Communicating Hydrocarbons – Fuelling Conflict or Warming Relations: Media Representations of the Natural Gas Reserves in East Mediterranean

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Submitted to the
Institute of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy
in
Communication and Media Studies

Eastern Mediterranean University
August 2020
Gazimağusa, North Cyprus

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ABSTRACT

The Mediterranean island of Cyprus, the last divided country in Europe, faced a grave risk of plunging into war in September 2011. The reason behind this danger was represented as the confrontation over the excavation of hydrocarbon reserves found in the Eastern Mediterranean Sea. A significant hydrocarbon field discovery like this, where it is said that the value of the reserves is around 100 billion Euro, might be a cause for great rejoicing anywhere else in the world, but here it further escalated the Cyprus conflict.

This is a comparative study, based on quantitative content analysis that focuses on the coverage of the hydrocarbons conflict in all daily Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot newspapers published in September 2011. The main goal of this thesis is to explore the extent to which peace journalism was practised, or not, by analysing the front-page stories of the Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot newspapers about this conflict. This study employs critical communication research theories to critically contextualize its own findings in particular and the potential of media for practising Peace Journalism in general.

Peace Journalism which become popular in the academic and professional arena during the last decade, challenges traditional journalism in several ways and offers brand new approaches for reporting local or international conflicts. A review of peace journalism research reveals that researchers have mainly focused on war reporting. In order to address this deficit in peace journalism research, this thesis focuses on a case study where there was a risk for military confrontation.

The combined sample, 629 front page stories analysed for all 18 newspapers from both communities indicates a strong preference towards war journalism. The newspapers from both sides, failed to discuss peaceful solutions to the hydrocarbons conflict and they also failed to discuss negative repercussions of a possible war related to the hydrocarbons conflict.

Keywords: Cyprus problem, peace journalism, war journalism, reconciliation, conflict reporting, hydrocarbons conflict, critical communication research

ÖZ

Avrupa'nın son bölünmüş ülkesi olan Akdeniz adası Kıbrıs, Eylül 2011'de ciddi bir savaş tehlikesi atlattı. Bu tehlikenin nedeni, Doğu Akdeniz'de bulunan hidrokarbon rezervlerinin çıkarılması konusunda yaşanan uzlaşmazlık olarak sunuldu. Değerinin 100 milyar Euro civarında olduğu söylenen böyle bir hidrokarbon keşfi, dünyanın başka herhangi bir yerinde büyük sevinç yaratabilecekken, burada halihazırda devam eden Kıbrıs sorununu daha da tırmandırdı.

Bu tez, Eylül 2011'de yayınlanan tüm günlük Kıbrıs Türk ve Kıbrıs Rum gazetelerinin ön sayfalarında hidrokarbon krizine ilişkin haberlerin karşılaştırılmalı bir nicel içerik analizini yapıyor. Bu tezin temel amacı söz konusu hidrokarbon krizi sunulurken barış gazeteciliği yaklaşımının ne kadar kullanılıp kullanılmadığını ortaya çıkarmaktır. Bu çalışma, özellikle kendi bulgularını eleştirel bir bağlamda sunma, genelde ise barış gazeteciliğinin pratikte hayat bulma potansiyelini değerlendirmek için eleştirel medya kuramlarından faydalanmıştır.

Son on yılda akademik ve profesyonel alanda popüler hale gelen Barış Gazeteciliği, geleneksel gazeteciliğe çeşitli şekillerde meydan okuyor ve yerel veya uluslararası çatışmaları haberleştirmek için yepyeni yaklaşımlar sunuyor. Barış gazeteciliği konusunda yapılan araştırmalara yakından bakınca, araştırmacıların ağırlıklı olarak savaşların haberleştirilmesi konusuna odaklandığını görülüyor. Barış gazeteciliği araştırmalarındaki bu açığı gidermek için, bu tez savaş riski taşıyan hidrokarbon uzlaşmazlığını kendine örnek olay olarak kullanıyor.

Her iki toplumdan 18 gazetede yayınlanan toplam 629 ön sayfa haberini içeren örneklem üzerinde yapılan analizler, savaş gazeteciliği konusunda çok ağırlıklı bir tercih yapıldığını ortaya koyuyor. Her iki taraftan gazeteler, hidrokarbon uzlaşmazlığına barışçıl çözümler bulunmasını tartışamadığı gibi bu uzlaşmazlığın sıcak çatışmaya dönmesinin yaratacağı olumsuzlukları tartışma konusunda da yetersiz kaldı.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kıbrıs sorunu, barış gazeteciliği, savaş gazeteciliği, uzlaşma, uzlaşmazlık haberciliği, hidrokarbon uzlaşmazlığı, eleştirel iletişim araştırması

DEDICATION

To my beloved wife, Doğuş, who like flowers waiting for the spring, waited patiently for this thesis to be completed.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

My Ph.D. journey was indeed a long one. Many people contributed to my thesis with much sincerity and devotion as if it were their own. First of all, I would like to thank my supervisor Assoc. Prof. Dr. Mashoed Bailie, for his continuous support and his valuable encouragement for critical thinking. It is always a joy to listen to his challenging thoughts. How happy am I to be his supervisee and to follow in the path of critical political economists.

I would like to thank my friends who contributed to my thesis in all possible ways; Tuğberk Kaya, Mustafa Çıraklı, Kemal Tözer, Emin Hikmet, Muharrem Amcazade, Yeliz Shukri, Engin Aluç, Nazlı Köksal, Eliz Tefik and Memduh Erişmen… Let me repeat once again that I am against the exploitation of labour.

I also would like to thank the jury members Prof. Dr. Peyami Çelikcan, Prof. Dr. Süleyman İrvan, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Metin Ersoy and Asst. Prof. Dr. Baruck Okal Opiyo for their constructive feedback to my thesis. I am also thankful to Dr. Ibrahim Seaga Shaw for his invaluable contribution to my thesis during my PhD research visit to Northumbria University.

And a very special thanks to my wife Doğuş, who assisted/supported me in every step of writing this thesis… She certainly suffered more than I did during this long process… But here we are, a happy end.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

The Mediterranean island of Cyprus, the only divided country in Europe, is the host country of one of the longest-running ethno-politic conflicts in the world. For more than half a century Cypriots and the rest of the world watch in vain, the never-ending negotiation process aimed at finding a solution to the Cyprus Problem. The exploration of hydrocarbon reserves recently discovered in the Eastern Mediterranean Sea has only exacerbated the Cyprus Problem (Özgür, 2017). Indeed, not long ago, Cyprus, faced danger of a military confrontation due to escalation of the hydrocarbons conflict in September 2011 (Emerson, 2012; Tziampiris, 2015; Nathanson and Levy, 2012; International Crisis Group, 2012). This is more puzzling since the hydrocarbon reserves are said to present an incentive for solving the Cyprus Problem. The colossal amount of alarmist media reports published on both sides of the divide, regarding the military confrontation risk in the Eastern Mediterranean, makes the analysis of media coverage of this particular case extremely unique and important.

Media's role during ethno-political conflicts, wars and/or other peace building efforts have been popular topics amongst communication scholars worldwide since the 1990s. While, many conclude that mass media fuelled conflicts and damaged peace-building processes on several occasions (e.g. Lee 2010; Siraj 2008; Wolfsfeld, 2004), there is also a more optimist argument amongst scholars that, if media play a negative role in conflicts they can also play a positive one (İrvan, 2006). This is the Peace Journalism

(PJ) approach – a new way of reporting conflicts and wars – that calls for putting into practice the possibility that media and journalists might 'give peace a chance' by promoting the transformation of conflicts in non-violent ways. In direct contrast to the widely used War Journalism (WJ) approach in media, which focuses on reporting conflicts and wars as spectacles [win-lose case], the PJ approach aims to highlight peaceful resolutions to conflicts/wars in order to reach win-win solutions (Lynch and McGoldrick, 2005). This study uses the peace journalism approach to analyse representations of daily newspapers in both the Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot Press with a view to exploring the techniques used to report on the hydrocarbons conflict in Cyprus.

1.1 Background for Cyprus and Cyprus problem

Cyprus, the third largest island of the Mediterranean, due to its geopolitical position, has always been an attraction to the powerful states or civilizations in the region that wanted to dominate the Mediterranean and Mediterranean trade throughout history. The two biggest communities on the island, the Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots lived peacefully together under the control of different empires (1571-1878 Ottoman Empire, 1878-1960 United Kingdom). Starting from early 1950's Cyprus became a violent battle ground for rising oppositional nationalism in the island which planted the seeds of Cyprus Problem. Considered a 'diplomats' graveyard' (cf. Ker-Linsay 2011) the "Cyprus Problem" as the world now calls it, is an 'intractable' (cf. Bar-Tal, 2012) conflict between Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots – a conflict that has fuelled inter-ethnic violence on several occasions. One of the main reasons behind the Cyprus Problem is the clash of nationalisms –the Greek Cypriot community wanted unification with Greece [Enosis], then the Turkish Cypriot community, developed a

counter argument as the partition of the island [Taksim] with Turkey (Mavrastas 1996, Kızılyürek 2016).

Both communities affected from nationalism from their so-called motherlands – Greek Cypriot nationalism on the island was triggered by the Greek Independence War during 1820s, Turkish Cypriot nationalisms roots trace back to the 1920's with the establishment of modern Turkey (Kızılyürek 2002; Kitromilides 1979). When Ottoman Rule in Cyprus ended (1571-1878) and the British Empire took control of the island in 1878, nationalism amongst Greek Cypriots increased rapidly which caused fear amongst the Turkish Cypriot community (Kızılyürek 2016).

The wide-spread inter-ethnic violence among the two communities started during late 1950's when the Greek Cypriot community increased its demands for ending British Rule and became more insistent on having unification with Greece. In 1955 some Greek Cypriots formed a paramilitary organization called EOKA and started a guerrilla war against the British Rule demanding ENOSIS. As a reaction to the Greek Cypriot action the Turkish Cypriots in 1957 put forward their demand for TAKSIM and they also formed a paramilitary organization called TMT. In 1958, there were heavy inter-communal clashes between EOKA and TMT. Both organizations fail to achieve their nationalist dreams and during 1959 British Empire decided to leave the island. In 1960, following the international Zurich and London agreements, Cyprus obtained its independence from the British Rule. In place of the British Colony of Cyprus emerged a new bi-communal state, the "Republic of Cyprus". The independence and sovereignty of the Republic was placed under the guarantee of the three parties involved in its establishment, namely Turkey, Greece, and Great Britain. In the new state the executive and legislative powers were distributed proportionally

between the two ethnic groups according to their population. The president of the Republic was to be Greek Cypriot whilst the Vice-president Turkish Cypriot. The relation of the deputies in the parliament was 1 Turkish Cypriot and 2 Greek Cypriots. The percentages of civil servants in official departments were: 30% Turkish Cypriots and 70% Greek Cypriots. However, independence and the establishment of a new state was seen by both communities not as the end of the road but rather as the springboard to achieve their respective aims fed by nationalism – Enosis & Taksim (Hasgüler 2007; Hoffmeister 2006; Kızılyürek 2008; Mavratsas 1996, Papadakis, Peristianis & Welz 2006).

In 1963, the president of the Republic of Cyprus proposed 13 points for the amendment of the constitution. The proposal was perceived by the Turkish Cypriots as an attempt of the Greek Cypriots to negate the bi-communal status of the Republic on the way to achieving ENOSIS. Their reaction was to resign their posts. Following a period of tension, the inter communal clashes/violence that broke out in December 1963, were just the beginning of a long historical trail leading to the separation of the two communities both physically as socially. Turkish Cypriots accused the Greek Cypriots of wanting to achieve ENOSIS. Greek Cypriots on the other hand, blamed the Turkish Cypriots as "rebelling against the state wanting to achieve TAKSIM".

After 1963 Turkish Cypriots never returned to their positions in the parliament, but the United Nations declared in 1964, that the Republic of Cyprus was still recognized as the "legal government" of the island. During 1963-1974 inter communal clashes (periodically) continued between the Greek Cypriot "National Guard" and EOKA on the one hand, and the Turkish Cypriot paramilitary organization TMT on the other

hand. The dominant discourse of each community defined their organization as that of "freedom fighters" and the other as a "terrorist organization".

The separation was completed in 1974 through the geographical division of the island following the interference of Greece and Turkey –First Greece through the staged military coup against the RoC and the subsequent military intervention of Turkey as a guarantor power. It is important to note that the military intervention of Turkey is considered as "invasion/occupation" by the official Greek Cypriot narrative and a "happy peace operation" by the official Turkish Cypriot narrative. The war in July 1974 physically and ethnically divided the island into two zones. Crossing from either side of the zones was not permitted until the opening of checkpoints in 2003. While the Greek Cypriot community on the southern side of the island continued to rule the internationally recognised RoC – (except Turkey), which become a European Union member in 2004, the Turkish Cypriot community on the northern side of the island declared a new state in 1983 called the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC) which is not recognised internationally (except for Turkey). The peace talks/negotiations between the two communities started in Beirut in 1968, long before the war and division. Yet the two sides failed to find a solution.

One of the biggest chances missed to solve the Cyprus Problem was the Annan Plan – developed by the UN, in a simultaneous referendum conducted in April 2004. 65% of Turkish Cypriot votes were in favour and 76% of the Greek Cypriots votes were against the plan. The latest attempt failed to solve Cyprus Problem was the Peace Talks organised by UN held in Crans Montana during summer 2017 including the guarantor powers Britain, Greece and Turkey on the negotiation table. Since this failure, the UN attempts to mediate a new round of Peace Talks in Cyprus, which have yet to start.

1.2 The case study: Hydrocarbons conflict

The “hydrocarbons conflict”, as it is known internationally, describes the dispute and tension between the Republic of Cyprus (RoC) and Turkey about the patronage and exploration of the hydrocarbon reserves in the Eastern Mediterranean Sea. At the local level, the hydrocarbons conflict is also creating tension in the divided island of Cyprus between Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot communities. The hydrocarbons conflict also created further tensions between Turkey and two RoC allies. The core of the conflict can be summarised as the objection of Turkey and the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC) to the RoC developing the resources in its declared Exclusive Economic Zone (See the maps of the region in Appendix B for the conflicting claims in the Eastern Mediterranean). What makes the hydrocarbons case unique and important is the fact that, there is a ‘negative peace’ (cf. Galtung 1964) situation in Cyprus. Since its de facto division and cease fire in 1974, the Cyprus conflict never reached such a crescendo.

The RoC’s future plans about hydrocarbons search/excavation dates back to 2003 – even before its own EEZ declaration in April 2004 – by signing an EEZ delimitation agreement with Egypt, followed by similar agreements signed with Lebanon and Israel until the year 2010 (Kariotis 2011). Turkey objected to these agreements simply by not recognising them (International Crisis Group 2012). What makes the hydrocarbons conflict even more complicated is the fact that Turkey is not a signatory of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS), and does not have any EEZ agreements with its neighbouring countries.

In 2011, when the RoC announced that it would start hydrocarbons excavations as early as October of that year, tensions between the RoC, Turkey and the TRNC escalated even further. Greek Cypriot controlled RoC's claims were that it is their sovereign right to have hydrocarbons excavation in its own EEZ and that this has nothing to do with the Cyprus Problem. Turkey and the unrecognized Turkish Cypriot state, the TRNC, on the other hand objected, to the RoC's claims of sovereignty of drilling, arguing that the offshore activities are 'unilateral' and 'illegal' because they deny the rights of the Turkish Cypriot community of their shared natural resources on the island. In short, the Turkish Cypriot state insists that the exploration should not commence until the Cyprus Problem is solved.

Whilst Turkey issued several warnings, 'some would say threats' (Faustmann, Gürel and Reichberg, 2012, p.5) that it would send warships to the East Mediterranean in order to stop offshore activities, the ROC took no heed. Quotes from top officials of opposition parties, clearly showed the aggressive rhetoric used for uplifting military confrontation. Eğemen Bağış, the Turkish EU Minister and Chief Negotiator at the time, claimed that Turkey would take all necessary actions – implying military intervention– to stop Greek Cypriots: "This is what we have the navy for. We have trained our marines for this; we have equipped the navy for this. All options are on the table; anything can be done" (Sunday's Zaman, 4 September 2011, p.1). RoC and Greece on the other hand announced that they would not hesitate to respond to Turkey's military moves. RoC President Dimitris Christofias, called the "National Guard [RoC army] to be vigilant and prepared", (Haravgi, 10 September 2011, p.1) whilst the vice president of the Greek government Theodoros Pangalos was quoted as saying that Athens would support the RoC and that any [military] attack against it would be an attack against Greece (Philelefθeros, 10 September 2011, p.1). On the

18th of September 2011, Texas-based American company, Noble Energy started hydrocarbons excavation on behalf of the RoC without any complications. Turkey, sent warships and war crafts to the region before and after the hydrocarbons search started, Israeli backed war crafts were also sent to the Mediterranean, in support of the ROC. Fortunately, there was no military confrontation.

While Noble Energy continued hydrocarbon excavations, Turkey sent its own research vessel, the Piri Reis, to the region escorted by warships. Furthermore, Turkey and the TRNC signed a 'continental shelf delimitation agreement', which could be seen as a retaliation drilling agreement in order to jointly explore the Mediterranean. These efforts however did nothing to stop the RoC or Noble Energy from continuing with their offshore activities.

Later Noble Energy announced that they found 5 to 8 trillion cubic feet of natural gas in Block 12 – also known as the Aphrodite gas field – (International Crisis Group 2012), which is one of the 13 blocks the RoC's EEZ. According to an announcement by Erato Kozakou-Marcoullis', who was serving as RoC's Minister of Foreign Affairs at that time, the reserves in Block 12 are worth around 100 billion euros, and will be enough to meet Cyprus's electricity production needs for 210 years (Kozakou-Marcoullis, 2012). A significant discovery like this may lead to great rejoicing anywhere in the world, but here in Cyprus it is also the cause of significant conflict.

Due to the hydrocarbons conflict, the tension in the region escalated chances of a military confrontation (Yorucu and Mehmet, 2018, p. 95). Turkey's increase of its military presence in the region (Demiryol, 2018) with threats to use military power for her interests (Tziarras, 2019; Demiryol, 2018; Stergiou 2016), instigated the RoC to

make several military alignments with Greece and Israel to secure her position (Efthymiou, 2019; Tziampiris 2015; Stergiou 2016). This in turn keeps the threat of military confrontation alive till this day. Most recent military action of Turkey in the region was in February 2018, when Turkish navy blocked the passage of Italian company ENI's drilling ship from sailing to EEZ of RoC (Tziarras, 2018).

Since 2011, Turkey has issued several Navtexts (navigational warning) and sent several research vessels to the disputed areas accompanied by naval forces, which played a negative role in Cyprus peace negotiations with the Greek Cypriot side suspending peace negotiations from October 2014 till April 2015 as a response to Turkey's offshore activities in the region (Tzimitras and Gürel-Moran 2017; Gürel 2016; Özgür 2017). It is important to note that, peace negotiations did not suspend during the early phase of hydrocarbons conflict, where UN organised a summit at Green Tree in New York at the end of October 2011 (Özgür 2017).

Since the peace negotiations failed in July 2017, the hydrocarbons conflict has created further tension amongst conflicting parties till this day (Sözen and Faustmann 2018; Rubin and Eiran 2019; Tziarras 2019). RoC officials announced on several occasions that the Cyprus peace negotiations could not resume until Turkey stopped her offshore drilling activities (The National Herald, 2019). Turkey on the other hand, maintains her position and argument that she will remain and continue counter drilling exercises to protect both her rights as well as that of Turkish Cypriots (Daily Sabah, 2019). Furthermore, a TRNC official used warmongering rhetoric about hydrocarbons conflict recently by saying that, 'The Greek Cypriot administration [RoC] should be afraid of any [military] conflict, since it will lose, in case of an escalation' (Anadolu Agency, 2019).

It is beyond the scope of this study to address in more detail all the legal aspects of this conflict, or to decide which side's claims were rightful. Rather this study will focus on the representations of this conflict and the war risk in the region by the Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot print media as a means of exposing the usage of peace journalism and/or war journalism approaches by the journalists in Cyprus.

1.3 Definition of the problem

Coming on the heels of the pioneering PJ research of Lee and Maslog (2005), much has been researched about the journalist's role during wars or violent conflicts. Lynch states that, 'a significant cross-section of research in PJ has concerned itself with the business of war reporting' (Lynch, 2015: 193). Furthermore, a recent study on PJ research reveals that the 'majority of PJ studies [98%] examine media surrounding direct violence as it is occurring' (Gouse et al., 2018: 2). There is a surprising lack of attention to the role of media and journalists during escalated conflicts with potential for military confrontation or violent outcome. Although there are rare cases in PJ research, where some scholars refer to events that bring several different countries to the 'brink of a war' (see Siraj 2008; Lee and Maslog, 2005; Lee et al., 2006; Ersoy, 2016), they don't adequately operationalize PJ research in favour of a) exploring media's role in such escalated conflicts; and b) evaluating media's possible role in further escalation or de-escalation of these kinds of conflicts. While there is a significant contribution of PJ research to explore media-war nexus in Western contexts (Hussain and Siraj, 2019), the media-conflict nexus in escalated cases in non-Western contexts, such as Cyprus, is also under-explored.

Although in the post-referendum 2004, a growing interest developed amongst scholars in Cyprus to investigate the print media's representations of peace negotiations and/or

the Cyprus Problem (e.g Şahin 2014; Avraamidou and Kyriakides 2015; Avraamidou and Psaltis, 2019) as well as the dissemination of the discourses related to nationalism and national identity (e.g Şahin 2011; Çıraklı 2018), PJ research nonetheless remains limited (e.g Şahin and Ross 2012; Ersoy 2013; Ciftci 2014) and comparative PJ research is rare (e.g Bailie and Azgin, 2008; Ersoy 2010). In fact, there is a lack in comparative media studies about Cyprus in general (for exceptions see Christophorou et al., 2010; Christophorou and Şahin, 2018). Comparative PJ research, especially if the comparison is made among the news media of conflicting parties, is invaluable, as it opens up space to evaluate theoretical and practical difficulties of the possible application of PJ in conflicts where journalist's homeland/community is directly involved.

1.4 Methodology and the main research question

This is a comparative study based on a quantitative content analysis of stories published on the hydrocarbons conflict by the Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot newspapers. The main goal of this thesis is to explore the use of peace journalism versus war journalism, in domestic press coverage by analysing the front-page stories published in September 2011 – when the first drilling in the region for the hydrocarbon reserves was launched that caused the so-called hydrocarbons conflict which 'escalated to a crisis' (cf. Gürel, Mullen and Tzimitras 2013). Towards this purpose all Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot daily newspapers' front-page stories about the hydrocarbons conflict is analysed. There were 13 Turkish Cypriot and 5 Greek Cypriot daily newspapers published back in 2011. This study is limited with the front-page stories about the hydrocarbons conflict in order to describe the importance given to this conflict by newspapers. While analysing the role of print media in the

hydrocarbons conflict, this study will also contextualize the political/economic and ideological environment within which newspapers operate.

The main research question, this study seeks to address is: To what extent was the coverage of the hydrocarbons conflict by Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot newspapers dominated by war journalism or peace journalism approach? In order to answer this main research question, this study will seek to explore several other sub research questions – which will be introduced in more detail in Methodology chapter.

1.5 The significance of the study

This study, with its original empirical data and fresh insight, is an attempt to enrich PJ research on two fronts. First, this study attempts to supplement the limited scholarship on comparative peace journalism on global and local level – where vernacular/domestic press of conflicting parties/communities/countries are addressed. Although there are numerous comparative cross-national researches in this field (e.g Workneh 2011, Cozma and Kozman 2017; Shinar 2009) only a few studies address print media of conflicting parties on specific cases (e.g. Lee 2010; Ersoy 2010; Lee, Maslog and Kim, 2006; Lee and Maslog, 2005; Baden and Tenenboim-Weinblatt, 2017). Secondly, by focusing on an escalating conflict, this study fills a void in PJ research, in terms of operationalizing PJ, other than war reporting. Towards this aim this study proposes two sets of new variables/indicators for PJ research. These are: (1) No discussion of negative repercussions of a possible war (WJ) / Discussing negative repercussions a possible war (PJ); (2) Usage of escalating quotes (WJ) / Usage of de-escalating quotes (PJ).

Furthermore, with a critical media studies approach this study provide the context within which newspapers on both sides make decisions in favour of PJ or WJ. This will be discussed in more detail in the Theoretical Framework chapter.

Chapter 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Every research related to media and communications have some assumptions and presumptions about the media and the society/audiences. Before discussing the possible role(s) of peace journalism or media for building peace or escalating conflicts, it is crucial for this study to set its theoretical framework about the media and the relationship between the media and the society in general. Communications research in general can be divided into two camps, the mainstream approaches – based on liberal media theories, formerly called as administrative research and the critical approaches based on critical theory. Unfortunately, the 'uncritical approaches' (cf. Fuchs 2011, p.94) constitute the majority of the communication research since the early days of the field (Splichal and Mance 2018; Walter, Cody, & Ball-Rokeach 2018). It is an easier task to take the "low road" and do mainstream research without questioning the media and power relations in the society.

As the author of this thesis, I position myself as a critical researcher following neo Marxist approaches – namely cultural studies and critical political economy to study communication – Details of being a critical researcher will be discussed in the Research Design and Methodology Chapter. The theoretical framework of this thesis largely benefited from critical political economy approach which is also supported by cultural studies approach.

Although practitioners and theoreticians of these two approaches have serious disagreements during late 90's, about how to analyse media and society, they have a lot of common characteristics as well, as Curran (2002, p.110) argues, these two approaches have both worked in a neo-Marxist societal model and have pointed towards some kind of correlation between ideological representations and financial stakes, thus suggesting that the media serves dominant groups. Following the recent discussions in the field, one can argue that Kellner's (1997) call for "overcoming the divide" between these two approaches have been accomplished. The divisions amongst these approaches whether methodologically or theoretically, have in fact ended "yielding scholarship that synthesises these areas" Wasko (2018, p.3). I share the same view with Curran who argues, these approaches "have much to contribute to each other" (2014, p. xix).

This synthesis among cultural studies and political economy named in different ways. While some scholars name it as "critical communications research" (cf. Meehan and Wasko 2013), some others call it "critical media and communications research" (cf. Fuchs 2011) or "critical media studies" (cf. Ott and Mack 2020). What matters for this study is being critical: "Rather than celebrate the status quo or ignore capitalism, political economists take on the task of 'ruthless criticism' (Marx 1843) …" (Meehan and Wasko 2013, p. 40). Basic characteristics of critical communications research – which hosts critical political economy and cultural studies, can be listed as: "…challenge the status quo, analyse media in its social context, and adopt a moral position or work for change" (Mosco and Wasko 1983 cited in Wasko 2018, p.2).

In the following sections of this chapter, I reveal the major differences between mainstream and critical assumptions about media and society in order to highlight the significance of this thesis.

2.1 Media: mirroring or shaping society?

Mainstream approaches to media, have basic assumptions that the authors sometimes never need to refer to, like taken for-granted 'facts.' These assumptions are based on liberal media theories where media seen as value-free institutions. Based on the assumption for equal distribution of power and equal access to media, the liberal view portrays the media as a reflector of the events and situations in society, where it conveys information to the public in order to facilitate democratic decision-making by citizens, which suggests that the "media are neutral with respect to power" Steenveld, (2004, p.93). Furthermore, Liberal media theory foresees the media as a watchdog, where it protects the rights of the citizens against the power – state/government. Curran (2002, p.217) describes the watchdog role of media in liberal theory as: Traditional liberal theory holds that the fundamental democratic role of the media is to act in restraint of the state, surveying all state activity and exposing abuses of authority without fear of repercussions: this, traditional liberal theorists believe, takes precedence over all other functions of the media.

These kinds of liberal approaches to media and society have been criticized by various political economists and critical scholars. Curran (1996, p.124) referring to liberal approach argues that, "The media are assumed to reflect rather than to shape society". Steenveld (2004) mentions about the political economy approach as a radical view compared to the liberal one about the media and society. According to radical view, the powerful social classes maintain their power over society through media by giving

privilege to their ideologies, they manage this by the ownership and control of media institutions (Steenveld, 2004). Fox (2019, p.38) states that, political economy of communication does not recognize the media as a neutral conveyer of information; they instead define media institutions "as sites of power struggles". What makes Political Economy different from other mainstream approaches that support/accept or ignore the status quo in societies (cf. Hardy 2014, p.9) is the critical questions it prefers to ask about media and society:

- Does the media equip citizens with sufficient knowledge to participate in political processes, or does it promote social inequality and elite rule? (McChesney, 2013, p.13)
- What contribution do the media make in reinforcing or undermining political and social inequality? (McChesney, 2003 cited in Hardy 2014, p.9)
- Who owns the media, how they are organized, and for what purposes? how media content is shaped, and in whose interest? (Wasko 2016, p.3)
- What is produced and why it is produced? Who is benefiting? (cf. Prodnik and Wasko 2014, p.21-22)
- Whose voices and concerns get to be heard? (Hardy 2014, p.7).

On the first look, liberal theory of press might make sense, but critical thinking definitely shakes its basic presuppositions on media and society. Dwayne Winseck (2016, p. 77), shares an interesting anecdote about Karl Marx and his experience as a journalist: Although Marx appraised the idea of free press, his experience was on the contrary: governments, publishers, businesspeople continuously intervened in the work of journalists to manipulate society. Winseck further argues that this experience of Marx's appears in the following famous quote from German Ideology:

> "The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas: i.e., the class which is the ruling *material* force of society is at the same time its ruling *intellectual* force. The class which has the means of material production at its disposal, consequently also controls the means of mental production..." (Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels [1976], 2006, p. 9).

The ownership patterns – being conglomerates – are affecting the watchdog role of the media as Curran states, media institutions are far from being watchdogs working for citizens or society; they simply work for private interests of elites and themselves (1991, p.87). Hackett (2013, p.24), also argues that, "The watchdog may be too well fed and comfortable to bother barking", they have instead become a source of power. Drawing on the idiom "He who pays the piper calls the tune", Michael Parenti (2011) makes a very clear statement about ownership and watchdog role of media in a critical way: despite the claims of the news media about keeping democracy in check, they seem to be serving the elite and no one else – "the lapdogs of plutocracy" (p.163).

David Edwards and David Cromwell (2006), in "Guardians of Power – The Myth of Liberal Media" criticize the famous argument of media as "being a window on the world reflecting everything as it is" in this way: "[However] the media system is less a window on the world and more a painting of a window on the world" (p. 2). While news media all over the world claim to be presenting the "reality" to their audiences, critical scholars insist that media unavoidably construct ways of thinking about the world through different ideological positions. Bailie and Azgin (2008, p.59) put it this way, "[M]edia representations tend to obscure their own ideological origins to such an extent that one may actually feel that one is reading about an event rather than a media construction of an event".

This study, drawing on critical political economy approach, considers media as commercial institutions –culture industries– which functions to serve political, ideological and economic interests of its owners and/or the ruling elite. A well-known political economist Robert W. McChesney (2015) defines media as: "…businesses no less than any other profit-maximizing firms" (p. xvii). According to Artz, commercial media institutions, as a $2.2 trillion dollar industry, are an essential part of the transnational capitalism closely interlocked with other industries (2016, p.498). Çoban argues with similar lines that, "media must be understood as key organs within the global capitalist system" (2014, p.1), to promote this system as the dominant ideology.

The political economy of communication approach dates back to 1960's, post-World War II era, to the work of Dallas Smythe and Herbert I. Schiller (Hardy 2014, p.26; Fox, 2019, p.37). Hardy (2014, p.3), defines political economy of communication as, "all forms of enquiry into the political and economic dimensions of communication". The focus of political economy of communication is "on the relationship between capitalism and political communication" (Wasko 2016, p.3). According to Newman (2019, p.2) critical political economy of communication, "pays particular attention to the systems that surround the production of communication [considering it] among the most vital components of capitalist development". This focus on economic system, explained by Hardy (2014, p.7) as such: different economic systems means different ways of financing the media which in return will affect the content and how this content is consumed/used by society.

In one of the very first manuscripts on political economy of communication, Murdock and Golding (1973, p.205) argue that the political economy of communication must primarily recognize the media as a commercial peddler of commodities before

everything else. The Political Economy approach can be defined as, "[t]he study of the social relations, particularly the power relations, that mutually constitute the production, distribution, and consumption of resources, including communication resources" (Mosco, 2009, p.2). Nicolas Garnham (1995, p.65), on the other hand, argues that the importance of political economy approach is to uncover the power relations and domination in a society pursed by communication and media industries and/or their owners.

With similar lines Wasko, argues that political economy research deals with "the relationships of power that are involved in the production, distribution and consumption of media and communication resources within a wider social context" (2018, p.4).

Almost 3 decades ago Peter Golding and Graham Murdock (1991), introduced the "critical political economy approach" in their "Culture, Communications, and Political Economy". They argue that this approach is especially interested in focusing on the influence of economic dynamics on the extent and variety of cultural expressions and their availability to different segments of society. Over the past 25-30 years critical political economy of communication approach 'continues to grow and evolve' (Wasko 2018, p.6) adopting its critical approaches compatible to analyse latest technological developments in communication – social media and internet (e.g Fuchs and Mosco 2015; Fuchs, 2019; Winseck, 2016).

While the media landscape in Cyprus is more fragile and open to competition than those in the UK and USA – especially in terms of ownership patterns and economic

profits – it is still worth to use critical political economy approach to uncover the political, ideological and economic interests of the media institutions in Cyprus.

According to Winseck, it is important to examine the media by taking into consideration a wider context of society and economy (2011, p.4). This core principle of political economy of communication, is also key for this study to critically contextualize the research findings. One of the important figures of political economy Peter Golding (2017, p.310) argues from a similar point of view, to situate the media as parts of wider social processes seems to me essential, necessary and unavoidable…". Furthermore, he argues that not doing so, cause a "myopia" in media studies (Prodnik, Slaček and Golding 2017, p.310). The main reason this study is based on critical political economy and cultural studies is to contextualize the findings in a proper/critical way.

2.2 The media power and the social construction of reality

There is no doubt that media play key role in modern societies for shaping the public life. As Craig (2004, p.4) put it this way: "The public generally do not directly encounter politicians and public issues but rather encounter media images, representations and stories…". The role of media in a modern public life, as described by Craig, brings in mind the questions about society's dependency on media for information and the power that these institutions hold by providing [constructing] information for public life. According to Nick Couldry and James Curran (2003, p.4), "…media power is an emergent form of social power in complex societies whose basic infrastructure depends increasingly on the fast circulation of information and images".

On the political impact of the media Stephen Cushion, argues that, “the media supply the informational fuel that most citizens rely on to become informed about politics and public affairs. To put it more bluntly, the media have a major impact on the health of democratic citizenship” (2019, p.303). McChesney and Nicholas on the other hand, drawing on the elite orientation of the news media argues, that, “The news media plays a crucial role in keeping democracy citizenless” (2016, p. 139).

Michael Parenti, in his book “Inventing Reality” (1993, p.1) argues about media’s power to decide what people will know about the society and the world: “For many people, an issue does not exist, until it appears in the news media”. In other words, the owners of media institutions get to decide what public will know on anything they prefer to represent. On the same issue Artz (2016), argues that “… media are essential for constructing and distributing representations of what is, what should be, and what is possible” (2016, p.4). Stuart Hall (1986), on the other hand, states that having the power to represent the world in specific ways makes the media powerful; he discusses about this in his paper, ‘Media power and class power’. Hall defines media as machinery of representation and further argues: As our knowledge of and opinions on societal issues are based largely on media representation, which later paves the way for democratic processes of decision-making, the power of influence held by the media in terms of what to represent and how to do so gains much importance (Hall, 1986, p.9).

Lee Artz, in his article “The Media of Power, the Power of Media” proposes and updated version of situation related to the role of media in times of transnational capitalism. According to him the gears of transnational capitalism depend very much on the power of the media about promoting consumption for new global order: “From

climate denial and austerity to poverty, prisons, and war, commercial media defends market values" (Artz, 2016, p.498).

Furthermore, beyond the power of media in terms of representation, some critical scholars also argue about the role of media in the "social construction of reality", which this study builds upon in its theoretical framework. The concept of the social construction of reality developed by Schutz (1967) and Berger and Luckmann (1967) (cited in Adoni and Mane, 1984). "The role of the mass media in the process of the social construction of reality holds a central place in communication research" as argued by Adoni and Mane (1984, p. 323). Stocchetti and Kukkonen (2011, p.11) explains the importance of media for social construction of reality as: "the social construction of reality is based on communication; [therefore] the media play a key role in it". This study considers that "communication is a symbolic process whereby reality is produced, maintained, repaired, and transformed" (Carey, 2009, p.19).

James W. Carey, in, "Communication as Culture" (2009), brilliantly conceptualizes relationship between culture, communication and reality. According to him, people construct multiple realities (p.48) and reality is not "independent of language"; one cannot see language as a "refraction" of reality (p. 20). According to Carey "defining" what is real creates a social conflict – where we can say media and media workers are included as well:

> "Reality is… a scarce resource. Like any scarce resource it is there to be struggled over, allocated to various purposes and projects, endowed with given meanings and potentials, spent and conserved, rationalized and distributed. The fundamental form of power is the power to define, allocate, and display this resource" (Carey, 2009, p.66).

The media institutions –culture industries – seems to have more power in "defining, allocating and displaying" what is real, compared to other social institutions or members of the society. Here Carey's description of reality reminds us the fundamental characteristics of commercial media – the never-ending competition for audiences/readers encourages the journalists to define reality in the easiest/fastest possible way – simplicity. Moreover, places like Cyprus which host intractable conflict(s), are natural sites for 'conflict over real'. As this thesis further analyses, the Turkish Cypriot newspapers and the Greek Cypriot newspapers have an antipodal approach while defining what is 'real' about the hydrocarbon dispute.

The media continuously constructs reality and represent it to us as value-free – the real itself. Bailie and Azgin (2009, p.67) criticize this understanding by defining news stories as *"constructions of reality"*. They also argue about journalist's 'agency' in the construction of reality:

> "when journalists draw upon one particular discourse or word choice rather than another, or when they highlight particular components of an event at the expense of others, we understand his active use of human agency to be a contributing factor to the overall perception of social reality and not merely a 'reflection' of a reality that existed independently of the journalist's contribution". (Bailie and Azgin 2009, p.67).

Other critical scholars also argue about, media's effort to make the social construction of reality invisible, Gamson et al (1992), puts it in this way: "the special genius of this system is to make the whole process seem so normal and natural that the very art of social construction is invisible (p.374). This study, drawing on several critical studies, argues that there are different realities socially constructed by different media institutions [and media workers – human agency] with specific ideological, political and economic interests.

2.3 Readers or receivers

Although this is not an audience research, to discuss its approach to audiences, is important in terms of underlying its difference from mainstream media research. Like untold assumptions about media, mainstream approaches have untold assumptions about audiences as well.

The mainstream and critical approaches to media have different assumptions about the audiences (Jensen and Pauly, 1997). The mainstream theories about the media have a passive audience image which means that they rely upon assumptions about direct and powerful media effects. These theories see communication as a stimuli-response process (Fejes, 1984), or a linear circulation circuit of "sender-message- receiver" (Hall, 1980, p.163). Furthermore, mainstream approaches use quantitative methodologies like content analysis to draw conclusions about possible effects of media on audiences.

This thesis, on the other hand, drawing on critical communication research, emphasises the active role that readers or audiences in general play in giving meaning to texts – and by implication, the role that journalists play in giving meaning to the events, people, and objects that they investigate. Raymond Williams famously makes this point when he argues, "There are in fact no masses; there are only ways of seeing people as masses" (1960, p.318). While the mainstream approach often seeks to discern how people are influenced by media representations, critical media studies have emphasized the way the media are influenced by the political, economic, social and cultural contexts within which they produce and circulate information.

Andy Ruddock argues that the difference between cultural studies and mainstream approaches is based on "truth claims" they made and makes a distinction between mainstream approaches and cultural studies in this way:

> "there is a division between those who argue that we can come to know the truth about the effects of media on society because there is a truth that we can discover through the use of right measuring tools, and those who would argue that our images of media's impact on society depend upon the questions we ask and the methods we use to answer them" (Ruddock, 2001, p.5).

Mosco and Nagy (2017, p.7), on the other hand, argue the difference of political economy approach, when it comes to discussing media effects. According to them, political economy approach prefers to focus how media power cause structural and social effects rather than psychological/individual effects.

Peace Journalism approach is also criticized for its tendency to theorize the audience as passive – powerful media effects assumptions (Hanitzsch, 2004). More recently several audience researches conducted under the peace journalism approach against criticisms addressed, however these studies are focused on media effects [theories] rather than reception theory [cultural studies] (e.g. McGoldrick and Lynch 2014; Lynch, McGoldrick and Heathers 2015; Thiel and Kempf 2014; Schaefer 2006).

Theories like "Agenda Setting", "Framing", and "Priming" are based on media effects tradition (Scheufele, 2000), which are the core theories used together with Peace Journalism approach. This study is not claiming/assuming that media "injects" messages in their reader's minds. Moreover, different from mainstream approaches, the content analysis done for this study is not going to be used to make truth claims about possible media effects or presumptions about the audience reactions. Rather as a Critical Communication Research, the moral ideal for this thesis is to contribute

emancipation (Murdock 2017, p.5; Mcdonald 2017, p.4), social transformation and human liberation (Splichal and Mance 2018, p.400) for a better world. According to Ott and Mack (2020, p.18) the 'desire to better our social world' is "one of the most unique" approach of this kind of research.

It is important to note that, this thesis is not operationalized as a classic critical political economy research for revealing the political economy of communication in Cyprus or as a classic cultural study based on qualitative textual analysis or audience reception. Rather this thesis purposefully chose to benefit from the critical theoretical insights of these two approaches to contextualize its findings. It is important for me to critically contextualize the choices of peace journalism and/war journalism in Cyprus print media because I believe that not doing so, is metaphorically equivalent to the 'here and now' focus of war journalism. I see it as a moral responsibility to provide a wider context the problems this thesis is addressing.

Chapter 3

LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews media's potential to promote peace building/reconciliation and the [possibility of] application of peace journalism approach in problematic regions like Cyprus. The theoretical orientation of this thesis is drawn from a large body of work from critical and Marxist scholars, specifically from the fields of cultural studies and political, therefore, this chapter starts with the introduction of concepts such as: representation, ideology, hegemony, common sense, and propaganda, which are constructing the principal themes of this study to critically contextualize its findings. This thesis takes the view, with Keyan Tomaselli and Ruth Tomaselli (1981) that: "Any discussion of the mass media would have to be rooted within the ideological/cultural/hegemonic matrix, as well as paying careful attention to the way in which the economic organization of the media affect their work." (p. 2).

3.2 Mediated representations

Media representations and ideologies behind these representations are core topics for critical scholars. Members of Cultural Studies approach focuses on the "meaning production" aspect of representation in a given culture/society. Stuart Hall who calls media as the "machinery of representation" (1986, p.9), defines representation as: "[it] is the way in which meaning is somehow given to the things which are depicted through the images or whatever it is, on screens or the words on a page which stand for what we're talking about" (1997, p.6). According to Hall, representation "is an

essential part of the process by which meaning is produced and exchanged between members of a culture" (2003 p.15). The way members of a culture produce/exchange meaning through representations is based on "existing and culturally understood signs and images" (Hartley, 2004, p. 202). In other words, representations are based on "shared meanings" (borrowed from Hall 1997) of a culture and these shared meanings are forming "conceptual maps of meaning", without those shared conceptual maps "we literally could not make sense of the world today, we could not build a social world together, unless we were able to make sense of the world in, broadly speaking, the same ways" (Hall 1997, p.9). James Carey, with a similar understanding argues that, "a ritual view of communication is directed not toward the extension of messages in space but toward the maintenance of society in time; not the act of imparting information but the representation of shared beliefs" (2009, p.15).

One of the core debates about representation is about its relation to reality –similar to the debates about media as reflecting or constructing reality. Cultural Studies practitioners and critical scholars rejects the notion of representing the 'real world out there' as it is like a mirror, instead they introduce a different approach –constructivist approach. When we consider representation as a meaning production process (Orgad, 2012, p.48), and meaning as a social production (Hall 2005a, p.63), then it is more obvious that there is no way of mirroring reality, because what we represent as "reality" is a social construction.

There are other aspects of representation such as its relation to power and ideology. Power and representation have at least two dimensions: The power to represent events/groups/individuals etc. in specific ways which may lead to circulation of "dominant" meanings instead of alternative others. Hall argues the relationship

between power, representation and circulation as: "…the question of the circulation of meaning almost immediately involves the question of power. Who has the power, in what channels, to circulate which meanings to whom?" (1997, p.14). Second dimension is related with the power relations reproduced/reinforced within the representations in terms of class, gender and ethnic inequalities, as Orgad (2012, p.61) put it this way: "Power relations are encoded in media representations, and media representations in turn produce and reproduce power relations by constructing knowledge, values, conceptions and beliefs".

3.3 Media and ideology

Ideology is a key theoretical concept for cultural studies and critical research. James Carey, defines Cultural Studies as "ideological studies" because of its focus on ideology (Carey, 2009, p.74), with similar lines Felluga (2015, p.146) argues that, "The critique of ideology is a major aspect of 'critical theory'". Although the concept is not popular as it is in the past, "it remains the single most important conceptual category in cultural studies" (Turner, 2005, p.167). In his seminal article "The rediscovery of 'ideology'; return of the repressed in media studies", Stuart Hall (1982/2005a) states that the turn of critical paradigm in media studies is all about the rediscovery of ideological dimension. More than three decades after Hall's article, Downey et al. (2014, p.879) argue that there is "no ideology critique" in media studies anymore, where they consider this as a major lack. Actually, the situation is not that hopeless, recently the journal called "Triple C (Communication, Capitalism & Critique)" published several articles based on ideology critique.

Ideology has been defined in several different ways in daily life and academy – not surprisingly these definitions are having contradictions with each other. There are

different definitions of the term among the practitioners of cultural studies as well, therefore in this section the ideology concept is reviewed according to its analytical uses for this study.

Raymond Williams (1988, p. 153-54) mentions that the word Ideology first used in English as a translation of a French word – "ideologie", which is introduced by a philosopher named Destut de Tracy, then Napoleon Bonaparte used it "initiating the main modern meaning". According to Gramsci, the usage of ideology in France during eighteenth century refers to "system of ideas" (cited in Mattelart and Seigelaub 1979, p.99). Felluga (2015, p.146) also mentions that the first usage of the term dates back to French Revolution but its appearance in critical theory was with its first usage by Karl Marx and Friederich Engels in "The German Ideology". With similar lines Edgar and Sedgwick argues that "It is with Marx that ideology becomes an important critical concept" (2008, p.172).

Marx's and Engel's argumentation about ideology is based on their famous approach towards ruling class as: ruling ideas always belongs to ruling class because they have the means of production to produce and disseminate their ideas as Edgar and Sedgwick (2008, p.172) put it in this way: "There are certain beliefs, and certain ways of seeing the world, that will be in the interests of the dominant class (but not in the interests of subordinate classes)".

Drawing on The German Ideology, Felluga (2015) states that, "Ideology represents the 'production of ideas, of conceptions, of consciousness', all that 'men say, imagine, conceive" (cited from Marx and Engels 1932, p.47). According to Marx, "…ideology

was a socially constructed worldview of society and its value system that served to sustain the power of elite classes…" (Langman 2015, p.2).

Marx's and Engels argumentation about "ruling ideas" in The German Ideology are defined as "dominant ideology" (Hall, 1982, p.321), considering media "dominant ideology" refers to circulate the ideas of the ones in power (Croteau and Hoynes 2002, p.161). The dominant ideology approach give way to Antonio Gramsci's concept – "hegemony" due to its lack of explanation of the contemporary societies. It's important here to mention that hegemony is not equivalent to "ideological domination", as argued by Stuart Hall (cited in Grossberg 1986, p.59). The hegemony concept and its relation to media, ideology and society will be discussed later in this chapter.

The term ideology has a common use as "coherent set of beliefs" (Edgar and Sedgwick 2008, p.172) and "…worldview, belief system…" (Croteau and Hoynes 2002, p.160), however it conceptualized differently by Marxists. John Hartley, drawing on Marxist approach argues that, "…ideology is seen as the production and distribution of ideas in the interests of the ruling classes" (2004, p.105). Payne and Barbera (2010, p.341) argues with similar lines about the "critical and negative" view of ideology in Marxism as: "…ideology was understood as the distorted thought which derived from, and in turn served to mask, the social contradictions inherent in Class society, thereby directly or indirectly legitimating a structure of domination".

One of the main functions of ideology in a given society – which is a core understanding for this thesis as well – is to create a common sense, a taken for granted view of society, history and social relations which cause reproduction of the power relations and domination. Chris Barker argues that, "Ideology can be understood as the

attempt to fix meaning for specific purposes" (2002, p.56-57). Elsewhere Barker and Jane has another short definition of ideology which is quite well overlapping with the approach of this thesis, ideologies are "maps of meaning that, while they purport to be universal truths, are historically specific understandings that obscure and maintain power" (2016, p.12). Shoemaker and Reese (2014, p.69) also argues about the relation between ideology and meaning as: "…ideology is tied more closely to interests: class and otherwise".

Stuart Hall (2005b), in another influential essay, defines ideology in relation to representation as "…mental frameworks—the languages, the concepts, categories, imagery of thought, and the systems of representation—which different classes and social groups deploy in order to make sense of, define, figure out and render intelligible the way society works" (p.26).

Being the "machinery of representation" media institutions are always loaded with ideological messages which aim to fix meaning for specific interests. Todd Gitlin argues that, "… the mass media have become the core systems for the distribution of ideology" (2003, p.2). Fuchs (2020, p.190) argues that "In capitalist society, media are spaces where ideologies are produced, reproduced, communicated, but sometimes also contested". Here it's important to note that seeing media circulating only one dominant [ruling] ideology is reductionist, there are competing ideologies favoured by different media institutions, but some of these ideologies have privileged among others due to their heavy circulation or easy reception. This brings in to the scene Gramsci's famous concepts related to ideology: hegemony, common sense and consent. Terry Eagleton (1991, p.112), who calls hegemony "… a broader category than ideology: it includes ideology, but is not reducible to it"; summarizes Gramsci's definition of

hegemony as: "…the ways in which a governing power wins consent to its rule from those it subjugates" (p.112). Raymond Williams, also argues that the difference of ideology from hegemony is that the later includes acceptance from "subordinated" groups (1988, p.145). With similar lines Mosco (1996) states that, "Yes, hegemony is stronger than ideology because it is based on consent rather than coercion" (p.243).

3.4 Hegemony

The word hegemony [egemonia] means "rule" or "leadership" in Greek (Brooker 2003, p. 119; Williams 1985, p.144), and before its critical conceptualization by Antonio Gramsci in his famous "Prison Notebooks", the terms has a classic meaning as argued by Ives (2004, p.14), "…predominance of one nation over others, especially within relatively friendly alliance". Hegemony also has a common usage as "a situation of uncontested political supremacy", which is far different from Gramsci's definition of it (Jackson, 2003, p.52). According to Dombroski (1989), "Gramsci derived the concept of hegemony from Lenin" (p.111) and advanced it.

Several authors argue that, Gramsci's conceptualization of hegemony is a crucial contribution to Marxist theory and study of ideology, social domination, coercion, consent and also their relation to communication and power (Hall, 2005c, p.17; Barbero 1993, p.74; Carragee, 1993, p.331; Ives 2004, p.64; Mumby 1997, p.333; Bottomore, 2001, p.230; Jackson, 2003, p.52). Furthermore, it is argued that Gramsci's conceptualization of hegemony "has played a seminal role in Cultural Studies" (Hall 2005c, p.23).

According to Davies, "Gramsci himself never provides a complete definition of his term [hegemony], but he does offer many suggestive statements" (1999, p.22),

therefore critical scholars made re-readings of his prison notes. Stuart Hall in his seminal article, "Culture, the Media and the Ideological Effect" (1982) defines hegemony in detail through readings of Gramsci's Prison Notebooks:

> "Hegemony' is in operation when dominant class fractions not only dominate but direct – lead: when they not only possess the power to coerce but actively organize so as to command and win the consent of the subordinated class to their continuing sway. 'Hegemony' thus depends on combination on force and consent." (1982, p.332).

For Gramsci, winning the consent of social groups through leadership is at the centre for hegemony concept, as Artz and Murphy puts it this way: "… hegemony [is] the process of moral, philosophical, and political leadership that a social group attains only with the active consent of other important social groups" (2000, p.1). In other words, "In its most basic structure, hegemony is, then simply the practice of moral, intellectual, and political leadership" (Dombroski, 1989, p.112).

Hall (2005a, p.81) argues that the leadership of a "historical bloc" (cf. from Gramsci) is possible with winning the active consent of people who are subordinated. The key point here is that hegemony is not forcing people against their will: "it works by winning consent to ways of making sense of the world that do in fact make sense" (Hartley, 2004, p.99).

"How the working class participates in its own subjugation, which benefits the economic, political, and cultural elite?", (Herrmann, 2017, p.1) this is the question in mind of Marxist scholars who worked on hegemony concept. Artz and Kamalipour, argues that, "hegemony is the political outcome of a leadership's ability to intellectually and morally move society towards a reluctantly or enthusiastically agreed-upon set of cultural and economic practices" (2003, p.16). Mosco (2016, p.33)

argues that hegemony embraces all aspects of life. According to him, hegemony defined as a, "…result of a process of contested ideas that settle into the taken-forgranted, common sense, naturalized way of thinking about the world; this process embraces everything, from cosmology through ethics to everyday social practices" (2016, p.33).

Jackson (1989, p.53) also defines hegemony as, "… the power of persuasion as opposed to the power of coercion through the use of physical force". This persuasion which cause "cultural domination" is not a simple, one way process where members of society passively absorb it, rather "…is the product of complex negotiations and alignments of interests" (Turner, 2005, p.54). Furthermore, hegemony refers to "shared meaning[s]" (Barbero 1993, p.74), which we can relate it to representation and ideology as well.

Another important aspect of hegemony is that it cannot be fixed once and secured forever – in Hall's words, it is not "given and permanent", but rather it includes a struggle that "has to be actively won and secured: it can also be lost" (1982, p.333). In other words, hegemony is an ongoing process (Grossberg 1984, p.412) which is never permanent (Lewis 1992, p.281) for winning the consent of the majority of a society, but this ongoing process according to Gramsci is always open to struggle and counterhegemonic movements (Lears, 1985, p.571). Furthermore, Hall states that, because "there is no permanent hegemony: it can only be established, and analysed, in concrete historical conjectures" (1982, p.333).

As it is argued briefly in the previous section, Gramsci's hegemony concept offers a better understanding about domination and social order in a given society, compared

to dominant ideology approach of classical Marxism (Condit, 1994, p.206; Mumby 1997, p.347). Moreover, as Good (1997, p.517) argues, after Gramsci's definition of hegemony the approach to "dominance" also changed: "…the concept of hegemony also recasts the notion of 'dominance' no longer as one of coercion, but rather as a much more complex, more subtle and dynamic process". With similar lines Gitlin argues that, "…hegemony [is] operating through a complex web of social activities and institutional procedures. Hegemony is done by dominant and collaborated in by the dominated" (2003, p.10).

Classic Marxism has a unique approach which is defined/criticized as "economism" or "economic reductionism", where base (ruling class) determines superstructure. Drawing on Marxist literature, Maggard (1984, p.69) argues that Gramsci is the first one who "undertook a complete and radical critique of economism". According to Payne and Barbera (2010, p.326), hegemony "…embodies a more dialectical connection between superstructure and economic base than that allowed by a deterministic reading of Marx, which sees historical change and revolution as generated necessarily by developments at the economic level". Gramsci is against the mechanical economism (Hall 1987, p.20), but "…he remained faithful to the Marxist tradition in granting causal priority to the economic sphere under most conditions" (Lears 1985, p.571), and he argued that "there can be no hegemony without 'the decisive nucleus of the economic'" (Gramsci cited in Hall 1987, p.20). Critical Scholars like Stuart Hall who attribute great importance to Gramsci's work, are against economic reductionism (Hall, 2005b, p.28). The theoretical approach of this thesis is also built in a non-reductionist way, but it is crucial to mention that this thesis also acknowledges importance of media ownership issues related to mediated/ideological representations – critical political economy approach.

3.5 Common sense

For Gramsci, "common sense" is an important aspect to understand how ruling class [or a historical bloc] maintains to serve its hegemony through presenting its own social, economic interests as the "natural order of things" (Brooker, 2003, p.120). According to Jackson (1989, p.3), "…dominant views are most effective if they become 'naturalized' as part of everyday common sense". Hall (1985, p.105), refers common sense as the "regime of the 'taken for granted'" and calls it a "naturalistic illusion". While defining hegemony, Mosco addresses common sense, "… hegemony is the ongoing formation of both image and information to produce a map of common sense sufficiently persuasive to most people that provides the social and cultural coordinates that define the 'natural' attitude of social life" (Mosco 1996, p.242).

It is interesting that, "common sense" [senso comune] as a term has a different meaning in Italian language compared to the positive meanings in English language as Crehan (2011, p.273) argues: "Senso comune refers simply to the beliefs and opinions supposedly shared by the mass of the population".

Gramsci defines "common sense" in his Prison Notebooks as, "the uncritical and largely unconscious way of perceiving and understanding the world that has become 'common' in any given epoch" (cited in Tomaselli and Tomaselli, 1985, p.5). Hall with different lines, drawing on Gramsci, defines common sense as "…the inventory of traditional ideas, the forms of episodic thinking which provide us with the taken-for-granted elements of our practical knowledge" (2005a, p.69). According to John Hartley, common sense is a "…category of knowledge whose 'truth' is proposed as obvious, natural, inevitable, eternal, unarguable and 'what we always/already know'"

(2006, p.49). Another characteristic of common sense is that it is "crudely neophobe and conservative' (Gramsci 1971, p.423 cited in Crehan 2011, p.284).

Similar to the hegemony, common sense is not stable or static and it is always a site for struggle, Gramsci argued it in this way: "Common sense creates the folklore of the future, that is as a relatively rigid phase of popular knowledge at a given place and time" (Gramsci, 1971, p. 326 cited in Hall 2005a, p.69).

Hartley (2006, pp.49-50) with similar lines discuss that there is a struggle amongst social groups for representing their own approach more 'commonsensical', once they succeed doing so, they have a hegemony over others to represent their 'sense' as marginal/dangerous.

Common sense is not only a site for social struggle but for ideological struggle as well, "because it is the domain of that practical consciousness which guides the actions of the everyday world (Barker, 2004, p.30). Todd Gitlin, in his seminal book titled "The Whole World Is Watching", also argues that hegemonic ideology captures everything members of society do and think as 'natural' (2003, p.10).

Drawing on Gramsci, Hall (2005b) argues that common sense is constituted from contradictory ideological positions: "it contains Stone Age elements and principles of a more advanced science, prejudices from all past phases of history at the local level and intuitions of a future philosophy…" (Gramsci 1971, p.324, cited in Hall 2005b, p.42).

I argue that the taken-for-granted assumptions of journalists/media on both sides– who themselves may assume that readers share their "common sense" – is blocking their potential to produce/construct/share different views/realties about the hydrocarbons conflict. The common sense in Cyprus, on both sides of the division line, is reproducing the 'national struggle' understanding (cf. Azgın 2009). It is actually the "easy narrative" (cf. Plaut 2014) told by journalists. Journalists in Cyprus can "go beyond the easy narrative" by challenging themselves and their readers. Challenging the easy narrative in Cyprus means to resist the blame game, refuse to demonize the "other side" and resist presenting "our side" as always right or justified – it means eliminating the zero-sum game for one of more inclusion and complexity.

3.6 Media's contribution to hegemony and ideological domination

Critical scholars, following Gramsci and Althusser, agree that media institutions have important role in the struggle for maintenance and reproduction of hegemony, common sense and hegemonic ideologies. According to the contemporary critical media studies scholar Christian Fuchs (2016, p.11), media and hegemony is one of the most important topics that critical political economy deals with. Moreover, critical scholars use hegemony as a solution for ideological determinism as Hardy (2014, p.50) argues: The concept of hegemony could help explain how dominant ideologies were constructed and suffused popular culture (involving processes of consent and construction of the popular) but also, crucially, how the inherent conflicts between different groups and interests were played out". Gitlin, on the other hand, argues that media takes part for dissemination of hegemonic ideology instead of the dominant class (2003, p.254).

Although hegemony is not a popular term in Peace Journalism research, there are several critical scholars using it to analyse new and contemporary media (e.g Artz 2019; Çoban 2018). According to Briziarelli and Hoffmann (2018, p.107) in relation to media "Hegemony is often operationalized as a tool for understanding how representations of race, gender, class… [etc] are reified and naturalized". "How representations are naturalized?" this is also a key question this study aims to reveal.

According to Hall (1982), media has an ideological function in contemporary capitalist societies, which is "…shaping and producing consent…" (p.339). Nothing much changed in the era of transnational capitalism and transnational cooperations. This colonization of the cultural sphere not only continues but intensifies in the era of transnational capitalism and transnational cooperations. According to Dutta (2020, p.52), "Communication becomes a conduit for establishing the global hegemony of US-directed neoliberalism, creating spaces of strategic alliance and security for the US in its global war against Communism and later, terrorism…". Drawing on Gramsci, Carragee (1993, p.330) argues "…the production of meanings and values by social institutions, including… mass media, plays an essential role in establishing the legitimacy of the existing political order".

Shoemaker and Reese (2014, p.81) argue that by repeatedly producing a cohesive ideology, media fulfils a hegemonic role which legitimizes the commonsensical approaches to "reproduce and legitimate the social structure through which the subordinate classes participate in their own domination"

The way ideology conceptualized in Gramscian analysis also addresses media indirectly, Barker and Jane's argues that, "Within Gramscian analysis, ideology is

understood in terms of ideas, meanings and practices which, while they purport to be universal truths, are maps of meaning that sustain powerful social groups" (2016, p.76). Following Barker and Jane's argument, we can say that media being the main source of distribution/circulation/dissemination of "maps of meanings" through representations has an important contribution to sustaining the ideological/hegemonic power relations in a society.

The media institutions, while "shaping and producing consent" also contributes to social construction of reality. Maggard, who calls media as one of the many "cultural apparatuses of society" argues that "[media] produce common sense notions of what 'reality' is like" (1984, p.67). David Croteau and William Hoynes on the same issue argue that, "Media images do not simply reflect the world, they re-present it; instead of reproducing the "reality" of the world "out there", the media engage in practices that define reality" (2002, p. 168).

The Media can also play an important role to delegitimize/devaluate some ideas by excluding them from the sphere of "acceptable ideas", therefore, "The ideological influence of media can be seen in the absences and exclusions just as much as in the content of the messages" (Croteau and Hoynes, 2002, p.163). On a similar axis, Shoemaker and Reese argue that media draws the boundaries of acceptability in a society. To remember the other side of the coin, we have to mention that, it is not only the media that sets the bounds of acceptability, the bounds are set for media, journalists and critics as well – to borrowed from Noam Chomsky (1985), "the bounds of thinkable thought" is set, through indoctrination [I prefer to call it through hegemony]. Furthermore, Cloud (1996, p.119) drawing on Lear's (1985) argumentation about "permissible range of disagreement" states that, "…contradiction, rupture, and

multivocality are taken by the hegemony theorist not as signs that a democratic compromise has been achieved, but that a few token voices are allowed to speak within the 'permissible range of disagreement".

Here, it's important to mention that journalist write their news stories relevant to their societies dominant expectations, Tamar Liebes in his book "Reporting the Arab-Israeli Conflict" argues how hegemony works in this way: "…journalists have to tell stories which are relevant and familiar to their public, and thus that journalists, willy-nilly, are servants of their culture…" (2004, p.1).

Other than consciously telling stories relevant to the belonged society, media institutions / journalists unconsciously reproduce dominant ideologies in their society. (Hall, 2005a, p.84). With similar lines Dan Laughey also argues that media's support for hegemony may work unwittingly "because hegemony – unlike more orthodox versions of ideology –is a function of existing social structures and practices; not an intention of individuals". (2007, p.65).

Hardy (2014) who calls the elites as the 'suppliers of the news' argues that they "played a key role in the maintenance of ideological hegemony" (2014, p.25). It can be argued that, the label 'ideological' is used by media and ruling elites to cover their own approach to present hegemonic/ideologic information as 'real'. Robert W. McChesney and John Nichols in their recent book, "People Get Ready: The Fight Against a Jobless Economy and a Citizenless Democracy" touch this issue in this way: the mainstream news media usually define "range of legitimate debate" based on what elites say on that issue. According to them this approach of media is considered "professional" and "nonpartisan" on the contrary: "If elites are all in concert on an issue… the news media

rarely provides much if any critical analysis. That would be “unprofessional” and “ideological.” (McChesney and Nichols 2016, p139-140).

These argumentations about media reproducing hegemonic ideologies do not exclude the idea that there will be [alternative] media institutions against dominant ideologies of society, which are distributing counterhegemonic ideologies. Here it is important to stress that these ideologies distributed by media are “counterhegemonic”, unless they win the consent of majority they stay as counterhegemonic ideas – if they win the consent of the majority, they become hegemonic ideologies, but as it is discussed before, struggle for hegemony never ends or in other words hegemony is “a continuous battleground” (Stevenson 2002, p.17). Fuchs in his recent book “Communication and Capitalism” argues that subordinated groups can empower themselves when they question ideologies. He further mentions that, “Subordinated classes, groups and individuals answer to ideology either in a positive manner (affirmation, hegemony), negatively (critique, counter-hegemony), or in a mixed manner” (Fuchs 2020, p.227).

Turkish Cypriot society faced a period where a counterhegemonic struggle with the important contribution of media turn to win the consent of majority and become the hegemonic one – that was during Annan Plan and Referendum period [2002-2004] when mainstream/leading newspaper KIBRIS has changed its policy in a counterhegemonic way to support reunification in the island, and at the end of the day majority of Turkish Cypriots voted for “Yes” for reunification.

3.7 Manufacturing consent through “propaganda”

Another core issue that can be related to media’s contribution to hegemony is about producing or manufacturing consent. Edward Herman and Noam Chomsky in their

well-known book titled "Manufacturing Consent – The Political Economy of the Mass Media"[1] introduced "The Propaganda Model" (henceforth PM). It is argued that, PM is rooted in critical political economy of communication approach (Mullen and Klaehn, 2010, p.215). Mullen (2010), situates PM in what he calls "Marxist radical critique" of how media functions in a society – it is radical compared to the plural-liberalist approach which see media as the fourth state. According to Mullen and Klaehn, PM "…is in the first instance concerned to explore the interplay between power, social structure and ideology" (2010, p. 225). What makes PM in Wang's words "powerful and controversial" is the fact that private media institutions in liberal systems imagined to be independent from political/economic control (Wang 1995, p.111).

Although Herman and Chomsky's discussion about hegemony is in this work, is very limited and their usage of the concept refers to pre Gramscian usage – one state's domination over others, their followers who conduct empirical studies or done critical reviews of the PM refers to hegemony in a more Gramscian way (e.g. Boyd-Barret 2004, Freedman 2009; Klaehn and Mullen 2010).

The term propaganda itself, has a negative meaning mainly referring to "bad communication" both in academia and everyday life, but it used to have some positive meanings during the Russian Revolution where it was essential for maintaining support of the society (Corner, 2007, p.670)[2]. There are current argumentations as well about the possibility to use propaganda through media towards positive ends in a

[1] First published in 1988, reprinted in 2002 with a new "Introduction" of the authors, and reprinted again with an "Afterword" of the authors in 2008.
[2] There are still some left-wing political parties like "CTP" in Turkish Cypriot community which have "Propaganda Secretary" as an official position attributing positive meaning to propaganda.

democracy (e.g. Gifu et al, 2014). Of course, the way it is used by Herman and Chomsky is far away from a positive reference to propaganda. Elsewhere Chomsky argues that "Propaganda is to democracy what violence is to totalitarianism." (1985, p.31).

Interestingly Lipmann who is the first one used the concept "manufacturing consent" during 1920s, attributed a positive meaning to it, as Chomsky (1985, p.31) argues, "More than sixty years ago, Walter Lippmann discussed the concept of 'manufacture of consent', an art that is 'capable of great refinements' and that may lead to a "revolution" in "the practice of democracy". Drawing on Lippmann's argumentation, Herman with similar lines argues that, "In Lippmann's view, the 'manufacture of consent' by an elite class had already become 'a self-conscious art and a regular organ of popular government' by the 1920s". (Lippmann, 1921, p. 248 cited in Herman 2000, p.101). These positive attributes were based on assumptions of an uneducated, low taste mass society that needs to be guided by an elite class (Herman 2000, p.101).

PM is an analytical framework based on political economy approach where Herman and Chomsky analyse how US Media functions within free market economy in favour of elite interests or the powers that own/control them. PM as a critical-Marxist tradition is concerned with "…exploring the relationships between ideology, communicative power and social class interests" (Mullen and Klaehn, 2010, p.217). According to Herman and Chomsky (1988, p.1), the functions of mass media are, "…to amuse, entertain and inform and to inculcate the individuals with the values, beliefs, and codes of behaviour that will integrate them into the institutional structures of a larger society". They further argue argued that mass media makes a "systematic propaganda" to serve the interests of elite groups (Herman and Chomsky 2002, p. xi).

Drawing on PM, Pedro (2011, p.1865), also argues that, "…essential features of the information [provided/distributed by media] is its character as propaganda to serve elite interests". Herman and Chomsky designed PM working through five filters – where "…money and power able to filter out news fit to print" towards manufacturing consent:

> "(1) the size, concentrated ownership, owner wealth, and profit orientation of the dominant mass-media firms; (2) advertising as the primary income source of the mass media; (3) the reliance of the media on information provided by government, business, and "experts" funded and approved by these primary sources and agents of power; (4) "flak" as a means of disciplining the media; and (5) "anticommunism" as a national religion and control mechanism." (Herman and Chomsky 2002, p.2).

Boyd-Barrett proposes another filter as the sixth one – "buying out", according to him powerful people can directly buy journalists or media institutions for creating media influence (2004, p.436). With this sixth filter he refers to buying out of journalists by CIA during the US invasion of Iraq in 2003. In Cyprus, it's difficult to uncover such a "buying out" of journalists but it is several times publicized that some journalist and editors are having salaries from the government/state – where they write/discuss on the official line.

In relation to the first two filters [ownership and advertisement] – where at the first sight these two filters might look like simplistic and economic reductionist in a sense, Jacobson, Fang and Raffel (2002) argue that these filters are not advocating that economic profit is the only motivation for the media, rather "it is expected only that such… filters, exert a consistent pressure on what is printed" (Jacobson, Fang and Raffel 2002, p.20).

Although the filters offered by Herman and Chomsky have universal acceptability – where media works in a free market economy, Cyprus as a small country and a small economy– especially the Turkish Cypriot side, has its own unique circumstances in relation to the ownership and advertising filters. The characteristic of Turkish Cypriot media will be discussed later in this chapter.

Similar to the discussions I provided in Chapter 2, Herman and Chomsky (2002) argues against the liberal understanding of the media which can be considered "a radical" critique of the role of media in capitalist societies:

> "[the] propaganda model suggests that the "societal purpose" of the media is to inculcate and defend the economic, social, and political agenda of privileged groups that dominate the domestic society and the state" (p.298).

Besides its critical approach to media and useful filters, this study has more overlapping approaches with PM that can be listed as: effectivity of elite consensus, and also ideologically serviceableness of the information. On the elite consensus, McChesney and Nicolas argues that "If elites are in agreement on an issue, or do not wish to talk about it, it almost never appears as a significant story in the news media" (2016, p.23).

Andrew Mullen argues that elite consensus about any issue helps media to make a better propaganda about the subject matter (Mullen 2009, p.12). The media not only represent/serve elite consensus but also mobilize it, as Herman argues elsewhere, "The power of… propaganda system lies in its ability to mobilize an elite consensus, to give the appearance of democratic consent…" (2000, p.103). Of course, there are cases like Iraq's invasion – 2003, where PM works without strong elite consensus (Mullen 2009, p12).

The market conditions (advertisers' pressures), reliance on elite/official sources and the institutional policies (ownership pressures), led journalists and media workers internalize self-censorship. According to Klaehn (2002, p.305), PM claims that the result of the way media operates, causes "a self-censorship without significant coercion". According to Herman and Chomsky, its hard for many journalists in the business to accept this (cited in Mullen 2009, p.17).

While Naom Chomsky argues that the political party affiliation of individual journalist does not affect the overall media output [at least in US case], Lewis on the other hand criticizes those who see journalists at the centre of decision making –instead of the owners, editors, advertisers etc., for news making with an interesting example: "That's a bit like saying that the workers on the factory floor decide what the car industry produces"[3] (Herman, Chomsky and Lewis 1997, p.2-3). Furthermore, Chomsky argues that it is assumed that journalists are not presenting their opinions in the news stories – opinions usually expressed in editorial pages – however journalist express 'their' opinion through quoting experts and this is considered to be an "objective[4]" act (Herman, Chomsky and Lewis 1997, p.8).

Another overlapping concept used by Herman and Chomsky with This study is "ideologically serviceable" information. According to Klaehn (2002, p.306) the phrase ideologically serviceable – or "hegemonic" in his words, can be defined as the reflection of the interests of the dominant elites.

[3] I share the idea that journalists are not at the center of decisions making, it does not ignore human agency, and intellectual capacity of journalists at all.
[4] The concept of objectivity related to Peace Journalism will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

PM received several critiques within the academy and public arena, where most of these critiques are irrelevant to the analytical framework offered by the model. Some critics of PM as argued by Klaehn (2003, p.359) try to address it as a "conspiracy theory about the media". Chomsky's reaction against this critique is: "With equal logic, one could argue that an analyst of General Motors who concludes that its managers try to maximize profits (instead of selflessly labouring to satisfy the needs of the public) is adopting a conspiracy theory" (Chomsky, 1982: 94 quoted in Klaehn 2002, p.148).

As argued by Jacobson, Fang and Raffel (2002, p.19), PM get very limited consideration from the mainstream research community. Mullen and Klaehn (2010, p.218) with a more pessimist view argue that PM is marginalized not only by mainstream media itself but in the communications and media studies field as well. Nevertheless these two authors define PM as a critical and democratic model (Mullen and Klaehn 2010, p.225; Klaehn and Mullen 2010, p.18) and furthermore they see it as a pathway to reach critical scholarship in the academy – which is shared as a goal by this study as well: "PM… [is a] democratic and critical model that engages directly with how economic, social, and political power intersect with communicative power, represents a pathway for achieving these aims" (Klaehn and Mullen 2010, p.19). Edman S. Herman and Noam Chomsky, in their new afterword to "Manufacturing Consent" with its 20th year anniversary, argues that passed years proves that PM is still a relevant and strong framework for analysis (Herman and Chomsky 2008). Drawing on media's performance about the invasion of Iraq and Iran's nuclear facilities as called "weapons of mass destruction and threat", Herman argues in his concluding note to the book by defining mainstream mass media as "reliable members of war-making team" (Herman and Chomsky 2008, p.378).

Although 32 years passed since it first introduction, the PM is still considered relevant to study not only contemporary media but also internet and social media (e.g Fuchs 2018). Two recent volumes published on the PM (1) Propaganda in the Information Age: Still manufacturing the consent (2019) and (2) The Propaganda Model Today: Filtering Perception and Awareness (2018) are showing the importance given to this approach by critical scholars. This study which will benefit from Herman and Chomsky's work on a theoretical level for the critical reading of the findings.

With this study which is based on political economy and cultural studies approaches my aim is to bring radical [Marxist] media critique back in the academic discussions in Cyprus and to open up space for discussion about naturalised, hegemonic, and ideological information distributed by media on both sides of the division line. Furthermore, I intend to expose the structural dynamics within which the Cyprus press operates in favour of elite/ruling class interests and/or fixing the hegemonic ideologies. The next section of this literature review is going to deal with definition news, news values and newsworthiness and also the role of newspapers in contemporary societies.

3.8 Definition of news

Making the definition of news is both a simple and easy task but at the same time difficult and complicated because the definitions attributed to it are either theory-laden or oversimplified and these definitions somehow interconnected to concepts like news values and newsworthiness –some authors of key concept books prefer not to include news but newsworthiness as a concept to define e.g. O'Sullivan, Hartley, Saunders, Montgomery and Fiske, 2006; Hartley, 2004.

Some quick and easy definitions of news refer to concepts such as truth, facts, objectivity without problematizing and using them as their taken for granted meanings. In this section, news will be defined/discussed starting from its daily usage to more academic ones, and finally news will be discussed related to present study's theoretical framework. This study, following Dan Berkowitz argumentation "reject[s] the notion that news simply represents journalists' best effort to seek truth and serve as society's watchdog" (1997, p.3).

Tumber argues that, "Two of the enduring questions of sociology of news and journalism are 'what is news' and 'what makes news'…" (1999, p.3). Pamela J. Shoemaker, in her commentary about "news and newsworthiness" argues about one of the reasons behind the difficulty to define news as: "The term news is a primitive construct one that requires no definition in ordinary conversation, because everyone knows what it is… it is difficult to… [define a primitive term] without using the term in the definition" (2006, p.105).

News is central to everyday life as a source of information in contemporary societies, which attributes great importance to news media such as newspapers as the manufacturers/distributors of news. The centrality of news to daily life brings in the discussions about dependency to media and therefore media power – that discussed back in Chapter 2, and its important here to stress once again that media in general, journalists in particular are not reflecting/mirroring reality, rather they are constructing it or in Gitlin's words journalists "compose reality" (Gitlin 2003).

Some scholars argue about the similarities between news and stories[5], and journalists and story tellers. Famous sociologist Gaye Tuchman describes news as "telling stories" (1976, Vol. 4). Itzhak Roeh (1989, 162) in his article "Journalism as Storytelling, Coverage as Narrative", argues that journalism as a profession is an "expressive activity" and newswriting "…is in its essence –storytelling". Of course, Roeh is so righteous to argue that journalists refuse to see themselves as storytellers and news they write as a narrative[6]. Sociologist Mark Fishman on the other hand argues in the very first sentence of his book "Manufacturing the News" that, "Sociologists and the journalists are in the same business. They both produce social facts. But the methods and the character of their findings usually differ" (2014, p.1). Michael Schudson in his most recent piece on sociology of news also argues that, "Journalists make the news just as carpenters make houses and scientists make science" (2019, p.140). So, its not a reflection of reality not a mirror to reality but something journalists produce.

Sigal (1986, p.29), on the other hand, argues the importance of sources as: "News is, after all, not what journalists think, but what their sources say, and is mediated by news organizations, journalistic routines and conventions, which screen out many of the personal predilections of individual journalists". The reason Sigal gives importance to sources than journalists is based on the view that "News is not what happens, but what someone says has happened or will happen" (1986, p.15). Furthermore, he argues that

[5] The usage of these two terms together as "news stories" in English, is also referring to connection between news and stories.

[6] Here it is important to connect this argument about journalists as storytellers and social construction of reality. As George Gerbner once argued, "…social construction of a reality [is] erected, experienced, and conducted largely through many forms and modes of story-telling… through the tales told by us and our media". Journalist as storytellers are key actors in social construction of reality. If one considers media as the main storyteller of the modern life, then Plato's famous phrase –
Those who tell the stories rule society – gains a more critical meaning.

journalist rarely witness events directly and even if they had the chance, they still note what their sources say about that event (Sigal, 1986, p.15).

A former American journalist Jack Fuller defines news as "a report of what a news organization has recently learned matters of some significance or interest to the specific community that the news organization serves" (1996, p.6). The question arises with Fuller's argumentation, is one of the main critical positions defended by the present study: Do the news organizations serve their audience/readers only? What about their owners' political/economic/ideological interests?

This study conceptualizes news as a socially constructed product/commodity drawing on writings of several scholars – which highlights socioeconomic and political contexts within which news are produced and distributed (Berkowitz 1997, p. xii; Brian Monahan, 2010, p.4).

Moreover, this study conceptualises news as "a commodity" which "can be bought, sold, and traded" (Shoemaker 2006, p.106), which opens up a space for a more critical discussion about the ownership and economic/political interest of media institutions – which will be based on critical political economy of media. John McManus, a media economist, argues that the very basic characteristic of news is that "it must sell" (1988, p.3). Yes, news must sell not only because it is a commodity and newspapers which sell it are profit seeking commercial institutions, but also it is a commodity which "…is highly perishable, its use value declines rapidly" (Schlesinger 1977, p.338).

Defining news as a commodity of a commercialized media system is not under the monopoly of political economy approach. Considering the fact that people buy

newspapers to read them, therefore it's not shocking to call news as a commodity. However, political economy has a critical approach than other approaches [namely media economics] towards commercialization of media and its ownership structures, as argued by Wasko, Murdock and Sousa "These approaches avoid the kind of moral grounding adopted by political economists, as most studies emphasize description rather than critique" (2011, p.3).

A closer look to work of media economist – excluding some writings of authors like Pickard and McManus –, confirms the quotation above. It's not surprising to see that some authors try to avoid criticizing commercial/profit seeking characteristics of media institutions or using their terminology – media firms. Hamilton, on the contrary argues that, "…the very concept of news as a commodity produced by and belonging to the press is itself indicative of the special political and socio-economic interests the press serves" (1981, p.16). Political economists Robert W. McChesney and Dan Schiller (2003, p.1) argue that there are limited discussions on the aspect that "…the communication system has emerged as a central area for profit making in modern capitalist societies". The commercial mentality behind news-making is explained by Westlund and Ekström (2020, p.77) "News is produced for paying readers/audiences, which in turn are "produced" to yield advertising revenue". In the following section the conflict between commercially driven decisions of newspapers and the normative expectations from them will be discussed in more detail.

3.9 Basic characteristics of newspapers

Undisputedly, the first newspapers that published either in Europe or US were not commercial firms or institutions, they were rather personal enterprises that include reports of the local or regional events, wars and politics where reporting itself means

for the news editor waiting for the post to have new information (Stephens 1994). It is argued that the newspaper is the oldest mass medium – also called as "medium of democracy" (Hiebert, Ungurait and Bohn 1975, p.204).

The commercialization of the newspapers in US dates back to the end of 19th century, in the early days of 19th century newspapers were used to promote political party interests rather than commercial interests. On the same issue, elsewhere Baldasty and Rutenback argue that, newspapers that are no longer party organs, turn into profit seeking businesses (1988, p.60). Before news had become commercialized, political parties were financially supporting the newspapers and of course newspapers support the parties in return, then political parties replaced by advertisers (Baldasty, 1992, p 4-5). Hamilton Holt argues more than a century ago that, 'the growth of advertising' is the main reason behind the commercialization of journalism (1909/2009, p.9). It is argued by Chalaby that one of the reasons that the journalism in UK and US developed more rapidly than in France is because of the revenues coming from advertisements (1996, p.320).

The financial transformation of the newspapers also change the self-vision of newspapers about themselves and about their readers, while partisan newspapers see their readers as voters, with the commercialization readers transformed to consumers "…so they produced content that went far beyond the world of politics and voting" (Baldasty 1992, p.5). The main motivation of the owners of commercialized newspapers, back then, "…was to make money; but there was often a secondary goal of exerting political influence" (Christians, Glasser, McQuail, Nordenstreng and White 2009, p.114). While discussing the history of newspapers Mitchell Stephens stresses that, "…newspapers play a role in commerce through the advertisements they

carry…" (1994, p.1). With the blow up of advertising expenditures, newspapers and all other media institutions become more commercialized in the second half of 20th century (Pickard, 2006, p.24). If we bear in mind that, newspapers economic profit depends on its per copy sales [readers/subscribers] and advertisements (Pickard 2004a, p.109) the pressure on the newspaper editors become more obvious. Holt argues that newspapers editors, in order not to offend readers or advertisers made 'colourless' newspapers that "discuss only those things about which everyone agrees or nobody cares (Holt, 1909/2009, p.9).

Gans on the other hand argues that "…journalists' news judgment considerations have always included enough commercial components to keep most advertisers happy most of the time" (1979/2004, p. xix). Hamilton Holt's above argumentation can be easily connected to commonsensical representations of newspapers that can be accepted by majority of the population, which help to reproduce a hegemonic view. Colorless approaches of newspapers also help them to situate themselves as "objective" (re)presenters of "reality" – a window to the world slogan works perfectly as much as the news are colorless and commonsensical.

As discussed above advertisement play a crucial role in turning newspapers from a political institution to a commercial one and news as a commercial product – commodity. Chibnall, argues that the knowledge [news] circulated by media, is "problematic" because it is "a commercial knowledge, a saleable product designed to meet the perceived requirements of its consumers" (1975, p.49). Of course, the commercial knowledge or news as a commodity is not only designed to meet needs of its consumers, but also the political/economic interests of its owners and advertisers as well. The trick here is marketing the owners/elites/rulers

political/economic/ideological interests as the interest of the whole population – or as the public good, which can overlap with hegemony thesis of Gramsci.

In order to survive the newspapers, must sell its copies (Park,1923, p.274). For a newspaper as a commercial firm to sell copies in order to make profit it must have attractive/influential stories, because "A newspaper with absolutely zero societal influence will not be able to sell copies nor attract advertisers" (Mersey, 2010, p. 5). According to McManus, "the news must attract our attention before we can learn from it" (1992a, p.202) and our attention as readers is important for newspapers as they sell it to advertisers for increasing profits (McManus 1992a; McManus 1992b).

With similar lines Pickard argues that, "The primary content of newspapers today is commercialized news and features designed to appeal to broad audiences, to entertain, to be cost effective and to maintain readers whose attention can be sold to advertisers" (2004b, p.57).

Dallas W. Smythe, one of the founding fathers of political economy of communication argues that the commodity is the readers not the news, not the paper: Advertisers don't buy news or buy newspaper space, they buy access to audiences. Smythe called this "audience power… as principal product of the commercial mass media" (Smythe 1981/2006, p.233). Fuchs, almost 35 years later, while arguing on "Dallas Smythe Today" made a very important point: "A Marxist theory of communication should… have a double-focus on the role of media and communication in the context of ideology and commodification" (2015, p.531).

Commercial, profit seeking characteristics of contemporary newspapers, brings in problematic aspects. Media economists Picard and McManus argue in several articles and book chapters that, there is a conflict of interest between different roles assigned to newspapers (McManus, 1992a, p.200; Pickard 2005, p.338; McManus 1992b, p.802; McManus 1988, p.4; Picard 2004b, p.55). It is argued that a conflict of interest is unavoidable, "If the primary goal of journalism is public enlightenment, conflict with the goals of profit maximization are almost inevitable" (McManus 1992a, p.201). Furthermore, he states that, "The inherent conflict between the logic of business and the logic of journalism should be profoundly troubling for those who consider reliable information necessary for proper operation of a democracy" (1992a, p.205). On the same issue Chapman and Nuttall argues that, "Indeed, journalism and democracy can claim a longer marriage than that between journalism and the commercial imperative of media for profit" (2011, p.15).

Elsewhere Pickard, argues that the conflict of interest between commercial profits and public good turn to be a "paradox" because commercial media [newspapers in this case] "cannot fully pursue their economic self-interest without harming optimal public service" (2005, p.338). With optimal public service Pickard (2005) attributes to normative expectations from newspapers or other media institutions to inform public for its own good or for a healthy democracy. Jackson, who defines news as "a contested commodity" due to its commercial characteristics, argues that this in fact damages quality of our political life and democracy because of the "clash between the amorality of capitalism… and… journalism's moral agency as defender of the public interest" (2009, p.147).

It can be argued that type of the ownership of newspapers also have effects on the degree of conflict of interests, Pickard and Weezel put it this way, "All capital comes with conditions." (2008, p.23). According to Pickard and Weezel, privately owned newspapers –either personal or family business, are more likely to serve personal interests of their owners (2008, p.25). This is not at all surprising, as Altschull (1995/1997, p.259) argues,

> "The content of news media inevitably reflects the interests of those who pay the bills. The argument, in other words, is that the financers – or the paymasters, as we call them – or the group they represent will not allow their media to publish material that frustrates their vital interests."

Drawing on audience commodity argument of Smythe, I can further argue that it is the advertisers who pay the bills by 'buying the readers' – so the media institutions themselves are not willing to publish material that frustrates the vital interests of their advertisers.

Newspapers as commercial firms, have attitudes correlated with economic logic, as McManus (1992a, 201) argues; independent and investigative journalism for a newspaper is time consuming and expensive because important stories are complex, they need to be investigated from different sides. Therefore, newspapers may choose the cheapest way to prepare their content with more entertaining content – that can attract more readers therefore more advertisers. McManus argues that, "To the extent that content that enlightens the public is expensive to learn of and report, and unpopular or boring, the interest in maximizing profit conflicts with the interest in serving the public" (1992a, p.201). Elsewhere McManus argues the economic logic – profit maximizing/ cost reducing mentality of newspapers by dividing them into those who are actively "discovering news" – using their own journalists for investigative

reporting etc, and those who are passively discovering news – relying on news provided by news agencies and public relations offices (1988, p.15). In Cyprus, majority of the Turkish Cypriot newspapers are passively discovering the news by heavily relying on the state news agency TAK.

Several authors argue that pressure on journalism is not the state anymore, but the market itself (Schudson 2003, p.120; Kovach and Rosenstiel, 2001, p.11). This is connected to the "audience commodity" – the market determines. Larger audience command higher priced advertisements mean more profit for the newspaper. Thus, the sort of information that can produce larger audiences is in demand: conflict, sensationalism, drama etc. Not in Cyprus of course but elsewhere in EU or US, there are media conglomerates stronger than nation states that are functioning against public interest as argued by Picard (2014, p.100). The problem with Turkish Cypriot media is this: "who wants to buy access to the audience?" Most of the products are not made here – and Turkish products are already advertised in the Turkish media. This means that the Turkish speaking audience of Cyprus has already been "bought" as part of the package in Turkey before the program airs in Cyprus or Turkish newspapers from Turkey distributed in Cyprus.

The last issue related to the commercial characteristics of newspapers that is going to be discussed here is the naïve economical expectation about supply-demand in relation to news, newspapers and their readers. For example, McManus argues that "If the public demands more nourishment [quality] in its news--at it has begun to in its diet--media corporations must provide it to maximize return" (1988, p.26). One do not need to be an economist to disprove such a claim, capitalist mode of production is well capable of creating demand for its low cost / low quality commodities including news.

Other than its commercially driven attitudes, newspapers and journalism have some other universal characteristics. Building a community is one of them (Kovach and Rosenstiel, 2001, p.11). With a similar approach Fuller argues that, "Newspapers not only serve but also create their communities" (1996, p.228). Fuller also argues that, "newspapers are nationalistic institutions. They must organize around a coherent set of interests – one of which is geographic –to create an audience and this defines the basic choices of what to report and how to report it" (1996, p.91). Christians et al., (2009, p.115), argue with similar lines that, "Print news is largely confined to a national arena and is designed to meet local expectations". According to Fuller, every newspaper is "provincial" (1996, p.69). Sheridan-Burns (2013, p.52) has a similar supportive argumentation, "all journalists, wherever they work and whatever they write, write for an audience". Former journalist Jack Fuller makes a well-timed argumentation about newspapers that is very fruitful for the present study. According to him, "Newspapers grow out of the soil of community. They have always been a kind of Daily We" (1996, p.228). Here we have to note that, when a newspaper is a "Daily We", it has the potential to produce and reproduce Daily Other(s), or enemies– the list can be longer. Following Jack Fuller, when we consider a newspaper as a nationalistic institution and a "Daily We", then it opens up space to discuss/criticize/understand, possible roles a newspaper can play in peacebuilding and/or escalation of conflicts to violence.

3.10 Conflict, war, peace and media

Conflicts and war are basics in modern human life as media is. As Seethaler, Karmasin, Melischek and Wöhlert (2013, p. ix) propose, "War and communication appear to be essential and universal features of the *conditio humana*". Similarly, Puddephatt (2006,

p.5) also argues that, “Conflict is one of the defining features of the modern world”. It is argued that the past century “was marked by war” (Balabanova, 2007, p.1).

The literature review done for this study reveals that there are confusions about defining conflict and understanding characteristics of it. The main confusion related to conflict is that, the term sometimes used as a subsidiary referring to violent conflict and/or war and/or armed conflict[7]. “Not all conflict is violent” (Howard 2004, p.6), or leads to violence. Okunna (2004, p.7) argues that, “Quite often, whenever the word ‘conflict’ is mentioned, our minds dwell on ‘hot’ wars or armed conflict and images of physical destruction of life and property flash through our minds’ eyes”. According to her, associating all conflicts with violence is “a narrow conceptualization” that prevent us see other types of conflicts (2004, p.7).

The term conflict used in This study is referred to the definition made by Max Lucade, “A conflict is a clash between antithetical ideas or interests… [amongst] groups or states pursuing mutually incompatible goals” (cited in Austin, Giessmann, and Jäger, 2012, p.10). This study focuses on social aspects of conflicts. According to Louis Kriesberg and Bruce W. Dayton, social conflicts occurs “when two or more persons or groups manifest the belief that they have incompatible objectives” (2012, p.12). Moreover, this study deals with ethno political conflict as a form of social conflict. Ellis, (2014, p.1) defines ethno political conflict as follows: “Conflict between two or more groups is termed ‘ethno political’ when ethnicity and religion are highly implicated in the ongoing state of hostility”. According to Relic (2004, p.322) ethno political conflict has crucial differences from other types of conflicts as follow, “The

[7] Not only academics, but also journalist and media have a confusion related to the usage of conflict as a subsidiary for violence.

fundamental distinction is that the conflicting parties often resort to violence because they see this as the only means of resolving their grievances with other ethnic communities". Some ethno political conflicts are not resolvable, these kinds of conflicts are called as "intractable conflicts" (Coleman, 2006, p.533). Thus, one of the main characteristics of intractable conflicts is that "they appear impossible to resolve" (Coleman, 2006, p.544).

One can consider Cyprus as a complex and divided society of intractable ethno political conflict between Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots beginning in the 19th century – a conflict that fuelled inter-ethnic violence on several occasions. Cyprus is also a very good example of how a culture of conflict works or how reducing it to two parties with opposing goals and eliminating all other stakeholders works?

The contestable meaning of conflict also includes questions of whether conflict is negative or positive and whether it can be prevented or is a necessary quality of human life. This study will draw its argumentation about conflict based on Cees Hamelink's (2006) approach. According to Hamelink, conflict is inevitable[8] and in some cases it is desirable thing for positive developments in human life and democracy:

> "Conflict is a central part of living with the others… Accepting the inevitability of conflict may help us to discover that conflict can even be desirable… conflict can also be a positive force for change…[therefore] disagreement and tension are part of political process. Expressing these frictions is more productive in democracy than seeking consensus, as consensus politics tends to exclude people" (Hamelink, 2006, p.11-12).

[8] Violence can be prevented but not conflicts, as Lucade (2012) puts it this way: "Conflict is inevitable, but combat is optional". Bearing this fact in mind, arguments like "conflict preventive journalism" (Munteanu, 2011, p.29) becomes null. Here in Munteanu's work conflict is used for substitute for violent conflict and/or war.

From a similar point of view, Reljic argues that, "Conflicts are, after all, part of daily life in a democracy. Subsequently, the absence of reports in the media on conflicts would suggest that democracy itself has been lost" (2004, p322).

Defining war and peace is less complicated than defining conflict, but of course one has to bear in mind that, "Peace and war mean different things at different times, in different places to different people. They are categories that have to be located in the multiple contexts of their use" (Bruck, 1989, p.108). The Cyprus case here again a useful example for Bruck's argumentation: The way Turkish Cypriot community and media defines and uses "peace" and "war" is antipodal to Greek Cypriot versions of these terms.

Johan Galtung (2010), in "The Oxford International Encyclopaedia of Peace", states that: "War is the exercise of power through violence, collective behaviour designed to inflict harm on some other collective party or parties[9]". Peace on the other hand, "is something more than absence of war" (Puddephatt, 2006, p.10). In Johan Galtung's seminal work on "Negative and Positive Peace" (2013, p.173). Furthermore, Galtung argues that absence of direct violence is not enough to achieve what he calls as positive peace (2013, p.173).

Johan Galtung introduced "positive peace" and "negative peace" concepts in the very first issue of "Journal Of Peace Research" during 1964 as follows: "…negative peace which is the absence of violence, absence of war - and positive peace which is the

[9] Galtung, J. (2010). Primitive, Traditional, Modern, and Postmodern War. In Young, J. N. (eds). The Oxford International Encyclopedia of Peace. Retrieved on 4th of May 2017 from http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780195334685.001.0001/acref-9780195334685-e-751?rskey=EcjQ3I&result=751

integration of human society" (1964, p.2). In a subsequent article (1969), Galtung argues that "'positive peace' is constantly changing… I would now identify 'positive peace' mainly with 'social justice'" (p.190). More recently (2013), Galtung defines positive peace as the: "presence of cooperation… presence of equity, equality… presence of a culture of peace, and dialogue" (Galtung 2013, p. 174).

It is definitely difficult to achieve a positive peace described by Galtung. Webel (2007, p.5) argues about the difficulty to achieve peace as follows:

> "Peace is a linchpin of social harmony, economic equity and political justice, but peace is also constantly ruptured by wars and other forms of violent conflict. Like happiness, peace remains so near . . . and yet, like enduring love, so far..."

Webel's and Galtung's argumentation about peace, also makes it clear that peace is a process not and end result – a peace agreement may be an end result, but peace is a never-ending process.

3.11 Media's role in conflict, war and peacebuilding

The media's role in ethno-political conflict, war and peacebuilding has been a popular topic among communication scholars worldwide since the late 1990s. The relationship between media and peace/war came to the agenda of scholars in Cyprus just before 2004 Referendum process. Having media's role in conflict and peacebuilding as one of its core problematics, this study will critically review discussions and case studies related to this issue.

It is crucial for this study to note the historical importance of war and conflict to media and media research before moving forward. While Stauber argues that, the development of newspaper – during 17th century – as a mass medium is associated to

the "war related reportage" (2013, p.20), Bruck, on the other hand, referring to World War II era, argues that "…much communication and media research owes its development and conceptualization to the war efforts of forty and fifty years ago" (1989, p.110).

There is a strong tie between media and wars –and/or ethno-political conflicts that have potential for violence –, as argued by Groebel, "Modern wars need the mass media; the mass media need wars" (1999, p.11). Following Groebel's statement one can ask, why media needs wars and/or conflicts. Media needs wars and/or conflicts because "simply it sells better" (Reljic 2004, p324). Not only war but conflict and possibility of a war or violent armed conflict also sells better, as Melone, Terzis and Beleli (2002, p.3) put it this way, "…the media are usually run for profit, and, moreover, conflict sells better than cooperation". Considering the fact that, "The world of media works as a business. People 'buy' their news…" (Bratic and Schirch, 2007, p.12), the profit-making logic of media institutions for selling more becomes clearer. A military official, major Michael Harris, drawing on high volume of journalist and media institutions covering the Iraq war in 2003, also argues that, "There is no doubt that the news media regard conflict as "good for business" (2006, p.138), otherwise why to send correspondents to Iraq and spent economic sources, unless it is a good business to bring in profit.

If one reverses the question as: Why do wars need media? Definitely for selling it: governing elites needs media for selling or marketing a war to the society (Rutherford 2004; Osgood and Frank, 2010; Seethaler, Karmasin, Melischek and Wöhlert, 2013). According to Rutherford, war is a "…commodity, something that was consumed by millions of people via the media" (2004, p.4). To put in another way, governing elites

need media to "manufacture the consent" which is necessary to have support for declaring a war. Referring to the war in former Yugoslavia, Puddephatt (2006, p.9) argues about the importance of the media for war in this way: "The media arena is often where that battle is conducted. The media itself becomes a rallying point for all the combatants – and every combatant aspires to control its own media".

From a similar angle, Wolfsfeld argues that, in order to fully realize the role of news media in conflicts [and also the importance given to media by "antagonists"], one has to look to the "…contest over the media among antagonists… [where] Each [antagonists] hopes to mobilize the news media as a means of persuading a variety of audiences to support their cause" (2005, p.140)[10].

Moreover, it is also argued that media is used as a "weapon" (Wolfsfeld, 2008, p.134; Vukasovich 2012, p.162; Hieber 2001, p.1; Rutherford, 2004) or as an "instrument" (Payne 2005, p.81) in wars by conflicting parties or states to win the battle. Media is not only weaponized in actual wars but in "propaganda wars" as well in times of conflict (Kalb 2007, p.18).

In addition to media's economic interest in selling stories (Bratic and Schirch, 2007, p.8), there is commercial pressure on the news media to focus on immediate, violent, and dramatic events instead of explaining the background or the context of the conflict (Puddephatt, 2006, p.23).

[10] Regarding to Wolfsfeld's argumentation here, one can add that in several cases the "antagonists" already "own" some of the media institutions or "control" it through political party affiliation or through financial support.

Of course, it is not only the commercial pressure that leads journalist to cover dramatic sides of conflicts or wars, but rather the very basic characteristics of the journalistic storytelling and/or newswriting related to the conflict orientation, as argued by Pauly (2009, p.7), "As storytellers, journalists constantly seek and exploit narrative tension… Conflict, then, is not merely one of the types of stories that journalists cover; in many respects, it is the very mode through which journalists normally understand and interpret the world". Paul Rutherford, in his book "Weapons of Mass Persuasion: Marketing the War against Iraq" defines war as "a narrative" which is marketed through media (2004, p.4). As a contribution to Rutherford's analogy, it can be noted that, not only war but possibility of war and ethno political conflicts can also be treated as narratives that told by journalists and sold by media. According to Elbaz and Bar-Tal (2016, p.6), "…the media, especially in times of intractable conflict, become the main transmitter of the culture of conflict, promoting national narratives, values, and security concerns in a hegemonic way." Elbaz and Bal-Tar, call these narratives as "conflict supporting narratives" and argue that journalists play important role in the distribution of these narratives.

The reasons behind the attraction of journalists for the narrative tension in storytelling and their interest in conflict rather than peace (process) can be better explained with the professional norms, daily routines of journalism and news values they hold. According to Stuart Allan (2010), "Journalists, as well their editors… bring to the task of making sense of the social world a series of "news values". What is called and defined as "new values" is an extensive subject in the field, therefore it will be limited according to the scope of this study– new values related to covering peace and/or conflict-war. Gadi Wolfsfeld (2004, p.14), who argues that news is essentially about "conflict and disorder" lists the "problematic new values" related to making news

about peace (process) as: “immediacy, drama, simplicity, and ethnocentrism”. The above table is borrowed from Gadi Wolfsfeld for explaining how these listed values work in making news:

Table 1: How major news values work in favour of conflict (Source: Wolfsfeld, 2004, p. 16)

News of peace: the editorial process

	News	Not news
IMMEDIACY	Events	Processes
	Specific Actions	Long-term Policies
DRAMA	Violence	Calm
	Crisis	Lack of Crisis
	Conflict	Cooperation
	Extremism	Moderation
	Dangers	Opportunities
	Internal Discord	Internal Consensus
	Major Breakthroughs	Incremental Progress
SIMPLICITY	Opinions	Ideology
	Images	Texts
	Major Personalities	Institutions
	Two-sided Conflicts	Multi-sided Conflicts
ETHNOCENTRISM	Our Beliefs	Their Beliefs
	Our Suffering	Their Suffering
	Their Brutality	Our Brutality
	Our Myths/Symbols	Their Myths/Symbols

Gadi Wolfsfeld and Moran Yarchi (2016, p.3) summarises the contradictions between news values and the logic of peace process in this way:

> “A peace process is complicated, journalists demand simplicity. A peace process takes time to unfold and develop; journalists demand immediate results. Most of a peace process is marked by dull, tedious negotiations, journalists require drama. A successful peace process requires at least a minimal understanding of the other side’s viewpoint, while the news is always ethnocentric.”

Ruigrok et. al, about the “selection of news”, with similar lines, argues that, “News is not about long-term processes but about short-term events… Reporters tend to be more

interested in events than causes" (2005, p.159). Schudson also takes our attention to the interest of journalists on short term events (2013, p.53). These explanation overlaps with the basic characteristic of WJ: focus here and now.

Besides the 3 new values – simplicity, immediacy and drama –mentioned above, the ethnocentric characteristic of news also brings in another discussion about journalism as a profession to serve a country/state/nation/community during times of conflict/war/possibility of war. Tamar Liebes (2004, p.1), argues the difficulty of journalists to represent 'other side's views as follows: "…conflict makes it physically and psychologically difficult to get to the other side, that journalists have to tell stories which are relevant and familiar to their public, and thus that journalists, willy-nilly, are servants of their culture". According to her this is a "hegemonic" attitude.[11] Journalists being servants of their culture or nation/community cause a dilemma, well described by Zandberg and Negier (2005, p.131) in this way: "…journalists are members of two communities simultaneously: the professional community and the national one. Each community's ideology contradicts the other; one might say that the journalists are caught between Nation and Profession". According to Skoco and Woodger, "…in general journalists have never really been critical of wars fought by their own country" (2000, p.79). Ackerman and Naureckas, on the other hand, argue that "In times of war, there is always intense pressure for reporters to serve as propagandists rather than journalists" (2000, p.97). Why journalists cannot be critical about wars declared or fought by their country? Simply because being critical in those

[11] Here it is crucial to mention that Tamar Liebes makes an important contribution by not limiting the "servants of culture" issue to journalists but she also includes researchers in this way: "Somewhere along the line "we" researchers—no less partisan in our personal commitments—should clarify where the reporting of conflict from "our" side may no longer be excused as "technical" but should be labeled hegemonic…" (Liebes 2004, p.1).

times, put journalist in positions where their "patriotism" or "loyalty" to their country is questioned (Tumber 2005, p.201; Rubin 1990, p.21). Hallin argues that Gulf War was an example where American journalists face a conflict following professional norms and "fear of being accused of lack of patriotism" – where journalist largely supportive for American troops. (2013, p.99). As David Halberstam, a famous American war reporter, who won Pulitzer Prize for his critical reporting on Vietnam War, once argued: "If you doubted the war, if your dispatches were pessimistic, you were unpatriotic" (2010, p.265). It will be unfair to criticize journalists only, because they are not independent from the media institutions they are working for. Media itself becomes patriotic during times of war (Hammond and Herman, 2000, p.200). Zandberg and Negier (2005, p.132) argue that after the "crisis" ends journalists leave the patriotic tone and return back to professional tone of reporting. One can argue that in Cyprus, as a divided country due to an intractable conflict, patriotic tone is always a part of journalistic routines due to national struggle ideology and the hegemonic approaches in respective communities towards the other.

Wolfsfeld argues that, domestic media always employs "ethnocentric view of the world" which makes it easier for the politicians to promote wars and adds that: "Journalists who do not exhibit sufficient 'patriotism' during such conflicts are likely to become extremely unpopular" (2007, p.9). Journalists who are opposing the hegemonic ethnocentric views in their culture – borrowing the elites' words: being less patriot or loyal – not only become unpopular but also have the danger of being assassinated. There are several occasions where journalist have been killed [Fazıl Önder in 1958, Ayhan Hikmet and Muzaffer Gürkan in 1962] because of "lack patriotism" in Cyprus.

Of course, it is not only the social and political pressure over journalists to make them adopt the patriotic tone, journalists as members of their society are socialized with those patriotic views, norms and tones, thus while writing a news story about a conflict that his/her own community/society/state/nation is somehow included or participated, the journalists inevitably use an "ethnocentric view of the world".

The other key reason for media and journalists to adopt and represent "ethnocentric view of the world" is their heavy reliance on official sources during crisis, war or possibility of war – in other words issues related to national security. Zaller and Chiu (1996, p.385), who label media as "governments little helper" argue that:

> "…journalists find it difficult to report critically on government activity during foreign policy crises. They must contend not only with officials who strain to control the news, but with fear that tough reporting will undermine the government's ability to deal with the crisis."

Referring to different studies done worldwide, Gadi Wolfsfeld also argues that, "…the news media generally tend to "rally 'round the flag" in support of their governments, especially during the early stages of such [international] conflicts" (2008, p.573). Yoram Peri (2007, p.84) with a similar point of view argues that, "In education, economy, sports, and culture, journalists enjoy access to a variety of sources, but when it comes national security, the sources of information are few and access to them controlled". Rubin (1990, p.22), also mentions media's support to state about national security issues:

> "In the national security area, the press has taken the statist view. Newsmakers are almost exclusively top government officials with access to secrets; they define what is news by selectively manipulating information. We rarely hear the voice of civil society in national security stories."

Gadi Wolfsfeld (1997, p.53), on the other hand, defines news media as "faithful servants" of officials during times of crisis. Sagi Elbaz and Daniel Bar-Tal (2016, p.26) also argue that, in times of conflicts/wars, "the mass media is expected to make an extra effort to be mobilized in support of military goals". How media can achieve that? By giving more space to officials – without any criticism. Elbaz and Bar-Tal, argue that during Lebanon wars, Israeli media reproduces "dominant conflict supportive narrative" by excluding criticism (2016, p.6).

Journalists and media giving voice to official sources is not limited to conflict or war times, it's a general characteristic. Michael Schudson (2005, p.24), in his article "The Virtues of an Unlovable Press" argues that, primary sources for the journalists are high ranking government officials and journalist always reproduce the views of these officials. Schudson asks "Journalists favour high government officials –but why?" and answers it as: because "…their professional culture holds that a journalist's obligation is to report government affairs to serve the informational functions that make democracy work" (2005, p.25). With a similar point of view Bruck (1989, p.115) argues that "sources are selected and legitimated according to political, organizational, or professional hierarchies". Why journalists take hierarchies in consideration, while looking for sources? Carlson and Franklin's approach to the news sources can be an answer to this question: "…to be a news source is to have the power to speak publicly… [and] to have the power to define the world" (2011, p.2). With a similar point of view Carlson, elsewhere, argues that, "News sources define not only what's worth knowing but who is worth listening to" (2011, p. p.38). Here it is important that, the news sources, journalists give voice to, –if not officials – are selected among a privileged group, Schudson puts it this way: "journalists operate within conventional bounds of opinion, opinions common among a largely secular, college-educated upper

middle class" (2005, p.24). One can add that these secular, college-educated upper middle-class people are largely man.

Some academicians who are aware of the commercial characteristics of media – for selling war and/or conflict – are arguing about the possible ways of "marketing" or "selling" peace like conflict or war is marketed or sold by media (Shinar, 2000, p.95). Vladimir Bratic and Lisa Schirch (2007), argue that media as a business needs to make products that can be sold to audience, also propose finding possible marketing ways to promote peace through media. They are of course aware of the fact that peace is not like conflict that can easily packed and sold (Bratic and Schirch 2007, p.12).

Compared to its role in wars and ethno political conflicts since its early days, media's role in peace process or peace building is a new concept developed during 1990s (Bratic, 2013, p. 2). The potential of media in peacebuilding compared to its shining skills of warmongering is marked by debate, which is the core for this study too.

The literature review done for This study reveals that, most of the recently published academic work (e.g. Reljic 2004, p.324; Melone, Terzis and Beleli 2002, p.1; Puddephatt 2006, p.11; Bratic and Schirch 2007, p.7; Munteanu 2011, p.30; Laplante and Phenicie 2009, p.83; Orgeret 2016, p.15), related to media's (possible) role in peacebuilding do not go further than wishful thinking and hope. This study has a critical approach to the arguments proposed by academicians that if media has potential to incite (ethno political) conflicts to become violent, it also has the potential to promote peaceful solutions to such conflicts. This is not to argue that media never promotes peace, it is more likely to canalize the discussion to the specific conditions where media promote peace. In other words, speaking from a political economy

perspective, it is asking why media promotes peace? What is their profit or interest to do so? As discussed throughout entire literature review chapter here, the main purpose of media is profit making and serving elite interests. There is an excellent example of media supporting peace process in Northern Ireland – Good Friday Agreement, where Greg McLaughlin and Stephen Baker (2010, p.11) define it as "propaganda of peace". According to them "Persuading for peace is no less propaganda".

3.12 Peace journalism: origins and commitments

The very concept "Peace Journalism" (PJ) belongs to Norwegian professor Johan Galtung, the founder of "Peace and Conflict Studies" and "Peace Research" and the PJ approach was championed by former journalists Jake Lynch and Annabel McGoldrick. Peace Journalism entered the academic and professional arena during the late 1990s. Since then PJ has become popular in journalism scholarship and practice. As a brand-new way of reporting conflicts, PJ, first of all considered as a "normative theory" (İrvan 2006a), then as it reaches to more scholars and actual practitioners world-wide, the more its value appreciated, that's why it is defined as a "state of art" (Shinar 2007) and a "revolutionary concept" (Fahmy and Eakin 2014) and a "globally distributed reform movement" (Lynch 2013) more recently. As it is discussed earlier in this chapter, there is an endless thirst of contemporary journalism publishing stories about conflicts (Pauly 2009; Wolfsfeld 2004), where "journalists constantly seek and exploit narrative tension", (Pauly 2009, p. 7) news media itself, as a type of business, prefers conflict-oriented stories because these sells better than stories about peace or cooperation (Melone, Tersiz and Beleli 2002), Hence it becomes clear why PJ is considered a revolutionary reform movement for conflict reporting. Furthermore, Peace Journalism is not only a new way of reporting conflicts and wars

but also a set of "evaluative criteria for media monitoring and content analysis" (Lynch 2010, p546).

The literature reviews about PJ widely mentions, the concept developed by Johan Galtung in the 1970's, however the very first published materials about PJ dates back to late 90's – the first article by William Kempf in 1996 and the second article by Johan Galtung in 1998 (cf. Kempf 2012a, see Kempf 2008a [1996] and Galtung 2008 [1998]). Considered as the founding father of PJ, Galtung himself was not referring to PJ in his writings till late 90's – For example in an article titled "Reporting on a War: The Gulf War" Galtung (1992) proposes 10 norms for reporting wars, without mentioning PJ at all.

Johan Galtung introduced PJ in a 'table form' during the Conflict and Peace Journalism Summer School" in in Taplow Court, during 1997 (Lynch 2017; Lynch and McGoldrick 2005). The table, which can be considered a stand-alone roadmap for journalists, compares 'Peace/Conflict Journalism' with 'War/Violence Journalism' across four key themes: While the WJ approach is, (1) violence, (2) elite, (3) propaganda and (4) victory oriented, the alternative PJ approach is, (1) peace, (2) people, (3) truth and (4) solution oriented (Lynch and McGoldrick 2005).

Peace journalism initially received focused attention from the international academic arena following its formal introduction to the academic community at an Oxford conference convened and funded by the Toda Institute for Global Peace and Policy Research in 2002 (Lynch 2016). In 2005, Lynch and McGoldrick published the book "Peace Journalism" which is considered a ground- breaking step in the generation and spread of debates about peace journalism worldwide.

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, conflicts are inevitable and necessary for healthy democracies (Hamelink 2006), combat however is optional as argued by Max Lucade (cited in Austin, Giessmann, and Jäger, 2012, p.10). Then the key issue is how conflicts are approached by journalists and media: 'competitive (win-lose model) or cooperative (win-win model' (cf. Kempf 2008b). These two paths defined by Galtung (2008, p.20) as

> "the low road, by far dominant in media, sees conflict as a battle and the battle as a sports competition [win-lose]… the high road the road of peace journalism focus on conflict transformation… [Therefore] the positive opportunities gain the upper hand – without recourse to violence [win-win]".

One of the most popular definitions of PJ is: 'when editors and reporters make choices – of what to report and how to report it – that create opportunities for society at large to consider and to value non-violent responses to conflict" (Lynch and McGoldrick, 2005, p.5). In their book titled "Peace Journalism" – which is considered a ground-breaking step in the generation and spread of debates about peace journalism worldwide, Lynch and McGoldrick (2005, p.5) further argue:

> Peace Journalism:
>
> "• Uses the insights of conflict analysis and transformation to update the concepts of balance, fairness and accuracy in reporting.
> • Provides a new route map tracing the connections between journalists, their sources, the stories they cover and the consequences of their journalism – the ethics of journalistic intervention.
> • Builds an awareness of non-violence and creativity into the practical job of everyday editing and reporting".

Lynch (2007, p.2) in another article titled "a course for peace journalism" goes on to explain the practical terms of what peace journalism aims to do:

> "• Takes an analytical approach to conflict, seeking opportunities to identify parties, goals, needs and interests.
> • Projects a multiparty conflict model rather than a Manichean 'tug-of- war'.
> • Finds room for perspectives from beyond the usual 'official sources'.

- Seeks out peace initiatives as well as ‘pegs’ (opportunities) to report on them”.

3.12.1 Peace journalism: critiques and counterpleas

The theory and practice of PJ, of course is not free from criticism. The conflict and communication journal, which published scholarly articles about PJ, dedicated a volume for the critiques and counterpleas titled as ‘The Peace Journalism Controversy’ (Kempf, 2008), Jake Lynch (2008) also had a book called ‘Debates in Peace Journalism’ published same year. One of the main critiques is that, the PJ approach is incompatible with basic professional norms, such as objectivity and impartiality, because it advocates ‘peace’ (Kempf 2008c) and takes sides in conflict reporting (Loyn 2008).

It is obvious that the very name of PJ causes a misunderstanding about its practices because it combines ‘peace’ and ‘journalism’ (Kempf 2008c), however as argued by Lynch and Galtung (2010, p.17), “PJ is not peace advocacy’; rather it is ‘a serious, inquisitive, professional reporting, making conflict more transparent”. Being a pro peace person/journalist does not automatically make one a peace journalist, because peace journalism insists on a specific code or set of rules that are argued to make a conflict more transparent thus opening up possibilities for peaceful solutions. It also is important to make a distinction between “writing for peace” and “peace journalism”; as Alankuş (2005) argues, writing for peace is not equivalent to peace journalism because most of the journalists who said they write for peace [in terms of supporting peace] are nevertheless trapped in the main characteristics of war journalism. There is also an obvious confusion amongst the Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot journalists, about practising PJ and peace advocacy. This issue will be discussed later in this chapter.

The objectivity issue on the other hand, which is an 'ever green issue in journalism studies' (cf. Hanitzsch, 2008, p.74) and one of the most important ethos of contemporary journalism, is heavily criticized by numerous scholars (e.g Berger 2000; Hackett 1984; Lynch 2008). 'News is not a mirror of reality. It is a representation of the world, and all representations are selective' (Schudson 2003, p.3), and the reality we refer/define as the public in general or journalists in particular, is a social construction (Carey 2009), thus it cannot be objective at all. Taking in consideration the 'social construction of reality', Kempf (2012b, p.2) modifies Lynch and McGoldrick's famous definition as: 'Peace Journalism is when editors and reporters are aware of their contribution to the construction of reality and of their responsibility to 'give peace a chance'. Lynch (2008, p.63) argues that what is called as 'objective news' functions in favor of WJ in 3 ways as 'a bias in favor of event over process; a bias in favor official sources and a bias in favor dualism [two party reporting]'. Last but not least, Lynch in a more recent article uses a harsher critique as: "Journalistic objectivity, if it bestows an undeserved veneer of credibility on the 'garbage' put out by official sources to manipulate public opinion …" (2014, p.35).

Besides the above-mentioned philosophical discussions in western academic and journalistic contexts, PJ has other obstacles, to address and overcome, in non-western contexts, especially in war torn countries that are hosting intractable conflicts such as Cyprus. Most of the referred obstacles below are already discussed in more detail in the previous sections of this literature review. So the argument below is like a sum up in relation to PJ.

When the issue is about reporting a violent or cold ethno-political conflict, there are five interconnected issues that can be considered as barriers to peace journalism. These

barriers are more or less related with the social, economic and cultural contexts within which journalism is practiced.

First, media institutions are primarily commercial institutions having mainly economical but also political and ideological interests (McChesney, 2015). Second, journalists are not free-floating professionals reporting whatever they want in whatever way they prefer. They are working for media institutions that have their own interests (Çiftçioglu 2007).

Third, what we call news tends to accentuate the negative. “The bad news comes first” says Shoemaker and adds “If developments are negative, they are more likely to become news” (2006, p.106). According to Wolfsfeld (2004, p.15), “All other things being equal, journalists prefer to tell stories about conflict. News is first and foremost, about conflict and disorder. Protests, violence, crime, wars, and disasters provide the most natural material for news reports. Journalists become famous and win awards for covering such stories.” These shadows the possibility of journalists to ‘give peace a chance’.

Fourth, domestic media usually adopt nationalistic/ethnocentric views worldwide (Fuller, 1996; Wolfsfeld 2008). It is widely argued that, when their home country/community is involved, journalists and media approach conflicts, wars, crises or national security matters from an ethnocentric/nationalist point of view (Liebes, 2004; Zandberg and Neiger, 2005; Hammond and Herman 2001; Wolfsfeld 2008; Zaller and Chiu 1996; Rubin 1990). As argued in previous sections, journalists are also members of their societies and have been socialized into ethnocentric/nationalistic views, and they are ‘willy-nilly, are servants of their culture’ because they have to

write news relevant and familiar to their society (Liebes 2014, p.1). This socialization into particular ways of thinking about the world partly explains how it may seem reasonable and rational to journalists to be writing about conflict from the point of view of their own communities, societies, states or nations. It is expected from journalists to be watchdogs and act critical of the governors, however, those who criticize the actions of their governments in times of war, escalated conflicts and/or national security issues are labeled as disloyal, even traitor. Here it is important to remind the argument of Zandberg and Negier (2005, p.131) that "journalists are caught between Nation and Profession".

It would be unfair to scrutinize journalists without contextualizing their behavior within the media institutions they work for. As argued in more detail before, the media institutions themselves exude feelings of patriotism during times of war (Hammond and Herman 2001, p.200) and/or conflicts. During those times the media act as 'government's little helper' (Zaller and Chiu, 1996, p.385).

Fifth, as argued before during in times of national security issues, wars, and/or conflicts, sources of information is somehow limited to [official] elites only (Peri, 2007; Rubin 1990) – that is again a big obstacle for those who want to practice peace journalism by focusing on 'people oriented' sources instead of 'elite oriented' sources. Furthermore, elite oriented news in times of conflicts, means more hostile arguments about the 'other side' and more arguments about one's own side's rightfulness on the topic.

These factors work against journalists engaging in peace journalism precisely when it is needed the most. But of course, these are not preventing journalists to practice peace

journalisms worldwide. The task is difficult but not impossible, if so, all the debates about peace journalism are null.

3.13 Cyprus print media and their approach to the conflict between two communities

The introduction of print media to Cyprus during the early days of British Rule in 1878, lead to a 'nationalist struggle' between the elites of The two communities – The strong demand in the first Greek Cypriots newspapers for Enosis played an enormous role to spread nationalism among Greek Cypriots, but it also had a counter reaction as it created 'anxiety and fear' amongst Turkish Cypriots which in turn led to the publishing of the first Turkish Cypriot newspaper as a means of protecting the community's interests and also to spread opposing nationalist ideas against Enosis (Azgın, 2009; Papademetris and Sophokleous, 1991; Ünlü 1981; Katsourides 2018; Katsiaounis 1996; Stubbs and Taşeli 2004;). The Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot press have had different functions throughout history. However, both have been instrumental for the 'struggle' against the other community and the 'internal others' who hold different political ideas, is defining characteristics they share (Panayiotou, 2006; Azgın 2009; Ünlü 1981). It is also for this reason that journalism in Cyprus is called as 'national struggle journalism' against the other community (cf. Bailie and Azgin, 2008) or 'combative journalism' (cf. Ünlü, 1981) in a more general sense referring to never-ending debates against the 'internal others'. It is important to note that print media of both communities, either have close ties with political parties or are linked to them as party mouthpieces (Milioni, Spyridou and Koumis 2018; Vassiliadou 2007; Çıraklı 2018). Furthermore; journalism in Cyprus, in contrast to western cultures, generally performed as 'opinion-based' (cf. Ünlü 1981) and 'commentary-oriented or advocacy journalism' (cf. Carpentier and Doudaki 2014).

Post referendum 2004, a growing interest developed amongst scholars in Cyprus to investigate the print media's representations of peace negotiations, the Cyprus Problem and the dissemination of the discourses related to nationalism, national identity and the 'others' in either community (e.g. Ersoy 2006; Bailie and Azgin 2008; Taki 2009; Christophorou, Şahin and Pavlou 2010; Ersoy 2010; Şahin 2011; Türkkol 2012; Şahin and Ross 2012; Ersoy 2013; Şahin 2013; Ciftci 2014; Avraamidou and Kyriakides 2015; Antoniades 2017; Avraamidou 2017; Christophorou and Şahin 2018; Çıraklı 2018; Ercan 2019; Avraamidou and Psaltis 2019). Among these, very few studies are comparative (e.g. Bailie and Azgin 2008; Christophorou, Şahin and Pavlou 2010; Ersoy 2010; Christophorou and Şahin 2018) and comparative PJ research remains extremely limited (Bailie and Azgin 2008; Ersoy 2010). Comparative PJ research, especially if the comparison is made among the news media of conflicting parties, is invaluable, as it opens up space to evaluate theoretical and practical difficulties of the possible application of PJ in conflicts where journalist's homeland/community is directly involved.

Drawing on aforementioned studies, one can conclude that, the majority of the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot print media, much like the other media institutions in the rest of the world, are more interested in producing conflict-oriented news stories. Overlapping with the general findings of this research, common characteristics of print media on both sides can be seen this way: a) the Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot newspapers cover events through their own communities' official/elitist one-sided perspective and fail to provide critiques of those elitist views (Christophorou and Şahin 2018; Avraamidou, 2017; Bailie and Azgın 2008; Ersoy 2013; Şahin 2013; Türkkol 2012; Şahin and Ross 2012; Şahin 2011; Christophoros, Şahin and Pavlou 2010; Ersoy 2010); b) From an ethnonationalists point of view, the print media of both

communities usually hurls accusations on the other side, sustaining an us-them division (Christophorou and Şahin 2018; Bailie and Azgin 2008; Ersoy 2010; Türkkol 2012; Şahin and Ross 2012; Ersoy 2013; Şahin 2013; Christophorou, Şahin and Pavlou 2010; Avraamidou and Kyriakides 2015; Avraamidou 2017; Avraamidou and Psaltis 2019); c) The Zero-Sum approach is a common approach to represent the conflicts between the two communities (Bailie and Azgin 2008; Türkkol 2012; Avraamidou 2017; Avraamidou and Psaltis 2019).

There are of course rare occasions when print media, of both communities support the peace negotiations in Cyprus. The most striking example of this was the policy change of media institutions during the Referendum period, including the biggest Turkish Cypriot daily Kıbrıs, who began to outwardly support the Annan Plan (Hançer 2006; Ciftci 2014). It is widely thought that his action brought forth the massive Yes vote in Turkish Cypriot community (Latif 2007). Some of the Greek Cypriot print media also supported the Anan Plan (Christophorou, Şahin and Pavlou 2010; Avraamidou, 2017) and more recently the Mont Pelerin Talks in 2016 (Antoniades, 2017). These actions alas cannot be seen as practices of peace journalism. These are rather good examples of 'peace advocacy' and strong links to political parties to support their views or simply as 'peace propaganda' (cf. Ciftci, 2014). In Cyprus context, being a pro-peace media institution does not necessarily mean the practice of PJ (Ciftcioglu 2017). A critical reading of recent studies done with editors and journalists in Turkish Cypriot print media (Ercan 2019; Ciftci 2014), reveals that there is a confusion about practising peace journalism and being a pro-peace journalist and/or practising peace advocacy. A Greek Cypriot scholar Andreas Panayiotou, on the other hand, argues that, "Peace journalism in Cyprus historically has been associated with ideological commitment" (2006, p.27). Yet, as discussed by Galtung and Lynch on several occasions, Peace

Journalism is neither peace advocacy nor an ideological commitment. Peace Journalism is not less than any professional reporting except its approach to make conflicts transparent and giving peaceful solutions a chance to be more visible.

Chapter 4

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

This chapter describes the research design and presents the rationale behind the specific method, sampling, limitations and data analysing techniques used to answer research questions posed. As discussed before, this study, on the methodological level is not operationalizing a political economy analysis and/or a qualitative cultural studies analysis rather I prefer to connect the empirical results of my research with the critical media theories provided by these approaches. As Fuchs (2011, p.160) argues "Theory and empirical research need to be connected: empirical research needs to be grounded in social theory and its results should be theoretically generalized. Critical theory is the foundation for empirical studies; it informs and orients critical empirical research." I purposefully prefer to position my study within the framework of critical empirical research –that means, apart from using quantitative or qualitative methods, practically following the approach provided by Critical Theory which is – 'Critical Realism'. This will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

This research is designed as a comparative study based on a quantitative analysis of front-page stories published on the hydrocarbons conflict by the Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot newspapers during September 2011. As mentioned earlier, comparative media research and more specifically comparative PJ research in Cyprus context is rare. One of the main reasons behind this limitation is the language barrier – bi-lingual (Turkish and Greek speaking) researchers are limited and the translation of media texts

from one language to the other, is time consuming and costly. Due to this fact, the author of this study attained professional help from several translators and journalists from both communities to indicate relevant news articles.

4.1 Employed research method – content analysis

This study is based on quantitative content analysis. Content analysis considered as one of the "most important" (Krippendorff 2004, p. xiii), and "most commonly used" (Berger, 2016, p.173), research method for analysing media messages. Content analysis can be briefly defined as: "a research technique for systematic classification and description of communication content according certain usually predetermined categories" (Wright 1986, p.125 cited in Berger 2016, p.173). Bernard Berelson, in his seminal book on content analysis published in 1952, argues with similar lines that, "a research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication" (Berelson 1952, p.18 cited in Krippendorff 2004, p.19). As argued above being objective, systematic, quantitative and "replicable" (cf. Riffe, Lacy, and Fico, 2014, p.19) are the main characteristics of the content analysis. It is important for me to explain what it meant objective here – considering the critical approach of this study towards (journalistic) objectivity. Berger (2016, p.392) put it this way: "Objective means that we seek units for analysis and categorize them using clearly defined criteria" (cf. Treadwell 2011).

It is argued that, doing content analysis casually on daily basis is part of most people's life; "We do it when we pose new information against whatever else we know; we look for generalities, regularities and patterns in the information" (Singletary, 1993, p.280).

As a quantitative research method, the goal of content analysis, "…is to generate frequency counts of items in each category so that comparisons can be made" (Keyton 2001, p.251). Singletary (1993), with similar lines argues that, "Content analysis is simply a method reducing texts to numbers. It amounts to counting the occurrence of elements that appear in text" (p.281).

The main rationale for This study for employing quantitative content analysis is to deal systematically with large number of news stories, as Deacon et al, (1999, p. 116) also argues, "the purpose of content analysis is to quantify salient and manifest features of large number of texts, and statistics are used to make broader inferences about the process and politics of representation".

4.2 Sampling for the study

As mentioned in chapter 1, this study focuses on the mediated representations of Cyprus print media about the hydrocarbons conflict. This study uses all 5 Greek Cypriot daily newspaper (Alithia, Haravgi, Phileleftheros, Politis and Simerini) and 13 Turkish Cypriot daily newspapers (Afrika, Demokrat Bakış, Güneş, Haberdar, Halkın Sesi, Havadis, Kıbrıs, Kıbrıslı, Star Kıbrıs, Ortam, Vatan, Volkan and Yenidüzen) which were published during September 2011, as sample.

This study is limited with coverage during September 2011 because the very first offshore hydrocarbons excavation started during this period which caused tension amongst conflicting parties that 'peaked' (cf. Oğurlu 2012) to 'crisis levels' (cf. Gürel, Mullen and Tzimitras 2013). Furthermore, the pilot study conducted during the last quarter of 2011, reveals that there is a dramatic decrease in the front-page coverage of the hydrocarbons conflict after September.

The unit of analysis was the front-page stories related to the hydrocarbons conflict. The research is limited with front page stories of the newspapers in order to a) explore the importance given to this conflict, and b) to understand their approach towards hydrocarbon reserves in East Mediterranean – representing it as a problem or benefit. The reason behind limiting the research to front pages and using all daily newspapers is justified as: In Cyprus, on both sides of the division line, there are TV and Radio shows – and even internet pages, where front page stories of all newspapers are presented. For the Turkish Cypriot case, even the newspapers, which have circulation less than 1000 copies, have the chance to be fully presented with their front pages. Considering the fact that Turkish Cypriot press heavily relies upon the state news agency and they have "uniform reports" (Şahin 2013), their ideological, political differences can be easily seen on their front pages –uniform stories but different headlines (İrvan, 2006b, p.60). The importance of front pages is expressed by Doğan Harman [former editor in chief of Kıbrıslı newspaper] as: "You cannot interfere in a newspapers front page. I say this with bold capital letters you cannot… If you want a front page [story] you have to publish your own newspaper" (cited in İrvan 2006b, p.60). Harman's honest expression here, is interconnected with Bekir Azgın's argumentation about Turkish Cypriot press history that those who want to engage in politics or want to gain political power always publish newspapers (Azgın, 2009). Greek Cypriot newspapers, on the other hand, which have enough economic sources to hire their own journalists, rather than relying upon news agencies, could have their own [different] approaches about the hydrocarbons conflict, but are they really employing different approaches? This study focuses on the front-page stories in order explore ideological/political differences/similarities between daily newspapers about the hydrocarbons conflict. Instead of including all 5 dailies from Greek Cypriot press

and choosing 5 Turkish Cypriot high circulation dailies or 5 Turkish Cypriot dailies with different political/ideological orientations as a sample – which is a common approach in comparative media studies in Cyprus –The author of this study prefer to include all dailies published on both sides. This will let us see the whole picture and make comparisons within the media landscape of both sides and also between two sides. This is an opportunity to see how diversely the stories are presented in the newspapers about the hydrocarbons conflict.

4.2.1 Information about the newspapers included in the sample and the journalism culture in Cyprus

The sample which includes all Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot daily newspapers consist of 18 newspapers. Back in September 2011 [period for the case study], there were 13 Turkish Cypriot published daily:

AFRİKA: privately owned, extreme left-wing Turkish Cypriot daily.

DEMOKRAT BAKIŞ: Mouthpiece of right-wing DP [Democratic Party].

GÜNEŞ: Mouthpiece of right-wing UBP [National Unity Party].

HABERDAR: privately owned, right wing Turkish Cypriot daily.

HALKIN SESİ: privately owned, right wing Turkish Cypriot daily. This newspaper is the oldest Turkish Cypriot newspaper, published since 1942.

HAVADİS: privately owned, no party affiliation belongs to centre.

KIBRIS: is the leading Turkish Cypriot newspaper, with no party affiliation, having the highest circulation.

KIBRISLI: Privately owned, right-wing newspaper.

STAR KIBRIS: Privately owned, right wing newspaper.

ORTAM: ORTAM: Mouthpiece of left wing TDP [Peace and Democracy Party].

VATAN: Privately owned, right wing newspaper.

VOLKAN: Privately owned, extreme right-wing newspaper.

YENİDÜZEN: Mouthpiece of left-wing CTP [Republican Turkish Party].

The sample for this study which consist of all Greek Cypriot dailies, includes 5 newspapers published back in September 2011:

ALITHIA: Privately owned, right wing. It's not official mouthpiece of right-wing DISY [Democratic Rally], but considered to have close ties with it.

HARAVGI: Mouthpiece of left wing AKEL [Progressive Party of Working People].

PHILELEFTHEROS: Privately owned, leading Greek Cypriot newspaper. It is also the oldest Greek Cypriot newspaper, with the highest circulation.

POLITIS: Privately owned, left wing newspaper.

SIMERINI: Privately owned, extreme right-wing newspaper.

In the previous chapter, while discussing the Cyprus press history, I mention the similarities newspapers on both sides share. Here, I discuss the differences in terms of journalism culture and practice between Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot newspapers. Unsurprisingly, newspapers on both sides of the divide work in two different economic/political environment which resulted in two different journalism cultures. The Greek Cypriot newspapers are operating in a more realistic media market – where circulation and advertisement revenues are crucial for the life span of the newspapers – Simerini, a Greek Cypriot newspaper included in the sample of this study, recently became a weekly due to low circulation numbers. There is keen competition for circulation that forces the newspapers and their owners to publish more "exclusive" stories other than public announcements and or news agency bulletins. This means hiring more journalists who produce more investigative stories. The Turkish Cypriot newspapers on the other hand, are published regardless of their

circulation numbers. Considering September 2011, besides Kıbrıs, Havadis, Yenidüzen and Afrika newspapers, the rest have a circulation of between 300-1000 copies. From a pure economic standpoint, this makes no sense. Why does a newspaper continues its publication with such low circulation? From a political economy perspective, the answer to this question is simple: for political gain. Newspaper owners in the Turkish Cypriot community use their newspapers either to criticize the governments or to support them. There are other questions to answer. How does a newspaper survive while selling only 300 copies? By hiring minimum staff. Most of the Turkish Cypriot newspapers do not hire journalists. Then how does a newspaper prepare news daily without journalists? The state news agency TAK provides free of charge, news bulletins daily to the newspapers. Then the newspaper owners need a graphic designer to design the newspaper and an editor to change the headlines of the stories provided by TAK according to the newspaper's ideology. Furthermore, while the Greek Cypriot community has only one "mouthpiece" newspaper – Haravgi, the Turkish Cypriot community have four newspapers – Yenidüzen, Ortam, Güneş and Demokrat. Even if these newspapers did not break even in terms of cost, the political parties will support their publication for propaganda purposes.

The second significant difference between the journalism practised by Greek Cypriot journalists and Turkish Cypriot journalists, is the usage of unnamed, diplomatic, and/or trusted sources. Although the Turkish Cypriot newspapers who hired journalists is limited, the usage of unnamed sources is extremely limited due to the fact that the TRNC is an unrecognized state with no actual diplomatic relationship other than Turkey. Furthermore, Turkish Cypriot community is a small community, therefore the political elites prefer to speak directly rather than off the record. The Greek Cypriot journalists on the other hand, in order to make exclusive stories prefer to use unnamed

sources in their stories. This can be read from another angle as: elites might be using journalists to create public agenda on some specific issues by leaking documents and other forms of information.

4.3 Developing the instrument for data gathering

It is important to note that I spent enormous of time while developing the data gathering instrument. I made critical readings of the front-page stories and observed the repeating characteristics of the stories published on both sides, took notes. Then I develop a 'Content Analysis Coding Sheet'. I call this as a critical/qualitative procedure for creating a quantitative coding sheet. The quantitative statistical analysis done by SPSS software for this study is somehow aimed to highlight the patterns in the frontpages in favour of PJ or WJ.

The questions in the coding sheet can be categorized under 4 main themes; a) questions that aim to gather descriptive information about the news stories, b) questions that aim to evaluate sources of the stories and sources in the news stories c) questions that aim to critically evaluate characteristics of the stories in terms of the representation of the conflict (escalating/de-escalating approaches, usage of military discourse, reference to peaceful solutions, reference to the negative outcomes of a possible war) d) questions that aim to reveal orientation of the stories about the hydrocarbons conflict (win-win /zero-sum).

The 'Content Analysis Coding Sheet' designed for this study is based on Galtung's (1998) famous WJ and PJ chart has been utilised to better present the data collected. The model used for the coding sheet to determine PJ and WJ is adopted from Lee et al. (2006) and Shinar (2009). Whilst Lee et al. (2006) have 13 indicators for PJ and

WJ, Shinar (2009) has 10 indicators. This study adopted and used six of these indicators and the seventh and eighth indicators are developed specifically by this study for analysing the escalated conflicts. This study is limited to the seven indicators below to specifically address the print media's role in a case where there is a risk for military confrontation and violent outcomes.

- For War Journalism: (1) Zero-sum orientation; (2) Focuses mainly on differences that led to the conflict; (3) Focuses on "here and now" events; (4) Partisan (biased for one side in the conflict) (5) Usage of military vocabulary/discourse; (6) Emphasis on elite and official sources; (7) Usage of escalating quotes (8) No discussion of negative repercussions of a possible war.
- As for Peace Journalism: (1) Win-win orientation; (2) Focuses on common grounds that might lead to a peaceful solution; (3) Focuses on wider aspects of the conflict (4) Nonpartisan (5) Absence of military vocabulary/discourse; (6) Emphasis on "people sources"; (7) Usage of de-escalating quotes; (8) Discussing negative repercussions of a possible war.

A closer look to PJ and WJ indicators used in the quantitative PJ research confirms that majority of the indicators were developed to evaluate war reporting (see Appendixes of widely cited Lee and Maslog, 2005; Lee et al., 2006 and for a more recent study: Hussain and Siraj, 2019), that is why the author of this study adopted only six of the indicators for this specific case. On the first look, one might think that the seventh indicator proposed here is overlapping with some indicators used in other studies such as; 'causes and consequences of conflict/war' (Lee and Maslog, 2005; Siraj, 2008), 'causes and effects' (Hussain and Siraj, 2019) however whilst these indicators are referring to and aiming at analysing reporting on causes and

consequences of already happened wars/conflicts – i.e., war reporting, my indicator specifically focus to analyse reporting on cases with a potential risk for war – i.e., escalated conflicts. The author of this thesis believe that it is crucial to evaluate media's and journalist's role in reporting an escalated conflict – from the normative point of view of the PJ, one might expect to read discussions about negative consequences of a possible war in such escalated conflicts as a warning to public and decision-makers.

It is important to note that, the questions prepared for the data collecting by this author, is tested by a group of research experts including Mehmduh Erişmen, Eliz Tefik and Muharrem Amcazade to improve the reliability and validity of the research. The coding sheet tested by the researcher and the experts several times with the sample and after a focus group discussion some of the questions revised or removed to finalize the data gathering tool.

4.4 Reliability test

As argued above one of the main characteristics of the content analysis method is 'replicability' and in order to be replicable without any bias, the data gathering instrument created for the content analysis, needs to pass a reliability test. The reliability of a content analysis is usually measured by comparing the scores of the independent coders working with the same sample used for the study. This is also called "intercoder reliability [which] is the widely used term for the extent to which independent coders evaluate a characteristic of a message or artifact and reach the same conclusion" (Lombard, Snyder-Duch and Bracken, 2002, p.589). There are several methods to test the intercoder reliability, this study chose to use "Cohen's kappa" analysis (Cohen 1960). In order to apply this analysis, first of all I train a second researcher about the content analysis coding sheet developed for this study.

This training also includes detailed information about key concepts in this research such as escalating/de-escalating quotes, military vocabulary in the news sample, zero-sum / win-win approaches in the news sample. Then the second researcher coded %10 of the total sample (n=63). The reliability coefficient for this study is calculated through SPSS software. According to Landis and Koch (1977) "widely-used Cohen's kappa, with .81 to 1.00 indicating "almost perfect" agreement, .61 to .80 substantial agreement, .41 to .60 moderate agreement, and .21 to .40 fair agreement" (cited in Neuendorf 2017, p.236). The kappa analysis done for the %10 of the total sample is in the range of .81 to 1.00.

4.5 Research procedure

During September 2011, 629 front page news stories were published by Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot newspapers about the hydrocarbons conflict in the Eastern Mediterranean. 461 of these stories were published by 13 Turkish Cypriot dailies and 168 of them published by 5 Greek Cypriot newspapers. I collected the front-page stories published by the Turkish Cypriot press, as the hydrocarbons conflict developed real time during the last quarter of the 2011. The Turkish Cypriot front pages related to the hydrocarbons conflict then scanned and digitalized for the analysis. For the Greek Cypriot press, during the beginning of 2012, the author, downloaded the digital versions of the newspapers from their webpages as PDF files and then digitalize the hydrocarbons related front page news stories for the analysis with the help of the translators.

As a Turkish Cypriot researcher, it was an important obstacle for me to access and code/analyse Greek Cypriot press. I had assisted by a Turkish Cypriot colleague, Emin Hikmet, who is a translator at PIK (Cyprus Broadcasting Cooperation). He translated

all front-page stories about the issue to English, and then another Greek Cypriot translator, Athena Samaklis made proof readings of those translations. Therefore, I can easily use my coding sheet for data gathering. For the translation of the Turkish Cypriot press to English, I had assisted by a Turkish Cypriot journalist, Yurdakul Cafer, these translations later proof read by a native English-speaking Turkish Cypriot director/journalist, Yeliz Shukri.

All front-page newspaper items dealing with the hydrocarbons conflict in the month of September 2011 were coded. A coding sheet for each front-page story is filled and then computed for raw frequencies with SPSS software.

4.6 Research questions

To what extent was the coverage of the hydrocarbons conflict by Turkish Cy and GC newspapers dominated by WJ or PJ approach? This is the major research question posed by this study. In order to answer this main research question, this study will seek to explore the following sub-questions:

RQ1: What are the significant differences, if any, between Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot newspapers in terms of using peace journalism and/or war journalism approaches for covering hydrocarbons conflict?

RQ2: How diverse is sourcing by Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot newspapers in covering the hydrocarbons conflict?

RQ3: To what extent Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot newspapers provided discussion, or non-discussion, of negative repercussions of a possible war?

RQ4: To what extent Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot newspapers used escalating, or de-escalating, oriented quotations in covering the hydrocarbons conflict?

4.7 Critical realism, cultural studies and statistics

As argued in the introduction section of this chapter, this study is a critical empirical research. The critical here is used against the pure positivist approach – "a belief in single reality, and a value free research" (cf. Bergman, 2008, p.13). This is not a positivist research as Erdoğan argues, "The use of empirical data and statistical measures does not make a study a positivist-empirical research" (Erdoğan 2015, p.146). Following the same path Fuchs states that, "Critical empirical research should make use of all quantitative and qualitative methods that are available, applicable and necessary to produce knowledge that allows to uncover the truth about false states of society" (2011, p.327).

The critical empirical research mentioned above is based on Critical Realism approach of the Critical Theory. Morrow and Brown (1994, p.77), argues about the common ontological and epistemological approach of critical theory and critical realism as:

> "Critical realism along with critical theory rejects the basic polarization that frames the opposition between positivism and postmodernist relativism – the standoff between empiricism and subjectivism as the only choices. The rejection is achieved, in part, by redefining the relations between the epistemology and ontology. It acknowledges the subjectivist (and the pragmatist) point that epistemology cannot be based on some pure scientific method that is based on logic and empirical data: The methodologies of science are many, and empirical evidence is always available for strong competing views. But this epistemological and methodological pragmatism does not necessarily require ontological scepticism – the suggestion that we cannot posit realities independent of our consciousness".

Critical realism, similar to critical theory, also rejects the idea that science can be value free (Miller and Brewer, 2003, p.258), as Olsen (2004, p.131) puts it this way:

> "Empiricist social scientists often aim for value neutrality, whereas critical social scientists attempt to incorporate the analysis of values into their research strategies. Critical realists therefore reflect on the values implicit or explicit in theoretical frameworks as well as in empirical data".

Furthermore, the opposition of critical realism and critical theory against the idea of value free science is based on its transformative/emancipatory characteristic:

> "[Critical realism – critical theory] examines the structuring of human relations using the criterion of whether they promote or constrain the human freedom and dignity of those involved in them. This information can then be used as a resource for those who wish to act in a way that will transform oppressive social structures" (Miller and Brewer, 2003, p.258).

Critical theory and critical political economy seek to create human emancipation and an emancipatory science (MacLennan and Thomas, 2003, p.169; Mcdonald 2017 p.4; Hardy 2014, p3), which overlaps with my major aim to conduct this study.

It's important to stress that, the quantitative results – statistics, for This study are critically evaluated as Deacon et al, (1999, p.82) argues, "Statistics do not speak for themselves: they need to be read critically". Unlike most of the mainstream quantitative research in media studies, my goal is to read the statistical results derived by the content analysis, from critical theoretical frameworks of cultural studies and political economy. Beyond its critical approach this study is also an attempt to reconcile cultural studies with [quantitative] methodologies by using content analysis in this specific case study.

Cultural Studies approach, which has little interest in quantitative methodologies (Deacon, 2008, 89), is usually suspicious about statistical (numerical) results derived from those methodologies (Lewis, 1997, p.84). Deacon (2008, p.89) argues that, "traditional quantitative methods were rejected as intractably inflexible and ill-

conceived" by the Cultural Studies practitioners, because they are more interested with the questions of representation and meaning. Researchers who deal with quantitative methodologies are seen as "number crunchers" by cultural studies practitioners; according to Lewis, this term "…with its vaguely patronizing connotations of empty-headed manual labour, has become a pejorative metonym for pre-structuralist social science" (Lewis, 1997, p.84).

4.8 On being critical and praxis

As it is discussed in the theoretical framework chapter [Chapter 2], this is a critical media research. The author of this study follows the footsteps of Smythe and Dinh, who argued; "All of us have our predispositions, either to criticize and try to change the existing political economic order or to defend and strengthen it" (1983, p.117). There is no way to think scientifically without being critical, as Hamelink puts it this way: "Uncritical thinking may be characteristic of other discourses in society, but science can only be critical as its brief is to make distinctions and engage in analysis and assessment" (2008, p.3). Of course, we have to keep administrative research out of this conceptualization, for example Golumbia (2013, p.251) complains about "embedded reporting" in communication and media studies, "where scholars are encouraged to work along with production teams and companies to develop 'internalist' accounts of media".

I position myself, the way Pickard argues about the role of critical scholars – critical political economists, "…to provide analytical tools to clarify social conditions and cast into stark relief structures of power, exploitation, and control" and to "…interrogate institutions with an explicit scepticism toward dominant ideologies and social relations" (Pickard, 2013, p.307-08).

I have been working in different media institutions – including TV and radio stations, newspapers, magazines – on both sides of the division line, in various positions like, journalist, cameraman, director, editor in chief etc., for almost 20 years. This experience in the media sector will be useful for me to contextualize my research findings from a critical perspective. During all these years I had the chance to work in the institutions that are left wing /pro peace/pro federal solution oriented, as well as right wing and state controlled – ethno nationalist institutions. Meanwhile I have been a student in Faculty of Communication and Media Studies at EMU, which gives me the opportunity to have an academic view/understanding about the sector. This helps me to conceptualize the socio-political and economic context with which Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot press operates. So, political economy of communication is not an absolute theory for me, because in practice I experience how ownership and ideology functions for media production/distribution – including my own productions. Similarly, I interconnect my experiences about [auto] censorship, importance of editorial decisions, discursive constructions – language use, with the theoretical approaches of cultural studies.

Furthermore, my experience working as a director/journalist in a bi-lingual/bi-communal TV program called "Biz/Emeis" – broadcasted at PIK from 2004 till 2018, which is considered to be "a peace bridge" between two communities, is priceless to critically evaluate peace journalism approach. This program where Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots worked together is a unique example worldwide in terms of its bi-communal/bi lingual characteristics. I cannot, consider myself fully acting as a peace journalist, because of some institutional restrictions, but I am working in favour of peace journalism and I have first-hand experience about the practice of peace

journalism which is rare in Cyprus context. Trying to practice peace journalism gives me opportunity to see pitfalls of it.

My experience for practising peace journalism as a PhD candidate can be considered as linking theory to practice – which is usually called praxis by critical scholars. "Philosophy of Praxis" becomes a well-known concept with Antonio Gramsci's masterpiece – Prison Notebooks, Hoare and Smith (1992, p. xiii) in their preface to Gramsci's work, argues that: "philosophy of praxis is… an autonomous term used by Gramsci to define what he saw to be a central characteristic of the philosophy of Marxism, the inseparable link it establishes between theory and practice, thought and action". Praxis is one of the most important characteristic of critical political economy approach (Wasko 2018, p.4; Mosco 2015, p.52). Chen (2013), also discusses the responsibilities of political economy researchers in terms of praxis, which is also shared by the present study: "The goal of academic praxis in the political economy tradition is to challenge unequal social power relations, deepen democracy, and increase the liberation of human beings" (p.437)

With similar lines in a recent article Fuchs and Qiu argues that, "given that the world is facing existential political, economic, cultural ideological and environmental crises, it is fatal for communication scholars to just carry on doing business as usual. Communication studies must be praxis-based and praxis-oriented" (2018, p.226)

Furthermore, I have a great interest to criticize/expose media institutions ideological approaches, from the very beginning of my university education. Tirelessly asking the question "Whose interests are being served?", "Why the media institution(s) prefer to

represent it like this?" gives me the opportunity to become closer to critical political economy and cultural studies approaches.

As a journalist and a PhD candidate, I am always highly critical about, sensationalism and "banal nationalism" (Billig, 1995) in media. This critical sensitivity plays an important role on selecting my case study as well. When I read this quote, "This is what we have the navy for"[12] from Turkey's formal Chief Negotiator and European Union Minister Egemen Bağış, on the headlines of several Turkish Cypriot newspapers during September 2011, it motivates me to pick up the hydrocarbons conflict as my case study. The way this quote presented on the front pages was a good example for me about "warmongering" and "sensationalism" – namely war journalism, in media which needs to be analysed through the lens of peace journalism which is supported by critical political economy and cultural studies approach.

[12] Headline: ***"This is what we have the navy for"***
Turkey's Chief Negotiator and European Union Minister Egemen Bağış issued a threat like warning to Cyprus Greek Side who announced that they will start oil exploration in Mediterranean from 1st of October. Bağış calls attention to similar cases that Turkey sends his warships to the region and said: *"This is what we have the navy for".*

Chapter 5

FINDINGS

This Chapter is organized to present the findings of the research questions posed. The findings generally organized according to the 8 sets of peace journalism and war journalism indicators mentioned in the previous chapter. Besides these indicators examined, the content analysis conducted for this study also reveals descriptive information about the news stories.

As mentioned before, during September 2011, 629 front page stories were published by Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot newspapers about the hydrocarbons conflict in the Eastern Mediterranean. 461 of these stories were published by 13 Turkish Cypriot newspapers and 168 of them published by 5 Greek Cypriot newspapers.

Before presenting the findings of this research, it is important to show some extracts from the newspapers that including significant characteristics of war journalism or peace journalism. The following extracts from front-page news' headlines and sub-headlines illustrate the orientation towards WJ:

> "ON ALERT FOR THE EEZ
> Cyprus' and Greece' military and navy are monitoring Turkey's movements (Phileleftheros, leading GC daily, 12 September 2011). See Figure 1 in Appendix A.

> Piri Reis sailing to Cyprus accompanied by three frigates.
> THEY'VE GONE TOO FAR
> And threaten a crisis in the entire Mediterranean Sea. (Simerini, right-wing GC daily, 24 September 2011). See Figure 2 in Appendix A.

GOVERNMENT ACTIONS SHIELD US
Government actions at a political and diplomatic level have shielded the Republic of Cyprus' sovereign rights to exploit its natural wealth against Turkish threats (Haravgi, left wing GC daily, 17 September 2011). See Figure 3 in Appendix A.

RISING TENSIONS AS THE WAIT CONTINUES
While the GC Defence Minister held a series of contacts in Athens, it has been reported that the Turkish navy have been sailing off the coast of Paphos (Kıbrıs, leading TC daily, 17 September 2011). See Figure 4 in Appendix A.

WE ARE NOT BLUFFING
Turkey once again warns Israel, UN and US-backed GC Administration. (Volkan, right-wing TC daily, 21 September 2011). See Figure 5 in Appendix A.

ERDOĞAN: "We have rights up to the Indian Ocean"
(Yenidüzen, left-wing TC daily, 28 September 2011). See Figure 6 in Appendix A."

The following extracts from front-page news' headlines and sub-headlines illustrate the limited orientation towards PJ. It is important to note that the win–win approaches below are based on politicians' announcements that is also a clear example of elite oriented news-making in Cyprus.

" 'GIFTS' FROM CHRISTOFIAS EVEN BEFORE THE SOLUTION
He offers TCs a dividend from the 'profits' (Simerini, right-wing GC daily, 23 September 2011). See Figure 7 in Appendix A.

[GC Government Advisor] Toumazos Tsielepis:
'Hydrocarbons are a solution incentive for both communities' (Haravgi, left-wing TC daily, 25 September 2011). See Figure 8 in Appendix A.

EU Representative Androulla Kaminara said to KIBRIS TV:
THE ONLY WAY OUT IS TO SOLVE THE CYPRUS PROBLEM
Kaminara who mentioned that she closely followed developments regarding the petrol issue [hydrocarbons], calls on both sides to focus on solving the Cyprus Problem. (Kıbrıs, leading TC daily, 17 September 2011). See Figure 4 in Appendix A".

5.1 Size and location of articles on the front page

This study computed frequencies about how the articles located on the front pages in order to analyse the importance given to the hydrocarbons conflict. The content

analysis reveals that 32.9% (n=209) of the published stories on both sides were banner headlines[13], which means that both Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot newspapers give great importance to this conflict. Stories which were located as "headline and lead"[14], have an equal percentage with the banners. This can be interpreted as a strategy to attract the readers to read the follow up stories. With a similar strategy 12.2% (n=77) of the stories were presented as "single headlines". The fourth category in the ranking is the "headline with intro"[15] with the percentage of 10.8 (n=68). The reason I have 6 different categories here instead of having banner headlines and "others" is to reveal how diverse in terms of size/location newspapers on both sides decide to represent the hydrocarbons conflict on their frontpages.

Although the number of news published in the Turkish Cypriot newspapers is almost triple of the news published in the Greek Cypriot newspapers, the percentages related to the location/size of the stories are close to each other. While the Greek Cypriot newspapers use 65 banners on their front-pages about the hydrocarbons conflict during September 2011, which is 38.7% of the 168 stories, the Turkish Cypriot newspapers use 144 banners which is 31.2% of the total 461 stories. Table 2 shows the general frequencies about how the articles are located on the front pages of the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot newspapers.

[13] "Banner Headline / Banner" category is used for the dominant story on the front page of a newspaper [also known as Manchette].
[14] "Headline and lead" category is defined by the researcher for the stories that appeared on the front page with a headline and maximum two sentences of lead.
[15] "Headline and intro" category is defined by the researcher for the stories that appeared on the front page with a headline and more than two sentences of introduction.

Table 2: Size and location of the articles on the front page

	Banner Headline	Headline above the Logo[16]	Single headline	Headline and lead	Headline and intro	Summary spots	Other	Total
Turkish Cypriot Newspapers	144	37	61	154	48	10	7	461
	31.2%	8.0%	13.2%	33.4%	10.4%	2.2%	1.5%	100.0%
Greek Cypriot Newspapers	65	2	16	55	20	10	0	168
	38.7%	1.2%	9.5%	32.7%	11.9%	6.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Total	209	39	77	209	68	20	7	629
	33.2%	6.2%	12.2%	33.2%	10.8%	3.2%	1.1%	100.0%

5.1.1 Frequency and location of the news stories published in the Greek Cypriot newspapers

Haravgi is the leading newspaper by publishing 51 news stories during September 2011, which is equal to 30.4% of the total stories published by the Greek Cypriot newspapers. Haravgi is followed by Politis with 33 stories (19.6%). The number of stories published in Phileleftheros, Alithia and Simerini are very close to one another. Phileleftheros published 29 front page stories (17.3%), Simerini published 28 stories (16.7%) and Alithia published 27 stories (16.1 %) about the hydrocarbons conflict.

Haravgi is the leading newspaper again by having 17 banners. Phileleftheros following Haravgi published 16 banners and Simerini published 15 as such. Politis and Alithia have fewer banners compared to these newspapers. Having 17 banners devoted to this case during a 30-day time period, can be read as a clue that the editorial team of Haravgi wanted to represent the hydrocarbons conflict as the main issue of September 2011.

Here, it is important to note that, with the exception of Haravgi, which once published 5 different stories about the hydrocarbons conflict, on its front page, the Greek Cypriot

[16] "Headline above the Logo" [Sürmanşet in Turkish] category refers to the second important headline of the day. It is usually argued that the "headline above the logo" is the most visible headline of the day for the readers who gaze to the shelves.

newspapers prefer to collect different news stories under their banners or summary spots where these stories have followed ups in different pages.

When evaluating the Greek Cypriot newspapers in accordance with the number of stories they published, it is observed that Philelefthеros gave 16 of the 29 stories it published as banners, leading this category with 55.2%. Philelefthеros was followed by Simerini which gave 15 of its 28 stories as banners which is equal to 53.6%. Haravgi which gave 17 of its 51 stories directly through its banners trailed the two newspapers with 33.3%. This is followed by Alithia in the 4th place with 8 banners (29.6%). Politis which only gave 9 of its 29 published stories through its banners stood at 27.3%.; this can be read again as an editorial choice of the newspaper for assigning importance and priority to an event.

Examining Greek Cypriot newspapers individually reveals that Alithia, Politis and Haravgi prefer using the "headline and lead" style more on their front pages. 51% of Haravgi's front pages, 44.4% of Alithia's front pages and 36.4% of Politis' stories have been structured as "headline and lead". This can be read as an editorial strategy to attract readers to buy the newspaper or read the follow up story. Table 3 shows how articles located on the front pages of the Greek Cypriot newspapers.

Table 3: Size and location of the articles for Greek Cypriot newspapers

	Banner	Headline above the Logo	Single headline	Headline and lead	Headline and intro	Summary Spots	Total
Alithia	8	1	1	12	4	1	27
	4.8%	0.6%	0.6%	7.1%	2.4%	0.6%	16.1%
Haravgi	17	0	7	26	0	1	51
	10.1%	0.0%	4.2%	15.5%	0.0%	0.6%	30.4%
Philelefthеros	16	0	1	2	9	1	29
	9.5%	0.0%	0.6%	1.2%	5.4%	0.6%	17.3%
Politis	9	1	2	12	7	2	33
	5.4%	0.6%	1.2%	7.1%	4.2%	1.2%	19.6%
Simerini	15	0	5	3	0	5	28
	8.9%	0.0%	3.0%	1.8%	0.0%	3.0%	16.7%
Total	65	2	16	55	20	10	168
	38.7%	1.2%	9.5%	32.7%	11.9%	6.0%	100.0%

5.1.2 Frequency and location of the news published in the Turkish Cypriot newspapers

Volkan newspaper published 82 news stories on its front-page during September 2011, which is 17.8% of the total Turkish Cypriot news. 23 of these stories were published as banners, which is again the highest score amongst 13 Turkish Cypriot newspapers. Volkan's closest follower, is Haberdar (48 stories), Kıbrıslı newspaper (41 stories) and Vatan (41 stories). Vatan also has the second highest frequency for publishing banners (19 stories). Ortam published 5 banners during that period, and Yenidüzen published 4 banners, having the lowest frequency. When we consider the total number of stories published, Havadis has the lowest frequency with 14 front page stories, followed by Yenidüzen (19 stories), Halkın Sesi (21 stories) and Kıbrıs (22 stories).

During September 2011, Volkan published 6 stories on its front page, twice, which means the whole front page was dedicated to the conflict about the hydrocarbons conflict. Following Volkan, Haberdar and Kıbrıslı published 5 stories once on their frontpages, which is again a huge emphasis. A closer look to the data collected reveals that unlike the Greek Cypriot newspapers, the Turkish Cypriot newspapers prefer to present stories separately instead of cumulatively collecting them under one banner headline or summary spots.

Evaluating the Turkish Cypriot newspapers according to the number of stories they published – internal scores –, it is observed that Havadis has the highest percentage when it comes to using banners with 64.3%, 9 out of 14 stories. Vatan used 19 banners of the 41 stories it gave room to trailed Havadis in second place with 46.3%. Halkın Sesi is the third at 42.9% using 9 banners out of 21 stories it published. These three newspapers are trailed by Star Kıbrıs at 41.9% which gave room to 13 banners in the

31 stories it published. Ortam, Kıbrıslı and Yenidüzen make the bottom of the list. Ortam only gave room to 5 banners in the 32 stories it published standing at 15.6%. While Yenidüzen gave 4 banners to 19 stories it published amounting to 21%, Kıbrıslı only gave 9 banners to the 45 stories it published (20%). Volkan, which has the highest frequency about total number of news stories (82) and total number of banners (23), has a lower score here, which is around 27.2%.

The content analysis also reveals that Kıbrıs and Yenidüzen have a striking result in terms of the usage of "single headlines". 11 out of 22 stories published in Kıbrıs are "single headlines" while 9 out of 19 stories published in Yenidüzen also used "single headlines" to cover the hydrocarbons conflict. Some newspapers also have striking results on using "headline and lead" style on their front pages. Ortam newspaper has the most striking result as it was revealed that it used the "headline and lead" style in 17 of the 32 stories it published (53.1%). Ortam was followed by Volkan with 45.1% (37 of 82 stories) as such. Kıbrıslı newspaper ranked third at 44.4% as it structured 20 of the 45 stories it published as "headline and lead" style. Table 4 shows how articles located on the front pages of Turkish Cypriot newspapers.

Table 4: Size and location of the articles for Turkish Cypriot newspapers

	Banner	Headline above the Logo	Single Headline	Headline and Lead	Headline and Intro	Summary Spots	Other	Total
Afrika	11	0	5	9	3	4	1	33
	2.4%	0.0%	1.1%	2.0%	0.7%	0.9%	0.2%	7.2%
Demokrat Bakış	12	6	1	5	12	0	1	37
	2.6%	1.3%	0.2%	1.1%	2.6%	0.0%	0.2%	8.0%
Güneş	11	8	2	12	3	0	0	36
	2.4%	1.7%	0.4%	2.6%	0.7%	0.0%	0.0%	7.8%
Haberdar	12	3	10	17	6	0	0	48
	2.6%	0.7%	2.2%	3.7%	1.3%	0.0%	0.0%	10.4%
Halkın Sesi	9	0	1	5	4	1	1	21
	2.0%	0.0%	0.2%	1.1%	0.9%	0.2%	0.2%	4.6%
Havadis	9	2	0	1	1	1	0	14
	2.0%	0.4%	0.0%	0.2%	0.2%	0.2%	0.0%	3.0%
Kıbrıs	7	1	11	3	0	0	0	22
	1.5%	0.2%	2.4%	0.7%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	4.8%
Kıbrıslı	9	1	11	20	4	0	0	45
	2.0%	0.2%	2.4%	4.3%	0.9%	0.0%	0.0%	9.8%
Star Kıbrıs	13	2	3	9	4	0	0	31
	2.8%	0.4%	0.7%	2.0%	0.9%	0.0%	0.0%	6.7%
Ortam	5	5	3	17	2	0	0	32
	1.1%	1.1%	0.7%	3.7%	0.4%	0.0%	0.0%	6.9%

Vatan	19	2	0	16	4	0	0	41
	4.1%	0.4%	0.0%	3.5%	0.9%	0.0%	0.0%	8.9%
Volkan	23	4	5	37	5	4	4	82
	5.0%	0.9%	1.1%	8.0%	1.1%	0.9%	0.9%	17.8%
Yenidüzen	4	3	9	3	0	0	0	19
	0.9%	0.7%	2.0%	0.7%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	4.1%
Total	144	37	61	154	48	10	7	461
	31.2%	8.0%	13.2%	33.4%	10.4%	2.2%	1.5%	100.0%

5.2 Orientations of the stories: zero-sum or win-win

The first set of Peace Journalism/War Journalism indicators computed for raw frequencies is related with the orientations [win-win or zero-sum] of the front-page stories. Having a win-win oriented story is one of the fundamental principles of Peace Journalism. 69.4% (n=320) of the Turkish Cypriot front page stories have win-lose approach to this crisis.

In this specific case, I categorize news stories as "zero-sum" where the front-page story focus on a one-sided benefit of the hydrocarbon reserves and/or represents the other side's requests as unacceptable while glorifying other party's goal. I categorized front page stories "win-win" where the news story focuses on a mutual benefit of hydrocarbon reserves for both sides in Cyprus and/or in a more general sense it offers/includes peaceful solution(s) to the hydrocarbons conflict for both parties in Cyprus as well as other parties such us Turkey and Greece – in other words, win-win stories focuses on reducing the tension amongst the parties and/or de-escalating the conflict.

The Greek Cypriot newspapers have a higher percentage about using win-lose approach, with 79.2% (n=133). The frequency for zero-sum oriented stories for both sides is 453 (72%). It is a striking result that only 22 (%3.5) stories out of 629 coming from both sides use win-win approach where stories focus on solutions that both sides will benefit. 20 of these stories (4.3%) belong to the Turkish Cypriot press, and only 2

(1.2%) of them published by the Greek Cypriot press. Table 5 summarises the orientation of the stories on both sides.

Although the numbers are limited with win-win orientations, it's important to pay attention which newspapers published this kind of stories. When we check the Turkish Cypriot newspapers, we can see that, left wing Afrika newspaper leads this category with 4 stories, followed by right-wing newspapers Demokrat Bakış, Kıbrıslı and Haberdar with 3 stories each. While Kıbrıs and Ortam published 2 stories as such, Vatan, Volkan and Havadis make the bottom line with 1 story each. Yenidüzen, Star Kıbrıs and Güneş newspapers, on the other hand, have no win-win oriented stories. For the Greek Cypriot newspapers, while Haravgi and Simerini have 1 story each (see previously shared Figure 8 and 9), the other 3 newspapers have no such stories.

Here it is important to note that all of the win-win stories published in both Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot newspapers are based on political elites' announcements and/or speeches. This elite-centred approach can be read not only as a sign of war journalism but also as a sign of important pitfalls of the contemporary journalism practised in Cyprus. First of all, in this elite centred media approach media workers act as stenographers rather than journalists. Secondly, this elite centred approach of newspapers on both sides, supports the idea that peace has to come from governments and/or elites; peace journalism, on the contrary look peace proposals from ordinary people/civil society (Galtung 2006).

Against all odds, publishing such win-win oriented stories underlines the remarkable editorial choices in favour of de-escalation of the conflict. Considering all of these win-win oriented announcements of the political elites widely distributed by news

agencies on both sides, the limited number of front-page appearances of such announcements made the editorial choices of these newspapers more meaningful in terms of "giving peace a chance" .

The following extracts from front-page news published on both sides of the divide shows a reluctance for win-win oriented stories:

> "BUTTHENHEIM: "ALL CYPRIOTS SHOULD BENEFIT FROM NATURAL RESOURCES OF CYPRUS"
> Special Representative of the United Nations Secretary General, Lisa Butthenheim, said that both Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots shouldbenefit from the natural gas resources to be found around Cyprus island. (Ortam, left wing TC daily 17 September 2011) See Figure 9 in Appendix A.
>
> PROPOSAL FROM [FORMER MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF RoC] ROLANDIS:
> WE SHALL SPARE THE SHARE OF TURKISH CYPRIOTS
> (Afrika, left wing TC daily, 19 September 2011) See Figure 10 in Appendix A.
>
> President Eroğlu, had an important meeting with the UN Secretary General Ban yesterday:
> A PLAN FOR ENDING CRISIS SUBMITTED TO UN
> (Halkın Sesi, right-wing TC daily, 25 September 2011) See Figure 11 in Appendix A.
>
> BAN: RESERVES BELONG TO BOTH COMMUNITUES
> It is said that [Turkey's Prime Minister] Davutoğlu, informed UN Secretary General Ban about the recent developments in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Turkish position regarding the peace negotiations in Cyprus. It is stressed that Ban said the natural gas resources in Cyprus belong to both communities. (Kıbrıslı, right wing TC daily, 29 September 2011) See Figure 12 in Appendix A".

Table 5: Orientations of the stories

	Zero sum orientation	Win win orientation	Unclear	Total
Turkish Cypriot Newspapers	320	20	121	461
	69.4%	4.3%	26%	100.0%
Greek Cypriot Newspapers	133	2	33	168
	79.2%	1.2%	20%	100.0%
Total	453	22	154	629
	72.0%	3.5%	24.5%	100.0%

5.3 Focus on differences that led to conflict or to a peaceful solution option

The second set of indicators computed for raw frequencies is related with the focus of front-page stories. Basically, the content analysis also reveals if the front-page stories mention about any peaceful solution to the conflict [Peace Journalism] or focuses mainly on differences that led to the conflict [War Journalism]. The results show that unsurprisingly the number of front-page stories that mentions any peaceful solution is limited on both sides. The similar percentages coming from both sides, makes the results more interesting. Both the Turkish Cypriot and the Greek Cypriot newspapers have around 10% of their stories mentioning peaceful solution. For the Turkish Cypriot press, it is observed that 47 stories (10.2%) mention a peaceful solution and for the Greek Cypriot press this number is 15 stories (8.9%). The stories that focus on the differences that led this conflict happen for the Turkish Cypriot newspapers is, 281 (61%). Greek Cypriot newspapers on the other hand have 86 stories as such (51.2%). Of the 461 Turkish Cypriot stories, 133 (28.9%) of them are not related with differences or peaceful solution. Greek Cypriot newspapers have 67 (39.9%) stories as such. Considering the total sample (n=629), 9.9% (n=62) of the stories mentions peaceful solution and 58.3 % (n=367) of them focuses on differences that led to the conflict. Table 6 shows if the newspapers on both sides focus on differences or peaceful solution.

Amongst Turkish Cypriot newspapers, Volkan have the highest frequency with 8 stories that mentions peaceful solutions to the hydrocarbons conflict, closely followed by Kıbrıslı (n=7), Afrika (n=6) and Demokrat Bakış (n=5). Haberdar, Halkın Sesi, Kıbrıs, and Star Kıbrıs have 3 stories each. Havadis and Ortam have 2 stories each and

Yenidüzen newspaper is at the bottom of the list by 1 story only. Amongst Greek Cypriot newspapers, left wing Haravgi have the highest frequency with 6 stories, followed by extreme right wing Simerini (n=4). Alithia and Philelefteros have 2 stories each and Politis have 1 story. The content analysis also reveals that, the peaceful solutions represented by newspapers on both sides belong to the political elites. This is not a surprising outcome, considering the elite orientation of the news making in Cyprus – discussed in more detail, later in this chapter. It's important to note that while Turkish Cypriot and/or Turkish official's request to withdraw all hydrocarbons activities in the region till the Cyprus problem is solved, Greek Cypriot officials promise share from the possible hydrocarbon reserves to the Turkish Cypriot community. In a case like this, where there was a serious risk of military engagement to say it mildly, it is defiantly expected from newspapers/journalist on both sides, to give more space to peaceful solutions and also from a peace journalism perspective it is expected that, newspapers/journalists to be more people oriented in presenting peaceful solutions.

The following extracts from front-page stories published on both sides of the division line, shows how newspapers prefer to shine conflict/tension instead of any peaceful solution to the hydrocarbon conflict:

> "ATHENS PAYS ANKARA BACK IN KIND
> We shall send the Greek fleet, warned Defence Secretary P. Beglitis (Alithia, right-wing GC daily 05 September 2011) See Figure 13 in Appendix A.

> "CYPRUS IS GREECE"
> … Athens sent a strong message to Ankara yesterday, with the Vice President of the Greek government, Theodoros Pangalos, noting that any attack against. (Politis, left-wing GC daily 10 September 2011) See Figure 14 in Appendix A.

> Drilling at Aphrodite in progress since two nights ago
> THE TURKS RAN AMOK
> They cannot stomach the fact that exploration have started (Simerini, right-wing GC daily 20 September 2011) See Figure 15 in Appendix A.

They used the Piri Reis as bait
ANKARA SENT THE SHIP TO TEST THE ENDURANCE OF NICOSIA
… The ship sailed close to the platform yesterday, seeking to get the Cypriot side to make a mistake so as to cause problems and reverse the climate that is currently not in its favour because of the threats it has issued. (Philelefteros, leading GC daily, 27 September 2011). See Figure 16 in Appendix A.

Government Spokesman: Natural gas not a Republic of Cyprus-Turkey dispute
SOVEREIGN RIGHTS NON-NEGOTIABLE
The natural gas issue is not a difference between the Cypriot Republic and Turkey but a case of Turkey's violation of international law. The government made it clear that research and exploitation of Cyprus' natural wealth is a sovereign right of the Republic and therefore non-negotiable, a categorical response to Alexander Downer's statements on UN mediation in the dispute between the two sides (Haravgi, left-wing GC daily, 29 September 2011) See Figure 17 in Appendix A.

THEY SPEAK FOR BUNCOMBE
Greece has announced that it will accept any attack on the Greek Cypriot Side as an attack on itself. The Greek Cypriot leader Demetris Christofias, who is responsible for ruining the Greek Cypriot economy and whose political popularity is quite low, in act revealing his pursuit of a policy of raising tensions, has put the Greek Cypriot National Guard on alert in a bid to save his skin (Güneş, right-wing TC daily, 10 September 2011) See Figure 18 in Appendix A.

SERIOUS WARNING TO THE GREEK CYPRIOT-ISRAELI DUO FROM ERDOĞAN
The Greek Cypriot Administration's insistence on the issue of natural gas is heightening tensions in the region (Vatan, right-wing TC daily, 11 September 2011) See Figure 19 in Appendix A.

ALARM
Drilling in the Mediterranean begins next week…. Turkey which says "it will send its navy" is not acting on its threats but the Greek National Guard is ready for close combat (Afrika, left-wing TC daily, 16 September 2011) See figure 20 in Appendix A.

IT'S NOT A JOKE
As the day when South Cyprus is set to begin drilling, the Greek Cypriots, in spite of all warnings, have further raised tensions by moving the drilling platform "Homeros" to the area where drilling is to take place… the situation has started giving the signals that it is no longer a joking matter and has become somewhat a serious issue (Haberdar, right-wing TC daily, 15 September 2011) See Figure 21 in Appendix A".

Table 6: Focus on differences or a peaceful solution

	Peaceful solution	Differences	N/A	Total
Turkish Cypriot Newspapers	47	281	133	461
	10.2%	61.0%	28.9%	100.0%
Greek Cypriot Newspapers	15	86	67	168
	8.9%	51.2%	39.9%	100.0%
Total	62	367	200	629
	9.9%	58.3%	31.8%	100.0%

5.4 Focus on here and now or wider aspects

One of the peace journalism indicators that this study explores is "the focus on wider aspects of the conflict", the opposite of this indicator for War Journalism is, "focus on here and now". The content analysis shows that, more than 60% of the front-page stories on both sides focuses on here and now. 387 stories (61.5%) of the total sample from both sides, focuses on the increase in tension about the hydrocarbons conflict where main themes of these stories are crisis situation and/or issued warnings/threats and/or oppositional movements/challenges of the conflicting parties. Whereas 283 stories (61.4%) out of 461 published in the Turkish Cypriot newspapers have such characteristics, the Greek Cypriot newspapers have 104 stories (61.9 %) out of 168. The stories that try to uncover the reasons behind the hydrocarbons conflict (wider aspect) is limited to 11 stories (1.8%) of the total sample. While Turkish Cypriot newspapers have 8 stories (1.7%) as such Greek Cypriot newspapers have 3 stories (%1.8). For the Turkish Cypriot press Volkan has the highest frequency with 3 stories as such, followed by Ortam (n=2). Yenidüzen, Kıbrıslı and Star Kıbrıs have 1 story each. For the Greek Cypriot newspapers, Alithia, Simerini and Politis have 1 story each that try to uncover the reasons behind this conflict. Table 7 summarises the focus of the front-page stories on both sides.

Table 7: Focus on here and now or wider aspects

	Here and Now	Wider Aspects	N/A	Total
	283	8	170	461
Turkish Cypriot Newspapers	61.4%	1.7%	36.9%	100.0%
Greek Cypriot Newspapers	104	3	61	168

	61.9%	1.8%	36.3%	100.0%
Total	387	11	231	629
	61.5%	1.7%	36.7%	100.0%

The heavy tendency here to focus on the "here and now" and on the increase in the tensions around the hydrocarbons conflict is related to the basics of conventional journalism a) conflict sells more than peace (drama) b) simplicity c) immediacy d) ethnocentrism (Wolfsfeld 2011). Presenting this conflict from a wider perspective would require, at the very least, giving voice to the anxieties and the hopes and expectations of the 'other side' – thus breaking the ethnocentric – we are right/they are wrong approach. It becomes clear that newspapers on both sides are strictly following the above-mentioned rules of conventional news making [in other words War Journalism].

5.5 Partisan or non-partisan approaches towards the hydrocarbons conflict

The fourth set of indicators tested is related with us-them approaches taken by newspapers. While War journalism is related with acting partisan, taking sides, accusing the other side(s) being responsible for the conflict, Peace Journalism is non-partisan, avoiding us-them dichotomy. This set of indicators tested by focusing on the criticisms on the front pages. Which side(s) are more criticized by newspapers? Their own side and allies or the other side and their allies. While 60 % (n=281) of the Turkish Cypriot front page news include critiques against the parties involved in this conflict, 66 % (n=111) of the Greek Cypriot front page stories have such intention.

Almost half of the Turkish Cypriot front page stories have a critique against the Greek Cypriot side with the percentage of 45.1% (n=212). The percentage of Turkish Cypriot front page stories that include critiques against Turkey is limited to 11.7% (n=54). The

percentage of the Turkish Cypriot newspapers' critiques against their own side are limited with 5.6% (n=26). The criticism against Israel is 3.9% (n=18), and against Greece, is 1.3% (n=6). The Greek Cypriot newspapers criticize Turkey in their front-page stories with the percentage of 54.7% (n=92). The front-page stories that include critiques about their own side and the Turkish Cypriot side is limited with 9.5% (n=16) and 8.9% (n=15) respectively. The criticisms against Israel and Greece is 2 stories each (1.2%). Table 8 summarises the criticism addressed on the front pages. It is important to note that the criticisms represented on the front pages about one's own side, is mainly appearing in the announcements of the opposing side. Generally speaking, newspapers/journalists from both sides refrain from criticising their own side and its allies.

The results summarized in Table 8 clearly indicate that while Turkish Cypriot newspapers are representing the Greek Cypriot side as responsible for the oil drilling conflict, the Greek Cypriot newspapers represent Turkey as the responsible party for the tension in the region. The heavy critique towards the "other side" can be read as an example of "propaganda oriented" approach of war journalism where mistakes of "our side" are not exposed. The interesting result here is that the Greek Cypriot newspapers do not prefer to criticize the Turkish Cypriot side. This can be read as; the Greek Cypriot journalists do not accept the Turkish Cypriots side as an equal/efficient/remarkable side/opponent in this conflict.

Table 8: The criticisms addressed on the front pages[17]

	Turkish Cypriot side	Greek Cypriot side	Turkey	Israel	Greece	Total stories with critique	No Critique
Turkish Cypriot Newspapers (n=461)	26	212	54	18	6	281	180
	5.60%	45.10%	11.70%	3.90%	1.30%	61.0%	39.60%
Greek Cypriot Newspapers (n=168)	15	16	92	2	2	111	57
	8.90%	9.50%	54.70%	1.20%	1.20%	66.1%	33.90%

5.6 The Usage of Military discourse on the front pages

The fifth set of indicators tested is the usage or absence of military discourse/vocabulary. What is meant by military discourse or vocabulary in this study is the usage of words which are associated with, or evoke, war, hot episode or militaristic solutions to this conflict. The following extracts from front-pages are some examples amongst many using military discourse/vocabulary:

> "TURKISH MANOEUVRES
> Erdoğan increases deployment of naval forces around Cyprus using breach with Israel as a pretext (Haravgi, left-wing GC daily, 07 September 2011). See Figure 22 in Appendix A.

> TURKEY DETERMINED TO GO TO EXTREMES
> Turkish navy will be seen much more frequently in the waters of the Eastern Mediterranean, says Tayyip Erdoğan. (Simerini, right-wing GC daily, 08 September 2011) See Figure 23 in Appendix A.

> ISRAEL SENDS OUT FIGHTERS
> Reply in the same language – Messages in the skies around Cyprus
> Two Israeli fighters yesterday sent a strong double message to Turkey, using the language that may be better understood by Erdoğan, saying that the provocations won't be tolerated. (Philelefttheros, leading GC daily, 29 September 2011). See Figure 24 in Appendix A.

> ISRAEL AND US WARSHIPS IN THE MEDITERRANEAN
> It has come to our attention that Israeli warships have been patrolling waters between Lebanon, Israel and Cyprus. Information coming in reveals that US warships are being fuelled by tanker ships belonging to the US Navy's 6th fleet

[17] The percentages up more than 100% because some stories have critiques more than one party at a time.

(Volkan, right-wing TC daily, 14 September 2011). See Figure 25 in Appendix A.

SECOND STEP: NAVY
While Turkey takes its first step by signing a continental delineation agreement with the TRNC, Noble's platform reaches the Aphrodite block. It seems that the GC Administration is determined to go ahead with hydrocarbons exploration activities but Turkey is determined to stop it from going ahead. (Kıbrıs, leading TC daily, 16 September 2011). See Figure 26 in Appendix A.

The content analysis reveals that for the Greek Cypriot newspapers, 74 (44%) stories out of 168, contained military discourse or vocabulary. Of the 461 Turkish Cypriot front page news examined, 154 (33.4%) of them use military discourse or vocabulary. The content analysis reveals that 36.2% (n=228) of the total 629 stories published have used military discourse/vocabulary. The preference of the newspapers/journalists to use military discourse/vocabulary can be read as an important indicator of sensationalism – to attract more readers. While the newspapers try to attract more readers by suggesting the likelihood or possibility of war, they are at the same time escalating the conflict between the two sides. The heavy usage of the military discourse/vocabulary in this specific case, is also an attempt to legitimize solving the conflict by a war and/or hot episode instead of uplifting peaceful, win-win solution methods. Table 9 summarises the military summarizes the military vocabulary usage and its locations in the front-page stories.

Table 9: War Journalism indicator: Military discourse usage on the front page[18]

	Headline	Sub-Headline	Lead/Intro	Main Text	Summary Spots	Not Used
Turkish Cypriot newspapers (n=461)	64	35	58	82	24	307
	13.9%	7.6%	12.6%	17.8%	5.2%	66.6%
Greek Cypriot newspapers (n=168)	24	11	24	32	28	94
	14.3%	6.5%	14.3%	19.0%	16.7%	55.9%
Total	88	46	82	114	52	401
	14.0	7.3	13.0	18.1	8.3	63.8

[18] The percentages up more than 100 percent because some stories have military vocabulary used more than one section at the same time.

The ‘Content Analysis Coding Sheet’ designed in a way to compute raw frequencies related to the location/section the military discourse/vocabulary used in the front-page stories. Table 7 above show whether military discourse or vocabulary are used in headlines, sub-headlines, lead-intros, summary spots or in the main texts on the front-page stories related to the hydrocarbons conflict.

While the number of Turkish Cypriot news which used military discourse in its headline was 64 (13.9%), this figure is 24 in the Greek Cypriot press which constitutes 14.3% of the 168 stories. Even though there is a serious difference in the frequency of military discourse or vocabulary used in headlines between the two sides, percentages are close to each other. Considering the frequency in sub-headlines, it is observed that 35 news stories (7.6%) in the Turkish Cypriot newspapers contain military discourse/vocabulary and 11 (6.5%) in the Greek Cypriot press have such characteristic. This sub category here [military discourse in the sub-headlines] is the only one that Turkish Cypriot newspapers have higher score in terms of percentages.

Examining how frequent military discourse/vocabulary is used in the “lead-intro” section of the stories, it is observed that 58 news stories in the Turkish Cypriot papers (12.6%) and 24 the Greek Cypriot newspapers (14.2%) gave room to such vocabulary/discourse.

82 (%17.8) of the total 461 Turkish Cypriot news examined contained military discourse/vocabulary on their main texts on the front pages. This figure remains as 32 in the Greek Cypriot press (19%).

The category in which the Greek Cypriot press clearly leads both in frequency and percentages is the summary spots section. Of the 168 news reports examined in the Greek Cypriot press, 28 (16.7%) contained military discourse/vocabulary in their summary spots, while the Turkish Cypriot press remained at 24 (5.2%). This huge difference under this category is a result of various news making styles of the two sides. It is obvious that Greek Cypriot newspapers prefer using more summary spots on their front pages.

5.6.1 Evaluation of the usage of military discourse in the Turkish Cypriot Press

Figures as to which newspapers use military discourse in which locations also reveal interesting results. While military discourse has been used in a total of 64 news stories on the headlines of the Turkish Cypriot newspapers, Volkan leads among all dailies with 19 news stories that is 29.2 % of the total. Volkan is followed by Afrika with 7 stories and Star Kıbrıs with 6 stories. Kıbrıslı and Haberdar shared the fourth row with 5 stories each. On the other hand, Yenidüzen newspaper did not use such discourse in any of its news headlines related to the hydrocarbons conflict, and Ortam takes its place at the bottom of the list with 1 news article. Taking into consideration of newspapers' military discourse/vocabulary usage on their headlines according to the total stories they published (internal scores), we see that Volkan occupy the first rank again. Volkan has military discourse on 19 (23.1%) news stories out of 82 stories it published. Havadis, which published 14 news stories, has 3 stories (21.4%) with a military discourse in its front-page headlines. Following Havadis Afrika had 7 news stories (%21.2) out of 33 stories. Star Kıbrıs that published 6 stories out of 31, has a percentage of 19.4. Halkın Sesi has a very similar score, which has 4 stories (%19) with a military discourse out of 21 stories it published.

Total 35 news stories (7.6%) out of 461 have military discourse/vocabulary in the sub-headlines of the Turkish Cypriot newspapers. Volkan has the highest frequency for this category with 13 sub-headlines. The closest score to Volkan is Afrika with 5 sub-headlines with military discourse/vocabulary. Halkın Sesi, Havadis and Kıbrıs have 3 sub-headlines each with such characteristic. Demokrat Bakış and Yenidüzen are at the bottom of the list, because they do not have any sub-headline with a military discourse. The total scores under this category is limited and therefore it is needless to do an internal analysis of each newspaper. One of the main reasons behind the lower scores in this category is the fact that most of the Turkish Cypriot newspapers do not use sub-headlines except for the banners.

When the military discourse/vocabulary used in the leads of the Turkish Cypriot news stories considered, it is observed that total 58 stories are listed under this category. Volkan which has 10 (17.2%) stories with a military discourse/vocabulary in its leads has the highest frequency followed by Afrika that has 7 stories (12.1%). Haberdar, Halkın Sesi, Vatan and Star Kıbrıs shared the fourth ranking with 6 (10.3%) stories each. While Kıbrıs and Yenidüzen have no leads with military discourse on the front page, Demokrat Bakış, has 1 story. After a re-evaluation of the newspapers according to the total number of stories they published, it is observed that Halkın Sesi and Havadis have the highest internal score. Whereas Havadis has 4 leads out of 14 and Halkın Sesi has 6 leads out of 21 stories having military discourse (both score 28.5%). Afrika which has 7 leads with military discourse/vocabulary out of 33 stories has an internal score of 21.2%. Star Kıbrıs which published 31 stories, has 6 stories (19.4%) with military discourse/vocabulary in its leads. The interesting result striking here is, Volkan that has 10 leads out of 82 has the lower internal score (12.2 %) than expected.

The main texts of the front-page stories have the highest frequency related to the usage of military discourse/vocabulary. Of the 461 stories 82 (17.6%) of them has military discourse/vocabulary in their main texts. Volkan leads this category with 19 (23.17 %) stories that have a military discourse in their main texts. Afrika, Haberdar, Ortam and Vatan newspapers follow Volkan with 7 (8.5%) stories each. While Güneş, Halkın Sesi and Kıbrıslı published 6 (7.3%) stories each, Havadis published 5 (%6) stories. Demokrat Bakış and Star Kıbrıs are at the bottom of the list with 4 (4.8%) stories each. Yenidüzen newspaper did not use any news story with a military discourse in its main text.

The re-evaluation of the newspapers about the military discourse usage in their main texts according to the total number of stories they published, a dramatic change of the ranking is observed. Havadis newspaper which has 5 stories out of 14 with a military discourse in their main texts has an internal score of 35.7 %. Halkın Sesi has an internal score of 28.5 % with 6 stories out of 21. Volkan is in the third ranking by having 19 stories (23.2 %) out of 82. Ortam has an internal score of 21.9 % with 7 stories out of 32. Afrika follows Ortam with 7 (21.2 %) stories out of 33. At the bottom of the list we can see Demokrat Bakış with 4 (10.8 %) stories out of 37.

The usage of a military discourse in summary spots in the Turkish Cypriot press has the lowest frequency. Only 24 (5.2 %) stories have a military discourse out of 461. Volkan has 10 stories with the highest frequency under this category followed by Afrika which has 4 stories. The striking result under this category is that Yenidüzen has 1 story with a military discourse. Yenidüzen published 19 stories on its front-page during September 2011 and has only one story with a military discourse/vocabulary located in a summary spot. It seems that Yenidüzen the largest left-wing newspaper

has an editorial choice of not using (or not highlighting) militaristic argumentation on their front pages. Taking the fact into account that several politicians and elites from both sides of the division line and Turkey use militaristic argumentations in their speeches, it becomes more obvious that Yenidüzen has an editorial policy not to present these on its front page. Table 10 summarises the military discourse usage amongst Turkish Cypriot newspapers.

Table 10: Usage of military discourse in the Turkish Cypriot Press[19]

(n=461)	Headline	Sub headline	Lead Intro	Main Text	Summary Spots	Not used
Afrika	7	5	7	7	4	16
Demokrat Bakış	3	0	1	4	0	31
Güneş	5	2	4	6	0	25
Haberdar	5	1	6	7	1	36
Halkın Sesi	4	3	6	6	2	8
Havadis	3	3	4	5	0	6
Kıbrıs	2	3	0	4	0	16
Kıbrıslı	5	2	5	6	2	34
Star Kıbrıs	6	1	6	4	1	22
Ortam	1	1	3	7	0	21
Vatan	4	1	6	7	3	29
Volkan	19	13	10	19	10	45
Yenidüzen	0	0	0	0	1	18
Total	64	35	58	82	24	307
	13.9%	7.6%	12.6%	17.8%	5.2%	66.6%

5.6.2 Evaluation of Military Discourse in the Banners of Turkish Cypriot press

This study aims to explore detailed analysis of the front-page stories related to usage/absence of military discourse, therefore the researcher made combinations between different findings. Here, the banners of the Turkish Cypriot newspapers will be analysed in more detail of their use of military discourse. Importantly, Turkish Cypriot newspapers heavily used military discourse/vocabulary as well as the possibility of a war in their banners. The headlines/sub headlines of the Turkish Cypriot banners below are some examples amongst many using military discourse/vocabulary:

[19] The percentages up more than 100 percent because some stories have military vocabulary used more than one section at the same time.

"Turkey speaks about the military option first time…
(Havadis, centre TC Daily, 03 September, 2011) See Figure 27 in Appendix A.

THIS IS WHAT WE HAVE THE NAVY FOR
(Star Kıbrıs, right-wing TC daily 03 September 2011)
See Figure 28 in Appendix A.

SABRE RATTLING FROM TURKEY
(Afrika, left-wing TC, 03 September, 2011) See Figure 29 in Appendix A.

CAN ISRAEL CHANCE A HOT EPISODE WITH TURKEY?
(Kıbrıslı, right-wing TC daily, 16 September 2011)
See Figure 30 in Appendix A.

NAVY ON THE TRIGGER
(Halkınsesi, right-wing TC daily, 17 September 2011)
See Figure 31 in Appendix A.

WAR DRUMS (Havadis, centre TC daily, 17 September 2011)
See Figure 32 in Appendix A."

71 (49.3%) out of 144 banners published by Turkish Cypriot newspapers had military discourse/vocabulary used in different sections. In other words, almost half of the banners of Turkish Cypriot newspapers, gave space to military discourse/vocabulary. Generally speaking, from far right to centre and from centre to far left, Turkish Cypriot newspapers, have an editorial policy in favour of escalating the conflict and/or uplifting military solutions to it.

The content analysis reveals the military discourse usage in the headlines, sub-headlines, leads, main texts and summary spots of the banners. Considering the frequency of the usage of the military discourse in the headlines of the banners, it is observed that Volkan has 10 banners (%43.4) out of 23 that have a militaristic discourse in their headlines. The highest frequency after Volkan, among the Turkish Cypriot newspapers is shared by 3 newspapers. Güneş and Afrika published 11 banners each, have 3 (%27.7) banner headlines with military discourse/vocabulary.

Havadis also has 3 (%33.3) banner headlines as such out of total 9. Halkın Sesi and Kıbrıslı have 2 (%22.2) banners with militaristic headlines out of 9. Star Kıbrıs which published 13 banners have 2 (%15.3) banner headlines with military discourse. Demokrat Bakış, Ortam, Vatan and Yenidüzen, do not have such banners.

Focusing on the military discourse usage in different parts of the banners reveal remarkable results. Taking into account the sub-headlines, it is observed that while Volkan has 6 banners that have military discourse/vocabulary with the highest frequency, it does not have the highest internal score (%27.2). Afrika, which has 5 (% 45.4) banners out of 11 with military discourse/vocabulary in sub-headline, has the highest internal score. Kıbrıs has 3 (%42.8) sub-headlines with military discourse/vocabulary used out of 7. Halkın Sesi and Havadis which published 9 banners have 3 (33.3%) sub-headlines as such. Yenidüzen, Haberdar and Demokrat Bakış do not have any banners that have sub-headlines with military discourse/vocabulary. Here the most striking result belongs to Afrika which is knows as an extreme left wing and a pro-solution newspaper.

The usage of military discourse in the leads of banners has similar results with the sub-headline category. Afrika has 5 (45.4 %) banners that have military discourse in their leads. Volkan has 6 (26%) banners as such. While Havadis has 3 (33.3%) banners out of 9, Haberdar also has 3 (25%) banners out of 12. Kıbrıslı and Halkın Sesi newspapers which published 9 banners have 2 (22.2 %) stories that have leads including military discourse/vocabulary. Vatan published 2 banners with a military discourse had a lower score (10.2%), because it published 19 banners in total. Yenidüzen, Kıbrıs and Demokrat Bakış, are at the bottom of the line, because none of their banners have a military discourse in their leads.

The frequencies of military discourse/vocabulary usage in the main texts of banners have more dramatic outcomes. Kıbrıslı newspaper published 9 banners during September 2011, has 6 (66.6%) banners with a military discourse/vocabulary in their main texts. Afrika follows Kıbrıslı with a very similar score, having 7 (63.6%) banners out of 11 with military discourse used in their main texts. 3 (60%) out of 5 banners published in Ortam has military discourse in its main texts. Kıbrıs has 4 (%57.1) stories out of 7. Volkan follows Kıbrıs with 50% (11 out of 22). Halkın Sesi has 4 (45%) banners including military discourse/vocabulary in their main texts out of 9. Yenidüzen newspaper is, repeatedly, at the bottom of the list, because it does not have any banners with military discourse used in its main text. Table 11 shows the military discourse usage in the Turkish Cypriot newspapers' banners.

Table 11: Military Discourse usage in the Banners of Turkish Cypriot press[20]

(n=461)	Headline	Sub headline	Lead Intro	Main Text	Summary Spots	Not used
Afrika	3	5	5	7	1	2
Demokrat Bakış	0	0	0	2	0	10
Güneş	3	2	1	3	0	6
Haberdar	1	0	3	3	1	9
Halkın Sesi	2	3	2	4	1	3
Havadis	3	3	3	3	0	3
Kıbrıs	1	3	0	4	0	2
Kıbrıslı	2	2	2	6	2	2
Star Kıbrıs	2	1	1	3	1	10
Ortam	0	1	1	3	0	1
Vatan	0	1	2	3	1	14
Volkan	10	6	6	11	6	8
Yenidüzen	0	0	0	0	1	3
Total	27	27	26	52	14	73
	%18.75	%18.75	%18	%36.1	%9.7	%50.7

5.6.3 Evaluation of military discourse usage in the Greek Cypriot newspapers

The Greek Cypriot newspapers used military discourse/vocabulary on 24 headlines out of 168. Politis has the highest frequency with 8 stories among all the Greek Cypriot newspapers, followed by Alithia with 7 stories. While Haravgi has 3 headlines, Politis

[20] The percentages up more than 100 percent because some stories have military vocabulary used more than one section at the same time.

and Philelefttheros have 3 headlines including military discourse/vocabulary. When these newspapers evaluated according to the number of stories they published [internal scores], Alithia has the highest score with 7 stories out of 27 (%25.9) with military discourse/vocabulary in their headlines. Politis has the second ranking with 8 (%24.2) stories out of 33. Simerini and Philelefttheros have 3 stories each with militaristic discourse/vocabulary in their headlines that have closer percentages around 10. Haravgi on the other hand which published 51 front page stories in total has only 3 (5.8%) stories as such.

The content analysis reveals that the Greek Cypriot newspapers do not prefer to use military discourse/vocabulary in their sub-headlines. Only 11 (6.5 %) stories out of 168 have military discourse/vocabulary in their sub headlines. Politis use 5 stories with such a sub-headline has a remarkable result. While Alithia and Haravgi have 1 story each, Philelefttheros and Simerini have 2 stories with military discourse in their sub-headlines. There is no need to present internal scores of these newspapers because the total number is limited.

Checking the military discourse usage in the leads of Greek Cypriot news stories, it is observed that 24 (14.2%) stories out of 168 have such characteristic. Politis again has the highest frequency under this category with 9 stories (37.5%). Alithia follows Politis with 7 stories (%29.1). While Philelefttheros has 6 stories (25%), Haravgi has only 2 stories (8.3%). The most remarkable result here is that extreme right wing Simerini does not use a military discourse in any of its sub-headlines. When internal scores considered, the ranking is not changed. Politis has 9 stories out of 33 has 27.3% as an internal score, followed by Alithia with 25.8% (7 out of 27). Philelefttheros which has 6 stories (20.7 %) out of 29 has the fourth ranking. The internal score of Haravgi

compared to the others is very limited (3.9 %), because it only has 2 stories with a military discourse in leads out of 51.

Similar to the Turkish Cypriot press, the main texts on the front pages of the Greek Cypriot newspapers have the highest frequency in terms of military discourse/vocabulary usage. 32 stories (19 %) out of 168 have military discourse/vocabulary in their main texts. Politis again has the highest frequency with 15 stories (46.9%), closely followed by Phileleftheros with 13 stories (40.6 %). Meanwhile Haravgi has 3 stories (9.4 %), Alithia has only 1 story (3.1%) that have military discourse/vocabulary in its front-page main text. Simerini, again, does not have any stories as such. After a re-evaluation according to total number of stories each newspaper published, it is noticed that Politis published 33 stories in total, has 15 stories (45.5%) with military discourse/vocabulary in front page main texts. Phileleftheros has an internal score of 44.8 % with 13 stories out of 29. Haravgi and Alithia have internal scores lower than 10%.

When the military discourse/vocabulary usage examined among summary spots of the Greek Cypriot front page news, the total frequency is 27 (16%) out of 168. The most remarkable result here is the score of Simerini that has 12 (44.4 %) stories with military discourse/vocabulary used in its summary spots. The closest followers of Simerini are Alithia and Phileleftheros which have 6 stories (22.2 %) each. While Politis, which leads all the other categories, has only 3 stories (11.1%) with military discourse/vocabulary in its summary spots, Haravgi has no stories under this category. When we re-evaluate newspapers according to the total stories they published, we see that the percentages are almost the same with the previous analysis. Here it is important to note that Politis which is known as a left wing – pro solution newspaper, surprisingly

has higher scores than right wing –nationalist newspapers. This can be read as an example of how sensationalism goes a step further than ideological positions of newspapers. Table 12 shows the military discourse usage amongst the Greek Cypriot newspapers.

Table 12: Military discourse usage in the Greek Cypriot press[21]

(n=168)	Headline	Sub headline	Lead/ intro	Main Text	summary spots	Not used
Alithia	7	1	7	1	6	11
Philelefttheros	3	2	6	13	6	14
Politis	8	5	9	15	3	13
Simerini	3	2	0	0	12	14
Haravgi	3	1	2	3	1	42
Total	24	11	24	32	28	94
	14.3%	6.5%	14.3%	19%	16.7%	56%

5.6.4 Evaluation of military discourse usage of the Greek Cypriot banners

Considering the military discourse usage in the Greek Cypriot newspapers front page banners revealed dramatic results. 36 banners (55.4%) out of 65 have a military discourse in their different sections. Similar to Turkish Cypriot newspapers, regardless of their ideological positions, Greek Cypriot newspapers prefer to use military discourse/vocabulary in a sensationalist way. Following extracts from banners are some examples of how military vocabulary/discourse used by Greek Cypriot dailies:

> "Turkey is sending in its frigates, the National Guard on alert
> ERDOGAN HAS DANGEROUSLY OVERSTEPPED THE MARK
> Erdogan's blustering has put the [Cyprus] National Guard in a state of operational readiness and enhanced vigilance, it having already prepared a reaction plan for every eventuality (Politis, left-wing GC daily, 13 September 2011) See Figure 33 in Appendix A.

> Greece-Cyprus-Israel
> PREPARING FOR THE WORST
> Ongoing consultations between Athens, Tel Aviv and Nicosia observed the last 24 hours in order to coordinate actions – military actions included – in the event of a 'hot episode' initiated by Turkey to mark the drilling for oil. (Alithia, right-wing GC daily, 16 September 2011) See Figure 34 in Appendix A.

[21] The percentages up more than 100 percent because some stories have military vocabulary used more than one section at the same time.

> The Turks are beginning exploration for hydrocarbons west of Paphos
> PLAYING WITH FIRE
> … The National Guard is already in first-level readiness (Philelefteros, leading GC daily, 16 September 2011) See Figure 35 in Appendix A.
>
> The Government is taking steps on several levels to denounce Ankara's provocations
> UNITY – COOPERATION TO PREVENT THE TURKISH THREATS
> … President Christofias responded strongly to Turkey's provocations, calling on the National Guard to be 'vigilant and prepared' to deal with Turkish arrogance and the threats aimed at intimidating Cyprus into backing off from exploiting natural resources in its exclusive economic zone (Haravgi, left-wing GC daily, 10 September 2011) See Figure 36 in Appendix A.
>
> The die is cast – Drilling starts in late September
> DRILLING IN APHRODITE GAS FIELD
> Turks continue threats
> … while Nicosia goes rapidly ahead with its planning, Ankara continues to threaten and fevered military mobilizations are observed in the Athens - Ankara - Tel Aviv triangle (Simerini, right-wing GC daily, 14 September 2011) See Figure 37 in Appendix A".

As checking the headlines of the banners, it is noticed that the frequency is very limited. Only 4 (6.1%) banners have a headline including military discourse/vocabulary. While Philelefthеros has 2 banners as such, Politis and Alithia have 1 each. Haravgi and Simerini, on the other hand, do not have any banner that have a headline with military discourse.

The frequency of military discourse usage in the sub-headlines is little higher. 7 banners (10.8%) have such sub-headlines. While Philelefthеros, Politis and Alithia have 2 banners each, Haravgi has 1 only. Simerini does not have any banner that have military discourse in its sub-headline.

10 Greek Cypriot banners have a military discourse in their leads that counts as 15.4%. While Alithia and Philelefthеros have 3 stories each, Haravgi and Politis have 2

banners that have military discourse/vocabulary in their leads. Repeatedly Simerini is at the bottom of the list because it does not have any banner story like that.

The main texts of the Greek Cypriot banners have a remarkable number of military discourse/vocabulary usage compared to the other parts. 19 banners (29.2%) out of 65 have a military discourse in their front-page main texts, whereas Philelefthеros has 9 with the highest frequency. Politis follows Philelefthеros with 6 banners in the same way. Meanwhile Haravgi has 3 banners as such, Simerini does not have any. Different from the other categories, the scores are higher here for an internal analysis of each newspaper. Politis has 6 banners with military discourse used out of 9 has the highest internal score with 66.7 %. Philelefthеros has 9 banners as such out of 16 with the percentage of 56.3 %. Haravgi has an internal score of 17.6 % with 3 stories out of 17. Alithia that has 1 story (12.5 %) out of 8 has the lowest internal score.

19 banners (29.2%) have military discourse used in their summary spots. The most remarkable frequency is attached to Simerini that has 10 banners (52.6%) with such summary spots. While Alithia and Philelefthеros have 4 stories each, Politis has only 1 banner story with military discourse/vocabulary used in its summary spots. Haravgi newspaper does not have any banner as such. When we re-evaluate the results, according to total stories published by each newspaper, we see that Simerini has a very high internal score, because it has 10 stories (66.7 %) out of 15 with military discourse used in the summary spots. Alithia also has a high internal score with 50% (4 out of 8 stories). Philelefthеros which published 12 banners in total also has 4 stories as such (25 %). Table 13, shows the military discourse usage in the Greek Cypriot banners. One important outcome of the analysis in this section, is that right wing Simerini's editorial policy to use military discourse/vocabulary mainly in the summary spots of

its banners. This can be read as an editorial policy to attract readers to read the rest of banners. Left wing Haravgi's score is also remarkable only in that it hs 4 banners where military discourse/vocabulary is used. This can be read as an editorial policy resistant to the reproduction of military discourse.

Table 13: Military discourse in the banners of Greek Cypriot press[22]

(n=168)	Headline	Sub headline	Lead/ intro	Main Text	summary spots	Not used
Alithia	1	0	3	1	4	2
Philelefttheros	2	2	3	9	4	6
Politis	1	2	2	6	1	3
Simerini	0	2	0	0	10	5
Haravgi	0	1	2	3	0	13
Total	4	7	10	19	19	29
	6.2%	10.7%	15.3%	29.2%	29.2%	44.6%

5.6.5 Sensationalism and usage of military discourse in the front-page stories

Besides determining peace and war journalism approaches this study also tries to reveal the sensationalist approaches used by newspapers. Both the Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot newspapers use military discourse on the headlines, sub-headlines and summary spots – which are written in bigger fonts – of their front-page stories in order to attract readers while sometimes they do not use any military discourse in the leads/intros or main texts of the same stories. This is a purposeful editorial choice in favour of sensationalism and war journalism. When any newspaper uses military discourse as headline and/or sub headline, most probably it tries to create the impression that there is a possibility of war or hot conflict, which possibly sells more. Furthermore, when they prefer using military discourse in their headlines/sub-headlines and/or summary spots, but they do not refer anything related to these in the rest of the front page; it becomes more obvious that it is a tactic in order to take attention. A detailed analysis was done to reveal editorial choices of newspapers in

[22] The percentages up more than 100 percent because some banner stories have military discourse/vocabulary in more than one section.

favour of sensationalism. Table 10 shows the cases where a front-page story has a military discourse in its headline/sub headline and/or summary spots, but it does not have such wording in its front-page lead or front-page main text. Stories that appeared as "headline only" and "summary spots" on the front page are excluded from this analysis due to the fact that these stories do not have leads or front-page texts.

14 newspapers out of 18 used the sensationalist tactic that is described above. There are 44 stories on both sides of the division line that use a military discourse in favour of sensationalism. Right wing Star Kıbrıs and Vatan, left wing Yenidüzen newspapers from Turkish Cypriot press and Philelefteros newspaper from Greek Cypriot press is out of the list. Extreme right-wing Volkan has the first rank with 11 stories, followed by Afrika, Alithia and Simerini 5 stories each. Haravgi newspaper is the only newspaper that have 3 stories as such. The rest of newspapers have a score of maximum 2 stories. Table 14 summarises frequencies of the sensationalist stories on both sides. The most remarkable result here comes from Afrika, known as the most critical and pro peace Turkish Cypriot newspaper. It's obvious that Afrika either has an editorial policy that favours escalating tension and/or prefers to give space to elite's announcements including military discourse/solutions.

Table 14: Frequency of sensationalist stories in newspapers

	Frequency
Afrika	5
Demokrat Bakış	1
Güneş	2
Haberdar	2
Halkın Sesi	2
Havadis	1
Kıbrıs	2
Kıbrıslı	2
Ortam	1
Volkan	11
Alithia	5
Politis	2
Simerini	5
Haravgi	3
Total	44

5.6.6 Militaristic photo usage on the front pages

This study is designed to quantify the militaristic photo usage of the newspapers as well in order to reveal how the war risk in the region represented in terms of photographs. 458 out of 629 stories published on the front pages of 18 newspapers have photographs. 345 of these stories published by the Turkish Cypriot press and 113 of them published by the Greek Cypriot press. However, only 40 (8.7%) stories published on the front pages all newspapers have militaristic photographs[23].

When militaristic photo usage of newspapers on both sides evaluated, it is observed that 28 stories (6.1%) has militaristic photo out of 461 stories published by the Turkish Cypriot press. Volkan newspaper published 10 militaristic photographs which is twice as much as from its closest follower Halkın Sesi (5 photos). While Star Kıbrıs had 4 militaristic photographs, Haberdar published 3 photos. Güneş, Havadis, Kıbrıslı and Ortam published 1 story each that has a militaristic photo. Afrika, Demokrat Bakış, Vatan and Yenidüzen did not use militaristic photographs on their front-page stories. Because the number of militaristic photographs used by newspapers is limited, there is no need to evaluate newspapers according to their internal scores. However, it is important to note that Halkın Sesi which published 15 news stories with photographs in total has 5 militaristic photographs (33.3 %) with the highest internal score.

For the Greek Cypriot newspapers, it is observed that only 12 stories (7.1 %) out of 168 have militaristic photographs. Alithia and Haravgi published 4 militaristic photographs each. Politis and Phileleftheros have only 2. It is an interesting and striking result that extreme right wing Simerini did not have any militaristic

[23] Navy, War Ships, Fleet, War Planes, Unmanned Planes, soldiers etc…

photographs on its front pages. When the internal scores of newspapers considered, it is noticed that, Alithia and Haravgi published the same number of stories with militaristic photographs, but they have different internal scores. While Alithia published 24 stories with photographs on the front page and 4 (16.6%) of them has a militaristic photo, Haravgi published 39 stories with photographs and 4 (10.2%) of them has a militaristic photo. Phileleftheros which published a total of 10 stories with photographs has the score of 20 % (n=2) which is the highest score in Greek Cypriot dailies. Politis on the other hand, published 22 stories with photographs and has an internal score of 13.6 % (n=3). In terms of the usage of militaristic photographs, the internal score of Phileleftheros (20%) is remarkable. Table 15 summarises the military photo usage amongst the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot newspapers. For examples of military photo usage see previously mentioned Figure 5 (Volkan), figure 23 (Haravgi), Figure 27 (Kıbrıs); Figure 28 (Havadis); Figure 29 (Star Kıbrıs) Figure 32 (Halkınsesi). For some more examples from Greek Cypriot press see Figure 38 (Politis), Figure 39 (Alithia), Figure 40 (Philelefteros), Figure 41 (Star Kıbrıs), Figure 42 (Güneş), Figure 43 (Haberdar) in Appendix A.

Table 15: Military photo usage in the newspapers

	Militaristic Photo	Other Photo	No Photo	Total
Turkish Cypriot Newspapers	28	317	116	421
	6.1 %	68.8 %	25.1%	100.0%
Greek Cypriot Newspapers	12	102	54	168
	7.1%	60.7%	32.2%	100.0%
Total	40	419	459	629
	6.4%	66.6%	27 %	100.0%

5.7 Headline formations of the newspapers

This study aims to reveal the difference between types of headlines used by the Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot newspapers. The headline types of newspapers categorized under 3 different topics as a) Quote b) Descriptive c) Comment. The raw frequencies computed for this section is connected to fifth set of indicators about sources in the stories [elite oriented or people oriented].

While Turkish Cypriot newspapers have 189 headlines (40%) as quotations, the frequency for Greek Cypriot dailies is limited with 17 stories (10.1%). The Turkish Cypriot newspapers have 141 headlines (30.6%) as comment, and 131 (28.4%) headlines as descriptive. 91 headlines (54.2%) published by the Greek Cypriot newspapers are count as comments, and 59 headlines (35.1%) count as descriptive. Table 16 summarises the headline types used on both sides. The content analysis reveals here that while Turkish Cypriot newspaper prefer heavily to use quotations as headlines, Greek Cypriot newspapers do not prefer to use quotes as headlines. This can be explained by the fact that these two communities have two different types of journalism culture. Using direct quotations either as headlines or in the texts, is always a corner stone for Turkish Cypriot journalism. Greek Cypriot newspapers however prefer to use elite sources indirectly in their news stories. The heavy usage of quotes in the Turkish Cypriot newspapers can also be interpreted as their dependency on politicians and elites' announcements/speeches. It is also important to note that, for the newspapers on both side of the division line, "comment" type headlines are basically including comments in favour of "their" own side – in other words written from a partisan point of view.

Table 16: Headline types used by both sides

	Quote	Descriptive	Comment	NA	Total
Turkish Cypriot Newspapers	189	131	141	0	461
	41.0%	28.4%	30.6%	0.0%	100.0%
Greek Cypriot Newspapers	17	59	91	1	168
	10.1%	35.1%	54.2%	0.6%	100.0%
Total	206	190	232	1	629
	32.8%	30.2%	36.9%	0.2%	100.0%

5.7.1 Evaluation of Turkish Cypriot front page news headlines

A closer examination of the headlines of the Turkish Cypriot newspapers' headlines, we notice that Volkan leads all three categories with the highest frequencies, whereas it has 42 headlines as quote (51.2%), 23 headlines as description (28%) and 17 stories as comment (20.7%). The second ranking in the quote category belongs to Kıbrıslı with 23 headlines (12.2%). In addition, Haberdar has 20 headlines (10.6%) as quote, Demokrat Bakış has 18 headlines (9.5%) as such. Halkın Sesi with 3 headlines, Havadis and Yenidüzen with 5 headlines are at the end of the list. The second highest frequency under the descriptive category belongs to Vatan with 21 headlines (16%). Haberdar occupies the third ranking with 14 headlines (10.7%). Demokrat Bakış, Güneş and Ortam published 10 descriptive headlines (7.6%) each. Havadis is at the bottom with 2 descriptive headlines (1.5 %). The second highest frequency under the comment category belongs to Kıbrıslı and Halkın Sesi which published 15 (10.6%) headlines on the front page as comment. Haberdar with 14 headlines (9.9%) and Star Kıbrıs with 13 headlines (9.2%) follow these two newspapers. Table 17 shows the frequencies and internal percentages of the Turkish Cypriot newspapers headline types.

Table 17: Headline types used by the Turkish Cypriot press

	Quote	Descriptive	Comment	Total
Afrika	11	12	10	33
	33.3%	36.4%	30.3%	100.0%
Demokrat Bakış	18	10	9	37
	48.6%	27.0%	24.3%	100.0%
Güneş	17	10	9	36
	47.2%	27.8%	25.0%	100.0%
Haberdar	20	14	14	48
	41.7%	29.2%	29.2%	100.0%
Halkın Sesi	3	3	15	21
	14.3%	14.3%	71.4%	100.0%
Havadis	5	2	7	14
	35.7%	14.3%	50.0%	100.0%
Kıbrıs	8	3	11	22
	36.4%	13.6%	50.0%	100.0%
Kıbrıslı	23	7	15	45
	51.1%	15.6%	33.3%	100.0%
Star Kıbrıs	9	9	13	31
	29.0%	29.0%	41.9%	100.0%
Ortam	17	10	5	32
	53.1%	31.3%	15.6%	100.0%
Vatan	11	21	9	41
	26.8%	51.2%	22.0%	100.0%
Volkan	42	23	17	82
	51.2%	28.0%	20.7%	100.0%
Yenidüzen	5	7	7	19
	26.3%	36.8%	36.8%	100.0%
Total	189	131	141	461
	41.0%	28.4%	30.6%	100.0%

5.7.2 Evaluation of the Greek Cypriot front page news headlines

Table 18 below, clearly shows the difference amongst the Greek Cypriot newspapers about the headline types. Haravgi newspaper has 12 headlines as quotes that is 70.6 % of the total 17 headlines as quotes published by all the Greek Cypriot newspapers. Haravgi's high score here can be interpreted as an outcome of being party newspaper – less journalists hired compared to the other GC newspapers, thus more open to politicians' announcements. While Alithia, Politis and Simerini have 1 headline each as a quote, Philelefthеros has 2 headlines as such. For the descriptive type, Politis has 17 headlines which constitute 28.8 % of the total 59 descriptive headlines from Greek Cypriot newspapers. Haravgi follows Politis with 13 headlines (22%). While Philelefthеros has 12 and Alithia has 10 descriptive type headlines, Simerini is at the bottom with 7 headlines. Haravgi leads the comment type headline category with 26 stories. Simerini follows Haravgi with 16 comment type headlines. And Alithia has 16

headlines as such, Philelefthеros and Politis share the same ranking with 15 headlines. Table 10 shows the frequencies and internal percentages of the Greek Cypriot newspapers headline types.

Table 18: Headline types used by the Greek Cypriot press

	Quote	Descriptive	Comment	NA	Total
Alithia	1	10	16	0	27
	3.7%	37.0%	59.3%	0.0%	100.0%
Philelefthеros	2	12	15	0	29
	6.9%	41.4%	51.7%	0.0%	100.0%
Politis	1	17	15	0	33
	3.0%	51.5%	45.5%	0.0%	100.0%
Simerini	1	7	19	1	28
	3.6%	25.0%	67.9%	3.6%	100.0%
Haravgi	12	13	26	0	51
	23.5%	25.5%	51.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Total	17	59	91	1	168
	10.1%	35.1%	54.2%	0.6%	100.0%

5.7.3 Usage of quotations on the front page

Use/Absence of quotations is also related with the usage of elite/people-oriented sources [sixth set of indicators]. 363 front page stories (%78.7) out of 461, has a quotation in the Turkish Cypriot newspapers. On the other hand, more than half of the stories published by the Greek Cypriot newspapers have no quotations. 77 stories (45.8%) out of 168 stories have a quotation in the Greek Cypriot dailies. It is also revealed that in several stories the Greek Cypriot newspapers prefer to use attributions instead of direct quotations from elites or politicians. Table 19 shows the usage of quotations on the Turkish Cypriot newspapers and Greek Cypriot newspapers in general.

Table 19: Usage of quotations in the Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot press

	Have quotation	No quotation	Total
Turkish Cypriot Newspapers	363	98	461
	78.7%	21.3%	100.0%
Greek Cypriot Newspapers	77	91	168
	45.8%	54.2%	100.0%
Total	440	189	629
	70.0%	30.0%	100.0%

5.7.4 Evaluation of the quotations in the Turkish Cypriot Press

Considering the internal scores of the Turkish Cypriot newspapers, it is observed that Havadis has the highest frequency by having 12 (85.7%) stories with quotations out of 14 stories it published. Demokrat Bakış has the second rank by having 31 (83.8%) stories with quotations out of 37 stories it published. Demokrat Bakış followed by Güneş with the frequency of 83.3 (30 stories out of 36). Vatan and Volkan shared the fourth ranking with 82.9% of their total front-page stories having quotations. Kıbrıs, Star Kıbrıs and Ortam has frequencies over 80% which means 4 stories out of 5 they published have quotations. The rest of the Turkish Cypriot newspapers have scores around 70%. Yenidüzen newspaper is on the bottom of the list with having 10 stories (52.6%) out of 19 with quotation. Table 20a shows the frequency of the quotations used by Turkish Cypriot newspapers.

Table 20a: The usage of quotations in the Turkish Cypriot newspapers

	Yes	No	Total
Afrika	24	9	33
	72.7%	27.3%	100.0%
Demokrat Bakış	31	6	37
	83.8%	16.2%	100.0%
Güneş	30	6	36
	83.3%	16.7%	100.0%
Haberdar	35	13	48
	72.9%	27.1%	100.0%
Halkın Sesi	16	5	21
	76.2%	23.8%	100.0%
Havadis	12	2	14
	85.7%	14.3%	100.0%
Kıbrıs	18	4	22
	81.8%	18.2%	100.0%
Kıbrıslı	34	11	45
	75.6%	24.4%	100.0%
Star Kıbrıs	25	6	31
	80.6%	19.4%	100.0%
Ortam	26	6	32
	81.3%	18.8%	100.0%
Vatan	34	7	41
	82.9%	17.1%	100.0%
Volkan	68	14	82
	82.9%	17.1%	100.0%
Yenidüzen	10	9	19
	52.6%	47.4%	100.0%
Total	363	98	461
	78.7%	21.3%	100.0%

5.7.5 Evaluation of the quotations in the Greek Cypriot Press

The content analysis reveals that using direct quotations is not a characteristic that Greek Cypriot press shares. 3 newspapers out of 5, have an internal score less than 40%. While, Politis have the bottom rank with 33.3% (11 stories out of 33), Philelefteros with a close frequency have the fourth rank with 34.5 (10 stories out of 29). Alithia also have 10 stories with quotations but because it published less stories, it has a higher frequency (37%). While the right wing Simerini has the frequency of 57.1%, left wing Haravgi has the highest frequency with 58.8% (30 stories out of 51)

Table 20b: The usage of quotations in the Greek Cypriot newspapers

	Yes	No	Total
Alithia	10	17	27
	37.0%	63.0%	100.0%
Philelefteros	10	19	29
	34.5%	65.5%	100.0%
Politis	11	22	33
	33.3%	66.7%	100.0%
Simerini	16	12	28
	57.1%	42.9%	100.0%
Haravgi	30	21	51
	58.8%	41.2%	100.0%
Total	77	91	168
	45.8%	54.2%	100.0%

5.7.6 Who is quoted in the front pages?

41.6% of the quoted sources (151 out of 363) on the front pages of the Turkish Cypriot press are official elites of Turkey. Turkish Cypriot official elites have the second place with 25.9 % (94 stories). Quotations from Greek Cypriot official elites have a remarkable appearance on the front pages of the Turkish Cypriot press with 18.4% (67 stories). Official elites from Greece also have quotations in the front pages of the Turkish Cypriot press with 4.6 % (17 stories). The Greek Cypriot press on the other hand gave much more space to the quotations from the Greek Cypriot official elites 50.6% (39 stories out of 77), followed by Turkish official elites with 31 stories (40.2%).

The official elite of Greece has the third ranking with 9% (7 stories), Turkish Cypriot official elite is quoted in 3 stories (3.9 %) only. Table 21 shows nationalities of the quoted sources on the front pages. Here it is important to note that regarding the direct quotations, Turkish Cypriots are almost invisible in the Greek Cypriot press. This is based on a hegemonic understanding that hydrocarbons conflict is actually a conflict between Turkey and RoC. As previously argued, regarding the criticisms addressed on the front pages, for Greek Cypriot newspapers, Turkish Cypriot side is not a remarkable opponent in this conflict – no news value in other words.

Table 21: Who is quoted on the front pages?[24]

	Turkish Cypriots	Greek Cypriots	Turkish	Greek
Turkish Cypriot Newspapers (n=363)	94	67	151	17
	25.90%	18.40%	41.60%	4.60%
Greek Cypriot Newspapers (n=77)	3	39	31	7
	3.90%	50.60%	40.20%	9%

5.7.7 "People Oriented" stories in Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot press

It is extremely rare to see non-officials quoted on the front pages of the newspapers on both sides. There is only 1 ordinary Turkish Cypriot who hit the front-page during September 2011. Artam Diren a pre-74 employee of Shell interviewed by Haberdar newspaper about the petrol reserves in Cyprus. The non-officials quoted in the front pages are also computed for raw frequencies. The Turkish Cypriot newspapers quoted 3 academicians, 10 experts and 6 NGO leaders in total. The frequencies computed for Greek Cypriot press is even lower. There is only 1 academician and 1 expert quoted by the Greek Cypriot press as non-official. Speaking from a statistical perspective

[24] The percentages do not add up to 100 percent for TC newspapers because there are so other sources quoted in front-pages but unlisted here… and for the GC newspapers the percentages up more than 100% because some stories are having more than one nationality quoted at once.

these frequencies can be considered as null. See Figure 44 in Appendix A shows people-oriented story of Haberdar:

5.7.8 Preference of quotes in the headlines/sub-headlines: escalating or de-escalating

Using 'escalating' and 'de-escalating' quotations are first set indicators developed for this study, to understand the approach of the newspapers towards the hydrocarbons conflict. With an escalating quote, this study refers to (a) quotations that have the direct/indirect reference of solving the hydrocarbons conflict with use of military force or violence; (b) quotations that are focusing on one's own rightfulness; (c) quotations that reflects the hydrocarbons conflict as a zero-sum game; (d) quotations that accuse the other side (antagonism) for being responsible for the hydrocarbons conflict. Briefly, these quotations are in favour of increasing tension amongst conflicting parties. The following extracts represent some of the escalating quotes used in the analysed press:

> "Turkish EU Affairs Minister and Chief Negotiator Egemen Bağış, in relation to reports that the Israeli Airforce has switched to Alarm B said . . . "They are well aware of Turkey's sensitivities. I'm leaving Turkey's potential to their creative imagination" (Volkan, right-wing TC daily, 14 September 2011) See Figure 45 in Appendix A.

> Responding to a question as to how the Turkish navy will react regarding if GCs' drilling activities are not halted, the source said, "the Turkish Side has not intervened in the drilling activities because it did not want to be the first to fire. However, we too have a right to carry our exploratory drilling in bloc 12 and when Piri Reis arrives in the bloc, the Turkish navy will be accompanying it. If they have the strength, the GC side will intervene and stop us." (Kıbrıs, leading TC daily, 25 September 2011) See Figure 46 in Appendix A.
> .
> ERDOĞAN: "IT IS NOT DRILLING, IT'S SABOTAGE" (Yenidüzen, left-wing TC daily, 29 September 2011) See Figure 47 in Appendix A.

> Turkish Finance Minister Mehmet Şimsek . . . said that, "we will do what is necessary to protect our rights and the rights of Turkish Cypriots", subsequently stressing that, "we cannot rule out anything", although, as he quotes, "a military confrontation is not desirable". (Phileleftheros, leading GC daily, 30 September 2011) See Figure 48 in Appendix A.

> [Turkey] have in fact gone too far where Erdoğan himself has threatened that if we don't stop the explorations, Turkey will "do what is necessary", placing the responsibility on the GC side . . . (Simerini, right-wing GC daily, 24 September 2011) See Figure 49 in Appendix A.
>
> President Christofias responded strongly to Turkey's provocations, calling on the National Guard to be "vigilant and prepared" to deal with Turkish arrogance and the threats . . . (Haravgi, left-wing GC daily, 10 September 2011) See Figure 36 in Appendix A".

With a de-escalating quote, the present study refers to (a) any peaceful solution offered to solve the hydrocarbons conflict, (b) any win–win approach to the hydrocarbons conflict, (c) any positive approach to lower the tension amongst the conflicting parties. The following extracts from front-page news' represent some de-escalating quotes:

> [TRNC] President's special representative Özersay said: "If we find petrol, we are ready to share" (Kıbrıs, leading TC daily, 27 September 2011) See Figure 50 in Appendix A.
>
> Here is the proposal of [TRNC] President Eroğlu:
> 1) Simultaneous interruption of all related activities until the Cyprus problem is solved. 2) Establishment of an informal committee, if the GC side insists on continuing explorations . . . 3) The revenue we will get from explorations will be used only for financing the settlement of Cyprus problem and won't be used under any circumstances for armament . . . (Volkan, right-wing TC daily, 25 September 2011) See Figure 51 in Appendix A.
>
> Eroğlu said: "The natural richness' around Cyprus belongs to both TCs and GCs" (Yenidüzen, left-wing TC daily, 22 September 2011) See Figure 52 in Appendix A.
>
> [President Christofias] noted that the United Federal Republic of Cyprus, in which GCs and TCs will jointly govern, will exploit the natural resources of the country for the benefit of both communities. "This", President Christofias added, "was an arrangement we agreed upon in the peace negotiations. Natural resources and their exploitation will be the federal government's responsibility, which through its budget will distribute the revenue to both communities' federal units". (Haravgi, left-wing GC daily, 19 September 2011) See Figure 53 in Appendix A.
>
> Erdoğan himself yesterday announced the agreement, which was signed in a rush in New York. At the same time, he also announced the end of the absurdity that he himself initiated over many days, stating that "Turkey won't create a crisis and tension in the region, but will act 'wisely'" (Simerini, right-wing GC daily, 22 September 2011) See Figure 54 in Appendix A.

> Speaking from the podium of the General Assembly of the United Nations yesterday, President Christofias, stated that "the possible discovery and extraction of hydrocarbons will be one more powerful incentive for GCs and TCs to reach a fair, workable and viable solution to the Cyprus problem soon". (Phileleftheros, leading GC daily, 23 September 2011) See Figure 55 in Appendix A.

The content analysis clearly shows that majority of the quotes in the Turkish Cypriot headlines and sub-headlines are in favour of escalating the conflict. 119 headlines/sub headlines (58.3%) out of 204 have such characteristic. While 57 headlines/sub-headlines (27.9%) are having neutral quotes, only 25 headlines (12.2%) have de-escalating quotes. 3 stories (1.5%) have mixed quotes [both escalating and de-escalating]. Content analysis reveals that, whilst Volkan has the highest frequency (n=31, 26.1%) in this category, Yenidüzen has the lowest frequency (n=1, 0.8%). Volkan followed by, Haberdar (n=14, 11.8%) Güneş (n=12, 10.1%) and Demokrat Bakış (n=11, 9.2%). While Star Kıbrıs and Vatan have 9 stories (7.6%), Ortam, Kıbrıslı and Kıbrıs have 8 stories (6.7%). Halkın Sesi have 2 (1.7%) stories and Havadis have 3 (2.5%) stories with an escalating headline/sub headline.

Regarding the de-escalating quotes, right wing Kıbrıslı has most striking frequency with 7 stories (28%), followed by Kıbrıs and Afrika 4 stories (16%) each. While Ortam and Vatan have 2 (8%) stories each with a de-escalating quote Volkan, Havadis, Halkın Sesi and Demokrat Bakış have 1 (4%) story each. Yenidüzen, Star Kıbrıs and Güneş have no stories with a de-escalating quote.

As it is discussed before the usage of quotations in the headlines and/or subhead lines is limited in the Greek Cypriot press. 13 headlines (52%) out of 25 have an escalating quote. The number of de-escalating quotes in the headlines is limited with 4 (16%),

while neutral type of quotes counted as 6 (24%). Mixed quotations are %8 (n=2) of the. De-escalating quotes in the headlines/sub-headlines belong to Alithia (n=1) and Haravgi (n=3). Escalating quotes on the other hand belongs to Politis (n=1), Philelefteros (n=2) and Haravgi (n=10).

These results reveal that although the frequency of the quotations used by newspapers on both sides, differ dramatically, the percentages for the escalating and de-escalating quotation usage is similar to each other. Table 22 summarizes the usage of escalating and de-escalating quotes in the front-page headlines/sub headlines. These results also reveal that, when it comes to use quotations as headlines, newspapers on both sides prefer to highlight escalating quotes by making them headlines. This can be read as another aspect of the conflict – the official elites of all parties involved in this conflict prefer to make escalating announcements/speeches. Considering this as a usual approach of politicians in war/conflict torn country such as Cyprus gives a responsibility to the journalists to search for de-escalating approaches and/or peaceful solutions offered by ordinary people and civil society institutions or initiatives – giving voice to the voiceless/invisible segments of the society.

Table 22: Usage of escalating and de-escalating quotes in the (sub) headlines

	Escalating	De-escalating	Neutral	Mixed	Total
Turkish Cypriot Newspapers	119	25	57	3	204
	58.3%	12.2%	27.9%	1.5%	100%
Greek Cypriot Newspapers	13	4	6	2	25
	52.0%	16.0%	24.0%	8.0%	100%
Total	132	29	63	5	229
	57.6%	12.6%	27.5%	0.2%	100%

5.7.9 Preference of quotes in the main texts: Escalating or de-escalating

The quotations used in the main texts of front-page stories also evaluated in terms of escalating or de-escalating characteristics. The Content analysis reveals that the

quotations used in the front pages of both Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot newspapers are having an escalating characteristic. 203 (63.8%) out of 318 Turkish Cypriot front page news, have escalating quotes in their main texts. While 45 (14.1%) stories categorized as neutral, 43 (13.2%) stories categorized as having both escalating and de-escalating (mixed) quotes together. The Turkish Cypriot newspapers only have 28 (8.8%) stories with de-escalating characteristic. Volkan leads the escalating category with 46 stories (22.7%), followed by Güneş and Haberdar who have 20 stories (9.9%) each. The escalating quote ranking list continues as such: Kıbrıslı and Vatan (n=17, 8.4%), Star Kıbrıs and Afrika (n=15, 7.4%); Demokrat Bakış (n=14, 6.9%), and Ortam (n=13, 6.4%). Havadis (n=8, 3.9%) Kıbrıs (n=7, 3.4%) and Yenidüzen (n=1; 0.5%) are at the bottom of the list.

The Greek Cypriot newspapers have similar scores in terms of percentages. 46 stories (61.3%) out of 75 have escalating quotes. While mixed and natural categories have 12 (16%) stories each, only 5 stories (6.6%) have deescalating type of quotes. Haravgi has the highest frequency with 14 stories (30.4%) as having escalating quotes, followed by Politis (n=10, 21.7%), Simerini (n=9, 19.6%), and Philelefteros (n=8, 17.4%). Alithia has the lowest frequency (n=5, 10.9%). For the de-escalating quotes each newspaper have 1 story as such. Table 23 Table 6 summarizes the usage of escalating and de-escalating quotes in the main texts of front pages.

The heavy usage of escalating type of quotes in the main texts of the newspapers on both sides can be explained in two different ways; (1) it shows the importance given to the conflict as a news value. (2) It shows a degree of consensus among the elite' of both sides to blame the other side and escalate the conflict instead of offering solution-oriented approaches. It is observed that most of the politicians and official elites use

escalating argumentation while speaking about the hydrocarbons conflict and journalists in Cyprus, prefer to highlight these arguments in the name of 'impartiality' (cf. Ersoy 2016, p.259). This is a passive role for journalist to pass escalating or pro war speeches of elites, without any critique, which simply refers to WJ.

Table 23: Preference of quotes in the main texts: escalating or de-escalating

	Escalating	De-escalating	Mixed	Neutral	Total
Turkish Cypriot Newspapers (n=318)	203	28	45	42	318
	63.8%	8.8%	14.2%	13.2%	100.0%
Greek Cypriot Newspapers (n=75)	46	5	12	12	75
	61.3%	6.7%	16.0%	16.0%	100.0%
Total	249	33	57	54	393
	63.4%	8.4%	14.5%	13.7%	100.0%

5.7.10 The bases of front-page stories

As presented above in different sections the usage of the quotations is limited especially for the Greek Cypriot press, therefore the Content Analysis Coding Sheet includes more specific questions to better investigate elite or people orientation in the stories. The question, "What is the news story based on?" in the coding sheet bring these results: Most of the stories on both sides are based on the public announcements/speeches of the politicians. 350 stories (55.6 %) out of 629 published on both sides have such characteristic. 281 of these stories published by the Turkish Cypriot newspapers which counts to 60.9%. The percentage for the Greek Cypriot newspapers is lower than this, but striking. 69 stories (41%) out of 168 are based on politicians' announcements/speeches. The stories that based on events (or event descriptions) were 62 (13.4%) on the Turkish Cypriot press and 6 (3.5 %) on the Greek Cypriot press. The stories that were categorized as both politician's announcements and event descriptions have the second highest frequency among the others. 73 stories (15.8%) from the Turkish Cypriot newspapers and 17 stories (10.1%) from the Greek Cypriot newspapers categorized as such.

The content analysis also reveals the number of exclusive interviews conducted on both sides. Whereas 13 Turkish Cypriot newspapers published only 23 stories (5%) as exclusive interviews, Greek Cypriot newspapers has a similar percentage with 7 stories (4.1%).

The news stories that based on commentaries are more frequent on the Greek Cypriot newspapers (14 news stories – 10.6 %), while only 3 (0.6%) news stories have such characteristics in the Turkish Cypriot press.

The Greek Cypriot and the Turkish Cypriot newspapers have front page news that based on other media institutions claims as well. Both Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot newspapers have 18 (3.9% for TC press and 10.7% for GC press) stories as such.

There is a striking difference about the usages of trusted/diplomatic/unnamed sources between the two sides. Whereas the Turkish Cypriot newspapers have 5 stories out of 461 as such (1%), the Greek Cypriot newspapers have 37 stories (22%) out of 168 that use unnamed diplomatic/trusted sources. One of the reasons that the usage of trusted/diplomatic/unnamed sources is limited in the Turkish Cypriot press is due to the fact that, TRNC is an unrecognized state with no diplomatic relations with any country other than Turkey. The second possible reason is, that the Turkish Cypriot officials/elites prefer to announce their agendas more directly with press conferences and/or written announcements. The third possible reason is that, Turkish Cypriot newspapers main news source is the state news agency TAK and TAK prefer not to use trusted/diplomatic/unnamed sources – This will be discussed later in this chapter. Table 24 summarises the bases of the front-page stories.

Table 24: What are the stories based on the front pages

	Politicians (1)	Events (2)	Mixed 1&2	Exclusive Interview	Commentary	Unnamed sources
Turkish Cypriot newspapers	281	62	73	23	5	8
	61.0%	13.4%	15.8%	5.0%	1.1%	1.7%
Greek Cypriot newspapers	69	6	17	7	15	38
	41.1%	3.6%	10.1%	4.2%	8.9%	22.6%
Total	350	68	90	30	20	46
	55.6%	10.8%	14.3%	4.8%	3.2%	7.3%

5.7.11 A comprehensive look for the "elite orientation" in the front-page stories

As argued above, 363 front page stories (%78.7) out of 461, has a quotation in the Turkish Cypriot newspapers. 77 stories (45.8%) out of 168 stories have a quotation in the Greek Cypriot dailies. Almost all of these quotations are elite oriented. A closer look to the stories that have no quotation, reveals that 78 of these stories from both sides are somehow elite oriented. Namely, 55 stories – 22 from Turkish Cypriot press and 33 from Greek Cypriot press – are based on politicians' reactions to the hydrocarbons conflict and 23 stories – 2 from Turkish Cypriot newspapers and 21 from Greek Cypriot newspapers – are referring to unnamed diplomatic sources. The total stories from both sides that have reference to/quote from elites or people-oriented sources is 518 (82.3). As previously mentioned only 22 stories (n= 20 from Turkish Cypriot press and 2 from Greek Cypriot press) refer/quote to non-official sources. Only 3.5% of the total sample have people-oriented sources. 78.8 of the total 629 stories have elite oriented/official sources. This remarkable result clearly indicates that journalism in Cyprus, in both the north and south of the island, is tends to voice official elites rather than act as watchdogs in the public interest. This is viewed as 'war-oriented' journalism in Peace Journalism theories – since it does not open up grounds for inclusion of alternative viewpoints or marginalised stories. Similarly, the critical media studies approach calls for inclusion, alternative voices and the questioning of –

and not acquiescing to – power. Politicians as the elite group of the society are the main figures that have the power to express their views trough media. This can be read as an indication of how the politicians are dominating the debates about a conflict like oil drilling. The overall tendency of the newspapers on both sides to blame the other side or focusing on us-them oppositions is highly related with what Gadi Wolfsfeld calls as "elite consensus" (Wolfsfeld, 2011, p10).

Table 25 summarises sources in the stories.

Table 25: Sources in the stories: elite or people oriented[25]

	Elite - Official	non-official
Turkish Cypriot (n=461)	367	20
	87.4%	4.3%
Greek Cypriot (n=168)	129	2
	76.7%	1.2%
Total	496	22
	78.8%	3.5%

5.8 The sources of the front-page stories

Besides the above mentioned and tested indicators of peace and war journalism, this study further analysed the sources of the front-page stories. The print media on both sides of the division line have sharp differences when it comes to sources of their news stories. The results of the content analysis clearly show the Turkish Cypriot newspapers' limited usage of their own journalists to report about oil drilling issue. While total 70 stories (41.6%) out of 168 Greek Cypriot front page news were written

[25] The percentages do not add up to 100 percent because some stories are descriptive that have no source referred or quoted.

by their own reporters, this number in the Turkish Cypriot newspapers is only 30 (6.5%).

When usage of news agencies as sources of news stories compared, the Greek Cypriot newspapers have a lower frequency (n=13; 7.7%). The Turkish Cypriot newspapers on the other hand refer to news agencies in 32 stories (6.9 %) out of 461. Opposite to the Greek Cypriot newspapers, the Turkish Cypriot newspapers rarely mention about the sources of the stories especially those which are taken from TAK news agency. These 32 stories that have a reference to "a news agency" have this because this reference is already in the new story distributed by TAK. Due to lack of editorial staff/journalists, Turkish Cypriot newspapers mainly prefer to edit the headlines/sub headlines of the stories coming from TAK – where they give their ideological messages.

Whereas the Greek Cypriot newspapers use other media as a source in 33 of stories with the percentage of 19.6%, the Turkish Cypriot newspapers have a higher percentage with 32% (n=152). "Other media" as a source for the Turkish Cypriot press means the contested translations made by TAK agency from the Greek Cypriot newspapers. The Greek Cypriot newspapers on the other hand, use different foreign and local media institutions' stories as 'other' media sources.

The stories that have no sources mentioned, categorized as "unmentioned" and have high frequencies on both sides. The Turkish Cypriot press which rarely refers to its main source TAK has 271 stories as such (58.7%). The Greek Cypriot newspapers have 50 stories that source of it unmentioned which is equal to 29.7%. Table 26 summarises the sources of the front-page stories.

Table 26: Sources of the front-page stories

	News Agency	Own Reporter	Other Media	Un-Mentioned
Turkish Cypriot[26] newspapers	32	30	152	271
	6.9%	6.5%	33.0%	58.8%
Greek Cypriot newspapers[27]	13	70	33	50
	7.7%	41.7%	19.6%	29.8%
Total	45	100	185	321
	7.2%	15.9%	29.4%	51.0%

5.9 Negative repercussions of a possible war

By using the two indicators developed for this study, 'No discussion of negative repercussions of a possible war' (WJ) and 'Discussing negative repercussions of a possible war' (PJ) the researcher, aim to analyse newspapers attitudes during escalated conflicts further. As it is discussed before, the mediated representations of the conflict about the hydrocarbons conflict was mainly focused on the possibility of a hot episode/war in East Mediterranean. The content analysis clearly shows that the newspapers on both sides of the division line rarely discuss negative repercussions of a possible of a war.

When the Turkish Cypriot newspapers considered, it is observed that only 16 stories (3.5%) of the total stories published by TC newspapers discussed negative repercussions of a possible war on their front-page. 189 stories (40.9%) out of 461 refrained from referring to such discussions. 162 (35.1%) stories published by Turkish Cypriot newspaper are not related with the possibility of a war in the region.

Only 2 stories (1.2%) published by GC newspapers, referred to negative repercussions of a possible war, and 66 stories (39.3%) were not referring to any negative

[26] The percentages up more than 100 percent because some stories have mor than one source
[27] The percentages do not add up to 100 percent because they do not include categories such as 'other', 'unclear', 'not applicable', counted in the original tables

repercussions of a possible war. 53 stories (31.5) are not related with war risk in the region.

Looking closer to the Turkish Cypriot newspapers' frequencies about discussions on negative percussions of a possible war, it is observed that, left-wing Ortam has 5 stories, followed by extreme right wing Volkan, having 3 stories. While Afrika, Haberdar and Kıbrıslı have 2 stories each, Kıbrıs and Star Kıbrıs have 1 story each. Halkın Sesi, Havadis, Güneş, Vatan and Yenidüzen have no stories that discuss negative percussions of a possible war. It's worth noting that Yenidüzen newspaper which, in general, produces very limited amount of military discourse/vocabulary and is considered a good example of PJ, unfortunately fails to give space to stories about negative repercussions of a possible war.

For the Greek Cypriot newspapers Alithia and right wing Simerini are having 1 story each as such, while the other 3 newspapers have no stories about negative outcomes of a possible war in the region. Table 27 shows the approach of newspapers on both sides regarding the war risk.

It is observed on both sides of the division line that, instead of discussing the possible negative outcomes of a war in the Eastern Mediterranean, the newspapers prefer to discuss/highlight the military power of their owns side and allies in comparison to that of the other side. Therefore, it is not surprising to see headlines such as:

> "TURKEY CANNOT TARGET THE US" [quoted from RoC's Foreign Minister Markulli in Star Kıbrıs, right-wing TC daily, 18 September 2011] See Figure 41 in Appendix A.
>
> COULD ISRAEL RISK ENGAGE WITH TURKEY? [Kıbrıslı, right-wing TC daily, 16 September 2011]; See Figure 30 in Appendix A.

ISRAEL SENDS OUT FIGHTERS
Reply in the same language - messages in the skies around Cyprus
[Philelefteros, leading GC daily, 29 September 2011] See Figure 24 in Appendix A.

ATHENS PAYS ANKARA BACK IN KIND
We shall send the Greek fleet, warned Defence Secretary P. Beglitis
(Alithia, right-wing GC daily, 05 September 2011) See Figure 13 in Appendix A.

Many more frontpage stories published during September 2011, similar to the above-mentioned ones. This common approach on both sides, clearly shows that the intention of the journalists is not to criticize warmongering elites and/or military moves in the region, rather they prefer to tell stories to their readers that, their side/allies will win in a possible war or military engagement. It's not surprising to read in newspapers that the motherlands are insuperable. This approach of journalists on both sides contribute not only war journalism in the short term but a never-ending enmity in the region.

Table 27: Discussions of negative repercussions of a possible war

	Discussing negative repercussions of a possible war	No discussion of negative repercussions of a possible war	The story is not related with war risk	N/A	Total
Turkish Cypriot Newspapers	16	189	162	94	461
	3.5%	41.0%	35.1%	20.4%	100.0%
Greek Cypriot Newspapers	2	66	53	47	168
	1.2%	39.3%	31.5%	28%	100.0%
Total	18	255	215	141	629
	2.9%	40.5%	34.2%	0	100.0%

5.10 Summary of the findings: Newspapers prefer escalating the hydro carbons conflict

The raw frequencies computed for all 629 items analysed in the joint sample of Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot newspapers display a marked tendency towards war journalism. Table 28 summarizes this tendency. General findings are presented in

three groups: Orientation of the stories, sources of the stories, language used in the stories.

Table 28: War journalism and peace journalism indicators in the total sample (raw frequencies, percentages N=629)[28]

War Journalism (%)		Peace Journalism (%)	
Orientation of the stories			
1. Zero-sum oriented:	72	1. Win-Win oriented:	3.5
2. Focused mainly on differences that led to the conflict:	58.3	2. Focused on peaceful solutions:	9.9
3. Focus on here and now	61.5	3. Wider Aspects	1.7
4. No discussion about the negative repercussions of a possible war:	40.5	4. Discussing negative repercussions of a possible war:	2.9
Sources of stories			
5. Elite oriented:	78.8	5. People oriented:	3.5
Language used in stories:			
6. Uses military vocabulary/discourse:	36.3	6. No military vocabulary/discourse:	63.7

Of the 629 stories published by eighteen newspapers analysed, 72% of them are zero-sum oriented, whilst only 3.2% of the stories are win–win oriented. More than half of the stories (58.3%) focus on differences that led to the conflict and refrain from mentioning a peaceful solution to the hydrocarbons conflict. Stories that mention a peaceful solution is limited to 9.9%. Whilst front page stories that focus here and now constitutes 61.5% of the total sample, stories with a wider focus/context is limited to 1.7%. Of these 629 stories, 40.5% is referring to the possibility of a hot episode/war and only 2.9 discuss negative repercussions of a possible war. The raw frequencies reveal that vast majority of the stories published are using elite/official sources (78.8%). Only 3.5%of the stories are 'people-oriented', which is one of the basic principles of PJ. The language used in the stories in terms of military vocabulary/discourse is also remarkable. More than one-third of the front-page stories

[28] The percentages do not add up to 100 percent because they do not include categories such as 'other', 'unclear', 'not applicable', counted in the original tables.

(36.3%) used military discourse. It is important to note that 'no military discourse usage' (63.7%) is the only PJ indicator amongst the mentioned six indicators that have more frequency than its opponent. Although military discourse usage is lower than the suppositions, it is still remarkable. Of the 629 frontpage stories, 134 (21.3%) of them incorporated military discourse in their headlines or sub-headlines. Moreover, of the 209 banners published on both sides about the hydrocarbons conflict, 107 of them (51.1%) used military discourse.

In addition, the raw frequencies computed for quotes used in the front-page stories published by 18 newspapers showed a significant tendency towards escalation of the hydrocarbons conflict. More than half of the stories (n=132; 57.67%) published by Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot newspapers use escalating quotes in their front-page headlines/sub-headlines. Only 29 stories (12.6%) used de-escalating quotes. When it comes to analysing the main texts of front-page stories, frequency of escalating quotes increased. 63.4% (n=249) of the main texts have escalating quotes. The de-escalating quotes on the main texts is limited to 8.4% (n=33). Table 29 summarizes the usage of escalating and de-escalating quotes in the joint sample.

Table 29: Usage of escalating and de-escalating quotes on front page stories

	Headlines & Sub-headlines (n=229)	Main Text (n=393)
Escalating	132	249
	67.6%	63.4%
De-escalating	29	33
	12.6%	8.4%

Chapter 6

DISCUSSION, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

This chapter is organised to critically contextualise the major findings. To what extent was the coverage of the hydrocarbons conflict by TC and GC newspapers dominated by War Journalism or Peace Journalism approach? This is the major research question posed by this study. The combined sample analysed for 18 newspapers from both communities (Table 29, Table 30) indicates a strong preference towards War Journalism. Amongst the eighth indicators of peace and WJ analysed for this study, seven of the WJ indicators are overwhelmingly having more frequency than Peace Journalism indicators on both sides of the division line (Table 30 and Table 31).

Table 30: Comparative findings[29]

	Greek Cypriot newspapers (n=168) (%)	Turkish Cypriot newspapers (n=461) (%)
Zero-sum oriented	79.2	69.4
Win-win oriented	1.2	4.3
Focus on differences	51.6	61
Focus on peaceful solution	8.9	10.2
Focus on here and now	61.9	61.4
Focus on wider aspects	1.8	1.7
Discussion about negative repercussions of a possible war	1.2	3.5
No discussion about negative repercussions of a possible war	39.3	41
Military discourse	44.1	33.4
No military discourse	55.9	66.6
Elite oriented	76.7	87.4
People oriented	1.2	4.3

[29] The percentages do not add up to 100 percent because they do not include categories such as 'other', 'unclear', 'not applicable', counted in the original tables.

Table 31: Usage of escalating and de-escalating quotes on front page stories

	Turkish Cypriot Press		Greek Cypriot Press	
	Headlines & Sub-headlines (n=204)	Main Text (n=318)	Headlines & Sub-headlines (n=25)	Main Text (n=75)
Escalating	119	203	13	46
	58.3%	63.8%	52.0%	61.3%
De-escalating	25	28	4	33
	12.3%	8.8%	16 %	6.7%

This study shows that the most dominant War Journalism indicator is elite orientation, followed by zero-sum orientation, usage of escalating quotes, focus on here and now, focused on differences, no discussion about negative repercussions of a possible war and finally usage of military discourse. Interesting to note that some indicators for Peace Journalism, like win–win orientation, discussing negative repercussions of a possible war, and people-orientation are less than 5%. This clearly represents that both Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot newspapers are practicing War Journalism, whilst covering the hydrocarbons conflict. Another striking result of this study is that ideological positions of the newspapers did not play a visible/effective difference in the reporting of the hydrocarbons conflicts. Newspapers from different ideological positions across the divide have more or less the same War Journalism approach towards the hydrocarbons conflict. This can be read as having a hegemonic approach and elite consensus on both sides to represent the hydrocarbons conflict from a specific perspective, like a national/ethnic choir – in other words propaganda of their own side. The overall results of this study show that majority of the newspapers on both sides prefer to represent the hydrocarbons conflict after passing it through 'ideologically serviceableness of the information' filter – to make it appropriate for their own side's propaganda.

Almost two-thirds of the total front-page stories analysed featured no military discourse and this is the only Peace Journalism indicator that dominated the

frequencies. However, having 36.3% of the front-page stories using military discourse in a case where there was high risk for a potential war/hot episode, cannot be underestimated as a significant form of War Journalism and sensationalism. The primary reason for the usage of military discourse by the newspapers on their front pages can be explained as a strategy to attract the attention of their readers by selling them the fear of a possible war. This is what Wolfsfeld calls 'Drama' as the news value (2004, p.16) and drama sells better than peace as always.

This study clearly shows that; the newspapers from both sides, failed to refer/discuss peaceful solutions to the hydrocarbons conflict and they also failed to refer/discuss negative repercussions of a possible war related to the hydrocarbons conflict. As discussed before, media institutions worldwide prefer to make stories about conflicts instead of peace/cooperation. With the heavy usage of zero-sum approach, supported by military discourse, it will not be exaggerating to reach a conclusion that Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot newspapers practice war journalism and warmongering in this specific case.

Research question one asked whether front-page news coverage of the hydrocarbons conflict in Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot newspapers differed significantly in using Peace Journalism or War Journalism approach. A significant tendency towards War Journalism is apparent for newspapers of both communities. Table 31 and Table 32 show a summarized version of the earlier tables, featuring the commonalities and differences of Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot newspapers. Newspapers on both sides have similar scores in almost all indicators. Those indicators that newspapers on both sides have almost 10% difference are, focus on differences and elite orientation (Turkish Cypriot newspapers have higher scores) and for zero sum orientation and

military discourse usage Greek Cypriot newspapers have higher scores. The most interesting outcome of this study, besides its striking results in favour of War Journalism is that the cumulative scores of Turkish Cypriot newspapers and Greek Cypriot newspapers are so similar. Although the frequency for analysed front-page stories on both sides differ dramatically [13 Turkish Cypriot newspapers published 461 stories and 5 Greek Cypriot newspapers published 168 stories], percentages for War Journalism and Peace Journalism indicators are more or less similar to each other.

The second research question was: How diverse is sourcing by Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot newspapers for covering the hydrocarbons conflict? As it is clearly shown in Tables 29 and Table 31, vast majority of the stories analysed for this study are elite oriented. Media landscape and journalism culture in both communities is in favour of referring/quoting elite/official sources. For this specific case, the findings are not in favour of PJ due to fact that 78.8% of the sources in the front-page stories published by newspapers from both sides, are elites. This study shows that reporting elites' point of view as facts is a habitual approach of journalists in Cyprus. Nonofficial sources referred in the front-page stories are limited to 3.5%. The elite/official sources and also people/nonofficial sources used by the Turkish Cypriot newspapers are slightly higher than Greek Cypriot newspapers. It is obvious that on both sides of the division line elites decide what are the boundaries of thinkable thought (Chomsky 1985) – journalists once more lapdogs instead of watchdogs for the maintenance of a "citizenless democracy" (cf. McChesney and Nicholas 2016).

The content analysis also reveals several significant differences among Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot newspapers in terms of sources of the published stories. The frequency of direct quotations from elites/official sources is remarkably high for

Turkish Cypriot newspapers compared to Greek Cypriot newspapers. On the other hand, the frequency of referring to unnamed diplomatic sources by Greek Cypriot newspapers is remarkably higher than Turkish Cypriot newspapers. This significant difference in terms of referring to diplomatic sources or quoting from elites, is directly related to the difference between two media landscapes and journalism cultures. The findings of this study make it clear that, while Greek Cypriot newspapers have their own journalists to report stories, Turkish Cypriot newspapers rely more on news coming from state news agency. The state agency for Turkish Cypriot community [TAK – Cyprus Turkish News Agency] prefers direct quotes instead of referring to unnamed diplomatic sources. Most of the Turkish Cypriot newspapers do not have enough economic sources to employ journalists. 8 out of 13 Newspapers have circulation less than 1000 copies[30]. 6 newspapers don't have any reporters – which I like to call Turkish Cypriot press as practicing "journalism without journalists". TAK provides its bulletin free to the newspapers who have one employee with official press card. A free bulletin and a free presentation of frontpages on the radio/tv shows attract businesspeople in the Turkish Cypriot community to publish their own newspapers to fulfill their own ideological/economic/political interests. This is the main reason why the Turkish Cypriot community with such a small population have 22 daily newspapers in 2020. The Greek Cypriot newspapers on the other hand, work in a more professional environment where each newspaper has its own reporters. The Cyprus News Agency provide its bulletin to the subscribers with a 75 Euro fee monthly. Speaking from a political economy perspective the market for the Greek Cypriot press is like any other capitalist society. When newspapers cannot produce enough readers to sell advertisers logically, they stop publishing. When this case study conducted in 2011, there were 13

[30] Interview with the director of the main newspaper distribution company Yay-Sat [back in 2011], Halil Paşa.

Turkish Cypriot newspapers and before COVID-19 pandemic Turkish Cypriot community have 22 newspapers, whereas back in 2011 there were 5 Greek Cypriot newspapers in circulation and now Greek Cypriot community have 4 daily newspapers.

This study reveals that, most of the Turkish Cypriot newspapers do not have 'enough' journalists to report this specific conflict – that makes them passive toward news served by state news agency that brings in to the table 'uniform reports' (cf. Şahin 2013). Greek Cypriot journalists on the other hand, prefer to use trusted/unnamed diplomatic sources for information instead of directly quoting official elites. It is worth to mention that all unnamed/diplomatic/trusted sources are somehow elites. 'Regular People' as defined by Galtung (1992) are almost absent from the discussions about hydrocarbons conflict, which means a people-oriented approach of peace journalism is not practised in Cyprus for this specific case. This brings us back to a citizenless democracy (McChesney and Nicholas 2016).

The difference here about the sources of the stories on both sides – dependency on news agencies and the capacity to have their own reporters – become more meaningful when it is read from a critical political economy perspective. While Turkish Cypriot newspapers find their way to survive even with circulations less than 1000 copies – free of charge access to TAK's bulletins, hiring minimum staff – to use their front pages for political struggles in their community, the Greek Cypriot newspapers on the other hand, operate in a more liberal market.

The third question posed was whether Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot newspapers provided discussion (PJ), or non-discussion (WJ), of the negative repercussions of a

possible war. The combined analysis of newspapers from both sides shows that journalists very rarely wrote about the negative repercussions of a possible war due to the hydrocarbons conflict. This is a deplorable but good example of how the 'national struggle' mentality is deeply rooted amongst journalists on both sides of the divide. Journalists in Cyprus prefer to sensationalise the threat of war ensued by the hydrocarbons conflict rather than discuss the negative repercussions of a possible war. The aim of creating these two new indicators is also to give room for discussing the role of Peace Journalism in the prevention of violence in times of war risks. The findings of this study bring to light the need for developing new complementary strands for Peace Journalism for reporting escalated conflicts. What is argued here as per Galtung's statement, is that it is not expected from journalists and media to become 'instruments of peace education, even of peace propaganda' (1992, p.11) but it is their obligation to give voice to peace initiatives and peaceful solutions. Considering the news values such as drama, simplicity, ethnocentrism and immediacy that are all in favour of war journalism, that's the high road for potential peace journalists to put considerable amount of intellectual energy to climb up.

The fourth question asked whether the quotes used on front-page stories related to the hydrocarbons conflict were escalating or de-escalating oriented. The findings of this question, with combination of the findings of the previous question, form a better understanding of the decisions made by TC and GC newspapers in terms of escalating or de-escalating the conflict. More than 50% of the quotes used in headlines/sub-headlines more than 60% of the quotes used in the main texts of front-page stories on both sides have escalating orientation. The frequency of escalating quotes for the Turkish Cypriot newspapers is remarkably higher compared to Greek Cypriot newspapers but when it comes to percentages compared to total stories published on

each side, the scores are similar. The tendency to quote escalating-oriented statements from elites in covering the hydrocarbons conflict can be read as an important sign about the newspapers being mouthpiece of elites. For the newspapers on both sides, using escalating quotes on front page headlines/sub-headlines – in such a case with potential risk for war –, is a good example of sensationalism and irresponsible approach. Another important point here is that those who argue de-escalating solutions are belong to elites on both sides. Not a surprising result considering the fact that newspapers on both sides have been the voice of the elites since its introduction.

The findings gathered from the fourth question; makes us weary of how journalism is conducted today. In fact, even before encouraging peace journalism, responsible journalism practices need to be implemented. On a local level, in Cyprus, the journalists and journalism scholars need to re-consider what is defined as news, because it's quite obvious that elites lead what becomes news and also what the tone of the news be. On the international level, journalism scholars need to re-consider the relationship between journalists and elites/politicians in places like Cyprus where there is potential for future inter-ethnic violence.

From a critical political economy and cultural studies perspective, this case study represents how newspapers on both sides, make the propaganda of their own side. Moreover, how newspapers from both sides exclude all other stakeholders in this conflict and present it as a conflict between RoC and Turkey/TRNC. It is an ideological choice to exclude ordinary people's hopes/expectations from the hydrocarbon's reserves or the critiques of environmentalists about hydrocarbons excavations. The newspapers on both sides don dare to question/critique the taken for granted approach of elites us-them division.

6.1 Conclusion and recommendations

It is time for journalists on both sides of the dividing line to practice PJ and act proactive by distancing themselves from official policies of the elites, to represent hydrocarbon reserves as 'a game changer' for the resolution of Cyprus problem rather than 'a game breaker' (cf. Özgür 2017) as they are doing until now. It is time for journalists to challenge the "easy narratives" in Cyprus which have been produced and reproduced in a sustained manner since the first newspapers (and that in return, fuelled interethnic violence on several occasions). This suggestion above is a wishful thinking, considering the political/economic/hegemonic context within which newspapers operate on both sides of the division line. To achieve this goal, there must be an urgent need for a road map to implement peace journalism in Cyprus. Here I propose 3 crucial steps for further implementation of peace journalism in Cyprus:

1) **Training for journalists:**

This step can be carried by professional bodies of journalists such as Press Workers Union, Turkish Cypriot Journalists Association, Cyprus Journalists Association. Organizing training for the journalists in their own language, other than English, will be helpful to reach out more journalists. The above-mentioned stakeholders can ask funding from European Union and/or international journalism bodies such as EFJ or IFJ. Training for the journalists is an important way of solving the misunderstandings about peace journalism.

2) **Training for the trainers:**

It is important to invite and bring important figures of Peace Journalism to Cyprus to create a public attention to the issue of peace journalism. Training for the trainers can be organized by journalists' associations and higher education institutions. Training

for the trainers will give us the opportunity to have local experts on the issue, which will then be an advantage to train journalists and scholars in their own language.

3) **Teaching Peace Journalism in the universities:**

Peace journalism is no more "natural" than war journalism. Peace journalists develop their skills and competencies through rigorous training and educational programs just as students of war journalism do. The excellent media and communication studies programs in higher education facilities across the island that teach journalism theory and practice can play a positive role by increasing the number of peace journalism courses in their curriculums. Unfortunately, the peace journalism courses in the higher education institutions are very limited – especially in the Greek Cypriot universities. The higher education institutions as the stakeholders can make necessary steps to teach more about peace journalism. Those who will attend the "training for trainers" workshops can be considered as peace journalism ambassadors to promote opening peace journalism courses in their home universities.

Without the implementation of these recommendations, Cyprus newspapers and journalists will continue to tell ethnocentric stories that fail to take into account or empathise with their bi-communal other. Such an orientation is guaranteed to produce stories that situate blame squarely on the shoulders of the other and refuse to take into consideration the alternative views of all stakeholders on the island.

Jake Lynch, argues that, journalists in several countries – including Cyprus, who are affected by violent conflict in the past and still having tensions due to proacted conflicts, '…have often evinced an appetite for PJ' (Lynch, 2016, p.201; Lynch 2014, p.43). The findings of this study, however, clearly shows that this is not the case in Cyprus. In fact: Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot newspapers covered the

hydrocarbons conflict through zero-sum & us and them approaches, where the possible use of militaristic force to solve this conflict is uplifted and legitimized. It is obvious that Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot newspapers, failed to present peaceful solutions to this conflict. Moreover, with their front-page stories they helped to escalate the tension among parties. Newspapers from both sides, instead of acting as watchdogs, prefer to support their politician's official policy about the hydrocarbon reserves by heavily relaying on elite sources. The interesting outcome of this study is that ideological differences amongst newspapers, make almost no difference when it comes to reporting this specific conflict. However, I believe that further studies can address the issue of ideology, in more depth with the usage of qualitative methods. Further qualitative studies on this specific case, can reveal the usage of language in conflict escalation and de-escalation.

Cyprus has been locked in an intractable conflict for almost half a century and could benefit greatly from conflict transformation: Peace Journalism has a fundamental role to play by opening space for the interests and points of view of all stakeholders. This can be facilitated through the practice of peace journalism where non-violent options to the resolution of conflicts are revealed. Peace Journalism can reduce the distance between journalists, address media workers and journalists from both communities and encourage media to accentuate the sort of reporting that represents the multiplicity of voices in Cyprus rather than reducing discussion and debate to a win/lose, zero sum mentality. There is a growing interest for peace journalism in Cyprus, but in order for it to flourish a lot more effort needs to be put into promoting peace journalism and training journalists (Ciftcioglu, 2017).

Just as the 1991 Gulf War generated debates about the relationship between journalism and war which later form the basis for the emergence of PJ (Zillich, Göbbel, Stengel, Maier & Ruhrmann, 2011, p.253), I expect that the coverage of hydrocarbons conflict in the divided Cyprus will generate debates about the relationship between the journalism and war risks, which later will form the basis for developing a complementary strand for peace journalism about covering such cases. There is an urgent need to improve PJ research for reporting cases where there is risk for violent outcomes. It is time for PJ research to forward from 'business of war reporting' approach to proactive conflict reporting for violence prevention.

Slavko Splichal and Boris Mance (2018, p.400) once argued on the role of critical communications research in this way: "While critical of the present, critical inquiry is a future-oriented research perspective of producing knowledge that anticipates "what-if" (rather than "if-then"—characteristic of the positivist perspective) consequences to potential actions aimed at human liberation and social transformation". I expect the critical knowledge produced with this study will open up spaces for scholars and researchers to ask many what-if questions for the future of journalism and conflict reporting in Cyprus.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Newspaper Front Pages

Figure 1: Philelefttheros, 12 September 2011

Figure 2: Simerini, 24 September 2011

Figure 3: Haravgi, 17 September 2011

KIBRIS
GAZETESİ

17 EYLÜL 2011 CUMARTESİ YIL: 22 SAYI: 8035 www.kibrisgazetesi.com 2 TL (KDV dahil)

Bugün ekran günü

KIBRIS'la birlikte bedava...

Güneyden variller dolusu kullanılmış motor yağı getiren Rıfat Kamalı, sınır kapısında muhaceret işlemi de yapmadı

Polis peşinden kovaladı

Hasan ÇAĞDA'nın haberi sayfa 2'de

Dört yıldan beri ülkede kaçak yaşayan Meliha Ertürk, van araç içinde fuhuş yaparken yakalandı

"Mecbur kaldım"

Elli TL için...

Gazimağusa polisi ülkede 4 yıldan beri kaçak yaşadığı tespit edilen Meliha Ertürk isimli genç kadını, surlar içindeki Çifte Mazgallar Bölgesi'nde bir van araç içerisinde, 50 TL karşılığında fuhuş yaparken suçüstü yakaladı ve mahkemeye sevketti. Duruşmada söz alan Ertürk "İstediğimden değil, mecburiyetten yaptım" dedi.

Sedef BOSNAK'ın haberi sayfa 6'da

Rum Savunma Bakanı Atina'da temaslarda bulunurken Türk gemilerinin Baf açıklarında dolaştığı bildirildi

Gergin bekleyiş

Yunan Savunma Bakanı Panayotis Beglidis (solda), Rum Savunma Bakanı Dimitris Iliadis'le Atina'da gerçekleştirdiği görüşme sonrasında, petrol aramalarına destek mesajı verdi. Fotoğraf / REUTERS

Yunanistan destek verdi... Atina'da Yunanlı meslektaşı Panayotis Beglidis ile görüşen Rum Savunma Bakanı Dimitris Iliadis, doğal gaz konusundaki girişimlerin haklı olduğunu belirterek, bu konuda geri adım atılmayacağı mesajını verdi. Sondaj çalışmalarını yürütmek üzere 'Afrodit' bölgesine yerleştirilen Noble platformuna ise dün helikopterle 30 personel taşındı. Rum radyosu, bir yandan güneydeki gelişmeleri aktarırken, diğer yandan Türk donanmasına ait gemilerin Baf açıklarında göründüğünü iddia etti.

Atalay yeniden uyardı... Kuzey Kıbrıs'taki temaslarını dün de sürdüren Türkiye Başbakan Yardımcısı Beşir Atalay, Rum kesiminin, İsrail'le işbirliği halinde başlattığı girişimlerin devam etmesi halinde gerekli karşılığın verileceğini belirtirken, Birleşmiş Milletler Genel Sekreteri'nin Kıbrıs Özel Temsilcisi Lisa Buttenheim, doğal kaynakların 'tüm Kıbrıslılara' ait olduğunu açıkladı.

Haberi sayfa 8'de

AB Temsilcisi Andrulla Kaminara KIBRIS TV'de konuştu:

Tek yol çözüm

Petrol konusundaki gelişmelerin yakından takip edildiğini belirten Kaminara, tarafların çözüme odaklanmasını istedi.

Haberi sayfa 10'da

Kavşakta durmadan anayola çıkan 66 yaşındaki İyihasırcı, 5 kişiyi hastanelik etti

Acelesi vardı

Sedef BOSNAK'ın haberi sayfa 4'te

Figure 4: Kıbrıs, 17 September 2011

Figure 5: Volkan, 21 September 2011

Figure 6: Yenidüzen, 28 September 2011

Figure 7: Simerini, 23 September 2011

Figure 8: Haravgi, 25 September 2011

Sendikal Platform, Türkiye'nin Kıbrıs işlerinden sorumlu Başbakan Yardımcısı Beşir Atalay'ın misafir olduğu ülkenin gerçeklerini dikkate almadan açıklama yaptığını belirtti

Gökçebel: "Kıbrıslı Türklerin sesine kulak verilmiyor"

Sendikal Platform adına yaptığı açıklamada Atalay'ın söyledikleri ile uygulamaların çelişkili olduğunu vurgulayan KTOEOS Başkanı Tahir Gökçebel, Kıbrıslı Türklerin sesine kulak verilmediğini ve Atalay'ın pakete destekçi aramak için geldiğini söyledi

Atalay'ın, misafir olduğu ülkenin gerçeklerini dikkate almadan açıklama yaptığını ifade eden Gökçebel, "Kıbrıs'ta S 300 füze krizi bizi savaşın eşiğine getirmişti. Şimdi de Akdeniz'de yapılan doğal gaz ve petrol aramalarına karşı Türkiye yetkililerinin açıklamaları aynı doğrultudadır" dedi S 4

Buttenheim: "Doğal kaynaklardan tüm Kıbrıslılar faydalanmalı"

BM Genel Sekreteri'nin Kıbrıs Özel Temsilcisi Lisa Buttenheim, Kıbrıs adasının etrafında bulunacak doğal kaynaklardan hem Kıbrıslı Türk hem Kıbrıslı Rumların faydalanması gerektiğini söyledi

Lisa Buttenheim

Buttenheim, Eroğlu ile Hristofyas arasında dün yer alan 4.5 saatlik görüşmenin ardından basına açıklama yaparken bir soru üzerine, "Bilinmelidir ki bulunduğu takdirde doğal kaynaklar, birleşmiş federal bir Kıbrıs çatısı altında Kıbrıslı Rum ve Kıbrıslı Türklerin, tüm Kıbrıslıların faydasına olmalıdır" dedi S 3

ortam gazetesi

17 Eylül 2011 Cumartesi YIL: 30 SAYI: 8509 FİYATI: 2 TL (KDV DAHİL) www.ortamgazetesi.com

Rum Yönetimi sondaj faaliyetlerine başlarsa Türkiye de KKTC'nin izni ile Kıbrıs'ın etrafındaki deniz sahalarında sondaj faaliyetlerine başlayacak

TPAO'DAN NOBLE ŞİRKETİNE MİSİLLEME

TÜRKİYE DE KIBRIS DENİZLERİNDE SONDAJ YAPACAK... Rum yönetiminin Kıbrıs'ın güneyinde doğalgaz ve petrol arama faaliyetlerine başlama yönündeki kararlı tutumu ve Türkiye'nin askeri uyarılarını dikkate almaması, TC yetkililerinin askeri uyarıların yanısıra farklı önlemlerle misilleme yapmaya yöneltti

AMERİKAN ŞİRKETİNE KARŞI TÜRKİYE'NİN TPAO'SU... Bu önlemlerden birisi dün açıklandı. Buna göre, Rumların sondaj faaliyetine başlaması halinde KKTC de TC ile Kıta Sahanlığını Sınırlandırma Anlaşması yaparak Türkiye Petrolleri Anonim Ortaklığı'na (TPAO), Kıbrıs'ın etrafındaki deniz sahalarında arama ruhsatı verecek

PETROL BULUNURSA ÇÖZÜM ÇOK DAHA ZOR OLUR... Bu arada Cumhurbaşkanı Eroğlu'nun Özel Temsilcisi Özersay, Kıbrıs'ın Güneyinde petrol ve doğalgaz bulunması halinde Kıbrıs Sorunu'nun çözümünün zora gireceğini, çünkü Rum tarafını çözüm konusunda ikna etmenin çok daha zor olacağını söyledi S 11

Galatasaray Spor Kulübü Eski Başkanı ve İşadamı Alp Yalman'ın KKTC vatandaşı olduğu ve KKTC kimliğinde ikamet adresi olarak Jasmine Court Girne yazdığı ortaya çıktı

İkamet adresi Jasmine Court

Dünya Medeniyetler Kraliçesi güzellik yarışması için jüri üyesi olarak adada bulunan Yalman'ın, KKTC kimlik kartında ikamet adresinin Jasmine Court olduğunun ortaya çıkması, KKTC devleti adına ciddi bir yasa dışılığı daha gözler önüne serdi

Alp Yalman

Güzellik yarışması için adaya gelen ve önceki gün basınla görüşen Alp Yalman, KKTC vatandaşı olduğunu açıklarken, bir skandalı da ortaya çıkardı. Yalman, kimlik kartında belirtilen ikamet adresinin güzellik yarışmasının yapılacağı yer olan Jasmine Court Otel olduğunu belirtti S 7

Halka rağmen, paket olmaz

TDP Ekonomi Komitesi Başkanı Kutalmış, TDP'nin, Kıbrıs Türk halkının, Kıbrıs'ın yerel özelliklerine uygun olmayan ekonomik pakete karşı çıktığını belirterek, yerel özellikler içeren, Kıbrıslı bir paket hazırlanması düşüncesini yineledi S 5

Eroğlu, New York'a gidiyor

Cumhurbaşkanı Derviş Eroğlu, BM Genel Kurulu çalışmaları çerçevesinde çeşitli temaslarda bulunmak üzere bugün New York'a gidecek S 2

Figure 9: Ortam, 17 September 2011

1974'ten sonra portokalı biz yedik, üzümü de Rumlar yedi... Doğalgaz ve petrolü ise yabancılar yutacak, Rumlar payını alacak ve biz de kör talihimize yanacağız şimdi!

İCAZETSİZ GÜNLÜK GAZETE TARİH: 19 Eylül 2011 Pazartesi YIL: 10 SAYI: 3559 FİYATI: 2 TL (KDV dahil)

AFRİKA

Şener LEVENT
Açı
senerleveni@yahoo.com
İSMET KOTAK (3)
• 2. sayfada

AFRİKA İşgal altında İCAZETSİZ yazılar

ÜÇ KAĞIDA GELDİK... Turgut Afşaroğlu

RUHSAT Mehmet Levent

BİR UZMAN SORUSU... Erdoğan Baybars

Gazetecilerin (!) gazetesi ve Koop. Merkez Bankası Özgün Kutalmış

BİR EYLEM VE BİR SAVAŞ ÇIĞLIĞI... Ali Osman

Doğalgaz ve petrol gerilimi ile ilgili olarak TC Dışişleri Bakanı Ahmet Davutoğlu'na gazeteciler sordular: "Eylem planınız var mı?" Davutoğlu "KKTC ile kıta sahanlığı anlaşması yapacağız" demekle yetindi...

Rolandis'ten öneri:
Kıbrıslı Türklerin payını ayıralım

■ 2003'te Mısır'la 'münhasır ekonomik bölge' anlaşmasını imzalayan Rum eski Dışişleri Bakanı Nikos Rolandis, doğalgaz ve petrol gelirindeki Türk payının ayrılmasını ve çözümden sonra ödenmesini önerdi...

■ Yunanlı profesör Markezinis ABD desteğinin sonuna kadar süreceğinden emin olmadığını açıkladı... • 8. sayfada

Türkiye'ye Obama freni

■ Doğalgaz ve petrol sondajı yapacak olan Amerikan Noble Energy şirketini destekleyen ABD Başkanı Obama, bir tehlike durumunda bu şirketin tesislerinin korunmasını da taahhüt ediyor...

■ **Rum tarafı doğalgaz ve petrol konusunda tam bir bütünlük sağladı. Muhalefet lideri, DİSİ Başkanı Nikos Anastasiadis de, "Türkiye tehdit savurmanın ötesinde eylemde bulunmaya cesaret edemeyecek" dedi...**

■ Rum Dışişleri Bakanı Markulli de Türkiye'nin tehditlerini ileri götüreceğine ihtimal vermiyor. Markulli'ye göre, Türkiye Amerikan çıkarlarını zedelemeye karar verirken iki kere düşünmek zorunda...

■ **Türkiye'nin KKTC ile kıta sahanlığı anlaşması yapması uluslararası kurumlara şikayet edilecek...** • 11. sayfada

Çangar davasına devam

■ **İşadamı Mehmet Çangar'ın gazetemiz aleyhine açtığı davaya, uzunca bir aradan sonra bugün yeniden devam ediliyor...**

■ Gazetemiz Polis Genel Müdürü Günay Özan'ı, Savcı Ergül Kızılokgil'i ve Avukat Seyhan Yıldırım'ı tanık olarak çağırdı...

■ **Cezaevindeki müdür odasında Çangar-Felek görüşmesinin ses ve görüntü kayıtlarını içeren 7 adet DVD'nin poliste incelemesi sürüyor...**

■ Kıdemli Yargıç Bertan Özerdağ huzurunda görülen davada bazı vatandaşlar da gazetemiz için tanıklık yapmak istiyor...

3. sayfada "Afrika'dan Mektup"ta

ŞARK KURNAZLIĞI
Selma Bolayır • 6. sayfada

EZAN
Sezan Artun • 6. sayfada

YETKİLİ VE YETKİSİZ KİŞİLER...
Niyazi Ökten • 7. sayfada

EL ÖPEN DUDAKLAR SORU SORAMAZ...
Dolgun Dalgıçoğlu • 10. sayfada

İKİ TİP, İKİ DRAM
Bülent Tekin • 13. sayfada

UCUZ İŞGÜCÜ VE BEYAZ KİMLİK
Yalçın Okut • 15. sayfada

Derviş Eroğlu

Sıcak çatışma ihtimali yok... ■ 4. sayfada

Figure 10: Afrika, 19 September 2011

Figure 11: Halkın Sesi, 25 September 2011

GAÜ BİLİM KADROSU ORYANTASYON HAFTASI SONA ERDİ

Girne Amerikan Üniversitesi (GAÜ) yükseköğretimde 27. akademik yılı öncesinde akademik kadroya yönelik düzenlenen oryantasyon haftası sona erdi. GAÜ Kıbrıs Yerleşkesi Girne Kampüsünde düzenlenen Akademik Personel oryantasyon haftasında çeşitli seminer ve atölye çalışmaları yanında dekanlıklar, bölüm başkanlıkları bünyesinde de çeşitli toplantılar düzenlenerek KKTC yükseköğretim sistemi ve yapıları hakkında bilgi verildi. GAÜ Yöneticiler Kurulu Başkan Yardımcısı Asım Vehbi, Rektör Prof. Dr. Yıldırım Öner, Rektör Yardımcıları Doç. Dr. Sadık Ülker, Doç. Dr. Tülin Bodamyalı ve Doç.Dr. Olgun Çiçek'in konuşmacı olarak katıldığı çeşitli seminerler yanında akademik oryantasyon haftasında GAÜ ailesi ve GAÜ akademik kadrosuna yeni katılan bilim insanlarına GAÜ'nün misyon ve hedefleri ile öğrenci profili, ülke kültürü ve çeşitli konularda farklı seminerler de verildi.

ORTA SAYFA

Yurtsever kıbrıslı

29 Eylül Perşembe
Yıl:12 Sayı:4081

HALK GAZETESİ

Fiyatı: 2 YTL (KDV Dahil)

Ölüme sürdüğü belirlendi!

Motosikletiyle liman duvarına çarparak hayatını kaybeden 19 yaşındaki Fikret Askeroğlu'nun intihar ettiği öne sürüldü.. Polis olayın intihar olduğunu açıkladı.. s6

Bugünden itibaren yağmur var!

Alçak basınç sistemiyle üst atmosferdeki serin ve nemli hava kütlesinin etkisi altında kalacak bölgede bugün, yarın (Cuma) ve pazartesi günleri yer yer hafif sağanak bekleniyor: Meteoroloji Dairesi'nin 29 Eylül-5 Ekim tarihlerini kapsayan hava tahmin raporuna göre, hava diğer günlerde bulutlu olacak.Hava sıcaklığı ise 30-33 derece dolaylarında seyredecek. s4

Konu petrolle ilgili değildir!

CTP Genel Sekreteri Asım Akansoy petrol arama çalışmalarının petrolle ilgili olmadığını öne sürdü. "Konu tamamen Kıbrıs Cumhuriyetini uluslararası alanda yeniden öne çıkarma konusudur" diyen Akansoy Rum tarafı bu girişimleriyle dünyaya "bakın biz egemen devletiz, istediğimizi yaparız" mesajını vermeye çalışıyor şeklinde konuştu..

İRFAN GÜNDÜZLER SÖYLEŞİ s8

Asım Akansoy şu görüşleri savundu:

Markulli, geliçi ile birlikte bu doğalgaz ve petrol aramaları ile ilgili yakışıksız tavırlarını yeniden gündeme getirdi. Gerçekten Kıbrıs Rum Toplumu milliyetçi damarı olan bir toplum. Dolayısı ile Rum kesiminde bu söylemlerin çok ciddi bir karşılığı vardır. Bu nedenle Hristofyas'ın Markulli'yi dışişleri bakanı yapması aslında birkaç noktayı işaret etmektedir.

Petrol ve gaz arama girişimi, Kıbrıs Cumhuriyetinin egemenliğini uluslararası alanda yeniden gündeme getirecek stratejik bir adımdır diye düşünüyorum. Aslında Türkiye, Kıbrıs Cumhuriyeti'nin oyununu bir şekilde özellikle AB konusunda göstermiş olduğu tavır ile bozmuştu.

Aslında burada stratejik bir yaklaşım içerisindedirler. Kesinlikle ben konunun petrolle alakalı olduğunu düşünmüyorum. Konu tamamen Kıbrıs sorunu ve Kıbrıs Cumhuriyeti'ni uluslararası alanda yeniden ön plana çıkartma konusudur. Dolayısı ile bunu yaparken bir yandan "bakın biz egemen devletiz, istediğimizi yaparız" gibi gerçekten kabul edilemez, gerçekten çatışmacı bir yaklaşım içerisindedirler.

Ne yazık ki pek çok kez Sn. Cumhurbaşkanı Eroğlu'na siyasi partileri daha etkin bir şekilde bilgilendirmesi, siyasi partilerin sürece daha etkin bir şekilde dâhil olması konusunda çağrı yapmış olmamıza rağmen kesinlikle kulaklarını tıkamış durumdadır ve Kıbrıs Türk toplumu ile ilişkilerini kesmiş durumdadır. Kıbrıs Türk toplumunu dinlememektedir.

Gerçekten ülkemizde erken bir seçim gereklidir. UBP şu anda bir otorite boşluğu yaratmıştır. Dolayısı ile ülkemizin insanlarının mutsuzluğu da bundan kaynaklanmaktadır. İnsanlarımız sorunlarını çözmek için ilgili makam bulamamaktadır. Partizanlık had safhaya çıkmış durumdadır. UBP yöneticileri halk ile değil kendi koltukları ile ilgileniyorlar. Dolayısı ile CTP her bakımdan erken bir seçime hazırdır.

Garantör olmanın gereğini yerine getiriyoruz.

Türkiye'nin Kıbrıs'ta garantör olmanın gereğini yerine getirdiğini belirten Erdoğan Rum tarafının sondaj adı altında sabotaj yaptığını söyledi. Erdoğan şöyle konuştu:

"Kıbrıs Rum Kesimi sondaj adı altında sabotaj yapıyor. Buna rağmen görevi barışı korumak olan kurumlardan ses çıkmıyor. Peki, sorunlar böyle çözülür mü? Çözülmüyor, çözülemiyor.. İşte onun için Piri Reis şu anda Güney Kıbrıs'ta sondaj çalışması yapmaya başladı. Onun için oraya gönderdik. Bu bir iradedir. Bu bir varlığımızın orada olduğunu ortaya koymaktır. Tribünden maç seyretmiyoruz efendiler. Biz Türkiye'yi idare ediyoruz ve bölgedeki garantör ülke olmamızın gereğini yerine getiriyoruz. Ama bugüne kadar gelen iktidarlar ne yazık ki tribünden maç izlemişlerdir." s10

Ban: Kaynaklar her iki toplumun!

Davutoğlu'nun Kıbrıs konusunda Türk tarafının Kıbrıs'taki müzakere süreci ve Doğu Akdeniz'deki gelişmeler hakkında Genel Sekreter Ban'a bilgi verdiği, görüşmede Ban'ın adadaki doğal kaynakların her iki topluma da ait olduğunu söylediği vurgulandı... s3

Kimsenin 'doğal kaynaklarında' gözümüz yok!

Davutoğlu, Rum yönetiminin sondaj çalışmalarına ilişkin, "Kimsenin doğal kaynaklarında gözümüz yoktur, ama herhangi bir taraf da bizim garantör olduğumuz bir devletin doğal kaynaklarını tek taraflı olarak kullanmaya kalkarsa buna karşı da tabii tavır geliştiririz" dedi. s4

Dr. Doğan Harman HABER YORUM

Türkiye'nin Garantörlük hakları silah zoruyla ortadan kaldırılabilir mi? s3

Sıkışarak can verdi! s7

Yaptıkları kışkırtma!

Başmüzakereci Bağış, Kıbrıs Rum kesimini "provokasyon yapmak" ve "Kıbrıs görüşmelerini baltalamakla" suçladı. s6

CMYK

Figure 12: Kıbrıslı, 29 September 2011

ΜΕ ΤΟ ΙΔΙΟ ΝΟΜΙΣΜΑ ΑΠΑΝΤΑ Η ΑΘΗΝΑ ΣΤΗΝ ΑΓΚΥΡΑ

Θα βγει ο ελληνικός στόλος, προειδοποιεί ο υπουργός Αμυνας Π.Μπεγλίτης. ▸6-7

ΥΠΟΘΕΣΗ DSK ΣΤΟ ΠΑΡΙΣΙ ΜΕ ΑΒΕΒΑΙΟ ΜΕΛΛΟΝ

Κρατούν αποστάσεις οι κορυφαίοι των Γάλλων σοσιαλιστών. ▸19

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SPORTDAY

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Κ.ΑΕΡΟΓΡΑΜΜΕΣ

Αναστάτωση και ταλαιπωρία με τις πτήσεις

Πλήρης ανατροπή του πτητικού προγράμματος λόγω των ελεγκτών στην Ελλάδα - Επηρεάστηκαν και οι 35 χθεσινές πτήσεις των Κυπριακών Αερογραμμών. Από 2,5-3 ώρες καθυστέρηση. ▸5

ΡΕΠΟΡΤΑΖ

Γιατί πληθαίνουν οι ασθενείς στα δημόσια νοσοκομεία ▸16-17

ΑΠΟΚΑΛΥΨΕΙΣ

Συνεργασία CIA - M16 με Καντάφι

Μεγάλες αποκαλύψεις σε Independent και Wall Street Journal από τα αρχεία των λιβυκών μυστικών υπηρεσιών. Παρέδιδαν κρατούμενους στο λιβυκό καθεστώς για ανακρίσεις και τους έλεγαν και τι να ρωτήσουν. ▸20

ΓΙΑ ΠΡΩΤΗ ΦΟΡΑ ΣΤΗΝ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑ ΤΗΣ ΔΗΜΟΚΡΑΤΙΑΣ

Ανακρίνεται ο Πρόεδρος

Ο κ. Χριστόφιας καλείται σήμερα να εξηγήσει τους χειρισμούς και τις αποφάσεις του ιδίου και της κυβέρνησής του, που οδήγησαν σε λάθη και παραλείψεις, που με τη σειρά τους έφεραν την πολύνεκρη τραγωδία στο Μαρί. Θα διαβάσει μακρά γραπτή δήλωση και θα απαντήσει σε ερωτήσεις.

Οπως αποκάλυψε η «Αλήθεια», θα κινηθεί στη γραμμή του αντιαμερικανισμού και θα αποδώσει την κατάσχεση του φορτίου και όσα ακολούθησαν σε προσπάθεια αντιμετώπισης «δυτικού δακτύλου». Θα επιρρίψει ευθύνες για τη φύλαξη στο υπ. Αμυνας και τους στρατιωτικούς.

Αγωνία στο ΑΚΕΛ για την εμφάνιση του Προέδρου ενώπιον της Ερευνητικής Επιτροπής. Τα κόμματα αναμένουν την κατάθεσή του και ετοιμάζουν τις αντιδράσεις τους. Τα έγγραφα για τις επαφές υψηλού επιπέδου Κύπρου - Ιράν και Συρίας, ζητά ο Δ. Συλλούρης.

Μέτρα για την προστασία της διαδικασίας και του κ. Χριστόφια έλαβε η Αστυνομία. ▸3

Είμαστε #

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ΤΟ ΣΚΙΤΣΟ ΤΟΥ Γ. ΜΙΤΙΔΗ ▸40

Figure 13: Alithia, 5 September 2011

Figure 14: Politis, 10 September 2011

Figure 15: Simerini, 20 September 2011

Figure 16: Philelefteros, 27 September 2011

Figure 17: Haravgi, 29 September 2011

Artistlik yapıyorlar

Yunanistan, Kıbrıs Rum tarafına yapılacak bir saldırıyı kendisine yapılmış olara kabul edeceğini açıkladı. Güney Kıbrıs ekonomisini mahveden, siyasi prestiji oldukça düşük seyreden Rum lideri Hristofyas ise paçayı kurtarma umuduyla gerginlik politikası izlediğini ortaya koyarcasına RMMO'yu teyakkuza geçirdi

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Maliye Bakan Ersin Tatar, 2011 bütçesinde öngörülen 1.9 milyar TL'lik yerel gelirlerin aşılabileceğini vurguladı

» 12. SAYFADA

TBMM Başkanı Cemil Çiçek ve beraberindeki heyet, göreve geldikten sonraki ilk resmi dış ziyaretini KKTC'ye yaparak Anavatan Türkiye Parlamentosu'nun KKTC Devletinin varlığına verdiği önemi bir kez daha gözler önüne serdi.. Çiçek, Cumhurbaşkanı Eroğlu, Meclis Başkanı Bozer ve Başbakan Küçük'ü ziyaretlerinde çözüm konusunda önemli noktalara işaret etti:

Zorlamalar faydasız

» 5. SAYFADA

Zaman kaybı olur.. TBMM Başkanı Cemil Çiçek, "Biz Kıbrıs'ta çözümden yanayız ama çözüm diye ortaya konulan şey ileride daha büyük çözümsüzlüğe yol açmamalı, sürekli olmalı...Çözüm olmayacaksa olmasını zorlamanın faydası yok. Bu zaman kaybı olur"dedi.

» 3. SAYFADA

Kapıda karşılama.. Cumhurbaşkanlığına gelişinde Cemil Çiçek ve heyetini kapıda karşılayan Cumhurbaşkanı Eroğlu ve cumhurbaşkanlığı yetkilileri daha sonra kabul salonuna geçtiler.

» 2. SAYFADA

En büyük temenni.. KKTC'nin refahı adına her çabayı göstermeye devam ettiklerine işaret eden TBMM Başkanı Cemil Çiçek, en büyük temennisinin birlikte temeli atılan ve çok gayret gösterilen Anamur'dan su getirilmesi projesinin hayata geçmesi olduğunu vurguladı.

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Figure 18: Güneş, 10 September 2011

Figure 19: Vatan, 11 September 2011

Figure 20: Afrika, 16 September 2011

Figure 21: Haberdar, 15 September 2011

ΧΑΡΑΥΓΗ

ΤΟΥΤΗ ΔΙΨΑ ΔΕ ΣΒΗΝΕΙ, ΤΟΥΤΗ Η ΜΑΧΗ ΔΕΝ ΠΑΥΕΙ, ΧΙΛΙΑ ΧΡΟΝΙΑ ΑΝ ΠΕΡΑΣΟΥΝ, ΔΕΝ ΠΕΘΑΙΝΟΥΜΕ ΣΚΛΑΒΟΙ

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Σελίδα 7

Φυσικό αέριο μέσω αγωγού στα μέσα του 2014

Υποστηρίζει ο Σ. Κασίνης ότι μπορεί να φέρει η Noble από το οικόπεδο 12.

ΣΕΛΙΔΑ 6

Είχε παράπονο ο Ταλάτ από τις ΗΠΑ για τη Noble

Δεν μας αφορά αφού δεν είναι πολιτικό ζήτημα, απάντησε ο Ούρμπαντσιτς, συμβουλεύοντας όμως τον Τ/κ ηγέτη να ζητήσει νομική αρωγή για την ΑΟΖ

Σελίδα 9

Αρχές Οκτωβρίου, ποινικές διώξεις και κατηγορητήρια

Η Αστυνομία είναι έτοιμη με την ποινική ανάκριση για τη φονική έκρηξη στο Μαρί, αλλά ο Γ. Εισαγγελέας περιμένει και το πόρισμα Πολυβίου

Σελίδα 3

Προτάσεις για το Περιουσιακό στο τραπέζι

Αισιόδοξος ο Ντάουνερ ότι «κάποιες συγκλίσεις είναι δυνατό να εξευρεθούν»

Σελίδα 8

Αυξημένα 17,5% τα τουριστικά έσοδα

Ο ΚΟΤ εκτιμά ότι το 2011 θα κλείσει με άνοδο στις αφίξεις κατά περίπου 12,6% και στα έσοδα κατά €240 - 250 εκ.

Σελίδα 29

Για άλλους έξι μήνες ρεύμα από τα κατεχόμενα

Υπογράφηκε συμφωνία μεταξύ ιδιώτη και τουρκοκυπριακής εταιρείας στα κατεχόμενα.

Σελίδα 13

ΤΟΥΡΚΙΚΕΣ ΜΑΝΟΥΒΡΕΣ

Με πρόφαση τη ρήξη με το Ισραήλ, ο Ερντογάν αυξάνει τη ναυτική παρουσία γύρω από την Κύπρο

Ενίσχυση της ναυτικής παρουσίας της Τουρκίας στην Ανατολική Μεσόγειο ανακοίνωσε χθες ο Τούρκος πρωθυπουργός, Ρετζέπ Ταγίπ Ερντογάν, με την πρόφαση της εντεινόμενης ρήξης της Αγκυρας με το Τελ Αβίβ. Ανακοινώνοντας την πλήρη διακοπή των εμπορικών και στρατιωτικών σχέσεων με το Ισραήλ, καθώς και τη συνεργασία στον τομέα της αμυντικής βιομηχανίας, ο Ερντογάν, υπογράμμισε ταυτόχρονα ότι θα ενισχυθεί η παρουσία του τουρκικού στόλου στην Ανατολική Μεσόγειο. Η Αγκυρα αναμένεται να κάνει τις προσεχείς ημέρες πιο αισθητή την παρουσία των ναυτικών της δυνάμεων ανατολικά και νότια της Κύπρου, βάσει δημοσιευμάτων του τουρκικού Τύπου. Με αυτό τον τρόπο η κατοχική Τουρκία αξιοποιώντας τη ρήξη με το Ισραήλ, ως αφορμή, θα επιχειρήσει να θολώσει τα νερά, ενώ παράλληλα θα υλοποιεί με άλλη πρόφαση τις απειλές της ενάντια στο κυριαρχικό δικαίωμα της Κυπριακής Δημοκρατίας επί της ΑΟΖ της.

Σελίδα 8

Τώρα θυμήθηκε τους θεσμούς ο ΔΗΣΥ

Αναγκάστηκαν μετά από ενάμιση μήνα να δηλώσουν σεβασμό στις διαδικασίες της Διερευνητικής Επιτροπής

Σελίδα 3

Πλήρης διαλεύκανση με νομιμότητα και διαφάνεια

Ν. Κατσουρίδης: Ματαιοπονούν όσοι θέλουν να βάλουν την Αριστερά στο περιθώριο

Σελίδα 3

Επιχειρηματίες χρωστούν χιλιάδες στην ΑΗΚ

Δεν πλήρωναν για τα οφειλόμενα, ενώ οι υπάλληλοι της Αρχής δεν προχώρησαν σε διακοπή του ηλεκτρικού ρεύματος

Σελίδα 29

Αρχή Ηλεκτρισμού Κύπρου
Electricity Authority of Cyprus

Νέα ήττα για την Κύπρο μέσα στην Ισλανδία

Σελίδα 24

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Για έκδοση της κάρτας και για την κλήρωση ισχύουν όροι και προϋποθέσεις.

Figure 22: Haravgi, 07 September 2011

Figure 23: Simerini, 08 September 2011

Figure 24: Philelefthеros, 29 September 2011

Figure 25: Volkan, 14 September 2011

Figure 26: Kıbrıs, 16 September 2011

69 yaşında feci ölüm

MİNİBÜSTEN DÜŞTÜ...
Lefke-Gemikonağı arasında seyreden bir minibüste yolcu olan 69 yaşındaki Mualla Suzan Kayacı isimli kadın, araç seyrederken yola düştü ve hayatını kaybetti

ŞEYH NAZIM'I ZİYARET ETMİŞTİ...
Zümrütköy'de ikamet eden Mualla Suzan Kayacı, her zaman ziyaret için gittiği Şeyh Nazım'ı ziyaret ettikten sonra, Zümrütköy'deki evine gitmek için bindiği minibüsten düşerek, hayata gözlerini yumdu Sayfa 2'de

Fotoğraflar: Görsel Karagözlü

Havadis

3 Eylül 2011 Cumartesi ● SAYI: 932 YIL: 03 ● www.havadiskibris.com ● 2.5 TL (KDV Dahil)

Sahte polis yakayı ele verdi

Merkezi Cezaevi'nden yeni çıkan Erdil Konyalıoğlu, bir kumarhaneye girdi ve kendini polis olarak tanıttı. Uyanık davranan kumarhane yöneticileri ise sahte polisi, olay yerine çağırdıkları polise teslim etti Ayrıntılar sayfa 7'de

Türkiye ilk defa askeri seçeneği dile getirdi ve Rum tarafının petrol sondajını başlatması halinde yapacağını açıkladı:

"DONANMA BUNUN İÇİN VAR"

TEHDİT GİBİ...
Türkiye, petrol arama krizinde askeri seçeneği ilk kez dile getirdi. Türkiye'nin Avrupa Birliği Bakanı ve Başmüzakerecisi Egemen Bağış, "Rumlar 1 Ekim'de sondaj çalışmalarına başlıyor, ne yapacaksınız?" sorusuna "Donanmamız bunun için vardır" yanıtını verdi

GEÇMİŞTE...
Avrupa Birliği Bakanı ve Başmüzakereci Bağış, geçmişte de Türk savaş gemilerinin bölgeye gittiğini anımsattı ve şöyle konuştu: "Deniz Kuvvetlerimizdeki askerlerimizin eğitimi ve teçhizatını, bu ordunu bunun için kurduk. Her türlü opsiyon masadadır, her şey düşünülebilir..."

YASA DIŞI...
Bakan Bağış, Rum tarafının Akdeniz'de petrol arama ve çıkarma girişimlerinin yasa dışı olduğunu belirtti ve şöyle konuştu: "Onlara ait olmayan sularda arama yapmak yasa dışıdır. Türkiye de uluslararası hukukun kendine verdiği hakkı sonuna kadar kullanır, gereğini yapar" Haberi sayfa 6'da

Mavi Marmara gemisine yapılan saldırı ile gerilen ilişkiler, Türkiye-İsrail arasındaki diplomatik ilişkilerin askıya alınmasıyla sonuçlandı

Türkiye İsrail'i sildi!..

BEŞ MADDELİK EYLEM PLANI...
İsrail'e sert eleştiriler yapan Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Dışişleri Bakanı Ahmet Davutoğlu, beş maddelik bir eylem planı açıkladı:
"1- Türk-İsrail diplomatik ilişkileri ikinci katip düzeyine indirilecektir.
2- Tüm askeri anlaşmalar askıya alınmıştır.
3- Doğu Akdeniz'de en uzun kıyısı olan sahildar devlet olarak Türkiye, Doğu Akdeniz'de seyrüsefer serbestisi için gerekli gördüğü her türlü önlemi alacaktır.
4- Türkiye, Gazze'ye İsrail tarafından uygulanan ablukayı tanımamaktadır.
5- İsrail saldırısının Türk ve yabancı tüm mağdurlarının mahkemelerde hak arama mücadelesine Türkiye olarak gereken destek verilecektir."
Ayrıntılı haber sayfa 32'de

Figure 27: Havadis, 03 September, 2011

Figure 28: Star Kıbrıs 03 September 2011

Figure 29: Afrika, 03 September, 2011

Figure 30: Kıbrıslı, 16 September 2011

Figure 31: Halkınsesi, 17 September 2011

Figure 32: Havadis, 17 September 2011

Στον Νίγηρα οι Γκαντάφι

Τριάντα δύο μέλη της οικογένειας Γκαντάφι και στρατιωτικοί του έκπτωτου λιβυκού καθεστώτος βρίσκονται στον Νίγηρα. Μετ' εμποδίων η προέλαση των αντικαθεστωτικών στην Μπάνι Ουαλίντ. Και η Κίνα αναγνώρισε το Εθνικό Μεταβατικό Συμβούλιο.

ΣΕΛ. 10

Μπροστά η Κομισιόν για την ενέργεια

Μια πρώτη πρόβα για την «κοινή φωνή» στα ενεργειακά θέματα θα κάνει η Κομισιόν, έχοντας εξασφαλίσει σχετική έγκριση από τους 27 αρμόδιους υπουργούς. Θα διαπραγματευτεί με Αζερμπαϊτζάν και Τουρκμενιστάν για την παροχή φυσικού αερίου από την Κασπία... παρακάμπτοντας τη Ρωσία.

ΣΕΛ. 11

ΠΡΟΤΑΣΗ ΑΠΟ ΡΩΣΟΕΒΡΑΙΟ

Και διαμάντια made in Cyprus

Την πρόθεσή του να δημιουργήσει Κέντρο Διαμαντιών στην Κύπρο προωθεί μέσω συμβουλευτικής εταιρείας μεγαλέμπορος ρωσοεβραϊκής καταγωγής. Σχετικό αίτημα υποβλήθηκε προς το υπ. Εμπορίου.

ΣΕΛ. 19

ΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ

Άλλος αέρας 107.6 Ακούγεται και στους 97.6

ΤΡΙΤΗ 13 ΣΕΠΤΕΜΒΡΙΟΥ 2011 | ΕΤΟΣ 13ο ΦΥΛΛΟ 4494 | ΗΜΕΡΗΣΙΑ ΠΡΩΙΝΗ ΕΦΗΜΕΡΙΔΑ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΓΚΟΣΜΙΑ ΣΤΗ ΔΙΕΥΘΥΝΣΗ www.politis-news.com | ΤΙΜΗ €1

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Τεντώνει επικίνδυνα το σχοινί ο Ερντογάν

Εμφανές το πολιτικοδιπλωματικό παιγνίδι που θέλει να εξυπηρετήσει

Σε επιχειρησιακή ετοιμότητα και αναβαθμισμένη επαγρύπνηση έχουν θέσει οι φρουτικοί «λεονταρισμοί» Ερντογάν την Εθνική Φρουρά, η οποία έχει ήδη επεξεργαστεί επιχειρησιακό σχέδιο αντίδρασης για παν ενδεχόμενο. Παρόλο που ακόμα δεν έχει κτυπήσει στα στρατόπεδα καμπανάκι επιφυλακής, εντούτοις λαμβάνονται διακριτικά μέτρα επαγρύπνησης (αυξημένα μέτρα παρατήρησης όπως ονομάζονται) σε φυλάκια και μονάδες πλησίον της πράσινης γραμμής. Μέρα με τη μέρα η Άγκυρα επιχειρεί περαιτέρω όξυνση κυρίως στις σχέσεις της με το Ισραήλ, με εμφανή πλέον το πολιτικοδιπλωματικό παιγνίδι που θέλει να εξυπηρετήσει. Ο Ιδιος ο Τούρκος πρωθυπουργός Ταγίπ Ερντογάν τεντώνει ακόμη περισσότερο το σχοινί με το Ισραήλ και απειλεί με νέα αποστολή «ανθρωπιστικής βοήθειας» στη Γάζα, την ώρα που Σενάρια, χάος το βράδυ, την περιοδεία της αραβικής άνοιξης, όπως έχει ονομάσει τις επισκέψεις του σε Αίγυπτο, Λιβύη και Τυνησία. Η τουρκική κυβέρνηση διέρρευσε πληροφορίες ότι στην περιοχή της Ανατολικής Μεσογείου θα καταπλεύσουν τρεις φρεγάτες. Η Λευκωσία παρακολουθεί και αξιολογεί την όλη κατάσταση, θεωρώντας, ωστόσο, ότι οι πολεμικές κορώνες Ερντογάν δύσκολα θα εξελιχθούν σε σύρραξη. Το σίγουρο είναι ότι η προγραμματισμένη έναρξη της γεώτρησης στο οικόπεδο 12 δεν έχει διαφοροποιηθεί. Η ένταση και οι τουρκικές απειλές εγέρθηκαν χθες από τον Πρόεδρο Δημήτρη Χριστόφια στις συνομιλίες.

ΣΕΛ. 5, 7

Βρετανική στήριξη για τις έρευνες στο οικόπεδο Αφροδίτη

ΚΟΝΤΡΕΣ

Ντέρμπι για την τραγωδία

Σε προεκλογική κόντρα παραπέμπει η συζήτηση για την τραγωδία στο Μαρί. Ο Α. Κυπριανού σήκωσε το γάντι. Κατώτεροι των περιστάσεων, λέει ο Αναστασιάδης.

ΣΕΛ. 6

ΔΙΚΗ ΗΛΙΟΣ

Αναβολή λόγω ερευνητικής

Αναβολή ενός μηνός δόθηκε χθες στην υπόθεση της Ήλιος. Ήταν ορισμένη για αγορεύσεις που αφορούν στο στάδιο του εκ πρώτης όψεως.

ΣΕΛ. 39

ΕΓΚΥΜΟΣΥΝΗ

Προηγείται η Ζωή

Οι έγκυες εργαζόμενες πρέπει να τυγχάνουν ευνοϊκής μεταχείρισης στο επαγγελματικό τους περιβάλλον, αποφαίνεται η επίτροπος Διοικήσεως.

ΣΕΛ. 4

ΚΑΙΡΟΣ

Οικιακή πρόγνωση

Η τεχνολογία καθιστά οικιακή υπόθεση την περίπλοκη επιστήμη της μετεωρολογίας. Μικρές συσκευές παρέχουν ασφαλή πρόβλεψη των καιρικών συνθηκών.

ΣΕΛ. 20

ΣΧΟΛΕΙΑ

Κάθε φέτος και... λιγότεροι

Με λιγότερους, σε σχέση με πέρσι, μαθητές έκανε πρεμιέρα η νέα σχολική χρονιά για τη Μέση και Τεχνική εκπαίδευση. Μειωμένος κι ο αριθμός των καθηγητών.

ΣΕΛ. 37

ΚΩΣΤΑΣ ΠΑΠΑΚΩΣΤΑΣ

Επιλογή Μπισμπίκα η Βάση στο Μαρί

Τον πρώην αρχηγό της ΕΦ, Κωνσταντίνο Μπισμπίκα, θα κατονομάσει ως το άτομο το οποίο επέλεξε τη Ναυτική Βάση Ευάγγελος Φλωράκης στο Μαρί για την αποθήκευση του κατασχεθέντος φορτίου, ο παραιτηθείς υπουργός Άμυνας Κώστας Παπακώστας. Ο τέως ΥΠΑΜ έχει ήδη ετοιμάσει γραπτή κατάθεση ενόψει της αυριανής παρουσίας του ενώπιον της ερευνητικής επιτροπής και σύμφωνα με πληροφορίες θα επιρρίψει την ευθύνη της μη ενημέρωσης του Προέδρου για τους κινδύνους που εντοπίζονταν, στον επίσης παραιτηθέντα, υπουργό Εξωτερικών, Μάρκο Κυπριανού.

ΣΕΛ. 3

Σήμερα καταθέτει ο Πέτρος Τσαλικίδης

Δύο μήνες μετά τη φοβερή τραγωδία και με εργαλείο για μία ακόμη φορά το διαδίκτυο, μερικές χιλιάδες ανθρώπων βρέθηκαν και πάλι έξω από το Προεδρικό, ζητώντας πρωτίστως την παραίτηση του Δημήτρη Χριστόφια. Χωρίς ιδιαίτερα προβλήματα και χωρίς οποιαδήποτε έκτροπα η χθεσινοβραδινή εκδήλωση.

ΣΕΛ. 3

ΥΠΟ ΠΡΟΫΠΟΘΕΣΕΙΣ ΣΤΗΡΙΖΟΥΝ ΚΕΒΕ ΚΑΙ ΟΕΒ

Συμβολή μέσω ανάπτυξης

Ο δρόμος της ανάπτυξης είναι η διέξοδος για την αντιμετώπιση των προβλημάτων της οικονομίας, υποστήριξαν οι εργοδοτικές οργανώσεις ΚΕΒΕ και ΟΕΒ στο πλαίσιο του κύκλου των επαφών με τον υπουργό Οικονομικών, Κίκη Καζαμία. Στόχος των επαφών του υπουργού Οικονομικών ήταν η ενημέρωσή τους για τα μέτρα δημοσιονομικής εξυγίανσης, τα οποία καλύπτει το δεύτερο πακέτο μέτρων της Κυβέρνησης για την οικονομία. Στην τόνωση της οικονομικής δραστηριότητας και όχι στην αύξηση των φόρων θα πρέπει να επιμείνει η Κυβέρνηση, για να αντιμετωπίσει την κρίση, υποδεικνύει και ο διευθυντής του Κέντρου Οικονομικών Ερευνών, δρ Πάνος Πασιαρδής, σε σχόλιο οικονομικής πολιτικής.

ΣΕΛ. 15

What's up 18+ Debit Visa:
η κάρτα με μοναδικά προνόμια για κάθε φοιτητή.

Figure 33: Politis, 13 September 2011

Figure 34: Alithia 16 September 2011

Ειδική έκδοση για τους κυνηγούς σήμερα με το Goal News

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Ο Φιλελεύθερος

ΗΜΕΡΗΣΙΑ ΕΦΗΜΕΡΙΔΑ ΣΤΗΝ ΥΠΗΡΕΣΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΚΥΠΡΙΑΚΟΥ ΛΑΟΥ

ΠΑΡΑΣΚΕΥΗ 16 ΣΕΠΤΕΜΒΡΙΟΥ 2011
ΕΤΟΣ 56ο · ΑΡ. 18648
ΤΙΜΗ €1,20 · ΜΕ ΤΟ GOAL NEWS
ΙΔΡΥΤΗΣ: ΝΙΚΟΣ ΧΡ. ΠΑΤΤΟΦΗ
ΕΤΟΣ ΙΔΡΥΣΗΣ: 1955

Διαβάστε σήμερα: Goal

Και η ΑΕΚ στο χορό

Μπάκε και η ΑΕΚ χθες βράδυ στο «χορό» των ομίλων του Τσαμπιόνς Λιγκ, με αντίπαλο τη Μακάμπι Χάιφα, στο Ισραήλ. Διαβάστε όλες τις λεπτομέρειες για τον αγώνα στο Goal.

Η μάχη του ΓΣΠ

Μονόδρομο χαρακτήρισε το παιγνίδι με την ΑΕΛ ο προπονητής της Ομόνοιας Νεόφυτος Λάρκου, ενώ ο Πάμπος Χριστοδούλου, από τη μεριά του, έδωκε την ετικέτα του φαβορί στην Ομόνοια.

Από Μάιο 2010 η προειδοποίηση για κίνδυνο έκρηξης

Ο ΔΙΕΥΘΥΝΤΗΣ του Επιτελείου του υπουργείου Άμυνας συνταγματάρχης Λυκέας Σταύρου, πίσω ο τελευταίος στον οποίον έφτασε το σημείωμα που ετοιμάστηκε με πρώτο βουλευτικό αξιωματικό του υπ. Άμυνας. Το έγγραφο εσωκλείστηκε με σκοπό να υποβάλει ο υπ. Άμυνας στο Υπουργικό Συμβούλιο πρόταση για απαγορευτική του φορτίου πυρίτιδας. Ο κ. Σταύρου έφερε ότι πίσω πρόκειται να διάστημα σημείωμα στον Κώστα Παπακώστα. Το σημείωμα έγινε τον Μάιο του 2010 και ανέφερε ασαφώς ότι το φορτίο πίσω επιβάλλονταν μπορούσε να προκαλέσει έκρηξη. >>19

Νέες αποκαλύψεις φωτιά στην επιτροπή Πολυβίου

- **Σταύρος:** Ανέμενε να ληφθεί πολιτική απόφαση για καταστροφή
- **Γενάρης:** Αν έβλεπε ο υπουργός το σημείωμα θα μας καλούσε να το συζητήσουμε
- Ένα από τα δύο σημειωτικά έγγραφα δεν παραδόθηκε στην επιτροπή Πολυβίου από το υπ. Άμυνας

- Προείχε για την ΑΗΚ η ασφαλιστική εγγύηση. Υπήρχαν στο βασιλικό 140.000 τόνοι καυσίμων και δεν εκτίμησαν επαρκώς την ασφαλιστική εταιρεία.

>> Ο αντιπολίτευμα Κυριάκος Πακόνης μεμφέρεται στον επιτροπή Πολυβίου τα συγκλονιστικά λεπτά πλάι στον Πλούσιο Ιωαννίδη πριν από την έκρηξη.

26 ΜΑΪΟΥ 2010 Έγγραφο λογικού ξενάρη, επισημαίνει τους κινδύνους έκρηξης και προτείνει «επαναπορυφή με τη βοήθεια εμπειρογνωμόνων του ΟΑΣΕ.

6 ΣΕΠΤΕΜΒΡΙΟΥ 2010 Το έγγραφο παραδίδεται στον Αγαμέδα Παντελίδη στο σώκεφτι με Σταύρου και Γενάρη, ο οποίος ενημερώνει τον Πρόεδρο της Δημοκρατίας για το σώκεφτι.

3 ΣΕΠΤΕΜΒΡΙΟΥ 2011 Κυβερνητικός Εκπρόσωπος, μετά την αποκάλυψη από τον «Φ» για το σώκεφτι Παντελίδη: Ποτέ δεν ηγέρθη θέμα ότι υπήρχε άμεσος κίνδυνος έκρηξης του φορτίου.

Παιχνίδια με τη φωτιά

Οι Τούρκοι αρχίζουν έρευνες για υδρογονάνθρακες δυτικά της Πάφου

ΣΕ κινήσεις αντιπερισπασμού προκειμένου οι Τούρκοι ως μια προσπάθεια να αποφύγουν τις έρευνες Κύπρου και Ισραήλ στην περιοχή της Ανατολικής Μεσογείου για εξόρυξη φυσικού αερίου. Οικονομίες άπτες συνεδέονται με απειλές που εξακολουθεί ο ίδιος ο ξεσηκώσει αλλά και ως πολιτικές ενέργειες που παγιαπέμπουν σε αναβάθμιση του ψευδοκράτους.

• Η Τουρκία εξέδωσε χθες NOTAM (ανακοίνωση προς ναυτιλλομένους) για την έναρξη ερευνών για τον εντοπισμό υδρογονανθράκων στην περιοχή μεταξύ της Πάφου και της

ΤΟΥΡΚΙΚΕΣ ΚΙΝΗΣΕΙΣ >>2
- Αντιπερισπασμός και απειλές

Ρόδου. Οι έρευνες, εάν και εφόσον πραγματοποιηθούν, αφορούν περιοχές πολύ κοντά στον Λεβιαθάν (20 μίλια).

• Σύσκεψη χθες στο τουρκικό ΥΠΕΞ, με συμμετοχή και Τ/Κ, αποφασίσθηκε να εξαγγείλουν συμφωνία οριοθέτησης της υφαλοκρηπίδας μεταξύ της Τουρκίας και του ψευδοκράτους, η οποία θα υπογραφεί σε περίπτωση που η κυβέρνηση της Κυπριακής Δημοκρατίας ξεκινήσει γεωτρήσεις νότια του νησιού. Σήμερα φέρνουν ειδικοί από την Τουρκία στα κατεχόμενα για επεξεργασία των όσων αποφασίσθηκαν.

Την ίδια ώρα υπάρχει συντονισμός Ελλάδος, Κύπρου και Ισραήλ. Ο υπουργός Άμυνας Δημήτρης Ηλιάδης μεταβαίνει σήμερα στην Αθήνα για συνομιλίες με τον Ελλαδίτη ομόλογό του, Πάνο Μπεγλίτη. Η ελληνική κυβέρνηση έχει ενεργοποιήσει τη στρατιωτική συνεργασία που έχει με το Ισραήλ ενώ προγραμματίζονται στην εβδομάδα αναπολείται ως Κρήτης. Η Ελληνική θρησκεία βρίσκεται πλέι στον πρώτο βαθμό ετοιμότητας.

Αυτοί θα βρουν τα κυπριακά κοιτάσματα

Αυτοί είναι οι άνθρωποι, οι τεχνικοί, που θα βγάλουν από το έγκατο της θάλασσας της Κύπρου το χρυσοφόρο φυσικό αέριο από το πρώτο Κυπριακό κοίτασμα. Χθες αργά το απόγευμα, κατέβηκαν από την πλατφόρμα - γεωρύπανο «Όμηρος», που έδεσε στον «Αφρόδιτη» και με το εξοπλισμό σκάφος υποστήριξης «EDT Leon», έφυσαν για ξεκούραση στη Λεμεσό (φωτο). >>3

» ερικε 8 αγκυρες

Στο σημείο «μπλε» όπου θα γίνει η διάτρηση βρίσκεται από νωρίς χθες το γεωτρύπανο Noble Homer Ferrington - ο «Όμηρος».

- Έναρο και το ελικοφόρο στο λιμάνι Λεμεσού
- Στα βαθιά με Κασίνι η υποστηρικτή επιτροπή

ΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΑ

Νέο κύμα αυξήσεων σε είδη διατροφής

Οι αναταιμάσεις στα άλευρα και το κρέατα στο ρεύμα φέρνουν αυξήσεις σε φωμί, ζυμαρικά και είδη ζαχαροπλαστικής εντός Οκτωβρίου. Έτσπιτα ανατιμήσεις και στις τιμές κάλλυσμού, γαλακτικού. >>21

Ολοήμερη απεργία σε Γυμνάσια - Λύκεια

Σε 24ωρη απεργία κατέρχονται οι καθηγητές, την ημέρα που η Βουλή θα συζητά το δεύτερο πακέτο μέτρων για την οικονομία. >>18

«Στοχευμένο» ΓΕΣΥ εξήγγειλε ο Μαλάς

Μονόδρομο για την πολιτεία χαρακτήρισε ο υπουργός Υγείας την εφαρμογή ενός βιώσιμου ΓεΣΥ, το οποίο θα βασίζεται πάνω σε ένα διαφοροποιημένο και στοχευμένο φοντέλο χρηματοδότησης >>9

Δεν τους έδινε ένταλμα επειδή ήταν γνωστή της

Τρικολοποδά στην Αστυνομία από δικαστή. Στο κελί Κύπρια εργοδότρια και σωσίκοι βοηθός από Φιλιππίνες είσαι επέλεγε στην Κύπρο με πλαστή ταυτότητα. >>24

ΚΟΣΜΟΣ

Στον ΟΗΕ η μάχη των Παλαιστινίων

Αφιερώνει την απελπισμαινοσυμβίβεο, η Παλαιστινιακή Αρχή υποβάλλει στις 23 Σεπτεμβρίου αίτημα για την αναγνώριση κράτους, δηλωματικό ελπρό εταιρείζο Νετανιάχου. >>14

Έσπευσαν στη Λιβύη Σαρκοζί και Κάμερον

Εξαιρετικής σημασίας χαρακτηρίζεται η επίσκεψη του Γάλλου προέδρου και του βρετανού πρωθυπουργού στην πολύπαθη χώρα. >>14

Εξουσίες Υπουργικού στο Κτηματολόγιο

Θα εγκρίνει την τοποθέτηση αγωγών, καλωδίων της ΑΗΚ σε ακίνητα

Η ΑΡΧΗ Ηλεκτρισμού κάλλιο οργανισμός ας ωφελείας δεν θα αναμένουν από βδομάδες μέχρι να μπνες για να εξασφαλίσουν έγκαιρα από το Υπουργικό Συμβούλιο για να τοποθετήσουν πάργους, καλώδια ηλεκτρ τάσης κ.λπ. σε ακίνητα, όπως συνέβαινε μέχρι τώρα. Με βάση νομοσχέδιο το οποίο ενέκρινε το Υπουργικό στις 31 Αυγούστου (από τον τίτλο «Νόμος που τροποποιεί τον περί εξασφάλισης δικαιοπραξίας (Διακοπική, Εγγραφή και Εκτίμηση Νόμου») η εξουσία του Υπουργικού Συμβουλίου εκχωρείται στο διευθυντή Τμήματος Κτηματολογίου. Ως βάσις δικαιολόγησης θα έχουν και οι αποδοτικότερα οργανισμοί δημόσιας ωφελείας (ΑΗΚ, Συμβούλια Υδατοπρομήθειας, Συμβούλια Αποχετεύσεων κ.ά.). Πέρα της εξαιρέσεις των οργανισμών αυτών αναμένεται ότι θα εξυπηρετούν και οι πολίτες οι οποίοι σε αρκετές περιπτώσεις αναμένουν μεγάλο χρονικό διάστημα έγκρισης αλληλεγγύης και να μεταφερθεί ηλεκτρικού ρεύμα στις περιουσίες τους.

Ίδιες δυσκολύνσεις για όλους τους οργανισμούς δημόσιας ωφελείας

Στην αιτιολογική έκθεση, που συνοδεύει το νομοσχέδιο αναφέρεται επίσης πως «κοινός του νομοσχεδίου είναι η παροχή δυνατότητας στο διευθυντή Κτηματολογίου να δημιουργεί δικαίωμα διέβασης».

Όταν τα δικαιώματα αυτά είναι απαραίτητα για την κατάλληλη κατοικία και κάμπιον νέων τεραπίων, που προκύπτουν ως ανεξάρτητοι κλήροι σε περιπτώσεις συγχωνεύσεως κλήρων σε περιπτώσεις διαχωρισμού με βάση τις πρόνοιες της νομοθεσίας.

Όταν τούτο προβλέπεται στο σχέδιο ενοποίησης και ανάδασμώσης κτημάτων.

Στα συνοδευτικά έγγραφα αναφέρεται ότι η προτεινόμενη νομοθεσία οδηγεί σε καμπλότερο κόστος στο δίκτυο διανομής και μεταφοράς της ηλεκτρικής ενέργειας.

Σημειώνεται πως όταν στο παρελθόν προέκειτε άνθρακ τοποθέτησης αγωγών ύπως στην περίπτωση κατασκευής του Νοτίου Αγωγού) το κράτος υποχρεώθηκε να απαλλοτριώσει τις περιοχούς στα σημεία που διέρχονταν οι σωλήνες του Νοτίου Αγωγού.

ΒΑΣΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΟΥ

η μάχη για την κρίση της οικονομίας >>10

Δεν έπεισαν τα κυβερνητικά μέτρα

ΤΗΝ έντονη αντίδραση των κομμάτων ΔΗΣΥ και ΔΗΚΟ συνάντησε η πρόταση του υπουργού Οικονομικών που αφορούσε μη πληκτικόμενη ΑΕΛ στους υπολλόιους του ευρώτερου δημόσιου τομέα. Αρξερωφ Νεοφύτου και Νικολάος Παπαδόπουλος κατηγόρησαν τον Κίκη Καζαμία ότι αποκώμασε από τις αποκλίσεις του στη Βουλή κατά ότι τα μέτρα που εξήγγειλε καμιά σκέψη δεν έκουν με δόσα έπρεπε να λαφθούν. Αντίθετα ήταν η θέση του υπουργού Οικονομικών.

Έντονη αντίδραση ΔΗΣΥ και ΔΗΚΟ

Στον προϋπολογισμό μέρος του πακέτου

ΜΕΓΑΛΟ μέρος του δεύτερου πακέτου αφορά μέτρα που περιλαμβάνονται στον προϋπολογισμό του 2012. Σε σκή επιτοπλή Καζαμία στη Βουλή, επισμάζονται και εισοδηματικά κριτήρια για τις ομηγίες.

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- Ερυθρά, ιλαρά, παρωτίτιδα, οστρακιά, ανεμοβλογιά, φύσπια, σιφιλίδιο βρεφικός θάνατος, παχυδερμία, εμβόλια • Μαθησιακές δυσκολίες, τραυλισμός, νυχτερινή ενούρηση
- Ακτινοβολία, τηλεόραση, κινητά τηλέφωνα, κίνδυνοι από το ίντερνετ >> ΛΕΠΤΟΜΕΡΕΙΕΣ - ΣΕΛΙΔΑ 21

Figure 36: Haravgi, 10 September 2011

Figure 37: Simerini, 14 September 2011

Το χρυσάφι έφυγε με... συνοδεία

Την εντύπωση ότι ο Γκαντάφι είχε εγκαταλείψει τη Λιβύη προκάλεσαν οι αναφορές ότι ο συνταγματάρχης βρίσκεται σε αυτοκινητοπομπή -οχημάτων και τεθωρακισμένων- που πέρασε στον γεπονικό Νίγηρα. Τελικά, επρόκειτο για φορτίο με χρήματα και ράβδους χρυσού.

ΣΕΛ. 10

«Προθεσμία» για το μποζόνιο

Μέχρι το τέλος του μήνα ελπίζει πως θα μπορέσει να αποδείξει την ύπαρξη ή μη του μποζόνιου Higgs ερευνητική ομάδα αμερικανικού εργαστηρίου, προσπαθώντας να προλάβει τους Ευρωπαίους ερευνητές του CERN, οι οποίοι ελπίζουν σε οριστικό συμπέρασμα μέχρι το τέλος του χρόνου.

ΣΕΛ. 43

ΜΕΓΑΛΗ Η ΑΥΞΗΣΗ ΕΠΙΒΑΤΩΝ

Μπήκαμε στα λεωφορεία!

Θεαματική αύξηση στη χρήση λεωφορείου παρατηρείται τους 14 μήνες εφαρμογής τού νέου συστήματος επιβατικών συγκοινωνιών. Πέραν του 200% η αύξηση.

ΣΕΛ. 20

ΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ

ΤΕΤΑΡΤΗ 7 ΣΕΠΤΕΜΒΡΙΟΥ 2011 | ΕΤΟΣ 13ο ΦΥΛΛΟ 4488 | ΗΜΕΡΗΣΙΑ ΠΡΩΙΝΗ ΕΦΗΜΕΡΙΔΑ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΓΚΟΣΜΙΑ ΣΤΗ ΔΙΕΥΘΥΝΣΗ www.politis-news.com | ΤΙΜΗ €1

Μετά την αμφισβήτηση, ήρθε η πλήρης αποδοχή της ερευνητικής

ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟ ΤΟ ΠΟΡΙΣΜΑ

● *Ο Πόλυς Πολυβίου κέρδισε την εμπιστοσύνη των πολιτικών κομμάτων*

Η μέχρι σήμερα πορεία της διαδικασίας ενώπιον της Ερευνητικής Επιτροπής για την τραγωδία στο Μαρί, αλλά και, ειδικά, ο τρόπος με τον οποίο χειρίστηκε τη μαρτυρία τον Προέδρου Χριστόφια ο Πόλυς Πολυβίου ανέτρεψαν πλήρως τις εντάσεις και επιφυλάξεις που αρχικά είχαν διατυπωθεί για την επιτροπή. Ο πρόεδρος τον ΔΗΣΥ δήλωσε χθες σεβασμό στην εν εξελίξει διαδικασία, κάτι το οποίο χαιρέτισε από την πλευρά τον το ΔΚΕΔ. Είναι πλέον προφανές ότι η προσοχή όλων εστιάζεται στο πόρισμα που θα ετοιμάσει ο κ. Πολυβίου, ο οποίος, όμως, έχει κερδίσει την πρώτη σημαντική μάχη: Να πείσει σε μεγάλο βαθμό τόσο τους συγγενείς των θυμάτων, όσο και την αντιπολίτευση. Εν τω μεταξύ, η πολιτική αντιπαράθεση μετά την καταθέση Χριστόφια πήρε φωτιά, με τον ΔΗΣΥ να κατηγορεί τον Πρόεδρο για αναλήθειες, και το Προεδρικό να τον απαντά με τηλεγραφήματα των Wikileaks.

ΣΕΛ. 3

ΠΑΝΤΕΛΙΔΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΠΑΚΩΣΤΑΣ ΣΥΜΠΛΗΡΩΝΟΥΝ ΤΟ ΠΑΖΑ

Οι δύο κρίσιμες καταθέσεις

Ο Πρόεδρος Χριστόφιας άφησε εκτεθειμένους τον διευθυντή του διπλωματικού του γραφείου, Λεωνίδα Παντελίδη, και τον παραπηθέντα υπουργό Άμυνας, Κώστα Παπακώστα, αποδίδοντάς τους ευθέως ευθύνες για τη φονική έκρηξη στη ναυτική βάση. Είναι γι' αυτό που οι επόμενες καταθέσεις των ίδιων ενώπιον της Ερευνητικής Επιτροπής αποκτούν ιδιαίτερη σημασία, αφού οι δύο συνεργάτες του Προέδρου έχουν να επιλέξουν ανάμεσα στο να μείνουν εκτεθειμένοι ή να δώσουν τη δική τους εκδοχή για τα γεγονότα. Ο Λεωνίδας Παντελίδης θα καταθέσει αύριο, ενώ ο κ. Παπακώστας θα εμφανιστεί ενώπιον της επιτροπής την ερχόμενη Τετάρτη, 14 Σεπτεμβρίου. Το κρίσιμο ερώτημα που καλούνται να απαντήσουν είναι το εάν ευσταθείη δήλωση Χριστόφια ότι ουδέποτε τον ενημέρωσαν για τους κινδύνους που ελλόχευαν.

ΣΕΛ. 3

Ανεβαίνει επικίνδυνα το θερμόμετρο στην Αν. Μεσόγειο

Στέλνει φρεγάτες ο Ερντογάν

● *Μνημόνιο στρατιωτικής συνεργασίας Ελλάδας - Ισραήλ*

Μετά από σύσκεψη του Ταγίπ Ερντογάν με τις τουρκικές ένοπλες δυνάμεις, αποφασίστηκε να διπλασιαστεί η δύναμη του τουρκικού στόλου στην περιοχή λόγω της κρίσης με το Ισραήλ και των ενεργειακών ερευνών. Ο Τούρκος πρωθυπουργός δήλωσε πως η Ανατολική Μεσόγειος δεν είναι ξένη για την Τουρκία, τονίζοντας πως από εδώ και πέρα το πολεμικό ναυτικό της χώρας θα εμφανίζεται πιο συχνά στην περιοχή. Εν τω μεταξύ, μνημόνιο στρατιωτικής συμμαχίας και άμυνας υπέγραψαν Αθήνα και Τελ Αβίβ, με το θερμόμετρο στην ευρύτερη περιοχή να ανεβαίνει επικίνδυνα. Ο υπουργός Εθνικής Άμυνας της Ελλάδας, Πάνος Μπεγλίτης, δήλωσε ότι αντιστοιχεί για τις εξελίξεις.

ΣΕΛ. 5

ΣΥΝΟΜΙΛΙΕΣ

Πέφτουν γεφυρωτικές

Συγκλίσεις σε εδαφικό και περιουσιακό ωκυνηγούνι τα ΗΕ, ποντάροντας στις γεφυρωτικές προτάσεις που θα παρουσιάσουν οι εμπεριγνώμονές τους.

ΣΕΛ. 6

ΤΟΥΡΙΣΜΟΣ

Αυξημένα τα έσοδα

Στα 274 εκατατομμύρια ευρώ ανήλθαν τα έσοδα από τον τουρισμό τον Ιούλιο. Αυξήθηκαν κατά 19% σε σχέση με τον ίδιο περσινό μήνα.

ΣΕΛ. 15

ΠΑΝΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΙΟ

Και άλλες 180 θέσεις

Άλλη μία ευκαιρία σε υποψηφίους να εξασφαλίσουν θέση στο Πανεπιστήμιο Κύπρου, στο πλαίσιο της τρίτης κατανομής. Κενώθηκαν 180 θέσεις.

ΣΕΛ. 39

ΚΑΤΑΡ

Πεντάστερο στη Λάρνακα

Θυγατρική εταιρεία του Οργανισμού Διαχείρισης Κεφαλαίων του Κατάρ αγόρασε γη στη Λάρνακα και ετοιμάζεται για πεντάστερο ξενοδοχείο.

ΣΕΛ. 37

ΛΑΓΟΚΕΦΑΛΟΙ

Προτιμούν τα ανδρικά!

Εκτός από τοξικοί και καταστροφείς των αλιευτικών εργαλείων, οι περιβόητοι λαγοκέφαλοι δεύχνουν προτίμηση στα ανδρικά γεννητικά όργανα!

ΣΕΛ. 40

ΟΛΑ ΘΑ ΚΡΙΘΟΥΝ ΑΠΟ ΤΟ ΚΟΙΤΑΣΜΑ ΣΤΗΝ «ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗ»

Μετά τη γεώτρηση οι αποφάσεις

Νέες επαφές θα πραγματοποιηθούν από βδομάδας με Noble και Delek, αλλά η συνεργασία μαζί τους για χρήση αερίου στην ηλεκτροπαραγωγή είναι συνδεδεμένη με το αποτέλεσμα της γεώτρησης στην «Αφροδίτη». Αν τα αποτελέσματα επιβεβαιώσουν τις μέχρι τώρα πολύ αισιόδοξες εκτιμήσεις, ανοίγει ο δρόμος για τις τελικές διαπραγματεύσεις με τη Noble και την Delek για συνεργασία στον τομέα της υγροποίησης φυσικού αερίου μέσου τερματικού που θα κατασκευαστεί στην Κύπρο. Επιπλέον, θα διευκολυνθεί η συνεργασία των δύο μερών και για την προμήθεια -στο συντομότερο δυνατόν- φυσικού αερίου για ηλεκτροπαραγωγή είτε από την «Αφροδίτη», είτε -σε πρώτη φάση- από κοιτάσματα στην ΑΟΖ του Ισραήλ. Το σκηνικό αναμένεται να ξεκαθαρίσει τον Δεκέμβριο του 2011 ή τον Ιανουάριο του 2012.

ΣΕΛ. 4

Ο τυχερός κερδίζουν €1000

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Για έκδοση της κάρτας και για την κλήρωση ισχύουν όροι και προϋποθέσεις.

Figure 38: Politis, 7 September 2011

Figure 39: Alithia, 5 September 2011

Figure 40: Philelefteros, 24 September 2011

'GÜZELYURT'A YATIRIM YAPIN'

Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Başbakanı Recep Tayyip Erdoğan'ın, "Güzelyurt verilmeyecek" açıklaması sonrasında bölgeyi ziyaret eden Başbakan Yardımcısı Beşir Atalay, önemli mesajlar verdi. Atalay, "Topraklarınıza yatırım yapmaktan, gelecek kaygısından endişe etmeyin" dedi. Sayfa 5'te

Fotoğraf Züleyha KARAMAN

KIBRIS Star

18 EYLÜL 2011 PAZAR YIL: 4 SAYI: 1595 FİYATI: 2.00 TL Güçlünün değil haklının yanında

HAYDİ, ALEV KAYASI'NA

Her yıl geleneksel olarak düzenlenen Karadeniz Yayla Şenliği bugün Alev Kayası'nda yapılıyor. Nupelda KARABUĞDAY'ın haberi sayfa 17'de

'Türkiye ABD'yi hedef alamaz'

Rum Dışişleri Bakanı Markulli, "Doğalgazı Amerikan şirketleri arıyor. Türkiye'nin onları hedef alacağını zannetmem" yorumunu yaptı

Öte yandan Rum basını 2 F-16 Türk savaş uçağının önceki gün Noble Energy platformunun olduğu bölgede uçuş yaptığını yazdı

'ARAMADA GERİ ADIM ATMAYACAĞIZ'

Akdeniz'de gerilimin arttığı bir dönemde Kıbrıs Rum Yönetimi Dışişleri Bakanı Erato Kozaku Markulli, Rum Kesimi'nin Akdeniz'de doğalgaz sondajına başlama kararıyla patlak veren kriz ortamında Yayın Yönetmenimiz Sefa Karahasan'a konuştu. Markulli, "Kıbrıs Cumhuriyeti olarak doğalgaz aranması konusunda geri adım atmayacağız" dedi. "Adanın bölünmüşlüğü devam ederse, Türkler Kıbrıs'ın zenginliğinden daha fazla mahrum olacaktır" tezini savunan Markulli, şunları kaydetti;

'SONUNA KADAR MAHKÛM OLMAYIZ'

"Türkiye sondaj bölgesine savaş gemisi göndererek uluslararası hukuka, BM Sözleşmesi'ne ters düşen, AB üyeliği hakkındaki beklentisini tehlikeye atacak bir girişimde bulunacağını zannetmiyorum. Sondaj araştırmalarını Amerikan Nobel Energy yürütüyor. Türkiye'nin Amerikan menfaatlerini hedef olarak seçeceğini düşünmüyorum. Kıbrıs sonsuza dek Türkiye'nin politikalarının mahkumu olmayacaktır."

'ANAHTAR ERDOĞAN'IN ELİNDE'

Türkiye yakın bir komşumuzdur ve işbirliği gelecekteki vizyonumuz içinde yer almaktadır. Bunun hayata geçirilmesi için Türkiye, Kıbrıs topraklarını askeri anlamda işgal etmekten vazgeçmeli ve Kıbrıslıların ortak geleceklerini tayin etmelerine izin vermelidir. Tarihimizde ve ilişkilerimizde yeni bir sayfa açma zamanı gelmiştir. Anahtar (Erdoğan'ın) elindedir.

SEFA KARAHASAN'IN Özel Röportajı Sayfa 6-7'de

SAYISAL LOTO 02-13-18-21-33-38

EROĞLU'NDAN HÜKÜMETE SERT GÖNDERME: ÖZERSAY YETKİLİDİR SAYFA 6'DA

CMYK

Figure 41: Star Kıbrıs, 18 September 2011

Meclis Başkanı Bozer "Un var, yağ var, şeker var ama helva yapamıyoruz" dedi

Reformlara ihtiyacımız var

Kıbrıs Türk halkının aydın bir kitle olduğunu belirten Bozer, "Unumuz, şekerimiz, yağımız var; helva yapmakta zorlanıyoruz biz, sonuca gitmekte sorunumuz var" diye konuştu. Kamu yönetimini örnek gösteren Bozer, bu kadar küçük bir toplumda kamu yönetiminin, düzgün çalışması gerekirken ve tüm sorunlar zaman zaman dile getiriliyor olmasına rağmen, her geçen gün daha da geriyle gittiğini, ve insanların beklentilerini karşılayamaz hale geldiğini ifade etti.

» 5. SAYFADA

AYDINLATAN GAZETE

Güneş

21 EYLÜL 2011 ÇARŞAMBA Yıl: 8 Sayı: 2020 www.gunesgazete.com 2 TL

Karayollarında devriye aracı

İçişleri ve Yerel Yönetimler Bakanı Bakanı Nazım Çavuşoğlu, 2011 yılı bitmeden "Oto Yol Devriye Projesi"nin devreye gireceği konusunda güvence verdi

» 6. SAYFADA

Türkiye Başbakan Yardımcısı Bülent Arınç çok net konuştu:

Blöf yapmıyoruz

KKTC ve TC tarafından Rumlara misilleme yapma konusunda kararlı adımlar atılıyor. Başbakanlık'ta komite oluşturuldu.. Başbakan Küçük, Dışişleri Bakanı Özgürgün ve Ekonomi Bakanı Atun, yaptıkları açıklamalarda hükümetin kararlarını yineledi.

"Adadaki her iki halkın haklarını dikkate alan bir çözüm arayışının samimiyetle ve içtenlikle sürdürüldüğü bir ortamda bu olumlu sürece olumsuz katkı yapacak her türlü girişim ve çalışmalar sürecin seyrini değiştirmektedir. Bu durumda da böylesi bir krizin yaratıcısı olarak Kıbrıs Rum tarafının tutumu sorgulanmalıdır. Kıbrıs Türk halkının hak ve menfaatlerini gözardı edilerek, adaya sahip çıkma ve sahiplenme arzusunun dışa vurumu olan bu son örnek, Birleşmiş Milletlerce kabul edilen ilkeler çerçevesindeki çözüm arayışını da sabote etmektedir."

» 3. SAYFADA

TC Dışişleri Bakanı Davutoğlu, ABD Dışişleri Bakanı'yla görüştü:

"Güney Kıbrıs'ın yapmaya çalıştığı provokasyondur"

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ÇEVRE yılı
Çevreni düşün!

Figure 42: Güneş, 21 September 2011

"50 bin TL'si olan banka kurdu"

Hızla önemi artan sigortacılık sektörüne yeni bir soluk getiren ve 'Risklerinizi önemeyin' sloganı ile yola çıkan Mapfree'nin deneyimli Müdürü Volkan Emirkanı ile sigortacılık sektöründe yaşananları, eksikleri ve olması gerekenleri konuştuk.

Hizmet verdiğiniz alanda eğer müşteri memnuniyetsizliği söz konusu ise yeni şirketlerin kurulmasının olağan olduğunu dile getiren Volkan, "Bu memlekette 50 bin TL'si olan banka kurdu. Bu memlekette 50 bin TL'si olan sigorta şirketi kurdu. Kötü temellerle inşa edilen bir sektörden bahsediyoruz. Bugün kötü temeller üzerine kurulan bir sektörün ceremesi çekiliyor" dedi...

Elif ŞEN'nin röportajı S. 18-19'da

www.haberdarkibris.com

Haberdar

Fiyatı: 2 TL (KDV Dahil) Yıl: 2
Sayı: 623 21 Eylül 2011 Çarşamba

Tatil talihlileri belirlendi

Gazeteniz Haberdar'ın Antalya Kamelya World ve Cyprus XP Travel işbirliği ile gerçekleştirdiği tatil kampanyasının çekilişi yapıldı.

Tatil kazanan talihlilerin listesi

İsrail sigortasında sondaj

Kıbrıslı Rumlar'ın, KKTC ve Türkiye'nin itirazlarına rağmen Doğu Akdeniz'deki "Afrodit" adlı bölgede doğalgaz ve petrol aramak için sondaja başlaması gerilimi zirveye çıkarırken sondaja başlanan platformun hala sigortalanmadığı bildirildi. Pazar akşamı başlayan ve 'savaş çıkabilir' endişesiyle hiçbir sigorta şirketi tarafından sigortalanmayan platformdaki çalışmalar İsrail savaş gemisi ve uçaklarının sigortası altında devam ediyor.

Ayrıntılı haber S. 11'de

F-16'lar tur attı

Rum basını Türk savaş uçaklarının petrol aranan bölge yakınlarında kendilerini belli edecek şekilde uçtuğunu yazdı

Güney'de yayınlanan Filelefttheros Gazetesi, Türk Hava Kuvvetleri'ne bağlı iki F-16 savaş uçağının Kıbrıs etrafında düşük irtifada uçtuğunu yazdı. Gazete, "Türk uçakları Adana bölgesinden Apostolos Andreas açıkları istikametinde Lefkoşa Uçuş Kontrol Bölgesi'ne (FIR) girdi. Mağusa açıklarından uçtu ve Larnaka kıyılarından yaklaşık 100 kilometre mesafede Limasol ve daha sonra kıyıya olan mesafelerini aynı tutarak Baf istikametinde uçtu. Noble Energy platformuna 60 kilometre mesafeden geçtiler. Uçuş irtifaları, İsrail helikopterlerinin İsrail-Kıbrıs MEB sınırına kadar ulaşan devriyelerindeki rutin uçuş irtifası olan 4 bin ayaktı" ifadelerini kullandı.

Gazete ayrıca, Türk uçaklarının, İngiliz savaş uçaklarının tatbikat yaptığı Ağrotur açıklarındaki bölgenin yakınından da düşük irtifada geçmeleri dikkat çekerken, uçakların, tespit edilebilmelerini sağlayan sistemleri de çalışır durumda bırakmalarını uçakların varlığının tam olarak algılanmasını istediklerinin göstergesi olarak yorumlandı.

Petrol krizi ile ilgili gelişmeler S.8-9'da

Ayrıntılı haber S. 13-14'te

Sondaj çalışmaları izlemede

Sondaj faaliyetlerini takip etmek, Başbakan ve ilgili hükümet üyelerine gelişmelerle ilgili olarak günlük bilgi vermek amacıyla İzleme Komitesi kuruldu.

Küçük: "Türk tarafı olarak bizler hak ve menfaatlerimizi korumak adına her türlü girişim ve direnci göstereceğiz"

Atun: "Güney Kıbrıs her türlü sonucu göze almıştır artık. Yetki alanlarımızın bulunduğu tüm bölgelerde TPAO'ya arama yetkisi verilecektir"

Davutoğlu: "Güney Kıbrıs'ın petrol ve doğalgaz arama adı altında yapmaya çalıştığı provokasyondur"

Arınç: "Bu hafta Türkiye de bu çalışmalara fiilen katılmış olacak. Çalışmaları deniz kuvvetlerimiz, hava kuvvetlerimiz tarafından da desteklenecek."

Figure 43: Haberdar, 21 September 2011

Figure 44: Haberdar, 20 September 2011

Figure 45: Volkan, 14 September 2011

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GAZETESİ
25 EYLÜL 2011 PAZAR YIL: 22 SAYI: 8043 www.kibrisgazetesi.com 2 TL (KDV dahil)
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Kazı çalışması yapılan yoldaki ikaz tabelalarını görmeyip sürmeye devam eden motosikletli genç, park halindeki iş makinesine çarptı
Ağır yaralandı
Ali CANSU'nun haberi sayfa 10'da
Atatürk Öğretmen Akademisi sınavının ilk sonuçları açıklandı
Şimdi sıra mülakatta
Haberi sayfa 40'ta
BM Genel Sekreteri'ni uyaran Eroğlu, Rum tarafının petrol ve doğalgaz arama çalışmalarının durmaması halinde, Piri Reis'in, Türk donanması eşliğinde 12. parselde çalışma yapacağını bildirdi
Denizde boğuşma
Cumhurbaşkanı Eroğlu, New York'ta BM Genel Sekreteri Moon ile bir araya geldi.
Türk tarafının yeni atağı... Güney Kıbrıs'ın, İsrail'le birlikte yürüttüğü doğalgaz sondaj çalışmalarını durdurmaya yönelik Türk girişimleri, dünden itibaren yeni bir şekil almaya başladı. BM Genel Sekreteri Ban Ki Moon ile görüşen Cumhurbaşkanı Derviş Eroğlu, doğalgaz krizine karşı dört maddelik öneri sundu. KIBRIS'ın 'güvenilir bir kaynaktan' elde ettiği bilgilere göre; Rum tarafının geri adım atmaması halinde, Piri Reis'in 12. parselde arama hakkının olacağını belirten Eroğlu 'Türk donanmasının da orada olacağını' bildirdi.
Gücü varsa durdursun... Yetkili kaynak "Rumların sondaj çalışmasını durdurmayan donanma, Piri Reis'in yanında durunca ne olacak?" sorusu üzerine "Türk donanması ateş açan taraf olmamak için, Rumların sondaj çalışmasına müdahale etmemiştir. Fakat, aynı şekilde bizim de 12. parselde sondaj hakkımız vardır ve Türk gemisi o bölgeye yerleşirken yanında donanma da bulunacaktır. Gücü varsa, Rum tarafı müdahale eder ve bizi durdurur" dedi. Haberi sayfa 5'te
Beyin kanaması geçiren hastayı 5 saat boyunca acil serviste bekletip, "Bir şeyin yok" diye taburcu etmek istediler
Vay halimize
Sedef BOŞNAK'ın haberi sayfa 3'te
Sayısal Loto çekildi 4 16 22 30 43 45 Sayfa 10'da
Ünlü sanatçımız Okan Ersan, '54. Grammy Ödülleri' için ilk adımı attı
Beş dalda aday adayı
Haberi sayfa 30'da

Figure 46: Kıbrıs, 25 September 2011

Figure 47: Yenidüzen, 29 September 2011

Figure 48: Phileleftheros, 30 September 2011

Figure 49: Simerini, 24 September 2011

Figure 50: Kıbrıs, 27 September 2011

Figure 51: Volkan, 25 September 2011

Figure 52: Yenidüzen, 22 September 2011

ΧΑΡΑΥΓΗ

ΤΟΥΤΗ ΔΙΨΑ ΔΕ ΣΒΗΝΕΙ, ΤΟΥΤΗ Η ΜΑΧΗ ΔΕΝ ΠΑΥΕΙ, ΧΙΛΙΑ ΧΡΟΝΙΑ ΝΑ ΠΕΡΑΣΟΥΝ, ΔΕΝ ΠΕΘΑΙΝΟΥΜΕ ΣΚΛΑΒΟΙ

ΔΕΥΤΕΡΑ 19 ΣΕΠΤΕΜΒΡΙΟΥ 2011 · ΕΤΟΣ 56ο · ΑΡ. ΦΥΛΛΟΥ 19162 · ΤΙΜΗ €1.00

Ο κ. Πολυβίου να τοποθετηθεί για τα εξ ονόματός του πορίσματα...

Ο Γ. Λουκαΐδης καταγγέλλει ότι ορισμένοι επιχειρούν να προκαταλάβουν το περιεχόμενο του πορίσματος. Πρόκειται για «εικασίες» δηλώνει στη «Χ» ο κ. Πολυβίου.

Σελίδα 3

Νέες δραματικές στιγμές για την ελληνική οικονομία

Νέες αποφάσεις σήμερα. Πληροφορίες κάνουν λόγο για απόλυση 100.000 δημοσίων υπαλλήλων και νέους φόρους

Σελίδα 3

ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ ΑΛΕΚΟΥ

Να συνεισφέρουν όλοι ανάλογα με τη δύναμή τους

«Το ΑΚΕΛ προτίθεται να καταθέσει προτάσεις που θα φορολογούν τον πλούτο και όταν θα τεθούν ενώπιον των άλλων κομμάτων θα κριθούν και πάλι.

Σελίδα 9

Ιδιώτες προσεγγίζουν την ΑΗΚ

Επιχειρηματίες προτείνουν συνεργασία ή και ΒΟΤ βλέποντας πρόσφορο έδαφος στον τομέα παραγωγής ενέργειας λόγω και της οικονομικής στενότητας της Αρχής Ηλεκτρισμού

Σελίδα 8

Με έργα υποδομής στηρίζεται η Τ.Α.

Ο Ν. Συλικιώτης εγκαινίασε τα Κοινοτικά Γραφεία και Ιατρικό Κέντρο στον Αρακαπά

Σελίδα 9

«Προσχεδιασμένη η πρόκληση επεισοδίων»

Η Αστυνομία θεωρεί ότι συγκεκριμένοι οπαδοί της ΑΕΛ μετέτρεψαν στο ΓΣΠ, έχοντας προσχεδιάσει την πρόκληση επεισοδίων βίας

Σελίδα 25

Αντί να απειλεί ας συνεργαστεί

Ο Πρόεδρος κάλεσε την Αγκυρα να αντιληφθεί επιτέλους ποιο είναι το συμφέρον της και να εργαστεί για επίλυση του Κυπριακού

Η Τουρκία δεν έχει κανένα δικαίωμα να διαμαρτύρεται και πολύ περισσότερο να απειλεί και να προκαλεί ένταση λόγω των ερευνών της Κυπριακής Δημοκρατίας για τον εντοπισμό υδρογονανθράκων, τόνισε ο Πρόεδρος της Δημοκρατίας Δημήτρης Χριστόφιας. Ταυτόχρονα ο Πρόεδρος κάλεσε την Αγκυρα να αναλογιστεί επιτέλους ποιο είναι πραγματικά το συμφέρον της και να εργαστεί προς την κατεύθυνση της επίλυσης του Κυπριακού, παρά να προκαλεί ένταση και να λειτουργεί σαν ταραξίας στην περιοχή. Διαμήνυσε δε ότι η ενωμένη Ομοσπονδιακή Δημοκρατία της Κύπρου, στα πλαίσια της οποίας θα συγκυβερνούν μαζί Ελληνοκύπριοι και Τουρκοκύπριοι, θα εκμεταλλεύεται τους φυσικούς πόρους της και οι δύο κοινότητες θα δρέπουν τους καρπούς που προκύπτουν. «Αυτό είναι θέμα το οποίο έχουμε τονίσει. Δηλαδή, ότι οι φυσικοί πόροι και η εκμετάλλευσή τους είναι αρμοδιότητα της ομοσπονδιακής κυβέρνησης, η οποία θα κατανέμει έσοδα μέσω του προϋπολογισμού της στις δύο ομόσπονδες μονάδες», αποκάλυψε ο Πρόεδρος.

Μιλώντας σε εκδήλωση της κυπριακής παροικίας στο Λονδίνο ο Πρόεδρος Χριστόφιας ανέφερε πως για την αντιμετώπιση των απειλών της Τουρκίας, η Κυπριακή Δημοκρατία, με ψυχραιμία και χαμηλούς τόνους, προβαίνει διεθνώς σε όλες τις δέουσες ενέργειες, οι οποίες βρίσκουν ανταπόκριση. Οι απειλές της Τουρκίας είναι μια από τις προκλήσεις που έχει ενώπιόν της η Κυπριακή Δημοκρατία, οι οποίες για ν' αντιμετωπιστούν, όπως υπογράμμισε ο Πρόεδρος, χρειάζεται σύνεση και συναίνεση και όχι διχόνοια και μίσος που καλλιεργούν ορισμένοι κύκλοι.

Figure 53: Haravgi, 19 September 2011

Figure 54: Simerini, 22 September 2011

Figure 55: Phileleftheros, 23 September 2011

Appendix B: Maps

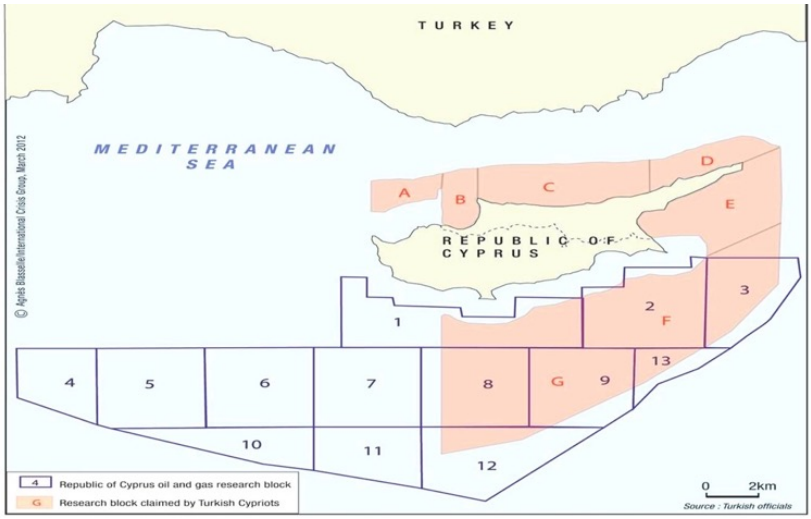

Figure 56: The Turkish Cypriots' Claimed Hydrocarbon Research Blocks

Source: International Crisis Group (2012). Aphrodite's Gift: Can Cypriot Gas Power a New Dialogue?. Europe Report no: 216.

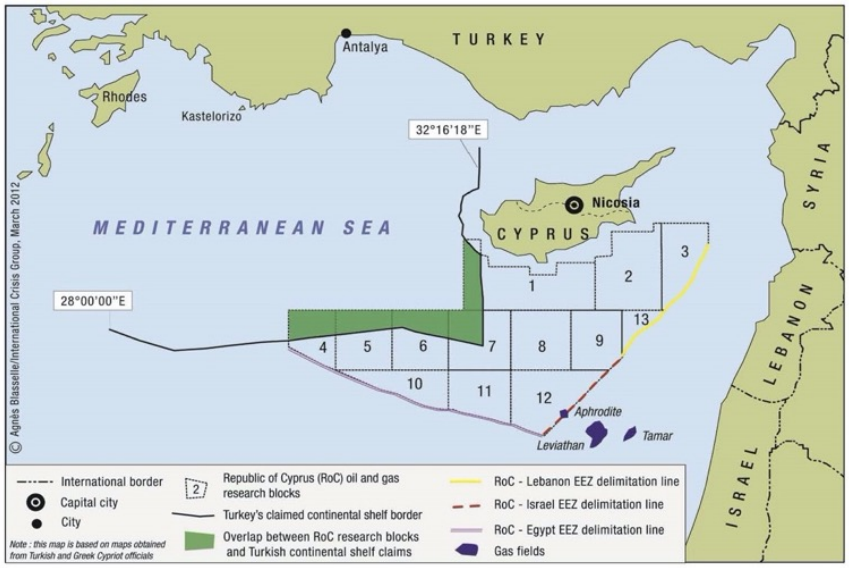

Figure 57: The Republic of Cyprus EEZ Delimitations and Hydrocarbon Research Blocks, And Turkey's Continental Shelf Claims

Source: International Crisis Group (2012). Aphrodite's Gift: Can Cypriot Gas Power a New Dialogue?. Europe Report no: 216.

Appendix C: Coding Sheet for the hydrocarbons conflict

1) Article published in…….

1) Afrika
2) Demokrat Bakış
3) Güneş
4) Haberdar
5) Halkın Sesi
6) Havadis
7) Kıbrıs
8) Kıbrıslı
9) Star Kıbrıs
10) Ortam
11) Vatan
12) Volkan
13) Yenidüzen
14) ALITHIA
15) PHILELEFTHEROS
16) POLITIS
17) SIMERINI
18) HARAVGI

2) Date of publication? …….

3) How is the article located on

1) Banner
2) Headline above the Logo
3) Single headline
4) a small column with headline and intro (maximum two sentences)
5) headline and intro (more than 2 sentences)
6) A column with different summary spots
7) Other

4) Headline of the article (copy verbatim)

5) Headline type

1) Quote
2) Descriptive
3) Comment

6) Does the news story on front page have any picture?

1) Yes 2) No

7) Is/Are the photographs on the front page militaristic (Soldiers, war planes, war ships)?

1) Yes
2) No

8) Where was the military discourse/military vocabulary used on the front page?

1) Headline
2) Sub headline
3) Lead /Intro
4) Front Page Body
5) Not used
6) Summary spots

9) Orientation of the story (front page only)?

1) Zero-Sum orientation
2) Win-Win orientation
3) Unclear
4) Not big enough to evaluate

10) What is the news story based on?

1) Politicians-elites' announcements/speeches/reactions
2) Events
3) Both (mixture 1-2)
4) Exclusive interview /investigation
5) Not big enough to evaluate
6) Commentary
7) Views of a Columnist
8) Well trusted source
9) Other media's claim
10) Un-named experts
11) Unnamed trusted source

11) Against which side is the criticism?

1) Turkish Cypriot
2) Greek Cypriot
3) Turkey
4) Greece
5) Israel
6) Other: ……..
7) No critique
8) Not clear

12) Is there any quotation?

1) Yes (continue from 19)
2) No (continue from 22)

13) Who is quoted?[31]

1) Official elites: TCC
2) Official elites: GCC
3) Official elites: Turkey
4) Official elites: Greece
5) Official elites: Israel
6) Other Politicians: TCC
7) Other Politicians: GCC
8) Other Politicians: Greece
9) Other Politicians: Turkey
10) Other Politicians: Israel
11) TPAO official
12) Noble official
13) Ordinary people- nonofficial: GCC
14) Ordinary People – nonofficial TCC

[31] The actual list of who is quoted list includes 27 options.

15) Unnamed diplomatic source
16) Academician

14) Is the nature of the quotations in the caption/sub-caption escalating or deescalating the tension of the conflict?
1) Escalating
2) Deescalating
3) Neutral
4) Mixed
5) NA

15) Is the nature of the quotations in the main text of the front page, escalating or deescalating the tension of the conflict?
1) Escalating
2) Deescalating
3) Mixed
4) Neutral
5) Not applicable

16) Source of the story?
1) news agency
2) own reporter
3) other media
4) unmentioned

17) Is there any contextual/background information about the conflict?
1) Yes (there is contextual info)
2) No (it focuses on here and now only)
3) There is not enough information to evaluate
4) Unclear
5)NA

18) Does the story on the front page discuss/comment on negative aspects of a possible war (clash)?
1) Yes
2) No
3) The story is not related with war possibility
4) Not big enough to evaluate
5) NA

19) Does the story mention about any peaceful solution?
1) Yes 2) No 3) Not Applicable

20) Does the story try to uncover the reasons behind the conflict?
1) Yes 2) No 3) Not big enough to evaluate 4) NA