

Dominant Peace/Conflict Frames of Opinion Articles in the Turkish Cypriot Press

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Introduction

The recent period of inter-communal conflicts in Cyprus began in the 1950s, when the Greek Cypriot community began its struggle with the British colonial administration for independence. In the nineteenth century, the declared aim of the Greek Cypriots had been “ENOSIS,” or “union,” a Greek term used to refer to the national aspiration and strategy of the Greeks and Greek Cypriots to unite Cyprus with mainland Greece; this strategy is known as the “Megali Idea” or “Great Idea.” According to Niyazi Kızılyürek (2005), “[w]hen the Turkish Cypriots understood that the real aim was not to fight against colonialism for independence, but ‘ENOSIS’, unification of Cyprus with mainland Greece; they were persuaded by the UK to create the thesis of partition” (p. 36). The thesis of partition or “TAKSİM” in Turkish was a response to the perceived threat of annexation of Cyprus as a whole by Greece, and proposed the physical separation of the two communities on the island.

Raising issues such as who started the conflict, or who is right and who is not, is not productive in the context of this study, as from the perspective of peace journalism the question of who threw the first stone leads to conflict rather than solution: If one declares the party who threw the first stone is “guilty” and the counterpart has been “victimized,” then any future faults of the victim will be legitimized. Thus in the Cyprus conflict, repeating the historical argument that the first stone was thrown by the Greek Cypriots trying to achieve ENOSIS and that following this the British provoked the Turkish Cypriots to argue for TAKSİM, does not serve any useful purpose; both theses

contributed to the expansion of the conflict between the two communities. According to Papadakis (2005), the termination of their convergence came about with the foundation of the Greek Cypriot EOKA organization in 1955, and two years later, in reaction, the establishment of the Turkish Cypriot resistance movement, TMT:

“The era of rapprochement ended with the beginning of the EOKA (National Organization of Cypriot Fighters) struggle in 1955 for union with Greece: ENOSIS. Turkish Cypriots opposed this, asking for partition – TAKSİM – of Cyprus, and set up their own fighters’ organization called TMT (Turkish Resistance Organization)” (p. 39).

During 1959-1963 there was heated conflict between EOKA and the TMT. According to Sözen (1999), “... [it] culminated in 1974 with the interventions of Greece and later Turkey that led to the island’s current de facto division as the Greek Cypriot SOUTH and the Turkish Cypriot NORTH” (p. 1).

Historically, the Cyprus conflict dates back to long before the 1950s. In 1878, Britain leased the island from the weakening Ottoman Empire in order to protect its interests in the eastern Mediterranean. Initially, the Greek Cypriots were happy about the leasing of the island to Britain; many saw this as freedom from Ottoman sovereignty and believed it would facilitate ENOSIS, or the annexation of the island to Greece (the Megali Idea). However, this did not happen when the island came under British control:

“The British rule from 1878 to 1959 has harboured some deep-

rooted causes that eventually led to the Cyprus Conflict. Great Britain wanted to keep Cyprus as its colony at any cost and was merciless enough to enforce its “divide and rule” policy, which created hostilities among the two communities” (Kızılyürek, 2001, p. 32).

The British were not positive about the Greek Cypriot’s demand for ENOSIS and accordingly took some measures against such a possibility occurring. Winning the support of Turkish Cypriots was one measure, and the British convinced them that they would lose their rights as Muslim Turks if British colonial rule in the island ceased to exist. Thus Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots began a conflict that would last for many decades. To realize their aspiration for ENOSIS, the Greek Cypriots formed the EOKA organization in 1955 under the leadership of Archbishop Makarios, and on 1 April 1955, EOKA staged its first armed attack against British rule. “The British Administration took a set of measures against the acts of EOKA... The British Rule put into place its most powerful weapon: the ‘DIVIDE and RULE’ policy. It employed Turkish Cypriot police officers to counter EOKA activists and tried to create a divide between the two communities” (Kızılyürek, 2001, p. 51).

The EOKA attacks originally targeted the British administration in Cyprus; later on, following the intervention of Turkish Cypriots in the capacity of Auxiliary Police officers, these turned into violent ethnic clashes. The Turkish Cypriot community staged counter-offensives in revenge for the deaths of Turkish Cypriot police officers killed in the attacks, thus serving the interests of the British Administration. In 1958, when the clashes between the two communities reached a critical point, Turkish Cypriots formed the TMT resistance organization. The “TMT remained an underground organization from 1 August 1958 till 21 December 1963, during which it got organized, trained its members, possessed arms and prepared itself for any potential attack of Greek Cypriots” (Tansu, 2001, p. 15). As the situation developed in the direction desired by the British administration; and as Greek Cypriots started to perceive Turkish Cypriots – in addition to the British – as an obstacle to their aspiration for ENOSIS, Britain planned its next move.

As a result of the British policy of “divide and rule,” the idea of TAKSİM (partition) was put forward as a response to ENOSIS. The British worked hard to force the Turkish Cypriots to adopt the idea of a divide, a partitioning, against the island’s union with Greece. In this way, the protests and attacks started primarily for the independence of the island and against the colonial administration of the English could be diverted as the Cypriots fought among themselves over the future of the island. The status of the two military bases (Dekhelia and Akrotiri) obtained by Britain through the Treaty of 1960 were questioned by neither Turkish Cypriots nor Greek Cypriots, as the problem of independence became transformed into an ethnic conflict between the two communities that continued to escalate. The insistence of the British on TAKSİM was based on their

envisioned benefits from an unsolvable problem. According to Bailie and Azgın (2008), at the end of the 19th century “...the issue was between Greek Cypriots arguing for union of Cyprus with Greece and Turkish Cypriots claiming that Cyprus legally belonged to the Ottoman state and that, should Britain decide to vacate the island, it should be handed back to its legal owners” (pp. 86-87).

The demand to “return the Island to its legitimate owner” that was promoted by the Turkish Cypriots arose from their seeing the new Republic of Turkey as the successor of the Ottoman Empire. The Turkish Cypriots claimed the island had to be given back; however, the Menderes government which was in power in Turkey at that time adopted the position that “Turkey doesn’t have a problem called Cyprus”. Mehmet Fuad Köprülü was the Foreign Minister in the second and third Menderes governments. He had a strong effect on this stance of the Turkish Government. Mehmet Fuad Köprülü did not take part in the fourth Menderes government, and this policy changed. This stance came to an end in 1959, when Turkey participated in the Zurich and London Conferences organized at the invitation of England, and with the signing of the guarantorship treaties on Cyprus.

The future of the Turkish and Greek Cypriots was decided by the British, Turkish and Greek governments in February 1959, when the Turkish and Greek prime ministers signed the Zurich Agreement: “In 1959, Britain, Greece and Turkey developed the Zurich – London Accords and later in 1960, with Cypriot representatives, concluded the Treaties of Alliance, Establishment and Guarantees, which formed the basis for the constitution of the Republic of Cyprus” (Swan, 1998, p. 32). The two communities in Cyprus were brought in subsequently: “Later between the Turkish, Greek and British governments the London Agreement was prepared in London and the Turkish (Cypriot) and Greek (Cypriot) delegations were invited to London only to sign this agreement as representatives of the Cypriot communities” (Kızılyürek, 2001, p. 60).

The Republic of Cyprus was declared to the world on 16th August 1960. As indicated by İsmail Bozkurt (2001),

“The Republic of Cyprus was a functional/federative republic with additional confederative qualifications... The ratios for parliament, government, police and gendarmery forces were calculated as 70 percent Greek Cypriots and 30 percent Turkish Cypriots and the ratios for the army were 60 percent Greek Cypriots and 40 percent Turkish Cypriots. A total veto right for foreign affairs, defense and security issues were given to the Vice President who was a Turk” (p. 14).

The independent Republic of Cyprus was short-lived. On 30 November 1963, the President of the Republic, Archbishop Makarios, prepared 13 proposals for amendment of the Cyprus Constitution. These constitutional alterations were not approved by Turkish Cypriots, and the tension between the parties began

to grow.

By 21 December, 1963, EOKA fighters began a campaign of violence against the Turkish Cypriots, and as Dodd (2001) notes, “From the end of 1963 until 1974 armed conflict continued. After the Greek Junta’s coup in Cyprus, Britain refused Bülent Ecevit’s request for joint action in Cyprus to restore the state of affairs as prescribed in the Treaty of Guarantees. Britain declined to become involved militarily, because she was not prepared to be involved in hostilities against Greece or Greek Cyprus” (cited in Gökçekuş, 2001, p. 336).

On 20 July, 1974 Turkey launched a military operation in Cyprus. The war of 1974 resulted in many people dying, children being orphaned, people leaving the island, and a large proportion of the population being displaced.

Afterwards, the “Treaty of Population Exchange” was signed in Vienna under the auspices of the United Nations in 1975. The treaty, which anticipated a bilateral exchange of populations, was signed by Glafcos Clerides for the Greek Cypriots and Rauf Raif Denktaş for the Turkish Cypriots. With this treaty, Turkish Cypriots who lived in the south of Cyprus migrated to the northern part of Cyprus and Greek Cypriots to the southern part; the small number who did not want to move continued their lives in their villages. As a result, a de facto situation was created where the south part of the island came to be inhabited by the majority of Greek Cypriots and the north by the majority of Turkish Cypriots. With this population exchange, the partition of the island was realized.

Eight years later, on November 15, 1983, the Turkish Cypriots declared their own state, the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC), and “[w]hen independence was declared, Britain introduced UN Security Council Resolution 542 which deplored the ‘purported secession’ of part of the Republic of Cyprus and called upon all states not to recognize any Cypriot state other than the Republic of Cyprus” (cited in Gökçekuş, 2001, p. 337).

Although it appears that the Cyprus conflict reached its decisive point with this UN Security Council resolution, there are still many problems to be solved between the Greek and Turkish Cypriots, and this is why the negotiations for a solution between the parties are still continuing. The divided interests, which were forcibly created between the two communities, have only resulted in deaths, casualties, missing people, orphans, poverty, misery and migration; and there are individuals who have profited unfairly from the division, especially in the northern part of Cyprus, as a result of unfair distribution of property.

The Press in Cyprus

The general and common peculiarity of the press in Cyprus is that it is a “press for struggle”. The first newspapers of Cyprus press began their publication life on a nationalistic axis, and

even today there does not seem to have been much progress beyond this line. Besides the occasionally different standpoints of some newspapers, the general trend in the print media is to publish around topics based on struggle and dispute. The press community in Cyprus is also struggling with its own identity; there are many different voices in the Cyprus press, and they are constantly in conflict with each other to try to gain legitimacy for their opinions. This should be seen not only from the perspective of ethnic conflict, but also as part of a democratic process for solving problems within the communities.

Ünlü (1981), explaining why the press of Cyprus is “a press for struggle” (p. 14), suggests that its main characteristic is that differences of opinion between the two communities are expressed through the print media in a “tough and hurtful” manner, so that they expand into an ethnic problem. This tradition and habit of the Cypriot press continues to this day; and as Bailie and Azgin (2008) emphasize:

“Journalistic tendencies toward conflict reporting in Cyprus are deeply rooted in history. Conflict-centered journalism transcends the bi-communal disturbances of the 1950s and 1960s. During that time period, inter-communal fighting only exacerbated an already long standing journalistic tradition and helped to align both Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot newspapers and journalists with “national struggles” (p. 58).

Andreas Cl. Sophocleous (2006) notes that the first Greek Cypriot newspapers were published as platforms for voicing demands and outlining a vision: “It was not fortuitous that from the start of their publication the first Cypriot Greek-language newspapers persistently and vigorously promoted the demand of the Greeks of Cyprus that the island should be ceded to Greece, thus achieving the vision of their national restoration with their incorporation into the metropolitan national body” (p. 113). This assessment once again demonstrates how the print media of Cyprus are embedded in the logic of ethnic conflict on the island.

The Structure of the Cyprus Press

The structure of the press in Cyprus is based on patronage and political party journalism. There are daily newspapers reflecting the political viewpoints of almost all the political parties; and on an island where the “Cyprus Problem” is at the top of the agenda, the statements of those in power and authority take priority.

The fact that political parties are so involved in the publication of newspapers needs to be questioned, as they use the media to propagate their political views and manipulate them as tools of propaganda. If one takes into account the organizational structure of today’s press in Cyprus, it is clear that newspaper publication is problematic from the start: since the nature of the press stems from its historical mission as a “press for struggle”

in the context of the Cyprus conflict, its organizational structure has been affected accordingly. Özen Çatal's (2006) study on the Turkish Cypriot press argues that the problem is "more than the direct interventions of the proprietors of establishments [i]t is the employees' and their managers' protection of the proprietors' interests within the framework of self-control" (p. 9). In other words, the press applies "self-censorship" in order to protect the interests of its employers, and it is on this basis that the news is created and established.

The Cyprus press can also be affected by patronage for economic reasons: news items are typically assessed from the point of view of the proprietor's economic interests before they are published. As Eda Hançer (2006) pointed out in her study of the structure of proprietorship in the Turkish Cypriot press and its effects on the news, "... [in North Cyprus] the proprietor of the newspaper, in order to protect his/her economic interests, tries to establish control over the content of the news and applies pressure on journalists not to publish those that are contrary to his/her interests" (p. 7).

Patronage and political party journalism in these senses play a critical role in shaping the structures of today's Turkish Cypriot newspapers, which are the focus of this study. And for the Turkish Cypriot newspapers, the following general remarks can be made: *Kıbrıs* has the highest circulation in the North. It is highly influential and can be described as a right-wing newspaper. *Afrika* is an opposition paper which takes an active stance on the Cyprus conflict. *Yeni Düzen* is owned by the Republican Turkish Party, and it supports and promotes peace initiatives. The ultra-nationalist paper *Kıbrıs Volkan* supports division of the island and promotes a two-state solution. *Halkın Sesi* is the oldest Turkish-language newspaper on the island; it is privately owned and can be described as right-of-center. *Havadis*, is left-wing newspaper and supports peace initiatives. *Haberdar* can be described as a right-wing newspaper. *Star Kıbrıs* can be described as right-of-center.

Why "Cyprus Problem" Needs Peace Journalism?

The news values employed in the North Cyprus press are not the ones that can contribute to conflict resolution. As this study clearly indicates, columns relating to the Cyprus Problem, accidents, robbery, criminal offences, incriminating statements and libel are the ones that are mostly covered by the Turkish Cypriot press, when it comes to news reporting about the Other.

North Cypriot journalists, due to their accumulated experience in traditional journalism, try to look for some negative, intriguing and abnormal elements in the stories they cover. They also keep this attitude while writing reports, selecting stories and publishing about the Other. As the issue of newsworthiness becomes so problematic, journalists prefer to make their stories interesting and appealing to the reader, by covering negative stories about the Other. Such an approach leads journalists to do

conflict-based news reporting and prevents them from making any positive contribution to resolution.

These journalists put their stories into a certain ideological framework and by doing so they encourage the reader to confine their deliberations to the boundaries of that ideological framework. Hence, the importance of ideology and language used by journalists, as they cover stories about the "Other", becomes once again obvious.

The news agencies of both communities, which cover stories about one another every single day, can bring a positive contribution to conflict resolution if they decide to use the convincing power of media in a positive manner. At least, they can stop fanning the flames of a potential hatred and clash between the two communities. Given all these reasons and bearing in mind the existing problems in the Cypriot press, "peace journalism"¹ is an appropriate concept for the press in Cyprus.

Methodology

In this study, framing analysis was employed. Framing analysis was used, so that the way that the columnists represent the "other" side would be revealed by examples. Frame analysis is defined by Robert Entman (1993) as "selecting some aspects of perceived reality and make them more salient in communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or recommendation" (p. 52). This theory suggests that the media use particular frames when covering issues. This study looks at whether the media in Cyprus use conflict frame or peace frame while producing news stories and opinion articles about the "other".

Sample of the Study

The "First and Second Green Tree" negotiations under the United Nations control in New York have been selected for analyzing. The Greek Cypriot and the Turkish Cypriot community leaders have met twice in New York for negotiation

1 I asked Johan Galtung the rationale for using the term "peace journalism" by email in 2008. Johan Galtung answered this question by giving two major reasons: "[1] This was during the cold war, and I wanted to make my little contribution to the legitimacy of the word "peace". East used it a lot, so West, particularly USA-UK thought they had to be against it. Their approach was to see peace as suspect, even subversive, and they always added something, like peace with freedom, peace with justice; leaving peace undefined. Or by leaving the difficult word out, talking of conflict studies, international studies, etc. and they still do that - not saying that those studies are not good in themselves. But I wanted to give "peace" more meaning, more content, by linking it to other, less problematic, concepts. Hence "peace research"--and there were strong reactions against. The link "peace and conflict research" was actually invented by me January 1959 as the two are intrinsically connected, at least for negative peace: handle conflict without violence (but also for positive peace: handle cooperation at ever higher levels). I stuck to the word "peace" and added adjectives like negative, positive, and then used it as an adjective in peace research, peace journalism and now peace business. There is more to come, always keeping the word peace in it.

[2] Less semantic, philosophical, more pragmatic political: there is an implicit program in peace research, peace journalism, peace business. I found peace unexplored by academics as opposed to war studies focused on victory, journalism focused on violence and business on profit. Not good enough. During my years at Columbia University, New York, 1957-60 the US pragmatism in always asking "what can we do about it" impressed me. A strong feeling that there were jobs to be done, we put a marker on it and learn as we go."

in 30-31 of October, 2011 and 24-25 of January 2012. Turkish Cypriot newspapers columnists are the subjects of this study, as newspapers have an impact on building peace among the communities and decreasing the conflicts among them. In order to examine the Turkish Cypriot columnist's article coverage the framing analysis was used.

Eight Turkish Cypriot newspapers' opinion articles are the subjects or main independent variables of this study. The newspapers are *Afrika*, *Haberdar*, *Halkın Sesi*, *Havadis*, *Kıbrıs*, *Star Kıbrıs*, *Kıbrıs Volkan* and *Yenidüzen*. The samples for opinion articles were publications in October - November 2011 and January - February 2012.

This will help us to understand the role of opinion leaders in the Turkish Cypriot newspapers in creating a negative/positive effect on the First and Second Greentree Meeting of the society.

Instruments and Data Gathering Procedures

166 (101 from First meeting, and 65 from second one) columnists' articles among the Turkish Cypriot newspapers were selected for analysis. Almost 350-400 columnists are writing columns in the Turkish Cypriot daily newspapers. There are 13 daily Turkish language newspapers in the Turkish Cypriot press.

In order to examine the Turkish Cypriot columnist's article coverage of the First and Second Greentree Meeting and how they are covering the "other side" a 'Columnist Content Analysis Coding Schema' has been developed.

In this schema there are questions related to the article coverage: Quoted sources such as official or unofficial sources, ethnic, antagonistic and politic descriptions, and dominant frames in the article [Peace or conflict oriented frames].

Findings

The 'Columnist Content Analysis Coding Schema' results show the majority of the Turkish Cypriot columnists tend to use official government sources in their articles. The results indicate that Turkish Cypriot columnists do not use the "Other" side's official sources in their articles.

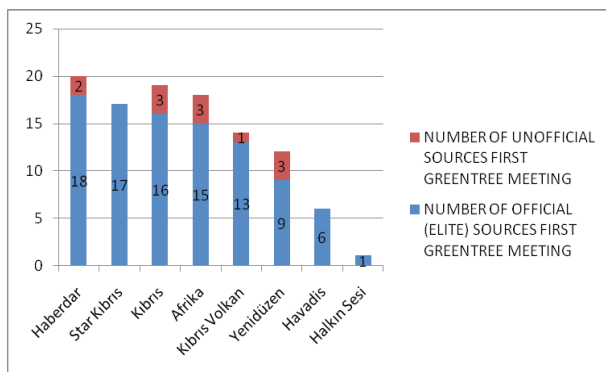


Table 1: Official (elite) and unofficial source usages of the Turkish Cypriot columnists for the First Greentree Meeting

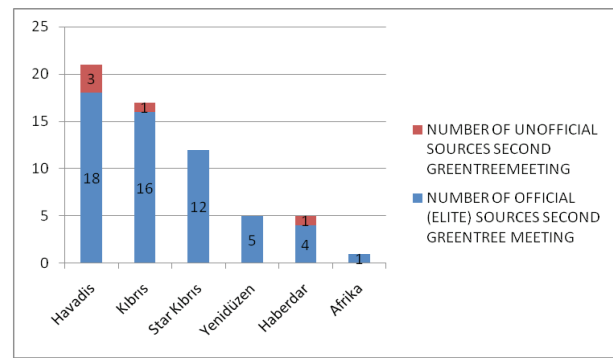


Table 2: Official (elite) and unofficial source usages of the Turkish Cypriot columnists for the Second Greentree Meeting

Table 1 and 2 results show that the Turkish Cypriot columnists rarely use unofficial sources in their articles. Columnists do not give voice to the voiceless. From the perspective of peace journalism, it is even problematic to give too much voice to elites; Turkish Cypriot columnists do not give enough voice to the unofficial sources and the "other" side, ignoring a basic principle of peace journalism, giving voice to the voiceless.

Dominant Frames in the Articles

Turkish Cypriot columnists tend to use the "Conflict Frame" when they are writing about the "Other" side while they are covering the First and Second Greentree Meetings. As the results indicate, the percentage of "Peace Frame" usage is very low in the Turkish Cypriot press.

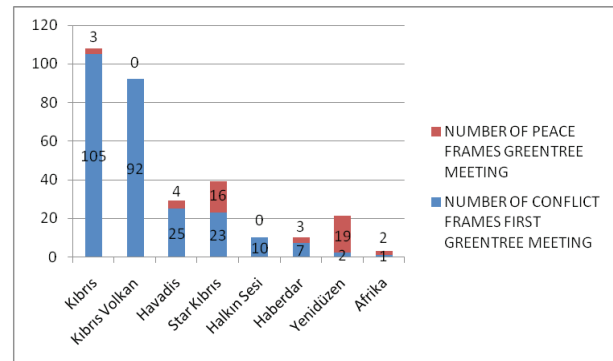


Table 3: Number of peace and conflict frames in the Turkish Cypriot columnists articles for the First Greentree Meeting

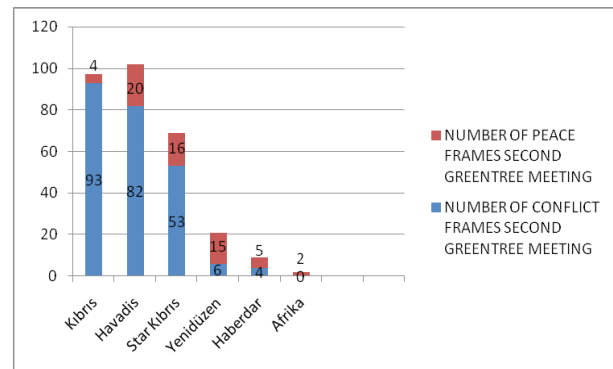


Table 4: Number of peace and conflict frames in the Turkish Cypriot columnists' articles for the Second Greentree Meeting

Table 3 and 4 indicate that the majority of Turkish Cypriot

columnists use conflict frames in their articles while they are writing on First and Second Greentree Meetings. *Kıbrıs* newspaper has the highest circulation in the North; It is highly influential and can be described as a right-wing newspaper. According to table 3 and 4 *Kıbrıs* newspaper holds the first position regarding usage of conflict frames among the columnists' articles (105 and 93).

Results show that *Kıbrıs Volkan*² writers use 92 conflict frames in its columnists' articles. The basic reason for this is that *Kıbrıs Volkan* newspaper is an ultranationalist newspaper in the Turkish Cypriot press. They support a "two separate states" solution on the Cyprus Problem and this is reflected in their columnists' articles.

Havadis is left-wing newspaper and supports peace initiatives. *Havadis* editorial policy supports peace initiatives on the island; however, results indicate that the columnists of this newspaper do not support peace initiatives. The columnists of *Havadis*, used 25 conflict frame in their articles for First Greentree Meeting and 82 for second one.

Star Kıbrıs holds the fourth position regarding usage of conflict frame (23) for the First Greentree Meeting. The newspapers have used 53 conflict frames while they are covering the Second Greentree Meeting. *Star Kıbrıs* can be described as right-of-center and results show that columnists of this newspaper are on the center while they are covering the First Greentree Meeting. However, they have changed their position for the next meeting and used more conflict frames instead of peace frames.

Halkın Sesi newspaper follows *Star Kıbrıs* the usage of conflict frames in articles (10) for the First Greentree Meeting. *Halkın Sesi* is the oldest Turkish language newspaper on the island; it is privately owned and can be described as a rightwing newspaper.

The First Greentree Meeting results indicate *Haberdar* newspaper columnists are used 7 conflict frame. *Haberdar* can be described as a right-wing newspaper. *Yeni Düzün* (2) and *Afrika* (1) newspapers are in the minority related with the conflict frame usage. Since they have a leftist- oriented stance, both newspapers' opinion columnists have used fewer conflict frames than other Turkish Cypriot newspapers. It can be said same evaluations for the results of Second Greentree Meeting. Table 3 and 4 show how rightwing newspapers use more conflict rather than peace frames.

Number of Conflict Frames in Detail

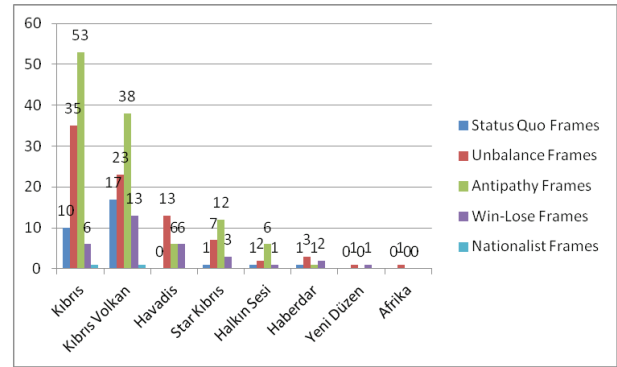


Table 5: Dominant conflict frames in the Turkish Cypriot columnists articles for the First Greentree Meeting.

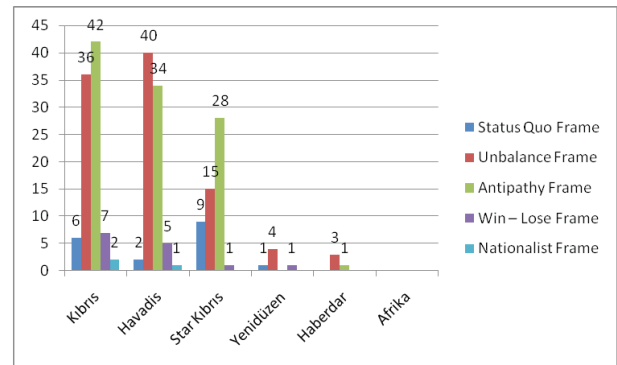


Table 6: Dominant conflict frames in the Turkish Cypriot columnists articles for the Second Greentree Meeting.

Table 5 and 6 results indicate that the Turkish Cypriot columnists commenting on both First and Second Greentree Meetings tended to use the *Antipathy Frames* (116 and 105) as a conflict frame in their articles. The antipathy frames concentrate on the other as the threat, displaying distrust, prejudice, inferiority, and self and other sentiments.

The second popular conflict frame among the Turkish Cypriot columnists is the *Unbalance Frame* (85 and 98), which is sport oriented, accusing the other side's government, and blame oriented.

The percentage of the *Win-Lose Frame* is also significant (32 and 14); this is revenge oriented and who threw the first stone oriented in the articles. Emphasizing one side's pains and good and evil orientations are the *Win-Lose Frame* in the articles.

The *Status Quo Frames* (30 and 18) are other essential conflict frames for the Turkish Cypriot columnists. Once can identify the *Status Quo Frames* when the columnist emphasizes exclusive orientation, they are our enemy orientation, just war orientation, and hate speech orientation.

The percentage of the *Nationalist Frames* is not significant (2 and 3); this is revenge oriented and who threw the first stone oriented in the articles.

2 *Kıbrıs Volkan* and *Halkın Sesi* newspapers have closed their official web sites. This is why their Second Greentree Meeting articles have not been evaluated.

Number of Peace Frames in Detail

The writers of pacifist newspapers tend to use peace frames in their articles; nationalist newspapers use the peace frames less or not at all.

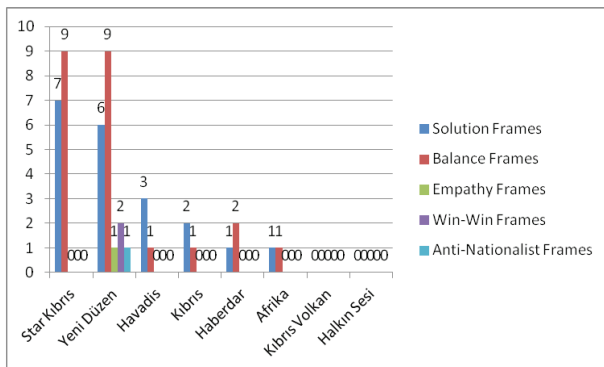


Table 7: Dominant peace frames in the Turkish Cypriot columnists' articles for the First Greentree Meeting.

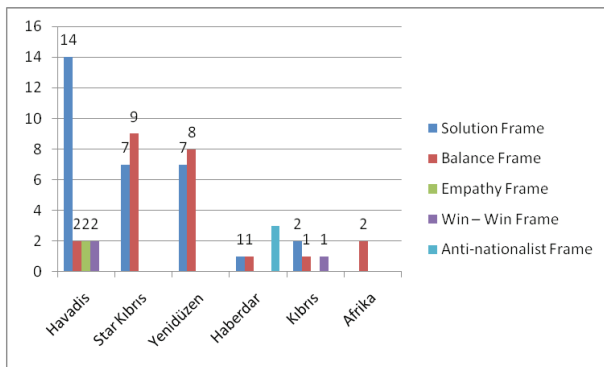


Table 8: Dominant peace frames in the Turkish Cypriot columnists' articles for the Second Greentree Meeting.

Table 7 and 8 results indicate that the Turkish Cypriot columnists do not tend to use peace frames in their articles. Columnists prefer to use conflict frames instead of peace ones. The Turkish Cypriot columnists mostly use *Balance-Descriptive Frames* (23) in their First Greentree Meeting articles. Balance-Descriptive Frames could be describe as fair play orientation, criticize own government orientation, and applaud orientation. If one looks at the table 8 results, *Solution Frames* (31) are higher than the *Balance-Descriptive Frames* (23). One can identify the solution frame such as, inclusive orientation; we are friends orientation, common ground orientation, and friendly speech orientation.

Win-Win Frames (2 and 3) are the third accepted frames by the Turkish Cypriot columnists. The Win-Win Frames which has significant meaning for peace journalist are not accepted by the Turkish Cypriot columnists. According to peace journalism, the journalist should emphasize both sides' pains, he or she should frame the issue in good/good or bad/bad orientation rather than "Good and Evil Oriented". When the journalist looks from the good and evil oriented perspective, it legitimizes any violence done to the "evil" side. However, the journalist should show both good and bad aspects of all sides.

The number of the *Empathy Frames* (1 and 2) and the *Anti-*

nationalist Frames (1 and 2) are very low. Understanding the other orientation, trust orientation, unprejudiced orientation, accept other as it is orientation, other in the self orientation are the Empathy Frames in the articles. The Anti-nationalist Frames are forgiveness oriented and history – culture oriented in the articles.

Discussion and Conclusion

Columnists are the opinion leaders of societies, and should give opinions/ideas and enlighten their readers through their articles. One should be critical and not accept every piece of information as it is. From a peace journalism perspective, opinion leaders or columnists are valuable because they can provide multiple perspectives for their readers through comments in their columns. Because of these features, they can create an effect on the audience and help them to think in different ways. As a columnist, even if one does not like the publishing policy of the newspaper one still has a chance to work with them. In other words, the columnist can have a different ideology from that of his/her newspaper; this is why this study included columnists' articles in the research.

According to the results, most Turkish Cypriot columnists did not pass the peace journalism test: there are many unacceptable mistakes in their articles. The long list below shows how the majority of Turkish Cypriot columnists are not aware of peace journalism as a concept:

- Turkish Cypriot columnists tended to use official government sources in their articles.
- Turkish Cypriot columnists tended not to give voice to the unofficial sources and "Other" side.
- Turkish Cypriot columnists tended to use the "conflict frame" when they wrote about the First and Second Greentree Meetings.
- The writers of pacifist newspapers *Yeni Düzen* and *Afrika* tended to use peace frames in their articles; right-wing and nationalist newspapers *Kıbrıs*, *Kıbrıs Volkan* used the peace frames less.
- Turkish Cypriot columnists did not have any hope from the First and Second Greentree Meetings.

This study has provided definitive evidence that columnists' articles in Cyprus are far from contributing to peace building. In light of the renewed negotiations in Cyprus for reunification, the Cypriot press should engage in responsible reporting. It is of utmost importance that peace journalism is introduced and supported in Cyprus now.

WRITING STYLE OF ARTICLE: Most columnists in the Turkish Cypriot press use information given by the official sources of the community they live in for their articles. The first problem from the point of view of peace journalism is that instead of implementing the rule "focus on people peace-makers", advocated by peace journalism, the focus is only on "elite peace-makers". In this way, the solution is an object coming from only one segment of the population. The second problem is the denial of the right to speak to the opposite side.

It is evident that the proposal by Galtung (1998) “Giving voice to all parties; empathy, understanding” is not being implemented by most authors. When the opposite side does not have the right to speak, its views are not understood. In addition, the feelings of the empathized opposite side are not given any importance by most columnists.

DOMINANT FRAME OF THE ARTICLE: In articles on issues concerning the First and Second Greentree Meetings, Turkish Cypriot columnists generally made use of the “conflict frame.” Authors’ use of the conflict frame more than the peace frame means not seeing the problem as one which is soluble. It means finding who threw the first stone, thus finding the culprit, and looking for victims and murderers in the conflict. By dehumanizing “them”, they are made to be seen as not human. This is to focus only on the apparent effects of the conflict. The conflict frames used by many Turkish Cypriot columnists in their articles can be summarized in this way. The number of the above conflict frames can be increased; such frames are far from discussing problems; the aftermath of conflict it holds within it the “winner” and the “loser.” Instead of understanding the opposite side through the use of empathy, a form of phraseology is used to apportion blame and responsibility to the opposite side in order to show oneself to be righteous and good. Focusing on the sufferings of the community one lives in and belittling the sufferings of the opposite side will divide the sides into us and them, making it problematic from the point of view of peace journalism. However, frames similar to the conflict frames have been observed in many articles. It is unfortunate that the use of “peace frames” by Turkish Cypriot columnists has been very limited in numbers. And this summarizes the existing problems in the press.

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