for this behaviour. When the Ottomans invaded, the serfs were released and given rights (Smilden, 2003), a time of community collaboration was experienced, the common factors present between the differing ethnicities on the island produced harmony (Varnava, 2009), and with the freedom to practice ones religion and the freeing of the Orthodox Church, formerly under the Catholic Churches suppression (Smilden, 2003), religion was no issue or factor in the community relations. Such freedom was not just in the minds but legally presented by a law passed by the Sultan of the Ottoman empire at the time, Selim II, with the promise that comfort will be established in a post war Cyprus, that everyone

will be treated fairly, and that the community should never be mistreated in order for them to prosper and develop (Göktürk, 2016). It is not just the Turks that would recount such historical developments, with Filios Zannetos admitting “the administrative system that was organised by the Turks, if the Turks were not the implementers, it would be supreme to the Frankish system” (in Gavriel, Kappler and Michael, 2009, p.13). Regardless, “in Greek-Cypriot history the period under Turkish rule from 1571 to 1878 is presented as ‘The three hundred dark years’” (Smilden, 2003, p.74).

While Turkish accounts of Cypriot history will recount the bringing in of many Turkish civilians from parts of Turkey, to assist in reviving the economy on a war torn island (Smilden, 2003), other non-Turkish accounts of Cypriot history will describe a history conflicting in nature, for example Constaninos Kyrris’ statement: “many are slaughtered but many are also Islamised: this is how the Turkish Cypriot community was gradually created in the largest part” (in Bryant, 2004, p.33).

While it is difficult to know the ‘truth’ of the inhabitants fate that lived on the island during this period, what we do know is that the Ottoman Empire who were the Caliphates of the Muslim religion of the time, practiced freedom of one’s choice of faith, no matter what the religion, as the Holy Quran outlines that no one should be forced to convert to Islam “there is no compulsion in religion” (see Qur’an, ayah 256 of Al-Baqara). This is something noted frequently within Ottoman history as an attitude of the Ottoman empire across the many lands they ruled, however the story differs in western/Christian accounts of Ottoman history, where in countless accounts, like Kyrris’ above, the Ottomans were accused of forcing the religion of

Islam upon those that inhabited the Ottoman conquered lands, and that non-compliance was faced with large penalties (Bryant, 2004).

Such conflicting accounts of history conjure questions as to how such different versions can be in existence, considering that there could only be one real history. Robert C. Young's (1990) *White Mythologies* may provide a better understanding of the reasons behind different versions of events being widespread. Essentially the white mythology phenomena argue that the western civilisations fabricated Eurocentric, white washed versions of history, thus catering to their ideologies of setting the west above the rest of the civilisations in the world, discounting the very existence of any other history. The white mythologies section within this chapter will elaborate on the role it has played in relation to our research area further.

The Ottoman Empire leased the island of Cyprus to the British Empire in 1878 which was officially declared as Crown Colony in 1925 following Turkey's presence in World War I, where they allied with the German Empire. Britain's interest in Cyprus was twofold; "to end the threats to British interests, both strategic and economic, in the Near East and India, arising from a weak Ottoman Empire and an expansionist Russia" (Varnava, 2009, p.1). However, for Britain there was also the "unequalled sense of possessions over the Holy land which included much of the eastern Mediterranean and especially Cyprus" (p.60). This sense of possession stems back to the time of King Richard the Lionhearted and the time of the crusades, with late 19th Century Britain associating Cyprus with the attitude of a holy land crusader (Varnava, 2009). The British rule was welcomed by the Greek Cypriot community, as it was expected that Cyprus would be connected to Greece. It was clear that the

Ottoman and oriental elements of Cyprus were suppressed in the minds of the British decision makers at this time, when they too were imagining the acquisition of Cyprus to Greece (Varnava, 2009).

The connecting of Cyprus to Greece was a prospect highly opposed by the Turkish Cypriot community, yet highly demanded by the Greek Cypriots. Enosis (connecting Cyprus to Greece or simply 'union') emphasized a major political divide between the two nations. For Varnava (2009), author of the book *British Imperialism in Cyprus, 1878-1915: The Inconsequential Possession*, the British rule was the dividing factor of the Cypriot community, thus leading to the problems still experienced today. "By the Nineteenth century, the Orthodox and Muslim Cypriots shared a language, folklore, economic and social hardship and intermarried" (Varnava, 2009, p.155). It is claimed in his book that through their perception and treatments of Orthodox Cypriot as European Greeks, the British encouraged Greek nationalism in Cyprus as well as its administrative structures encouraging a secular system and dividing the Christian and Muslim communities ethnically. It is acceptable to say that yes, political modernity was introduced to the island, but this was to the detriment of the common Cypriot identity which was prevalent prior to 1878 (Varnava, 2009).

Following a long period of unrest on the island, with a civil war in 1952-1954 (Kliot and Mansfield, 2006), Greek Cypriot Lieutenant Colonel Georgios Grivas struck out during the early hours on the 1st April 1955 with attacks against the Turkish Cypriots, beginning a concerted effort for enosis, affecting both the Greek and Turkish communities, as well as the British authorities present (French, 2016). This was the initial introduction of EOKA (Ethniki Organosis Kibrion Agonisdon, translated as:

National Organisation of Cypriot Struggle) on the island (Göktürk, 2018). While peace talks ensued on the island, so did the unrest:

in 1958, the year that ended with a beginning of conciliation, March witnessed renewed sabotage on the part of the Greek Cypriot EOKA. British targets; June, attacks by Turkish Cypriots on Greek Cypriots and their lives and property, with Greek Cypriot retaliation soon following; and October a major campaign of force by EOKA, against the British authorities on the island (Xydis, 1973, p.10).

Eventually, through much deliberation the Republic of Cyprus was established 31 August 1960. The settled joy was short lived however and resolution still did not find the island (Xydis, 1973), with further efforts later by Grivas to establish EOKA. In a newspaper article written for the British press, Lawrence Durrell, author of the novel *Bitter Lemons* transcribes his thoughts in relation to the Cyprus issue:

The last time round, when it was the British who were alleged to be obstructing union with Greece, some compromise was sought which might meet the case, and the result was the Cyprus republic under Archbishop Makarios. Truth to tell, this hybrid political animal managed to work quite well for a decade before the EOKA intriguers, aided by Athens, managed to plunge the Island in to chaos once more. This is largely due to the astute and deft governship of the Archbishop who, for this long period of time, has been riding the tiger of Enosis as nobody could (1974, p.6).

Grivas and EOKA not only terrorised the Turkish Cypriots, but Greek Cypriots also who were not in agreement with the ideology of EOKA. Disruption on the island ensued further, with EOKA taking issue with the elected and re-elected President Archbishop Makarios. The reason for their dissatisfaction, as stated by the website for the TRNC Deputy Prime Minister and Ministry of Foreign Affairs, was due to the fact that Makarios seemed to be more focused on the prospects of enosis than the activities of EOKA (2011), a period of history both Turkish and Western accounts of Cypriot history agree on (Göktürk, 2018; Britannica Encyclopaedia, 2018). What

these versions of history do disagree on is the reason of the intervention of Turkey in 1974.

In 1974, a coup was organised and led by officers of mainland Greece, with the aim to establish enosis and to assassinate Makarios, as they deemed him to comfortable with the political situation of the established Republic of Cyprus, while they desired to establish enosis. They were unsuccessful in their assassination attempt due to Makarios fleeing to safety; however, they did proclaim former EOKA member, Nikos Sampson as president (Göktürk, 2018). Turkish accounts will describe the necessity of a bridgehead in the northern section of the island with force, not only because of the coup, but due to the atrocities endured by the Turkish Cypriot community once again, as they had been for some years (Göktürk, 2018). As described by Kaufmann (2007):

The partition occurred so quickly after the July 1974 coup by Greek Cypriot ultra-nationalists that was the main source of fear of very large-scale ethnic cleansing that we cannot know what the new government might have done. What we can confidently say is that, absent partition, deadly communal violence in Cyprus would have continued to recur and that there are grounds, including the behavior of the July coup regime, for guessing that the ultimate cost would more likely have been higher rather than lower than that of partition (p.1).

The result of the above history, whichever side of the story is taken as truth, is the divide of the island of Cyprus as part of its precarious existence, with the Turkish Cypriot community to the North and the Greek Cypriot community to the South. “In both Cyprus and Lebanon, population movements of the past twenty years have created ethnic homogeneous spaces which are unlikely ever to return to their former "mixed" dimensions and which lend themselves to federal solutions of power sharing” (Newman, 2006, p.22).

Today, the Turkish Republic of North Cyprus (TRNC) is only recognised by the Republic of Turkey and thus, suffers from embargoes since its establishment in 1983, crippling its economy and allowing the Greek Cypriot community to lobby against any international developments or actions of recognition, whether individual or collective. The Greek Cypriot community however are entirely recognised and enjoy a fruitful economy (Warner, 2010), have a national football team competing on an international basis, and also joined the European Union in 2004. Propaganda with relation to the Cyprus issue is rife, a separate war in its own. The winner of this war? “That is definitely not the Turks or the Turkish Cypriots. Over the centuries, Greeks, Greek Cypriots and pro-Hellenic historians and authors have been in the majority and have also had an important impact on the forming of opinions in Europe” (Smilden, 2003, p.71).

In recent research, Bartlett (2013) has resolved that all three of the guarantors and signatories in the Cyprus Treaty of Guarantee, had their own agendas; foreign policies that countered the apparent common aim of independence and peace in Cyprus. Such conflicting interests have resulted in the lack of conciliation on the island of Cyprus, and the continued subordination of the Turkish Cypriots. Accounts prior to the intervention organised by Turkey in 1974 referenced the unrest on the island, particularly citing concerns relating to safety, but not with the Turkish Cypriots posing the danger. In his article for the *Daily Mail*, author Lawrence Durrell exclaimed “if he [Makarios], has been forced to store arms in the kitchen cupboard, it has not been the Turks that bothered him as much as his own compatriots” (1974). Durrell highlighted in his writings that the “real stumbling block is the Greek refusal to give up on Enosis” (ibid). Regardless, it can be viewed that while intervention was

necessary for the safety and protection of the Turkish Cypriots, despite any ulterior motive it would seem Turkey had in having a stake on the island, following centuries of violence, atrocities, discomfort and sabotage, with a proportionate share owed to EOKA and the Greek Cypriots with the desire for enosis, it is ultimately the Turkish Cypriots that have the lion-share of the loss, being one of the ten countries in the world not recognised by the UN, boycotted by the world but Turkey.

It is clear that Cyprus has had a rich history, with many rulers of mixed ancestry, culture and religions over the millennia's ruling over it. The rich past is visible all over the island, with sacred monuments dotted in every direction, historical architecture furnishing the cities, towns and villages. Still today, religious devotees will pilgrim to the holy locations on the island and still today, many of the historical sites, some built thousands, some built hundreds of years ago, not only keep the tourists descending, but keep the sentiment alive in the island residents. The cultural and historical value of Cyprus is one of the reasons why the island is so desirable today, however it would seem the geological location of the island was the main incentive behind why many rulers conquered this land in the past. Cyprus is in an important strategic location, surrounded by the conflict torn Middle Eastern area of the globe, also an area of interest to the western world (Kona, 2004).

2.9 White Mythologies With Relation to Media

White Mythologies may provide a better understanding as to why there are differing versions of history as we know it today. According to White Mythologies, an account of an event may differ dramatically to someone from the east or considered as an 'other', to accounts of the same event, when described in western history. White Mythologies was initially introduced to the world by Jacques Derrida, as a critique of

Western rationality and takes on the binary thinking of difference, east and west, self and other (Pinkus, 1996). It was re-introduced to the world by Robert C. Young (1990), who states among other things that the western civilisations have presented to the world fabricated versions of history, in order to feed their Eurocentric ideologies. By doing so, differing versions of history can be located, where the ones presented by the western civilisations is a white-washed version of events, discounting the perspective or effects on any others involved in this history, and certainly highlighting their own perspective only. “White Mythologies challenges European Marxism’s claim to a totalising knowledge through its grounding on a dialectal theory of history, conceived as eternal and claimed as objective but in fact operating within the limits of a fundamentally European perspective” (Young, 1990, p.3). Within the book he penned; *White Mythologies*, Young (1990) addressed the issue of history among the opening statements by quoting Edward Said (1978) as saying: “The object of White Mythologies: to develop an epistemological critique of the West’s greatest myth – History” (p.2).

The modernist notions of ‘History’, ‘progress’, and ‘development’, for example, portray the (modern/developed) First World as exemplifying the future of the (pre-modern/un[der]developed) Third World. Given this perspective, the right to theorize about History and Humanity is reserved for the First World (and as can also be seen in the words History and Humanity, for their men), and it would be foolish to claim the exemplarity of the Third World (and women) for the First World (or men) (Ilter and Alankus, 2009, p.262).

The proposal here is that the West, through white mythological efforts, have invested through language and other means, an understanding of reality, and one of the greatest myths of such an ideology has been the worlds understanding of the events taken part in history, particularly colonial history, a subject that is greatly avoided within the British education curriculum, arguably for this very reason. On the rare

occasion that Colonial history is taken up, a white-washed one-sided story is presented, that from a strictly western perspective. What can be counted on being explained is the western view on colonisation, how it affected the western empires, the conflicts for power that transpired between the western empires, and not with those of the natives. “History with a capital ‘H’ cannot tolerate otherness or leave it outside its economy of inclusion. The appropriation of the other as a form of knowledge within a totalising system can thus be set alongside the history of the European imperialism” (Young, 1990, p.35). When western versions of history have referred to the colonisers/others/subalterns’ position within history, only the positive outcomes for the colonisers are mostly addressed and rarely the negatives can be traced. Should there be a negative reference, only setbacks and difficulties experienced by the empires were to be given place to. Rarely can a coloniser’s account be set upon. This is not just the case in history books but in most forms of literature referring to colonisation or the like. Take for example the book *Bitter Lemons*, penned by Lawrence Durrell, during his time in Cyprus from 1953-1956, part of which he spent working for the British Governments Public Information Office there. This book received much critique, due to the point of view in which it was angled. As emphasised by Roufos (1994):

The author is so respectful and complimentary to high ranking officers, and so obviously thrilled by the splendour of the British army in action, that he forgets to talk about some of its less attractive duties or gives a bowdlerized version of them. The book is not only very British—which is natural enough—it is Tory British (p.138).

While this historical evaluation on the representation of Turkish Cypriots will provide an indication of the Turkish Cypriot image in the minds of the British press, it is striking that orientalism is still at large today, intertwined in white mythology,

which can be exemplified with recent discussions surrounding India's colonisation later. Yes, it is true that one nation has acknowledged the atrocities from their past, with Australia issuing an apology and produced a report named *Bringing Them Home*, following a national inquiry into the inhumane inflictions caused to the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people (Australian Human Rights Commission, 1997). However, the White Mythological thinking is still widespread and resides in academicians, politicians and world leaders. Even today, when colonialism is referred to, the atrocities are ignored, trivialised or downgraded, neutralised with what is presented as the positives, particularly what are described as the fruitful outcomes; where they were enlightened with the western ways, undeniably privileged to be ruled by a more developed civilisation, bringing with them modern policies, better ways of living and structures, as opposed to the primitive standards of life the natives were previously existing in prior to the fortunate arrival of the civilised, developed, modern and superior western empires. During a visit to India in 2013, ex-prime minister to Britain, David Cameron was quoted as saying: "In terms of our relationship with India is our past a help or a handicap? I would say, net-net, it is a help, because of the shared history, culture, and the things we share and the contributions that Indians talk about that we have made" (Jonsson and Willen, 2017, p.192).

In relation to India opening legal proceedings to recover the Koh-I Noor Jewel, taken from India to Britain during the British colonial era (one of the biggest cut diamonds in the world and currently in the crown jewel of Queen Elizabeth II), Historian Andrew Roberts was quoted as saying: "Those involved in this ludicrous case should recognise that the British Crown Jewels is precisely the right place for the Koh-i-

Noor diamond to reside, in grateful recognition for over three centuries of British involvement in India," he said. "[This period] led to the modernisation, development, protection, agrarian advance, linguistic unification and ultimately the democratisation of the sub-continent" (in Media Diversified, 2015).

This version of events differs from the versions told by the colonised themselves, where written sources explain a time of depression, death, genocide, pillaging and loss of identity, as well as atrocities such as torture, famine, massacres, genocide, rape and disease, where all the colonised were subjected to conform to a new hierarchy imposed by the colonisers, some as slaves to a master (Spivak, 1983). As recounted by Hélène Cixous (1986):

I learned everything from this first spectacle: I saw how the white (French), superior, plutocratic, civilised world founded its power on the repression of populations who had suddenly become 'invisible', like proletarians, immigrant workers, minorities who are not the right 'colour'. Women. Invisible as humans. But of course, perceived as tools – dirty, stupid, lazy, underhanded, etc. Thanks to some annihilating dialectical magic. I saw that the great noble, 'advanced' countries established themselves by expelling what was 'strange'; excluding it but not dismissing it; enslaving it. A commonplace gesture of History: there have to be two races – the masters and the slaves (p.70).

Applying this line of thinking to the conflicting accounts in relation to the Cyprus Issue, by applying the notion of white mythologies, may answer a lot. The effect of this phenomena, it can be asserted, will not just show itself in the way the Cyprus issue has been presented to readers in the past, but will also affect how the subject is presented in any source of media, and it can be argued will have an effect on the recent peace talks and peace plans. One may form an argument and put forward the case, that despite the Greek nationalist coup and the atrocities experienced in 1974, prior to the Turkish intervention, that the fabricated version of the Cyprus issue events has paved the way for the Turkish Cypriots suffered consequences;

unrecognised by the world and existing under the debilitating effects of embargoes, providing evidence for Renan's (1990) claim "Historical error, is a crucial factor in the creation of a nation" (p.3).

This is because Turkish Cyprus, despite being north to the Greek Cypriots on the same small island, is the east, it is the primitive, it is the other. We have seen this occur time and time again over the many years, which has been documented by scholars themselves in one way or another, with Georg Friedrich Wilhelm Hegel stating that "Africa has no History" (Young, 1990, p.33) or when Karl Marx suggested "England has to fulfil a double mission in India: one destructive, the other regenerating the annihilation of old Asiatic society, and the laying the material foundations of Western society in Asia" (in Young, 1990, p.33).

It could be posed that just as it has been observed with white-washed versions of colonisation, Eurocentric history repeated itself with filtered versions of the events experienced in Cyprus, thus forcing the Turkish Cypriots in to a situation of 'independence', a word coined by Young (1990) to refer to the reality of the colonised following the gaining of independence. In this case, nations who have found freedom following colonisation find themselves left in a fractured state, both economically and politically and imposed with further restraints forcibly set upon them, due to their defiance in gaining independence from the west, and it is so that they are left to struggle in a state which proves them essentially still dependent on the coloniser in many senses (Young, 1990), similarly to that of the embargoes set upon North Cyprus, while the British remain unfettered.

Recollecting her thoughts while living in the colonised Algeria, Hélène Cixous ventured;

What is the 'other?' (...) The other is elsewhere, outside (...) It doesn't settle down, but in history of course (...) It is the other in a hierarchically organised relationship in which the same is what rules, names, defines and assigns 'its' others. With the dreadful simplicity that orders the movement Hegel erected as a system, society trots along before my eyes reproducing to perfection the mechanism of the death struggle: the reduction of a 'person' to a 'nobody' to the position of 'other' – The inexorable plot of racism. There has to be some 'other' – no master without a slave...' (in Young, 1990, p.33).

Chapter 3

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Research Design

This study has been set upon with the aim to establish whether British broadsheet newspaper articles in relation to the Cyprus issue, are laced with any orientalist and white mythological ideology towards the Turkish Cypriot community of the island, during a particular time period. To be successful in this endeavour, a qualitative research methodology will be made use of, with the application of the Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough, 1995; Richardson, 2006) and Qualitative Content Analysis (Schreier, 2012) approaches.

In order to fully evaluate the British media's output on the Cyprus issue, it was sensible to select articles from what is known to be the most reliable newspapers in the British press; broadsheet newspapers. Broadsheet newspapers are named as such simply because of their dimensions; as they are printed on broad sheets of paper, while other forms of newspapers, such as tabloid papers, are presented in a smaller size. This being the case, it is however the vast differences in content that truly separate broadsheet newspapers from the rest. Broadsheet newspapers are defined by what they are not; tabloid newspapers. Tabloid newspapers are known to give less attention to news in relation to societal, economic and political matters and instead report on sports, scandal and popular entertainment (Sparks and Tulloch, 2010). Broadsheet newspapers are the relative opposite of tabloid newspapers, giving more

space to content in relation to politics, economics and society related matters, and is unlike tabloids in the sense that tabloids are more colourful and give more space to pictures, games, celebrity and sensational news (ibid). Thus, broadsheet papers are known to be more reliable in their reporting.

3.2 Sample of Study

For this study, five British broadsheet newspapers are to be studied; *The Guardian*, *The Times* and its Sunday sister paper, *The Sunday Times*, *The Independent*, and *The Daily Telegraph*. In accordance to the specified scope, every article was analysed, using the critical discourse analysis and qualitative content analysis approaches. This meant that each news article was analysed by considering, the gender of the author, the frequency of certain words, the underlying metaphoric implications and the point of views taken in to hand, the narratives, and the location reported from.

Table 1.1: Total number of articles analysed

Broadsheet Newspaper Title	Number of Articles Located
The Guardian	21
The Independent	10
The Daily Telegraph	6
The Times	7
The Sunday Times	1
Total	45

3.3 Research Background

To better understand the reason behind the particular chosen time frame, it is necessary to provide some background information. During the lead up to the Kofi

Annan peace plan referendum, there was a wide notion that the Turkish Cypriots would respond with a ‘no’ vote. This may have been entirely expected when taking into consideration that the peace plan devised by Kofi Annan was not favourable to the Turkish citizens of the island, however this was not the case. The idea that a ‘no’ vote would be produced by the Turkish Cypriot citizens was down to a narrative that so far, any engagement in peace discussions have been faced with a stubborn unwillingness on behalf of the Turkish Cypriots. This narrative is in existence despite the fact that prior to the Kofi Annan Peace Plan Referendum, four Cyprus peace plans were put on the table, one of which the former representative of the Turkish Cypriots, Rauf Denktaş stated he agreed to 90% of, however strongly opposed 10% of, another peace plan was seen to be agreed by both sides of the table as having the foundations to build upon, and the remaining two were rejected by the Greek Cypriots. In relation to the Cyprus issue, Dan Lindley has observed that “both sides remain pervaded by antagonistic and one-sided biases, histories, and myths” (Lindley, 2007 p.1).

Some years later, on the 24th April 2004, each side of the island was to go to referendum to vote on the Kofi Annan Peace Plan, a historical and pivotal moment in the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot conflict. The peace plan presented by Annan, it can be argued, was favourable to the Greek Cypriot nation and not so favourable to the Turkish Cypriot nation for a number of reasons (for a more thorough discussion see, Lindley, 2007). Despite this fact, a ‘yes’ vote was received by the Turkish Cypriot’s, while a ‘no’ vote was presented by the Greek Cypriots.

This study would like to focus on the time from the date of the Annan referendum and 5 years prior, in order to better understand the context of the British broadsheet news articles penned in relation to the Cyprus problem, with a specific focus on how the TRNC were referred to, and whether there were any underlying orientalist representations of the Turkish section of the island.

It is essential, at this point, to also shed some light on relevant background information on each of the broadsheet newspapers chosen for this study, to locate any pertinent information in relation to active factors such as political stance. Beginning with *The Guardian*, established in 1821, this daily national newspaper is owned by the Scott Trust, which was established in 1936 in order to safeguard the editorial and financial independence of *The Guardian* newspaper, thus securing the liberal values that will remain free from political or commercial interference and the journalistic freedom. Profits of the trust (today a limited company with the same values) are not beneficial to any shareholders or owners but reinvested into journalism. The readership of this broadsheet newspaper it can be said is mainstream left of the British political opinion (Ipsos Mori, 2009), this can be owed to the liberal left-wing editorial that is present within the pages, a development despite the fact that many of the journalists are privately educated.

The Times newspaper is the oldest among the British broadsheet newspapers, seeing its very beginnings in 1785. This daily national newspaper and its Sunday sister paper *The Sunday Times* are subsidiaries of the company *News UK*, which itself is part of *Newscorp*, controversially owned by Rupert Murdoch, a name in the news industry that has come under much ethical scrutiny. *Newscorp*, an American

entertainment company which holds under its corporate umbrella other well-known entertainment related media names, such as *The Sun* and *21st Century Fox*, is a profit-making company, again giving rise to questions in relation to commercial habits rather than ethical journalism. Regardless of *The Times* ownership, this newspaper has a notable place in British politics;

For much more than a century *The Times* has been an integral and important part of the political structure of Great Britain. Its news and its editorial comment have in general been carefully coordinated, and have at most times been handled with an earnest sense of responsibility. While the paper has admitted some trivia to its columns, its whole emphasis has been on important public affairs treated with an eye to the best interests of Britain. To guide this treatment, the editors have for long periods been in close touch with 10 Downing Street (Nevins, 1959).

The Times, as did its sister paper *The Sunday Times*, both with reputations for being centre-right in political opinion, pledged their allegiance to the Conservative party during the British Parliamentary elections in 2017, both featuring articles blatantly in support of this far right-wing party. *The Sunday Times*, established in 1822, while facing the same scrutiny as its sister paper due to their ownership, is the largest selling ‘quality press’(newspapers known for their ‘seriousness’) newspaper in Britain. While only selling on Sunday’s, unlike many of the other broadsheet newspapers, *The Sunday Times* newspaper sells almost double the amount of *The Times*. *The Sunday Times* has adamantly remained in its traditional broadsheet style, not shifting to the Tabloid style of presentation like some other newspapers have seen to do so and has acquired a positive reputation for its investigative journalism due to its strong ‘Insight’ team, and its wide range of foreign news coverage.

The Independent newspaper was established in 1986, the youngest of all the broadsheet newspapers selected for analysis for this study. Today it is an online only

source of news, ceasing printing in 2016. Starting life as a broadsheet newspaper, it was seen to shift to tabloid format in 2003. *The Independent* newspaper, on the banner of each of its printed newspapers, declared in self-description ‘free from party political bias, free from proprietorial influence’, although its reputation announces a liberal stance.

3.4 Instruments and Data Gathering Procedures

In order to locate all of the published articles in relation to the Cyprus issue, for our given time scope; between 24th April 1999 and 24th April 2004, the *ProQuest Central* database was utilised for the search of these items. By entering the search criteria; ‘Cyprus Issue’ further filters were applied to narrow the search according to the pre-defined parameters of our research, as in the five-year period of interest and by the five broadsheet publisher titles selected for this study. The search delivered in total 708 articles as fitting the search criteria. The selection of news texts relies on key words that clearly point out to the Turkish Cypriots and the Cyprus Issue in each news headline or body, words such as ‘Turkish Cypriots’ ‘North Cyprus’, ‘Cyprus Issue’, and ‘Cyprus’. Following this search came a long period of in-depth analysis of the content of each article due to the increasingly politically active period of the time chosen for this study. During the five-year scope for analysis, further political events were in play that indirectly involved Cyprus, such as Turkey’s EU bid being on the agenda, tensions rising between Turkey and Greece, and later reconciliations between these two NATO allies. It was important for the sake of this study to locate all the articles directly related to the Cyprus issue and so, each of the abstracts of each of the 708 articles were read to decipher the content and whether it was relevant to this study. This exercise revealed that out of the 708 articles, only 45 (see Table 1.1) were directly related to the Cyprus issue, and would be taken to hand in this

study. In order to be successful in this research endeavour, the mixed method approach of Critical Discourse Analysis and Qualitative Content Analysis have been identified as the most appropriate method of analysis, as we specifically would like to analyse the power relations hidden within the text, if any.

Additional to the above methods to be employed in order to achieve the desired results, the NVivo program will also be utilised to assist in counting the frequency of certain words used, for accuracy and a true reflection of the content in the articles analysed. Although inspired by names such as Michel Foucault, Jurgen Habermas, Karl Marx, Antonio Gramsci and Louis Althusser, and deriving from disciplines such as text linguistics, anthropology, rhetoric, literary studies and many more, Critical Discourse Analysis finds its roots in both the Netherlands and England, with Teun Van Dijk, Norman Fairclough and Ruth Wodak the pioneers of this paradigm. CDA was officially established when the above named three scholars met in Amsterdam in January 1991 for two days, alongside some other members, to discuss the theories and methods connected to discourse analysis and to confront one another on the different and distinct approaches utilised. From this meeting, plans were made that saw the establishment of an Erasmus program, journals, frequent CDA meetings, handbooks and journals, all establishing CDA as a paradigm today, and a widely used approach in the analysis of news articles, political speeches, and power infused communication.

As mentioned previously, CDA views language as a social practice and focuses on researching how societal power relations are established and reinforced through the use of language (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997). This interdisciplinary approach

provides a theory and method for studying language in relation to its power and ideology. Norman Fairclough particularly displayed interest in the role of ideology in language and its potential effects. In his book *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language*, Fairclough states:

If ideology is tied to power and domination, it has within the Marxist tradition more specifically been tied to class power and domination including power exercised by the state on behalf of a dominant social class (...) recent forms of Marxism have conceptualised power in terms of Gramsci's concept of hegemony, which foregrounds the winning of consent in the exercise of power (...) The focus has shifted to the role of ideology in securing domination especially in gender relations, and in relations between cultural/ethnic groups (1995, p.17).

This approach is ideal for this study as it analyses the power relations in any form of medium. "Discourse means anything from a historical monument, a *lieu de memoire*, a policy, a political strategy, narratives in a restricted or broad sense of the term, text, talk, a speech, topic-related conversations to language per se" (Wodak, 2009, p.3).

The nature of this approach will allow us to critically analyse the text from each angle, by analysing and interpreting the choice of words, order and arrangement of words, insinuations, rhetorical and metaphorical meanings, frequency and intensity of the use of particular words, emphasised information and information that is lacking, all in relation to the socio-economic realities of the time and surrounding the Cyprus issue and the Turkish Cypriots. As a second methodology for the assurance of analysing the data in the most thorough manner as possible, the content analysis approach will also be employed. The content analysis approach can be applied whether the data is of the qualitative or quantitative nature. As this study will be analysing qualitative data, the employment of the qualitative content analysis methodology is applicable.

Content analysis is a research method that allows the researcher to systematically and reliably analyse the qualitative data collected during the study, thus allowing for generalisations to be established from them, based on the areas of interest (Haggarty, 2009). The two leading names in the establishment of this methodology are Harold Lasswell and Bernard Berelson, with Berelson defining this approach as ‘a research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication (1952, p.18). Political Scientist Laswell issued the mandatory questions to be asked with the application of this technique; ‘who says what, to whom, why, to what extent, and with what effect?’ (1948).

This research methodology is widely used in human communication to analyse the content of which is communicated. The content analysed could be from media content, communication artefacts and documents, to even the communication established between working professionals in the field of assistance, help and care to people, such as a nurse or a teacher (Downe-Wamboldt, 1992). This non-invasive methodology will tend to analyse existing data as mentioned above, as opposed to engaging in conducting surveys or the simulation of social situations.

The key element to content analysis is the systematic nature in which the data is analysed, where often the data is labelled, often described as coding, to establish generalisations or themes to aid in interpreting the data collected.

Chapter 4

FINDINGS

4.1 Findings

The findings of the analysis with a focus on the self and the other relationship, particularly from an orientalism and white mythology view-point, conducted for this research are presented in four sections. First, the study evaluates the form, genre and language of the selected 45 news articles. Second, the study looks at the ways in which Turkish Cypriots are represented in the British press; it answers the question of how Turkish Cypriot people and the Turkish Cypriot identity is portrayed in the news articles covering the Cyprus issue. The third part deals with the representation of the North part of Cyprus; it answers the question of how the north is geographically, economically and politically positioned and presented to the intended British reader. Finally, the study presents the findings about the representation of the Cyprus Issue in general: the tone, language, jargon and terminology used to talk about this particular issue.

During the analysis, particular attention was also focused on the form genre and language used within the news articles selected for the study. It was initially noted that out of the 45 articles, 21 were published in *The Guardian* newspaper, which we can interpret as this newspaper giving increased importance to international news over the other newspapers analysed. This being the case it is *The Sunday Times* with the reputation for providing widespread coverage on international news. What should

also be noted is due to this fact, our findings will reference *The Guardian* frequently, thus providing a disproportionate reflection that these findings are mostly attributed to the *The Guardian* newspaper. *The Guardian* is only referenced more frequently as almost half of the articles analysed was from this newspaper. Another interesting finding is that out of 45 news articles, 14 were reported from Nicosia, with the next most popular location being the capital city of Greece, Athens with 6 out of 45 (see Table 1.2). This reality certainly raises some ethical questions on a highly sensitive issue in relation to a long-running political conflict involving Turkish and Greek Cypriots, for 20 out of 45 articles analysed to be reporting from Greek lands, with only 3 articles confirmed to be reporting from Turkish land the numbers speak for themselves with a clear bias. During such a period with heightened political activity, on a subject so sensitive, affecting many lives, this reality in itself highlights ethical issues in relation to balanced reporting. We will see in later findings, the Greek Cypriot perspective was often given space to, along with this finding, we can posit that the privileged media space given to the Greek Cypriots was not by chance or accident, and that the British media have displayed a preference to tell the Greek Cypriot perspective, which we will often see to be sympathetic to their situation and supportive of their political stance. These articles it can be said, were published during a period of time where increased reconciliation meetings were conducted, a time when Kofi Annan was in the process of analysing information to produce a viable peace plan for reconciliation, when both the Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots went to the ballots to elect the parties to represent their aspirations and political positions, most particularly in relation to the Cyrus issue. Later findings will already display that it was interpreted by one of the newspapers analysed that the Greek Cypriots election of their new president Papadopoulos indicated a preference

of a leadership with a harder line representing them, already in the belief that too many concessions had already been made to the Turkish Cypriots. Consecutive articles arousing Greek Cypriot sympathy and demonising against the Turkish intervention can understandably sway opinion on the Cyprus issue. Reporting from majority Greek territory can also be a symbol of alliance, particularly when the content of such an article will indicate that to the other side of the border lays settlers, an occupied nation and 35,000 Turkish military troops that are portrayed as ‘invaders’.

Table 1.2: Total number of locations reported from

Locations Reported From	Tally
Other	22
Nicosia	12
Athens	6
Istanbul	3
Cyprus (general)	2
Total	45

The articles analysed were found to be across a number of different sections within broadsheet newspapers. Due to this study focusing on the British press, 31 out of 45 news articles in relation to the Cyprus issue were predominantly published within the overseas/foreign/international news sections of the newspapers (see Table 1.3).

Table 1.3: Sections of the newspapers the articles were located in

Section of Newspaper	Tally
Overseas/Foreign/International section	31
Other	6
Leader Pages	3
Features Section	3
Home News/Pages	2
Total	45

During the analysis of the 45 news articles, attention was given to the genre of the articles, as this in itself may be open to interpretations. The Cyprus issue, it was noted, was mainly presented in the editorial genre, meaning that it was subject to commentary within the article, as opposed to news formats which will only provide the necessary information and facts of the subject without any added opinion.

Of the 45 articles analysed, 25 of the articles were editorials, while 12 of the articles were of the news genre (see Table 1.4). Additional to these two genres, during the 5-year scope of this study, it was noted that 6 out of 45 were feature articles, which provide in-depth background information. In the case of the 6 features articles located in this study, it was preferred to give personal first-hand accounts by individuals who experienced them in Cyprus. Of the 6 articles in this feature form, 4 of the articles featured the Greek Cypriot point-of-view. In an attempt at establishing some form of ethical balance, a paragraph or less was attributed to the Turkish Cypriot perspective. It is observed that the remaining 2 articles attempted a more balanced approach. One of the 6 featured articles “Passing years harden island rift”

(7 July 1999) taking on a pre-dominantly Greek Cypriot perspective, was to be the first part of two reports by Helena Smith, a journalist working for *The Guardian*, the next to be titled “How the Turks of northern Cyprus are living with partition”. This article was never realised and hence the Turkish Cypriot perspective never told. The feature articles representing personal accounts of the political rift between the Turkish and Greek Cypriots often had an interwoven creative style to arouse sympathy with the reader. As these articles were predominantly from a Greek perspective, a majority of these articles aroused sympathy for the Greek Cypriots and not Turkish Cypriots. This might mean that the people living in the North are somewhat ignored by the journalists working for the British press. This finding might also suggest that an informed decision has been made by the British journalists collectively to tell the Greek Cypriot experiences, their perspective and their political stance and their reasons behind their political decisions, which can be interpreted as a display of support to the Greek Cypriots. Whether the Greek Cypriot point-of-view was consciously or unconsciously more frequently given space to, what can be undeniably put forth from this finding, is that this is a display of bias by the British broadsheet newspapers. It must be reminded that the time of the publishing of these articles was during a politically active time for Cyprus, on both sides of the border, particularly with the lead up to the Kofi Annan Peace Plan Referendum. The preference given to the Greek Cypriots may be interpreted as an indication of how the British Press would prefer the finalisation of these political developments to be in favour of; the Greek Cypriots, with whom they sympathised with. Looking at it from another angle, the Greek Cypriot sympathising articles may be a deliberate conjuring of old experiences, events and emotions, to remind of what was, in an attempt to affect what might be.

Table 1.4: Genre of articles

Type of Article	Tally
Editorial	25
News	12
Feature	6
Letter	2
Total	45

In terms of which page number these articles were featured in the newspaper, it was noted that the Cyprus issue related articles made the front page 11 times across the 45 articles, during the five-year period. These front-page news articles were all published in *The Guardian* and were mostly about political developments in relation to the Cyprus issue, such as the opening of the border for free movement to the north and south of the island and reconciliation talks, ‘Turks dismiss Cyprus talks’ is one such example of an article making the front page. Also taking a place on the front page are three of the feature articles.

An additional finding of these articles is that they were reported by 23 female writers out of the 45 articles, 17 out of 45 by male writers. On 5 of the articles the writers name was not specified, so there is no information on these (see Table 1.5). Interesting and also pertinent to this study is the fact that the articles were written by predominantly female journalists. Orientalism and white mythology are both paradigms that assert the existence of the Eurocentric ideology, taking the white western male as central, and subjecting all else as the other. While females were generally left outside of this economy of inclusion and ideology of power and politics, often subject to representations of weakness themselves, here it can be

viewed that European females not only partake in the othering of individuals deemed ‘lesser than’ them, in the same ideology that subjected them to the power struggles feminists have long been working to undo, but they are the majority of the perpetrators in this case.

Table 1.5: Gender of reporters

Gender	Tally
Female	23
Male	17
Unidentified	5
Total	45

4.2 Representation of Turkish Cypriot People

Prior to outlining the orientalism found in this study, it is important to highlight that the words Turkish and Turk already have orientalist connotations connected to them. In other words, each time these words are uttered, the orientalist images connected to this discourse will come to mind of the British journalists, thus framing the image of the Turkish Cypriots and the understanding of them in the minds. For this reason above, the Turkish Cypriot people will already be orientalist to a certain extent. However, it is important to understand to what level they are orientalist and how the Turkish Cypriot representations compare to the representations of the Greek Cypriots, in order to decipher whether the British media is favourable to any one side of this conflict.

An initial finding in the representation of the Turkish Cypriot people is strikingly that the orientalism observed in relation to the Turkish Cypriots cannot be defined as orientalism in the traditional sense. The orientalism located within the 45 articles analysed took on a more sophisticated form, and while it can be said that in relation to the Turkish Cypriot, derogatory and demeaning narratives were interwoven in the texts and between the lines, previously seen and documented orientalist words used in the representations for Turkey and Turks, such as “barbaric”, “Islamic”, “Muslim”, and “exotic”, was not generally found to be used in the case of the Turkish Cypriots. This is not to say that orientalist words in the traditional sense was not located at all within the articles, but to indicate that they were used at a minimal amount. On the occasion that traditional orientalism was given space to in relation to Turkish Cypriots, it would be presented in a nonchalant referral to the Ottoman architecture, at times offensive words such as “kebab posting” (*The Times*, 25 February 2003) was used, and the mentioning of the sound of a minaret to the north of the island, would be mentioned, “on the Greek side, we can hear the Muslim call to prayer in strange exchange” (*The Guardian*, 1 March 2002). While it may be curious as to why there is a difference between the representations of the Turkish and Turkish Cypriot people, as they are both Turkish and identified as Muslim, it will become increasingly clear within the pages of the findings that there seems to be unfavourable representations of Turkey’s position with relation to the Cyprus issue, where the number of military troops Turkey has deployed in Cyprus is mentioned frequently. Similarly, we can see the same repetition in relation to the number of people from Turkey living in Cyprus and referred to as “settlers” frequently mentioned. We will see Turkey’s intervention referred to as an invasion at an unnecessary extent and at times, accused of having an “agenda” and their alleged

collaboration with former president Rauf Denktaş. The reasons for the British media's difference in representation it can be argued, and further findings later will make this interpretation more defined, is that the British press provide a hierarchy of solidarity to the ethnicities present in the Cyprus Issue. While Greece is rarely mentioned in the articles, when they are mentioned, the alliance is unwavering. Initially the majority of support can be seen to be displayed for the Greek Cypriots, although even the Greek Cypriot support came under fire within the articles regarding the demonstrations against the Akrotiri antenna. This could be because it was against the British military interest, or because it threatened the existence of the British sovereign bases, this existence the British press were vehemently defending throughout the articles. In the same vein, this could be the reason as to why Turkish Cypriots fall in to third place in the British press hierarchy of support, where often we will see less derogatory words when compared to the Turks, and some form of sympathising for the Turkish Cypriot plight is given space to, where most often the sympathising will be awarded due to a scenario arguably created or given space to, where the Turkish Cypriots are seen to be inconvenienced by the actions of Turkey or by the presence of the Turks in North Cyprus. Turkey and Turkish people did not feature on this list, with no support for their efforts in the safeguarding of the Turkish Cypriots. Almost at every opportunity the Turks were belittled by orientalisising words and their actions in the 1974 intervention presented as almost barbaric. The reason for this representation of the Turks and Turkey may be because they have continually prevented the British agenda (Bartlett 2013) in relation to Cyprus, which would have been especially apparent during this notably active political period. As asserted by White Mythology, developments are evaluated from the White Western male perspective, however what can be said with certainty is that Turkey's position in the

Cyprus issue is seems is uninvited, possibly due to the obstruction and difficulties they have displayed towards the three European countries involved; Greece, South Cyprus and Britain, all part of the occident, all part of the 'self'.

Traditional orientalism can also be observed in the definition of the Turkish Cypriot, especially by highlighting what they are not. In an article in relation to the attempts for resolution before the South of Cyprus was set to join the EU, *The Guardian* journalist Michael Theodoulou stated "culturally and historically the Greek Cypriots feel European. But their motivation in joining the EU is overwhelmingly political: being part of the bloc would remove the fear of further Turkish expansionism" (1 October 2001). The referral to the Eurocentric "bloc" in which the Turkish Cypriot identity was not associated with at the time, is a showcase of the position of the Turkish Cypriot and the Greek Cypriots on the self-other axis, years prior to this ideology becoming reality when the Greek Cypriots were admitted to the EU on 1 May 2004. This method of implementing orientalism is typical in defining the 'self' while simultaneously defining the 'other' in a display as to what they are not. As mentioned by Pickering (2001): "The Other is always constructed as an object for the benefit of the subject who stands in need of an Objectified Other in order to achieve a masterly self-definition" (p.71). This can be viewed as an investment in to this ideology and reinforcement of this power relation, placing Greek Cypriots above Turkish Cypriots. It can even be argued that despite the efforts to resolve the Cyprus issue in order for Cyprus to be ascended to EU as a whole, that possibly the intention was never actually there, as for the Turkish Cypriots to be in the EU essentially would place part of the orient in the occident. Looking at the greater picture, ascension of the whole of Cyprus to the EU would also provide one less reason as to

why Turkey's did not make the cut with the other nations that ascended in May 2004, again, some of which produced question marks as to their meeting the criteria's issued of this licensed identity. Essentially the entire EU ascension in 2004 was the re-establishment of the divide between the Islamic faith and the rest. The Christian and Orthodox religions were accepted within the realms of the self, while the Islamic faith's status as the licensed other was reinforced in one of the most dominant ways possible, a display of unity seen 900 years prior with the Christian Crusades.

A second finding of orientalism formed in relation to the Turkish Cypriots often referred to them as being poor and lesser than the Greek Cypriots, especially observed by the journalists reporting for *The Guardian* newspaper, "For them [the Greek Cypriots], reunification with the much poorer north, and the likely upheavals are not attractive" (26 March 2004). Often a notion is presented in relation to the Turkish Cypriots, creating an image of them being more primitive, backward and underdeveloped, envious of the Greek Cypriots and almost jealous of them, desperate for what they have and what they can give to the Turkish Cypriots. In an excerpt from an article in relation to the opening of the borders in Cyprus and free crossing for Cypriots from both sides, this development was utilised to radiate a derogatory imagery of the Turkish Cypriots: "Most of them were Turkish Cypriots [crossing the border] weary of their international isolation and eager to catch a glimpse of the 'other side'" (*The Guardian*, 24 April 2003). In the same *Guardian* piece, the content reads: "A lot of Turkish Cypriots say they're hoping to find work and get Cypriot passports to travel to Europe". Again, in relation to the opening of the border, it was exclaimed, "The Greeks need the workers the Turks can provide. The Turks need the work, access for their goods in Southern Cyprus, and, above all, access to the EU,

which Greek Cyprus will join next May” (*The Guardian*, 9 May 2003). This finding is an indication of the orientalism of the Turkish Cypriots, and their status below the Greek Cypriots in the eyes of the journalists working for the British press. It can also be suggested that should the British press have a favourable view of the Greek Cypriots over the Turkish Cypriots, then this may in-turn be the reason they have provided favourable space to the Greek Cypriots perspective of events, which will gain them sympathy and support and eventually power of the Cyprus issue, which we have seen already. Viewed from another angle, it may be an act of justification as why the Greek Cypriots are in the right to deserve more when peace plans are presented in relation to the Cyprus issue. In each peace plan and during reconciliation talks, a larger portion of land is planned as being transferred to the Greek Cypriots. Many have argued that this land was some of the most valuable in Cyprus in the sense that they would be optimal for farming purposes, or that they were ideal leisure and tourism locations, plans that were seen to be the case with the Kofi Annan Peace Plan also. One might ask; why would there be a need to justify why the Greek Cypriots deserve more land, especially when their population is three quarters larger than that of the Turkish Cypriot population? The UN, who has seen to provide the most intervening activity in the Cyprus issue, was not once seen to display this policy with the Israeli and Palestinian conflict for example. During 2000-2005, close to the time period held for this research, the ‘Second Intifada’ was being experienced within the Israeli-Palestine conflict, an enhanced time of violence, blood-shed and death, was witnessed. While the historical developments between these conflicts may be incomparable, what can be ascertained is that Israel have advanced on land that are more than their population needs. Israel’s desire for this land many have theorised is for religious reasons. The declared objective for the

establishment of the United Nations organisation is to prevent conflict and war among nations, however, their proposal for majority land in proportion to the population need in the case of Cyprus may seem sensible, but the choice to deliver land to the Greek Cypriots where they will continue to prosper increasingly more than the already subordinate Turkish Cypriots, would only force the Turkish Cypriots in to deeper subordination, and one might argue, potentially allow for problems to arise between these two nations again. This is especially the case when history has taught us that Turkish Cypriots were formerly residing in an enclave reality, economically depressed and subjected to inhumane and unjust developments at the hand of the Greek Cypriots, which was source to some of the unrest experienced. Questions may be raised as to whether this was taken into consideration when the plan was being drawn.

A third finding located that representations were made signifying that poorness of the Turkish Cypriots was not restricted to their post-war struggle following international isolation, fracturing their economy. Indications laced within the 45 articles displayed that the Turkish Cypriots were often economically subordinate: “[After 1974] while most Greek Cypriots had to make do with humble refugee homes, their Turkish compatriots were invariably housed in vacated villas” (*The Guardian*, 20 November 2003). This excerpt from an article frames the image that the Turkish Cypriots homes were much poorer than the houses of the Greek Cypriots. At the same time helps the reader to see Greek Cypriots as economically in a better, wealthier position at all times, thus possibly indicating an attempt to create a perception that Turkish Cypriots were not presently in an economically difficult situation due to the international embargoes, but that they were always in this financially difficult state. It may also be

an attempt to display the Turkish Cypriots as a nation of people unable to manage their own economies. Regardless, it places the Turkish Cypriots in an economical position below the Greek Cypriots and raises sympathy with the Greek Cypriots due to the notion created that they have been further inconvenienced by the Turkish Cypriot poorness, on top of the outcome of the 1974 intervention. This finding is further support to the above-mentioned notion that these derogatory statements were essentially attempts at justifying the proportions planned for the Greek Cypriots within peace plans and reconciliation talks, by highlighting the economical and infrastructural inferiority of the Turkish Cypriots. While the Turkish Cypriots inferior status was frequently given measure throughout the articles, it is striking, in an act of White Mythology; that mention was not given to the fact that Turkish Cypriots economic and infrastructural demise was exasperated by the conflict with the Greek Cypriots, and the injustices faced prior to 1974, as long as the conflict existed. As an extension to this notion, it may even be proposed; and in another act of white mythology, that essentially this is a 'cover-up' of the realities experienced, that the Turkish Cypriots do not find themselves within this plight following British colonisation, which led to the destruction of the harmony between the Greek and Turkish Cypriots, which led to the conflicts between these two ethnicities, where injustices ensued against the Turkish Cypriots, thus finding themselves internationally unrecognised and economically dependent on Turkey, Turkey which we observe are verbally abused and judged for their role in this script.

A fourth kind of orientalism in the representation of the Turkish Cypriot was presented in the form of comparisons with the Greek Cypriot people, establishing a dichotomous notion between the two ethnicities. Turkish Cypriots were often

presented as lesser than the Greek Cypriots and underdeveloped in almost every aspect of a society. The fact that the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus is not recognised has added to their status of subordination and of course has fractured the Turkish Cypriots economically, politically and culturally. The Turkish Cypriots subordination was emphasized and re-emphasized in the form of comparisons with the Greek Cypriots, defining their superiority. For example, an article in *The Guardian* states: “The Turkish Cypriots – whose income is roughly seven times lower than the Greek Cypriots – have historically opposed the right of return, on the grounds that they would be outbought and outnumbered” (12 November 2002). In a similar way of thinking, another piece from the same paper reads: “[In the North of Cyprus] there are no body-piercing parlours or Body Shops here, just piles of cheap Chinese products and fake Calvin Klein jeans” (17 July 1999). In a comparative paragraph between Lellos Demetriades and Semi Bora, the mayors of Nicosia to the south and the north at that period of time, it was speculated:

Demetriades was expecting visits from the president of the Belgian parliament and the ambassador from Greece, and due to attend a reception for a new Bulgarian professor at the University of Cyprus (south). When I met Bora, he was knawing his nails at an empty desk in front of an empty diary, with just my name on it (*The Guardian*, 17 July 1999).

The above orientalist way of comparing and positioning the mayor to the south as an important person dealing with important issues and people (e.g. “president”, “ambassador” or “professor”), while on the other hand positioning the mayor to the north as an unimportant person “knawing his nails” already demonstrates that the Greek Cypriots are seen as more well off than their compatriots. Such comparisons may establish a view in the reader that the Turkish Cypriots are primitive, less in IQ, under-established and thus, not deserving of being in the league of the Greek Cypriots, let alone in the presence of the superior European Union. Using the

example of the excerpt above, Demetriades would be deemed worthy as an individual to sit among other politicians within the European Union, especially because he would already be well versed in this field, having hosted professors, ambassadors and the President from the Belgian Parliament. Bora however, in comparison to Demetriades, had only hosted a journalist, at an empty desk and diary, knowing his nails, and lacked the experience and etiquette to be in the presence of the European Union Nations. Should such a projection of these nationalities be generalised, then North Cyprus would be deemed as unworthy contenders, not only for reconciliation with the superior Greek Cypriots, but with impenetrable and unreachable European Union, not because the ‘finish line’ for qualifying for this self-declared prestigious ‘bloc’ is out of the Turkish Cypriots reach, but because the finish line never existed in the first place.

The fifth and final finding in the representation of the Turkish Cypriots has been established as the continual mentioning of the international isolation of the Turkish Cypriots and North Cyprus. Frequently defining how this has impacted on the Turkish Cypriots, whether economically or politically, and made the Turkish Cypriots increasingly dependent on Turkey are repeatedly included within the content. This matter was mentioned 69 times throughout 45 articles, stating the political plight of the Turkish Cypriots as a result of the Turkish intervention following the Athens backed Greek nationalist’s military coup: “So northern Cyprus continues to forge its own path. Economic embargoes mean it is far less wealthy than the Greek Cypriot South, and desperately dependent on financial aid from the Turkish mainland” (*The Guardian*, 1 July 2000). The repetition of the international boycott against North Cyprus is a display of the subordination imposed upon this

nation of people, almost like a representation of the power of the west over Turkish Cypriots and Turkey. It could even possibly be a punishment for the inconveniencing of a nation that is part of the 'self', a continual reminder of the consequences of such actions.

It is striking to see that the word "isolation" was referred to in total 37 times across the 45 articles analysed, when highlighting their political situation as boycotted by the world. In a discussion relating to the peace talks, it was proposed by *The Times* that "it would bring to an end the international isolation of northern Cyprus, which is recognised only by Turkey" (1 October 2002). The repetition of the word "isolation" can be deemed again as a reminder of the consequences bestowed upon North Cyprus due to their role in the Cyprus issue, again a display of the power upon them to subordinate them in such a way for their non-conformation.

Similar to the above finding, in reference to the Turkish Cypriots insistence to remain in the political situation they are in and not conforming under the pressure of international isolation, the word "breakaway republic" was used 18 times, especially by *The Guardian*; a total of 7 times.

In light of the above findings, it is safe to say that the British broadsheet press has an orientalist way of portraying the Turkish Cypriots and presenting them as subordinate to the Greek Cypriots and exceptionally subordinate to the west. It is observed that journalists working for the British press were mostly derogating Turkish Cypriots, while glorifying Greek Cypriots. Though this orientalist representation has taken on a more sophisticated form, unlike its traditional versions

presented by Said and observed in relation to the Turk previously, the orientalism can be evidenced in relation to the Turkish Cypriot only, particularly when compared to the Greek Cypriot. It can be asserted that the British press not only view the Turkish Cypriots as lesser than the Greek Cypriots, but they are broadcasting their views and assisting their readers to share the same views as them. The favourable content in relation to the Greek Cypriots cannot only be described as a display of their support for the Greek Cypriots, in-turn potentially gaining the readers support also, but can also be deemed as embedding the inferior state of the Turkish Cypriots, creating an assumption that they are not worthy of more consideration, sympathy and relief from their political strife.

Another conclusion that can be drawn from this finding is that the continual highlighting of the illegal status of the Turkish Cypriots may be aimed to remind of why the Turkish Cypriots are not suitable to join the European Union, with the Cyprus ascension to EU highly on the agenda at the time. During this period, the articles analysed frequently mentioned how the EU did not prefer for Cyprus to join the EU still in a state of conflict, despite the fact that some of the 10 countries that joined in 2004 were former hostile states. With this in mind, Cyprus was permitted to join the EU, minus the Turkish Cypriots and with 'conflict at its border', despite the fact they had played a role in the failure of reconciliation with the Turkish Cypriots and the resolution of the Cyprus Issue, a failure Turkey was accused of and given as reason when denying Turkey's access.

4.3 Representation of the North Part of Cyprus

Relevant outcomes were also observed in the ways in which the North part of Cyprus was being represented. One such outcome is the use and frequency of the word

“occupied” when referring to the political situation in which the north of Cyprus finds itself in, referring to the islands occupation by the Turks. “Occupation” and variations of this word was used 47 times in this nature, framing an image of a war-torn country, where the residents of this occupied state are prisoners to Turkey. While the use of this word can be observed throughout the newspapers analysed, predominantly *The Guardian* gave space to this narrative: “Mr Annan is thought to have proposed the gradual withdrawal of Turkish troops from the occupied north and a staggered return, over the next 20 years” (12 November 2002). The repetitive use of occupation is re-emphasising the Turkish Cypriots political state as a continual reminder of their illegal state. The reason for this constant reminder can be interpreted as being a display of the Turkish Cypriots and Turkey’s lack of consideration for human rights, international laws and even modern-day etiquette in relation to acceptable conduct when matters of conflict arise. As we will see in the next finding, the British media seemed to present the Turkish intervention in 1974 as excessive, unnecessary and also barbaric. The frequent use of the word occupied supports their assertions on this subject, thus supporting the notion that their actions were illegal, resolving to conflict like any primitive nation might do. With such a vision created, most would find it acceptable that any nation that behaves in this nature would not be deemed fit to join the EU.

Another interpretation of this finding, which will be supported by the other findings within the representation of North Cyprus, is an attempt to paint a negative image of this portion of the island, potentially trying to deter anyone from visiting. This could be because should people venture to this side, they may see and hear for themselves, making their decisions on what is true, that they might like the North, that they might

like the Turkish Cypriots, they may see that they are not as backward as they have been portrayed. These people may visit again, and that North Cyprus may prosper from tourism. Should the Turkish Cypriots prosper and become self-sufficient, that the Turks will always be present on the island, and the presence of Islam in Cyprus, also considered a holy land for the Orthodox Christians, is also a threat to any agendas within the Middle-East.

A secondary finding in relation to the representation of the north part of Cyprus, geographically, can be described as an image being created of a Turkish invasion by Turkey. With the frequent use of the word “invasion” and its variants, 95 times to be exact, and a constant reference to the Turkish military stationed on the island, an image of Turkish soldiers lining the streets is established by the British press. Enhancing this imagery is the constant referral to the number of Turkish soldiers present in Cyprus, numbers they fail to present in relation to any British, UN or Greek military presence. Take this example from *The Independent*: “Turkey is the only country that recognises the self-declared Turkish republic of Northern Cyprus. It has kept some 30,000 troops on the island since it invaded in 1974 in response to a Greek Cypriot coup backed by Athens” (13 November 2002). As with the above interpretation of the finding has asserted, the frequent description of Turkey’s intervention in 1974 as being an “invasion”, is asserting the illegal actions of this country, thus presenting a notion of them being a barbaric and primitive nation, who only knew how to raise their weapons instead of searching for other more less violent ways to solve the problems experienced in Cyprus. This notion will then create assumptions that Turkey and Turkish Cypriots should be accepting of any offer they receive for reconciliation, and that they are un-deserving of what they are even

offered let alone much else. The continual use of the word invasion also raises sympathy for the Greek Cypriots, a matter which we will provide further elaboration on throughout the findings, when this word is teamed up with content such as the below example:

When the Turks invaded Cyprus on July 20, 1974, they landed on Five Mile Beach, a cove a few miles from the little harbour town of Kyrenia. (...) A group of 2,000 Greek civilians took refuge in the Dome hotel, where they waited, under protection of the United Nations, to be allowed home. Permission never came (*Sunday Times*, 17 November 2002).

Should we team this finding up with the above interpretation to describe an attempt at creating an image of North Cyprus to deter people from visiting, then this finding would prove ideal to the case. No individual would ideally holiday somewhere they believe is illegally occupied and with streets lined with army troops, as so the image has been formed.

Another finding concluded that often the people from Turkey who have migrated to live in north Cyprus were orientalist throughout the 45 articles. It is fascinating to note that traditional orientalism has been held steadfast for Turkish people from Turkey, while the type of orientalism utilised for Turkish Cypriots showed almost a sense of modernity to it, referring to more contemporary types of derogatory content, as we have seen in *The Times*:

Lack of opportunities in the north has caused increased migration of young Turkish-Cypriots, who have been replaced, to some extent, by settlers from Turkey. They now account for nearly half the population, which is thought to be about 200,000. There are also 35,000 Turkish troops (1 October 2002).

Referring to this community of people that migrated from Turkey as “settlers”, a word used 8 times throughout the articles, traditional orientalist words can be seen to be used frequently in relation to Turkish people, framing derogative images of

those who have come to live in north Cyprus from Turkey and connecting negative connotations to individuals of this ethnicity. In a separate article referring to the migration of young Turkish Cypriots, it was proposed that “in their place, dark-skinned Turks from Anatolia and Kurds from South-eastern Turkey are moving in. At the far end of Niazi’s street, a woman in an embroidered headscarf chases chickens back into her garden” (*The Daily Telegraph*, 7 September 2002). In a *Sunday Times* article where traditional orientalism can be viewed in relation to Turkish people, the journalist stated that “Denktash has encouraged mainland Turks to settle there [in Cyprus], most of them from underdeveloped eastern Anatolia. The women wear Islamic dress and have large families. Turkish Cypriots, who are mostly secular, have become a minority within their own ‘republic’” (17 November 2002). This form of orientalism is the continuation of decades of orientalism already observed in relation to the Turk, reinforced and reinvested for the readers to share in this ideology and understanding of the Turk. No change can be viewed here in the representation of Turkish people, where the content in relation to them can only be interpreted as belittling and derogatory, placing them beneath the west. This finding also re-highlights the Turkish people as a problematic situation for the Turkish Cypriots, suggesting their differences are too great for integration. It also suggests that Turkey has engaged in the emigration of Turkish nationals that are lesser than the Turkish Cypriots to live in Cyprus, indicating that Turkey maybe does not care for the welfare of Cyprus or the Turkish Cypriot people, but only cares for its presence on the island. At the same time, this may be viewed as a source of provocation, in an attempt to rile up differences between the Turkish Cypriots and Turkey, Should Turkish Cypriots want Turkey to vacate Cyprus, this would potentially mean an ideal situation for any agenda Britain may have in Cyprus.

This traditional orientalism, however, is not imposed only upon the Turkish settlers, and extends to anyone of the Turkish heritage from the country of Turkey. In a *Guardian* article, in relation to a meeting between the foreign ministers of Greece and Turkey discussing the Cyprus issue, this meeting was presented as “a gathering of EU and Islamic leaders, George Papandreou and Ismail Cem” (13 February 2002). In stark contrast to this quote, Ismail Cem who was the Foreign Minister of Turkey at that time, was a left-wing democrat, graduated from Robert College in Istanbul and an intellectual educated in Paris. Positioning him as an “Islamic leader” does not only demonstrate the traditional orientalist way of looking at all Turks as Islamic, it also tells us something about how little British journalists know about Turkish politicians.

A fourth and final finding in this particular area is an image established in the minds that the north part of Cyprus has never changed or developed since the departure of the Greek Cypriots, thus, remaining under-developed in comparison to the Greek side of the island. When any such development is referred to, it is of a derogatory nature:

To the north, the buildings were older, shabbier, shorter. The Saray towered above them all. To the south, the walled city was ringed by building that were even higher than the Saray. There was clear financial district. There were signs of wealth in the scale of the buildings. The cars shone brighter, newer, and there were more of them moving along the wider streets (*The Guardian*, 17 July 1999).

When the landscape of the north is referred to, it is rare to observe descriptions without the mentioning of the “dead zones”, creating an imagery that the north part of the island is a majority of impenetrable military controlled areas:

Discos are being built for the new Turkish Famagusta university. The university is the north’s second source of revenue, charging high tuition fees to

Palestinian, African, Pakistani and other Middle Eastern students who are taught in English. There is the I Like You Disco and the Whiskey go-go bar. Bordering this new building work is the dead zone, the seaside resort of Varosha, Famagusta” (*The Guardian*, 1 March 2002).

The above demeaning description of the north is both common and factually incorrect, as the mentioned discos were built in Lefkosa, and not in Famagusta, and thus, not neighbouring Varosha, highlighting the attempts at creating such an unfavourable image of north Cyprus, with discos for students neighbouring a dead zone. This particular portrayal of North Cyprus is a representation of the Turkish Cypriots lack of commercialisation and economic development. It is a display that the Turks are content with lesser than what the Greek Cypriots have and thus, what the west has. This may be interpreted as the Turkish Cypriots being more primitive than the Greek Cypriots, or this may also be a display of their plight following their lack of conformity on the Cyprus issue, as a consequence imposed by the more powerful west.

4.4 Representation of the Cyprus Issue

Of the 45 articles published within this period of time, 39 were re-establishing and investing in the white mythology ideology. The white mythology intelligently laced within the texts has been established in four distinct ways.

An initial finding that indicated the presence of the white mythology ideology was found in the representation of the 1974 Turkish intervention. Among the 39 articles where white mythology has been located, 25 of the articles referred to the 1974 Turkish intervention in Cyprus as the “1974 invasion”, with the word invasion and variations of it “invaded”, “invaders”, “invasion” and “invade” being used 54 times in total. 27 articles referred to the 1974 Turkish intervention as an “occupation” or

“invasion”, 13 of which were located in *The Guardian* newspaper and 6 in *The Independent* newspaper.

Of the 27 articles, 14 articles did not offer any background information that would give an understanding as to why Turkey would intervene with such drastic measures. Of the 14 articles, 6 of them were located within *The Guardian* newspaper and 3 in *The Daily Telegraph*. The result of this lack of historical information creates an image of spontaneous, extreme and irrational behaviour on behalf of Turkey and the lack of background information creates an image that Turkey’s intervention was barbaric and unnecessary, resulting in detrimental consequences for Turkish and Greek Cypriots alike. This notion of Turkey’s unnecessary invasion is an area that will be played on further. Due to the missing background information, it all creates an understanding that the current political situation the Turkish Cypriots are experiencing is justified and that the land is illegally occupied following a Turkish invasion, and not an intervention for the protection of the Turkish Cypriots in 1974. This false representation of events has established a belief that north Cyprus remaining unrecognised is justified, thus allowing the continued subordination of the Turkish Cypriots, a power struggle that has been lost for them since 1974.

To understand why the lack of further information being provided is accepted as white mythology, it is important to be informed on the developments at the time. The events in 1974 were as follows; Turkey was responding to a military coup d’état organised by the Greek army, the Greek military Junta of 1967 – 1964, EOKA B and the Cypriot National Guard. The initial act of the coup was to murder the then President Makarios, who unlike those organising the coup, was in favour of a

peaceful plan to re-unite with the Turkish Cypriots under one sovereign, however Makarios was able to flee to safety. Ousting him from his position, Makarios was replaced by former EOKA member Nikos Sampson, who was known as a dictator. Essentially their hope was to establish enosis, connecting Cyprus to Greece, removing all obstacles in their way to establish their ideal (Göktürk, 2018).

It can be said that Turkey's intervention was not restricted to the events of 1974, and their response was a result of a built-up reaction towards the on-going events in Cyprus where Turks were affected over a long period of time. For the Turkish Cypriots, the real issues began in 1963, a year they accept as the real beginning of the problems. "For Turkish Cypriots, 1963 is the defining moment of their history, when already second-class citizen, they were forced into enclaves and suffered repeated attacks by EOKA, whose goal was enosis (...) EOKA attacks continued throughout the 60's" (*The Guardian*, 17 July 1999). This very basic explanation in relation to the true events of 1974 highlights what essential information is missing among the news articles analysed and thus, how the understanding of the events and the reasons for Turkey's actions may be misunderstood. All the articles are missing the historical content necessary to provide a clear understanding of the true events in relation to the Cyprus issue and thus, to establish an accurate as possible picture in the minds of the readers of these newspapers, and not that Turkey's actions were blatantly belligerent. Therefore, it can be posited that the majority of these articles contain white mythology to varying degrees. It is entirely acceptable that each and every article will not give such space to explanation; however, the six feature articles that gave space to in-depth background information may have done so or attempted to in part. Of these feature articles, only one gave some further insight in to the

Turkish Cypriots perspective and historical events experienced. Within the remaining 39 articles that would not give space for such an in-depth background, it is necessary for them to provide a sentence worth of sufficient background in order to restore the balance. The lack of background information has displayed the Turkish intervention in a negative light, thus positioning the Turkish Cypriots in a negative light as well.

The Turkish intervention in 1974 is positioned as an “injustice” to both the Turkish and Greek Cypriots, as though their actions were extreme, barbaric and inhumane, forcing people from their homes, creating thousands of refugees, material loss and death. It does not create the image that their intervention was for the protection of the Turkish Cypriots. In an article by *The Guardian*, there was no mention of the Athens backed coup or EOKA-B and the atrocities they reigned upon the already suffering Turkish Cypriots and no indication of the plight suffered from 1963 onwards. The notion given in this article is that a group of patriotic individuals toppled an Archbishop, and that this led to the disproportionate actions of Turkey: “Ultra-nationalists bent on union with Greece toppled Archbishop Makarios, the Greek Cypriot president. This gave Turkey every excuse to invade in the name of the Turkish Cypriot minority it was pledged to protect” (*The Guardian*, 13 February 2002). In an article presenting the necessity of the British bases in Cyprus, no prior historical information is provided, painting the Turks in a bad light: “When I served there [Cyprus] in 1974 during the Turkish invasion, the Greek Cypriots were chucked out of the northern half of the island” (*The Independent*, 5 July 2001).

White mythology is known for telling the story of the white western male only. The reasoning for this it has been argued is because in this ideology, atrocities, acts of

inhumanity, and wrongdoing are ignored and it is a direct attempt at wiping them from history. As we have seen and will see, within these articles, extensive space and elaboration is given to any wrongdoings or suggested wrongdoing on behalf of Turkey and the Turkish Cypriots, however this is not the case for the British or the Greek Cypriots. In a world where continually we have seen western intervention in the Middle-East, often questionable 'intervention', it is easier for previous interventions to be forgotten about or to be dressed as something completely different, like peace-keeping in the case of the Cyprus Issue, or the taking of democracy in the case of Iraq in 2003, when weapons of mass destruction were not found. Even better than the negative actions of the west being forgotten is for them to be forgotten and the issues to be attributed to another nation, such as Turkey in this case. When the British wrongdoings are forgotten and other countries are deemed to be the mistake makers, then it is more possible to have resolutions and outcomes swing in favour of the British.

A second way in which white mythology is established in the articles was by the insinuation that the former representative and President of the Turkish Cypriot community Rauf Denktaş as being stubborn and not in favour of resolution in relation to the Cyprus issue. In an article by *The Times*, negative content displayed such a stubbornness: "Instead a dismayed international community is scratching its head after Rauf Denktas, the veteran Turkish Cypriot leader, supported by Turkey, last month refused to return to United Nations- sponsored negotiations" (01 October 2001). Such content can be located 26 times across the 45 articles analysed, with such narratives placed in *The Guardian* 15 times alone.

An article referring to the opening of the borders for crossing by Cypriots quoted the Cypriot government as saying, “the action was designed to deflect attention from Mr Denktash’s ‘negative attitude’ to the reunification talks organised by the UN” (*The Guardian*, 24 April 2003). In an *Independent* article relating to a summit held for reconciliation talks, it was stated that “Mr Denktash stayed at home, claiming he was ill” (3 January 2003). In the same article, the then Cypriot Foreign Minister Ioannis Kasoulides was quoted as saying:

The Erdogan statement spells the end of the monolithic policy of Denktash on the Cyprus issue. (...) It is clear the mirror has cracked. The sooner Denktash realises this the better. If he does not, then the only thing left is either for him to be forced to comply or to be sidelined (3 January 2003).

There are also displays of Denktaş not engaging in reconciliation talks due to personal reasons. In an article in *The Guardian*, it was stated that “he already has most of what he wants, and to some of his compatriots he is far too close to mainland Turkey for comfort” (1 July 2000). In a *Times* article relating to talks for reconciliation, it was insisted that:

for the blockage, all along, has been Mr Denktas. The 80-year-old has never accepted anything other than two-state solution, and has used every political manoeuvre to sabotage any agreement. In the latest talks, he insisted on re-opening issues long since settled. But Mr Denktas is a fading force (29 March 2004).

While at the time this may have been the case or seemed to be the case, again without the presence of the background information, it creates the notion that President Denktaş was essentially being stubborn, dis-interested, playing to another agenda and resolved in not moving forward in a resolution beneficial for his people: “Mr Denktash doesn’t care about Turkish Cypriots,” said an opposition politician, Mehmet Ali Talat, who is an outspoken critic. ‘He is more keen on defending the rights and interests of Turkey’ (*The Times*, 29 March 2004). This representation of

Denktaş can be interpreted as belittling the individual that the Turkish Cypriots have chosen as leader, almost making him look unqualified for the job and unprofessional. By creating this image of Denktaş, he has been established as an easy target to blame for the lack of reconciliation efforts, as we have seen throughout the articles analysed. Although over the years it has been viewed that out of five peace plans, 3 were rejected by the Greek Cypriots and the falling of the joint republic in 1960 was unsuccessful due to the actions of EOKA, the Greek nationalists fighting for Enosis, and the discrimination of the Turkish Cypriots by Makarios, when he displayed continual concerted efforts to take away the rights of the Turkish Cypriots. To understand why the above in relation to Denktaş can be viewed as white mythology, the below background information will paint a clearer understanding as to why at times Denktaş maintained a hard-line stance.

President Denktaş was involved in the Cyprus issue as early as 1957, playing a pivotal role in the preparations of the London and Zurich agreements; although it can be argued he was to a certain extent involved earlier when working as a Crown Prosecutor. Denktaş worked hard with others to establish the Republic of Cyprus in 1960, gaining independence from Britain, of which he was president of the Turkish Chamber. Though he fought these actions, Denktaş witnessed Makarios succeeding in taking rights away from the Turkish Cypriots in 1963, further subordinating them and resulting in the breakdown of the republic. He witnessed EOKA's violent actions and the murders of innocent Turkish Cypriots. He witnessed the 1974 Athens back military coup involving EOKA B, where more innocent lives were lost. He witnessed Turkey's intervention to protect the loss of more Turkish lives, as at this point, no

one else was protecting them. He saw how this protection by Turkey only further imprisoned them in their enclaves.

It is acceptable to say that Rauf Denktaş dedicated a vast majority of his life to the Cyprus issue and the protection and advancement of the Turkish Cypriots to the best of his very limited abilities. It is certainly arguable that Denktaş may have had some reservations and scepticism towards the same plans for resolution, which he had seen fail a number of times before, to the detriment of innocent lives.

The Greek Cypriots and British ultimately benefitted from Denktaş being painted in this manner, as it deflected the attention from their own roles in the failure for reconciliation, and their roles in the Cyprus Issue that led up to that point. As the EU enlargement in 2004 approached, demonstrations against Denktaş were observed, with the Turkish Cypriots desiring to be free from their political reality and seeing a window of opportunity. Yes it is acceptable to say that the Turkish Cypriots may have found Denktaş' stance frustrating, especially when they were so close to what they thought was the possibility of being in the EU, however there was so much more developments that occurred during this period that prevented reconciliation on the Cyprus Issue and thus, Turkish Cypriots access to the EU, such as the election of the President Papadopoulos and the Greek Cypriots vote, that the Turkish Cypriots did not react to, that it can be said that the deflection possibly had worked on not just the world, but the Turkish Cypriots also.

A third form of white mythology was established with relation to the representation of the developments within the Greek Cypriot political sphere that particularly

impacted on reconciliation attempts. During the scope of analysis, from the 24th April 2004 and five years prior, developments in the Greek Cypriot political sphere negatively impacted the reconciliation attempts with detrimental effects. These developments were predominantly ignored, and it can, with no shadow of a doubt be confirmed, that a fraction of the space was given to elaborate on these negative developments, when compared with the space given to such negative developments in the Turkish Cypriot political sphere.

One of the hardest hitting developments that rocked relations between the Greek and Turkish Cypriots was due to the fact that the recognised Greek Cypriot government had made an application to be a member of the European Union, and did so, on behalf of the entire island, including the internationally un-recognised Turkish Cypriot section of Cyprus. While emphasis was continually on Denktaş for his negative attitude towards reconciliation talks and hardline, the effects of this political development was only mentioned in one article. *The Guardian* journalist Helena Smith wrote; “privately, Greek Cypriots say they have given up hope of a solution that would re-unite Cyprus (...) Most of them now accept that their government’s application for membership of EU, on behalf of the whole island, seems only to have deepened its division” (7 July, 1999).

A second unfavourable development that received very little mentioning, and only was given place to in two articles, in *The Daily Telegraph* (17 February 2003) and *The Independent* (18 February 2003), was the election of fifth president of Cyprus, Tassos Papadopoulos on 28th February 2003. Prior to the election of Papadopoulos, two articles in *The Guardian* and *The Daily Telegraph* gave mention to his

“hardline” stance and viewed it as a threat to the reconciliation. “Mr Papadopoulos has a hardline reputation and has vehemently objected to UN attempts to reunify the island” (*The Guardian*, 15 February 2003). Or this quote from *The Daily Telegraph*, “Mr Papadopoulos attracted support from those who are more sceptical about the agreement and who believe that too many concessions have already been made to the Turkish Cypriots” (17 February 2003). Regardless of providing detrimental information in relation to a candidate who was later elected as president, the same article used the unfavourable approach of Mr Papadopoulos, to give way to a derogatory comment in relation to Turkish Cypriot leader Rauf Denktaş. Within the very next sentence a comment by Third President to Cyprus, George Vasiliou was noted as saying; “Denktaş has repeatedly said that he considers Papadopoulos as persona non grata (...) That will enable him to have more excuses to delay talks when there is no time for delays” (*The Daily Telegraph*, 17 February 2003).

At the same time, only 2 out of the 45 articles analysed mentioned that the voting in of Tassos Papadopolous can be interpreted as a political move by the Greek Cypriots, displaying their stance in relation to the Cyprus resolution: “Mr Papadopoulos attracted support from those who are more sceptical about the agreement and who believe that too many concessions have already been made to the Turkish Cypriots” (*The Daily Telegraph*, 17 February 2003).

It is possible that, in voting for Mr Papadopoulos, Greek Cypriots were, in effect, making a last-minute negotiating ploy, perhaps hoping to gain a little more of the property they lost after the Turkish army invaded the northern part of the island to prevent enosis (union) with Greece after a coup plotted in Athens (*The Independent*, 18 February 2003).

This indication of a political move on behalf of the Greek Cypriots was ignored throughout the articles that continually displayed the Turkish government, the

Turkish military, the Turkish Cypriots and former President Denktas as the continual problems blocking any reconciliation, a reconciliation that would see Cyprus join the EU without the Turkish Cypriot section of the island, that would see this development as a factor illustrated in Turkey's denial of accession to EU, and would view the continuation of embargoes against North Cyprus, isolated from the world. This speculation is confirmed by the Greek Cypriots 'no' vote in the Kofi Annan referendum.

Mention of the hardline policies of Papadopoulos were halted immediately after his election, to the extent that in the same sentence, Denktas' stance was mentioned, but not Papadopolous' "Hopes of a meeting between Mr Denktas, who has taken a hardline stance, and Mr Papadopoulos, who was recently elected as Greek Cypriot President, failed to materialise" (*The Independent*, 11 March 2003).

As mentioned with the representation of the former Turkish Cypriot president Rauf Denktas, we can view the same ideology in play, displaying the Turkish Cypriots and their leaders as the reason for lack of reconciliation. Throughout the 45 articles analysed, not even one sentence could be located where background information was provided displaying the Greek Cypriots role in failure for reconciliation in the past. Previous peace plans and the Greeks refusal to agree was not mentioned, the events of 1963 were only briefly mentioned once in the article "Split for infinity, Nicosia is the world's last divided city" (*The Guardian*, 17 July 1999). While this article is laced with orientalist content in relation to the Turkish Cypriots, it provides brief information on the Turkish Cypriot perspective, stating "in December 1963, the Turkish Cypriot inhabitants were burnt out and their homes looted by EOKA. On

January 3, the Daily Mail reported that the imam of Omorphita and his blind son were murdered in their beds, their bodies riddled with bullets” (*The Guardian*, 17 July 1999). The lack of historical background can be viewed as a deliberate attempt to disguise the Turkish Cypriots as the continual problem and the sole reason for the human rights defying plight they are suffering. Without this background information, the audience will also be of the same thinking and thus, the Turkish Cypriots struggle and the subordinate position they face at the hands of the Greek Cypriots and the west will be allowed to be continued.

A fourth and final form of white mythology can be defined as the representation of Britain’s role in the Cyprus issue. As defined by Said (1978) and noted by Robert C. Young (1990) in his opening comments while defining and justifying the *White Mythologies* book he penned, Said was quoted as saying “The object of *White Mythologies*: to develop an epistemological critique of the West’s greatest myth – History” (Young, 1990, p: 2). The location of mythical versions of history forms part of the very basis of white mythologies. Particular critique has been paved in relation to colonial activities, where white-washed versions of events have materialised in a very Eurocentric perspective of history. Considering this information, in the 45 articles analysed for this study, it can be confirmed that white mythology in relation to colonial activities were continuous for the time period. As research has put forward, Greek and Turkish Cypriots lived harmoniously prior to British rule and blame has been placed with the British administration for the breakdown of relations between these ethnicities (Varnava, 2009). In the 45 articles analysed, there is no mentioning to prior harmonious living between Greek and Turkish Cypriots, no

historical background in relation to the breakdown of relationships existing after the British rule.

Throughout 45 articles, the British role of peacemaker is forefront, describing sacrifices made to assist with the political situation in Cyprus, such as the offer of returning military land to aid peace, as in *The Times* article “Britain offers to scale down bases for Cyprus peace” (25 February 2003) and *The Daily Telegraph’s* article “Army land may be lost in Cyprus peace plan” (25 February 2003), outlining the offer made by Britain to return 45 square miles of sovereign base land, which is not required by the British military, in an effort to aid reconciliation. Such content can also be viewed in two other articles “Why a corner of the island remains forever Britain (*The Guardian*, 5 July 2001) and “Defence: A divided island where the living seems to be easy” (*The Independent*, 5 July 2001) where the sole subject was to justify the sovereign bases in relation to the Cyprus issue, following violence from Greek Cypriots in reaction to an antenna to be erected at the Akrotiri RAF station. These articles in relation to the violence related to the Akrotiri RAF base, were not only justifying the British sovereign bases, but were also defensive in tone: “It really hurts to have a divided island, and it’s easier to blame the British more than anybody else” (*The Independent*, 5 July 2001).

In the few articles that mention the presence of the British sovereign bases, descriptions of the military personnel stationed in Cyprus can be seen to be sympathetic and trivialising their presence: “The two sovereign bases have provoked little controversy since they were negotiated at the time of Cypriot independence in

1960 – barring embarrassing incidents involving drunken troops” (*The Guardian*, 5 July 2001). Also take this quote from *The Independent*:

But middle England transplanted to the Med is not quite so ideal for single soldiers, whose need for the company of the opposite sex can run counter to the similar needs of local youth. Competition for the favours of female tourists, fuelled by duty-free alcohol, can erupt into violence (5 July 2001).

Only four articles, in *The Independent*, *The Guardian*, *The Times* and *The Daily Telegraph*, have mentioned the strategic benefits for Britain’s presence on the island, although mostly again emphasising their military post in a world-peace framed notion. The British interest in Cyprus has been prevalent and their existence of an agenda with relation to Cyprus is known (Bartlett, 2013). Despite this fact, the British interest, benefits, agenda and colonial history has for the best part been excluded from the content of the articles, with only one article referring to a “colonial footprint” (*The Times*, 25 February 2003). Cyprus essentially is still colonial, with Britain’s failure to de-colonise, with the presence of two sovereign bases still resident on the island. As a result, in the few articles that handle their presence on the island, in an effort to justify the British military soil in Cyprus and to emphasise their strategic importance, narratives can be located that will refer to being placed in a “crisis-ridden part of the world” (*The Guardian*, 5 July 2001) and “in a part of Europe that is frighteningly close to unravelling” (*The Independent*, 5 July 2001). Such narratives raise sympathy in the reader for the sacrificial position the British military play in dealing with world security matters. What is missing throughout is without compunction, the pivotal role played by the British in the establishment of the Cyprus issue. This finding of white mythology is typical in Robert C. Young’s (1990) understanding of what white mythology is. Britain’s representation of the events and their role appears to be Eurocentric, presenting

themselves as more modern and in control, thus more powerful in relation to the Turkish Cypriots, and even in some aspects above the Greek Cypriots also. What else this finding can be interpreted as is the deliberate ignoring of their negative role throughout the events experienced in Cyprus, which is part of the very definition of white mythology, another tool to set themselves above the rest in their Eurocentric ideology. This is something that has been viewed and noted throughout western colonial history, and it seems to be no different in this case either.

Chapter 5

CONCLUSION

This study aims to look at whether there is any presence of white mythology and orientalist ideology within the British news articles published in relation to the Turkish Cypriot community during a five-year period. The research conducted has been able to answer our research questions we presented at the outset.

A Multi-method approach of critical discourse analysis and qualitative content analysis were employed to 45 news articles published between the time frame 24th April 1999 and 24th April 2004. Findings reveal that there is a continual existence of both orientalism and white mythology in the British press.

In response to the research question; how are the Turkish Cypriots represented in the British media covering the Cyprus issue prior to the Annan Peace Plan referendum? The results of the analysis have confirmed to a higher extent the existence of orientalism in the representation of the Turkish Cypriots within the 45 articles analysed, and thus the existence of orientalism within the British press during the time period of the study. While not the focus of this study, another finding confirmed the strong existence of traditional orientalism in the representation of the Turkish people, which is relevant to this study in the sense that Turkish Cypriots will be subjected to the any connotations connected to the 'Turkish' word. What makes for an interesting result is that the orientalism revealed in relation to the Turks and

Turkish Cypriot people differed in nature. While orientalism in the traditional sense (e.g. Islamic, backward) was displayed in relation to Turks from Turkey, the orientalism applied in relation to Turkish Cypriot people took on a more sophisticated form, basically stressing on their economic disparities (e.g. poor). Turkish people from Turkey were continually represented with words referring to Islam, headscarf, skin colour and as being settlers, while derogatory narratives were formed in relation to their economic standings, residential situations, backgrounds and their stance on human rights. Turkish Cypriots however were subject to orientalist narratives that referred to their illegal existence, their economic difficulties, their dependence on Turkey, their unrecognised status, their poorness that stemmed far before 1974, and framed them as lesser than Greek Cypriots due to constant comparative content. In stark contrast, the Greek Cypriot community is presented in a more favourable fashion. They are glorified; their economic wealth is highlighted by the journalists working for the British press.

17 per-cent of the articles referred to the Turkish people emigrated from Turkey to Cyprus as ‘settlers’, which according to the articles form around 100,000 of the 200,000 population of north Cyprus. While the word “settlers” were used across 17 per-cent of the articles, the mentioning of the Turkish people coming to live in Cyprus and forming half of the population was mentioned more often. The frequency of the space given to this subject already creates an image of streets filled with settlers, however when further descriptive content of orientalist nature is provided of these people, the image is updated with visions of these settlers who derive from “Anatolia in Turkey”, are “dark skinned”, “speaking in a language not understood by Turkish Cypriots”, “chasing chickens”, are not coming “from a secular state” or

“wearing headscarves” and “having many children”. While the analysed articles referred to the 100,000 individuals that moved from Turkey to Cyprus as settlers, *The Guardian*’s collection of articles (26 November – 11 December 2012) on “Where do UK expats live”, highlights that there is one rule for them, and one rule for others. This series of articles by *The Guardian* referred to British individuals who move abroad as “ex-patriots”, reporting 1,062 million people in Australia, and 829,000 individuals in the USA at the time, both far worthier numbers to report on.

Not only has an image been created of north Cyprus with streets filled with the settlers as described, but another subject that has been frequently referred to is the number of Turkish military troops located in North Cyprus. Constant discussion surrounding the presence of the 30,000 – 35,000 Turkish military troops believed to be stationed in north Cyprus creates an image that the streets of north Cyprus are filled with soldiers armed with weapons as well as settlers.

An additional conclusion is the image created of north Cyprus, where no updating has been made and everything has stayed the same since the departure of the Greek Cypriots. This type of presentation helps to create an image that no developments or changes has been made to North Cyprus since 1974; with minimal investments and commercialisation, also establishing an image of undeveloped cities and towns. The image created is that of old buildings, buildings in bad condition, no developments to the infrastructure of the cities, such as the roads, sewage systems, street lighting and the like. North Cyprus, therefore, is presented as undeveloped and poor in comparison to the Greek Cypriot south of the island and described as riddled with large areas of “Dead Zones” creating an appearance that there are far more dead zones when compared to South Cyprus.

The existence of White Mythologies was located within the British press articles as well, with 87 per cent of the articles contributing to the white mythology ideology in one aspect or another. In response to the research question; when reporting on the Cyprus Issue, do the British media provide sufficient historic information in order for readers to make an informed judgement? It was established that predominantly, the true events in relation to the 1974 intervention in Cyprus by the Republic of Turkey is subjected to white mythology. This is established by the lack of information provided on this subject, thus creating the image that Turkey's actions were excessive and unnecessary, not to mention inhumane and illegal, when considering the detrimental consequences of the intervention.

During the five-year period of analysis, a vast amount of political developments occurred in relation to the Cyprus issue. An additional area where white mythology can be located can only be explained as the deliberate withholding of information in relation to the Greek Cypriots contributions to the failure of reconciliation between the Turkish and Greek Cypriots. This finding is described as deliberate, as an additional finding is the fact that any contributions via the Turkish Cypriots that negatively impacted the reconciliation efforts were not only given space to frequently but were often part of the large subject of an article, as in the case of the negative emphasis on President Rauf Denktaş at the time. While the Turkish Cypriots displayed above reasonable efforts for reconciliation during the lead up to Cyprus's accession to EU, this could not be said for the Greek Cypriots, especially displayed in some of the political decisions they made. The failure to establish reconciliation has resulted in the continual subordination and illegal status of the Turkish Cypriots, with international boycotts persisting, and the accession of Greek Cyprus to EU.

The above finding was supported with another white mythology: former President of North Cyprus Rauf Denktaş was constantly displayed as the problem in relation to the lack of reconciliation. Denktaş was displayed as being stubborn, not in favour of reconciliation, inconsiderate to the needs and wants of the Turkish Cypriots and working to his own personal agenda as well as Turkey's agenda. Such content was found in 58 per-cent of the articles analysed. The 58 per-cent of articles that framed this image of Denktaş failed to provide prior background information of the events experienced by Denktaş that may have made him approach reconciliation talks with scepticism and caution. The notion that he was working to his own personal agenda or that of Turkey's, appears to be speculation due to lack of evidence.

In response to the research questions; when reporting on North Cyprus and Turkish Cypriots, where do the British media stand in the Self and Other axis? And; are the Turkish Cypriots represented with a positive or negative, strong or subordinate, superior or inferior tone? It can be concluded that the Turkish Cypriot people were largely orientalised by the British press during April 1999 and April 2004. The image of the Turkish Cypriots is that of a poor, unrecognised, economically unstable, subordinated community of people that are a dying breed due to the suffocation of the settlers and Turkish military troops to the north of Cyprus. It can be argued that the subordination of the Turkish Cypriots has been assisted by the white mythology surrounding the events in relation to the Cyprus issue. It would be fair to assume that any British politician would read one of the 5 broadsheet newspapers published in the UK at the time and thus, would be affected to some degree to what they have read. Should a distorted version of events be presented to the readers, this may have

an influence on the very politicians who have a hand in the fate of the Cyprus issue and that of the Turkish Cypriots.

5.1 Suggestions for Further Studies

The nature of this study took a historical approach in order to decipher existing attitudes towards the Turkish Cypriot community at the time prior to the Kofi Annan Cyprus Peace Plan Referendum, where many political developments were experienced in relation to the Turkish Cypriots, Greek Cypriots, Turkey and Greece. Our research has largely confirmed the existence of both orientalism and white mythology in relation to the Turkish Cypriots within the British newspapers for the chosen time period, however it would be interesting to know whether the existence of these ideologies continued beyond the time period analysed and thus, for further research to be carried out on this subject. In the 15 years since the period taken to hand in this study, many political developments have been experienced, peace talks have continued with no positive developments. It would be interesting and beneficial to build upon the now existing empirical data in this area to observe whether any changes to these attitudes and ideologies exist, or whether they remain in place.

It would also be interesting to know whether any other European countries also display the same ideologies within their press and thus, for research to be carried out on the press of other European countries, to understand the representations in relation to the Turkish Cypriots and also to gauge whether orientalism and white mythology are alive elsewhere in Europe.

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APPENDIX

List of news articles used for analysis

1. The Guardian. 1999. "Passing years harden island rift." July 07, p.15.
2. The Guardian. 1999. "Split for infinity?" July 17, p.20.
3. The Guardian. 2000. "Divided Village damps hope for Cyprus unity." July 01, p.1 and 17.
4. The Guardian. 2000. "Turks dismiss Cyprus Talks." November 25, p.1 and 18.
5. The Guardian. 2001. "Why a corner of the island remains forever Britain." July 05, p.1 and 3
6. The Independent. 2001. "Defence: A divided island where the living seems to be easy." July 05, pP.3
7. The Times. 2001. "Just a whisker away from unity." October 01, p.18.
8. The Independent. 2001. "Cypriots will meet for talks on unification." December 05, p.16.
9. The Times. 2001. "Cypriot leaders meet in Turkish north." December 05, p.2.
10. The Daily Telegraph. "Dinner diplomacy on divided island Leaders' meeting lifts hopes of Cyprus deal." December 05, p.19.
11. The Guardian. 2002. Island of division: Time to get it together over Cyprus. January 16, p.1 and 19.
12. The Daily Telegraph. 2002. "Fresh hope as Cypriot leaders begin talks." January 17, p.13.
13. The Guardian. 2002. "Turks and Greeks break ice." February 13, p.1 and 17.

14. The Guardian. 2002. "Cypriots dare to dream of a united future: Talks between island leaders raise hopes of reconciliation." February 13, p1 and 17.
15. The Guardian. 2002. "Divided they stand." March 01, p.2.
16. The Daily Telegraph. "Turkish Cypriots leave island as 'settlers' move in." September, 07, p.24.
17. The Times. 2002. "Unity lies in their hands." October 01, p.34.
18. The Guardian. 2002. "UN sets deadline for Cyprus deal." November 12, p.1 and 15.
19. The Independent. 2002. "Winner of Turkish elections backs efforts to reunify Cyprus." November 13, p.12.
20. Sunday Times. 2002. "Greeks who lost homes fight Cyprus deal." November 17, p.26.
21. The Independent. 2002. "Letter: Cyprus Refugees." November 26, p.21.
22. The Independent. 2002. "Minister predicts Cyprus solution by February." December 1, p.10.
23. The Times. 2003. "Erdogan presses for deal over Cyprus." January 03, p. 14.
24. The Daily Telegraph. 2003. "Turkey warns its hardline Cypriot allies." January 03, p.15.
25. The Independent. 2003. "Turkey must negotiate on Cyprus, says news leader." January 03, p.10.
26. The Independent. 2003. "Athens accepts UN invitation to Cyprus talks." February 07, p.11.

27. The Guardian. 2003. "Election holds key to peace in Cyprus." February 15, p.1 and 18.
28. The Daily Telegraph. 2003. "Defeat for Clerides clouds Cyprus deal." February 17. p.12.
29. The Independent. 2003. "Time is short for the divided people of Cyprus." February 18, p.14.
30. The Daily Telegraph. 2003. "Army land may be lost in Cyprus peace plan." February 25. p.13.
31. The Times. 2003. "Britain offers to scale down bases for Cyprus peace." February 25, p.15.
32. The Independent. 2003. "UN hands choice on unity to Cypriots." March 11, p.11.
33. The Guardian. 2003. "Jubilant Cypriots cross divide." April 23, p.1 and 16.
34. The Guardian. 2003. "Free movement may still heal the division of Cyprus." May 09, p.1 and 24.
35. The Guardian. 2003. "Turkey and Greece talk peace." October 22, p.18.
36. The Independent. 2003. "Mehmet Ali Akpınar; Turkish Cypriot journalist who sustained his objectivity." October 31, p.22.
37. The Times. 2003. "Cyprus impasse thwarts entry to European club." November 06, p.18.
38. The Guardian. 2003. "Property holds key to progress on divided island." November 20, p.1 and 17.

39. The Guardian. 2003. "Turkey agrees to pay Greek Cypriot compensation for house seized in 1974." November 20, p.1 and 17.
40. The Guardian. 2004. "Cyprus: Turkey's pivotal role." January 12. p.17.
41. The Guardian. 2004. "Denktas puts Cypriot deal back into play." January 13, p.14.
42. The Guardian. 2004. "Turkish generals back talks on Cyprus." January 24, p.12.
43. The Guardian. 2004. "Bomb aimed at Turkish leader as Cypriot talks begin." February 20, p.13.
44. The Guardian. 2004. "Cyprus hopes look dim." March 26, p.15.
45. The Times. 2004. "Last chance for Cyprus." March 29, p.19.