# The Role of Social Psychological Barriers of Journalists for Enhancing Sustainable Peace in Cyprus

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### **ABSTRACT**

Previous studies have shown factors including media ownership, socio-political censorship, ethnic division and, the lack of professional training as obstacles to practising Peace Journalism principles. This research explored how the manner and role of social psychological processes influence Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot journalists' professional lives and tendencies towards Peace Journalism and War Journalism principles in a divided and conflicted society, Cyprus. Three different studies were conducted in the current research. The preliminary study aimed to develop a shared societal beliefs scale to measure both community journalists' shared societal beliefs to be used as one of the social-psychological processes in the second study. The second study was hence conducted to investigate Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot journalists' social psychological processes such as intergroup contact, outgroup attitudes, forgiveness, intergroup anxiety, and shared societal beliefs, and how these processes influence one another. The third study aimed to examine how social psychological processes such as quality and quantity of intergroup contact, outgroup attitudes, and common ingroup identity influence Peace Journalism and War Journalism attitudes. This is a comparative cross-sectional research design based on quantitative surveys. The sample of the preliminary study was 384 Turkish Cypriot and 219 Greek Cypriot communities, the sample of the second study was 111 Turkish Cypriots and 100 Greek Cypriots journalists and the sample of the third study was 102 Turkish Cypriot and 103 Greek Cypriot journalists. Peace-war journalism attitudes, intergroup contact, outgroup attitudes, forgiveness, shared societal beliefs, peace-war attitudes, common ingroup identity, and intergroup anxiety scales were used. In general, findings highlighted that both community journalists don't contact frequently with outgroup members and their social-psychological processes are not adequately positive. The quantity and quality of contact are positively correlated with positive feelings, common ingroup identity and Peace Journalism attitudes and negatively correlated with intergroup anxiety and War Journalism attitudes, which can be stated that social-psychological processes can be assumed as obstacles to the implementation of Peace Journalism principles. Results shed light on the benefits of positive and frequent contact among journalists and with the general community to enhance positive social psychological processes as well as Peace Journalism attitudes. By recognising the importance of intergroup contact, Peace Journalism attitudes can be improved by decreasing social-psychological tensions and contributing to reconciliation, peace-building processes, and sustainable peace in conflicted societies. For further research, a bi-communal in-depth interview should be conducted to better understand the social-psychological obstacles mentioned in the current study and other obstacles to the implementation of PJ principles such as lack of empathy or trauma.

**Keywords:** peace journalism, war journalism, intergroup contact, common ingroup identity, outgroup attitudes

Daha önce yürütülen çalışmalar, medya mülkiyeti, sosyo-politik sansür, etnik bölünme mesleki eğitim eksikliği gibi faktörlerin Barış Gazeteciliği ilkelerini uygulayabilmenin önünde engel teşkil ettiğini göstermektedir. Bu araştırmada bölünmüş ve çatışan bir toplum olan Kıbrıs'ta yaşayan Kıbrıslı Türk ve Kıbrıslı Rum gazetecilerin mesleki hayatlarındaki sosyal psikolojik süreçlerinin Barış Gazeteciliği ile Savaş Gazeteciliği ilkelerine olan etkisi incelenmiştir. Bu araştırmada üç farklı çalışma yürütülmüştür. İlk çalışmada örgütsel inançlar ölçeği geliştirilmiş ve ikinci çalışmadaki her iki toplum gazetecilerinin sosyal psikolojik süreçlerden biri olan örgütsel inançlarının da ölçülmesi amaçlanmıştır. Buna istinaden yürütülen ikinci çalışmada, Kıbrıslı Türk ve Kıbrıslı Rum gazetecilerin gruplarası temas, ortak iç-grup kimliği, gruplararası kaygı ve örgütsel inançlar gibi sosyal psikolojik süreçleri ve her bir sürecin birbirine olan etkisi incelenmiştir. Üçüncü çalışmada ise gruplararası temas, dış grup tutumları ve gruplararası kaygı gibi sosyal psikolojik süreçlerin Barış Gazeteciliği ve Savaş Gazeteciliği tutumlarına olan etkileri ele alınmıştır. İlk çalışma 384 Kıbrıslı Türk ve 219 Kıbrıslı Rum toplumlarının katılımıyla yürütülürken, ikinci çalışma 111 Kıbırslı Türk ve 100 Kıbrıslı Rum gazeteci ve üçüncü çalışma da 102 Kıbrıslı Türk ve 103 Kıbırslı Rum gazetecilerden oluşmaktadır. Bu çalışmada nicel araştırma yöntemlerinin bir deseni olan karşılaştırmalı kesitsel desen kullanılmıştır. Kullanılan ölçekler, barış-savaş gazetecilik tutum ölçeği, gruplararası temas ölçeği, dış-grup tutumları ölçeği, affedicilik ölçeği, örgütsel inançlar ölçeği, barış-savaş tutum ölçeği, ortak iç-grup kimliği ölçeği ve gruplararası kaygı ölçeği kullanılmıştır. Çalışmalar sonucunda elde edilen bulgular, her iki toplumdaki gazetecilerin dış grup üyelerle yeteri kadar temasta bulunmadığını ve sosyal psikolojik süreçlerinin de

yeterince olumlu olmadığını göstermektedir. Olumlu duygular, ortak iç-grup kimliği

ve Barış Gazeteciliği tutumu ile temas sayısı ve niteliği arasında pozitif korelasyon

bulunurken, gruplararası kaygı ve Savaş Gazeteciliği ile temas sayısı ve niteliği

arasında negatif korelasyon bulunmaktadır. Bu durum, sosyal psikolojik süreçlerin

Barış Gazeteciliği ilkelerinin uygulanmasında engel oluşturabileceğinin bir göstergesi

olarak ele alınmıştır. Çalışmanın sonuçları, gazetecilerin ve toplumun birbiriyle

olumlu ve sık temaslarının olumlu sosyal psikolojik süreçler ve Barış Gazeteciği

tutumları oluşturmaya katkı sağladığını göstermektedir. Gruplararası temasın

öneminin kavranması ve sosyal psikolojik gerilimlerin azaltılması, Barış Gazeteciliği

tutumlarını iyileştirip dolayısıyla çatışmalı toplumlarda uzlaşmaya, barış inşası

süreçlerine ve sürdürülebilir barışa katkı sağlayabilir. İleride yapılacak olan

araştırmalarda bu çalışmada ele alınan Barış Gazeteciliğinin uygulanmasında engel

teşkil eden sosyo-psikolojik engelleri ve empati eksiliği veya travmanın gibi süreçlerin

nasıl etkilediğini daha iyi anlamak için gazetecilerle derinlemesine görüşme yapılması

tavsiye edilmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: barış gazeteciliği, savaş gazeteciliği, gruplararası temas, ortak iç-

grup kimliği, dış grup tutumları

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# **DEDICATION**

To My Beloved Mum and Dad

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# LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A Attitude

B Behaviour

C Contradiction

EOC Ethos of Conflict

EOKA Ethniki Organosis Kyrpion Agoniston

GC Greek Cypriot

NATO North Atlantic Treaty Organization

NGO Non-Governmental Organization

PJ Peace Journalism

RoC Republic of Cyprus

TC Turkish Cypriot

TMT Turkish Resistance Organization

TRNC Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus

WJ War Journalism

# Chapter 1

### INTRODUCTION

The key objective of journalism is to educate and inform people about developments, improvements or changes in a country or the world. Briefly, being self-regulated, independent, and enhancing objectivity within accurate news agenda are the significant roles of socially responsible media (Baran & Davis, 2010; Christians et al., 2009; McQuail, 2010; Siebert et al., 1984). That is, they should act as a watchdog of democracy and guard, fulfil the public interests (Robie, 2014) by serving equality, social justice, and freedom of speech (Curran, 2011). Galtung (1986, 2000 & 2003) indicated that media have an opportunity to promote peace or war by using Peace Journalism (PJ) and War Journalism (WJ) principles. Particularly, PJ principles such as non-violence and peace-oriented language in their agenda enhance conflict reduction, de-escalation of violence, and rapprochement among rivals (Lynch & Galtung, 2010) which is not preferred by most of the journalists working in conflict zones (Carter et al., 2011; Hussain & Siraj, 2019; Siraj, 2008b, 2010) mostly because of obstacles such as language or event-based obstacles (Ersoy, 2006; Filibeli & Înceoğlu, 2018; Selvarajah, 2019).

Journalists working in a conflict zone may also be influenced by social psychological factors including the intergroup contact prevalent in the society, their levels of intergroup anxiety or forgiveness as well as the complexities of their identities. Accordingly, it is essential to first understand the prevalent social psychological

factors within journalists' lives in order to determine their influences in their implementation of PJ and WJ principles. More specifically, the present study aimed to bridge the gap between social psychological and journalism research by looking at the role of intergroup relations, including attitudes, beliefs, emotions, identity processes, and forgiveness in journalists' PJ and WJ attitudes on both sides of the divide.

### 1.1 Background of the Study

Socially responsible journalism should provide objective and transparent information that include a wide range of truths about the incidences happening in people's daily lives (McQuail, 2010). PJ is a particular type of socially responsible journalism (Hanitzsch, 2004) that uses the high road by focusing on reporting the incidences by using win-win oriented, causes and outcomes, giving voice to all parties, exposing untruths, focusing on all suffering sides or highlighting peace initiative principles (Galtung, 2000 & 2003).

Despite the peace, truth, people, and solution-oriented principles that PJ has in terms of influencing conflict transformation and peace initiatives between conflicted groups, the news coverages of wars have mostly been covered by the WJ framework (Adebayo, 2017; Carter et al., 2011; Lacasse & Forster, 2012; Lee et al., 2006; Neumann & Fahmy, 2012; Rodny-Gumede, 2015; Siraj, 2008). The Cyprus media, which is the focus of the current study, mostly cover issues by WJ principles too (Bailie & Azgın, 2008; Christophorou, 2010; Çiftçioğlu & Shaw, 2020). The reason can be explained by the obstacles that media practitioners face in their professional lives such as the media institutions, ideologies, language, commercial structure or economic structure (Abdul-Nabi, 2017; Ersoy, 2006; İrvan, 2006; Wolfsfeld, 2004).

Apart from the other obstacles indicated, social psychological processes also hinder the implementation of PJ principles. Especially, in the post-conflict period, deteriorating social-psychological processes including negative attitudes, emotions, biases or problematic intergroup relations can be observed in the society members (Bar-Tal & Halperin, 2010; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Porat et al., 2015; Stathi et al., 2017). As part of society, journalists can also be influenced by these processes that constrain their especially professional lives as much as daily lives. Therefore, the current research addresses these social-psychological processes in an attempt to improve the tendency of implementation of PJ principles in conflicted and divided societies.

## 1.2 Motivation for the Study

It is well understood that media influence and shape an individual's perception. Especially, in conflicted societies, media tools are used to legitimise one side's ideas, victimisation or beliefs whereas delegitimise the opponent. People are conditioned based on one group's desire and also, they feel tension or cognitively dissonant based on the information is given from the media.

Furthermore, in the literature, it was also mentioned that framing the news coverages by using PJ principles journalists may serve as an agent to reconciliation, peace-building processes or sustainable peace in conflicted and also divided societies. I already discussed that PJ principles are not sometimes possible or easy to be framed. However, I know that if those principles would be implemented and framed consistently, the tension, dissonance or pressure among conflicted societies also decrease. Furthermore, it is also important to assume that journalists can also be

influenced by social-psychological processes which may, in turn, influence their professional lives.

In the existing literature, there is a gap about how journalists are influenced by socialpsychological processes and how those processes hinder implementing PJ principles in conflicted and divided societies, which is very vital to practice when informing communities clearly on issues between adversary groups. Therefore, the motivation of this study is to analyse how social-psychological barriers might influence TC and GC journalists' professional lives. The Cyprus conflict is one of the longest-lasting intractable conflicts in Europe between the Turkish Cypriots (TC) and the Greek Cypriots (GC). Additionally, the Cyprus conflict is one of the oldest unresolved regional and ethnic conflicts similar to the Kashmir and Israeli-Palestinian conflicts in the world. Since 1968, the TC community, GC community, and the rest of the world are in vain, the endless and failing negotiation process expected at finding a solution to the Cyprus conflict. Both communities' journalists play a crucial role in news writing by informing TC and GC communities about the 'other' group or the developments in negotiation processes. Therefore, the dominant reporting type should be PJ to depolarize all sides, to de-escalate violence by highlighting peace and conflict resolution or to stand for truth as opposed to propaganda. However, mostly the focus is on WJ principles on both sides of reporting (Çiftçioğlu & Shaw, 2020; Ersoy, 2010). It can be said that TC and GC journalists have failed to contribute to sustainable peace in Cyprus. One of the interesting aspects of journalism in Cyprus is that it hasn't been studied from a social psychological perspective which could be one of the main obstacles in implementing PJ principles which is the motivation behind the current study.

#### 1.3 Problem Statement

In the case of Cyprus, while the failing negotiations continue, as in recent years it has stopped, there is a need for sparks that help to keep positive relations rather than increasing tensions between the two communities. At this point, both community journalists have a responsibility for their approaches to conflict-related issues. Even though there have been bi-communal studies, workshops or cooperation among two community journalists; as previous studies indicated (e.g., Ersoy, 2010), TC and GC newspapers framed the recently rising hydrocarbons conflict using 'zero-sum' and 'us vs. them' WJ approaches which mean they failed to present a peaceful solution (Çiftçioğlu & Shaw, 2020).

The problem here is that both community journalists are more likely to practice WJ principles rather than PJ principles to enhance peace initiatives and sustain peace in Cyprus. Although the technical or organizational barriers to practising PJ have been studied before, social-psychological processes, which may arise as a result of conflicts including problematic relations, increased anxiety or prejudice, have not been previously examined. Hence, it is very crucial to know what social-psychological influences are at play among TC and GC journalists in Cyprus and then whether these might affect the implementation of PJ attitudes.

### **1.4 Research Questions**

This study's major research questions and related minor questions are about how TC and GC journalists' social psychological processes influence themselves and their professional lives in a conflicted and divided society according to PJ and WJ assumptions Based on the main research questions, three different studies were conducted. Respectively, the first study aimed to develop a shared societal beliefs scale

to examine journalists' shared societal beliefs towards outgroup members in the second study. The data collection process was initiated on the 18<sup>th</sup> of September and completed on the 16<sup>th</sup> of December 2019. The second study aimed to investigate both community journalists' prejudice, anxiety or forgiveness feelings towards outgroup members. The data collection process was initiated on the 1<sup>st</sup> of April and completed on the 14<sup>th</sup> of June 2020. Finally, the last research investigated how sociopsychological processes influence their attitudes towards PJ and WJ. The data collection process was initiated on the 25<sup>th</sup> of November 2020 and completed on the 8<sup>th</sup> of January 2021.

Question 1: What is the level of socio-psychological processes including, intergroup contact, common ingroup identity, outgroup attitude, intergroup anxiety, forgiveness level, peace attitudes, war attitudes, and societal beliefs of TC and GC journalists?

#### **Sub-Questions:**

Question 1. 1 What are the significant differences, if any, between TC and GC journalists in terms of intergroup contact with the other community members and journalists?

Question 1. 2 What are the significant differences, if any, between TC and GC journalists in terms of having a common ingroup identity?

Question 1. 3 What are the significant differences, if any, between TC and GC journalists in terms of outgroup attitudes regarding the other community?

Question 1. 4 What are the significant differences, if any, between TC and GC journalists in terms of intergroup anxiety regarding contact with the other community?

Question 1. 5 What are the significant differences, if any, between TC and GC journalists in terms of their forgiveness levels?

Question 1. 6 What are the significant differences, if any, between TC and GC journalists in terms of peace attitudes?

Question 1. 7 What are the significant differences, if any, between TC and GC journalists in terms of war attitudes?

Question 1. 8 What are the significant differences, if any, between TC and GC journalists in terms of societal beliefs?

Question 2: To what extent are the journalists' above-mentioned social psychological processes associated with one another?

Question 3: To what extent do social psychological processes including intergroup contact, outgroup attitude, intergroup anxiety, and common ingroup identity influence TC and GC journalists' PJ and WJ attitudes?

#### **Sub-Questions:**

Question 3. 1 What are the significant differences, if any, between TC and GC journalists in terms of intergroup contact, outgroup attitude, intergroup anxiety, and common ingroup identity processes?

Question 3. 2 To what extent does having positive intergroup contact lead to the endorsement of PJ attitudes in journalists in both communities?

Question 3. 3 To what extent does having positive intergroup contact lead to the endorsement of WJ attitudes in journalists in both communities?

Question 3. 4 To what extent does having positive intergroup contact lead to an increase in positive attitudes?

Question 3. 5 To what extent does having positive intergroup contact lead to a decrease in intergroup anxiety?

Question 3. 6 To what extent does having positive intergroup contact lead to an increase in common ingroup identity?

## 1.5 Significance of the Study

The current study is a novel contribution to interdisciplinary research. The interdisciplinary study refers to combining two or more disciplines for active collaboration and working together on basic research projects (Repko, 2012). Interdisciplinary studies have commonly gained the consideration of a hotbed by providing an innovative and remarkable means of tackling complicated problems (Okumuş et al., 2018). The advantages of interdisciplinary research are well documented. It provides an ongoing process by cooperating with the different research designs, data collection processes, and writing styles of the research results and recommendations (Okumuş et al., 2018). Furthermore, it combines (Zehrer & Benckendorff, 2013) and opposes (Beaver, 2001); multiple perspectives and insights which allows solving sophisticated problems (Bozeman & Corley, 2004); and induces

atypical thinking and enhances inventiveness and novelty of a study (Laudel, 2001). It is, thus, significantly important in academia (Gewin, 2014), as understandings from various insights sustain researchers a clearer understanding of subjects that interested (Wen et al., 2020).

The current study is of significance as it is a novel study that combines two disciplines of science which are psychology and journalism, in the literature as it bridges the areas of intergroup relations and group processes of social psychology and journalism research on PJ and WJ. It is also vital that in the literature there is a gap in journalists' social psychological processes and how those processes influence their professional lives. Although PJ is not a new subject in the literature, to the author's knowledge there is no research on social psychological obstacles to implementing PJ principles. Hence, the social-psychological processes of journalists working in divided and conflicted places have been implemented in Communication and Media Studies literature, which should receive more attention in future studies.

## 1.6 Limitations of the Study

All three studies have certain limitations that should be considered. The first study with TC and GC community members was conducted between the dates of 18<sup>th</sup> of September - 16<sup>th</sup> of December 2019 and one of the characteristics of participation was that both the mother and father of the participant (or at least one of them) should be a native of Cyprus. However, in both north and south Cyprus, there are many citizens from different nationalities, particularly Armenians, Maronites, Greeks or Turkish, who have been living in Cyprus for many years and identify themselves as Cypriot. Therefore, it was very difficult to verify the nationality in this sense which is a crucial limitation. Furthermore, even though there were no restrictions in crossing points due

to the Covid-19 pandemic in 2019, it was very difficult to reach especially the GC participants because of the situation of the divided island, Cyprus.

The second study with journalists was conducted between the dates of 1<sup>st</sup> of April - 14<sup>th</sup> of June 2020, during the Covid-19 lockdown period in the northern part of Cyprus. Due to the pandemic, the crossing points were also closed by the two community's authorities. Furthermore, the third study with journalists was conducted between the dates of 25<sup>th</sup> of November 2020 - 8<sup>th</sup> of January 2021, the same restrictions had been continued by the authorities. Therefore, one of the limitations is the restrictions to face-to-face interviews caused by the Covid-19 pandemic induced difficulties in reaching journalists in both communities. The second limitation for all three studies is the self-report measures may lead to answering the questions in a socially desirable way which means participants present themselves better than they are. The limitations for studies 2 and 3 is the nature of the correlational analysis, the disadvantage of the convenience sampling technique in representativeness and a limitation of cross-sectional designs which prevent causal inferences from being drawn.

# Chapter 2

### LITERATURE REVIEW

This study's conceptual framework centers around journalists' PJ and WJ attitudes working in an intractable conflict zone while examining the social-psychological consequences including intergroup contact, outgroup attitudes, and intergroup anxiety as well as how these processes obstruct implementing PJ principles. Based on the aim of the study, the literature review firstly covered the dynamics of intractable conflict, then the Cyprus conflict, which is an example of intractable conflict, and respectively, Social Responsibility Theory of Press, War and Peace Journalism, the social-psychological processes in intractable conflicts, and the role of journalism to enhance sustainable peace in conflicted societies.

#### 2.1 Intractable Conflict

As a general definition, conflict is a process in which members of a group perceive their interests are opposite or negatively affected by another group's members (Wall & Callister, 1995). Furthermore, conflicts include incompatible activities that are comprised of targets, claims, beliefs, values, emotions, and actions (Gray et al., 2007), and they emerge as a result of disagreements about points of view, opinions, and morals at the interpersonal or intergroup level (Deutsch, 1973; Moghaddam & Harré, 2010; Himes, 2008).

Coser (1956) defined conflict as "a struggle over values and claims to scarce status, power, and resources in which the opponents aim to neutralize, injure or eliminate their

rivals" (Coser, 1956, p.8). According to Kriesberg (1973, p.17) conflict is "a relationship between two or more parties who (or whose spokesmen) believe they have incompatible goals". Therefore, conflict situations range from "antagonist behaviour to verbal abuse to physical violence, to ultimately, killing" (Bonta, 1996, p.405).

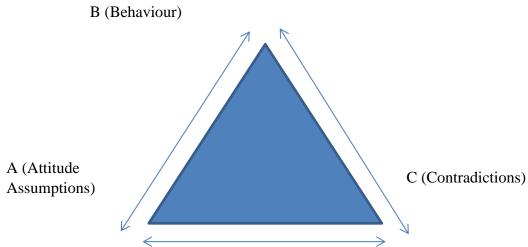


Figure 1. Galtung's ABC Triangulation of Conflict (Galtung, 1996)

Based on Galtung's (1996) triangulation, conflicts are triadic constructs. That is, conflicts are comprised of individuals' assumptions and attitudes (A), behaviour (B), and contradictions (C). More specifically, conflicts emerge from contradictions in the objectives of the different groups and their incompatibles. Briefly, when a group experiences frustration as a result of being blocked off their goal, their aggressiveness emerges as an attitude (A) and accordingly turn into aggressive behaviour (B). Therefore, the aggressive behaviour can be also incompatible with the other group's concept of happiness leading to aggressiveness between two parties. Conflicts between societies or nations have continually become entangled and highly destructive in humans' lives. The escalation of a conflict has considerable impacts because it determines the degree of physical and material damages and the consequences are

frequently traumatic, leading to human loss, displacement, missing persons or even genocide (Psaltis, 2016).

Conflicts should not be considered as only one phenomenon. Various types of conflicts are categorised based on their severity and longevity (Bar-Tal, 1998). In the literature, different scholars put forward different labels for the classification of different conflicts. For instance, Azar et al. (1978) described the long-lasting hostile conflicts as *protracted social conflicts* which fluctuate in frequency and intensity. This type of conflict is a process that ensures a long run that may exhibit breakpoints until it is transformed to be terminated by explicit decision. Furthermore, all society members are involved in preventing the borders of national identity and social solidarity from the high stakes (Azar, 1985; Azar et al., 1978).

Then, Burton (1987) defined severe conflicts as *deep-rooted* in the lives and ontological being of those concerned. Harris and Reilly (1998) explained deep-rooted conflicts as creating significantly within the public, which joins two powerful elements: strong identity-based factors, based on diversity in race, religion, culture, or language with the perceived imbalance in the processes of economic, political and social resources.

Moreover, Goertz and Diehl (1993) proposed additional concepts for severe conflicts as *enduring rivalries* which refers to the obvious and serious repeated conflict between the same states or groups. After, Kriesberg (1993) discussed the detailed criteria of conflicts to classify intractable-tractable dimensions. The scholar mentioned that if a conflict is negotiable, parties recognize their interests, identity, rights, and avoid violence, the conflict is named as *tractable conflict*. However, intractable conflict, the

other pole was characterized as long-lasting, detrimental, and self-perpetuating (Kriesberg, 1993); persistent, severe, deadlocked, and exceedingly hard to resolve (Coleman, 2003).

Bar-Tal (1998) briefly summarized Kriesberg's (1993) suggestions that include categorisations of intractable conflicts as follows:

*Intractable conflicts are protracted*: That is, they continue for a long time as much as one generation.

*Perceived as irreconcilable*: Outgroups, which refers to assigning two or more people who have similar characteristics into the same group and compare the other group members as different from their group members (Myers, 2010), perceive their aims as opposite and irreconcilable and they are very vital for their survival.

The opposition groups are interested in the conflict's perpetuation: Outgroups develop tremendous military, economic, and psychological investments which later inhibit its resolution.

They are violent: Frequent and intense military engagements and terrorist attacks occur during these conflicts. Furthermore, soldiers and civilians are wounded and killed, and civil properties are destroyed. Consequently, intractable conflicts also cause refugee problems.

Additionally, Bar-Tal (1998) added three more characteristics to Kriesberg's features for further elaboration of the nature of extreme intractable conflicts as follows:

Intractable conflicts are perceived as being of zero-sum nature: Outgroups in an intractable conflict perceive any loss of the outgroup as their own gain and any gain of the outgroup as their own loss.

They are total: Outgroups perceive intractable conflict as fulfilling needs or values such as issues of territory, resources, identity, or economy that are significant for their existence and/or survival.

They are central: Each outgroup member involved in an intractable conflict are consistently preoccupied with it. This preoccupation and centrality influences group members' cognitive repertoire, which increases the salient mode of the conflict among a group member

These characteristics of the intractable conflict indicate the most excessive cases. Furthermore, in some conflicts, only a few of these characteristics can be seen because every conflict differs in its intensity, severity, and extensity. For instance, the Middle East, Sri Lanka, Kashmir, Northern Ireland, and the Congo conflicts are examples of intractable conflict which persisted for more than twenty years (Coleman, 2003; Coleman et al., 2007).

The conflicts in – Bosnia, Northern Ireland, South Africa, Mozambique, the conflict between North and South Sudan, El Salvador, Guatemala - were settled or resolved through negotiation processes. There are also examples of intractable conflicts – Greek Cypriots- Turkish Cypriots, Israel–Palestine, Sri Lanka, Kashmir, Mindanao, and Korea – that are still ongoing, negotiations between the parties have infrequently been off the table (Coleman, 2003; Webel & Galtung, 2007).

These long-lasting and severe conflicts have serious consequences for the societies involved and other communities; thus, comprehending its dynamics is an essential challenge for social scientists. In the current study, the focus is on the Cyprus conflict - an example of intractable conflict - between TCs and GCs.

The modern history of Cyprus meets most of the characteristics of an intractable conflict. The real issues of the Cyprus conflict were the reason of territories, self-determination, statehood, religious dogmas, basic values, and nowadays natural resource in different context, content and character as intractable conflicts define (Vered & Bar-Tal, 2017). Even after 1974, the Cyprus conflict remains as unsettled situation as in the 1950s. The major incongruities are irreconcilable; both sides have opposite goals; it was partially violent since 1974; it is of zero-sum nature which means one side's gain is the other side's loss; it is total in that one or both sides' existence is at stake; it is central to the members of elites and public who confused about the conflict; and lastly, the interest is remaining in a continued conflict which can be triggered by economic, military or even psychological reasons (Adamides, 2020; Bar-Tal, 1998, 2000a, 2007; Vered & Bar-Tal, 2017). Detailed information about the Cyprus conflict was discussed in the next section.

#### 2.1.1 The Cyprus Conflict

Cyprus is the third largest island after Sicily and Sardinia in the Mediterranean Sea which is located 40 miles to the south of Turkey and 600 miles to the southeast of Greece. Throughout history, due to its geopolitical and geographical prominence, there has been power and governing struggles that lead to lots of people's death, wound, pain, disability, and being orphans.

Many different civilizations invaded and ruled Cyprus across the millennia, including the Egyptians, Greek Colonies (Aka & Dor), Phoenicians, Assyrians, Persians, Alexander the Great, Romans, East Rome (Byzantine), Kommenos Knights Templar, Lusignans, Venetians. In 1571, Cyprus became a part of the Ottoman Empire (Turkish) and until 1878 it was administered and ruled by the Ottomans. Then it was ruled by Great Britain until 1960 and after that, it has been governed by the Cyprus Republic in the south and the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC) in the north. In the next sections, (Dodd, 2010). Cyprus history was discussed from the hegemony of Great Britain until now.

#### 2.1.1.1 The Hegemony of Great Britain 1878-1959

British colonial authorities have historically adopted a policy of 'divide and rule' that have led to territorial separation through segregation and partition, worldwide examples include Nigeria and India-Pakistan War over Kashmir (Christopher, 1988). The British colonial rule was also sustained in the Cyprus Conflict which led to deeprooted causes from 1878 until the establishment of the RoC. Great Britain wanted to hold the island of Cyprus as its colony hence, used its 'divide and rule' strategy which caused intercommunal attacks between TC and GC communities (Kızılyürek, 2001).

In 1878, Great Britain rented the island in the Congress of Berlin in return for a guarantee to defend the Ottoman Empire against Russian aggression. In World War I, the Ottoman Empire was an alliance with Germany and Cyprus Island was annexed unilaterally by Great Britain. In 1924, in The Treaty of Lausanne Conference where the Republic of Turkey took part as a new territory, the island was laid down and it was confirmed that it was colonized by Britain Colony until 1960 (Richter, 2011).

In 1878, the majority of the population occurred who identified themselves as Greeks and Christians and the minority was Turkish Moslems. Sir Garnet Wolseley -the first British High Commissioner- was welcomed by the Greek leadership Archbishop Sophronios shared their beliefs that Great Britain will help Cyprus to be united its Motherland Greece, with whom it is ethnically linked (Richter, 2011; Panteli, 2005). The Church believed that there is a spiritual link between Greeks and GCs, and they didn't want it to be diminished. Furthermore, they were willing to become united politically, too with Greece. This unification is the so-called *Enosis* in other words Megalo Idea (Loizos, 1974). It was a project shaped by the birth of Greek state that aims to gather all Hellenized Orthodox Christians under the same state and establish again Byzantine Empire and make Constantinople (İstanbul) the capital of it (Richter, 2011; Kızılyürek, 2016). Its aim in Cyprus was the union of Cyprus with Greece which comes to the same meaning with Enosis. The Greek Orthodox Church of Cyprus maintained its authority and struggle for this idea throughout the Britain period (Sözen, 1998; Stavrinides, 1999; Thompson et al., 2004). Since 1571, The Greek Orthodox Church is a Greek Cypriots' nationalist organization and since the British administration, it aimed to propagate Greek nationalist ideology, *Enosis* (Stravrinides, 1999).

A noteworthy incident happened in October 1931 when a Turkish member of the Legislative Council and the Greek members voted against a taxation proposal made by the Government. However, the Governor refused the decision of the Council. Based on that, protests were raised among the Greek community. The October uprisings against British Colony were a clear indication that the tone of Enosis movements was increasing dramatically and assertively (An, 1996; Kızılyürek, 2016). A series of riots

sparked off all around the island and the Government House was burned down. The non-Muslim population was imposed a fine by the British and this incident furthered to be identified in Greek minds that the Turkish community was closer with the colonial rulers. Moreover, the Legislative Council was removed and the Greek nationalist movement came under the special protection of the Greek Orthodox Church (An, 1996; Dodd, 2010; Richter, 2011).

Due to the Church never giving up its willingness to seek self-determination leading to *Enosis*, Turkish community leader Dr Fazıl Küçük set up their party named the Turkish Cypriot Popular Party in 1948 (Sözen, 1998). It aimed to form and express the Turkish community's nationalist sentiments and to refuse the Greek demand of *Enosis*. This Turkish community movement made a great impression on the Turkish press, and they started protests. On the other hand, the Enosis movement was also carried on by setting up an Ethnarchy Bureau by young Bishop of Kition, Makarios and organized campaign including the slogans of '*Enosis*' and only *Enosis*'. The bureau organized a plebiscite towards the British Government's rules and the results were documented as 95.7% of the Greek community voted in favour of the unification of Cyprus with Greece (Richter, 2011; Stavrinides, 1999). The year 1950 indicates the beginning of a new chapter in Cyprus history.

#### 2.1.1.2 The Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot Militancy, 1950-1959

This period passed with GCs struggling to drive out the British administration and gain independence due to their national aspiration which was *Enosis*. However, the British administration was very reluctant to withdraw from its sovereignty over Cyprus. Based on the GCs' armed struggle, the British administration's policy of 'divide and rule' helped TCs to provoke and confront GCs' armed actions as a counterattack

(Kızılyürek, 2016). The novel aspect of the 1950s was the GCs and Greek leaders' success in making Cyprus an international issue by taking the Cyprus issue to the United Nations (Heraclides, 2011). These initiatives led Turkey to be involved in the process (Papadakis, 2003, 2008; Sözen, 1998).

Archbishop Makarios who was the leader of the Greek Cypriot community, Greek nationalist, and a churchman and Colonel George Grivas who was an ex-Greek Army officer, and a Greek nationalist came together and decided to launch an armed struggle which was a guerrilla war and established EOKA (Ethniki Organosis Kyrpion Agoniston – National Organization of Cypriot Fighters) on the 1<sup>st</sup> of April 1955 (Druşotis, 2007; Hughes-Wilson, 2011). It was GCs' secret terrorist organisation to drive the British colony out of the island to unite the island with Greece under the leadership of George Grivas. The organization launched island-wide acts of sabotage against public buildings and installations. By his getting harder and harder towards British military personnel, the British administration was getting back British jobs from GCs and gave them to TCs such as an Auxiliary Police Force entirely included Turks. Moreover, British policy helped to further polarize between two communities by supporting TC's establishment of the organization which was TMT (Türk Mukavemet Teşkilatı - Turkish Resistance Organization). It was a resistance movement towards EOKA and aimed at the prevention of uniting Cyprus with Greece. TCs first supported the continuation of the British administration which was better than *Enosis*. Then, due to the possibility of the withdrawal of the British administration from the island, the TC leadership put forward a new idea of TAKSIM. It was a TCs' thesis against the idea of *Enosis* by aiming separation of the island among Greece and Turkey (Kızılyürek, 2016; Panteli, 2005; Papadakis, 2003).

By the end of the 1950s, it was apparent that the British colonial administration was about to end in Cyprus. The indication of an autonomous, supplementary, and unitary State of Cyprus, in which TC and GC communities would share power and resources, was accepted by Britain and agreed upon by Turkey and Greece during informal talks at NATO. In 1959, a formal agreement was concluded in Zurich between Greek and Turkish Foreign Ministers and then, the Agreement was signed in London by Prime Ministers of Britain, Greece, and Turkey and by Archbishop Makarios and Dr Fazıl Küçük on behalf of Cypriots (Stavrinides, 1999; Thompson et al., 2004). One of the vital sights of the Zurich-London Agreements was that constitutional regulations under the management of the Republic of Cyprus (RoC), were secured by a Treaty between Britain, Greece, and Turkey. That is, due to the RoC failing to fulfil the responsibilities of maintaining its sovereignty, territorial integrity and security, those three guarantor Powers have the right to consult together to ensure that the presented provisions are followed by the two communities. Furthermore, these guarantor Powers reserve the right to take action to re-establish the state of affairs created by this agreement only since shared or coordinated action may not be attainable (Stavrinides, 1999).

# 2.1.1.3 The Unification Period of Two Communities under the Republic of Cyprus, 1960-1963

Both societies were initially united under the Republic of Cyprus in 1960 under a sovereign, bi-national, or bi-communal state under the guarantors of the UK, Turkey, and Greece (Sözen, 1998). Both TC and GC communities were co-founders and equal owners of the Republic who respectively had 20% and 80% of the population in Cyprus (Kızılyürek, 2005; Richter, 2011).

According to the guarantors' constitution, there would have to be 950 Greek and 650 Turkish soldiers on the island. Furthermore, the 50 members of the government consisted of 15 TCs and 35 GCs. The president was Archbishop Makarios, and the Vice President was Dr Fazıl Küçük in the state of RoC. Dr C. Spiridakis was assigned to the president of the Greek Community Assembly and Rauf Raif Denktaş was assigned to the president of the Turkish Community Assembly. The job apportionment in the Civil Service and Police were according to the ratio of both community populations which was determined as 70% GCs, and 30% TCs (Kızılyürek, 2005; Richter, 2011; Sözen, 1998).

However, the life of the Republic of Cyprus lasted three years. The desire for *Enosis* never extinguished for the GCs. Among EOKA and the TMT, a heated conflict arose (Panteli, 2005). The Thirteen Points constitutional amendment were prepared by the political leader of the GC community, Makarios, that aimed to make restrictions on the TC community's political power in November 1963 (Kızılyürek, 2005). According to these amendments, TCs' status as the equal partner of the Republic of Cyprus was dismissed. That is, by these amendments TCs were recruited from the status of cofounder and politically equal partner of Republic and changed their status as a minority group (Richter, 2011; Sözen, 1998).

Moreover, GC politics also changed the bi-communal status of the Republic into a unitary state and gave voting power to the GCs which made the community more dominant. Since the TC leader rejected them and took the issue to the Supreme Constitutional Court, Makarios unilaterally declared that he ignored it. Then, from the TC perspective, Makarios dismissed the TCs from the cabinet ministers, members of the House of Representatives and all civil servants. On the other hand, from the GC

perspective, TCs cabinet ministers and the members of the House left their positions voluntarily due to protesting the Thirteen Points. Furthermore, GCs also believed that TC civil servants were forced by their leaders to give up their jobs (Kızılyürek, 2005; Richter, 2011; Sözen, 1998).

## 2.1.1.4 Conflicts between Two Communities, 1963-1974

After the announcement of the amendments, intercommunal attacks started which were mainly launched by GCs and continued for a period of one month in December 1963. There were guerrilla attacks on TCs which was organized by the military dictatorship in Greece. Their main aim was the Hellenization of the island which is also called as *Megalo Idea*. In 1967 September, another attack was formed by GCs – EOKA-B, established by Grivas - which was taken its name from EOKA and was supported by the military regime in Greece.

Thousands of TC who were living in TC villages or mixed villages (where both TCs and GCs lived together) began to migrate from their enclaves between the years 1963 and 1974. By moving their homes and land they settled into 3% of the island. Between the years 1964 and 1974, the TCs were compelled to live in these areas of the island's territory (Volkan, 2008). According to TCs, they were forced to move and GCs claim was migration was their choice (Kızılyürek, 2005; Sözen, 1998).

Despite it was not having that much power, the TCs' counterforce, TMT, was trying to resist EOKA-B's potent attacks. TCs hoped Turkey as one of the guarantor states of the Treat Guarantee would intervene in those attacks. However, the international conditions were not appropriate for intervention to the island. Therefore, this situation encouraged GCs to carry on their military actions on the island (Kızılyürek, 2005; Panteli, 2005; Sözen, 1998).

Those attacks continued in May and August 1964. In August 1964, Turkish aircraft made a flight on Cyprus Island to warn for a ceasefire and then a ceasefire agreement was signed by both communities (Plümer, 2003; Sözen, 1998). The first negotiations were launched among the TC leader, Rauf Raif Denktaş and the GC leader, Glafkos Klerides in 1968. Even though they were very close to a solution, Makarios ended the negotiations (Kızılyürek, 2005; Richter, 2011; Sözen, 1998).

Makarios, the President of the Republic of Cyprus and EOKA-B's ideas clashed. Makarios was in favour of a process that gradually eliminates TCs by encouraging or migrating abroad or threatening them to leave the island (Sözen, 1998). However, the Greece military regime desired a direct attack to destroy all TCs on the island. This clash of ideas put Makarios and the military regime into a conflict which on July 15, 1974, concluded as, by the Greek junta, Makarios was eliminated and hence, the island would be united with Greece (Heraclides, 2011; Papadakis, 2003; Volkan, 2008).

## 2.1.1.5 Unsolvable Negotiations from 1974 until 2021

Greek military junta targeted TCs and they were about to stage a coup d'état in the RoC to invade Cyprus island to be united with Greece as Guarantor power and sent troops. Based on the provision of the Treaty of Guarantee of 1960, Turkey intervened and launched the Peace Operation between 20-22 of July 1974 by sending its troops to prevent the Greek military attempt and the bloodshed. The intervention of Turkey was perceived by some as a peace operation (Heraclides, 2011; Richter, 2011; Papadakis, 2003; Sözen, 1998) but by others as an invasion (Antoniades, 2020; Kassimeris, 2008; Panteli, 2005; Papadakis, 2003). On the 31<sup>st</sup> of July, to provide constitutional order in Cyprus again, the UN Security Council invited guarantors, Turkey, Greece and Britain, to meet immediately in Geneva and Geneva Declaration was published. Geneva

Declaration included that both communities mustn't expand their territories, UN Security Council create a safe zone which should be under control by the UN, Turkish and Greece military gave back the invaded zones, Turkish military leave the island after a solution among two communities, and guarantors will get together in Geneva after 8<sup>th</sup> of August. Even though Geneva Declaration, EOKA didn't stop its attacks on TCs. Therefore, the Turkish military started the second Military Operation and took over one-third of the island in the north. From the GCs side, Turkey's intervention was an *invasion* that had been planned for a long time (Kassimeris, 2008; Panteli, 2005; Sözen, 1998; Stavrinides, 1999). Later on, Turkey's action led to the conceptualisation of the green line, also called the Buffer Zone, which was the partition of the island into two separate districts. Based on that division, the TC community started to live in the north and the GC community started to live in the south. The negotiations between Denktaş-Klerides were carried on from 1968 to 1974 (Heraclides, 2011; Kızılyürek, 2016; Volkan, 2008).

On the 13<sup>th</sup> of February 1975, the Turkish community established the Turkish Federal State of Cyprus in the federal Cyprus province, which was proposed to be established as a requirement of the federation system and was an official Turkish thesis. After that, in 1977 and 1979, two high levels of agreements which two sides agreed on establishing a bi-communal and bi-zonal state by 'Denktaş-Makarios' and 'Denktaş-Kyprianou' Summits (Billuroğlu 2012; Heraclides, 2011; Papadakis, 2003; Volkan, 2008).

On the 15<sup>th</sup> of November 1983, Denktaş with the agreement of Turkey's Governmental administration, the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC) was established. One of the main aims of this declaration was for recognition of Denktaş as 'equal' by

Kyprianou on the negotiation table (Billuroğlu, 2012). After that, The Proximity Talks began between two communities in 1984 and continued till 1986. Perez de Cuellar produces a *Draft Framework Agreement* based on the Proximity Talks on the negotiation table. It was accepted and it would be signed by Turkey and the TC community. Even though Kyprianou was satisfied with that, he changed his opinion after he visited Greece, Premier Papandreou, who was against the GC-TC warmed relationship and Kyprianou never closed to any solution afterwards. Then, similar disagreements continued between the other selected leaders (Sözen, 1998).

From 1968, the concepts of a federal republic were negotiated many times. Both community leaders have reached numerous agreements during intercommunal relations and proximity talks concerning a bi-communal in terms of constitutional; bi-zonal in terms of territory; and the political equality of both communities in a federal solution. However, so far, a solution hasn't been found for the Cyprus Issue.

In 2003, Kofi Annan, United Nations Secretary-General of the time, proposed an inclusive solution to the Cyprus conflict, called the Annan Plan, that included the international confirmed parameters (Hadjipavlou, 2007). On the 24<sup>th</sup> of April 2004, both community administrations held separate and simultaneous referenda for the reunification of the TC and GC communities under the new state called the United Cyprus Republic. The results showed that the TC community voted 67% *yes* whereas the GC community voted 76% *no* to the reunification and entry into the European Union as a whole of Cyprus (Hadjipavlou, 2007; Kızılyürek, 2005; Sözen & Özersay, 2007). On the 1<sup>st</sup> of May 2004, the GC community became a European Union member and afterwards, the GC leadership started to act reluctantly towards the federal solution processes (Kızılyürek, 2005). The federal solution refers to bi-zonal, bi-communal,

and based on political equality solution model in Cyprus (Kızılyürek & Erhürman, 2009).

From 2004 till 2017, the two major developments in the talks were the convergences between Talat and Christofias in 2008, where sides agreed on many power-sharing principles and the 11th of February 2014 document where sides defined the current status quo as unsustainable, recommitted themselves to a bi-communal, bi-zonal federal solution based on equality and single international personality. The election of pro-solution TC leader Mustafa Akıncı in 2015 accelerated the process, leading to a Cyprus conference with the participation of the UN Secretary-General, both sides, the three guarantor countries (Turkey-Greece-the UK) and the EU as an observer in Crans Montana. Despite an "unprecedented progress" (UN Secretary-General, 2017) during the summit, in which the sides have agreed on the majority of the issues, failed to conclude the summit with a final give and take within the framework of the UN Secretary-General's "Guterres Framework". The failure in Crans Montana resulted in a blame game, partly contributing to the failure of the re-election of Mustafa Akıncı and the re-steering of Turkey and the new TC leadership away from a federal solution model. The GC leader Nicos Anastasiadis has been widely criticized for walking away from Crans Montana and failing to capitalize on the suggestion of Mustafa Akıncı to sign the Guterres Framework as a strategic document.

#### 2.2 Journalism in Intractable Conflicts

Journalism devises the first draft of history (Tomalin, 1997). The ideal role of journalists is to educate and inform individuals about the developments in a country or the world. Furthermore, their roles include being a watchdog of democracy, a guard

and fulfilling public interests (Robie, 2014) as well as enhancing the right to equality, social justice and freedom of speech (Curran, 2011).

Journalism provides society members freedom by being itself independent, reliable, accurate, and comprehensive which doesn't come to the meaning that subverts democratic culture (Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2007). Briefly, the principles of journalism should serve both journalists and individuals being free and self-governing as follows: obligation to the truth; loyalty to individuals; being disciplined to verification; being independent; creating a forum for public criticism; making interesting and relevant; keeping information comprehensive and in proportion; being aware of personal conscience; and readers or audiences should also aware of their rights and responsibilities to the news (Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2007). However, their role has evolved as Castells indicated "a historic shift of the public sphere from the institutional realm to a news communication space" and they became "the social space where power decided" (Castells, 2007, p.238).

All around the world, most of the countries have experienced some sort of conflicts which are emerged with the clash of perspectives, ideas, and values on an interpersonal or intergroup level such as civil wars, communal clashes, religious or ethnic conflicts (Bar-Tal, 1998; Coleman, 2006). Especially in intractable conflicts, the media's role shouldn't be underestimated. They have a significant role in conflict prevention, non-violent resolution and sustainable peace in conflict-ridden societies.

Some of the studies discussed that conflict-oriented journalism may occur because of journalists empathising with one party (Cottle, 2006); media owners or politicians' selfish interests (Mwendia, 2013); the passive nature of readers which lead to

journalists choosing whatever they want to cover (Seib, 2004); the choice of words in the news headlines and stories (Adongo et al., 2018); trust in official and elite sources in war and conflict situations (Bennett, 1990; Gans, 1979); the dominant news resources and frames in conflict headlines (Bennett et al., 2007; Robinson et al., 2009); and journalists' developed loyalties towards stakeholders (Zandberg & Neiger, 2005).

According to Galtung (1986), media have a chance to choose to promote either peace or war. Galtung also stated that as much as journalists can escalate a conflict by using a way of reporting more victories for one group, they can also encourage peace in a conflicted zone by being fair in reporting, cautious in reporting the truth, and promoting peaceful rhetoric and solutions to the conflicts. It mostly depends on the agenda of the media. That is, if the media fill its agenda by using non-violence and peace-oriented language, it can be a supporter of conflict reduction, de-escalation of violence, and rapprochement between two or more parties (Lynch & Galtung, 2010).

Today's journalism is under the risk of lack of safety and security for the journalists who are inhibited from freedom of expression, press freedom, and democracy. Therefore, reporters are prevented to cover wars and conflicts with all aspects which also inhibit the societies to get the information from first-hand knowledge of the conflicts (Høiby & Ottosen, 2019; Hussain, 2016a; Nohrstedt & Ottosen, 2014). The most significant findings of Nohrstedt and Ottosen's study was that the editors and journalists who work in seven different countries and work on four diverse continents have faced pressures and threats to their safety because they reported on the conflict which was a greater extent today than 5 years ago (2014). Furthermore, the scholars also found that to provide freedom of expression and democracy, perpetrators tend to commit crimes against journalists.

McLaughlin (2016) indicated that in war/conflict circumstances it is very difficult to be objective and report more complex and uncertain realities rather than reporting the stories about a global conflict which is between military and economic superpowers. The scholar also noted that the nature of conflict, the level of public consensus or military censorship influences the objectivity of journalists. In such circumstances, it is very difficult to perform the profession of journalism for journalists. Briefly, powerful groups such as governments, parties or elites use the media to gain their political power or other interests. To prevent such circumstances, media practitioners should maintain awareness of their responsibilities by using basic principles such as truth, accuracy, objectivity, balance, self-regulating, and being pluralistic.

The model of peace journalism emerged in the early 1990s based on the developments in war reporting (Galtung, 2003). PJ is a normative approach that prioritises peace as its central value and aims to investigate the background of conflict formation to make it transparent; seeks opportunities for a solution; or give a voice to all rival groups (Hanitzsch, 2004). That is, PJ is a special mode of a socially responsible theory. Before explaining PJ, the Socially Responsible Theory of the Press was covered to create a framework in which one can better understand the responsibilities of the press, particularly in conflicted and divided societies.

# 2.3 Socially Responsible Theory of Press

In the 1940s, a group of social researchers at the University of Chicago including academics, politicians, and heads of social groups envisioned modern cities as 'Great Communities' made up of interrelated small groups which were referred to as pluralistic groups. This group of social researchers at the Chicago School were against the notion of 'marketplace-of-ideas' which was serving the interests and tastes of great

socially dominant groups while neglecting the interests of small, weak, and pluralistic groups. That is, the powerful elites and political powers manipulate the media to transmit their opinions and actions in their propaganda to fuel hatred and fear among the majority of the public and unite them against the minority, such as Hitler's use of media against Jews and Fox news for Trump (Baran & Davis, 2010; Christians et al., 2009; McQuail, 2010; Siebert et al., 1984).

To prevent the persecution of the majority over the minority group and to have the power of preventing publications of hate propaganda, some commission members created a public agency which is a press council called Hutchins Commission. James Curran (1991) summarized the commission members' decision on media practitioners to redouble their efforts on serving the public that they declared their professional responsibility as a way of ensuring market flaws with the established concept of the democratic role of the media. The Hutchins Commission's report put forward journalists' adherence to higher objectives such as neutrality, objectivity, and adherence to truth. It consisted of embracing common procedures for fact verification, using different sources, framing rival perspectives. Hence, through securing the clash of rivalries in the free market, the "internal pluralism" of monopolistic media could be adopted by recreating the pluralism of ideas and information.

That is, apart from the interests of politics and powerful elites, being self-regulated and independent, providing objective and accurate news, and scrutinizing other social institutions were much needed for the press. The most innovative feature of this theory was the development of productive and creative 'Great Communities' which lead to prioritizing the cultural pluralism by becoming the voice of all individuals in a community without favouring only the elites or other powerful religion, dominated or

local groups (Baran & Davis, 2010; Christians et al., 2009; McQuail, 2010; Siebert et al., 1984).

Social responsibility theory imposes significant responsibility mostly on media practitioners. The underlying principle of this theory is being free of all things (Okunna & Omenugha, 2012). McQuail (2010) summarized the main propositions of social responsibility theory as follows:

- Media have obligations to society to be truthful, accurate, objective and balanced in the service to society.
- Media should be self-regulating within its law and institutions and free of powerful stakeholders.
- Media should be pluralist by reflecting the diversity of society such as serving various points of view of all parties.
- Media should give voice to minority groups and avoid causing crime, violence or civil disorders.
- Media should serve high standards of performance to secure the public good.
- Media specialists and journalists should be responsible to society as well as to employers and the market.

Overall, the social responsibility theory of the press stresses the key journalistic standards that journalists should maintain. It is very important to note that responsible

journalism should provide comprehensive information that contains a transparent, objective, and wide range of truths about daily events (McQuail, 2010). PJ is a particular type of socially responsible journalism (Hanitzsch, 2004), which is a normative approach that prioritizes peace as a central value of its principles (Galtung, 1998). Before stressing PJ and its importance, in the following section, the concept of peace was covered.

## 2.4 Peace Studies

The definition of peace that was given by academia and governmental organizations includes negative words in itself. The traditional definition of peace is "the absence of war and physical violence" (Gawerc, 2006, p.438; Goertz, et al., 2016). With this definition, the synonym word of peace is nonviolence. Furthermore, Gawerc (2006) indicated that nevertheless, peace, as a word, should evoke positive feelings, moods, behaviours, and perspectives towards our daily life or the world.

Webel and Galtung (2007) categorised peace as negative and positive. Negative peace includes the absence of direct violence which causes someone's death intentionally and even positive peace contains the absence of structural violence which leads to someone's death indirectly such as dying because of poverty. Furthermore, Christie explained peace as "an active construct, characterized by friendly and cooperative relations between people and nations, a process thought to be dependent upon the satisfaction of human needs for all people" (Christie, 2006, p.3).

According to Gleditsch and his colleagues (2014), peace studies are divided into two categories as negative and positive peace and most of the scholars studied negative peace which the focus being more on war and violence. Nevertheless, positive peace

is also on scholars' agenda which is more focused on cooperation or integration of the conflicting groups.

The birth of peace studies was in the 1950s and the founder of peace studies is unknown and unclear. Johan Galtung was one of the significant scholars who had important contributions to peace studies. At the very beginning of peace studies after the Second World War, most researchers perceive peace studies as unworthy to study rather than war research. However, according to Galtung (1985), studying peace especially analysing its conditions is much worthier for contribution to the literature and of courses the societies. In 1969, Galtung assimilated peace with a two-sided coin, which means that with only one side peace means nothing at all. One side is explained as the *absence of violence* and the other side is the *absence of structural violence*. These two sides were named negative peace and positive peace respectively. The reason 'absence of violence' was named as negative peace is it has a negative meaning with the word of violence. On the other hand, 'absence of structural violence' is already referred to as social justice; therefore, it has positive meaning with its words that included (Galtung, 1969). In the following section, war and PJ were discussed.

# 2.5 War and Peace Journalism

The first initiatives of the PJ concept emerged by Johan Galtung. In his seminar 'The Structure of Foreign News', the scholar criticised the war reporting approach of Norwegian newspapers' such as the Congo, Cuba, and Cyprus conflicts (Galtung & Ruge, 1965). Particularly, according to the scholar, the problem with the news production is that they mostly contained conflict-ridden and negative incidences in the news agenda.

Then, Galtung (1986) indicated an important point of the media that it is not the cause of conflicts or violence, but, it might mediate their causes. That is, media are interspersed between integrated relations of causes of conflicts and the elites or the actors of them. Hence, the media's basis of the image was constructed by conflicts and elites and then they shape images on individuals. Particularly, this process makes the media play a mediation role in the major factor of causes of conflicts. Furthermore, in this study the scholar concentrated on peace journalists that should focus on the voice of all parties, humanising all sides, or covering all cover-ups thus lead to peace initiatives especially by decreasing the tone of ethnic and religious differences, preventing further conflict, and promoting resolution, reconstruction, and reconciliation (Galtung, 1986).

Then, the concept of PJ was improved from an idea to an academic and professional theory by Galtung. Particularly, the scholar by emerging the concept of PJ aimed to criticise the work of traditional (mainstream) journalism due to its approach to war, violence, and propaganda, the influences of elites and establishments, and polarised victory-defeat structures. The scholar revealed two ways of looking at a conflict which is the high road and the low road (1998). More specifically, the low road is the road of WJ which comprehends a conflict as a battle or sports arena that fight for imposing their objectives. The reporting approach contains the numbers of killed and wounded victims and material damages. Furthermore, the focused perspective is a zero-sum perspective that contains sports reporting which the vital belief is "winning is not everything, it is the only thing" (Galtung, 2003, p.177).

On the other hand, the high road is the road of PJ that focuses on conflict transformation and peace initiatives. It is noteworthy at this stage that high road tends not to report only the truth such as taking sides from the who wins perspectives, the vital point is to report conflicts by depolarising the sides, de-escalating by highlighting conflict resolution. PJ stands for the truth towards lies and propaganda. However, it doesn't mean that PJ investigates and uncover lies only on one side, but for all sides by exploring the conflict formation and giving voice to all sides (Galtung, 2000a).

In the UK, in 'Conflict and Peace Journalism Summer School', Galtung presented the first table form of comparison between 'Peace/Conflict Journalism and War/Violence Journalism' (Galtung, 2000a, 2003). The model of PJ is peace/conflict-oriented which means 'win-win' oriented and serves peace as being realised from the non-violence and creative perspective whereas the model of WJ is war/violence oriented which means 'zero-sum' oriented that one side loses means the other side's gain. Briefly, traditional journalists make the effects of violence visible, but PJ takes the analytical approach and examine the role of social structures and cultures.

The techniques of PJ cover serving any information about the war transparently and giving voice to all parties and voiceless with empathy whereas WJ uses *us-them* and *win-lose* technique by doing propaganda between the parties. Additionally, this mode of journalism perceives peace as a victory or ceasefire. Briefly, PJ humanizes all sides, play the prevention of violence or wars before they occur, and focus on the traumas and damage of all parties. On the other hand, WJ mostly dehumanizes the other parties, reactive to violence or wars that they haven't reported before it starts, and mostly focus on the visible effects such as how many people are killed or wounded (Galtung, 2000a & 2003).

The structure of PJ is people-oriented and truth-oriented. It focuses on suffering people, women, children, and give voice to the voiceless. On the other side, the structure of WJ is propaganda-oriented and elite-oriented. It spreads all untruths and focuses on 'their' suffering, especially elite males. PJ is solution-oriented in that it highlights peace initiatives by preventing war focused movements. WJ is victory-oriented and it inhibits peace initiatives by focusing on the treat and controlled society (Galtung, 2000 & 2003) (see Table 1).

Then, Lynch and McGoldrick (2005) made significant contributions to the concept of PJ, and they indicated PJ is "when editors make choices—of what stories to report and about how to report them—that create opportunities for society at large to consider and value non-violent responses to conflict" (Lynch & McGoldrick, 2005, p.5). Furthermore, the scholars also addressed that PJ updates the concepts of balance, fairness, and accuracy when reporting the conflict analysis and its transformation; ensure a connection between journalists, sources, stories, and outcomes of the way used; and form an awareness to use non-violent and creative practices into editing and reporting (Lynch & McGoldrick, 2005).

Then, Lynch (2006) focused on PJ from the critical realist theory perspective which was described by Wright (1996) as:

A way of describing the process of 'knowing' that acknowledges the reality of the thing known, as something other than the knower (hence 'realism'), while fully acknowledging that the only access we have to this reality lies along the spiralling path of appropriate dialogue or conversation between the knower and the thing known (hence 'critical') (Wright, 1996, p.35).

By the critical realist theory, Lynch (2014) stated that news should be perceived as reporting the facts, which gives opportunity to readers and audiences contact with the

Table 1. Galtung's Concepts of Peace/Conflict Journalism and War/Violence Journalism

PEACE/CONFLICT JOURNALISM	WAR/VIOLENCE JOURNALISM	
I. PEACE/CONFLICT-ORIENTED  "win-win" orientation  Open space and time; causes and outcomes anywhere  Serving transparent information about the war  Giving voice to all parties; empathy, understanding see conflict/war as a problem, focus on conflict creativity  Humanisation of all sides; more so the worse the weapons  Proactive: prevention before any violence/war occurs  Focus on invisible effects of violence (trauma and glory, damage to structure/culture)  II. TRUTH-ORIENTATED	I.WAR/VIOLENCE ORIENTATED  "zero-sum" orientation  Closed space and time; causes and exits in arena,  Secret information about the war  "us-them" journalism, propaganda, voice, for "us"  See "them" as the problem, focus on who prevails in war  Dehumanisation of "them"; more so the worse the weapon  Reactive: waiting for violence before reporting  Focus only on the visible effect of violence (killed, wounded and material damage)  II. PROPAGANDA-ORIENTATED	
• Expose untruths on all sides / uncover all cover-ups	• Expose "their" untruths/help "our" cover-ups/lies	
<ul> <li>III. PEOPLE-ORIENTATED</li> <li>Focus on suffering all people; on women, aged children, giving voice to voiceless</li> <li>Give a name to all evildoers</li> </ul>	III. ELITE ORIENTATED  • Focus on "our" suffering; on ablebodied elite males, being their mouthpiece  • Give a name to their evildoers focus on elite peacemakers	
<ul> <li>IV. SOLUTION ORIENTATED</li> <li>Peace = non-violence + creativity</li> <li>Highlight peace initiatives, also to prevent more war</li> <li>Focus on structure, culture, the peaceful society</li> <li>Aftermath: resolution, reconstruction, reconciliation</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>IV. VICTORY ORIENTATED</li> <li>Peace = victory + ceasefire</li> <li>Conceal peace-initiative, before victory is at hand</li> <li>Focus on treaty, institution, the controlled society</li> <li>Leaving for another war, return if the old flares up again</li> </ul>	

news reports. Shinar (2009) contributed to Galtung's model and mentioned that PJ increases the awareness of conflicts are beyond the direct physical violence by underlying the structural and cultural violence. PJ also raises audience and readers awareness and encourage them to change their attitudes and behaviour by allowing

understand the world globally, regionally, and locally through democratic lenses. Hence, PJ leads to a decrease in the global effect of conflicts; increases in public attention and opinion towards threats; demonstrates more balanced coverages and presents different interpretations and critical views.

That is, the PJ discipline is considered a normative theory (Írvan, 2006) and was appreciated by many scholars and journalists. Shinar (2006) defined it as a *state of art*, Fahmy and Eakin (2014) as a *revolutionary concept* and Lynch (2013) as a *globally distributed reform movement*.

It is an empirical analysis that is reform-oriented in war, conflict, and violence (McMahon & Chow-White, 2011) and a set of criteria to evaluate media by monitoring and content analysis (Lynch, 2010). Furthermore, it is a reporting and editing technique that the profession of journalism is needed to comprehend this for very clear understanding the news about a conflict from different angles and objectively emphasizing the reasons of the situation (Ersoy, 2010).

## 2.5.1 Research Findings on Peace Journalism and War Journalism

In the literature, some studies examined news coverage of the wars by comparing them based on Galtung's war/peace journalism framework. For instance, a content analysis of 1558 stories of eight newspapers from India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Indonesia, and the Philippines focused on the Iraq War and Asian conflicts (Lee et al., 2006). The results indicated that the Asian newspapers covered Pakistan and India's tussle over Kashmir, the Tamil Tigers in Sri Lanka, the Muslim separatist movement in the southern Philippine province of Mindanao and the Aceh and Maluku civil wars in Indonesia by using war WJ frame. On the other hand, Asian newspapers used PJ frames in covering the Iraq War.

Moreover, another study analysed 135 stories of two elite United States newspapers which are the New York Times and Washington Post based on Pakistan-India conflicts between the years of 2001-2002, the peak times of the conflicts (Siraj, 2008). Results showed that the stories were mostly framed by using the WJ approach. More specifically, the WJ frames of news coverages showed more tendencies to favour India over Pakistan by using *here and now, differences and partisan oriented*, and *using of demonizing language* WJ principles. PJ frames of news coverage showed more tendencies to favour Pakistan by using *solution-oriented*, *causes and consequences*, *multi-party orientated*, and *non-partisan-oriented* PJ principles.

In 2006, during the immigration policy debate between the United States and Mexico, The New York Times reported the diplomatic relationships as fraught with tension by showing the position of the border as a conflict and contestation (Carter et al., 2011). A study conducted on the drug war in Mexico showed that the local newspapers were found to be more peace-oriented than war-oriented whereas distant newspapers covered the incidences by using both peace and war frames equally (Lacasse & Forster, 2012).

Another study analysed photographs from Associated Press, Reuters, and Getty/Agence France-Press based on the visual coverage of the Sri Lanka Civil War. The visual coverages of the Association Press and Getty/Agence France-Press were mostly covered by using PJ frames whereas Reuter mostly focused on the conflict with WJ frames. Particularly, the visual coverages of Getty/Agence France-Press included balanced content, stressed on peace illustrations worldwide, negotiations, and top assemblies. For instance, PJ visuals cover peaceful protesters marching and holding

signs whereas WJ visuals cover an angry crowd struggling with police or security by hurling stones or setting cars on fire (Neumann & Fahmy, 2012).

In the literature, there is indeed an impressive number of studies similar to the above studies that indicated media coverage is mostly dominated by WJ frames. For example news coverages about the bombings towards the two most popular hotels – Lee Gardens Plaza and C.S. Pattani - in Thailand (Thapthiang, 2013); Mavi Marmara incidences in the Middle East (Fahmy & Eakin, 2014); the Israeli-Palestinian conflict (Ozohu-Suleiman, 2014); coverage of Marikana about shooting and killing of 34 miners in South Africa (Rodny-Gumede, 2015); Gezi Park Protests in Turkey (Aluç & Ersoy, 2018; Filibeli Erbaysal, 2016); Taliban conflict in Pakistan media (Hussain, 2016b); and the Jihad media discourse in Afghanistan (Abid, 2017).

The PJ approach allows both journalists and audiences/readers to understand fully the dynamics of conflicts, wars, and violence (Adebayo, 2017; Perez de Fransius, 2014). Essentially, with the PJ principles, Galtung encourages journalists to improve their conflict analysis skills to report or cover conflicts, violence or wars better by analysing a conflict properly just like a health journalist who is specialized in medicine and medical issues (Galtung, 2003). There are also criticisms of the concept of PJ which was discussed in the next section below.

#### 2.5.2 Critics to Peace Journalism

Hanitzsch (2004) described PJ as programming or framing of journalistic news coverage that provides contributions to the process of building and keeping peace respectively to the peace inhabited of conflicts. Even though it is an idea of socially responsible journalism, it was significantly criticized controversially by scholars and journalists. For example, as Hanitzsch (2004) mentioned, some of the journalists stated

that war reporting journalism also uses the same ethical principles, and PJ is another baggage that forces them in a complex situation, they just report what is going on and don't engage in any conflict. Particularly, Hanitzsch (2007, p.1) also described PJ as "old wine in a new bottle" which is not different from 'good journalism' (Abdul-Nabi, 2017, p.428).

The notion of objectivity was also discussed by some scholars. Lichtenberg (2000) discussed that the ideology of objectivity in the news media is problematic because, on the one hand, the press favours the powers-that-be, on the other hand, opposite to the authority. Some journalists criticize that journalism is not objective, shouldn't be objective, cannot be objective (Hanitzsch, 2007), and reject the notion of objectivity (Skovsgaard et al., 2013). Furthermore, the scholar also mentioned that the representations of an incidence are inevitably biased. That is, it is not possible to report the fact without subjective representations. According to Hanitzsch (2007), PJ perceives the audiences as passive instead of active mass who are acknowledged by PJ's virtue of accurate and appropriate reporting style.

Some scholars discussed that PJ is not objective because it advocates peace (Kempf, 2008) and takes the side of peace in conflict reporting (Loyn, 2007). However, Galtung and Lynch (2010) argued that PJ is not peace advocacy but rather it is professional journalism that takes serious reporting conflict by making them more transparent. Furthermore, supporting peace or having a peace-oriented attitude does not come to the meaning of being a peace journalist. Alankuş (2005) stated that writing for peace and being a peace journalist is not equal because journalists who write for peace may use war journalism principles.

According to Hackett (2006) "objectivity is itself a multi-faceted regime that is related to institutional structures and imperatives" (Hackett, 2006, p.15). There are different views, and it should be crucial for journalists to be able to show those different viewpoints to make audiences think by themselves. The news should be separated from journalists' emotions and political views, opinions from their own or political leaders' facts. Journalists' professional ideology about impartiality is also questionable. The reason is, Galtung (2006) indicated "in a conflict between slaves and slave owners, I know on which side I stand" (Galtung, 2006, p.4). Based on this statement, journalists' political and ethical preferences should stand for the sufferer side. The other editorial value of balance is also problematic. Because when there is a structurally asymmetrical war for example Palestine and Israel, balancing may lead to taking sides of the occupier or to normalising or legitimising the Israel occupation over Palestinian land (Hackett, 2010).

According to Peleg (2007), the PJ concept is like a lost and misguided child and it needs to be rerouted to find its home. The scholar also supported Hanitzsch's claim that PJ, at some points, has merits but it is not different from 'good journalism', therefore, it is not necessary. Some scholars agreed that the theoretical basis and practical aspects of PJ are similar to the reinvention of the wheel (Fawcett, 2002; Loyn, 2007; Sadiq & Hassan, 2017).

PJ is a desirable way of approaching and describing a conflict, however, it is not practicable in every case. For instance, the main goal of the practice of mainstream journalism is to emphasize elite voices and conflict to make a story more newsworthy and to take the attention and interests of the public (Harcup & O'Neill, 2017). Therefore, PJ becomes unsuccessful to take into account its principles of news

production (Barajas, 2016). Furthermore, a significant question related to a journalist's role in conflict conditions is perceived. Hanitzsch asserts that a journalist's role is not to find a solution for any type of conflict. Additionally, the scholar indicates that journalism is a product of a community around it and is thus not fitted to solve its conflicts (Barajas, 2016; Hanitzsch, 2004). In the next section, what type of obstacles there are to the implementation of PJ were discussed.

#### 2.5.3 Importance of Peace Journalism: Cognitive Dissonance Theory

Festinger (1957) indicated that when information challenges people's values and beliefs, it may cause cognitive inconsistency and imbalance. That is, the inconsistent information with individuals' already-held values and beliefs may make them feel tension or dissonance which is the so-called cognitive dissonance theory. Hence, consistency should be enhanced by keeping people's knowledge of themselves and knowledge of the world (Baran & Davis, 2012).

Cognitive dissonance theory is concerned with discrepancies among behaviour and attitudes. Individuals are aware of both of them, hence when they feel inconsistency in the information, they feel pressure to change their behaviour and attitudes. In this sense, journalism plays a very crucial role. For example, Americans knew that Saddam Hussein had weapons of mass destruction that threatened United States security as a reason for the Iraq War in 2003. After the invasion, the war-supporting majority had learned that there were no weapons and they experienced cognitive dissonance (Duffy et al., 2003; Newport et al., 2003).

Especially in conflicted and divided societies, PJ principles should be covered to decrease dissonance and tensions among the rival groups and enhance peace initiatives. For example, one of the studies conducted in Australia, the Philippines,

South Africa, and Mexica examined the audiences emotional and cognitive responses to PJ framed and WJ framed selected stories (Lynch & McGoldrick, 2016). The results of PJ version, audiences showed empathy, hope, and non-violent conflict responses. Therefore, consistently using PJ principles in news framing is influential in readers or audiences' psychological conditions.

However, PJ is not a popular news framing model in journalism practices. The framing can be varied due to the media owner's commercial interests or political leader's ideologies. Due to the changes in political conjecture in a country, the way of framing changes. For example, the Cyprus media is mostly owned by governmental leaders or elitists (Bailie & Azgın,2008; Christophorou et al., 2010) and news coverages are mostly framed by WJ practices (Ersoy, 2010). Hence, during the period of the Annan Plan Referendum in Cyprus, Turkish Cypriot mainstream media were positive for a solution in Cyprus based on the solution-oriented political conjecture in north Cyprus. However, the most recent conflict about hydrocarbon was framed by using the WJ principles (Çiftçioğlu & Shaw, 2020) based on the interests of political conjecture in the north Cyprus administration. Therefore, it can be stated that the way of news framing may maintain inconsistencies among both TC and GC community readers and audiences' cognition as the aforementioned studies indicated. However, the literature indicated some obstacles that may impede practising PJ principles which were discussed in the following section.

#### 2.5.4 Obstacles to Peace Journalism

According to Wolfsfeld (2004), the news media is significant in promoting peace. The scholar puts forward various beneficial roles in enhancing peace: by highlighting what benefits peace may bring; by legitimizing groups or leaders working for peace; and by

transforming images of the rival parties". However, as was stated above media play destructive language in terms of peace-making attempts especially by using WJ frames. Some constraints may hinder the implementation of the PJ principles.

Fawcett (2002) focused on two newspapers involving nationalist and unionist newspapers, *Irish News* and *News Letter* in Northern Ireland. The scholar found out that the news media use discursive strategies including the rhetorical and narrative forms which employ certain frames and discourses. These strategies cover only politician discourses and storytellers in their coverages that shape and constrain the arguments in which aiming a compromise solution to the Drumcree dispute in Northern Ireland. In other words, the news media behave strategically by finding out the frames that fit the aims of politicians and storytellers. Hence, these strategies are obstacles that lead to using *win-lose* frames instead of using a *win-win* frame which is a PJ principle.

In outlining another obstacle to PJ was addressed by İrvan (2006) with a model including three levels: the individual, the media institution, and the ideology. The individual-level includes two types of values including professional and news values. Professionalising, in other words, the way of journalists conceptualises their work strongly influences their story selection. Additionally, their strong professional values lead to criticising the concept of PJ by insisting on only reporting incidences without engaging in them. Furthermore, the professional value of objectivity is another obstacle that is abandoned, and subjective reality construction concepts are mostly prioritized by journalists. Besides, the news values of traditional journalism stand as an obstacle towards PJ. To illustrate, during the story selection process, a journalist tends to choose a story that has the fundamental criteria of newsworthiness including

immediate, drama, simplicity, and ethnocentrism (Wolfsfeld, 2004). In other words, they mostly use war frames even during a peace negotiation process to attract audiences or readers attention (Shinar, 2004).

According to İrvan (2006), the second obstacle to PJ is the commercial structure of the media institutions. The peace processes do not contain high news value and rating; thus, it doesn't feed the economic structure of media as much as war-related news. Lastly, the third obstacle to PJ is ideology, the nationalistic tendencies in media. Firstly, it is very simple for journalists to follow the official line and they protect themselves from criticisms and lead them to report the conflict in a consensual manner. Secondly, capturing an ethnocentric view of the world helps them to represent their society as good guys and others as bad guys.

Ersoy (2006) stressed some obstacles to PJ in Northern Cyprus such as language use in newspapers, event-based reporting, news framing, news sources, media and circulation, and ownership structure of newspapers. Respectively, the scholar emphasized the importance of word selection during news reporting. For example, using the words 'our side – their side' or 'we won – they lost' contributes to the conflict rather than peace processes in general. Therefore, as Galtung (2000) indicated journalists should pay attention to their language by using the 'win-win' oriented framing.

Secondly, Ersoy (2006) mentioned that traditional journalists use event-based reporting which is insufficient for peace initiatives. To report even the invisible effects of conflicts, the scholar suggested using process-based reporting which serves to report not only the visible effect such as the number of deaths and injuries but, also to report

the long-term effect of the conflict. Additionally, this way enhances journalists to comprehend the conflict historically and culturally and convey the events through that information.

According to Ersoy (2006), the third obstacle to PJ framing is news sources that cover ideologies, speeches, and statements elites. In other words, journalists are more likely to give space and time to government administrations, community leaders, and elite people which can be one-sided. As İrvan (2006) also indicated commercial interests of media is another obstacle. Lastly, the ownership structure of newspapers is another obstacle that they always select what to be reported in their medium. Even though editors play an essential role during the news selection process, they must determine what the media owner is willing to do.

According to Ross (2006), the psychological dimensions also hinder the implementation of PJ such as developed nationalistic sentiments based on a conflict situation. Peleg (2007) draw on the type of personality that a journalist has who is involved in conflict reporting also influence the implementing PJ. That is, individuals, themselves, are the agents of change in practising PJ principles. Furthermore, Hanitzsch (2007) situated the summary of PJ structural constraints in shaping and limiting the way of journalists' professional lives. For instance, "few personnel, time and material resources, editorial procedures and hierarchies, textual constraints (news formats), availability of sources, access to the scene and information in general" could be named (Hanitzsch, 2007, p.5). The scholar also highlighted the difficulties journalists face as they work under heavy time pressure, inadequate news sources, and tight competition.

According to Abdul-Nabi (2017), some of the media routines can prevent presenting PJ on the ground. For example, strict deadlines, the tendency to report urgent incidents, and simplification without providing any context can cause to use of the war frames including *us and them, rich and poor*, or *good and evil*. The scholar also draws on the same obstacles with Ersoy (2006) and İrvan (2006) that institutional regimes and commercial structures and apart from those national and international regimes harden practising PJ.

Another study was conducted with journalists from Turkey to investigate obstacles to practising PJ by using 30 semi-structured interviews (Filibeli & İnceoğlu, 2018). Filibeli and İnceğlou mentioned that in countries, such as Turkey, where its conflict history was mostly based on political, religious, cultural, gender, and race-oriented issues. The results showed that the usage of discriminative and conflictive language; the relationship between power, media, and ownership; the absence of media pluralism; censorship and self-censorship; the employment security of journalism; and the utilization of the discourses of political power were mostly mentioned obstacles by journalists in Turkey.

Selvarajah (2019) proposed to identify the feasibility of practising PJ principles in Sri Lanka and Nepal. The scholar stated that the obstacles to the implementation of PJ differ from country to country, depending on the nature of the conflict, and the structure of the media industry. For instance, in Sri Lanka, implementing PJ principles is more difficult than in Nepal and the obstacles are "the higher level of media suppression, the ethnic division of the media, the interest of the ownership and lack of professionalism" (Selvarajah, 2019, p.8). On the other hand, in Nepal "media

suppression, political party affiliation, lack of professionalism, and difficult geographical terrain" are the obstacles to PJ framing (Selvajarah, 2019, p.13).

#### 2.5.4.1 Gender and Peace Journalism

According to Galtung (2002), woman journalists are more interested in positive such as romance or peace whereas men are more interested in negative such as violence or war. The scholar stated the reason for women being more tended to practice PJ principles than men as "...in no way saying that the burden of this civilizing mission should fall on women alone. Peace is more holistic than war; women may be more sensitive to a broader range of variable than men (expressed in the tendency for women to use more adjectives?)" (Galtung, 2002, p.10-11).

Jacobson (2010) also indicated that women are more attracted by the principles of PJ. For example, based on a research result conducted in north Cyprus showed that woman journalists are more PJ oriented rather than man journalists (Ersoy, 2003). These results don't indicate that female journalists practice PJ principles rather showed they ideally believe that the values of PJ are better than conflict-oriented traditional journalism. That is, they are more willing to practice PJ principles in their professional lives.

Annabel McGoldrick and Jake Lynch (2001) underlined 17 tips for peace journalists should consider to (re)frame stories from a gender lens. Some of the questions are as followed:

- Where are the women/girls in the story?
- How can gender information strengthen the story?

- What are the roles of the male and female subjects and how do these factors inform the issues and story?
- What are the power relations between men and women, in the leadership of the conflict parties, in the negotiation panels, community structures, family structures? How do these roles and power relations further explain the issue?
- How are the impacts of events and processes written about in a specific story,
   different for women and men?
- Where are the points of collaboration between genders? What are the common grounds and share interests and needs?

However, gender-based approaches can also impede the implementation of PJ. Alankuş (2007) put forward that the male-dominated principles of conventional journalism, such as editorial values or news resources, not only lead to practising WJ principles but also violate women's rights. Furthermore, Lynch and McGoldrick (2005) discussed the bipolar representation of the conflict in the structure of WJ such as *us* (*angel*) vs. *them* (*devils*) that obstruct objectivity which was later criticised by (Lynch, 2009) for its masculine representation. That is, giving men a privileged status over women (Alankuş, 2019); framing women's vulnerability in any kind of conflicts and comparing them with men (Jacobson, 2010); male-dominated newsrooms or news sources (Alankuş, 2016; Tivona, 2011); or representation of women in news as "otherizing the women, womanizing the other" (Alankuş, 2019, p.89) can be assumed to impede practising PJ principles.

According to Galtung, men are more likely to frame negative stories whereas women tend to frame positive stories in their news coverages (Galtung, 2000 & 2002). In Galtung and Lynch's later work (2010), they found gender differences in using language and clarified that female journalists have more tendency to give voice to people, a PJ principle, rather than using only the official resources, WJ principles. Additionally, Tivona (2011) emphasized, women's narrations in news reporting are associated with PJ principles. The scholar also suggested redefining the male rational discourse of "if it bleeds, it leads" to a more feminine, emotional, and emphatic discourse which is "if it heals, it reveals", also contributes to enhancing PJ principles (Tivona, 2011, p.337). However, the dualistic opinion, giving men a privileged status over women, builds a male-dominated hegemonic regime in conventional journalism (Alankus, 2019) that might hinder the implementation of PJ principles.

In conclusion, in the literature, the media have been analysed based on obstacles to PJ in different conflicted countries. Overall obstacles to practising PJ principles were indicated by different scholars such as the media institutions, ideologies, traditional journalism, news values, gender-based, commercial structure, or languages. Psychological dimensions were emphasized however it didn't give a sufficient conclusion (Ross, 2006). In the next section, the possible psychological concepts which may obstruct implementing PJ were discussed.

# 2.6 The Cyprus Media Landscape

The Cyprus media landscape (TC and GC media in general) mostly covers three main topics of discourse; political actors, exclusive groups on the media stage and the Cyprus Conflict (Christophorou et al., 2010). That is, most of the significant topics on TC and GC media are about the aspects of the Cyprus Conflict, the speeches or

comments of political party leaders, politicians in general and the others who have the opportunity to access the media. Particularly, the print media of both communities are closer to and linked to political parties (Milioni, et al., 2018).

More specifically, Ünlü (1981) stated that the press in Cyprus is "a press of struggle" and in contrast to the western culture, is centred on 'opinion and advocacy' (Ünlü, 1981, p.14). The scholar meant that the different views among the TC and GC communities stated by using "tough and hurtful" language which maximizes the ethnic problems between the two communities (Ünlü, 1981, p.14).

Bailie and Azgın (2008) indicated that journalism in Cyprus is 'national struggle journalism' which in the post-referendum 2004, the discourse of media is more explicitly mentioned nationalism and national identity than usual (Avraamidou & Kyriakides, 2015; Çıraklı, 2018; Şahin, 2011). That is, during the inter-ethnical conflict, journalism favoured their communities' nationalist visions (Antoniades, 2018; Stubbs & Taşeli, 2014). In particular, Bailie and Azgın (2008) stated that Cyprus media industries focus mostly on encouraging the conflict, separatism and suspicion in the roots of political-economic, social, and cultural dynamics rather than understanding and promoting peace for "The Cyprus Problem" (Baili & Azgın, 2008, p.58).

Especially, during the 1950s and 1960s – when the tension between the two communities was high, the journalistic tendencies were commonly conflict-centered journalism with the advent of radio and television. For example, while the publication aims of TC newspapers (e.g., The Times or The New Times) was to resist the Enosis

movement, the GC newspapers (e.g., Phoni Tis Kyprou) were propagating accomplishing the Enosis movement (Bailie & Azgın, 2008).

In the contemporary media in Cyprus, even if the topics are not the same, the construction of stories are still in the favour of one's own or the others political opinions. According to Ersoy (2010), journalism in Cyprus is a type of elite-oriented mode of reporting and serving as an agent rather than a watchdog. Moreover, the media avoid criticizing negative elite statements towards the other community. Conflict-oriented journalism is also presented on Cypriot television which mostly covers social conflict, violent crime or warfare (Milioni et al., 2015b).

In the next sections, the main features of each community media structure including policies, ownership, and journalistic discourses such as PJ or WJ are discussed separately for a better understanding of media content in Cyprus.

## 2.6.1 Turkish Cypriot Media Landscape

The majority of TC press is owned by elite people and political figures and the landscape is mostly covered by patronage forces and political parties (Ersoy, 2013; Hançer, 2006). In the 2021 World Press Freedom Index, the world ranking showed the TC media that ranked 76<sup>th</sup> out of 180 countries. This ranking refers to the press freedom in Northern Cyprus is not on the desired level. One of the possible reasons is the media's propagations of political opinions instead of informing the public. The other reason might be, giving advantages to political figures and important groups that sympathize with the media ownership (Şahin, 2010; Şahin & Ross, 2012).

Even though there is a diversity of ideological standpoints of the TC media, the content is very similar as a reason of dependency to the official news agency, Turkish Agency

Cyprus (TAK). Therefore, most of the stories include the same content (Şahin, 2011). The most popular topics of the agenda are the Cyprus Conflict and the political viewpoints of almost all political parties (Ersoy, 2013). Hence, it can be stated that the structure of the TC press is used and also manipulated to propagate political views.

Recently, with the development of technology, the number of online newspapers has been increasing. For the printing press and online newspapers, the following table remarks can be made about their structure (Çiftçioğlu, 2020; Ersoy, 2010; TRNC PIO, n.d.). The table was created based on Ersoy's (2010) and Çiftçioğlu (2020) doctorate theses, the EU project studies of the Cyprus Turkish Journalists Association, TRNC Public Information Office, and an interview with a producer-director at Cyprus Broadcasting Corporation, Vasvi Çiftçioğlu.

Table 2. Printing Press and Online Turkish Cypriot Media Newspapers

Printing Press	Websites	Ownership	Position
Avrupa	www.afrikagazetesi.net	Şener Levent	Extreme left- wing & Peace/Pro- solution oriented
Detay	www.detaykibris.com	Erkut Yılmabaşar	Center, Peace/Pro- solution oriented
Haber Güneş	www.habergunes.com	Ulusal Birlik Partisi	Extreme right- wing and against Federal solution
Haberatör	http://www.haberatorkibris.com	Mehmet Eş	Center
Hakikat	www.kibrishakikat.com	Güven Arıklı	Center & Peace/Prosolution oriented

Halkın Sesi	www.halinsesikibris.com	Mehmet Küçük	Right-wing & against Federal solution
Havadis	www.havadiskibris.com	Başaran Düzgün	Center & Peace/Pro- solution oriented
Kıbrıs	www.kibrisgazetesi.com	Asil Nadir	Right-wing & Progovernment
Kıbrıs Manşet	www.kibrismanset.com	Ziya Emir	Center & Progovernment
Star Kıbrıs	www.starkibris.com	Ali Özmen Safa	Right-wing & against Federal solution
Vatan	www.vatangazetesi.com	Erten Kasımoğlu	Left-wing & Peace/Pro- solution oriented
Volkan	www.volkangazetesikktc.com	Hüseyin Macit Yusuf	Extreme right- wing & against Federal solution
Yeni Bakış	www.yenibakisgazetesi.com	Yusuf Kısa	Center
Yeni Düzen	www.yeniduzen.com	Cumhuriyetçi Türk Partisi	Left-wing & Peace/Pro- solution oriented
Online Newspapers	Websites	Ownership	Position
Bugün Kıbrıs	www.bugunkibris.com	Ayşemden Akın Emine Yüksel	Left-wing & Peace/Pro- solution oriented
Detay Kıbrıs	www.detaykibris.com	Erkut Yılmabaşar	Right-wing & against Federal solution
Gazedda Kıbrıs	https://gazeddakibris.com	Çağdaş Öğüç Nuri Sılay	Left-wing & Peace/Pro- solution oriented
Gıynık Gazetesi	https://www.giynikgazetesi.com/	Bilbay Eminoğlu	Center
Gündem Kıbrıs	www.gundemkibris.com	Halil Falyalı	Pro- government
Haber Kıbrıs	www.haberkibris.com	Mete Tümerkan	Center

Haberal Kıbrıs	www.haberalkibris.com	Kartal Harman	Center
Kıbrıs Postası	www.kibrispostasi.com	Polat Alper	Center
Özgür Gazete	www.ozgurgazetekibris.com	Pınar Barut	Left-wing & Pro-solution supporter
Ses Kıbrıs	www.seskibris.com	Aytuğ Türkkan	Center

Christophorou, Şahin, and Pavlou (2010) studied bi-communal media, politics, and the Cyprus Conflict from Annan Plan, 2002 till 2008. Şahin (2010) indicated that during the Annan Plan referendum period, some of the TC press contributed positively to the acceptance of the Annan Plan by the TC community. The other newspapers looked at the situation from a sceptical perspective and gave wide coverage to President Denktaş's statements against the Plan. Generally, the front pages of the newspaper were fully occupied by the Cyprus Conflict and the Annan Plan by putting the other topics in the background. Most of the published articles were very similar without much editing. On the other side, some newspapers emphasized the national interests of the context of the Annan Plan by using the discursive construction of 'us' and 'them.' content.

During 2007-2008 -the time of President Mehmet Ali Talat and CTP - the press focused on internal affairs and politics (Şahin, 2010b). More specifically, the newspapers mostly covered press conferences, public announcements of political figures, and civil organizations and the content of all newspapers was almost identical except *Yeni Düzen* which used the same TAK dispatch. There were mostly focused on the negotiations between TC President Talat and GC President Papadopoulos by stating the time and dates of negotiations and asking questions to the leaders on the

front pages. It can be stated that the media agenda was almost dominated by the Cyprus Issue which was also similar during June-July, 2008 talks between the leaders (Şahin, 2010c) Furthermore, the TV channel programs were very similar to newspapers that had sourced from TAK, the content of news bulletins, and print media stories (Şahin, 2010b).

In conclusion, the Cyprus conflict and then the negotiation processes have been deeply affected journalism in Cyprus. Generally, the intercommunal tension, political and military campaigns, elitists' messages have been always at the center of journalism and journalism also play an important part in shaping those issues among the communities (Christophorou et al., 2010; Ersoy, 2013; Hançer, 2006). In the next section, the GC media landscape was discussed in detail.

#### 2.6.2 Greek Cypriot Media Landscape

In the 2021 World Press Freedom Index, the world rankings showed the GCs media that ranked 26<sup>th</sup> out of 180 countries. Even though press freedom in the GC media is higher than TCs media, their landscape is very similar in that it is mostly focused on political parties and their ideologies, the interests of institutions, and nationalist perspective.

Journalists are organized under the Union of Cyprus Journalists which was established in 1960 and now has approximately 560 members. The union entails all the members of newspapers, magazines, radio stations, TV channels, and press agents who work for more than at least six months in any local media sector. The main aim of the union is: to enhance and protect press freedom, freedom of expression and opinion, journalists' independence, and improve the working conditions. The Union of Cyprus Journalists is a member of the International and European Federation of Journalists. In the

following table, daily, weekly, and online the GC newspapers were presented (Çiftçioğlu, 2020; Ersoy, 2010; PIO, n.d.). The table was created based on Ersoy's (2010) and Çiftçioğlu (2020) doctorate theses, Cyprus Public Information Office website, and an interview with a political analyst Andromachi Sophocleous and a producer-director at Cyprus Broadcasting Corporation Vasvi Çiftçioğlu.

A study examined how GC media development in association with politics, political power, and other factors and found that it has close relations to politics and major events. Furthermore, media plays as a propagator of power or elite group views and promotes the designs of targeting their opponents (Christophorou et al., 2010).

As TC Media, GC media also "embrace a conflict-centered approach to peace efforts by shaping news that contributes to the increased mystification of the conflict and a retrenching of divisive attitudes, sympathetic to a cementing of division" (Bailie & Azgin, 2008, p. 57).

In addition, in 2010, based on Ersoy's analysis, as much as TC media, GC media also stresses the dominant elite discourses and uses conflict-driven reporting techniques. That is, the traditional media mostly publish negative stories about the other community (Milioni et al., 2015b).

As it was stated in the TC media section, Christophorou, Şahin, and Pavlou (2010) studied the analysis of media content and discourses on TV and newspapers during and after the Annan Plan. Pavlou (2010) analysed the GC press in 2002 and found that

Table 3. Daily, Weekly, and Online Greek Cypriot Media Newspapers

Daily	Websites	Ownership	Position
Newspaper			
Alithia	www.omegalive.com.cy www.alithia.com.cy	Socratis Hasikos	Right-wing & affiliated with the DİSİ party
Cyprus Mail	www.cyprus-mail.com	Andreas Neokleous	Center & Peace/Prosolution oriented
Haravgi	www.dialogos.com.cy	AKEL Party	Left-wing & Peace/Prosolution oriented, follows the party line
Phileleftheros	www.philenews.com	Nicos Pattichis	Right-wing & Pro-government
Politis	www.politis.com.cy	Yiannis Papadopoulos	Left-wing & Peace/Pro- solution oriented
Weekly Newspaper	Website	Ownership	Position
Financial Mirror	www.financialmirror.com	Masis der Parthogh	Center & Covers financial news
I Kathimerini	www.kathimerini.com.cy	Lottides Family and Kathimerini Greece	Right-wing & against Federal solution
Simerini	www.sigmalive.com/simerini	Costis Hadjicostis	Extreme right- wing & against Federal solution
Online Newspapers	Websites	Ownership	Position
Avant-Garde	www.avant-garde.com.cy	Theo Middleton	Not political & Covers social issues
Cyprustimes	https://cyprustimes.com	Christakis Marangos	Right-wing & against Federal solution
CyprusNews.eu	www.cyprusnews.eu	Demetris Demetriou	Left-wing
Cytoday	http://cytoday.eu	George Economides	Right-wing & against Federal solution
Reporter Sigma Live	www.reporter.com.cy www.sigmalive.com	IMH Group DİAS Group Costis Hadjicostis	Pro-government Extreme right- wing & against Federal solution

some of the newspapers argued the Plan with a nationalistic approach and mentioned it as a matter towards national interests and supported to reject it. Some of them were generally objective, whereas some of them supported reunification with the TC community or the impossibility of reunification. Overall, the newspaper discourses illuminated their political and ideological positions concerning the solution, the government, the political parties, the European Union, and the TC community.

Between 2007 and 2008, the daily presses mostly focused on the presidential elections by offering favourable coverages to particular parties or politicians rather than the solution. With the regard to the solution, all the newspapers continued their 2002 stances such as some of them blaming Turkey and the TC leadership as an obstacle to the solution, some of them supporting the following a policy of rapprochement between two community leaders, and some of them leading away from the agreed form of solution (Pavlou, 2010b). On the other hand, from June to July in 2008 during the talks between the leaders, some of the dailies showed optimistic differences about the leaders could reach an agreement whereas some of the dailies remained unchanged (Pavlou, 2010c).

During the 2007-2008 periods, after the Annan Plan, all GC televisions were widely covered by the meetings between GC President Tassos Papadopoulos and the TC leader Mehmet Ali Talat (Pavlou, 2010d). The television channels reported news by sensationalizing and glamorizing them with the flashy special effect and computergenerated graphics or music. Their efforts were to cover the news as neutrally as possible which may lead to gaining and maintaining the audiences' trust. However,

their approaches followed the government position towards the Turkey and TC leadership. On the other hand, their position was a greater divergence view on the other topics. In the following section, the comparison of PJ in the TC and GC media was discussed.

#### 2.6.3 Comparison of Peace Journalism in Both Community Media

In conflict-ridden societies, the role of journalists is very crucial in conveying information about the other community. Therefore, especially if there is a negotiation process or an unsolvable process, the journalistic practices should potentially use PJ principles while explaining the facts and providing accounts of various ideas and stances that maintain the possibility of resolution or de-escalation (Milioni et al., 2015).

In both community news media, topics are mostly framed by three main discourses: political actors, exclusive groups, and the Cyprus conflict, in which the media is mostly linked to political parties and government (Milioni et al., 2015b). The media ownership has a similar structure in that it is owned by the government, an elitist, and a political party and identifies media practices based on their ideology, political views, and economic interests (Christophorou et al., 2010; Ersoy, 2013; Hançer, 2006).

There is a steady pattern of conflict-centered coverage related to the events on both sides of Cyprus Island. (Bailie & Azgin, 2008b; Christophorou, 2010; Christophorou et al., 2010; Şahin & Ross, 2012) that consider national and international conflicts as newsworthy (Avraamidou & Kyriakides, 2015) favouring their own communities' nationalist visions (Antoniades, 2018; Stubbs & Taşeli, 2014).

In 2010, Ersoy analysed both TC and GC news media coverage towards the other community. The study revealed that both community newspapers used traditional journalism and do not practise the PJ approach even though they believe in the concept. They mostly practise negative expressions in framing news headlines and stories about the outgroup.

Recently, Ciftçioğlu and Shaw (2020) analysed the coverage of TC and GC newspapers on hydrocarbons conflict found in the Eastern Mediterranean whether they practised the WJ or PJ approach. The results indicated that the news articles on this issue preferred the WJ approach strongly. Furthermore, the strong preferences of WJ principles were elite-oriented, zero-sum oriented, differences focused, no argument about negative repercussions of a potential war, and military discourse. Only less than 3% of discourse practised PJ having win-win oriented, arguments about the repercussions of a potential war, and people-oriented principles. However, some journalists practice peace journalism personally in both community media. For example, Sevgül Uludağ, who is an internationally renowned Turkish Cypriot journalist and has been doing oral history by interviewing TC and GC community members in search of missing persons and graves in both of Cyprus. Her work can be described as practising PJ because she uncovers the true stories of both community people and brings them together to share their past experiences (İrvan, 2008; also see Uludağ, 2004, 2005, & 2006). Furthermore, Andreas Paraschos, who is a Greek Cypriot journalist can also be named a peace journalist in Greek Cypriot media.

The TC media, the Annan Plan period from 1<sup>st</sup> of December 2003 to 31<sup>st</sup> of December 2004, was conceptually explored to find out the development of PJ. Çiftçi (2014) stated that journalists' crucial aim was to practise PJ while framing and explaining the Annan

Plan and its recommended solution for both GC and TC communities. On the other hand, Şahin and Ross (2012) analysed the application of PJ philosophy and practical formulations in TC media as well. The scholars found that the media is mostly dominated by the culture of nationalistic discourses by preoccupying powerful and elite groups, hence, failing to practise PJ principles.

Alankuş (2006, p.5) explained how especially nationalist newspapers changed their positions as "when the «This Land is Ours » movement sparked off the mass rallies gathering incredibly huge numbers of the people for the solution, peace and EU membership, some of the papers gradually switched their strong nationalist discourse to the pro-peace and anti-status-quo ones". Furthermore, Alankuş also added that the TC newspapers particularly emphasized the bi-communal peace initiatives and the pro-peace initiatives, positive sides of the Annan Plan, and the outcome of the referendum in the provision of a « yes » from both communities.

Journalists, in conflicted-affected island Cyprus, expressed that political and economic censorship and self-censorship, experiencing tension among professional and ethnic identity, and dealing with constraints of media ownership are limitations that undermine their autonomy (Şahin, 2021). The scholar also stated that the structure of the Cyprus media is mostly framed by political, cultural, economic and media contexts. Furthermore, the restrictions that they face influence how they perceive their professional roles and practices.

Overall, both the TC and GC newspapers are mostly practising the WJ approach (Çiftçi & Shaw, 2020; Şahin, 2021). This might be the reason for obstacles to the implementation of PJ principles as was stated above. For example, media ownership

structure, elites and governmental forces or language used. In this thesis, TC and GC journalists' social-psychological processes including intergroup relations, prejudice and negative shared societal beliefs have been analysed. In the next section, those social psychological processes were discussed.

#### 2.7 The Field of Social Psychology

The field of social psychology is a scientific study that focuses on how individuals think about, influence, and relate to one another. It is related to the field of sociology that focuses on individuals in groups and societies. The areas of social psychological research are related to social thinking and how people perceive themselves and other group members, their beliefs, judgements, and attitudes (Myers, 2010). Furthermore, it studies how individuals' attitudes and behaviours are influenced by external social factors such as culture (Markus, 2005).

Social psychology also studies ingredients of conflict that include all levels of social conflict based on an interpersonal, intergroup, or international level. That is, how a group or a nation's perceived needs and goals clash, how a competition among two groups sinks into prejudice and hostility, how people feel when they are unjustly treated or how incompatible goals, misperceptions of rival group's motive and goals. Briefly, in conflicted societies, the field can offer insights into the socio-psychological processes including emotions, beliefs, or attitudes, that influence, create or sustain conflicts among rival groups (Myers, 2010).

#### 2.7.1 Social Psychological Processes in Intractrable Conflicts

Intractable conflicts continue for decades and have often been characterized as being costly to people's lives in terms of their physically, mentally, and materialistically (Bar-Tal, 1998; Gayer et al., 2009; Halperin & Bar-Tal, 2011; Nasie & Bar-Tal, 2012).

Societies involved in such conflicts, first foster psychological conditions to try to cope successfully with the conflictual situations, examples may include adherence to society and country, high motive to contribute, preparedness for personal sacrifice, interdependence, loyalty to society's goal and decisiveness (Bar-Tal, 2007; Bar-Tal & Halperin, 2010; Vered & Bar-Tal, 2017).

In the following sections, social psychological processes including intergroup contact, attitude, anxiety, common ingroup identity, forgiveness, and shared societal beliefs were discussed. One of the main motivations by selecting these variables in this study is that in the post-conflict period, with deteriorating social-psychological processes consisting of negative attitudes, emotions, biases, and beliefs complicate reconciliation, peace-building, and therefore sustainable peace processes between the conflicted groups and lead to failing intergroup relations (Bar-Tal & Halperin, 2010; Friend & Malhotra, 2019; Porat et al., 2015).

#### 2.7.1.1 Societal Beliefs in Times of Intractable Conflicts

Beliefs are formed by human beings in which to express thoughts and include unlimited scope. Beliefs are fundamental units of knowledge categories; for example, ideology, decisions, religion or dogmas are stored in people's minds (Bern, 1970; Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975). Beliefs are differentiated into two types, personal and common beliefs. The personal type is formed by individuals which are unique and stored in their secret repertoire of mind. The common type of beliefs, which is one of the focus of this study, is shared by a few individuals or a group of people and learned from external resources such as mass media or any other societal institutions(Bar-Tal, 1998, 2000b).

Societal beliefs consist of collective ideas shared by common society members. Their contents are formed by the concerns to incidences in a societal framework, characteristics, and structure and reflect the social reality of individuals living in a common society. Generally, shared societal beliefs concern societal goals, self-images and outgroup images, conflicts, norms or values (Bar-Tal et al., 2009; Halperin & Bar-Tal, 2011; Nasie & Bar-Tal, 2012).

The common beliefs of society are unique for that society and allow a psychological connection among its members which contribute to the formation of social identity by enhancing information about the network within the society (Bar-Tal, 1998, 2000b). The formed shared beliefs are communicated and always appear on the public agenda (Bar-Tal et al., 2010; Nasie et al., 2014). This means that the common society members talk, write or express about them in our newspapers, conversations or paintings. Some of the members share their beliefs through interpersonal context whereas some of them share them by lecturing, giving speeches or using mass media tools.

The challenges that occur during intractable conflicts lead to the development of eight interrelated themes of societal beliefs (Bar-Tal, 1998, 2000b, 2007c; Bar-Tal et al., 2012; Halperin & Bar-Tal, 2011):

Societal beliefs about the justness of the ingroup's goals play an important role in motivating the role of the groups. These beliefs in a conflict outline the aim and the significant importance of the conflict and provide its explanation and motivational reasons. Furthermore, these societal beliefs negate and delegitimise the goal of the outgroup.

Societal beliefs about security involve evaluation of threats and dangers and coping with challenges during an intractable conflict as well as the matter of living in security and its conditions to be achieved. Their crucial function is that they satisfy humans' basic need of security in a conflict condition.

Societal beliefs about positive collective self-image involve the ethnocentric tendency that ascribes positive characteristics, morals or norms to their group. They mostly include heroism, endurance, fairness, trustworthiness, or morality. These beliefs mostly strengthen morals and a sense of superiority.

Societal beliefs of ingroup victimisation involve beliefs that their group are exposed to the victimization of unjust harm or evil deeds maintained by the outgroup. These beliefs present the moral incentive to look for fairness for themselves and to act as an opponent to the outgroup. Furthermore, they provide the mobilization of moral, political, and material support from the international community.

Societal beliefs delegitimising the opponent involve beliefs that deny the outgroup's humanity and presence in the world. That is, the outgroup shouldn't be accepted as a legitimate member of the commonly accepted groups in the international community. These beliefs are the reasons for a conflict's outbreak, continuation, and violence towards the outgroup.

Societal beliefs of patriotism involve the attachment of the country including loyalty, love, care, and sacrifice which improve social cohesiveness and dedication.

Societal beliefs of unity involve the matter of being united as a community towards external threats. These beliefs improve solidarity and the sense of belonging to the ingroup.

Societal beliefs of peace involve the belief that peace is one of the crucial aims and desires of the society which the society members are peace lovers. These beliefs arise hope and optimism and intensify the positive self-image and self-presentation of the society to the other societies in the world.

These shared central societal beliefs generate an ethos of conflict (EOC), which provide a specific dominant orientation to a conflict-ridden society at present and for the future (Bar-Tal et al., 2014; Porat et al., 2015). Briefly, these beliefs connect society members by providing meaning and it supplies a connection between the present and the future. Furthermore, they can be conceptualized as an ideology, in that it is constant and leads individuals to form the context of conflict and provide its maintenance. Those ideologies become conservative as it inhibits taking new risks of movements towards uncertainty like peace and it strives to maintain the status quo (Bar-Tal et al., 2010; Gayer et al., 2009; Nasie & Bar-Tal, 2012).

#### 2.7.1.2 Attitudes in Times of Intractable Conflicts

When social psychologists mention someone's attitude, they mean the beliefs and emotions of an individual, an incident or the end behaviour tendency (Myers, 2010). In formal terms, attitudes refer to "a psychological tendency that is expressed by evaluating a particular entity with some degree of favour or disfavour" (Eagly & Chaiken, 2007, p.269); "array of summary evaluations stored in memory" (Visser & Mirabile, 2004, p.792); "object evaluation associations in memory (Fazio, 2007,

p.603); or "attitude objects linked in memory to global evaluative associations" (Petty et al., 2007, p.662).

People view the social world through the spectacles of their beliefs, attitudes, and values. Beliefs are mental representations and patterns that the brain expect things in humans' environment to behave, which is crucial for efficient learning and survival (Myers, 2010). Attitudes are evaluative reactions towards things or people to show whether they approve or disapprove of them such as passions and hates, attractions and repulsions or like and dislike (Bohner & Dickel, 2011; Gawronski, 2007). Briefly, attitudes refer to behavioural tendencies that are often rooted in human's beliefs and exhibited in feelings (Myers, 2010).

For example, individuals may have a negative attitude toward a person who is a member of their rival's group. The reason is, the improved shared societal beliefs during an intractable conflict turn to frozen and rigid conflict-supporting beliefs which influence worldviews, emotions and also attitudes, and behaviour afterwards (Bar-Tal et al., 2010; Bar-Tal & Halperin, 2013; Friend & Malhotra, 2019; Halperin & Bar-Tal, 2011; Hameiri et al., 2014). Therefore, in the post-conflict zones, it is very crucial to analyse their outgroup attitudes to find out solutions for enhancing peace processes successfully.

One of the influential ideas of decreasing negative attitudes, deteriorating shared societal beliefs, and prejudice is to increase the positive contact between the two or more adversary groups (Levin et al., 2003; Paolini et al., 2004; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Stathi et al., 2020; Turner et al., 2013). In the following section, how intergroup contact influences emotions and attitudes were discussed in detail.

#### 2.7.2 The Role of Intergroup Contact Theory in Intractable Conflicts

Intergroup contact theory has been one of the most prominent theories in social psychology and it was also theorized in several different fields after World War II. In the field of education, Watson (1947) revealed in his monography *-Action for Unity*-that "Spreading knowledge is useful, but it too seldom stirs the heart. Programs that arouse feelings are several degrees better than those that rely wholly on cold fact and logic. Still better are projects . . . designed to help people in face-to-face contacts with persons of a different race, religion, or background" (Watson, 1947, p.54). The scholar also identified the key elements of contact for reducing prejudice successfully as equal status and working together on a common problem.

Then, Williams (1947), a prominent sociologist, indicated tested hypotheses and propositions about techniques for enhancing intergroup relations in his book so-called *The Reduction of Intergroup Tension*. Based on his observations of World War II, he concluded that intergroup collaboration reduces the hostility based on equal functioning on a common task which was then supported by several studies (Deutsch & Collins, 1950, 1951).

The significant version of intergroup contact was formulated by Allport (1954) called the Contact Hypothesis in his classic book; *The Nature of Prejudice* demonstrated the idea that intergroup contact between individuals who belong to different groups can foster reducing prejudice towards outgroup members. In this version, optimal conditions of contact including four prerequisite features were mentioned to be successful as follows: when outgroup members meet on an *equal status* to continue *common goals* through *cooperative interaction*, in such a way as to permit the

enhancement of close relationships with outgroup members. Additionally, this contact should also be supported by *institutional authorities*.

The Intergroup contact theory pursues to be supported across a variety of conditions, groups, and societies (Amir, 1969), for example, Chinese students attitudes towards Americans in the USA (Chang, 1973); interracial employees in South Africa (Bornman & Mynhardt, 1991); German and Turkish school children (Wagner et al., 1989), and Australians towards Vietnamese (McKay & Pittam, 1993). Moreover, Pettigrew and Tropp's (2006) meta-analysis presents the most fascinating empirical study that located more than 500 separate contact studies, conducted in a wide range of contexts involves more than 250,000 respondents of different nationalities. Across all these studies, it was found that intergroup contact typically reduces prejudice.

Moreover, a significant improvement in intergroup contact theory apart from the direct contact (face-to-face conversations) is that it can also go beyond outgroup members including direct friendship which refers to having cross-group friends (Pettigrew, 1998), extended contact which refers to knowing that another ingroup member has cross-group friends (Wright, et al, 1997); imagined contact which refers to imagining oneself conversing with an outgroup member (Turner, Crisp, et al., 2007); and parasocial contact which refers to consuming media that features outgroup members (Ball-Rokeach & Rokeach, 1984).

The past 60 years have also seen vital theoretical and empirical developments of the Contact Hypothesis by different scholars. In particular, Brewer and Miller's (1984) decategorization model argues to structure the contact situations by reducing the salience of social categories at the same time increasing the interpersonal mode of

thoughts and acts. The main aim of this type of interpersonal or decategorizing the contact situation is to achieve greater differentiation between different party members and more personalization. At this point, the original category could have its utility to play a role in influencing group members' perceptions, emotions, behaviour, and negative stereotypes (Miller, 2002). There is particularly increasing evidence that personal friendship contact decrease prejudice effectively (Christ et al., 2010; Pettigrew, 1998; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006).

In Gaertner and Dovidio's (2000) model, parallel to Brewer and Miller's (1984) decategorization model, it was proposed that recategorization also reduces bias between outgroup members. The scholars also noted that redrawing categorical boundaries rather than disintegrating is strategically more effective. (Brown & Hewstone, 2005). That is, the scholars presented recategorization which is called as Common In-group Identity Model that contains interventions to change individuals' ideas of the memberships from different groups to one, more comprehensive group. Specifically, inducing the different outgroup members to think of themselves more as a single, superordinate group rather than two distinct groups.

Hewstone and Brown's (1986) intergroup contact model stressed to arrange contact taking place between in-group and out-group members who are typically representative of their groups then the positive change that emerges should generalize to those groups as a whole (Vivian et al., 1997). One of the required conditions for this to occur is that the group members maintain some psychological salience, possibly through symbolic representation or via structural regulations (Brown & Turner, 1981).

Besides the individual-group generalization that might be issued by retained intergroup salience, such a principle might also prevent the 'assimilation' threats caused by the decategorization and recategorization models. Since the groups concerned—occupational, ethnic, or national—are not grateful to relinquish their identities, there should be less strength to contact response (Hewstone & Brown, 1986).

Pettigrew's (1998) theory of longitudinal contact reformulated Allport's hypothesis and stressed that at least all processes stated above including Pettigrew's cross-group friendship should be included for an optimal intergroup contact. An optimal intergroup contact requires time for developing a cross-group friendship which indicated that short-term intergroup contact has a minimal effect in a previous study (Sherif, 1966). Therefore, the long-term perspective including the other three mediating processes allows cross-group friendship to develop potently. There is consistent evidence that all four contact processes contact with outgroup members have stronger, more beneficial, and more generalizable effects on prejudice (Rupert Brown & Hewstone, 2005; Christ et al., 2010; Dovidio et al., 2003; Pettigrew, 1998; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Vonofakou et al., 2007).

Inspired by Pettigrew's (1998) important study of cross-group friendship, Wright and his colleagues (1997) proposed the extended contact hypothesis which refers to knowledge that one of the in-group members has information about the outgroup member by having a close relationship, also reduces prejudice. Subsequent research on the extended contact hypothesis also provided shreds of evidence by supporting extended contact also improves intergroup relations (Cameron & Rutland, 2006; De Tezanos-Pinto et al., 2010; Lemmer & Wagner, 2015; Paolini et al., 2004; Tausch et

al., 2011). Furthermore, the processes of mediated extended contact also consistently reduce prejudice toward outgroup members. For example; forming group salience by decategorization among young children toward the disabled (Cameron & Rutland, 2006), changing the perception of in-group norms toward ethnic minorities (De Tezanos-Pinto et al., 2010), and intergroup anxiety, perceptions of ingroup and outgroup norms, and perceiving the outgroup member in the self among Asian-White relations (Turner et al., 2008) improve outgroup attitude. Moreover, the conditions also moderate its effects such as prolonged extended contact experiences (Christ et al., 2010). In addition, another study indicated that an increase in direct friendship effect with outgroups and individuals generate strong affective responses (e.g., intergroup anxiety) and an increase in indirect friendship effects with outgroup and individuals generate strong cognitive responses (e.g., stereotyping) (Paolini et al., 2007).

Even though positive contact is much more widespread than negative contact, in both peaceful and post-conflict societies (Barlow et al., 2012; Dhont & Van Hiel, 2009; Hayward et al., 2017) negative contact can intensify intergroup prejudice and destroy social cohesion at the same time, yet it is not the same direction as positive contact lessens it (Hayward et al., 2017; Laurence et al., 2017).

Additionally, some studies challenge Allport's hypothesis and following studies on whose prejudice 'deeply rooted in the character structure of the individual' (Allport, 1954, p.281) would be resisting the impact of intergroup contact. Research demonstrated that in general authoritarian individuals are likely to have less intergroup contact with outgroup members and their contact is more negative than positive relations (Dhont & Van Hiel, 2009). Furthermore, some evidence has indicated the factors that undermine an individual's willingness for intergroup contact such as

perceived threats and intergroup anxiety (Paolini et al., 2006; W. G. Stephan & Stephan, 2000). Then, the following studies also showed strong evidence on contact avoidance caused by intergroup anxiety which is fuelled widely threat appraisals (Greenland & Brown, 1999; Henderson-King & Nisbett, 1996; Page-Gould et al., 2008; E. Ashby Plant & Butz, 2006). Positive and frequent intergroup contact also influence other social psychological as well. Based on the current study's research questions, in the following sections, the common ingroup identity model, intergroup anxiety, and forgiveness and how intergroup contact influence these processes were discussed in detail.

#### 2.7.3 The Common Ingroup Identity Model

The common ingroup identity model (CII) was pioneered from the work of social categorisation approach which is a process of categorisation of individuals as members of one ingroup or not and provides a perspective for reidentification of the social groups (Brewer, 1979; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). The CII model can reduce intergroup bias and conflicts by re-categorisation, which leads to transforming members' cognitive representation of membership by inducing different groups into a single group. (Gaertner et al., 1993).

Inducing separate group membership from 'us and them' into a more inclusive group as 'we' provide equal status, cooperative and interpersonal interaction, and supportive norms. Therefore, Brewer (1979) stated that these circumstances produce positive feelings towards all the members of the group. More specifically, it is possible to reduce prejudice by de-categorising and re-categorising the two different groups (Dovidio et al., 2000). In other words, the members of the outgroup first should be encouraged to de-categorise themselves from their ethnic, religious or racial groups.

Subsequently, those members re-categorise their groups a new subordinate groups with the other outgroup members such as a national identity. Furthermore, the CII model is necessary to improve intergroup contact in long-term and meaningful ways (Dovidio et al., 2003).

In the existent literature, the concept of CII among different groups has been researched in the context of intergroup contact and outgroup attitude. One of the studies, which was conducted in America among Black and White students and Democrats and Republicans demonstrated that a common identity as an American ingroup increased positive outgroup attitudes (Riek et al., 2010). Furthermore, another study was done with 1.357 multi-cultural high school students, CII also mediates the relationship between intergroup contact and intergroup prejudice by inducing a common American identity (Geartner et al., 1994). Then, it was also supported by various studies such as in the context of the Anglo-German post-World War II relations and the TCs' perception of a CII with GCs (Stathi et al., 2017); in the context of the Anglo-French and the Mexican-American (Eller & Abrams, 2004); and in Latin America among Mexican Indigenous people and among Chilean Indigenous people (Cakal et al., 2016).

Based on the study of the influence of the 1992-95, Bosnia and Herzegovina war on Bosnian Muslims concluded that CII increase the forgiveness level whereas decreasing the social distancing towards the outgroup (Cehajic et al., 2008). The positive relationship between CII and forgiveness also supported by other studies such as among the pro-Pinochet and the anti-Pinochet groups in Chile and among Protestants and Catholics who took part in the Northern Irish conflict (Noor et al., 2008); and among Israeli Jews and Palestinians (Shnabel et al., 2013).

Briefly, inducing cognitive representations of the membership from separate groups to a more inclusive one by emphasizing similarities and encompassing group membership decrease prejudice whereas increasing the positive contact among the adversary groups in a conflict zone. In the next section, how intergroup anxiety is formed and what is the relations between intergroup contact and anxiety were discussed in detail.

#### 2.7.4 Intergroup Anxiety

Intergroup anxiety is a very common feeling that is often experienced before interacting with members of different racial or ethnic groups or cultures and between the members of stigmatised and non-stigmatised groups (Stephan & Stephan, 1985). Anxiety feeling means experiencing nervousness, or unease when people face an uncertain event. According to the scholars, intergroup anxiety occurs in three sets of factors, which are: "prior intergroup relations (e.g., the amount and conditions of prior contact), prior intergroup cognitions (e.g., knowledge of the outgroup, stereotypes, prejudice, expectations, and perceptions of dissimilarity), and situational factors (e.g., amount of structure, type of interdependence, group composition, and relative status)" (Stephan & Stephan, 1985 p.158).

Intergroup anxiety consists of three interrelated components, which are affective, cognitive, and physiological (Stephan, 2014). The affective component is dominant which is accompanied by the cognitive and physiological components. Intergroup anxiety is composed of the experiences of worry, distress, and uncomfortable. The cognitive component includes the expectation that the interaction with an outgroup member may lead to negative consequences. One of the factors that may be the reason for this is worrying about negative psychological consequences such as

embarrassment, misunderstanding, fear, or frustration. Second, worrying about negative behavioural consequences such as discrimination, physical harm, exploitation, or deception. Third, worrying about negative evaluation by the outgroup members such as rejection, negative stereotyping, or disapproving. Lastly, the belief of being disapproved by their group member because of their association with outgroup members. The physiological component includes physical responses such as increased blood pleasure or cortisol levels.

In the literature, some of the studies provided that intergroup contact decreases intergroup anxiety in various types of people. For instance, white American college student's anxiety towards Moroccans (Stephan & Stephan, 1992); among African Americans and European Americans (Bitt et al., 1996); among White, Asian, Latino, and African American college students (Levin et al., 2003); among Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland (Paolini et al., 2004); among British high school students (Turner et al., 2013) in the context of Anglo-German post-WWII relations and among TCs and GCs (Stathi et al., 2017); and between Chinese domestic students (Cao & Meng, 2020).

Some studies also showed negative or lack of intergroup contact can result in increased intergroup anxiety such as White people's contact with Black people (Plant & Devine, 2003); intergroup anxiety avoids intergroup contact among non-Black people and Black people and White people (Plant, 2004). Briefly, as it was stated above, intergroup relations are very crucial in increasing or decreasing intergroup anxiety. In the following section, as an important social psychological process relevant for peacebuilding is forgiveness and its relations with intergroup contact were discussed in detail.

#### 2.7.5 Forgiveness

Forgiveness is defined as reducing negative feelings by increasing positive feelings, cognitions, and behaviour towards the ones offended even if the offender doesn't deserve being forgiven (Enright & the Human Development Study Group, 1991). Forgiveness changes as interpersonal and intergroup forgiveness. According to McCullough and his colleagues (1997), interpersonal forgiveness is a set of motivational changes that an individual (a) reduce the motivation of retaliation against an offending friend, (b) reduce the motivation of sustaining estrangement from the offender, and (c) raise the motivation by compromise and goodwill for the offender. For example, forgiving a cheating partner. Intergroup forgiveness changes in internal motivation towards a rival group that is involved in a particular contextual framework including collective, political or societal (Cehajic et al., 2008; Van Tongeren et al., 2014). For example, forgiveness between two conflicted communities caused many deaths or wounds.

In general, forgiveness consists of reducing revenge, avoiding motivation, and increasing cooperativeness with the offender (McCullough & Hoyt, 2002). According to Berecz (2001), forgiveness is getting rid of past hurt and bitterness. Worthington & Wade (1999) explained forgiveness as the eliminating of deprecating emotions and forming more optimistic emotions toward an offender.

McCullough and Witvliet (2002) defined forgiveness with its three properties, which are a response, personality disposition, and a characteristic of social units. As a reply, forgiveness is a prosocial modification in an individual's thoughts, feelings, and actions towards offenders. As a response, forgiveness is a tendency to forgive others across a wide range of interpersonal conditions. As a quality of social units,

forgiveness is a feature similar to intimacy, trust, or commitment. A meta-analytic review offered a tripartite model of forgiveness including affective, cognitive, and constraints. Respectively, affective predictors are the emotions that enhance or obstruct forgiveness experiences such as empathy, negative mood or the collective guilt of the offender's group. Cognitive predictors include cognitive processes to make sense of the offence, attribution of blame, and assessing their relations with the offender to move forward such as trusting or perceived victimhood. Constraining predictors consist of the victims' perceived identity, social norms or geopolitical forces which may play a crucial role in deciding how much an individual forgives outgroup members (Van Tongeren et al., 2014).

When reconstructing relations among conflicted groups, forgiveness plays a significant role in the reconciliation process that reduces the feelings of revenge, mistrust or temper by enhancing understanding and closeness among the conflicted groups. (Scobie & Scobie, 1998; Staub, 2006). Moreover, forgiveness can also be enhanced by increasing positive and frequent contact (Rice, 2011; Stathi et al., 2017; Tam et al., 2007; Van Tongeren et al., 2014). The results of meta-analysis revealed that there is a negative association between forgiveness and anxiety which means an increase in anxious feelings decreases the willingness to forgive (Riek & Mania, 2012) whereas the increase in the perception of sharing a common identity also enhances willingness to forgive outgroup members (Cehajic et al., 2008; Noor et al., 2010). In the next section, the importance of social psychological processes in communication studies was discussed.

#### 2.8 Importance of Social Psychology in the Communication Studies

Media is an effective mechanism that helps to control large populations. It has the potential to manipulate people based on the powerful elitists or political leaders' ideologies. For example, during the Nazi's propaganda over Jews, in films, Jews were shown as mentally ill people which triggered Germans negative responses towards Jews. According to John Watson (1948), the founder of the behaviourism theory, individuals' actions are conditioned by an external environment. Watson (1948) claimed that the idea of conditioning is a cause of behaviours. That is, humans are conditioned to behave in certain ways to gain rewards or avoid punishments. Media is an external stimulus that triggered audiences or readers' responses to a certain event (Baran & Davis, 2012).

However, conflicted and divided societies need comprehensive, objective, balanced, and accurate truths rather than negatively conditioned due to the interest of political leaders or powerful elitists. In the literature, studies have mostly explored how societies are psychologically influenced by media or a conflict (Lee et al., 2014; Lynch & McGolrdick, 2016). However, to the authors' knowledge, there is a gap in the literature that focuses on how media workers such as journalists are influenced by socio-psychological processes and how these processes influence their method of news framing.

Fundamentally, as it was stated above PJ principles contribute to conflict transformation, sustainable peace, or peace-building processes. However, when it comes to applying it to the profession of journalism, journalists face restrictions due to commercial interest, media owners' ideologies, or political leaders' interests. It is

also important to look at these barriers from a social psychological perspective, by focusing on how conflicts cause unsolvable peace-building processes due to the negative emotions, attitudes, or behaviours that people experience. In this context, to sustain and improve the profession of journalism it is also important to understand and then improve their socio-psychological processes. In the next section, sustainable peace in divided and conflicted societies and the role of journalism during the process of sustainable peace were discussed.

# 2.9 Sustainable Peace, Reconciliation, Peacebuilding, and the Role of the Journalism

During reconciliation, peace-building or sustainable peace processes, journalists can play a crucial role in divided and conflicted societies by adopting PJ principles, which are a requirement for considering peace as a normative value, to enhance positive outcomes. Therefore, it is important to be discussed the concepts of reconciliation, peace-building, and sustainable peace in this section.

#### 2.9.1 The Approach of Sustainable Peace in Divided and Conflicted Societies

The approach of sustainable peace covers politics, economy, and social systems to sustain a peaceful society and how they are maintained by local, national, regional, and international actors (Liebovitch et al., 2020). To achieve peace, comprehensive studies of social identity, interconnections among groups, interdependence, socialization of peaceful values, conflict management mechanisms, and visionary leadership is very crucial (Coleman, et al., 2014; Goertz et al., 2016; Mahmoud & Makoond, 2017).

According to Lederach (1999), the processes of social organizations such as NGOs, help to create a new reality for sustainable peace processes. Additionally, the important

thing to be focused on is engaging the conflict setting as a system rather than concentrating on the right and wrongs of individuals or groups involved in a conflict. Lederach also indicated, developing an adequate time frame is also important in the transformation of conflict toward sustainable peace by conceptualizing reconciliation and peace-building practices.

Wessells and Bretherton (2000) emphasized that reconciliation is a crucial concept for breaking and then healing the cycles of violence and defined as "the process of building a positive relationship between groups having a history of discord" (Wessells & Bretherton, 2000, p.101). The scholars also added that the substantial key points of reconciliation between groups are healing the past by sharing power, improving self-esteem, respecting the other culture, regulating injustices, creating ways for cooperation, and briefly, building a positive relationship.

According to Bar-Simon-Tov (2004), the shift from current peace toward stable peace can be maintained by reconciliation as it helps build mutual trust and mutual assurance Moreover, the scholar also mentioned that it is the most challenging process as a reason for implying deep changes in cognitive, belief, ideology and emotions among the ruling class and all other sectors in the conflicted societies. Briefly, reconciliation enhances restoring friendship and harmony between opposite groups after the conflict (Bar-Tal, 2000a; Bar-Tal & Bennink, 2004; Kelman, 1999).

More specifically, Wessells and Bretherton (2000) indicated that reconciliation has three main dimensions that should be analysed and studied. The first dimension is 'coming to terms with the past'. Parties should build positive relationships by discovering what happened and then they should exercise truth-telling by emphasizing

mercy, apology, and forgiveness to each other. Social Justice as a second dimension should make a balance among controlling oppression, poverty, and –isms for example racism, classism, and sexism. These concepts are structural violence which leads to the division of society and disrupts the balance between and within the parties. Therefore, '-isms' should be resolved to provide social justice. The last dimension of reconciliation is a process of system change. The meaning of change here does not consider only official levels such as leaders and elected elites. The change should be between the mid-leaders for example, ethnic groups, religious leaders, and intellectuals. The patterns that should include during this change are beliefs, activities in schools, workplaces, economic, and political circumstances (Kelman, 2010).

Briefly, reconciliation and then peace-building processes are very important processes to sustain peace between conflicted and divided societies. It is a long-term process to enhance cooperative relations with mutual acceptance and respect among two or more adversary groups and develop the sense of justice of both sides. To achieve this long-term process social institutions such as the media sector is required to accelerate their works by encompassing all sides of the conflict.

Galtung (1985) demonstrated a tripartite typology that makes a separation between peacekeeping, peace-making, and peacebuilding. Peace-making focuses on the negotiation processes about an official settlement or resolution for a specific conflict that occurs between decision-makers. Peacekeeping processes require third-party interventions to distinguish battling groups from each other and cultivate the absence of direct violence or decrease it. The third part of typology which is peacebuilding is a less-studied topic by conflict researchers because it has less publicity between

researchers. It is the most crucial part of the typology because it focuses on the social, psychological, and economic environment at the grassroots level.

According to Christie (2006), peacebuilding processes are included "problems such as ethnopolitical conflict, trauma, truth and reconciliation, post-war reconstruction, and the status of women" (Christie, 2006, p.4). Therefore, handling these problems is essential during this process. Peacebuilding and reconciliation especially in conflicted and divided societies were studied from the broader view by Lederach (1997). The resources that were investigated underlie the building of an infrastructure for a sustainable peace for a long time. According to Lederach, the two crucial headings for building peace under reconciliation are socioeconomic and sociocultural. Socioeconomic resources have a crucial role in the transformation of conflict toward sustainable peace. The process of socioeconomic resources includes envisioning, acquiring appreciation, and creating categories of thinking about the actions related to peacebuilding processes to help people, organizations, and institutions. The basic example of the process is information technology. The public didn't comprehend and appreciate the capacities of new information technology easily. New categories were compromised for thinking about the new resource and the use of technology for communication was increased.

The second resource that was indicated by Lederach is sociocultural resources. This resource consists of people and culture. The desperate situations of contemporary conflicts such as images, dynamics, and consequences lead to a decrease in the level of resources for peacebuilding. Especially, media serve audiences hatred, war-making, and devastation images and stories about the war zone. In this case, direct contact must occur with people who lost their homes and livelihoods during wartime. Therefore, for

making peacebuilding, money and personnel are needed to keep contact with those victims (Lederach, 1997).

During this process, building a peaceful constituency in a conflicted and divided society, the media also plays a crucial role by informing the societies about the adversary groups to enhance sustainable peace. In the following section, what the role journalists play in sustaining peace in a conflicted and divided society and how their social-psychological processes influence them were discussed.

## 2.9.2 The Role of Journalists in Sustainable Peace and Their Social Psychological Processes

The topics of conflicts are covered as a key stake in the nature of mass media processes. (Abdulbaqi & Ariemu, 2017) that is, "conflict is the bread and butter of journalism" (Adisa & Abdulraheem, 2017, p.11). Particularly, in conflicted or divided societies, the news coverage of a conflict depends on the concept of conflict as a news value (Lee & Maslog, 2005). Therefore, it is pointed out that the media's role could fuel conflict and destruct peace-building processes based on the reporting concepts of wars (Lee, 2010; Siraj, 2008a). Instead, the role of journalists in a conflict-ridden country need to be part of enhancing reconciliation, peacebuilding, and sustainable peace despite the challenges of war, internal conflict and the high level of violence against them (Jamil, 2018; Prager & Hameleers, 2021); they mostly tend to more rely on official and elites sources for a long time (Bennett, 1990; Galtung, 2000a); focus on the here and now and a dichotomy of good and bad (Lee & Maslog, 2005).

As was stated above sections, briefly socially responsibility theory of press encompasses an inherent compact among the media and society that the media serve the public truthful accurate, fair, objective and relevant information. Furthermore,

media obligations include enhancing trust by avoiding controversies, bias, invasion of privacy, misinformation, or violation of standards of public taste (McQuail, 2010). PJ is "a normative mode of responsible and conscientious media coverage of conflict" (Shinar, 2007, p.2) which means it is a model of socially responsible journalism. And based on the scope of the social responsibility theory of the press, PJ highlights the structural and cultural motives of violence in anticipation of revealing a dichotomy. Additionally, it enlightens the violence and outline conflict concerning many parties and follows different objectives. PJ principles assist in promoting peace initiatives such as reconciliation or peace-building from whatever quarter and allow the reader to make a separation between stated positions and actual goals (Galtung, 2000b; Lynch, 2006; Siraj, 2008b). These are the obligations of socially responsible journalists, especially those who live in a divided or conflicted society.

By using the PJ approach, as Galtung mentioned (2000), journalists would 'give peace a chance' by informing communities about outgroups with objective, transparent, and understandable truths of all sides. For instance, Pettigrew (1998) mentioned 'learning about others' is a crucial step in how contact enhances intergroup relations. That is, learning more information about the outgroup reduces uncertainty, false information, and enhances intercultural understanding (Dovidio et al., 2003). Therefore, the media's role during intractable conflicts or peacebuilding periods should be using PJ principles to enhance transparent information and sustain a clear understanding about the outgroup or causes and consequences of a conflict (Beaudoin & Thorson, 2002; Wolfsfeld et al., 2008).

However, as the above literature indicated some obstacles inhibit journalists to implement PJ principles such as lack of professional training, the nature of media

ownership, political censorship or media suppression (Ersoy, 2006; Selvarajah, 2019). Apart from those obstacles, as consequences of an intractable conflict, severe and long-term confrontations threaten intergroup relations, physical, social, and psychological well-being of journalists as much as society members involved in such as chronic threat, stress, pain, exhaustion, grief or trauma (de Jong, 2002; Nasie & Bar-Tal, 2012; Robben & Suarez, 2000). At that point, challenging intergroup relations trigger deteriorating social-psychological processes consisting of negative attitudes, emotions, biases, and beliefs that complicate reconciliation or peace-building between the conflicted groups (Friend & Malhotra, 2019). That is, the social-psychological processes that were mentioned above –societal beliefs, peace-war attitude, intergroup contact, outgroup anxiety, forgiveness, and common ingroup identity- of journalists can also inhibit the implementation of PJ attitudes and enhances WJ attitudes.

To find out answers about the social-psychological processes to PJ and WJ attitudes, the current research includes three different studies. In the next section, the three studies and methodology were discussed in detail.

### Chapter 3

## RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Quantitative methodology was used to analyse the differences and relationships between variables in the current studies. The main preoccupations of a quantitative research design are based on measurable variables by collecting numerical data, causal relationships, or associations between variables, being representative of wider populations and being repeatable to test the objectivity of the original research. Quantitative research collects numerical and measurable data by using tools of questionnaires, surveys, and measurements to explain the observed variables by constructing statistical models and figures (Baker, 2017; Gorard, 2003; Neuman, 2007).

There are different categories of quantitative methodology. Cross-sectional research design entails the collection of data on more than one variable at a single point in time. Based on the aims of the current study, the cross-sectional research design was used to measure the relationships between dependent variables of interest in a sample (TC and GC journalist community) such as peace journalism attitude, outgroup attitude or intergroup anxiety only once. The current study was also a comparative study to look at the differences between the two communities. Furthermore, descriptive, and correlational analyses were used to measure and describe the association between variables.

To finalise the main aim of the study, three different studies were conducted, and surveys were used as data collection tools. The first research was conducted to develop a bi-lingual and bi-communal shared societal beliefs scale based on the case of Cyprus conflicts to investigate to what extent TC and GC journalists have positive or negative shared societal beliefs towards the outgroup. The second research was aimed to analyse the manner of TC and GC journalists' social-psychological processes including shared societal beliefs, intergroup contact, or outgroup attitude. The third research aimed to examine how these social-psychological processes influence TC and GC journalists' professional lives in terms of their PJ and WJ attitudes. In the following, these three studies were discussed in detail.

#### 3.1 Study 1 with Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot Communities

The first study aimed to develop a shared societal beliefs scale in order to measure TC and GC journalists' adherence to the common societal beliefs that underlie the continuation of the unsolvable negotiation between two communities. The scale was bi-lingual in the Greek and Turkish languages. The scales were constructed as detailed below.

#### 3.1.1 Population and Sample

Based on the World Population Review 2022, the current population of the Greek Cypriot community is 1,221,258 in 2022 and based on the Turkish Republic of Cyprus the last census in 2011 the Turkish Cypriot community is 382,230. The sample size was determined based on Comrey and Lee's (1992) suggestions for reaching a reliable correlation. According to Comrey and Lee (1992) number of 200 participants is reasonable and 300 participants are good for factor analysis. Probability stratified sampling technique which is a method of collecting data from a stratum based on specific characteristics of a population (Shaughnessy, Zechmeister & Zechmeister,

2009) were used to collect data from TC and GC community members. This sampling technique helped to divide the population into sub-populations based on the cities in Cyprus. From north Cyprus, the data were collected from Nicosia, Famagusta, Kyrenia, Iskele, Guzelyurt, Lefke. From southern Cyprus, data were collected from Nicosia, Baf, Limasol, and Larnaca.

#### 3.1.1.1 Turkish Cypriots Population

A sample of 384 TCs aged between 18 and 86 (219 women and 165 men) volunteered to participate in the study. The samples were assembled by using online (n= 179) and paper surveys (n= 205) from six cities in North Cyprus where TCs' reside, namely, Nicosia, Kyrenia, Famagusta, Guzelyurt, Iskele, and Lefke. The critical participation criterion was to have a mother or father of TC descent.

# 3.1.1.2 Greek Cypriots Population

A total number of 219 GC participants aged between 18 and 89 (93 women and 126 men) volunteered to participate in the current study. The data were gathered by using online (n= 56) and paper surveys (n= 163) from four cities in South Cyprus where GCs live, namely Nicosia, Larnaca, Baf, and Limassol. The critical participation criterion was the same as for the TCs in that either the mother or father should be of GC descent.

#### 3.1.2 Research Measurements

The Socio-demographic Information Form (16-items), War and Peace Attitude Scale (40-items), and Shared Societal Beliefs of 84-items were used. The total number of items was 140.

## 3.1.2.1 A Socio-Demographic Information

It was generated including gender, age, marital status, income level, education, ethnicity, and political orientation. Additionally, various questions such as whether

they had direct involvement with the 1963 or 1974 conflicts, the experience of displacement after 1974, witnessed the death or injury of a relative and experience of any loss and injury as a result of the conflicts, were adapted from Stathi, Husnu, and Pendleton's study (2017).

#### 3.1.2.2 The War and Peace Attitude Scale

The scale is a 40-item 5-point Likert scale and was developed by Aktaş (2012). In the reliability validity study, the scale was separated into sub-scales which were reasons of war ( $\alpha$  = .50), results of war ( $\alpha$  = .80), patriotism and heroism ( $\alpha$  = .67), defence ( $\alpha$  = .58), war-peace and history education ( $\alpha$  = .65), and prevention of war and peace ( $\alpha$  = .72). The current study results showed Cronbach alpha levels as reasons of war (TC:  $\alpha$  = .50, GC:  $\alpha$  = .60), results of war (TC:  $\alpha$  = .70, GC:  $\alpha$  = .70), patriotism and heroism (TC:  $\alpha$  = .77, GC:  $\alpha$  = .56), defence (TC:  $\alpha$  = .80, GC:  $\alpha$  = .78), war-peace and history education (TC:  $\alpha$  = .50, GC:  $\alpha$  = .50), and prevention of war and peace (TC:  $\alpha$  = .53, GC:  $\alpha$  = .56). The evaluation intervals of difference are measured as follows: 1.00-1.80 is very low for totally disagree, 1.81-2.60 is low for disagree, 2.61-3.40 is middle for undecided, 3.41-4.21 is high for agree, and 4.22-5.00 is very high for strongly agree.

#### 3.1.2.3 Shared Societal Beliefs Scale – Item Generation

In this section, the process of scale construction and item generation was explained step-by-step.

### 3.1.2.3.1 Step 1: Defining the Construct to Be Assessed

In the first stage, we examined ethos of conflict as acceptance of societal beliefs that contain eight belief themes: societal beliefs about the justness of one's own goals, societal beliefs about security, societal beliefs about delegitimising the opponent, societal beliefs about a positive collective self-image, societal beliefs of their

victimization, societal beliefs about patriotism, societal beliefs about unity, and societal beliefs about peace. Subsequently, each of these themes was defined based on the two societies.

#### 3.1.2.3.2 Step 2: Constructing the Item Pool

The second step consisted of constructing the item pool. First, we developed 84 items in Turkish based on interviews with politicians and citizens holding both leftist and rightist views, scholars or experts on the Cyprus issue and lastly, by analysing media sources from Cyprus. We categorised the items in terms of adherence to the eight societal belief themes. Specifically, 10 items referred to justness, 14 items referred to security, 14 items referred to delegitimising the opponent, 12 items referred to positive collective self-image, 12 items referred to victimization, 9 items referred to patriotism, 8 items referred to unity, and 5 items referred to peace.

#### 3.1.2.3.3 Step 3: Translation of the Items into the Greek Language

In the third step, the Socio-Demographic Information form, War-Peace Attitude Scale, and Societal Beliefs Scale were translated into Greek by a TC translator. Then, for back translation, it was translated back into Turkish by a Greek translator. We also conducted a pilot study to eliminate any mistakes or misunderstandings in terms of the Greek and Turkish language.

#### 3.1.2.3.4 Step 4: Expert Review and Pilot Study

In the fourth and final step, 84 items were submitted to experts for review, who had expertise in politics, language, psychology, journalism, sociology, and bi-communal conflict resolution. Based on their feedback, we revised the language and content of the items and constructed the scale as a 5-point Likert scale on a continuum that included Strongly Disagree, Disagree, Undecided, Agree, and Strongly Agree. Later, we conducted a pilot study with 50 TCs and 50 GCs to analyse the scales in terms of

language, comprehensibility and whether the statements were biased or prejudiced.

Lastly, we created the final versions of the questions in both languages.

#### 3.1.3 Research Procedures

Before commencing the study, ethical approval was sought from the Eastern Mediterranean University Ethics Committee. The questionnaires were distributed through online channels and in paper form to GCs and TCs. Firstly, distributed an informed consent form for the participants to confirm that they were participating in the study voluntarily. Completion of the survey took approximately 20-25 minutes. After the data were collected, we entered the data was into SPSS 20 to measure Cronbach's alpha and to perform explanatory factor analysis on the items. Subsequently, we conducted confirmatory factor analysis using AMOS 19 software to assess the nature of and relations among the latent variables that resulted from the explanatory factor analysis.

#### 3.1.4 The Last Version of the Scales in Turkish and Greek Languages

Principle Components Analysis (PCA) is a component model-based factor extraction method for Explanatory Factor Analysis with varimax rotation (Comrey & Lee, 1992; Fabrigar & Wegener 2011; Schmitt, 2011). PCA is a statistical technique applied to discover highly correlated observed variables and gather observable variables under factors called latent variables (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2013). The result of the Turkish version of the 84-item scale was reduced based on the PCA and resulted in 31-items in four different factors (see in Table 4). Briefly, based on the results for the initial eigenvalues greater than 1.00, 26 components explained 72.39% of the variance. Furthermore, 50 items were reduced from the item set since their correlation value was determined to be between .30 and .60.

After reducing the 50 items, the Cronbach's alpha value increased to .92. The second PCA with varimax rotation was computed based on 8-fixed factors. The variance value was found to be 61.36%. The 29th item was extracted due to its low correlation value in component analysis and the 67th item was extracted as it was the same as the 44th item which was included to analyse the consistency. It was observed that 32 items were correlated based on a correlation value of .30-.60. The Cronbach's alpha value increased to .92.

The third PCA with varimax rotation was evaluated by fixing the number of factors to 6 and the 27th item was eliminated due to its low correlation value and the variance value was 49.49%. The Cronbach's alpha level again increased to .93, which denotes a perfect internal consistency.

For the final stage, PCA was assessed with 31 items, using varimax rotation by fixing the number of factors to 4, which explained 50.80% of the variance values. In this analysis, the best-defined factors with high-level correlation were collected under the same factors and the values of the items were from .31 to .74 (see Table 4).

In Table 4, correlations and significant values of the items were shown. The highly correlated items collected under the same factors were named based on the theoretical background of the study. Factor 1 was named 'Delegitimising the Opponent' and about the belief that Greek Cypriots deny Turkish Cypriots' existence, so they violate and victimize their human rights ( $\alpha$  =.92). Factor 2 was named 'Patriotism and Justness' concerned with patriotic thoughts and the justness of Turkish Cypriots ( $\alpha$  = .93). Factor 3 was named as 'Guarantors and Security' concerned with the importance of guarantor governments, namely Turkey and Greece, in case of a possible solution to the Cyprus

issue ( $\alpha$  = .89). Lastly, factor 4 was named as 'Positive Collective Self-Image' which was about Turkish Cypriots' positive characteristics, values, and behaviours ( $\alpha$  = .72).

Table 4. Explanatory Factor Analysis Statistical Results of Societal Beliefs Scale – Turkish Version

Variables	Facto	<b>Factor Loadings</b>			
	1	2	3	4	
41. Greek Cypriots perceive Turkish Cypriots as enemies.	.68				
64. Greek Cypriots violate Turkish Cypriots' rights.	.64				
37. Greek Cypriots do not count the presence of the	.63				
Turkish Cypriots living on the island.					
83. Greek Cypriots are hostile to Turkish Cypriots.	.63				
68. Greek Cypriots violate the rights of Turkish Cypriots.	.60				
9. Greek Cypriot Journalists generally publish distorted information about Turkish Cypriots.	.59				
63. Turkish Cypriots do not trust Greek Cypriots because of the bitter experiences of the past.	.59				
57. In the settlement process, Turkish Cypriots argue that Greek Cypriots are the reason for the conflict.	.55				
54. Greek Cypriots hold the opinion that Cyprus issue cannot be solved.	.54				
5. Greek Cypriot journalists publish biased information against the Turkish Cypriots at every opportunity.	.52				
53. In case of a possible settlement, Turkish Cypriots should not interfere with the internal affairs of	.39				
Greek Cypriots.					
56. In the settlement process, Greek Cypriots argue that Turkish Cypriots are the reason for the conflict.	.37				
4. There are constitutional reasons for having Turkey as a guarantor of Turkish Cypriots' safety.		.69			
21. Greek Cypriot journalists publish information that includes full of hatred for Turkish Cypriots at every		.63			
opportunity.					
2. Turkish Cypriots were right about their justness during the 1963-1974 wars.		.61			
28. Turkish Cypriots sacrifice their own lives for their nationality.		.52			
45. Greek Cypriots are not in favour of reconciliation with Turkish Cypriots while having the support of		.52			
external actors.					
49. Turkish Cypriots are right for the territorial issues discussed during negotiations.		.52			
40. Turkish Cypriots are more trustworthy in terms of the Cyprus issue.		.50			
80. Turkish Cypriots argue that Greek Cypriots do not live on occupied territories as they claim.		.35			

51. In case of a possible settlement, Turkey's continuity as a guarantor is of utmost importance for the	.74
security of Turkish Cypriots.	
36. The relationship between Turkish Cypriots and Turkey should remain in terms of security reasons.	.74
20. There are constitutional reasons for being a warrantor of Turkey for Turkish Cypriots' national survival according to Turkish Cypriots.	.69
77. In case of a possible settlement, not having guarantor states would pose a threat to the welfare and security of both societies.	.55
50. In case of a possible settlement, Greece's continuity as a guarantor is of utmost importance for the security of Greek Cypriots.	.47
35. The relationship between Greek Cypriots and Greece should remain in terms of security reasons.	.42
19. There are constitutional reasons for having Greece as a guarantor of Greek Cypriots' national survival according to Greek Cypriots.	.40
34. Generally, Turkish Cypriots are right for not approaching settlement.	.39
42. Turkish Cypriots perceive Greek Cypriots as enemies.	.36
44. Turkish Cypriots are superior to Greek Cypriots.	.33
30. Turkish Cypriots have a strong sense of cohesiveness.	.31

Note: All the values above were significant at  $p \le .001$ , Factor loadings > .30.

PCA with varimax rotation method was run to extract the low correlated items of the Societal Beliefs Scale – Greek Version based on the initial eigenvalue greater than 1.00. The analysis revealed that 21 components explained 72.97% of the variance. Consequently, 63 items were dropped based on low loadings, which were determined between .30 and .60 in the first study.

The Cronbach's alpha value of the remaining 21 items increased to .83. The second PCA was computed using the varimax rotation method and the number of factors was fixed to three. The results indicated the best-defined items were under three components with values between .37 - .82 values which explained 49.57% variance (see Table 5).

The result of the Greek Cypriot version with 84-items revealed 21-items in three different factors based on the PCA. Factor 1, 'Guarantors and Security' includes nine items that reveal information in terms of if a solution is found to the Cyprus Issue, what the importance of guarantor governments (Turkey and Greece) and provided security will be for Greek Cypriots ( $\alpha = 91$ ). Factor 2, delegitimising the opponent, includes nine items that reveal information on the societal beliefs of Greek Cypriots about Turkish Cypriots' enmity attitudes, behaviours and perceptions toward them ( $\alpha = .80$ ). Factor 3, patriotism and justness includes three items that reveal indications of patriotic thoughts ( $\alpha = .72$ ).

Table 5. Explanatory Factor Analysis Results of Societal Beliefs Scale – Greek Version

Variables	Fact Load		
	1	2	3
50. In case of a possible settlement, Greece's continuity as a guarantor is of utmost importance for the security of GCs.	.82		
35. The relationship between Greek Cypriots and Greece should remain in terms of security reasons.	.76		
77. In case of a possible settlement, not having guarantor states would pose a threat to the welfare and security of both societies.	.75		
51. In case of a possible settlement, Turkey's continuity as a guarantor is of utmost importance for the security of TCs.	.69		
36. The relationship between Turkish Cypriots and Turkey should remain in terms of security reasons.	.67		
43. Greek Cypriots is superior to Turkish Cypriots.	.65		
34. Generally, Turkish Cypriots are right for not approaching settlement.	.62		
39. Greek Cypriots are more trustworthy in terms of the Cyprus issue.	.57		
19. There are constitutional reasons for having Greece as a guarantor of Greek Cypriots' national survival according to GCs.	.53		
42. Turkish Cypriots perceive Greek Cypriots as enemies.		.79	
41. Greek Cypriots perceive Turkish Cypriots as enemies.		.79	
83. Greek Cypriots are hostile to Turkish Cypriots.		.62	
56. In the settlement process, Greek Cypriots argue that Turkish Cypriots are the reason for the conflict.		.56	
84. Turkish Cypriots are hostile to Greek Cypriots.		.52	
57. In the settlement process, Turkish Cypriots argue that Greek Cypriots are the reason for the conflict.		.51	
68. Greek Cypriots violate the rights of Turkish Cypriots in a lot of issues.		.46	
10. Turkish Cypriot Journalists generally publish distorted information about Greek Cypriots.		.43	
62. Greek Cypriots do not trust Turkish Cypriots because of the bitter experiences of the past		.37	

28. Turkish Cypriots sacrifices their own lives for their nationality.	.76
11. Greek Cypriots are proud of their own nationality.	.72
27. Greek Cypriots sacrifice their own lives for their nationality.	.71

Note: All the values above were significant at  $p \le .001$ , Factor loadings >.30.

# 3.2 Study 2 with Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot Journalists

The second study aimed to investigate the frequency of TC and GC journalists' contact with each other and other community members and the extent of their social-psychological processes including intergroup contact, prejudice, common ingroup identity, anxiety, forgiveness levels, war peace attitudes scale, and societal beliefs.

#### 3.2.1 Population and Sample

It was aimed to reach all populations of journalists to get reliable and representative results. The sample size was calculated by using the G Power program and decided as 100 and above participation is representative of the research. Non-probability convenience sampling, which is a method of collecting data from a convenient sample, was used as a sampling technique. A total of 605 journalists is working in the north Cyprus. 336 of them holds yellow press card and 269 of them hold permanent press card. 224 journalists holding yellow press cards and 198 journalists holding permanent press cards were reached and 113 of them voluntarily confirmed to participate in the research. Two of the questionnaires were excluded due to the unsuitable position in the media (working in a secretary position). Based on the information taken from the president of the Union of Cyprus Journalists, approximately 800 journalists are working in the southern Cyprus media. In this study, 345 of them were reached and 100 of them voluntarily confirmed to participate in the research. The journalists were reached one by one via e-mail, telephone, or their social media accounts with the help of both communities' NGOs and syndicates.

One hundred and eleven participants from TC journalists (43 female and 68 male) and one hundred participants from GC journalists (52 female, 47 male, and one gender unspecified) volunteered for the study. The participants provided data by responding

to an online survey because of the lockdown period of the Covid-19 pandemic. Syndicates, NGOs, and associations were reached to contribute to distributing the survey via social media and e-mail.

#### 3.2.2 Research Measurements

The survey consisted of 122 for TC and 112 for GC items 25 of which focus on sociodemographic information which include age, sex, marital status, education and income level, job description, religion, ethnicity, political view, and war experiences, and 97 items for the TCs and 87 items for the GCs cover issues such as intergroup contact, outgroup attitudes, common ingroup identity, intergroup anxiety, forgiveness scale, and societal beliefs scale as explained below.

#### 3.2.2.1 Intergroup Contact Scale

The quantity of contact scale was used to gather information about the frequency of contact among two communities' journalists with a 5-point scale of 8 items. More specifically, the participants were asked to indicate the quantity of their contact with the outgroup community in general and their contact with outgroup journalists. Three items of the scale were adopted from Stathi et al., (2017,  $\alpha = .76$ ) and the rest of the items were developed by the researchers: one item for the reason of crossing border as an open-ended item, 3-items for contact with outgroup members in general (TC:  $\alpha = .74$ , GC:  $\alpha = .77$ ), and 4-items for contact with outgroup journalists (TC:  $\alpha = .92$ , GC:  $\alpha = .87$ ). The higher the score the more frequent intergroup contact is.

#### 3.2.2.2 Outgroup Attitudes Scale

The participants were asked to indicate how they feel about the outgroup community in general. The scale included 6 items adapted from Voci and Hewstone (2003,  $\alpha$  = .75). It includes 5-bipolar evaluative dimensions (not at all to very much): warm-cold (reverse-coded), positive-negative (reverse-coded), friendly-hostile (reverse-coded),

suspicious-trusting, respectful-contempt (reverse-coded), and admiration-disgust (reverse-coded) (TC:  $\alpha$  = .92, GC:  $\alpha$  = .94). Higher scores indicated more positive feelings towards the outgroup.

# 3.2.2.3 Common Ingroup Identity Scale

3-items regarding common identity with outgroup were asked to specify the extent to which both communities' journalists think they can form a common ingroup identity. The scale was developed by Eller and Abram (2004;  $\alpha$  =.92) as a 5-point scale and three items were adapted to the Cyprus community by Stathi et al., ( $\alpha$  = .66). The scale includes the following items: "To what extent do you perceive TCs and GCs to constitute one single ethnic group" (reverse-coded); "To what extent do you perceive TCs and GCs to constitute two different ethnic groups"; and "To what extent do you perceive TCs/GCs as a common group (e.g., as Cypriot) with you" (TC:  $\alpha$  = .76, GC:  $\alpha$  = .78) (not at all to very much). Higher scores indicated a greater perception of shared identity.

# 3.2.2.4 Intergroup Anxiety Scale

The participants expressed their feelings about how they would feel when interacting with outgroup members: awkward (reverse-coded); suspicious; embarrassed; anxious; comfortable; relaxed; and confident (reverse-coded). It was adapted (Stephan & Stephan, 1985;  $\alpha = .94$ ) as 5-point scale (TC:  $\alpha = .88$ , GC:  $\alpha = .92$ ) with 6-items (not at all to very much). Higher scores indicated higher anxiety.

#### 3.2.2.5 Forgiveness Scale

The participants were asked to the extent to which they think both community members forgive each other. It was adapted as (Cehajic et al., 2008;  $\alpha$  = .79) a 5-point scale (strongly disagree to strongly agree) including items such as 'I think that TCs/GCs should forgive TCs/GCs' misdeeds; TCs/GCs must never forgive

wrongdoings committed by TCs/GCs during the war, and Cyprus will never move forward until TCs/GCs forgive TCs/GCs' (Stathi, 2017; GC-  $\alpha$  = .75 & TC –  $\alpha$  = .79). Higher scores showed higher forgiveness of outgroup members.

#### 3.2.2.6 Shared Societal Beliefs Scale

The shared societal beliefs scale which was developed in the first study was used to assess TC and GC journalist participants' societal beliefs towards the other community. The TC scale was a 5-point scale (strongly disagree to strongly agree) consisting of 31-items ( $\alpha$  = .94) including four subscales which are delegitimising the opponent ( $\alpha$  = .88), patriotism and justness ( $\alpha$  = .82), guarantors and security ( $\alpha$  = .86), and positive collective self-image ( $\alpha$  = .60). The GC scale was also a 5 point (strongly disagree to strongly agree) consisting of 21-items ( $\alpha$  = .80) including three sub-scales which are delegitimising the opponent ( $\alpha$  = .70), patriotism and justness ( $\alpha$  = .71), and guarantors and security ( $\alpha$  = .81). High scores showed higher negative societal beliefs of outgroup members.

#### 3.2.2.7 War And Peace Attitudes Scale

This scale was developed by Aktaş (2012) into six sub-scales which were the reasons of war ( $\alpha$  = .50), the results of war ( $\alpha$  = .80), patriotism and heroism ( $\alpha$  = .67), defence ( $\alpha$  = .58), war-peace and history education ( $\alpha$  = .65), and prevention of war and peace ( $\alpha$  = .72). The current study aimed to analyse journalists' peace and war attitudes; therefore, the scale was separated into two sub-scales. The scale includes 40-items which is a 5-point Likert scale and consists of two subscales which are peace attitudes (TC -  $\alpha$  = .83 & GC -  $\alpha$  = .82) and war attitudes (TC -  $\alpha$  = .87 & GC -  $\alpha$  = .84) subscales and aims to investigate participants' peace and war attitudes (Aktaş, 2012).

#### 3.2.3 Research Procedures

The survey administered to the participants was in their native language. First, the survey was prepared in the Turkish language. Then, it was translated into the Greek language by a bi-lingual translator, and it was back-translated into the Turkish language by another bi-lingual translator. Before filling in the survey, the participants were informed about the aim of the study and then they were asked whether they volunteer to participate in the research.

## 3.3 Study 3 with Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot Journalists

The second study investigated the social psychological processes of journalists working on a divided and conflicted island, Cyprus. The third study was also a bicommunal study based on a quantitative analysis, which was aimed to examine how social-psychological processes are associated with their professional lives, more specifically their peace and war journalism attitudes and how those processes inhibit the implementation of PJ principles by influencing them social psychologically.

From both communities, the list of journalists, who have a yellow press card, was asked to be provided by the journalists' syndicates and NGO's. Based on these lists, the participants were reached one by one via e-mail, social media, or telephone. Those TC and GC journalists consenting to participate in the study were asked to fill out the online questionnaire. As we were unable to reach all journalists on the lists, we used snowballing technique whereby we kindly asked our participants to share the link with their journalist colleagues leading to a convenience sample of journalists from both communities. The questionnaire took approximately 20 minutes. During data collection, no tension or active conflict between the two communities existed.

#### 3.3.1 Population and Sample

Non-probability convenience sampling was used as a sampling technique. The sample size was calculated by using the G Power program and decided as 100 and above participation is representative of the research. A total of 605 journalists is working in the northern part of Cyprus. 336 of them holds yellow press card and 269 of them hold permanent press card. 258 journalists holding yellow press cards and 205 journalists holding permanent press cards were reached and 102 of them voluntarily confirmed to participate in the research. From approximately 800 journalists working in the southern part of Cyprus media, 364 journalists were reached and 103 of them voluntarily confirmed to participate in the research.

The sample was recruited from TC and GC journalists' populations who work in Cyprus. One hundred and two participants from TC journalists (34 female, 68 male) aged between 18 and above 66 years and one hundred and three participants from GC journalists (34 female, 69 male) aged between 18 and above 66 years volunteered for the current study.

Respondents were asked to provide their job description (i.e., editor, correspondent), education level, ethnicity (i.e., TC, GC or only Cypriot), religious, political view, and social media usage (i.e., how many hours they use social media, or which social media tools do they use actively). All participants completed an online survey because of the Covid-19 pandemic. They were presented with brief information about the study, consent form, and measures of the variables.

#### 3.3.2 Research Measurement

All scales were translated to the mother tongue of the participant using translation and back-translation methods by bilingual instructors fluent in either of the languages (Turkish or Greek). For all scales, the original items and their translations were once again compared to confirm the accuracy and equivalency of the translations.

#### 3.3.2.1 Intergroup Contact Scale

It consists of two separate quality and quantity of contact scales and information was acquired regarding how frequently they had contact with the other community and how positive the relations between the two groups are. The quantity of contact scale was adapted with 4-items (Stathi, et al., 2017,  $\alpha$  = .76) and developed into 10 items which consisted of 1-item including the reasons of contact, 3-items including general contact with the outgroup members (TC:  $\alpha$  = .77, GC:  $\alpha$  = .76), 4-items including contact with journalists (TC:  $\alpha$  = .88, GC:  $\alpha$  = .79), and 2-items including extended contact that included contact with journalists specifically using social media. Higher scores indicated more frequent contact. The quality of contact scale was adapted (Voci & Hewstone, 2003;  $\alpha$  = .82) to measure the quality of contact by using a 4-item (TC:  $\alpha$  = .65, GC:  $\alpha$  = .63), 5-bipolar scale. The items are superficial-deep, natural-forced (reverse-coded), unpleasant-pleasant, competitive-cooperative, and intimate-distant (reverse-coded) and the third item was not worked for both communities and was deleted in the analysis.

#### 3.3.2.2 Outgroup Attitudes Scale

Both community journalists were asked to rate their feelings towards each group with 6-items (TC:  $\alpha$  = .92, GC:  $\alpha$  = .87), on 5-bipolar evaluative dimensions: warm-cold (reverse-coded), positive-negative (reverse-coded), friendly-hostile (reverse-coded), suspicious-trusting, respectful-contempt (reverse-coded), and admiration-disgust (reverse-coded). Items were coded as higher scores indicate more positive outgroup evaluation (adapted from Voci & Hewstone, 2003,  $\alpha$  = .75).

#### 3.3.2.3 Intergroup Anxiety Scale

The measure was used to investigate the extent to which they would feel when they interact with outgroup members: awkward (reverse-coded); suspicious; embarrassed; anxious; comfortable; relaxed, and confident (reverse-coded) (Stephan & Stephan, 1985;  $\alpha = .94$ ). It was a 5-point scale (TC:  $\alpha = .80$ , GC:  $\alpha = .81$ ) with 6 items (not at all to very much) and higher scores indicated higher anxiety.

#### 3.3.2.4 Common Ingroup Identity Scale

Three questions regarding common identity with outgroup members were asked which was 5-point (TC:  $\alpha$  = .83, GC:  $\alpha$  = .84) which were used 1 not at all to 5 very much: "To what extent do you perceive TCs and GCs to constitute one single ethnic group" (reverse-coded); "To what extent do you perceive TCs and GCs to constitute two different ethnic groups"; and "To what extent do you perceive TCs/GCs as a common group (e.g., as Cypriot) with you" (adapted from Stathi, et al., 2017,  $\alpha$  = .66). Higher scores indicated a greater perception of shared identity.

#### 3.3.2.5 Peace And War Journalism Attitudes Scale

To extend the scope of PJ and WJ attitudes a more comprehensive scale on PJ and WJ attitudes was utilized such that Neumann & Fahmy's (2016) study was done to assess journalists' attitudes towards their practices. The current scale consists of 36-items by adapting 22-items from a study done by Neumann & Fahmy, (2016,  $\alpha$  = .80) and 14-items from another study done by Ersoy, (2003). The items were formed by adapting Galtung's (2003) classification of PJ including peace-oriented, truth-oriented, people-oriented, and solution-oriented principles and WJ including war-oriented, propaganda-oriented, elite-oriented, and victory-oriented principles. It was a 5-point scale (strongly disagree to strongly agree) that aims to measure journalists' attitudes towards PJ (20-items; TC:  $\alpha$  = .80, GC:  $\alpha$  = .92) and WJ (16-items; TC:  $\alpha$  = .83, GC:  $\alpha$  = .68).

#### 3.3.3 Research Procedures

Ethical approval was obtained from the institution's ethics committee before starting the research. The survey was presented to participants in their native language. Since the research coincided with the Covid-19 pandemic, participants were reached by using online tools (i.e., Facebook or via e-mail) with the help of both communities' NGOs and syndicates. After the data collection procedure ended, the data were entered into SPSS and analysed. In the following section, the results are discussed.

# Chapter 4

# ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

This chapter outlines the findings and analysis of the two studies done with TC and GC journalists. In the first study, the results of the participated one hundred and eleven TC journalists and one hundred GC journalists' socio-demographic, job-related, religion and political, war experiences, intergroup contact, outgroup attitudes, intergroup anxiety, forgiveness, war-peace attitudes, and societal beliefs were analysed and compared.

Based on the first study results, another study was conducted to analyse how those social psychological processes such as intergroup contact or outgroup attitudes influence both community journalists' PJ and WJ attitudes. In the following section, the first study results were discussed.

# 4.1 The Analysis of the Manner of the TC and GC Journalists' Socio-Psychological Processes -Study 2

In the following study analysis respectively, journalists' socio-demographic, job, and war experience information were discussed. Then, the association between intergroup contact, outgroup attitudes, intergroup anxiety, peace-war attitudes, and forgiveness levels were compared and discussed between both community journalists.

#### 4.1.1 The Socio-Demographic Information Results

In the socio-demographic information part of the survey, journalists were asked about their age, gender, marital status, education level and country, ethnicity, political view, religion, and war experiences. The frequency analysis revealed that the average age of participated TC and GC participant journalists were among the ages of 26-35.

Furthermore, the results indicated that the TC journalist participants were mostly male whereas the GC journalist participants were mostly female. Moreover, the TC participants were mostly married, whereas the GC participants were mostly single. Additionally, the TC and GC participants were mostly graduated from university. Most of the TC journalists were graduated from a university in North Cyprus and the others respectively in Turkey, England, South Cyprus, and Australia. On the other hand, most of the GC journalists were graduated from a university in South Cyprus, and the others respectively in Greece, England, Greece and Cyprus, Russia, Greece and England, Holland, France, and America (see Table 6).

Table 7 shows the TC and GC journalists' ethnicity, political view, and religion. Most of the TC journalists defined themselves as Turkish Cypriot whereas the approximately same number of the GC journalists defined themselves as Cypriot or Greek Cypriot. The frequency results of political views between two communities showed that most of the participated TC journalists have leftist political views whereas the approximately same number of the participated GC journalists have a leftist political view or no political view. Moreover, approximately half of the TC journalists indicated themselves as Muslims,

Table 6. The Frequency Table of the TC and GC Journalists' Age, Gender, Marital Status, Education Level & Country

Age	TC			GC	
_	f	%		$\overline{f}$	%
18-25	7	6.3		5	5.0
26-35	22	19.8		37	37.0
36-45	39	35.1		34	34.0
46-55	24	21.6		8	8.0
56-65	13	11.7		16	16.0
66 & above	6	5.4		0	0
Total	111	100		100	100
Gender					
Female	43	38.7		53	53.0
Male	68	61.3		47	47.0
Total	111	100		100	100
<b>Marital Status</b>					
Single	26	23.4		47	47.0
Engaged	2	1.8		0	0
Married	71	64.0		44	44.(
Divorced	12	10.8		9	9.0
Total	111	100		100	100
<b>Education Level</b>					
High School	14	12.6		5	5.0
University	68	61.3		65	65.0
Master	25	22.5		26	26.0
Doctorate	4	3.6		4	4.0
Total	111	100		100	100
<b>Education Country</b>					
North Cyprus	79	71.2	South Cyprus	45	45.0
Turkey	25	22.5	Greece	20	20.0
England	4	3.6	England	9	9.0
South Cyprus	2	1.8	Greece &	9	9.0
			Cyprus		
Australia	1	.9	Russia	6	6.0
-			Greece &	6	6.0
			England		
-			France	1	1.0
-			Holland	3	3.0
-			America	1	1.0
Total	111	100		100	100

Note: f = frequency, % = percent

Table 7. The Frequency Table of the TC and GC Journalists' Ethnicity, Political View, Religion

Ethnicity	TC		Ethnicity	GC	
	$\overline{f}$	%	_	f	%
Turkish Cypriot	73	65.8	Greek Cypriot	45	45.0
Turkish	9	8.1	Greek	7	7.0
Cypriot	29	26.1	Cypriot	48	48.0
Total	111	100.0	Total	100	100.0
<b>Political View</b>					
Extremely Leftist	11	9.9		4	4.0
Leftist	69	62.2		44	44.0
None	19	17.1		45	45.0
Extremely	0	0		0	0
Rightist					
Rightist	12	11.8		7	7.0
Total	111	100.0	Total	100	100.0
Religion			Religion		
Muslim	45	40.5	Christian	54	54.0
Atheist	37	33.3	Atheist	31	31.0
Deist	25	22.5	Deist	0	0
Agnostic	4	3.6	Agnostic	15	15.0
Total	111	100.0	Total	100	100.0

Note: f = frequency, % = percent

whereas more than half of the participated GC journalists defined themselves as Christians (see Table 7).

Table 8 indicates the frequency of the TC and GC journalists' job status whether they are high or low and what kind of media type they work in. More than half of the TC journalists were high status whereas most of the GC journalists were low status in their jobs. Furthermore, Table 8 also shows where they work, that is, TC journalists work in a press, online newspaper, both press and online, TV station, radio and TV stations, and TV and the online newspaper. On the other hand, most of the GC journalists work in an online newspaper, and the others work in a press, press and online newspaper, radio, and TV station (see Table 8).

Table 8. The Frequency Table of the TC and GC Journalists' Job Status & Job Type

Job Description	TC			GC	
	$\overline{f}$	%		$\overline{f}$	%
Low	49	44.1		79	79.0
High	62	55.9		21	21.0
Total	111	100.0	Total	100	100.0
Job Type					
Press	27	24.3		5	5.0
Online	23	20.7		70	70.0
Press & Online	27	24.3		11	11.0
Radio	2	1.8		6	6.0
Television	20	18.0		8	8.0
Radio & TV	5	4.5		0	0
TV & Online	7	6.3		0	0
Total	111	100.0	Total	100	100.0

Note: f = frequency, % = percent

Table 9 demonstrates the frequency of the TC and GC journalists' membership of NGOs and syndicates, whether they have any position in these organisations, and whether they follow the outgroup media. Most of the TC and GC journalists are a member of an NGO and TCs' positions are only a member and some of them experienced a position of secretary-general, chairman or board member whereas some of the GCs experience the position of board member in an NGO.

Furthermore, most of the TC journalists are a member of a syndicate whereas most of the GC journalists are not. The TC journalists experienced the positions of chairman or board member whereas some of the GC journalists were in the position of a board member.

Table 9. The Frequency Table of the TC and GC Journalists' Membership of NGO &

Syndicate and Their Positions and Following Outgroup Media

NGO	TC			GC	
Membership					
	f	%		f	%
Yes	94	84.7		52	52.0
No	17	15.3		48	48.0
Total	111	100.0	Total	100	100.0
NGO Position					
Member	78	70.3		47	47.0
Secretary-General	2	1.8		0	0
Chairman	3	2.7		0	0
<b>Board Member</b>	11	9.9		6	6
None	17	15.3		47	47.0
Total	111	100.0	Total	100	100.0
Syndicate					
Membership					
Yes	89	80.2		37	37.0
No	22	19.8		63	63.0
Total	111	100.0	Total	100	100.0
<b>Syndicate</b>					
Position					
Member	82	73.9		34	34.0
Chairman	1	.9		0	0
<b>Board Member</b>	6	5.4		3	3.0
None	22	19.8		63	63.0
Total	111	100.0	Total	100	100.0
Following					
Outgroup Media					
Yes	100	90.1		69	69.0
No	11	9.9		31	31.0
Total	111	100.0	Total	100	100.0

Note: f = frequency, % = percent

Furthermore, both community journalists were also asked whether they follow the outgroup media and the results indicated that most of the TCs and the GCs follow the outgroup media (see Table 9).

Table 10. The Frequency Table of the TC and GC Journalists' Place of Birth and Relations before 1974

Place of Birth before 1974	TC			GC	
	$\overline{f}$	%		$\overline{f}$	%
TC/GC Village	17	15.3		11	11.0
Mixed Village	8	7.2		5	5.0
Other	86	77.5		84	84.0
Total	111	100.0	Total	100	100.0
Relations					
before 1974					
Positive	100	90.1		69	69.0
Negative	11	9.9		31	31.0
No Relations	0	0		0	0
Total	111	100.0	Total	100	100.0

Note: f = frequency, % = percent

Table 10 shows the results of the frequency of where they were born and how was their relationship with the outgroup members before the 1974 Cyprus conflict. The TC journalists indicated that some of them were born in a TC village, some of them in a village that both TC and GC communities had lived together (mixed village), and most of them in other places. On the other hand, some of the GC journalists were born in a GC village, some of them in a mixed village with the TCs and most of them in other places. Additionally, most of the TC and GC journalists indicated that they had positive relations with each other before the 1974 conflict whereas some of the GC journalists indicated that they had negative relations, which this score was lesser in TC journalists' responses.

Direct	TC			$\mathbf{GC}$	
Involvement to 1963 Clashes					
1903 Clashes	$\overline{f}$	%		$\overline{f}$	%
Yes		71.2		20	20.0
No	33	29.7		80	80.0
Total	111	100.0	Total	100	100.0
Whom Involved	111	100.0	10141	100	100.0
Self	1	.9		1	1.0
Family Member	68	61.3		13	13.0
Close Person	9	8.1		6	6.0
None	33	29.7		80	80.0
Total	111	100.0	Total	100	100.0
Direct	111	100.0	Total	100	100.0
Involvement to					
1974 Conflict					
Yes	88	79.3		70	70.0
No	23	20.7		30	30.0
Total	111	100.0	Total	100	100.0
Whom Involved					
Self	6	5.4		5	5.0
Family Member	77	69.4		51	51.0
Close Person	5	4.5		14	14.0
None	23	20.7		30	30.0
Total	111	100.0	Total	100	100.0
Experience of					
Displacement					
Yes	78	70.3		54	54.0
No	33	29.7		46	46.0
Total	111	100.0	Total	100	100.0
Whom					
Displaced					
Self	12	10.8		2	2.0
Family Member	56	50.5		38	38.0
Close Person	10	9.0		14	14.0
None	33	29.7		46	46.0
<u>Total</u>	111	100.0	Total	100	100.0
Experience of					
Missing Person	21	10.0		20	20.0
Yes	21	18.9		20	20.0
No Total	90 111	81.1	Te4e1	80 100	80.0
Total Whom Missing	111	100.0	Total	100	100.0
	1.7	10.5		10	10.0
Family Member	15	13.5		12	12.0
Close Person	6	5.4		8	8.0
None	90	81.1	pan 4 *	80	80.0
Total	111	100.0	Total	100	100.0

Experience					
Someone's					
Death					
Yes	35	31.5		20	20.0
No	76	68.5		80	80.0
Total	111	100.0	Total	100	100.0
Whom Died					
Family Member	29	26.1		11	11.0
Close Person	6	5.4		9	9.0
None	76	68.5		80	80.0
Total	111	100.0	Total	100	100.0
Experience					
Someone's					
Injury					
Yes	24	21.6		11	11.0
No	87	78.4		89	89.0
Total	111	100.0	Total	100	100.0
Whom Injured					
Family Member	10	9.0		7	7.0
Close Person	14	12.6		4	4.0
None	87	78.4		89	89.0
Total	111	100.0	Total	100	100.0

Note: f = frequency, % = percent

In the current study, the participants were also asked to answer the war experiences such as whether they or others close to them were directly involved in the 1963 clashes or the 1974 conflict, whether they experienced displacement, someone missed, died or injured close to them as a reason of the clashes or war. The results were shown in Table 9 that most of the TC journalists were involved in the 1963 clashes whereas, most of the GC journalists didn't involve. Furthermore, most of the TC journalists' family members participated in the war and some of their close people whereas some of them did not experience the clashes in any way in 1963. On the other hand, the only one the GC journalists participated in themselves, some of the family members and a close person (see Table 11).

Most of both community journalists have experience participating in the 1974 Cyprus conflict. Some of the TC and GC journalists participated themselves or a close person and most of the experienced people were their family members. Moreover, more than half of both community journalists experienced displacement themselves or a family member as a reason of war whereas some journalists didn't experience displacement journalists as a reason of war (see Table 11).

During the war, there were people in both communities who were missed and still, most of them haven't been found yet. In the TC and GC participants' results, they indicated that only some of them experienced someone going missing (e.g., a family member or a close friend) and most of them didn't. Besides, the results showed most of the community journalists didn't experience someone's death and injury (e.g., a family member or a close friend (see Table 11).

One Sample T-test results indicated that TCs and GCs' CII, outgroup attitudes, forgiveness level, peace attitudes, and shared societal beliefs were significantly above the midpoint. Both community journalists' results of contact with journalists, intergroup anxiety, and war attitudes were lower than the midpoint. There wasn't any significance in the results of GC journalists' contact with the community (see Table 12).

Table 13 presents the results of means and standard deviations concerning TC and GC journalists' social-psychological variables. Independent Sample T-test results indicated that TC journalists scored significantly higher than GC on contact with community and contact with journalists.

Table 12. One-sample T-Test Statistics of TC and GC Journalists – Study 2

Scale	TC			GC		
	$\overline{df}$	t- value	Mean difference	df	t- value	Mean difference
Contact with Community	110	5.71	.55	99	.037	.00
Contact with Journalists	110	-3.91	39	99	-9.79	73
Common Ingroup Identity	110	10.40	1.46	99	11.18	1.22
Outgroup Attitudes	110	19.10	.35	99	17.38	1.60
Intergroup Anxiety	110	-5.50	36	99	-3.95	38
Forgiveness	110	10.61	1.00	99	11.20	1.12
Peace Attitudes	110	36.00	1.40	99	36.65	1.38
War Attitudes	110	-5.51	31	99	-3.88	21
TC Shared Societal Beliefs	110	6.68	.39	-	-	-
GC Shared Societal Beliefs	-	-	-	99	3.60	.15

Note: All of the values -except the result in GCs' contact with the community- were significant at  $p \le .001$ .

Furthermore, there were not any significant differences between TC and GC journalists on the scores of common ingroup identity, outgroup attitudes, intergroup anxiety, peace attitudes, war attitudes, and shared societal beliefs.

Overall, both communities' results showed that the scores of contact with community and contact with journalists were low which means they don't adequately contact with outgroup community and journalists. Furthermore, the common ingroup identity scores were middle which means not adequately high to state they are undecided on using a common identity as 'Cypriot' with the outgroup. Moreover, the scores of outgroup attitudes, forgiveness level and peace attitudes were just above the high score which means their positive feelings towards each other and forgiving the outgroup members were not sufficiently high (see Table 13).

Moreover, the TC and GC journalists indicated that they had adequately low anxiety levels and war attitudes towards the outgroup members. On the other hand, their scores of shared societal beliefs were slightly above the midpoint, which means they have negative societal beliefs towards outgroup members (see Table 13).

A Pearson correlation coefficient was calculated to examine the relationship between variables. Both community journalists showed very similar results. In the results of both TC and GC journalists, contact with the community and contact with journalists were found strongly positively correlated. Furthermore, there was also a significant positive correlation between contact with the community and common ingroup identity, outgroup attitudes, forgiveness, and peace attitudes in both community journalists' results (see Table 14). Besides, TC and GC journalists' results indicated that the contact with the community was negatively correlated with intergroup anxiety, war attitudes, TCs and GCs' shared societal beliefs (see Table 14).

#### 4.1.2 The Results of Descriptive Statistics and Correlational Analysis

Table 13. Descriptive Statistics of TC and GC Journalists – Study 2

Scale	TC		GC		
	М	SD	$\overline{M}$	SD	t-value
1. Contact with Community	3.05	1.00	2.50	.91	4.09***
2. Contact with Journalists	2.11	.91	1.78	.74	2.63**
3. Common Ingroup Identity	3.39	.90	3.28	.57	1.31
4. Outgroup Attitudes	3.95	.81	4.10	.92	-1.18
5. Intergroup Anxiety	2.14	.69	2.11	.97	.186
6.Forgiveness Level	3.51	1.00	3.62	1.00	804
7.Peace Attitudes	3.90	.41	3.88	.38	.795
8.War Attitudes	2.20	.60	2.29	.53	.175
9.TC Shared Societal Beliefs	2.90	.62	-	-	-
10.GC Shared Societal Beliefs	-	-	2.70	.43	-

Note: \*  $p \le .05$ , \*\*  $p \le .01$ , \*\*\*  $p \le .001$ ; all scales range from 1-5.

In both community results, the correlation between contact with journalists and other variables were very similar. That is, contact with journalists was significantly positively correlated with common ingroup identity, outgroup attitudes, and forgiveness. Moreover, contact with journalists was negatively correlated with intergroup anxiety and TCs and GCs shared societal beliefs in both communities' results (see Table 14).

Contact with journalists was positively correlated with peace attitudes in only GC journalists results and negatively correlated with war attitudes (see Table 14). Overall, the results with intergroup contact indicated that an increase in contact between community and journalists increase shared common identity, positive feelings, forgiveness, and peace attitudes whereas a decrease in intergroup anxiety, war attitudes, TCs and GCs' negative shared societal beliefs.

Besides, the results of Pearson correlation in both TCs and GCs analysis showed common ingroup identity was significantly positively correlated with outgroup attitudes, forgiveness, and peace attitudes. Furthermore, the common ingroup identity was significantly negatively correlated with intergroup anxiety, war attitudes, and TCs and GCs' shared societal beliefs (see Table 14). Briefly, these results indicated that common ingroup identity increases positive feelings, forgiveness, peace attitudes while decreasing intergroup anxiety, war attitudes, and negative shared societal beliefs.

The results of outgroup attitudes in TCs and GCs demonstrated that there was a significant positive association between outgroup attitudes and forgiveness and peace attitudes. On the other hand, outgroup attitudes were significantly negatively associated with intergroup anxiety, war attitudes, and TCs and GCs' shared societal beliefs (see Table 14). Overall, these results presented that increase in sharing a common identity increases positive feelings and peace attitudes whereas decreases intergroup anxiety, war attitudes, and negative shared societal beliefs.

Additionally, the intergroup anxiety was positively associated with war attitudes, patriotism and justness, and TCs and GCs' shared societal beliefs whereas negatively

associated with forgiveness and peace attitudes in both community journalists' results (see Table 14). In conclusion, it can be stated that increased intergroup anxiety decreases the willingness to forgive and peace attitudes whereas increases war attitudes and negative shared societal beliefs.

Based on both community's results of the study, forgiveness was only significantly positively associated with peace attitudes and negatively associated with war attitudes, TCs and GCs' shared societal beliefs (see Table 14). Briefly, the results indicated that forgiving reduces war attitudes and negative shared societal beliefs whereas enhances increasing peace attitudes.

The peace attitudes of TC and GC journalist was also significantly negatively correlated with war attitudes and TCs and GCs' shared societal beliefs (see Table 14). These results indicated that increased peace attitudes decrease war attitudes and negative shared societal beliefs both community results.

On the other hand, in TCs and GCs' the results of the association between war attitudes and TCs and GCs shared societal beliefs were positively correlated (see Table 14). Overall, these results stressed war attitudes increase the negative shared societal beliefs about the outgroup.

In conclusion, based on the results, it was clear that the TC and GC journalists' social psychological processes towards each other were adequately high which might influence their professional lives. Additionally, these social-psychological processes were also associated with each other. In this manner, another study was conducted to investigate how those processes influence TC and GC journalists' PJ and WJ attitudes

which is very crucial in journalism practices that contribute to sustainable peace in Cyprus.

In the following section, the detailed findings and results were discussed about the association between social-psychological processes and PJ and WJ attitudes of journalists who work in a divided and conflicted society.

Table 14. Pearson Correlation Coefficient Values of the TC and GC Journalists, Study 2

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1.Contact with	-	.672**	.502**	.479**	514**	.399**	.197*	516**	578**	_
Community										
2.Contact with	.689**	-	.268*	.476**	438**	.375**	.114	380**	459**	-
Journalists										
3.Common Ingroup	.419**	.322**	-	.477**	514**	.310**	.200*	509**	409**	-
Identity										
4.Outgroup Attitudes	.500**	.427**	.659**	-	547**	.460**	.283*	486**	479**	-
5.Intergroup Anxiety	547**	424**	672**	777**	-	475**	290**	.569**	.594**	-
6.Forgiveness Level	.444**	.323**	.563**	.694**	687**	-	.221*	365**	462**	-
7.Peace Attitudes	.357**	.285**	.454**	.393**	471**	.525**	-	.267**	.143	-
8.War Attitudes	238*	172	634**	513**	.532**	534**	552**	-	.691**	-
9.TC Shared Societal	-	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	-
Beliefs 10. GC Shared	213*	291**	-390**	456*	.454**	458*	316**	.475**	-	-
Societal Beliefs										

Note: \*\* Correlation is significant at  $p \le .01$ ; values above the diagonal pertain to TC journalists, while those below pertain to GC journalists.

# 4.2 The Analysis of TC and GC journalists Peace Journalism and War Journalism Attitudes and Social Psychological Processes – Study 3

This study, based on the study results indicated above, was aimed to analyse the associations between journalists' social psychological processes such as intergroup contact, outgroup attitudes or intergroup anxiety and peace journalism and war journalism attitudes.

## **4.2.1** The Socio-Demographic Information Results

In the socio-demographic information part of the survey, journalists were asked about their age, gender, marital status, education level, ethnicity, political view, religion, job status, and internet usage.

In Table 15, participants' age, gender, marital status, education level, and education county are presented. The frequency statistics revealed that the sample of one hundred and two TC journalists was mostly between the ages of 36-45 years whereas the sample of one hundred and three GC journalists was mostly between the ages of 25-35 years. Most of the participants of TC and GC journalists were male. More than half of the TC journalists were married, and the GC journalists were mostly engaged. Furthermore, most of the participated TC journalists graduated from university whereas most of the GC journalists were from high school and university.

Table 15. The Frequency Table of the TC and GC Journalists' Age, Gender, Marital Status, Education Level & Country

Age	TC		GC	
	f	%	$\overline{f}$	%
18-25	2	2.0	5	4.9
26-35	9	8.8	33	32.0
36-45	45	44.1	23	22.3
46-55	32	31.4	16	15.5
56-65	11	10.8	21	20.4
66 & above	3	2.9	5	4.9
Total	102	100.0	103	100.0
Gender				
Female	34	33.3	34	33.0
Male	68	66.7	69	67.0
Total	102	100.0	103	100.0
<b>Marital Status</b>				
Single	12	11.8	44	42.7
Engaged	4	3.9	4	3.9
Married	74	72.5	47	45.6
Divorced	10	9.8	8	7.8
Widow	2	2.0	0	0
Total	102	100.0	103	100.0
Education				
Level	10	11.0	0	0.7
High School	12	11.8	9	8.7
University	57	55.9	49	47.6
Master	28	27.5	41	39.8
Doctorate	5	4.9	4	3.9
Total	102	100.0	103	100.0

Note: f = frequency, % = percent

Table 16 shows the TC and GC journalists' ethnicity, political view, and religion. Most of the TC journalists defined themselves as Turkish Cypriot and most of the GC journalists defined themselves as Greek Cypriot rather than defining as Cypriot.

Table 16. The Frequency Table of the TC and GC Journalists' Ethnicity, Political

View, Religion

Ethnicity	TC		Ethnicity	GC	
	f	%	_	f	%
Turkish Cypriot	66	64.7	Greek Cypriot	58	56.3
Turkish	11	10.8	Greek	7	6.8
Cypriot	25	24.5	Cypriot	38	36.9
Total	102	100.0	Total	103	100.0
Political View					
<b>Extremely Leftist</b>	7	6.9		8	7.8
Leftist	56	54.9		51	49.5
None	21	20.6		35	34.0
Extremely	12	11.8		0	0
Rightist					
Rightist	6	5.9		9	8.7
Total	102	100.0	Total	103	100.0
Religion			Religion		
Muslim	49	48.1	Christian	42	40.8
Atheist	21	20.6	Atheist	44	42.7
Deist	15	14.7	Deist	1	1.0
Agnostic	1	1.0	Agnostic	14	13.6
No Religion	16	15.7	No Religion	2	1.9
Total	102	100.0	Total	103	100.0

Note: f = frequency, % = percent

The frequency results of political views between two communities showed that in both communities most journalists indicated that they have leftist political views. The other highest scores indicated that both community journalists don't have any political views. Additionally, some of them have extremely leftist, rightist or extremely rightist political views. Moreover, approximately half of the TC journalists indicated themselves as Muslims and others as Atheists, Deists, Agnostic or no religion. On the other hand, approximately half of the GC journalists indicated themselves as Atheists and the other approximately half of them as Christian and the others as Deists, Agnostic, and no religion (see Table 16).

Table 17. The Frequency Table of the TC and GC Journalists' Status

Status	TC			GC	
	$\overline{f}$	%		$\overline{f}$	%
High	41	40.2		87	84.5
Low	61	59.8		16	15.5
Total	102	100.0	Total	103	100.0

Note: f = frequency, % = percent

The journalists were asked about their job status as high or low. The analysis indicated that approximately more than half of the TC journalists' job statuses were low whereas most of the GC journalists' job statuses were high (see Table 17).

The journalists were asked about how long they have been using the internet, which tool they use most, and how long their internet usage is in a day (see Table 18). The results showed that both community journalists have been using the internet for more than 4 years. Furthermore, both community journalists mostly use smartphones. After smartphones, respectively TC journalists mostly use computers, laptops, and tablets whereas the GC journalists mostly use laptops, computers, and tablets. Moreover, most of the journalists' internet usage rate in a day was 3 hours and more and respectively both community journalists use the internet 2 hours a day, and only a few of them use the internet 1 hour in a day.

Table 18. The Frequency Table of the TC and GC Journalists' Internet Usage Duration,

Tool, & Time in a Day

Internet Usage Duration	TC			GC	
Duradon	f	%		$\overline{f}$	%
1 year - more	0	0		0	0
than 1 year					
2-3 years	0	0		0	0
3-4 years	0	0		0	0
More than 4	102	100		103	100
years					
Internet Usage					
Tool					
Smart Phone	79	77.5		64	62.1
Laptop	6	5.9		20	19.4
Computer	16	15.7		17	16.5
Tablet	1	1.0		2	1.9
Internet Usage in					
a Day					
Never	0	0		0	0
1 hour	6	5.9		6	5.8
2 hours	17	16.7		11	10.7
3 hours and	79	77.5		86	83.5
more					
Total	102	100.0	Total	103	100.0

Note: f = frequency, % = percent

Both community journalists use social media and most of them stated that they contact outgroup journalists by using social media tools (see Table 19).

Table 19. The Frequency Table of the TC and GC Journalists' Social Media Usage &

Contact via Social Media with Outgroup

Using Social Media	TC			GC	
	$\overline{f}$	%		$\overline{f}$	%
Yes	100	100.0		100	100.0
No	0	0		0	0
Contact via					
Social Media					
with Outgroup					
Yes	63	61.8		65	63.1
No	39	38.2		38	36.9
Total	102	100.0	Total	103	100.0

Note: f = frequency, % = percent

The journalists were also asked which resources they use to follow the outgroup media. Respectively, the TC journalists use mostly newsagent, social media, newspaper, television, online newspaper, Turkish News Agency-Cyprus, radio, Cyprus News Agency, and Cyprus Dialogue. On the other hand, the GC journalists use respectively, social media, online newspapers, newspapers, newsagents, television, radio, Turkish News Agency, and Cyprus News Agency (see Table 20).

Besides, the participants were asked whether the TC journalists cross the south side, and the GC journalists cross the north side and the results indicated that most of the TCs and the GCs crossing to the other side. The TC journalists mostly cross as a reason for shopping whereas the GC journalists for socializing. The reasons for health and education were not very high among them. Lastly, the GC journalists travel to the north side more than the TC travelling to the south side (see Table 21).

Table 20. The Frequency Table of the TC and GC Journalists' Resource Following the Outgroup Media

Outgroup Media					
Resources	TC			GC	
Following the					
Outgroup Media _					
	f	%		f	%
1.Newspaper					
Yes	23	22.5		45	43.7
No	79	77.5		58	56.3
2.News Agent					
Yes	56	54.9		29	28.2
No	46	45.1		74	71.8
3.Social Media					
Yes	54	52.9		67	65.0
No	48	47.1		35	34.0
4.Online					
Newspapers					
Yes	13	12.7		50	48.5
No	89	87.3		53	51.5
5.Television					
Yes	18	17.6		18	17.5
No	84	82.4		85	82.5
6.Turkish News					
Agency-Cyprus					
(TAK)					
Yes	7	6.9		10	9.7
No	95	93.1		93	90.3
7.Radio					
Yes	6	5.9		15	14.6
No	96	94.1		88	85.4
8.Cyprus News					
Agency (CNA)					
Yes	3	2.9		1	1.0
No	99	97.1		102	99.
9. Cyprus					
Dialogue					
Yes	3	2.9		0	0
No	99	97.1		103	100.0
Total	102	100.0	Total	103	100.0

Note: f = frequency, % = percent

Table 21. The Frequency Table of the TC and GC Journalists' Crossings to the Other

Side and Reasons of Crossings

Crossings to the	TC			GC	
Other Side					
	f	%		$\overline{f}$	%
Yes	96	94.1		98	94.1
No	6	5.9		5	4.9
The Reasons of					
Crossings					
Shopping					
Yes	68	66.7		6	5.8
No	34	33.3		97	94.2
Education					
Yes	6	5.9		4	3.9
No	96	94.1		99	96.1
Socializing					
Yes	37	36.3		46	44.7
No	65	63.7		57	55.3
Professional					
Yes	36	35.3		34	33.0
No	66	64.7		69	67.0
Health					
Yes	2	2.0		4	3.9
No	100	98.0		99	96.1
Travel					
Yes	12	11.8		33	32.0
No	90	88.2		70	68.0
Total	102	100.0	Total	103	100.0

Note: f = frequency, % = percent

# 4.2.2 The Results of Descriptive Statistics and Correlational Analysis

One Sample T-test results indicated that TCs and GCs' PJ and WJ attitudes, quality of contact, outgroup attitudes, and the CII levels were significantly above whereas contact with the community was also significantly but only slightly above the midpoint. Their levels of contact with journalists, extended contact, and anxiety levels were significantly lower than the mid-point (see Table 22).

Table 22. One-sample T-Test Statistics of TC and GC Journalists – Study 3

Scale	TC			GC	•	
	df	t-value	Mean difference	df	t- value	Mean difference
Peace Journalism	101	26.04	2.24	102	21.76	2.07
War Journalism	101	11.85	.94	102	12.90	1.10
Common Ingroup Identity	101	5.54	.57	102	13.10	1.35
Contact with Community	101	3.58	.35	102	2.70	.25
Contact with Journalists	101	-4.63	41	102	6.31	44
Extended Contact	101	-4.41	45	102	3.70	36
Quality of Contact	101	9.14	.77	102	17.00	1.34
Outgroup Attitudes	101	16.20	1.41	102	31.44	1.94
Intergroup Anxiety	101	-8.70	54	102	- 11.60	69

Note: All the values were significant at  $p \le .001$ .

Table 23 shows the means and standard deviations of TC and GC for peace journalism attitudes, war journalism attitudes, common ingroup identity, contact with the community, contact with journalists, extended contact (including contact via the internet), quality of contact, outgroup attitudes, and intergroup anxiety. Independent Samples T-test results indicated that GC journalists scored significantly higher than TC journalists on CII, quality of contact, and more positive outgroup attitudes.

Table 23. Descriptive Statistics of TC and GC Journalists – Study 3

Scale	TC		GC		
	M	SD	M	SD	t-value
Peace Journalism Attitudes	4.96	.44	4.98	.52	324
War Journalism Attitudes	3.73	.64	4.10	.51	4.42***
Common Ingroup Identity	3.07	1.04	3.85	1.05	- 5.39***
Contact with Community	2.85	.98	2.75	.96	.684
Contact with Journalists	2.09	.89	2.07	.69	.248
Extended Contact	2.05	1.02	2.14	1.00	580
Quality of Contact	3.27	.85	3.84	.80	- 4.96***
Outgroup Attitudes	3.90	.88	4.44	.63	- 4.99***
Intergroup Anxiety	1.96	.63	1.80	.61	1.75*

Note: \*  $p \le .05$ , \*\*  $p \le .01$ , \*\*\*  $p \le .001$ ; all scales range from 1-5.

A Pearson correlation coefficient was computed to analyse the relationship between variables (see Table 24). In the scores of TC journalists' PJ attitudes, it was shown that PJ attitudes were positively correlated with common ingroup identity, contact with journalists, quality of contact, and outgroup attitudes. These results indicated that participants whose PJ attitudes are high, their willingness to share a common identity as Cypriot, contact with journalists such as organizing events and its quality, and positive feelings towards GCs are also high.

The results of GC journalists' PJ attitudes showed that it was only positively correlated with common ingroup identity and quality of contact. As it was explained above, increased PJ attitudes increase the willingness of sharing a common ingroup identity and quality of contact with TCs. Furthermore, there was a positive correlation between PJ attitudes and WJ attitudes.

The correlational analysis between WJ attitudes and other variables indicated no association in GC journalists' results. On the other hand, in the TC journalists' results, WJ was negatively correlated with common ingroup identity, contact with the community, contact with journalists, extended contact such as online events, quality of contact, and outgroup attitudes. Moreover, it was positively correlated with intergroup anxiety. These results mean that journalists, who have increased WJ attitudes, have a decrease in their willingness of sharing a common identity as Cypriot, the frequency of contact with community and journalists, the frequency of contact through online events, the quality of contact, and positive feelings towards the outgroup.

Table 24. Pearson Correlation Coefficient Values of the TC and GC Journalists - Study 3

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1.Peace Journalism	_	086	.247*	.193	.260*	.176	.250*	.254*	189
2.War Journalism	.346**	_	488**	362**	396**	352**	312**	432**	.407**
3.Common Ingroup Identity	.243*	.061	_	.516**	.367**	.310**	.363**	.389**	381**
4.Contact With Community	.123	050	.361*	_	.773**	.616**	.487**	.355**	372**
5.Contact with Journalists	.080	.038	.239*	.677**	_	.826**	.412**	.291**	326**
6.Extended Contact	.136	037	.213*	.603**	.832**	_	.326**	.224*	304**
7.Quality of Contact	308**	.145	.361**	.502**	.533**	.438**	_	.581**	391**
8.Outgroup Attitudes	.109	049	.374**	.409**	.462**	.338**	.748**	_	423**
9.Intergroup Anxiety	188	021	465**	394**	401**	309**	703**	754**	_

Note: \*\* Correlation is significant at  $p \le .01$ ; values above the diagonal pertain to TC journalists, while those below pertain to GC journalists.

In the results of common ingroup identity, there were very similar results in both TC and GC journalists' scores. It was positively correlated with contact with community and journalists, contact through such as online events, quality of contact, and outgroup attitudes whereas only negatively correlated with intergroup anxiety. These results showed that journalists whose willingness of having a shared identity with outgroup members are high in the frequency of intergroup contact with journalists or community, through online events, and its quality and positive attitudes are also high.

Furthermore, contact with community or journalists and even extended contact were indicated above that they were positively correlated with PJ attitudes and common ingroup identity. In addition, the other correlational analysis of contact with the community with other variables showed that contact with the community was positively correlated with contact with journalists, extended contact, quality of contact, and outgroup attitudes whereas negatively correlated with intergroup anxiety. Moreover, contact with journalists was positively correlated with extended contact, quality of contact, and outgroup attitudes whereas negatively correlated with intergroup anxiety.

Furthermore, apart from the other variables indicated above such as PJ attitudes, common ingroup identity, extended contact was positively correlated with quality of contact and outgroup attitudes whereas negatively correlated with intergroup anxiety. Lastly, as the other contact types and the correlational relations with other variables indicated above, the quality of intergroup correlation was also positively associated with outgroup attitudes and negatively associated with intergroup anxiety. Overall, the results of increased face-to-face intergroup contact with journalists and community, contact through the internet, and the quality of contact increase PJ attitudes,

willingness to share a common ingroup identity, and positive feelings towards outgroup whereas decreasing the anxiety feelings.

Lastly, both community results indicated a negative correlational association between outgroup attitudes and intergroup anxiety which means that increased positive feelings towards the outgroup reduce the intergroup anxiety. In the next section, these two study results were discussed in detail.

# Chapter 5

# **DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION**

In this chapter, the major findings of the last two studies done with journalists were contextualized and discussed in detail. Before launching the last two studies, a preliminary study was conducted to develop Shared Societal Beliefs Scale to be able to operationalize and measure journalists shared societal beliefs towards each community in terms of adherence to the ethos of Cyprus conflict. Eight interrelated societal beliefs themes were adapted from a study done with Jewish society based on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict (Bar-Tal et al., 2012) including justness of the ingroup's goals, security, delegitimising the opponent, positive collective self-image, ingroup victimization, patriotism, unity, and peace. In the current study analysis, it was revealed only four major beliefs including delegitimising the opponent, patriotism and justness, guarantors and security, and positive collective self-image for TCs and three beliefs were found in GCs' results, which were the same with TCs except for positive collective self-image. These different results are a consequence of societal beliefs which refers to the ethos of conflict that consists of issues specific to a society (Bar-Tal, 1998).

The second study, it was aimed to examine the manner of both community journalists' social-psychological processes including societal beliefs, intergroup contact or outgroup attitudes. Based on the results discussed below, the third study was conducted

to examine how those social psychological processes influence and are associated with both community journalists' professional lives including PJ and WJ attitudes.

The results of the two studies highlighted the importance of intergroup contact including positive and frequent contact that enhance positive attitudes, beliefs or emotions as much as PJ and WJ attitudes. However, both results have shown a lower level of collaboration or cooperation among journalists or community members. In the following sections, the study 2 and 3 were discussed in detail.

#### 5.1 Discussion

#### 5.1.1 Study 2 with Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot Journalists

The second study was conducted with TC and GC journalists and aimed to examine the level of social psychological processes including, intergroup contact, common ingroup identity, outgroup attitude, intergroup anxiety, forgiveness level, peace attitudes, war attitudes, and shared societal beliefs, the differences among both communities, and the associations among these processes.

The results of the first major research question which asked to investigate the level of aforementioned social psychological processes of journalists were very similar among them. These results also answered the minor research questions that investigated the differences between the scores of TC and GC journalists. There were only significant differences in the results of contact with the community and journalists. The scores of TC journalists were higher than the scores of GC journalists. Briefly, TC journalists are more likely to interact with outgroup members.

Although the fact that it has been approximately twenty years of opening the crossing points in Cyprus, overall, the results showed journalists don't adequately contact their outgroup colleagues or members as it was very similar to a study done in 2012 (Psalits & Lytras, 2012; Yucel & Psaltis, 2019). Even though, the importance of intergroup relations in conflicted and divided societies (Hayward et al., 2017; Pettigrew, 1998; Stathi et al., 2020), these results demonstrate that both community journalists don't adequately collaborate or cooperate in their professional lives as much as socialize with outgroup members.

The results of the CII level, which refers to re-categorising the identity into a single group and perceiving sharing a common identity ass Cypriot, were higher than the midpoint. This means that both community journalists agreed that identifying and perceiving in a single group which is 'Cypriot' instead of identifying oneself separately as Turkish Cypriot or Greek Cypriot. In the literature, CII have a positive influence on intergroup bias and conflict (Çakal et al., 2016; Dovidio et al., 2000), which the relations among CII and other social-psychological processes was discussed in detail above.

The TC and GC journalists' scores of outgroup attitudes were above the midpoint which means they have positive feelings or low prejudice towards the outgroup members. Even though they don't have adequate contact including collaboration or social interaction, it is crucial to address that the contact has the potential to enhance positive attitudes and behavioural intentions(Psaltis, 2012; Stathi et al., 2017). The association among outgroup attitudes and contact were detailed above.

Furthermore, the scores of intergroup anxiety of both communities which is an experience of negative psychological or behavioural consequences before interacting with outgroup members (Stephan & Stephan, 1985) was low. These results revealed that journalists experience a low level of anxious feelings before interacting, however, the score was approximately close to the midpoint. Therefore, it can be stated that the anxious feelings were not on the desired level. Intergroup anxiety can provide contact avoidance (Rupert Brown & Hewstone, 2005; Sechrist & Stangor, 2007) and also can be decreased by positive and frequent contact.

The scores of forgiveness level, which is a willingness to forgive one's negative judgement or behaviour towards the other who unfairly hurt oneself (Enright et al., 1998), were above the midpoint in both community results. Regarding the evidence in the literature, intergroup contact can predict the willingness to forgive outgroup members (Stathi et al., 2017; Van Tongeren et al., 2014). Therefore, it is very useful to increase positive and frequent intergroup contact to promote post-conflict forgiveness.

The scores of peace attitudes were above the midpoint that journalists' attitudes towards peace were high. On the other hand, their war attitudes were slightly lower than the midpoint. That is, most of the journalists were peace-oriented as much as being war-oriented.

The second major research question asked how these social-psychological processes influence each variable. The results were very similar among the TC and GC journalists. Their results showed that contact with community and journalists were

positively correlated with common ingroup identity, outgroup attitudes, forgiveness level, and peace attitudes whereas were negatively correlated with intergroup anxiety, war attitudes, and TCs and GCs shared societal beliefs. As the existent literature consistently stresses, intergroup contact was related to a higher perception of sharing a common identity (Eller & Abrams, 2004; Stathi et al., 2017), positive attitudes which also includes positive beliefs (Christ et al., 2010; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008; Vedder et al., 2017), and lower anxious feelings towards outgroup members and attitudes towards war (Çakal et al., 2021; Cao & Meng, 2020; Turner, Hewstone, et al., 2007). That is the frequent contact among journalists as much as community members are very crucial that have potential in the contribution of enhancing positive beliefs, perceptions or attitudes towards outgroup members in divided and conflicted societies such as Cyprus.

Furthermore, common ingroup identity was positively associated with outgroup attitudes, peace attitudes, and forgiveness level whereas negatively associated with intergroup anxiety. These findings were also consistent with the literature and state that increase in perception of sharing a common identity among TC and GC journalists as 'Cypriot' provides positive relations (Çakal et al., 2016; Gaertner et al., 1993), enhances reduction of bias including negative beliefs (Dovidio et al., 1993) of anxious feelings (Greenland & Brown, 1999) and increases the willingness to forgive the outgroup members (Cehajic et al., 2008; Stathi et al., 2017). Briefly, adopting a single identity rather than a separated one provides decreasing tension in psychological perception and attitudes towards outgroup members.

Moreover, outgroup attitudes were positively associated with forgiveness and peace attitudes and negatively associated with intergroup anxiety, war attitudes, and negative shared societal beliefs in TC and GC journalists' results. The positive attitudes towards outgroup members which mean a low level of prejudice and negative beliefs improve their forgiveness level(Riek & Mania, 2012; Van Tongeren et al., 2014) and reduce anxiety levels and attitudes towards war (Page-Gould et al., 2008; Sechrist & Stangor, 2007; Turner, Hewstone, et al., 2007). Therefore, positive feelings, which improve deteriorating psychological processes should be more developed by increasing the collaboration and cooperation among journalists.

The forgiveness level enhances the reduction of anxious feelings, attitudes towards war, and negative shared societal beliefs towards outgroup members as it was also consistent with the literature (Riek & Mania, 2012; Stathi et al., 2017; Van Tongeren et al., 2014). Since forgiving someone or a group means a willingness to decrease in hatred, negative judgement, and insensitive behaviour lead to positive feelings inside which consistently influence positive psychological infrastructures as the results indicated. Thus, it is very substantial to improve forgiveness levels among journalists by laying the groundwork for collaboration.

Peace attitudes were negatively associated with TCs and GCs' shared societal beliefs whereas war attitudes were positively correlated with GCs' negative shared societal beliefs in the results. Briefly, these results showed positive feelings toward peace enhance positive shared societal beliefs and negative feelings towards war provide negative shared societal beliefs. Generally, attitudes are often rooted in individuals' beliefs and feelings that are exhibited in behaviours (Myers, 2010). Therefore, it can

be stated that negative beliefs or attitudes can influence each other reciprocally. As Bar-Tal et al., (2011) indicated, individuals who have negative attitudes towards a person or a group can be influenced by frozen and rigid conflict-supporting societal beliefs which also affect worldviews or emotions as much as attitudes and behaviours (Bar-Tal & Halperin, 2013; Halperin & Bar-Tal, 2011).

In conclusion, the analysis revealed how TC and GC journalists' social psychological processes have reciprocally associations with one another. Especially, frequent social interaction, cooperation, and collaboration are very substantial for decreasing tensions or increasing positive atmosphere among two community journalists. In Cyprus media, PJ is not the common news reporting practice (Bailie & Azgin, 2008; Christophorou et al., 2010; Çiftçioğlu & Shaw, 2020; Ersoy, 2010). Therefore, based on the results, it was assumed that enhancing positive cooperation might encourage them to practise the PJ approach which is a model of journalism that 'give peace a chance' by using non-violent ways in the transformation of conflicts (Lynch & McGoldrick, 2005). Apart from the other obstacles such as language, power and relations or ideological conditions (Ersoy, 2006; Şahin & Karayianni, 2020), further research was conducted to analyse how intergroup contact and social-psychological processes hinder the implementation of the PJ and WJ in journalists' professional lives. The results were discussed in detail below.

## 5.1.2 Study 3 with Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot Journalists

Across TC and GC journalists' analyses, results were very similar. The result of the first research question which asked the extent to which TC and GC journalists' have positive attitudes towards PJ and WJ principles, showed PJ attitudes to be high as well as WJ attitudes. Even though journalists and media professionals agree with the

significance of peace-oriented journalism principles (Jan and Rashid Khan, 2011) and although journalists state they write to support peace, this does not equate to the practice of PJ principles (Alankuş, 2005). Hence, news coverages are commonly covered by war-oriented journalism in practice (Abid, 2017; Ersoy, 2016; Lee et al., 2006; Lee and Maslog, 2005; Maslog et al., 2006; Neumann and Fahmy, 2012; Rodny-Gumede, 2015; Siraj,2008) and also present in Cyprus media in both communities (Avraamidou and Kyriakides, 2015; Christophorou et al., 2010; Çiftçioğlu and Shaw, 2020; Ersoy, 2010, 2013; Karayianni, 2018) which is mostly controlled by the government and right-wing elites (Şahin, 2021; Şahin and Karayianni, 2020). We contend that what may impede the successful practice of PJ principles is the social-psychological obstacles, especially in place in a divided and conflicted society such as Cyprus.

Research question two asked to what extent TC and GC journalists have contact with each other and the other community as well as the quality of this contact. The results of the one-sample t-test showed lower values than the mid-point of the scale, indicating that both community journalists don't have adequate cooperation or collaboration with each other even through online events and with the community in general; however, when they do have contact the quality reported was significantly high. The finding of the third research question was to what extent TC and GC journalists have positive feelings towards outgroup members. The results indicated that both community journalists have adequately high positive feelings and hence low prejudicial feelings towards the outgroup. The fourth question asked to what extent TC and GC journalists agree that both communities share a CII as 'Cypriot'. The findings showed both community journalists adequately identified themselves as 'Cypriot' rather than

Turkish Cypriot, Greek Cypriot or only Turkish and Greek, which leads to a reduction of bias towards the outgroup (Dovidio et al., 1993) and enhances positive relations (Çakal et al., 2016; Eller and Abrams, 2004). The fifth question asked to what extent TC and GC journalists' anxiety levels increase when they have contact with outgroup members. The findings stated that their anxious feelings towards the outgroup were quite low. Lastly, the sixth question asked how these social-psychological processes influence TC and GC journalists' PJ and WJ attitudes. In TC journalists but not GC journalists, it was found that increased CII and positive feelings towards outgroup members fostered PJ attitudes and reduced WJ attitudes. That is journalists who identified themselves as 'Cypriot' and had a lower level of prejudice tended to use PJ principles rather than WJ principles. Furthermore, for TC journalists a higher amount and quality of contact with GC journalists, the GC community and even contact via web-based events also decreased WJ attitudes.

Another finding was that intergroup contact levels and some of the specific social psychological processes did not influence GC journalists' PJ attitudes as much as TC journalists. One reason for this lack of intergroup contact effects could be the lower levels of contact generally found in the GC community (lower than that of the TC community, Psaltis and Lytas, 2012), higher levels of contact might help to enhance friendships and more meaningful, good quality contact levels which we already found to be influential on PJ attitudes. It may also be explained by the GC media landscape which is mostly managed by government and elites' ownership that demonstrate the type of obstacles to practising PJ principles (Avraamidou and Psaltis, 2019; Bailie and Azgin, 2011; Şahin and Karayianni, 2020).

#### **5.2 Conclusion**

Media has the power of shaping individuals and society's perceptions. According to Hall et al. (1978) production of a message in the media is determined by primary definers who are powerful elites or politicians. The texts are mostly intended to be covered with a preferred or dominant reading. Furthermore, elite media reproduce consensus, not as a reason of their inherent bias, but since they regularly work in relations of reciprocity and interdependence with policy elites.

News is a text that constructs social reality. It is well understood that there is a problematic relation between reality and news due to the structure of institutionalisation of media that determine what is going on in the world rather than serving the truth information (Dursun, 2004). There is direct political interference by editors and proprietors that media organizations tend to gravitate to regular and reliable institutional sources (Hall et al., 1978).

Therefore, there is a strong relationship between media owners and political leaders or authorities. That is, these authorities are the primary definers of the media whereas they are used as a source by media owners. Cyprus media is mostly owned by political authorities, elites or political parties who are also the primary definers and sources in the media. Most of the important topics on media are mostly about the aspects of the Cyprus Conflict, the speeches or comments of political party leaders, politicians in general and others who have the opportunity to access the media.

Humans are conditioned by the messages that are conveyed through media tools. Rather than serving as an agent of a political leader or powerful elites, as one of the communication tools at the interpersonal and intercultural level journalism should be socially responsible to sustain the peace-building processes especially in divided and conflicted societies. Because the inconsistent messages and information that journalists give through their news writing method and content make people feel tension or a lack of harmony.

It has been widely studied that PJ principles have the potential to transform conflicts into peaceful solutions. That is, using consistently people-oriented, solution-oriented, or truth-oriented language in news writing enhance peace initiatives or sustainable peace among conflicted groups by decreasing cognitive dissonance and negatively conditioned behaviours. It should be well understood that socially responsible peace journalists should serve high standards of performance to secure the public good. However, it is also well understood that using high-road framing is not very easy and sometimes not possible for journalists due to the obstacles they face such as commercial interests, media ownership, or ideological pressures.

It is very important to reduce the obstacles that journalists face while they do their jobs such as the pressure of powerful elites or political party leaders. On the other hand, as human beings, journalists can be also influenced by socio-psychological processes during conflicts. That is while reporting news about the outgroup they can be under the influence of prejudice or have negative emotions.

The effects of the Cyprus conflict, which is an intractable ethno-nationalist conflict can be seen among both communities. For example, even it has been approximately 20 years since the crossing points were opened, the inter-communal relations are still

low (Yücel & Psaltis, 2019). Although intergroup relations and communication are not on the desired level, when contact takes place, it enhances positive feelings and behavioural intentions (Psaltis, 2012; Stathi et al., 2017; Yücel & Psaltis, 2019).

The Cyprus media structure also perpetuates the tension among communities because the landscape is of high politicisation, low professionalism, strong governmental intervention, and elite orientation (Christophorou et al., 2010; Şahin & Karayianni, 2020). This kind of landscape impedes practising PJ principles (Şahin & Karayianni, 2020) and conversely leads to a mostly WJ oriented structure (Bailie and Azgın, 2008; Çiftçioğlu and Shaw, 2020; Ersoy, 2010, 2013; Şahin and Ross, 2012). The current study contributes novel findings to the field of journalism by assessing social-psychological processes that might be associated with impeding the implementation of PJ. Here I point the summary of the results at two levels.

#### 1. Bridging Intergroup Relations and Journalism Practices

The current studies conducted with journalists showed the importance of interpersonal and intercultural communication, especially in a conflicted and divided society. PJ which contributes to conflict transformation and peace-building processes can also be enhanced by interpersonal and intercultural communication. To summarise the two studies with journalists, positive and frequent intergroup relations increase journalists' tendency to frame news by using PJ principles. Such contact also reduces the tendency of WJ attitudes which in turn lessens prejudice towards outgroup members and journalists. However, the results showed us that they don't collaborate or socialize with each other. Hence, they should find ways of increasing face-to-face or online-based positive and high-quality contact among themselves as well as with the other

community members. They should especially find ways to encourage conservative journalists to contribute or attend bi-communal events.

### 2. Social Psychological Infrastructures for Journalists

In the results, journalists' negative feelings towards outgroup members including prejudice, anxiety or negative shared beliefs were not on the desired level. These negative feelings also hinder the implementation of PJ. Therefore, while framing news coverages about the outgroup, TC and GC journalists should be cognizant as to whether they are framing under the effect of their prejudiced feelings or negative beliefs. The positive and frequent collaboration among them also improves their positive emotions which in turn may influence more PJ attitudes in news coverage working toward reconciliation, peace-building processes, and sustainable peace in divided and conflicted communities.

In summary, the field of psychology is a scientific study that analyses behaviour and mental processes. Explaining individuals' thoughts, behaviours, and mental processes, helps to change and improve their social and professional lives. Social psychology bounds sociology and psychology by studying how individuals think, behave and have relations with one another in a group or among groups. More specifically, how they perceive and judge themselves and others, what they believe, how they are influenced by their cultural pressures or preconceptions. In this context, social psychology helps to understand the reasons and conclusions of media workers' behaviour, attitudes or beliefs while they are making decisions in their professional lives with regards to their journalism practices. Therefore, it helps us to find out and develop strategies to

improve their behaviours and attitudes in a positive manner, which also refine their judgements and preconceptions towards their professional lives.

The current study sheds light on how human psychology influences their interpersonal and intercommunal relations as well as how it influences their professional lives. As it was indicated before, it is time for TC and GC journalists and other media workers to be aware of these processes that influence their PJ attitudes, which is vital for enhancing sustainable peace in Cyprus. Therefore, we recommend that education programs for enhancing common PJ language, generating strategies for working together, finding ways to form a bi-communal union or NGO, and socializing are significantly important for adopting PJ principles in the Cyprus media.

#### **5.3** Recommendations for Future Research

For further research, it is recommended to broaden the social psychological processes such as journalists' empathy level and how other processes influence their professional lives. Moreover, in our results their PJ attitudes were high, however, the literature shows they mostly practise WJ principles. Therefore, it is vital to conduct mixed research with a group of journalists to look at their practices individually and how they describe their work in the survey. Furthermore, it is also important to look at journalists' trauma and personality traits and how they also influence their PJ and WJ attitudes.

Moreover, the current studies with journalists were conducted by using online surveys.

The self-report measures may lead to answering the questions in a socially desirable way. To eliminate this limitation and to analyse the reasons why they don't organize bi-communal events, cooperate or collaborate, which contribute their professional

lives in positive ways, their antagonistic attitudes, and the other social-psychological obstacles, an in-depth face to face interview with both community journalists can be conducted.

To summarise, Peace Journalism Model should be fostered by increasing organizing conferences, workshops, implementation of PJ modules in university courses, and awareness of its importance, especially in conflicted and divided societies. The findings of the current research also showed the importance of positive and frequent contact that decrease psychological tensions as much as the tendency to practise WJ principles. Hence, especially Peace Research Centers or universities ought to encourage outgroup journalists by increasing bi-communal projects to foster relations and collaboration for the current journalistic practitioners.

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# **APPENDICES**

**Appendix A: The Reliability Validity Study of Shared Societal Beliefs** 

**Scale** 

**English Version of The Reliability Validity Study of Shared Societal Beliefs** 

Scale

**Consent Form** 

The Faculty of Communication and Media Studies Eastern Mediterranean University Famagusta, Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus

Tel: +(90) 392 630 4021 / +(90) 392 630 3101 +(90) 392 630 1042

Web: https://www.emu.edu.tr/tr/akademik/fakulteler/iletisim-fakultesi/705

The Reliability Validity Study of Shared Societal Beliefs Scale

Dear participant,

Please read the information mentioned about the study before filling out the questionnaire. If you have any questions about the research, you can contact the researcher from the contact details mentioned below.

The current study is conducted by PhD. student Huri Yontucu studying at Eastern Mediterranean University under the supervision of Assoc. Prof. Dr Metin Ersoy. The study aims to develop a Shared Societal Beliefs Scale. The scale will be used in further research which will be with Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot journalists working in the north and south Cyprus to investigate how their attitudes, feelings, or thoughts influence their professional lives. The study will take 20 minutes.

Please be informed that you have the right to withdraw your consent at any time of the research without any penalty or loss of benefits and your information will be destroyed. If you are voluntary, the information you provide will be kept confidential and will be used for research purposes only. Your name and information will be protected apart from your survey that filled. The data will be hidden for 6 years. After the data analysis, an article on the data could be published.

Please sign the section below to identify your voluntarily participation to the study
Consent Form MSc. Huri Yontucu: huri.yontucu@emu.edu.tr Doç. Dr. Metin Ersoy: metin.ersoy@emu.edu.tr
Please sign the box next to the statements
I confirm that I understand the information above and have an opportunity to ask question about the study
2. I confirm that the study is a voluntary basis and I have an opportunity to leave the study without making any explanation.
3. I am volunteer to participate the study.
Date Signature

**DEBRIEFING FORM** 

The current study is conducted by PhD. student Huri Yontucu studying at Eastern

Mediterranean University under the supervision of Assoc. Prof. Dr Metin Ersoy. The

study aims to develop a Shared Societal Beliefs Scale. The scale will be used in further

research which will be with Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot journalists working in

the north and south Cyprus to investigate how their attitudes, feelings, or thoughts

influence their professional lives.

The results will be used only in scientific research and articles. Thank you for your

participation.

For further information about the research and results, please don't hesitate to contact

the researchers mentioned below.

MSc. Huri Yontucu

huri.yontucu@emu.edu.tr

Assoc. Prof. Dr Metin Ersoy

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For your rights and ethical issues please contact Research and Publications Ethics

Board, Eastern Mediterranean University

bayek@emu.edu.tr

## **Socio-Demographic Information Form**

1.	Age:
2.	Gender: a) Female b) Male
3.	Marital Status:  a) Single b) Engaged c) Married d) Divorced
4.	Employment Status, please specify, (e.g. editor or journalist)
5.	Level of Income:
	<ul><li>a) Lower than minimum wages</li><li>b) Minimum wages</li><li>c) Higher than minimum wages</li><li>d) Very high than minimum wages</li></ul>
6.	Level of Education:  a) High-school  b) University  c) Master degree  d) Doctorate
7.	Ethnicity:
	<ul> <li>a) Greek Cypriot/Turkish Cypriot</li> <li>b) Greek/Turkish</li> <li>c) Cypriot</li> <li>d) Other (please specify)</li> </ul>
8.	Please specify your religion:
9.	How important to have faith for you?  a) Not important at all b) Of little importance c) Moderately important

d) Very important

10. 10 WII	at extent do you con	sider yoursell a religi	ous person?
a)	Not religious at all		
b)	Slightly religious		
c)	Moderately religiou	18	
d)	Very religious		
11. Politic	al Orientation		
a)	Extreme left		
b)	Left		
c)	None		
	Right		
e)	Extreme Right		
12. Did yo	a or anyone close to	you have any direct in	nvolvement in 1963 incidences?
a)	Yes	o) No	
If yes, who	o did so? Please put	a tick next to the conv	venient answer.
Self	Family 1	member	Other close to me
Specify fu	rther if you like		
•••••		•••••	
13. Did yo	u or anyone close to	you have any direct in	nvolvement in the 1974 conflict?
a)	Yes	o) No	
If yes, who	o did so? Please put	a tick next to the conv	venient answer.
Self	Family 1	member	Other close to me
Specify fu	rther if you like		
14. Did yo	u or anyone close to	you experience displa	acement after the conflict?
a)	Yes	o) No	
If yes, who	o did so? Please put	a tick next to the conv	venient answer.
Self	Family 1	member	Other close to me
Specify fu	rther if you like		

15. Did you experienc	e any loss as a result of	the conflict?
a) Yes	b) No	
If yes, who did so? Pl	ease put a tick next to t	he convenient answer.
Self	Family member	Other close to me
Specify further if you	like	
16. Did anyone close t	o you die as a result of	conflict?
a) Yes	b) No	
If yes, who did so? Pl	ease put a tick next to t	the convenient answer.
Family member	Other close to	me
Specify further if you	like	
	o you experience injur	y as a result of conflict?
a) Yes	b) No	
If yes, who did so? Pl	ease put a tick next to t	the convenient answer.
Family member	Other close to	me
Specify further if you	like	

### **Peace-War Attitudes Scale**

Please describe what you think about the above statements.

riease describe what you tillik about th	le above su		1		1
Statements	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Undecided	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. I believe that a person is born with military characteristics.					
2. When war is declared, the whole nation should support the war.					
3. I think that someone who participated in a war would lose his/her trust in humanity.					
4. I believe that wars have valid reasons.					
5. Our army should help in conflict zones around the world to contribute to 'Peace'.					
6. I think that what people suffer in wars is not worth what they win.					
7. In our history lessons, we should learn about peace as well as 'heroism'.					
8. I believe both those who win and lose the war get harmed by the war.					
9. I think that the best way to solve international problems is 'War'.					
10. Our high school history lessons are qualified enough to contribute to world peace.					
11. Humanity's values have the power to destroy wars.					
12. I think that war means wasting human life for no reason.					
13. In history lessons, we should learn about our country's "friends" and "enemies".					
14. The time spent during a war is a time lost for both those who won and those who lost.					

15. The most glorious value a human being can achieve is the honour and pride he/she wins in a warzone.			
16. I believe that wars are the will of God.			
17. No matter what the conditions are, we should serve our country when declared war.			
18. I think that all wars are bad.			
19. The greatest heroes of history are our soldiers who won wars.			
20. We should take the side of "Peace" till there are no options but war.			
21. I think that it is important to name parks and other public places with soldiers' names who won a war.			
22. Citizens must participate in defence war.			
23. I believe that people who contribute to peace need to be declared as "Heroes".			
24. I believe that supreme emotions such as "Patriotism" are born due to war.			
25. I think that wars are harmful.			
26. We should learn how to become a good 'Patriot' in our history lessons before learning about the importance of peace.			
27. "War" wastes a nation's educated population.			
28. We should learn about "Agreements" along with wars in our history lessons.			
29. I believe that history teachers can contribute to world peace.			
30. "Wars" result in other hostilities which lead to other wars.		 	
31. As the human race civilizes, "Wars" will be replaced by "Peace"			

32. All men should volunteer to participate in a war when it is declared.		
33. I think that all peace is good.		
34. I believe that people and organizations that support "Peace" will prevent future "Wars".		
35. Humanity, in future, will live in a world of absolute "Peace".		
36. I believe that countries and leaders who want "War" should be punished.		
37. Reducing the income gap between rich and poor countries would contribute to "Peace" in the world.		
38. Wars bring suffering to millions of innocent people.		
39. People following their religions would serve world peace.		
40. I believe that achievements in wars are greater than all other types of achievements.		

#### **Shared Societal Beliefs Scale**

Please describe what you think about the below-mentioned statements.

Please describe what you think about the b	eiow-inen	Tuonea	Stateme	ents.	
Statements					ı
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Undecided	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. Greek Cypriots were right about their justness during the 1963-1974 wars.					
2. Turkish Cypriots were right about their justness during the 1963-1974 wars					
3. There are constitutional reasons for having Greece as a guarantor for Greek Cypriots' safety.					
4. There are constitutional reasons for having Turkey as a guarantor of Turkish Cypriots' safety.					
5. Greek Cypriot journalists publish biased information against the Turkish Cypriots at every opportunity.					
6. Turkish Cypriot journalists publish biased information against Greek Cypriots at every opportunity.					
7. Greek Cypriots generally act more fairly towards Turkish Cypriots than Turkish Cypriots.					
8. Turkish Cypriots generally act more fairly with Greek Cypriots than Greek Cypriots.					
9. Greek Cypriot Journalists generally publish distorted information about Turkish Cypriots.					
10. Turkish Cypriot Journalists generally publish distorted information about Greek Cypriots.					
11. Greek Cypriots are proud of their own nationality.					
<ul><li>12. Turkish Cypriots are proud of their own nationality.</li><li>13. Greek Cypriots have a strong sense of</li></ul>					
solidarity.  14. Turkish Cypriots have a strong sense of					
solidarity.					

		1 1	1
15. In the negotiations between Greek			
Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots, a			
compromise would be reached.			
16. Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots			
can live together.			
17. Greek Cypriots are right for the issues			
they argue during negotiations.			
18. Turkish Cypriots are right for the issues			
they argue during negotiations.			
19. There are constitutional reasons for			
having Greece as a guarantor of Greek			
Cypriots' national survival according to			
Greek Cypriots.			
20. There are constitutional reasons for			
being a warrantor of Turkey for Turkish			
Cypriots' national survival according to			
Turkish Cypriots.			
21. Greek Cypriot journalists publish			
information that includes full of hatred for			
Turkish Cypriots at every opportunity.			
22. Turkish Cypriot journalists publish			
information that includes full of hatred for			
Greek Cypriots at every opportunity.			
23. Greek Cypriots are more reconciler			
than Turkish Cypriots.			
24. Turkish Cypriots are more reconciler			
than Greek Cypriots.			
25. In order to protect their society, Greek			
Cypriots victimize Turkish Cypriots in a lot			
of issues.			
26. In order to protect their society, Turkish			
Cypriots victimize Greek Cypriots in a lot			
of issues.			
27. Greek Cypriots sacrifice their own lives			
for their nationality.			
28. Turkish Cypriots sacrifice their own			
lives for their nationality.			
29. Greek Cypriots have a strong sense of			
cohesiveness.			
30. Turkish Cypriots have a strong sense of			
cohesiveness.			
31. Greek and Turkish Cypriots should			
identify as Cypriots without making any			
distinction of Greek-Turkish.			
32. Settlement is the most curative way for			
both societies.			
33. Generally, Greek Cypriots are right for			
not approaching settlement.			
not approaching settlement.	l	1 1	

34. Generally, Turkish Cypriots are right	
for not approaching settlement.	
35. The relationship between Greek	
Cypriots and Greece should remain in	
terms of security reasons.	
36. The relationship between Turkish	
Cypriots and Turkey should remain in	
terms of security reasons.	
37. Greek Cypriots do not count the	
presence of the Turkish Cypriots living on	
the island.	
38. Turkish Cypriots do not count the	
presence of the Greek Cypriots living on	
the island.	
39. Greek Cypriots are more trustworthy in	
terms of the Cyprus issue.	
40. Turkish Cypriots are more trustworthy	
in terms of the Cyprus issue.	
41. Greek Cypriots perceive Turkish	
Cypriots as enemies.	
42. Turkish Cypriots perceive Greek	
Cypriots as enemies.	
43. Greek Cypriots are superior to Turkish	
Cypriots.	
44. Turkish Cypriots are superior to Greek	
Cypriots in various aspects.	
45. Greek Cypriots are not in favour of	
reconciliation with the Turkish Cypriots	
while having the support of external actors.	
46. Turkish Cypriots are not in favour of	
reconciliation with the Greek Cypriots	
1	
while having the support of external actors.	
47. In order to contribute to peace, it is	
necessary to take part in bi-communal activities.	
48. Greek Cypriots are right for the territorial issues discussed during	
E	
negotiations.	
49. Turkish Cypriots are right for the	
territorial issues discussed during	
negotiations.	
50. In case of a possible settlement,	
Greece's continuity as a guarantor is of	
utmost importance for the security of	
Greek Cypriots.	
51. In case of a possible settlement,	
Turkey's continuity as a guarantor is of	
utmost importance for the security of	
Turkish Cypriots.	

52. In case of a possible settlement, Greek		
Cypriots should not interfere with the		
internal affairs of Turkish Cypriots.		
53. In case of a possible settlement, Turkish		
Cypriots should not interfere with the		
internal affairs of Greek Cypriots.		
54. Greek Cypriots hold the opinion that		
the Cyprus issue cannot be solved.		
55. Turkish Cypriots hold the opinion that		
the Cyprus issue cannot be solved.		
56. In the settlement process, Greek		
Cypriots argue that Turkish Cypriots are		
the reason for the conflict.		
57. In the settlement process, Turkish		
Cypriots argue that Greek Cypriots are the		
reason for the conflict.		
58. For the Greek Cypriots, Cyprus is the		
only homeland.		
59. For the Turkish Cypriots, Cyprus is the		
only homeland.		
60. Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots		
could become a stronger society if they		
unite.		
61. Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots		
should live together.		
62. Greek Cypriots do not trust Turkish		
Cypriots because of the bitter experiences		
of the past.		
63. Turkish Cypriots do not trust Greek		
Cypriots because of the bitter experiences		
of the past.		
64. Greek Cypriots violate the rights of		
Turkish Cypriots many times.		
65. Turkish Cypriots violate the rights of		
Greek Cypriots many times.		
66. Greek Cypriots are superior to Turkish		
Cypriots.		
67. Turkish Cypriots are superior to Greek		
Cypriots.		
68. Greek Cypriots violate the rights of		
Turkish Cypriots in a lot of issues.		
69. Turkish Cypriots violate the rights of		
Greek Cypriots in a lot of issues.		
70. Cyprus Island only belongs to Greek		
and Turkish Cypriots.		
71. Greek Cypriots are right for their		
attitudes on the issue of natural gas found		
in the Eastern Mediterranean Region.		

72. Turkish Cypriots are right for their		
attitudes on the issue of natural gas found		
in the Eastern Mediterranean Region.		
73. Federal government structure that is		
likely to be formed in the future is		
important for the security of Greek		
Cypriots.		
74. Federal government structure that is		
likely to be formed in the future is		
important for the security of Turkish		
Cypriots.		
75. Greek Cypriots argue that Cyprus		
Island should belong to them.		
76. Turkish Cypriots argue that Cyprus		
Island should belong to them.		
77. In case of a possible settlement, not		
having guarantor states would pose a threat		
to the welfare and security of both		
societies.		
78. In case of a possible settlement, the		
equal division of political and		
constitutional rights is important for the		
security of both societies.		
79. Greek Cypriots are right in their		
argument in that they live on the territories		
occupied by Turkish Cypriots.		
80. Turkish Cypriots argue that Greek		
Cypriots do not live on occupied territories		
as they claim.		
81. Greek Cypriots are more positive		
towards a possible settlement.		
82. Turkish Cypriots are more positive		
towards a possible settlement.		
83. Greek Cypriots are hostile to Turkish		
Cypriots.		
84. Turkish Cypriots are hostile to Greek		
Cypriots		
<u> </u>	<u> </u>	

Greek Version of Reliability Validity Study of Shared Societal Beliefs Scale

**Consent Form** 

The Faculty of Communication and Media Studies

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Αξιολόγηση της αξιοπιστίας της κλίμακας οργανωτικών πεποιθήσεων

Αγαπητέ συμμετέχοντα/ αγαπητή συμμετέχουσα,

Πριν συμφωνήσετε να συμμετάσχετε στην έρευνα, παρακαλώ αφιερώστε λίγο χρόνο

για να διαβάσετε προσεκτικά τις παρακάτω πληροφορίες. Αν έχετε ερωτήσεις μετά

την έρευνα, μπορείτε να επικοινωνήσετε με τον ερευνητή με τα παρακάτω

στοιχεία επικοινωνίας.

Αυτή η έρευνα έχει γίνει από τη διδακτορική φοιτήτρια Huri Yontucu του Eastern

Mediterranean University, υπό την επίβλεψη του Assoc. Prof. Dr Metin Ersoy.

Σκοπός της έρευνας είναι να πραγματοποιηθεί μελέτη αξιοπιστίας και εγκυρότητας

της 'Κλίμακας Οργανωτικών Πεποιθήσεων', ώστε να αναπτυχθεί μία καινούρια

κλίμακα. Με την αναθεωρημένη κλίμακα θα διερευνηθεί ο βαθμός στον οποίο οι

συμπεριφορές, οι στάσεις, τα συναισθημάτα και οι σκέψεις Ελληνοκυπρίων και

Τουρκοκυπρίων δημοσιογράφων εν ενεργεία επηρεάζουν την επαγγελματική τους

ζωή και κατ' επέκταση την στήριξη της αειφόρου ειρήνης. Η έρευνα θα διαρκέσει

μέχρι 20 λεπτά.

Η συμμετοχή στην έρευνα δεν είναι υποχρεωτική και έχετε το δικαίωμα να αρνηθείτε

να συμμετάσχετε. Έχετε το δικαίωμα να αποχωρήσετε από την έρευνα ανά πάσα

στιγμή χωρίς καμία εξήγηση. Αν αποχωρήσετε από την έρευνα, οι απαντήσεις σας θα

καταστραφούν και δεν θα χρησιμοποιηθούν για έρευνα. Εάν συμφωνείτε να

συμμετάσχετε και να ολοκληρώσετε την έρευνα, οι απαντήσεις και οι έρευνες θα

προστατεύονται με εμπιστευτικότητα. Το όνομά σας και οι πληροφορίες σας θα είναι

ξεχωριστά από την υπόλοιπη έρευνα. Τα δεδομένα θα διατηρηθούν μέχρι και 6 χρόνια

μετά την ολοκλήρωση της έρευνας. Μετά την ανάλυση των δεδομένων, μπορεί να δημοσιευθεί έκθεση σχετικά με την έρευνα.

εθελον Η ΦΟ MSc. I Assoc	γράψτε τη παρακάτω φόρμα συγκατάθεσης για να δηλώσετε τη οντική συμμετοχή σας. ΟΡΜΑ ΣΥΓΚΑΤΑΘΕΣΗΣ . Huri Yontucu: huri.yontucu@emu.edu.tr cc. Prof. Dr Metin Ersoy: metin.ersoy@emu.edu.tr ειώστε τα πλαίσια για να υποδείξετε ότι έχετε συμφωνήσει σε κά οση.	
1.	. Επιβεβαιώνω ότι έχω διαβάσει και καταλάβει τις πληροφορίες κα την ευκαιρία να θέσω ερωτήσεις.	<b>μ ότι έχ</b> ω
2.	. Καταλαβαίνω ότι η συμμετοχή μου είναι εθελοντική και ότι μποραποχωρήσω από την έρευνα μου ανά πάσα στιγμή χωρίς εξηγήσε	
3.	. Συμφωνώ να συμμετάσχω σε αυτή την έρευνα.	
	Ημερομηνία Υπογρα	<u></u> φή

ΕΝΤΥΠΟ ΠΛΗΡΟΦΟΡΙΩΝ ΜΕΤΑ ΤΗ ΣΥΜΜΕΤΟΧΗ

Όπως ήδη αναφέρθηκε, αυτή η έρευνα έχει γίνει από τη διδακτορική φοιτήτρια . Huri

Yontucu του Πανεπιστημίου της Ανατολικής Μεσογείου Eastern Mediterranean

University, υπό την επίβλεψη του καθηγητή Assoc. Prof. Dr Metin Ersoy. Σκοπός της

μελέτης είναι να αναπτυχθεί μια κλίμακα με την πραγματοποίηση μελέτης αξιοπιστίας

της κλίμακας οργανωτικών πεποιθήσεων. Με την ανεπτυγμένη κλίμακα θα

διερευνηθεί η επίδραση των συμπεριφορών, των στάσεων, των συναισθημάτων και

των σκέψεων της ελληνοκυπριακής και της τουρκικής κοινωνίας στην επαγγελματική

ζωή των ατόμων που κάνουν δημοσιογραφία στη Βόρεια και Νότια Κύπρο.

Οι πληροφορίες που θα προκύψουν από την έρευνα θα χρησιμοποιηθούν μόνο σε

επιστημονικές έρευνες και επιστημονικά άρθρα. Σας ευχαριστούμε και πάλι για τη

συμμετοχή σας στην έρευνα μας.

Για να μάθετε περισσότερα σχετικά με τα αποτελέσματα της έρευνας ή για να λάβετε

περισσότερες πληροφορίες, επικοινωνήστε με τα παρακάτω ονόματα.

MSc. Huri Yontucu

huri.yontucu@emu.edu.tr

Assoc. Prof. Dr Metin Ersoy metin.ersoy@emu.edu.tr

Οποιαδήποτε ερώτηση σχετικά με τη συμμετοχή σας στην ερευνα μπορείτε να

απευθυνθείτε στο Συμβουλιο Επιστημονικής Έρευνας και Δημοσίευσης του ΕΜU.

bayek@emu.edu.tr

### Κοινωνιοδημογραφικό Έντυπο Πληροφοριών

Παρακαλώ σημειώστε την απάντηση στις πιο κάτω ερωτήσεις που σας ταιριάζει καλύτερα

Σημείωση: Κατά προτίμηση συμπληρώστε τα κενά στα Αγγλικά. Σε περίπτωση που δεν γνωρίζετε Αγγλικά μπορείτε να απαντήσετε στα Ελληνικά

1.	Ηλικία: Σε ποια επαρχία ζείτε;
2.	Φύλο: a) Άνδρας b) Γυναίκα
3.	Οικογενειακή Κατάσταση: α) Ελεύθερος β) Αρραβωνιασμένος γ) Παντρεμένος δ) Χωρισμένος
4.	Πού εργάζεστε; Παρακαλώ διευκρινίστε,
5.	Οικονομική κατάσταση:
	α) Πιο χαμηλά από τον κατώτερο μισθό β) Κατώτερος μισθό γ) Ανώτερος μισθός δ) Πάνω απ' τον ανώτερο μισθό ε)None
6.	Εκπαίδευση: α) Λύκειο β) Πανεπιστήμιο γ )Μεταπτυχιακό δ)Διδακτορικό ε) Άλλο (παρακαλώ διευκρινίστε)
7.	Υπηκοότητα: α) Ελληνοκύπριος β) Ελληνας γ) Κύπριος δ) Άλλο (παρακαλώ διευκρινίστε)
8.	Το θρήσκευμά σας;
9.	Ποσό σημαντική είναι για εσάς η εθνικότητα:
	α) Δεν είναι καθόλου σημαντική β) Είναι λίγο σημαντική
10.	γ) Είναι κάπως σημαντική δ) Είναι πολύ σημαντική . Ποσό θρησκευόμενος θεωρείτε ότι είστε:
	α) Δεν είμαι καθόλου β) Είμαι λίγο θρησκευόμενος γ) Είμαι κάπως θρησκευόμενος δ) Είμαι πολύ θρησκευόμενος
11.	. Η πολιτική σας τοποθέτηση: α) Ακροαριστερός β)Αριστερός γ) Δεν έχω πολιτική τοποθέτηση δ) Δεξιός ε) Ακροδεξιός

12.	<ol> <li>Συμμετείχατε εσείς ή κάπ πόλεμο του 1974;</li> </ol>	τοιο άτομο που γνωρ	ίζετε στις συγκρού	σεις του 1963 και τον
	α)Ναι β) Όχι			
	Εάν ναι, παρακαλώ διευκ απάντηση	ρινίστε ποιος. Παρα	καλώ συμπληρώστ	ε με (✔)την πιο κάτω
	Εγώ Μέλο	ος Οικογένειας	Κάποιος	που ξέρω
	Αν έχετε περισο	σότερες πληροσ	ρορίες παρακο	λώ διευκρινίστε
13.	 13. Μεταναστεύσατε εσείς ή α)Ναι β) Όχι	γκάποιος που ξέρε	τε μετά τις στρατι	ωτικές συγκρούσεις;
	Εάν ναι, παρακαλώ διευκ απάντηση	κρινίστε ποιος. Παρ	ακαλώ συμπληρώς	στε με (✔) παρακάτω
	Εγώ Μέλο	ος Οικογένειας	Κάποιος που ξ	έρω
	Αν έχετε περισσότερες πλ	ιηροφορίες παρακαλ	.ώ διευκρινίστε	
14.	14. Αγνοείται κάποιο μέλος τ πόλεμο; α)Ναι β) Όχι	ης οικογένειάς σας	ή κάποιο γνωστό σ	ας πρόσωπο μετά τον
	Εάν ναι, παρακαλώ διευκ απάντηση	κρινίστε ποιος. Παρ	ακαλώ συμπληρώς	στε με 🗸 παρακάτω
	Μέλος Οικογένειας	Κάποιος π	ου ξέρω	
	Αν έχετε περισσ	σότερες πληροσ	ρορίες παρακα	λώ διευκρινίστε
15.	15. Βιώσατε απώλεια συγγε α)Ναι β) Όχι	ενικών σας προσώ:	των κατά τη διάρ	
	Εάν ναι, παρακαλώ διευκ απάντηση	ερινίστε ποιος. Παρ	ακαλώ συμπληρώς	στε με (✔) παρακάτω
	Μέλος Οικογένειας	Κάποιος π	ου ξέρω	
	Αν έχετε περισσότερες πλ	ιηροφορίες παρακαλ	ιώ διευκρινίστε	

	άν ναι, παρακαλώ διευκρινίστε ποιος. Παρακαλώ συμπληρώστε με (✔) παρακάτα πάντηση
_	Μέλος ΟικογένειαςΚάποιος που ξέρω
Α	ιν έχετε περισσότερες πληροφορίες παρακαλώ διευκρινίστε

Πιο κάτω υπάρχουν μερικές δηλώσεις σχετικά με τον πόλεμο και την ειρήνη. Παρακαλούμε σημειώστε την πιο κατάλληλη απάντηση για τις δικές σας

σκέψεις/πεποιθήσεις.

οκεψειζ/πεποισησειζ.	1				
ΕΚΑΗΛΩΣΕΙΣ	Διαφωνώ έντονα	Διαφωνώ	Ούτε συμφωνώ ούτε διαφωνώ	Συμφωνώ	Συμφωνώ απόλυτα
1. Πιστεύω ότι ένα άτομο γεννιέται με χαρακτηριστικά μαχητικότητας	7				
2. Όταν κηρυχθεί πόλεμος, ολόκληρο το έθνος πρέπει να υποστηρίξει τον πόλεμο.					
3. Νομίζω ότι κάποιος που συμμετείχε σε πολέμους θα είχε μειωμένη εμπιστοσύνη προς την ανθρωπότητα.					
4. Πιστεύω ότι οι πόλεμοι γίνονται για δίκαιους λόγους.					
5. Ο στρατός μας για να συμβάλει στην ειρήνη πρέπει να συμμετέχει σε συγκρούσεις που λαμβάνουν χώρα σε διάφορες περιοχές του κόσμου.					
6. Νομίζω ότι στον πόλεμο αυτό που οι άνθρωποι κερδίζουν στο τέλος δεν αξίζει τον πόνο που υποφέρουν.					
7. Στο μάθημα της ιστορίας εκτός από τον ηρωισμό πρέπει να μαθαίνουμε τη σημασία της ειρήνης.					
8. Πιστεύω ότι και ο νικητής και ο ηττημένος υποφέρουν σε έναν πόλέμο.					
9. Πιστεύω ότι ο καλύτερος τρόπος για να την λύση των εθνικών προβλημάτων είναι ο πόλεμος.					
10. Τα μαθήματα ιστορίας στα σχολεία μπορούν να συμβάλουν στην παγκόσμια ειρήνη.					
11. Η ανθρωπότητα έχει αξίες που είναι αρκετά ισχυρές ώστε να εξαλείψουν τον πόλεμο.					
12. Πιστεύω ότι πόλεμος σημαίνει αναίτια απώλεια ανθρώπινης ζωής					
13 Στο μάθημα της ιστορίας πρέπει να μαθαίνουμε ποιοι είναι οι «Φίλοι και Εχθροί» του έθνους μας.					

14. Ο χρόνος που χάνεται στον πόλεμο είναι χαμένος και για τον ηττημένο και για τον νικητή.		
15. Η υψηλότερη αξία που μπορεί να επιτύχει κάποιος στη ζωή είναι η τιμή και η δόξα που έχει κερδίσει στο πεδίο της μάχης.		
16. Πιστεύω ότι οι πόλεμοι είναι ευλογία του Θεού.		
17. Ανεξάρτητα από τις περιστάσεις, όταν κηρύσσεται πόλεμος, πρέπει να τρέξουμε στην υπηρεσία της χώρας μας.		
18. Νομίζω ότι όλοι οι πόλεμοι είναι κακοί.		
19. Οι μεγαλύτεροι ήρωές μας στην ιστορία είναι οι νικηφόροι στρατιώτες μας.		
20. Πρέπει να είμαστε υποστηρικτές της ειρήνης και ο πόλέμος να είναι η τελευταία λύση.		
21. Νομίζω ότι είναι σημαντικό να δίνουμε το όνομα στρατιωτών που δοξάστηκαν σε πολεμικές αναμετρήσεις σε πάρκα και άλλους δημόσιους χώρους.		
22. Είναι καθήκον των πολιτών να συμμετέχουν σε αμυντικό πόλεμο.		
23. Πιστεύω ότι οι άνθρωποι που συμβάλλουν στην ειρήνη πρέπει να κηρυχθούν ήρωες.		
24. Πιστεύω ότι συναισθήματα όπως ο πατριωτισμός "προκύπτουν από τους πολέμους".		
25. Νομίζω ότι οι πόλεμοι είναι επιβλαβείς.		
26. Πριν μάθουμε τη σημασία της ειρήνης στα μαθήματα της ιστορίας μας, πρέπει πρώτα να μάθουμε το να είμαστε καλοί πατριώτες.		
27. Στον πόλεμο χάνονται οι μορφωμένοι άνθρωποι ενός έθνους.		
28. Στα μαθήματα της ιστορίας μας πρέπει να μάθουμε και τις Συνθήκες ενός πολέμου.		
29. Πιστεύω ότι οι καθηγητές ιστορίας μπορούν να συμβάλουν στην παγκόσμια ειρήνη.		
30. Οι πολέμοι προκαλούν εχθροπραξίες και άλλους πολέμους.		
31. Οι ανθρώποι με τη μόρφωση θα αντικαταστήσουν τους πολέμους με την ειρήνη.		

32. Όλοι οι άντρες θα πρέπει να είναι πρόθυμοι να συμμετάσχουν στον πόλεμο όταν αυτός κηρυχθεί. 33. Πιστέυω ότι η ειρήνη κάνει καλό σε όλους.			
34. Πιστεύω ότι άνθρωποι και θεσμοί που υποστηρίζουν την «ειρήνη» στον κόσμο θα αποτρέψουν μελλοντικούς πολέμους.			
35. Η ανθρωπότητα στο μέλλον θα ζήσει σε έναν κόσμο γεμάτο ειρήνη.			
36. Πιστεύω ότι θα πρέπει να τιμωρούνται οι χώρες και οι ηγέτες που επιθυμούν τον πόλεμο.			
37. Η μείωση του χάσματος μεταξύ των πλούσιων και των φτωχών χωρών θα συμβάλει στην ειρήνη στον κόσμο.			
38. Οι πόλεμοι φέρνουν πόνο σε εκατομμύρια αθώους ανθρώπους.			
39. Οι ανθρωποι που ακολουθούν την θρησκεία τους συμβαλουν στην παγκόσμια ειρήνη.			
40. Τα επιτεύγματα που κερδίζεις στους πολέμους είναι τα πιο σημαντικά.			

υπάρχουν κάποιες δηλώσεις σχετικά με τους Τουρκοκύπριους και Ελληνοκυπρίους πιο κάτω . Παρακαλούμε σημειώστε την πιο κατάλληλη

απάντηση για τις δικές σας σκέψεις

απαντηση για τις σικές σας σκέψεις		1	1		1
ΕΚΔΗΛΩΣΕΙΣ	Διαφωνώ έντονα	Λιαφωνώ	Ούτε συμφωνώ ούτε διαφωνώ	Συμφωνώ	Συμφωνώ απόλυτα
1. Οι Ελληνοκύπριοι είχαν δίκιο στην αιτιολόγησή τους για τις στρατιωτικές παρεμβάσεις 1963-1974.					
2. Οι Τουρκοκύπριοι είχαν δίκιο στην αιτιολόγησή τους για τις στρατιωτικές παρεμβάσεις 1963-1974.					
3. Υπαρχουν συνταγματικοί λόγοι για την θέση της Ελλαδας ως εγγυήτριας δυναμης για την ασφάλεια των Ελληνοκυπρίων.					
4. Υπαρχουν συνταγματικοί λόγοι για την θέση της Τουρκίας ως εγγυήτριας δυναμης για την ασφάλεια των Τουρκοκυπρίων.					
5. Οι Ελληνοκύπριοι δημοσιογράφοι δημοσιεύουν μεροληπτικά άρθρα κατά της Τουρκοκυπριακής κοινότητας με κάθε ευκαιρία.					
6. Οι Τουρκοκύπριοι δημοσιογράφοι δημοσιεύουν μεροληπτικά άρθρα ειδήσεων κατά της Ελληνοκυπριακής κοινότητας σε κάθε ευκαιρία.					
7. Οι Ελληνοκύπριοι είναι γενικά πιο δίκαιοι με τους Τουρκοκύπριους από ό,τι οι Τουρκοκύπριοι.					
8. Οι Τουρκοκύπριοι είναι γενικά πιο δικαιοι με τους Ελληνοκύπριους από ό,τι οι Ελληνοκύπριοι.					
9. Γενικά, Οι Ελληνοκύπριοι δημοσιογράφοι παραπληροφορούν για τους Τουρκοκύπρους.					
10. Γενικά, οι Τουρκοκύπριοι δημοσιογράφοι παραπ ληροφορούν για τους Ελληνοκύπρους.					
11. Οι Ελληνοκύπριοι είναι υπερήφανοι για την εθνική τους καταγωγή. 12. Οι Τουρκοκύπριοι είναι περήφανοι για					
την εθνική τους καταγωγή.					

	1
13. Οι Ελληνοκύπριοι έχουν υψηλο	
αίσθημα αλληλεγγύης.	
14. Οι Τουρκοκύπριοι έχουν υψηλο	
αισθημα	
αλληλεγγύης.	
15. Θα επιτευχθεί συμβιβασμός στις	
διαπραγματεύσεις μεταξύ Ελληνοκυπρίων	
και Τουρκοκυπρίων.	
16. Οι Ελληνοκύπριοι και οι	
Τουρκοκύπριοι	
μπορούν να ζήσουν μαζί.	
17. Οι Ελληνοκύπριοι γενικά έχουν δίκιο	
σχετικά με τα ζητήματα που διατύπωσαν	
στις διαπραγματεύσεις.	
18. Οι Τουρκοκύπριοι γενικά έχουν δίκιο	
σχετικά με τα ζητήματα που διατύπωσαν	
στις διαπραγματεύσεις.	
19. Σύμφωνα με τους Ελληνοκύπριους	
συντρέχουν συνταγματικοί λόγοι να είναι	
η Ελλαδα εγγυήτρια δύναμη για την	
διασφάλιση της εθνικής επιβίωσης των	
Ελληνοκυπρίων.	
20. Σύμφωνα με τους Τουρκοκύπρους,	
συντρέχουν συνταγματικοί λόγοι να είναι	
η Τουρκία εγγυήτρια δύναμη για την	
διασφάλιση της εθνικής επιβίωσης των	
Τουρκοκυπρίων.	
21. Οι Ελληνοκύπριοι δημοσιογράφοι	
Δημοσιεύουν εχθρικά άρθρα κατά της	
τουρκοκυπριακής κοινότητας με κάθε	
ευκαιρία.	
22. Οι Τουρκοκύπριοι δημοσιογράφοι	
Δημοσιεύουν εχθρικά άρθρα κατά της	
ελληνοκυπριακής κοινότητας με κάθε	
ευκαιρία.	
23. Οι Ελληνοκύπριοι υποστηρίζουν	
περισσότερο τη συμφιλίωση από τους	
Τουρκοκύπριους.	
24. Οι Τουρκοκύπριοι υποστηρίζουν	
περισσότερο τη συμφιλίωση από τους	
Ελληνοκύπριους.	
25. Οι Ελληνοκύπριοι αδικούν τους	
Τουρκοκύπριους σε πολλά θέματα για να	
προστατεύσουν το δικό τους έθνος.	
26. Οι Τουρκοκύπριοι αδικούν τους	
Ελληνοκύπριους σε πολλά θέματα για να	
προστατεύσουν το δικό τους έθνος.	
27. Οι Ελληνοκύπριοι θυσιάζουν τη ζωή	
τους για χάρη του έθνους τους.	

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28. Οι Τουρκοκύπριοι θυσιάζουν τη ζωή	
τους για χάρη του έθνους τους.	
29. Οι Ελληνοκύπριοι έχουν υψηλή	
συνοχή.	
30. Οι Τουρκοκύπριοι έχουν υψηλή	
συνοχή.	
31. Οι Ελληνοκύπριοι και Τουρκοκύπριοι	
πρέπει να αναγνωριστούν ως Κύπριοι	
χωρίς καμιά ελληνική/τουρκική διάκριση.	
32. Ο βελτιστος επουλωτικός τρόπος για	
τις δύο κοινότητες είναι να υπάρξει λύση.	
33. Γενικά, οι Ελληνοκύπριοι έχουν δίκιο	
να μη θέλουν τη λύση.	
34. Γενικά, οι Τουρκοκύπριοι έχουν δίκιο	
να μη θέλουν τη λύση.	
35. Οι σχέσεις των Ελληνοκυπρίων με την	
Ελλάδα πρέπει να είναι μόνιμες όσον	
αφορά την ασφάλεια.	
36. Οι σχέσεις των Τουρκοκυπρίων με την	
Τουρκία πρέπει να είναι μόνιμες όσον	
αφορά	
την ασφάλεια.	
37. Οι Ελληνοκύπριοι δεν υπολογίζουν την	
ύπαρξη των Τουρκοκυπρίων στο νησί.	
38. Οι Τουρκοκύπριοι δεν υπολογίζουν	
την	
ύπαρξη των Ελληνοκυπρίων στο νησί.	
39. Οι Ελληνοκύπριοι είναι πιο αξιόπιστοι	
στο κυπριακό ζήτημα.	
40. Οι Τουρκοκύπριοι είναι πιο αξιόπιστοι	
στο κυπριακό ζήτημα.	
41. Οι Ελληνοκύπριοι θεωρούν τους	
Τουρκοκύπριους ως εχθρούς.	
42. Οι Τουρκοκύπριοι θεωρούν τους	
Ελληνοκυπρίους ως εχθρούς.	
43. Οι Ελληνοκύπριοι είναι ανώτεροι των	
Τουρκοκύπριων σε πολλά θέματα.	
44. Οι Τουρκοκύπριοι είναι ανώτεροι των	
Ελληνοκύπριων σε πολλά θέματα.	
45. Οι Ελληνοκύπριοι, δεν θέλουν να	
συμβιβαστούν με τους Τουρκοκύπριους με	
την υποστήριξη ξένων δυνάμεων.	
46. Οι Τουρκοκύπριοι, δεν θέλουν να	
συμβιβαστούν με τους Ελληνοκύπριους με	
την υποστήριξη ξένων δυνάμεων.	
47. Για να συμβάλουμε στην ειρήνη, είναι	
απαραίτητο να συμμετέχουμε σε	
δικοινοτικές δραστηριότητες.	

48.Κατά τη διάρκεια των διαπραγματεύσεων, οι Ελληνοκύπριοι είχαν δίκιο για τα εδαφικά ζητήματα.  49. Κατά τη διάρκεια των διαπραγματεύσεων, οι Τουρκοκύπριοι είχαν δίκιο για τα εδαφικά ζήτήματα.  50. Σε περίπτωση μιας πιθανής λύσης, η συνέχιση της Ελλάδας ως εγγυήτριας δύναμης έχει μεγάλη σημασία για την ασφάλεια των Ελληνοκυπρίων.  51. Σε περίπτωση μιας πιθανής λύσης, η συνέχιση της Τουρκίας ως εγγυήτριας δύναμης έχει μεγάλη σημασία για την ασφάλεια των Τουρκοκυπρίων.  52. Σε περίπτωση πιθανής λύσης, οι Ελληνοκύπριοι δεν πρέπει να παρεμβαίνουν στις εσωτερικές υποθέσεις των Τουρκοκυπρίων.  53. Σε περίπτωση πιθανής λύσης, οι Τουρκοκύπριοι δεν πρέπει να παρεμβαίνουν στις εσωτερικές υποθέσεις των Ελληνοκύπριοι έχουν τη γνώμη ότι το Κυπριακό δεν μπορεί να επιλυθεί.  55. Οι Τουρκοκύπριοι έχουν τη γνώμη ότι το Κυπριακό δεν μπορεί να επιλυθεί.  55. Οι Τουρκοκύπριοι έχουν τη τη γνώμη ότι το Κυπριακό δεν μπορεί να επιλυθεί.  55. Οι Τουρκοκύπριοι υποστηρίζουν ότι ο λόγος για τη διαθικασία επίλυσης, οι Ελληνοκύπριοι υποστηρίζουν ότι ο λόγος για τη διαθικασία επίλυσης, οι Τουρκοκύπριου υποστηρίζουν ότι ο λόγος για τη διαθικασία επίλυσης, οι Τουρκοκύπριου υποστηρίζουν ότι ο λόγος για τη διαθικασία επίλυσης, οι Ελληνοκύπριου υποστηρίζουν ότι ο λόγος για τη διαθικασία επίλυσης, οι Τουρκοκύπριου υποστηρίζουν ότι ο λόγος για τη διαθικασία επίλυσης, οι Τουρκοκύπριου υποστηρίζουν ότι ο λόγος για τη διαθικασία επίλυσης, οι Τουρκοκύπριου υποστηρίζουν ότι ο λόγος για τη διαθικασία επίλυσης, οι Τουρκοκύπριου, ελληνοκύπριοι και οι Τουρκοκύπρους.  59. Η Κύπρος είναι η μόνη πατρίδα για τους Τουρκοκύπριου να ενωθούν για να δημιουργήσουν μια ισγυρότερη κοινωνία.  61. Οι Ελληνοκύπριοι δεν εμπιστεύονται τους		-
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62. Οι Ελληνοκύπριοι δεν εμπιστεύονται	· · ·	
τους		
	τους	

Τουρκοκύπριους λόγω των οδυνηρών	
εμπειριών του παρελθόντος.	
63. Οι Τουρκοκύπριοι δεν εμπιστεύονται	
τους	
Ελληνοκύπριους λόγω των οδυνηρών	
εμπειριών του παρελθόντος.	
64. Οι Ελληνοκύπριοι παραβιάζουν	
πολλές	
φορές τα δικαιώματα των Τουρκοκυπρίων.	
65. Οι Τουρκοκύπριοι παραβιάζουν	
πολλές	
φορές τα δικαιώματα των Ελληνοκυπρίων.	
66. Οι Ελληνοκύπριοι είναι ανώτεροι απο	
τους Τουρκοκύπριους.	
67. Οι Τουρκοκύπριοι είναι ανώτεροι απο	
τους Ελληνοκύπριους.	
68. Οι Ελληνοκύπριοι, στερούν τα	
δικαιώματα των Τουρκοκυπρίων σε	
πολλά θέματα.	
69.Οι Τουρκοκύπριοι, στερούν τα	
δικαιώματα των Ελληνοκυπρίων σε	
πολλά θέματα.	
70. Η Κύπρος ανήκει μόνο στους	
Ελληνκύπριους και τους Τουρκοκύπριους.	
71. Οι Ελληνοκύπριοι έχουν δίκιο στη	
θέση τους σχετικά με το θέμα των φυσικών	
πόρων στην περιοχή της Μεσογείου.	
72. Οι Τουρκοκύπριοι έχουν δίκιο στη	
θέση τους σχετικά με το θέμα των φυσικών	
πόρων στην περιοχή της Μεσογείου.	
73. Η ομοσπονδιακή κρατική δομή που	
πιθανόν να υπάρξει στο μέλλον, είναι	
σημαντική για την ασφάλεια των	
Ελληνοκυπρίων.	
74. Η ομοσπονδιακή κρατική δομή που	
πιθανόν να υπαρξει στο μέλλον, είναι	
σημαντική για την ασφάλεια των	
Τουρκοκυπρίων.	
75. Οι Ελληνοκύπριοι υποστηρίζουν ότι η	
Κύπρος πρέπει να είναι δική τους.	
76. Οι Τουρκοκύπριοι υποστρίζουν ότι η	
Κύπρος πρέπει να είναι δική τους.	
77. Σε περίπτωση πιθανής λύσης, η μη	
υπαρξη εγγυητριών δυνάμεων θα	
απειλήσει την ειρήνη και την ασφάλεια	
των δύο κοινοτήτων.	
78. Σε περίπτωση μιας πιθανής λύσης, η	
ισότιμη	
	 •

κατανομή των πολιτικών και συνταγματικών δικαιωμάτων είναι σημαντική για την ασφάλεια των δύο κοινοτήτων.	
79. Οι Ελληνοκύπριοι έχουν δίκιο που	
υποστηρίζουν ότι οι Τουρκοκύπριοι ζουν σε κατεχόμενα εδάφη.	
80. Οι Τουρκοκύπριοι, σε αντίθεση με τους	
Ελληνοκύπριους δεν υποστηρίζουν ότι	
ζουν στα κατεχόμενα εδάφη.	
81. Οι Ελληνοκύπριοι είναι πιο θετικοί σε μια πιθανή λύση.	
82. Οι Τουρκοκύπριοι είναι πιο θετικοί σε μια πιθανή λύση.	
83. Οι Ελληνοκύπριοι ενεργούν εχθρικά	
απέναντι στους Τουρκοκύπριους.	
84. Οι Τουρκοκύπριοι ενεργούν εχθρικά	
απέναντι στους Ελληνοκύπριους.	

Turkish Version of the Reliability Validity Study of Shared Societal Beliefs Scale

**Consent Form** 

İletişim Fakültesi

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Örgütsel İnançlar Ölçeği Geçerlilik Güvenirlilik Çalışması

Değerli katılımcı,

Araştırmaya katılmayı kabul etmeden önce, lütfen araştırma ile ilgili aşağıda bulunan

bilgileri dikkatlice okumak için birkaç dakikanızı ayırınız. Araştırma ile ilgili herhangi

bir sorunuz varsa, aşağıda iletişim bilgileri olan araştırmacıyla iletişim kurabilirsiniz.

Bu arastırma Doğu Akdeniz Üniversitesi doktora öğrencisi MSc. Huri Yontucu

tarafından ve Öğretim Üyesi Doç. Dr. Metin Ersoy 'un denetimi altında

yürütülmektedir.

Araştırmanın amacı, Örgütsel İnançlar Ölçeğinin geçerlilik güvenirlilik çalışmasını

yaparak bir ölçek geliştirmektir. Geliştirilen ölçek ile araştırmanın bir sonraki aşaması

olan Kuzey ve Güney Kıbrıs'ta aktif olarak gazetecilik yapan Kıbrıslı Türk ve Rum

gazetecilerin sürüdürülebilir barışı sağlayabilmek için davranış, tutum, duygu ve

düşüncelerinin meslek hayatlarına nasıl bir etki yarattığını araştırmaktır. Çalışma, en

fazla 20 dakikanızı alacaktır.

Calışmaya katılımınız zorunlu değildir ve katılmayı reddetme hakkına sahipsiniz.

Çalışmadan, istediğiniz bir anda, açıklama yapmaksızın çekilme hakkına sahipsiniz.

Araştırmadan çekilmeniz durumunda, yanıtlarınız yok edilecektir ve araştırmada

kullanılmayacaktır. Eğer araştırmaya katılmayı ve tamamlamayı kabul ederseniz,

cevaplar ve anketler **gizlilikle** korunacaktır. İsminiz ve tanımlayıcı bilgileriniz, anketin

geri kalan kısımlarından ayrı olarak muhafaza edilecektir. Veriler, araştırma

tamamlandıktan sonra en çok 6 yıl boyunca muhafaza edilecektir. Verilerin

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analizinden sonra, araştırma ile ilgili bir rapor yayınlanabilir.

	nüllü katılımınızı belirtmek için, lütfen aşağıda bulunan bilgilendirilmiş am formunu imzalayınız.
M	LGİLENDİRİLMİŞ ONAY FORMU Sc. Huri Yontucu: huri.yontucu@emu.edu.tr ıç. Dr. Metin Ersoy: metin.ersoy@emu.edu.tr
	r ifadeye katıldığınızı belirtmek için lütfen yanda bulunan kutuları retleriniz.
1.	Bilgileri okuyup anladığımı ve soru sorma fırsatımın olduğunu onaylıyorum.
2.	Katılımımın gönüllü olduğunu ve açıklama yapmaksızın, istediğim bir anda araştırmadan çekilebileceğimi anlıyorum.
3.	Bu araştırmaya katılmayı kabul ediyorum.
	Tarih İmza

KATILIM SONRASI BİLGİ FORMU

Bu araştırma daha önce de belirtildiği gibi Doğru Akdeniz Üniversitesi doktora

öğrencisi MSc. Huri Yontucu, Öğretim Üyesi Doç. Dr. Metin Ersoy tarafından

yürütülen bir çalışmadır. Çalışmanın amacı Örgütsel İnançlar Ölçeğinin geçerlilik

güvenirlilik çalışmasını yaparak bir ölçek geliştirmektir. Geliştirilen ölçek ile

araştırmanın bir sonraki aşaması olan Kuzey ve Güney Kıbrıs'ta gazetecilik yapan

bireylerin Kıbrıslı Rum ve Türk toplumu ile ilgili davranış, tutum, duygu ve

düşüncelerinin meslek hayatlarına etkisi araştırılacaktır.

Bu çalışmadan elde edilen bilgiler sadece bilimsel araştırma ve yazılarda

kullanılacaktır. Bu araştırmaya katıldığınız için tekrar çok teşekkür ederiz.

Araştırmanın sonuçlarını öğrenmek ya da daha fazla bilgi almak için aşağıdaki

isimlere başvurabilirsiniz.

MSc. Huri Yontucu

huri.yontucu@emu.edu.tr

Doç. Dr. Metin Ersoy

metin.ersoy@emu.edu.tr

Çalışmaya katkıda bulunan bir gönüllü olarak katılımcı haklarınızla ve etik ilkelerle ilgili soru veya görüşlerinizi Doğu Akdeniz Üniversitesi, Bilimsel Araştırma ve Yayın Etiği Kurulu'na iletebilirsiniz.

bayek@emu.edu.tr

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## Sosyo-Demografik Bilgi Formu

Aşa	ağıda yer	alan ifadelerde	kendinize en	uygun	olanı lü	itfen iş	saretleyi	niz.
1	<b>1</b> 7		<b>V</b> 1. ¥	†1				

1.	. Yaş: Yaşadığınız İ	flçe:
2.	. Cinsiyet:	
	a) Kadın b) Erkek	
3.	. Medeni Hal:	
	a) Bekar b) Nişanlı c)	Evli d) Boşanmış
4.	. Çalışma durumunuz, lütfen belirtiniz,	
5.	. Gelir Durumunuz:	
	a) Asgari ücretten düşük b)	Asgari ücret
	c) Asgari ücretten yüksek d)	Asgari ücretten çok yüksek
	e)Yok	
6.	. Eğitim Durumunuz:	
	a) Lise b) Üniversite c)	Yüksek Lisans d) Doktora
	e) Diğer (Lütfen belirtiniz)	
7.	. Etnik Köken:	
	a) Kıbrıslı Türk b) Türk c)	Kıbrıslı
	d) Diğer (Lütfen belirtiniz)	
8.	. Dini inanç durumunuz, lütfen belirtiniz,	
9.	. İnançlı olmak sizin için ne kadar önemlidir	?
	a) Hiç önemli değil b) Bira	az önemli
	c) Orta derece önemli d) Çok	x önemli
10.	0. Ne kadar inançlı olduğunuzu düşünüyorsun	nuz?
	a) Hiç inançlı değilim b) Bir	raz inançlıyım c) Orta derece
	inaçlıyım d) Çok inançlıyım	

11.	Politik	Görüşünü	Z							
	a)	Aşırı sol	b)	Sol	c)	Hiçbiri	d) Sa	ığ e) Aşırı	sağ	
12.	Kıbrıs	'taki 1963	olayla	rında siz	veya h	erhangi bi	ir tanıdı	ğınız doğı	rudan katılı	m
	göstere	di mi?								
	a) Ev	et		b)	Hayır					
	Evet is	e, kim old	uğunu	lütfen b	elirtiniz	? Lütfen s	size uyg	gun cevabı	n yanına tik	ເ(□)
	işareti	koyunuz.								
		Kendim			_ Aile Ü	Jyesi	Y	/akın bir t	anıdığım	
	Daha f	azla bilgi ʻ	varsa 1	ütfen be	lirtiniz:					
13.	Kıbrıs		çatışn	nasında s	siz veya	herhangi	bir tan	ıdığınız d	oğrudan ka	— tılım
	a) Ev	et		b)	Hayır					
	Evet is	e, kim old	uğunu	lütfen b	elirtiniz	? Lütfen s	size uyg	gun cevabı	n yanına tik	ເ(□)
	işareti	koyunuz.								
		Kendim			_ Aile Ü	Jyesi		/akın bir t	anıdığım	
	Daha f	azla bilgi ʻ	varsa l	ütfen be	lirtiniz:					
14.	Siz ve	ya tanıdığı	nız he	rhangi bi	ri savaş	tan sonra	göç ya	şadı mı?		
	a) Ev	et	b)	Hayır						
	Evet is	e, kim old	uğunu	lütfen b	elirtiniz	? Lütfen s	size uyg	gun cevabı	n yanına tik	ເ (□)
	işareti	koyarak be	elirtini	z.						
		Kendim			_ Aile Ü	Jyesi	Y	/akın bir t	anıdığım	
	Daha f	azla bilgi ʻ	varsa 1	ütfen be	lirtiniz.					

15.	. Savaş sebebiyle herhangi bir kayıp yaşadınız mı?
	a) Evet b) Hayır
	Evet ise, kim olduğunu lütfen belirtiniz? Lütfen size uygun cevabın yanına tik (
	işareti koyarak belirtiniz.
	Aile Üyesi Yakın bir tanıdığım
	Daha fazla bilgi varsa lütfen belirtiniz:
16.	. Savaş sebebiyle herhangi bir yakınınız öldü mü?
	a) Evet b) Hayır
	Evet ise, kim olduğunu lütfen belirtiniz? Lütfen size uygun cevabın yanına tik ( 🗆
	işareti koyarak belirtiniz.
	Aile Üyesi Yakın bir tanıdığım
	Daha fazla bilgi varsa lütfen belirtiniz:
17.	. Savaş sebebiyle herhangi bir yaralanmaya tanık oldunuz mu?
	a) Evet b) Hayır
	Evet ise, Kim olduğunu lütfen belirtiniz? Lütfen size uygun cevabın yanına tik ( )
	işareti koyarak belirtiniz.
	Aile Üyesi Yakın bir tanıdığım
	Daha fazla bilgi varsa lütfen belirtiniz:

# Savaş-Barış Tutum Ölçeği

Aşağıda savaş ve barış ile ilgili bazı ifadeler düşüncelerinize en uygun yanıtı işaretleyiniz.	yer alm	aktad	lır. L	ütfen	kendi
İFADELER	Kesinlikle Katılmıyorum	Katılmıyorum	Kararsızım	Katılıyorum	Kesinlikle Katılıyorum
1.İnsanın savaşçılık özelliği ile doğduğuna inanırım					
2. Savaş ilan edildiğinde bütün ulus savaşa destek					
vermelidir.					
3. Savaşlara katılan birisinin insanlığa olan					
güveninin azalacağını düşünürüm.					
4. Savaşların haklı nedenleri olduğuna inanırım.					
5. Ordumuz 'Barışa' katkı sağlamak için dünyada çatışma yaşanan bölgelere yardım elini uzatmalıdır.					
6. Savaşlarda, insanların kazandıklarının,					
çektikleri acılara değmediğini düşünürüm.					
7. Tarih derslerimizde "kahramanlıklarla" beraber					
barışın önemini de öğrenmeliyiz.					
8. Savaşı kaybedenin de, kazananın da zarar					
gördüğüne inanırım.					
9. Uluslararası sorunların çözümünde en iyi yolun					
"Savaş" olduğunu düşünüyorum.					
10. Liselerdeki tarih derslerimiz, dünya barışına					
katkı sağlayabilecek niteliktedir.					
11. İnsanoğlu savaşı ortadan kaldıracak kadar					
güçlü değerlere sahiptir.					
12. Savaşın insan hayatını sebepsiz yere harcamak olduğuna inanırım.					
13.Tarih derslerimizde ülkemizin "Dostlarını" ve					
"Düşmanlarını" öğrenmeliyiz.					
14. Kazanan için de kaybeden için de savaşta					
harcanan zaman, kaybedilmiş bir zamandır.					
15. Bir insanın hayatta ulaşabileceği en yüce değer					
savaş meydanında kazandığı şeref ve şandır.					
16. Savaşların, Tanrı'nın takdiri olduğuna					
inanırım.					
17. Şartlar ne olursa olsun, savaş ilan edildiğinde					
ülkemizin hizmetine koşmamız gerekir.					
18. Savaşların hepsinin kötü olduğunu					
düşünürüm.					
19. Tarihteki en büyük kahramanlarımız zafer					
kazanan askerlerimizdir.					

		<del> </del>	1
20. "Savaş" son çare olana kadar "Barışın"			
taraftarı olmalıyız.			
21. Ülkemizdeki parklara ve halka açık yerlere,			
savaş kazanan			
askerlerimizin isimlerinin verilmesinin önemli			
olduğunu düşünürüm.			
22. Savunma savaşına katılmak yurttaşların			
görevidir.			
23. Barışa katkı sağlayan insanların "Kahraman"			
ilan edilmesi gerektiğine inanırım.			
24. "Vatanseverlik" gibi yüce duyguların,			
savaşlardan doğduğuna inanırım.			
25. Savaşların zararlı olduğunu düşünürüm.			
26. Tarih derslerimizde barışın önemini			
öğrenmeden önce iyi bir "Vatansever" olmayı			
öğrenmeliyiz.			
27. "Savaş" bir milletin eğitimli insanlarını harcar.			
28. Tarih derslerimizde savaşlar kadar			
"Antlaşmaları" da öğrenmeliyiz.			
29. Tarih öğretmenlerinin dünya barışına katkı			
sağlayabileceğine inanırım.			
30. "Savaşlar" başka savaşlara yol açacak			
düşmanlıklara neden olurlar.			
31. İnsanoğlu uygarlaştıkça "Savaşların" yerini			
"Barış" alacaktır.			
32. Bütün erkekler, savaş kararı alındığında			
savaşa katılmaya gönüllü olmalıdır.			
33. Barışların hepsinin iyi olduğunu düşünürüm.			
34. Dünyadaki "Barış" taraftarı insanların ve			
kurumların gelecekteki "Savaşları" önleyeceğine			
inanırım.			
35. İnsanlık gelecekte tamamen "Barış" dolu bir			
dünyada yaşayacaktır.			
36. "Savaş" isteyen ülkelerin ve liderlerinin			
cezalandırılması gerektiğine inanırım.			
37. Zengin ve fakir ülkeler arasındaki gelir farkının azaltılması dünyada "Barısın"			
J 3			
sağlanmasına katkı sağlayacaktır.			
38. Savaşlar milyonlarca suçsuz insana acı getirir.			
39. İnsanların dinlerinin çağrısına uyması dünya			
barışına hizmet edecektir.			
40. Savaşlarda kazanılan başarılar; bütün			
başarılardan daha üstün olduğuna inanırım.			

# Örgütsel İnançlar Ölçeği

Aşağıda Kıbrıslı Rum ve Türkler hakkında bazı ifadeler yer almaktadır. Lütfen bu ifadeleri okuyarak kendi görüşünüze en uygun durumu derecelendiriniz.

				Г	
İFADELER	Kesinlikle Katılmıyorum	Katılmıyorum	Kararsızım	Katılıyorum	Kesinlikle Katılıyorum
1. Kıbrıslı Rumlar, 1963-1974 savaşları sırasındaki gerekçelerinde haklıydılar.					
2. Kıbrıslı Türkler, 1963-1974 savaşları sırasındaki gerekçelerinde haklıydılar					
3. Yunan askerinin adada olmasının Kıbrıslı Rumların güvenliği açısından anayasal gerekçeleri vardır.					
4. Türk askerinin adada olmasının Kıbrıslı Türklerin güvenliği açısından anayasal gerekçeleri vardır.					
5. Kıbrıslı Rum gazetecileri ellerine geçen her fırsatta Kıbrıslı Türklere karşı, yanlı haber içerikleri yayınlamaktadırlar.					
6. Kıbrıslı Türk gazetecileri ellerine geçen her fırsatta Kıbrıslı Rumlara karşı, yanlı haber içerikleri yayınlamaktadırlar.					
7. Kıbrıslı Rumlar Kıbrıslı Türklere karşı genel olarak Kıbrıslı Türklerden daha adaletlidirler.					
8. Kıbrıslı Türkler Kıbrıslı Rumlara karşı genel olarak Kıbrıslı Rumlardan daha adaletlidirler.					
9. Genellikle, Kıbrıslı Rum gazeteciler, Kıbrıslı Türkler hakkında çarpıtılmış bilgiler yayınlamaktadır.					
10. Genellikle, Kıbrıslı Türk gazeteciler, Kıbrıslı Rumlar hakkında çarpıtılmış bilgiler yayınlamaktadır.					
11. Kıbrıslı Rumlar, kendi milliyetiyle gurur duymaktadır.					

12.Kıbrıslı Türkler, kendi milliyetiyle gurur duymaktadır.		
13.Kıbrıslı Rumların dayanışma gücü yüksektir.		
14.Kıbrıslı Türklerin dayanışma gücü yüksektir.		
15.Kıbrıslı Rum ve Kıbrıslı Türkler arasındaki müzakerelerde uzlaşmaya varılacaktır.		
16.Kıbrıslı Rum ve Kıbrıslı Türkler bir arada yaşayabilir.		
17.Kıbrıslı Rumlar, genel olarak müzakerelerde öne sürdükleri konularda haklıdırlar.		
18.Kıbrıslı Türkler, genel olarak müzakerelerde öne sürdükleri konularda haklıdırlar.		
19.Kıbrıslı Rumlara göre, Yunanistan'ın garantör devlet olmasının Kıbrıslı Rumların güvenli sürekliliği açısından anayasal gerekçeleri vardır.		
20.Kıbrıslı Türklere göre, Türkiye'nin garantör devlet olmasının Kıbrıslı Türklerin güvenli sürekliliği açısından anayasal gerekçeleri vardır.		
21.Kıbrıslı Rum gazeteciler ellerine geçen her fırsatta, Kıbrıslı Türklere karşı nefret dolu haber içerikleri yayınlamaktadırlar.		
22.Kıbrıslı Türk gazeteciler ellerine geçen her fırsatta, Kıbrıslı Rumlara karşı nefret dolu haber içerikleri yayınlamaktadırlar.		
23.Kıbrıslı Rumlar Kıbrıslı Türklere göre daha çok uzlaşma yanlısıdır.		
24.Kıbrıslı Türkler Kıbrıslı Rumlara göre daha çok uzlaşma yanlısıdır.		
25.Kıbrıslı Rumlar kendi milletlerini koruma uğruna, Kıbrıslı Türkleri mağdur etmektedir.		
26.Kıbrıslı Türkler kendi milletlerini koruma uğruna, Kıbrıslı Rumları mağdur etmektedir.		
27.Kıbrıslı Rumlar, milliyeti uğruna canlarını feda eder.		
28.Kıbrıslı Türkler, milliyeti uğruna canlarını feda eder.		

29.Kıbrıslı Rumların birbirine bağlılığı yüksektir.			
30.Kıbrıslı Türklerin birbirine bağlılığı yüksektir.			
31.Kıbrıslı Rum ve Kıbrıslı Türkler, Rum-Türk ayrımı yapmadan Kıbrıslı olarak kendilerini tanımlamalıdırlar.			
32.Her iki toplum için en iyileştirici yol çözümün olmasıdır.			
33.Genel olarak, Kıbrıslı Rumlar çözüme yanaşmamakta haklıdırlar.			
34.Genel olarak, Kıbrıslı Türkler çözüme yanaşmamakta haklıdırlar.			
35.Kıbrıslı Rumların Yunanistan ile olan ilişkileri güvenlik açısından baki kalmalıdır.			
36.Kıbrıslı Türklerin Türkiye ile olan ilişkileri güvenlik açısından baki kalmalıdır.			
37.Kıbrıslı Rumlar adada yaşayan Kıbrıslı Türklerin varlığını saymazlar.			
38.Kıbrıslı Türkler adada yaşayan Kıbrıslı Rumların varlığını saymazlar.			
39.Kıbrıslı Rumlar Kıbrıs sorununda güvenilirdirler.			
40.Kıbrıslı Türkler Kıbrıs sorununda güvenilirdirler.			
41.Kıbrıslı Rumlar Kıbrıslı Türkleri düşman olarak görmektedirler.			
42.Kıbrıslı Türkler Kıbrıslı Rumları düşman olarak görmektedirler.			
43.Kıbırslı Rumlar Kıbrıslı Türklerden üstündür.			
44.Kıbrıslı Türkler Kıbrıslı Rumlardan üstündür.			
45.Kıbrıslı Rumlar dış güçlerden destek alarak Kıbrıslı Türklerle uzlaşmaya yanaşmamaktadır.			
46.Kıbrıslı Türkler dış güçlerden destek alarak Kıbrıslı Rumlarla uzlaşmaya yanaşmamaktadır.			
47.Barışa katkıda bulunmak için iki toplumlu etkinliklere katılmak gerekmektedir.			

48.Görüşmeler esnasında görüşülen toprak konusunda Kıbrıslı Rumlar haklıdırlar.		
49.Görüşmeler esnasında görüşülen toprak konusunda Kıbrıslı Türkler haklıdırlar.		
50.Olası bir çözüm durumunda Yunanistan'ın garantör devlet olarak sürekliliği Kıbrıslı Rumların güvenliği açısından önem arz etmektedir.		
51.Olası bir çözüm durumunda Türkiye'nin garantör devlet olarak sürekliliği Kıbrıslı Türklerin güvenliği açısından önem arz etmektedir.		
52.Olası bir çözüm durumunda, Kıbrıslı Rumlar Kıbrıslı Türklerin içişlerine karışmamalıdır.		
53.Olası bir çözüm durumunda, Kıbrıslı Türkler Kıbrıslı Rumların içişlerine karışmamalıdır.		
54.Kıbrıslı Rumlar, Kıbrıs sorununun çözümlenemeyeceği görüşündedir		
55.Kıbrıslı Türkler, Kıbrıs sorununun çözümlenemeyeceği görüşündedir.		
56.Çözüm sürecinde Kıbrıslı Rumlar anlaşmazlığın nedeninin Kıbrıslı Türkler olduğunu savunmaktadır.		
57.Çözüm sürecinde Kıbrıslı Türkler anlaşmazlığın nedeninin Kıbrıslı Rumlar olduğunu savunmaktadır.		
58.Kıbrıslı Rumlar için tek vatan Kıbrıs'tır.		
59.Kıbrıslı Türkler için tek vatan Kıbrıs'tır.		
60.Kıbrıslı Rum ve Kıbrıslı Türkler birleşerek daha güçlü bir toplum oluşturabilirler.		
61.Kıbrıslı Rum ve Kıbrıslı Türkler birlikte yaşamalıdırlar.		
62.Geçmişte yaşanan acı tecrübelerden dolayı Kıbrıslı Rumlar Kıbrıslı Türklere güvenmemektedir.		

63.Geçmişte yaşanan acı tecrübelerden dolayı Kıbrıslı Türkler Kıbrıslı Rumlara güvenmemektedir.		
64.Kıbrıslı Rumlar Kıbrıslı Türklerin haklarını ihlal etmektedir.		
65.Kıbrırslı Türkler Kıbrıslı Rumların haklarını ihlal etmektedir.		
66.Kıbrıslı Rumlar, Kıbrıslı Türklerden üstündür.		
67.Kıbrıslı Türkler, Kıbrıslı Rumlardan üstündür.		
68.Kıbrıslı Rumlar Kıbrıslı Türklerin haklarını mağdur etmektedir.		
69.Kıbırslı Türkler Kıbrıslı Rumların haklarını mağdur etmektedir.		
70.Kıbrıs adası sadece Kıbrıslı Rum ve Kıbrıslı Türklere aittir.		
71.Kıbrıslı Rumlar Akdeniz Bölgesi'nde bulunan doğal kaynak meselesindeki tutumlarında haklıdırlar.		
72.Kıbrıslı Türkler Akdeniz Bölgesi'nde bulunan doğal kaynak meselesindeki tutumlarında haklıdırlar.		
73.İleride oluşması muhtemel olan federal devlet yapısı Kıbrıslı Rumların güvenliği açısından önem taşımaktadır.		
74.İleride oluşması muhtemel olan federal devlet yapısı Kıbrıslı Türklerin güvenliği açısından önem taşımaktadır.		
75.Kıbrıslı Rumlar, Kıbrıs adasının onlara ait olması gerektiğini savunmaktadır.		
76.Kıbrıslı Türkler, Kıbrıs adasının onlara ait olması gerektiğini savunmaktadır.		
77.Olası bir çözüm durumunda garantör devletlerin garantörlüklerinin kalkması iki toplumun huzurunu ve güvenliğini tehdit edecektir.		

78.Olası bir çözüm durumunda, siyasi ve anayasal hakların eşit dağılımı iki toplumun güvenliği için önem taşımaktadır.			
79.Kıbrıslı Rumlar Kıbrıslı Türklerin işgal altındaki topraklarda yaşadıklarını savunurken haklıdırlar.			
80.Kıbırslı Türkler Kıbrıslı Rumların belirttiği gibi işgal altındaki topraklarda yaşadıklarını savunmamaktadırlar.			
81.Kıbrıslı Rumlar olası bir çözüme karşı olumlu yaklaşmaktadır.			
82.Kıbrıslı Türkler olası bir çözüme karşı olumu yaklaşmaktadır.			
83.Kıbrıslı Rumlar Kıbrıslı Türklere düşmanca davranmaktadır.			
84.Kıbırslı Türkler Kıbrıslı Rumlara düşmanca davranmaktadır.			

**Appendix B: The Scales of the First Study with Journalists** 

The English Version of the Scales

**Consent Form** 

The Faculty of Communication and Media Studies

**Eastern Mediterranean University** 

Famagusta, Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus Tel: +(90) 392 630 4021 / +(90) 392 630 3101 +(90) 392 630 1042 Tel: +(90) 392 630 4021 /

Web: https://www.emu.edu.tr/tr/akademik/fakulteler/iletisim-fakultesi/705

Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot Journalist's Social Psychological Processes

Dear participant,

Please read the information mentioned about the study before filling out the

questionnaire. If you have any questions about the research, you can contact the

researcher from the contact details mentioned below.

The current study is conducted by PhD. student Huri Yontucu studying at Eastern

Mediterranean University under the supervision of Assoc. Prof. Dr Metin Ersoy. The

study aims to investigate how Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot journalists', working

in the north and south Cyprus, social psychological processes including attitudes,

feelings, or thoughts influence them. The study will take 20 minutes.

Please be informed that you have the right to withdraw your consent at any time of the

research without any penalty or loss of benefits and your information will be destroyed.

If you are voluntary, the information you provide will be kept confidential and will be

used for research purposes only. Your name and information will be protected apart

from your survey that filled. The data will be hidden for 6 years. After the data analysis,

an article on the data could be published.

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Ple stu		identify your voluntarily participation to the
MS	nsent Form Sc. Huri Yontucu: huri.yontucu ç. Dr Metin Ersoy: metin.ersoy	
Ple	ease sign the box next to the st	tatements
1.	I confirm that I understand the ask question about the study	e information above and have an opportunity to
2.	I confirm that the study is a leave the study without makin	voluntary basis and I have an opportunity to g any explanation.
3.	I am volunteer to participate th	ne study.
	Date	Signature

#### **DEBRIEFING FORM**

The current study is conducted by PhD. student Huri Yontucu studying at Eastern Mediterranean University under the supervision of Assoc. Prof. Dr Metin Ersoy. The study aims to investigate how Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot journalists', working in the north and south Cyprus, social psychological processes including attitudes, feelings, or thoughts influence them.

The results will be used only in scientific research and articles. Thank you for your participation.

For further information about the research and results, please don't hesitate to contact the researchers mentioned below.

> MSc. Huri Yontucu huri.yontucu@emu.edu.tr Assoc. Prof. Dr Metin Ersoy metin.ersoy@emu.edu.tr

For your rights and ethical issues please contact Research and Publications Ethics

Board, Eastern Mediterranean University

bayek@emu.edu.tr

# Socio-Demographic Information Form

Please select the most suitable section in the following statements.

1.	Age:					
	a) 18-25 b)	26-35 c	) 36-45	d)46-55	e)5	56-65
	f)66 and a	bove				
2.	Gender:					
	a)Female	b) Male	c) O	ther (please	specify)	
3.	Marital Status	:				
a)	Single	b) Engag	ged c) M	arried d	) Divorced	e)Widow
	f)Other (pleas	e specify)				
4.	How do you d	lefine your po	osition in yo	our job, ple	ase specify (e.g.,	correspondent,
	editor)?					
5.	Please specify	where you w	ork and if	it is online	or printing press	
			• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •			
6.	Income Level	:				
	a)3000-4000	b)4001-5	5000 c) 50	001 and abo	ve	
	d)do not willin	ng to answer				
7.	Education Lev	vel:				
	a) High So	chool	b) U	niversity	c) Master'	s degree
	d) Doctora	ate				
8.	In which coun	try did you fii	nish your la	st education	level (e.g., South	n Cyprus, North
	Cyprus, Engla	and)				

9.	Eth	nnicity:
	a)	Turkish Cypriot/Greek Cypriot b) Turkish/Greek c) Cypriot
		d) Other (please specify)
10.	Ple	ease specify your religiosity:
	a)	Muslim b) Christian c) Atheist d) Deist e) Agnostic
		f) Other (please specify)
11.	Но	w important to have faith for you?
	a)	Not important at all b) Of little importance c) Moderately important
		d) Very important
12.	То	what extent do you consider yourself a religious person?
	a)	Not religious at all b) Slightly religious c) Moderately religious
		d) Very religious
13.	Pol	litical Orientation:
	a)	Extreme Left b) Left c) None d) Right
		e) Extreme Right
14.	Are	e you a member f any NGO related to journalism?
	a)	Yes b) No
If y	es,	please specify your position (e.g., secretary or member)
15.	Are	e you a member of any syndicate?
	a)	Yes b) No
If y	es,	please specify your position (e.g., secretary or member)
16.	Do	you follow Turkish Cypriot/Greek Cypriot media?
	a)	Yes b) No

17. Where do you follow Turkish Cypriot/Greek Cypriot media? Please specify
Note: If you didn't live with Turkish Cypriots/Greek Cypriots before 1974 please
continue to answer question 20.
18. If you were born before 1974, where were you living?
a) Turkish Cypriot/Greek Cypriot village b) Mixed village c) Other
19. How do you specify your relations with Turkish Cypriots/Greek Cypriots before
1973? Please evaluate separately and circle how you felt.
Warm/Cold Positive/Negative Friendly/Hostile
Suspicious/Trusting Respectful/Contempt Admiration/Disgust
20. Did you or anyone close to you have any direct involvement in 1963 incidences?
a) Yes b) No
If yes, who did so? Please put a tick next to the convenient answer.
Self Other close to me
Specify further if you like
21. Did you or anyone close to you have any direct involvement in the 1974 conflict?
a) Yes b) No
If yes, who did so? Please put a tick next to the convenient answer.
Self Other close to me
Specify further if you like
22. Did you or anyone close to you experience displacement after the conflict?
a) Yes b) No

	If yes, who	o did so? Plea	se put a tic	ck next to the	convenient answer.
	Self	Fami	ly member	·	Other close to me
	Specify fur	rther if you lil	ke		
23.	Did you ex	rperience any	loss as a r	esult of the co	onflict?
	a)	Yes	b) No		
	If yes, who	o did so? Plea	se put a tic	ck next to the	convenient answer.
	Self	Fami	ly member	<u>:</u>	Other close to me
	Specify fur	rther if you lil	ke		
		• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •			
24.	Did anyon	e close to you	die as a r	esult of conflic	ct?
	a)	Yes	b) No		
	If yes, who	o did so? Plea	se put a tic	ck next to the	convenient answer.
	Family me	ember	(	Other close to	me
	Specify fur	rther if you lil	ke		
		• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •			
25.	Did anyon	e close to you	experienc	ce injury as a r	result of conflict?
	a)	Yes	b) No		
	If yes, who	o did so? Plea	se put a tic	ek next to the	convenient answer.
	Family me	mber	•	Other close to	me
	Specify fur	rther if you lil	ke		
		•••••		•••••	

**Quantity of Intergroup Contact Scale** 

# Please answer the following questions by thinking about your contact with Turkish Cypriots/Greek Cypriots

1.	Ho	ow often do you	cross to North	Cyprus	s/Sout	h Cy	prus?				
	a)	Never	b) Once in a y	ear	c)	At	least	once	in	a	month
		d) At least in	a week	e) Mar	ny tim	ies					
2.	W	hat is your reas	on for crossing	to Nort	th Cyp	orus/S	South C	Cyprus?			
	a)	Shopping	b) Education		c)So	cializ	zing				
		d) For profess	ional reason		e)	C	ther	(plea	ıse		specify)
3.	Но	ow many Turkis	sh Cypriots/Gre	ek Cyp	riots o	do yo	ou knov	<i>y</i> ?			
	a)	None	b) 1-10	c) 11-2	20	d)	21 and	l above			
4.	In	everyday life, l	now often do yo	ou meet	with '	Turk	ish Cy <sub>l</sub>	oriots/G	reek	Сур	oriots?
	a)	Never	b) Once in a y	ear	c) At	t leas	st once	in a mo	nth		
		d) At least in	a week	e) Mar	ny tim	ies					
5.	Но	ow many Turkis	sh Cypriot/Gree	ek Cypr	iot jou	urnal	ists do	you kno	w?		
	a)	None	b) 1-10	c) 11-2	20	d)	21 and	l above			
6.	In	everyday life,	how often do	you e	ncoun	ter 7	Γurkish	Cypric	t/Gre	eek	Cypriot
	jou	ırnalists?									
	a)	Never	b) Once in a y	ear	c) At	t leas	st once	in a mo	nth		
		d) At least in	a week	e) Mar	ny tim	ies					
7.	In	everyday life,	how frequent	ly do y	ou in	iterac	et with	Turkis	h Cy	pric	ot/Greek
	Су	priot journalist	s?								
	a)	Never	b) Once in a y	ear	c) At	t leas	st once	in a mo	nth		
		d) At least in	a week	e) Mar	ny tim	ies					
8.	In	everyday life, l	now often do yo	ou orga	nize a	n eve	ent with	n Turkis	h Cy	pric	ot/Greek
	Су	priot journalist	s?								

- a) Never b) Once in a year c) At least once in a month
  - d) At least in a week e) Many times

## **Outgroup Attitudes Scale**

Please describe how you feel about Turkish Cypriots in general.

Cold	1	2	3	4	5	Warm
Positive	1	2	3	4	5	Negative
Friendly	1	2	3	4	5	Hostile
suspicious	1	2	3	4	5	Trusting
Respectful	1	2	3	4	5	Contempt
Admiration	1	2	3	4	5	Disgust

## **Intergroup Anxiety Scale**

We would like you to rate the extent to which each of these adjectives characterises how would you feel towards Turkish Cypriots/ Greek Cypriots

Comfortable	Not at all	Slightly	Moderately	Very	Very much
Suspicious	Not at all	Slightly	Moderately	Very	Very Much
Embarrassed	Not at all	Slightly	Moderately	Very	Very Much
Anxious	Not at all	Slightly	Moderately	Very	Very Much
Awkward	Not at all	Slightly	Moderately	Very	Very Much
Confident	Not at all	Slightly	Moderately	Very	Very Much

# Forgiveness Scale

Now, could y	ou please	answer	the	following	questions:
--------------	-----------	--------	-----	-----------	------------

1. I think that Greek Cypriots should forgive Turkish Cypriots' misdeeds

ongly disag	ree	1	2	3	4	5	Strongly agree
It is impor	tant tha	t Greek	Cypric	ots neve	er forgiv	e the w	rongdoings committed by
Turkish Cy	priots o	during t	he war				
ongly disag	ree	1	2	3	4	5	Strongly agree
Cyprus wil	ll never	move f	orward	until G	reek Cy	priots f	orgive Turkish Cypriots
ongly disag	ree	1	2	3	4	5	Strongly agree
mmon Ing	roup Id	lentity (	Scale				
			nerceive	m 1:			~
To what e	xtent d	o you p	CICCIVO	e Turkis	sh and	Greek (	Cypriots to constitute one
To what e single ethn			•		sh and	Greek (	Cypriots to constitute one
	ic grou	p i.e., '(	Cypriot <sup>®</sup>	??			
single ethn	ic grou	p i.e., '(	Cypriot 3	'? 4	5	very m	
single ethn	ic grought	p i.e., '(	Cypriot 3	'? 4	5	very m	uch
single ethn  Not at all  To what ex	ic group  1  atent do  ups?	p i.e., '(	Cypriot  3  lieve Tu	'? 4 urkish aı	5 nd Gree	very m k Cypri	ots constitute two separate
Not at all  To what exethnic grounds  Not at all	ic ground ic gro	p i.e., 'C 2 you bel	Cypriot  3  lieve Tu	°? 4 urkish au 4	5 nd Gree 5	very m k Cypri very m	ots constitute two separate
Not at all  To what exethnic grounds  Not at all	ic group  tent do  ps?  tent do  xtent do	p i.e., 'O  2  you bel  2  o you r	Cypriot  3 lieve Tu  3 regard T	°? 4 urkish au 4 Turkish	5 nd Gree 5 Cyprio	very m k Cypri very m ts/Greek	ouch ots constitute two separate ouch cuch cuch cucypriots as people with
	It is impor Turkish Cy ongly disag Cyprus wil ongly disag	It is important that Turkish Cypriots of ongly disagree Cyprus will never ongly disagree	It is important that Greek Turkish Cypriots during toongly disagree 1 Cyprus will never move frongly disagree 1 omgly disagree 1	It is important that Greek Cypric Turkish Cypriots during the war ongly disagree 1 2 Cyprus will never move forward ongly disagree 1 2  mmon Ingroup Identity Scale	It is important that Greek Cypriots never Turkish Cypriots during the war ongly disagree 1 2 3  Cyprus will never move forward until Grongly disagree 1 2 3  ommon Ingroup Identity Scale	It is important that Greek Cypriots never forgive Turkish Cypriots during the war ongly disagree 1 2 3 4  Cyprus will never move forward until Greek Cyprongly disagree 1 2 3 4  mmon Ingroup Identity Scale	It is important that Greek Cypriots never forgive the war ongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 Cyprus will never move forward until Greek Cypriots for ongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5  comply disagree 1 2 3 4 5  comply disagree 1 2 3 4 5

### **Peace-War Attitudes Scale**

Please describe what you think about the above statements

Please describe what you think ab	vut me abl	ove statem	C1112	1	
Statements	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Undecided	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. I believe that a person is born with military characteristics.					
2. When war is declared, the whole nation should support the war.					
3. I think that someone who participated in a war would lose his/her trust in humanity.					
4. I believe that wars have valid reasons.					
5. Our army should help in conflict zones around the world to contribute to 'Peace'.					
6. I think that what people suffer in wars is not worth what they win.					
7. In our history lessons, we should learn about peace as well as 'heroism'.					
8. I believe both those who win and lose the war get harmed by the war.					
9. I think that the best way to solve international problems is 'War'.					
10. Our high school history lessons are qualified enough to contribute to world peace.					
11. Humanity's values have the power to destroy wars.					
12. I think that war means wasting human life for no reason.					

13. In history lessons, we should learn about our country's "friends" and "enemies".			
14. The time spent during a war is a time lost for both those who won and those who lost.			
15. The most glorious value a human being can achieve is the honour and pride he/she wins in a warzone.			
16. I believe that wars are the will of God.			
17. No matter what the conditions are, we should serve our country when declared war.			
18. I think that all wars are bad.			
19. The greatest heroes of history are our soldiers who won wars.			
20. We should take the side of "Peace" till there are no options but war.			
21. I think that it is important to name parks and other public places with soldiers' names who won a war.			
22. Citizens must participate in defence war.			
23. I believe that people who contribute to peace need to be declared as "Heroes".			
24. I believe that supreme emotions such as "Patriotism" are born due to war.			
25. I think that wars are harmful.			
26. We should learn how to become a good 'Patriot' in our history lessons before learning about the importance of peace.			
27. "War" wastes a nation's educated population.			

28. We should learn about			
"Agreements" along with wars in our history lessons.			
29. I believe that history teachers can contribute to world peace.			
30. "Wars" result in other hostilities which lead to other wars.			
31. As the human race civilizes, "Wars" will be replaced by "Peace"			
32. All men should volunteer to participate in a war when it is declared.			
33. I think that all peace is good.			
34. I believe that people and organizations that support "Peace" will prevent future "Wars".			
35. Humanity, in future, will live in a world of absolute "Peace".			
36. I believe that countries and leaders who want "War" should be punished.			
37. Reducing the income gap between rich and poor countries would contribute to "Peace" in the world.			
38. Wars bring suffering to millions of innocent people.			
39. People following their religions would serve world peace.			
40. I believe that achievements in wars are greater than all other types of achievements.			

## Shared Societal Beliefs – Greek Version

		4)	g g		
Statements	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Undecided	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. Turkish Cypriot Journalists generally publish distorted information about Greek Cypriots.					
2. Greek Cypriots are proud of their own nationality					
3. There are constitutional reasons for having Greece as a guarantor of Greek Cypriots' national survival according to Greek Cypriots.					
4. Greek Cypriots sacrifice their own lives for their nationality.					
5. Turkish Cypriots sacrifice their own lives for their nationality.					
6. Generally, Turkish Cypriots are right for not approaching settlement.					
7. The relationship between Greek Cypriots and Greece should remain in terms of security reasons.					
8. The relationship between Turkish Cypriots and Turkey should remain in terms of security reasons.					
9. Greek Cypriots are more trustworthy in terms of the Cyprus issue.					
10. Greek Cypriots perceive Turkish Cypriots as enemies.					
11. Turkish Cypriots perceive Greek Cypriots as enemies.					
12. Greek Cypriots are superior to Turkish Cypriots.					
13. In case of a possible settlement, Greece's continuity as a guarantor is of utmost importance for the security of Greek Cypriots.					
14. In case of a possible settlement, Turkey's continuity as a					

avagantagis of votes actions automas		
guarantor is of utmost importance		
for the security of Turkish		
Cypriots.		
15. In the settlement process, Greek		
Cypriots argue that Turkish		
Cypriots are the reason for the		
conflict.		
16. In the settlement process, Turkish		
Cypriots argue that Greek		
Cypriots are the reason for the		
conflict.		
17. Greek Cypriots do not trust		
Turkish Cypriots because of the		
bitter experiences of the past.		
18. Greek Cypriots violate the rights		
of Turkish Cypriots in a lot of		
issues.		
19. In case of a possible settlement,		
not having guarantor states would		
pose a threat to the welfare and		
security of both societies.		
20. Greek Cypriots are hostile to		
Turkish Cypriots.		
21. Turkish Cypriots are hostile to		
Greek Cypriots.		

## Shared Societal Beliefs Scale – Turkish Version

Statements	<b>Strongly Disagree</b>	Disagree	Undecided	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. Turkish Cypriots were right about their justness during the 1963-1974 wars.					
2. There are constitutional reasons for having Turkey as a guarantor of Turkish Cypriots' safety.					
3. Greek Cypriot journalists publish biased information against the Turkish Cypriots at every opportunity.					
4. Greek Cypriot journalists publish biased information against the Turkish Cypriots at every opportunity.					
5. There are constitutional reasons for having Greece as a guarantor of Greek Cypriots' national survival according to Greek Cypriots					
6. There are constitutional reasons for having Turkey as a guarantor of Turkish Cypriots' national survival according to Turkish Cypriots.					
7. Greek Cypriot journalists publish information that includes full of hatred for Turkish Cypriots at every opportunity.					
8. Turkish Cypriots sacrifice their own lives for their nationality.					
9. Turkish Cypriots have a strong sense of cohesiveness.					
10. Generally, Turkish Cypriots are right for not approaching settlement.					
11. The relationship between Greek Cypriots and Greece should remain in terms of security reasons.					
12. The relationship between Turkish Cypriots and Turkey should					

		 1	
remain in terms of security			
reasons.			
13. Greek Cypriots do not count the			
presence of the Turkish Cypriots			
living on the island.			
14. Turkish Cypriots are more			
trustworthy in terms of the			
Cyprus issue.			
15. Greek Cypriots perceive Turkish			
Cypriots as enemies.			
16. Turkish Cypriots perceive Greek			
Cypriots as enemies.			
17. Turkish Cypriots are superior to			
Greek Cypriots in various			
aspects.			
18. Greek Cypriots are not in favour of reconciliation with the Turkish			
Cypriots while having the support			
of external actors.			
19. Turkish Cypriots are right for the			
territorial issues discussed during			
negotiations.			
20. In case of a possible settlement,			
Greece's continuity as a			
guarantor is of utmost importance			
for the security of Greek			
Cypriots.			
21. In case of a possible settlement,			
Turkey's continuity as a			
guarantor is of utmost importance			
for the security of Turkish			
Cypriots.			
22. In case of a possible settlement,			
Turkish Cypriots should not			
interfere with the internal affairs			
of Greek Cypriots.		 	
23. Greek Cypriots hold the opinion		 	
that the Cyprus issue cannot be			
solved.		 	
24. In the settlement process, Greek			
Cypriots argue that Turkish			
Cypriots are the reason for the			
conflict.			
25. In the settlement process, Turkish			
Cypriots argue that Greek			
Cypriots are the reason for the			
conflict.			
	1		

26. Turkish Cypriots do not trust			
Greek Cypriots because of the			
bitter experiences of the past.			
27. Greek Cypriots violate the rights			
of Turkish Cypriots many times.			
28. Greek Cypriots violate the rights			
of Turkish Cypriots in a lot of			
issues.			
29. Turkish Cypriots argue that			
Greek Cypriots do not live on			
occupied territories as they claim			
30. In case of a possible settlement,			
not having guarantor states would			
pose a threat to the welfare and			
security of both societies.			
31. Greek Cypriots are hostile to			
Turkish Cypriots.			

### The Greek Version of the Scale

#### **Consent Form**

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#### Αγαπητέ συμμετέχοντα/ αγαπητή συμμετέχουσα,

Πριν συμφωνήσετε να συμμετάσχετε στην έρευνα, παρακαλώ αφιερώστε λίγο χρόνο για να διαβάσετε προσεκτικά τις παρακάτω πληροφορίες. Αν έχετε ερωτήσεις σχετικά με την έρευνα, μπορείτε να επικοινωνήσετε με τον ερευνητή στα τα παρακάτω στοιχεία επικοινωνίας.

Αυτή η έρευνα συντάχθηκε από τη διδακτορική φοιτήτρια Huri Yontucu του Eastern Mediterranean University, υπό την επίβλεψη του Assoc. Dr Metin Ersoy.

Ο σκοπός αυτής της έρευνας είναι να διερευνήσει πώς επηρεάζεται η συμπεριφορά, η στάση, τα συναισθήματα και οι σκέψεις των Τουρκοκυπρίων και Ελληνοκυπρίων δημοσιογράφων που ζουν στη νότια και βόρεια Κύπρο, στην επαγγελματική τους ζωή για την εξασφάλιση της ειρήνης. Η έρευνα θα διαρκέσει έως και 20 λεπτά.

Η συμμετοχή στην έρευνα δεν είναι υποχρεωτική και έχετε το δικαίωμα να αρνηθείτε να συμμετάσχετε. Έχετε το δικαίωμα να αποχωρήσετε από την έρευνα ανά πάσα στιγμή χωρίς καμία εξήγηση. Αν αποχωρήσετε από την έρευνα, οι απαντήσεις σας θα καταστραφούν και δεν θα χρησιμοποιηθούν. Εάν συμφωνείτε να συμμετάσχετε και να ολοκληρώσετε την έρευνα, οι απαντήσεις και τα ερωτηματολόγια θα προστατεύονται με εμπιστευτικότητα. Το όνομά σας και οι πληροφορίες σας θα είναι ξεχωριστά από την υπόλοιπη έρευνα. Τα δεδομένα θα διατηρηθούν μέχρι και 6 χρόνια μετά την ολοκλήρωση της έρευνας. Μετά την ανάλυση των δεδομένων, μπορεί να δημοσιευθεί έκθεση σχετικά με την έρευνα.

# Υπογράψτε τη παρακάτω φόρμα συγκατάθεσης για να δηλώσετε την εθελοντική συμμετοχή σας. Η ΦΟΡΜΑ ΣΥΓΚΑΤΑΘΕΣΗΣ

MSc. Huri Yontucu: huri.yontucu@emu.edu.tr

Assoc. Prof. Dr Metin Ersoy: metin.ersoy@emu.edu.tr

# Σημειώστε τα πλαίσια για να υποδείζετε ότι έχετε συμφωνήσει σε κάθε δήλωση.

- 1. Επιβεβαιώνω ότι έχω διαβάσει και καταλάβει τις πληροφορίες και ότι έχω την ευκαιρία να θέσω ερωτήσεις.
- 2. Καταλαβαίνω ότι η συμμετοχή μου είναι εθελοντική και ότι μπορώ να αποχωρήσω από την έρευνα μου ανά πάσα στιγμή χωρίς εξηγήσεις.

3.	Συμφωνώ να συμμετάσχω σε αυτή την ερευ	να
	 Ημερομηνία	Υπογραφή

#### ΕΝΤΥΠΟ ΠΛΗΡΟΦΟΡΙΩΝ ΜΕΤΑ ΤΗ ΣΥΜΜΕΤΟΧΗ

Όπως ήδη αναφέρθηκε, αυτή η έρευνα έχει γίνει από τη διδακτορική φοιτήτρια Huri Yontucu του Πανεπιστημίου της Ανατολικής Μεσογείου (Eastern Mediterranean University), υπό την επίβλεψη του καθηγητή Assoc. Prof. Dr Metin Ersoy. Ο σκοπός αυτής της έρευνας είναι να διερευνήσει πώς επηρεάζεται η συμπεριφορά, η στάση, τα συναισθήματα και οι σκέψεις των Τουρκοκυπρίων και Ελληνοκυπρίων δημοσιογράφων που δουλεύουν στη νότια και βόρεια Κύπρο.

Στο πλαίσιο αυτής της έρευνας, θα εντοπιστούν τα κοινωνικο-ψυχολογικά εμπόδια των δημοσιογράφων όταν γράφουν ειδήσεις για τους Τουρκοκύπριους και Ελληνοκύπριους. Μετά θα ερευνήσουμε πώς αυτά τα εμπόδια επηρεάζουν την επαγγελματική τους ζωή και θα δημιουργήσουμε ένα καινούργιο πρωτότυπο ώστε να ξεπεράσουμε αυτά τα εμπόδια.

Οι πληροφορίες που θα προκύψουν από την έρευνα θα χρησιμοποιηθούν μόνο σε επιστημονικές έρευνες και επιστημονικά άρθρα. Σας ευχαριστούμε και πάλι για τη συμμετοχή σας στην έρευνα μας.

Για να μάθετε περισσότερα σχετικά με τα αποτελέσματα της έρευνας ή για να λάβετε περισσότερες πληροφορίες, μπορείτε να απευθυνθείτε στους παρακάτω:

MSc. Huri Yontucu huri.yontucu@emu.edu.tr Assoc. Prof. Dr Metin Ersoy metin.ersoy@emu.edu.tr

Για οποιαδήποτε ερώτηση σχετικά με τη συμμετοχή σας στην ερευνα μπορείτε να απευθυνθείτε στο Συμβουλιο Επιστημονικής Έρευνας και Δημοσίευσης του ΕΜU bayek@emu.edu.tr

### Κοινωνιοδημογραφικό Έντυπο Πληροφοριών

Παρακαλώ σημειώστε την απάντηση στις παρακάτω ερωτήσεις που σας ταιριάζει καλύτερα

Σημείωση: Κατά προτίμηση συμπληρώστε τα κενά στα Αγγλικά. Σε περίπτωση που δεν γνωρίζετε Αγγλικά μπορείτε να απαντήσετε στα Ελληνικά

17	΄. Ηλικία:
	$\alpha$ ) 18-25 $\beta$ ) 26-35 $\gamma$ ) 36-45 $\delta$ ) 46-55 $\epsilon$ )56-65
	στ)Άνω των 66
2.	Φύλο:
	α) Άνδρας β)Γυναίκα γ) Άλλο (παρακαλώ διευκρινίστε)
3.	Οικογενειακή Κατάσταση:
	α) Ελεύθερος β) Αρραβωνιασμένος γ)Παντρεμένος
	δ)Χωρισμένος ε)Άλλο (παρακαλώ διευκρινίστε)
4.	Πώς θα περιγράφατε τα εργασιακά σας καθήκοντα; Παρακαλώ διευκρινίστε.
	(Π.χ. Ανταποκριτής, συντάκτης κλπ)/
5.	Παρακαλώ αναφέρατε το όνομα του ιδρύματος στο οποίο εργάζεστε και
	διευκρινίστε αν είναι έντυπο ή διαδικτυακό μέσο.
6.	Οικονομική κατάσταση:
	α) $1.000$ - $2.000$ β) $2.001$ - $4.000$ γ) Πάνω από $4.000$
	δ) Προτιμώ να μην απαντήσω
7.	Εκπαίδευση:
	α) Λύκειο β) Πανεπιστήμιο γ)Απολυτήριο δ) Διδακτορικό

).	Υπηκοότητα:
	α) Ελληνοκύπριος β) Έλληνας γ)Κύπριος
	δ) Άλλο (παρακαλώ διευκρινίστε)
0.	Σε ποια θρησκεία αισθάνεστε ότι ανήκετε πιο κοντά?
	α) Χριστιανισμός β) Ισλάμ δ) Άθεος
	ε) Άλλο (παρακαλώ διευκρινίστε)
۱.	Ποσό σημαντική είναι για εσάς η θρησκευτική πίστη?
	α) Δεν είναι καθόλου σημαντική β) Είναι λίγο σημαντική
	γ) Είναι μέτρια σημαντική δ) Είναι πολύ σημαντική
	Ποσό θρησκευόμενος πιστεύετε ότι είστε?
	α) Δεν είμαι καθόλου θρησκευόμενος β) Είμαι λίγο θρησκευόμενος
	γ) Είμαι μέτρια θρησκευόμενος δ) Είμαι πολύ θρησκευόμενος
•	Που ανήκετε πολιτικά?
	α) Στην άκρα αριστερά β) Στην αριστερά γ) Δεν ανήκω σε καμία παράταξη
	δ) Στη δεξιά ε) Στην άκρα δεξιά
٠.	Είστε μέλος κάποιας μη κυβερνητικής οργάνωσης που να σχετίζεται με τη
	δημοσιογραφία; (Π.χ. Συνδικαλιστική οργάνωση, ένωση, λέσχη)?
	α) Ναι β) Όχι
	Εάν ναι παρακαλώ αναφέρατε τη θέση σας στην οργάνωση (π.χ. Γραμματέας
	μέλος κλπ.)
· ·	Είστε μέλος σε κάποια συνδικαλιστική οργάνωση?
	α) Ναι β) Όχι

	Εαν ναι παρακαλώ αναφερατε τη θέση που κατέχετε.
	(Π.χ. Γραμματέας, μέλος κλπ.)
16.	Παρακολουθείτε τον τουρκοκυπριακό τύπο?
	α) Ναι β) Όχι
17.	Γιατί παρακολουθείτε τον τουρκοκυπριακό τύπο?
	πριν το 1974 δεν είχατε συμβιώσει με Τουρκοκύπριους παρακαλώ συνεχίστε την 20 <sup>η</sup> ερώτηση
μο	
18.	Αν είστε γεννηθείς/α πριν το 1974 σε τι είδους χωριό/κωμόπολη/πόλη ζούσατε?
	α) Σε ελληνοκυπριακό χωριό/κωμόπολη πόλη β) Σε μεικτό
	χωριό/κωμόπολη/πόλη
	γ)Άλλο
19.	Πώς αξιολογείτε τις σχέσεις σας με τους Τουρκοκύπριους μετά το 1974;
	Παρακαλώ κυκλώστε τη λέξη ή τις λέξεις που πιστεύετε ότι ταιριάζουν καλύτερα.
	Θερμές/ψυχρές Θετικές/αρνητικές Φιλικές/εχθρικές
	Με καχυποψία/ εμπιστοσύνης Με σεβασμό/ ασεβείς Εκτίμησης/ αποστροφής
20.	Συμμετείχατε εσείς ή κάποιος γνωστός σας στις συγκρούσεις του 1963?
	α)Ναι β) Όχι
	Εάν ναι, παρακαλώ διευκρινίστε ποιος. Παρακαλώ συμπληρώστε με 🗸 την
	παρακάτω απάντηση
	Εγώ Μέλος Οικογένειας Κάποιος που ξέρω
	Αν έχετε περισσότερες πληροφορίες παρακαλώ διευκρινίστε:

21.	. Συμμετείχατε εσείς ή κάποιος γνωστός σας στον πόλεμο του 1974?									
	α)Ναι	β)Όχι								
	Εάν ναι, παρακαλώ διευκρινίστε ποιος. Παρακαλώ συμπληρώστε με ( ) την									
	παρακάτω απάντηση									
	Εγώ	Μέλος ΟικογένειαςΚάποιος που ξέρω								
	Αν έχετε 1	τερισσότερες πληροφορίες παρακαλώ διευκρινίστε:								
22.	Μεταναστ	εύσατε εσείς ή κάποιος που γνωρίζετε προσωπικά μετά τον πόλεμο?								
	α)Ναι	β) Όχι								
	Εάν ναι,	παρακαλώ διευκρινίστε ποιος. Παρακαλώ συμπληρώστε με 🗸								
	παρακάτω απάντηση									
	Εγώ Μέλος ΟικογένειαςΚάποιος που ξέρω									
	Αν έχετε τ	τερισσότερες πληροφορίες παρακαλώ διευκρινίστε:								
	Αγνοείται αγνοούμε	κάποιο κοντινό σας πρόσωπο εξαιτίας του πολέμου? (Π.χ.: νος)								
	α)Ναι	β) Όχι								
	Εάν ναι,	παρακαλώ διευκρινίστε ποιος. Παρακαλώ συμπληρώστε με 🗸								
	παρακάτω απάντηση									
	Μέλ	ος ΟικογένειαςΚάποιος που ξέρω								
	Αν έχετε 1	τερισσότερες πληροφορίες παρακαλώ διευκρινίστε:								

24. B	ιώσατε απώλεια κάποιου φιλικού ή συγγενικού σας προσώπου εξαιτίας του
π	ολέμου?
α	)Ναι β) Όχι
Е	άν ναι, παρακαλώ διευκρινίστε ποιος. Παρακαλώ συμπληρώστε με 🗸
π	αρακάτω απάντηση
_	Μέλος ΟικογένειαςΚάποιος που ξέρω
A	ων έχετε περισσότερες πληροφορίες παρακαλώ διευκρινίστε:
σ	πήρξατε μάρτυρας τυχόν τραυματισμών εξαιτίας των στρατιωτικών υγκρούσεων?
	τάν ναι, παρακαλώ διευκρινίστε ποιος. Παρακαλώ συμπληρώστε με (🗸) αρακάτω απάντηση
_	Μέλος ΟικογένειαςΚάποιος που ξέρω
A	ων έχετε περισσότερες πληροφορίες παρακαλώ διευκρινίστε:

### Επαφές – Intergroup Contact Scale

1. Πόσο συχνά περνάτε στις τουρκοκυπριακές περιοχές;

Θα θέλαμε να μάθουμε τις σκέψεις σας σχετικά με τις επαφές σας με Τουρκοκύπριους δημοσιογράφους. Παρακαλώ απαντήστε τις παρακάτω ερωτήσεις με βάση τις εμπειρίες της καθημερινότητάς σας.

	α) Δεν έχω περάσει ποτέ β)Μερικές φορές τον χρόνο γ)Τουλάχιστον μια φορά									
	τον χρόνο									
	δ)Τουλάχιστον μια φορά την εβδομάδα ε) Πολύ συχνά									
2.	Για ποιο λόγο επισκέπτεστε την τουρκοκυπριακές περιοχές;									
	α) Αγορές β) Εκπ	ιαίδευσηγ)Για	να δω φίλους	δ) Για	δουλειά					
ε) :	Άλλο (παρακαλώ δ	διευκρινίστε)								
3.	Πόσους Τουρκοκ	ύπριους γνωρί	ζετε;							
	α) Κανέναν	β) 1-10γ) 11-	20	δ)Πάνο	ω από 21					
4.	Με τι συχνότητα	συναναστρέφ	νεστε με Τουρκ	κοκύπριο	ους στην καθη	μερινή (	σας			
	ζωή;									
	α) Ποτέ	β) Μερικές φ	ορές τον χρόνο	γ) Τοι	ολάχιστον μια	φορά	τον			
	μήνα									
	δ) Τουλάχιστο	ον μια φορά τη	ν εβδομάδα	ε) Πολ	ύ συχνά					
5.	Πόσους Τουρκοκ	ύπριους δημος	σιογράφους γνω	ρίζετε;						
	α) Κανέναν	β) 1-10	γ)11-20		δ) Πάνω από	21				
6.	Με τι συχνότητα	συναναστρέφ	εστε με Τουρκ	οκύπριο	ους δημοσιογρ	άφους σ	την			
	καθημερινότητα σας (βραχυχρόνια)									
	α) Ποτέ	β)Μερικές φο	ορές τον χρόνο	γ)Τουλ	.άχιστον μια	φορά	τον			
	μήνα									
	δ) Τουλάχιστον μ	ια φορά την εβ	βδομάδα ε) Πολ	ώ συχνά	i					
7.	Με τι συχνότητα	συναναστρέφε	στε με Τουρκοι	<b>ς</b> ύπριου	ς δημοσιογράφ	ους στην	,			

καθημερινότητα σας (μακροχρόνια):

- α) Ποτέ β)Μερικές φορές τον χρόνο γ)Τουλάχιστον μια φορά τον μήνα
- δ) Τουλάχιστον μια φορά την εβδομάδα ε) Πολύ συχνά
- 8. Με τι συχνότητα πραγματοποιείτε εκδηλώσεις με Τουρκοκύπριους δημοσιογράφους;
  - α) Ποτέ β) Μερικές φορές τον χρόνο γ)Τουλάχιστον μια φορά τον μήνα δ) Τουλάχιστον μια φορά την εβδομάδα ε)Πολύ συχνά

### Στάση – Outgroup Attitudes Scale

Αξιολογήστε τα συναισθήματά σας έναντι των Τουρκοκυπρίων

11510710711010						-
Θερμά	1	2	3	4	5	Ψυχρά
Θετικά	1	2	3	4	5	Αρνητικά
Φιλικά	1	2	3	4	5	Εχθρικά
Καχυποψία	1	2	3	4	5	Εμπιστοσύνη
Με	1	2	3	4	5	Με ασέβεια
σεβασμό						
Εκτίμηση	1	2	3	4	5	Αποστροφή

# **Intergroup Anxiety Scale**

Άγχος για τις σχέσεις μεταξύ των δύο κοινοτήτων Παρακαλώ αξιολογήστε συναισθήματα που θα έχετε σε περίπτωση λύσης με τους Τουρκοκύπριους

Καθόλου	Λίγο	Μετρίως	Αρκετά	Πολύ
Καθόλου	Λίγο	Μετρίως	Αρκετά	Πολύ
Καθόλου	Λίγο	Μετρίως	Αρκετά	Πολύ
Καθόλου	Λίγο	Μετρίως	Αρκετά	Πολύ
Καθόλου	Λίγο	Μετρίως	Αρκετά	Πολύ
Καθόλου	Λίγο	Μετρίως	Αρκετά	Πολύ
	Καθόλου Καθόλου Καθόλου	Καθόλου Λίγο Καθόλου Λίγο Καθόλου Λίγο	<ul> <li>Καθόλου Λίγο Μετρίως</li> <li>Καθόλου Λίγο Μετρίως</li> <li>Καθόλου Λίγο Μετρίως</li> <li>Καθόλου Λίγο Μετρίως</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>Καθόλου Λίγο Μετρίως Αρκετά</li> <li>Καθόλου Λίγο Μετρίως Αρκετά</li> <li>Καθόλου Λίγο Μετρίως Αρκετά</li> <li>Καθόλου Λίγο Μετρίως Αρκετά</li> </ul>

Ικανότητα συγχώρεσης – Forgiveness Scale

Παρακαλώ απαντήστε στις παρακάτω ερωτήσεις.	Διαφων έντονα	Διαφωνώ	Ούτε συμφωνώ Ούτε διαφωνώ	Συμφωνώ	Συμφωνώ απόλυτα
1. Κατά τη γνώμη μου οι Ελληνοκύπριοι πρέπει να συγχωρήσουν τα λάθη των Τουρκοκυπρίων.					
2. Είναι πολύ σημαντικό οι Ελληνοκύπριοι να συγχωρήσουν τα λάθη που έκαναν οι Τουρκοκύπριοι κατά τη διάρκεια του πολέμου.					
3. Όσο οι Ελληνοκύπριοι δε συγχωρούν τους Τουρκοκύπριους η Κύπρος δεν θα μπορέσει να πάει μπροστά.					

# **Common Ingroup Identity Scale**

	ΕΚΛΗΛΩΣΕΙΣ	Καθόλου	Λίγο	Μετρίως	Αρκετά	Πολύ
1.	Σε ποιο βαθμό πιστεύετε ότι οι Ελληνοκύπριοι					
	και οι Τουρκοκύπριοι συναποτελούν ως					
	Κύπριοι μια κοινή εθνική ομάδα?					
2.	Σε ποιο βαθμό πιστεύετε ότι Ελληνοκύπριοι					
	και Τουρκοκύπριοι αποτελούν δύο ξεχωριστές					
	εθνικές ομάδες?					
3.	Σε ποιο βαθμό θεωρείτε ότι οι Τουρκοκύπριοι					
	είναι μέλη της ίδια εθνικής ομάδας με τη εσάς					
	(δηλαδή είναι Κύπριοι)?					

### **Peace-War Attitudes Scale**

Πιο κάτω υπάρχουν μερικές δηλώσεις σχετικά με τον πόλεμο και την ειρήνη. Παρακαλούμε σημειώστε την πιο κατάλληλη απάντηση για τις δικές σας σκέψεις/πεποιθήσεις. Ούτε συμφωνώ ούτε διαφωνώ Συμφωνώ Διαφωνώ Συμφωνώ Διαφωνώ έντονα ΕΚΛΗΛΩΣΕΙΣ 1. Πιστεύω ότι ένα άτομο γεννιέται με γαρακτηριστικά μαγητικότητας 2. Όταν κηρυχθεί πόλεμος, ολόκληρο το έθνος πρέπει να υποστηρίξει τον πόλεμο. 3. Νομίζω ότι κάποιος που συμμετείχε σε πολέμους θα είχε μειωμένη εμπιστοσύνη προς την ανθρωπότητα. 4. Πιστεύω ότι οι πόλεμοι γίνονται για δίκαιους λόγους. 5. Ο στρατός μας για να συμβάλει στην ειρήνη πρέπει να συμμετέγει σε συγκρούσεις που λαμβάνουν χώρα σε διάφορες περιοχές του κόσμου. 6. Νομίζω ότι στον πόλεμο αυτό που οι άνθρωποι κερδίζουν στο τέλος δεν αξίζει τον πόνο που υποφέρουν. 7. Στο μάθημα της ιστορίας εκτός από τον ηρωισμό πρέπει να μαθαίνουμε τη σημασία της ειρήνης. 8. Πιστεύω ότι και ο νικητής και ο ηττημένος υποφέρουν σε έναν πόλέμο. 9. Πιστεύω ότι ο καλύτερος τρόπος για να την λύση των εθνικών προβλημάτων είναι ο πόλεμος. 10. Τα μαθήματα ιστορίας στα σχολεία μπορούν να συμβάλουν στην παγκόσμια ειρήνη. 11. Η ανθρωπότητα έχει αξίες που είναι αρκετά ισχυρές ώστε να εξαλείψουν τον πόλεμο. 12. Πιστεύω ότι πόλεμος σημαίνει αναίτια απώλεια ανθρώπινης ζωής

13 Στο μάθημα της ιστορίας πρέπει να		
μαθαίνουμε ποιοι είναι οι «Φίλοι και		
Εχθροί» του έθνους μας.		
74 1	+ + +	
14. Ο χρόνος που χάνεται στον πόλεμο		
είναι χαμένος και για τον ηττημένο και για		
τον νικητή.		
15. Η υψηλότερη αξία που μπορεί να		
επιτύχει κάποιος στη ζωή είναι η τιμή και		
η δόξα που έχει κερδίσει στο πεδίο της		
μάχης.		
16. Πιστεύω ότι οι πόλεμοι είναι ευλογία		
του Θεού.		
17. Ανεξάρτητα από τις περιστάσεις, όταν		
κηρύσσεται πόλεμος, πρέπει να τρέξουμε		
στην υπηρεσία της χώρας μας.		
18. Νομίζω ότι όλοι οι πόλεμοι είναι		
κακοί.		
19. Οι μεγαλύτεροι ήρωές μας στην		
ιστορία είναι οι νικηφόροι στρατιώτες μας.		
20. Πρέπει να είμαστε υποστηρικτές της		
ειρήνης και ο πόλέμος να είναι η		
τελευταία λύση.		
21. Νομίζω ότι είναι σημαντικό να		
δίνουμε το όνομα στρατιωτών που		
δοξάστηκαν σε πολεμικές αναμετρήσεις		
σε πάρκα και άλλους δημόσιους χώρους.		
22. Είναι καθήκον των πολιτών να		
συμμετέχουν σε αμυντικό πόλεμο.		
23. Πιστεύω ότι οι άνθρωποι που		
•		
συμβάλλουν στην ειρήνη πρέπει να		
κηρυχθούν ήρωες.		
24. Πιστεύω ότι συναισθήματα όπως ο		
πατριωτισμός "προκύπτουν από τους		
πολέμους".		
25. Νομίζω ότι οι πόλεμοι είναι		
επιβλαβείς.		
chiphupais.		
26. Пом. и/полица до/		
26. Πριν μάθουμε τη σημασία της ειρήνης		
στα μαθήματα της ιστορίας μας, πρέπει		
πρώτα να μάθουμε <del>το</del> να είμαστε καλοί		
πατριώτες.		
27. Στον πόλεμο χάνονται οι μορφωμένοι		
άνθρωποι ενός έθνους.		
aropanor orog coroog.		

		T	1
28. Στα μαθήματα της ιστορίας μας πρέπει			
να μάθουμε και τις Συνθήκες ενός			
πολέμου.			
29. Πιστεύω ότι οι καθηγητές ιστορίας			
μπορούν να συμβάλουν στην παγκόσμια			
ειρήνη.			
30. Οι πολέμοι προκαλούν εχθροπραξίες			
και άλλους πολέμους.			
31. Οι ανθρώποι με τη μόρφωση θα			
αντικαταστήσουν τους πολέμους με την			
ειρήνη.			
32. Όλοι οι άντρες θα πρέπει να είναι			
πρόθυμοι να συμμετάσχουν στον πόλεμο			
όταν αυτός κηρυχθεί.			
33. Πιστέυω ότι η ειρήνη κάνει καλό σε			
όλους.			
34. Πιστεύω ότι άνθρωποι και θεσμοί που			
υποστηρίζουν την «ειρήνη» στον κόσμο			
θα αποτρέψουν μελλοντικούς πολέμους.			
35. Η ανθρωπότητα στο μέλλον θα ζήσει			
σε έναν κόσμο γεμάτο ειρήνη.			
36. Πιστεύω ότι θα πρέπει να τιμωρούνται			
οι χώρες και οι ηγέτες που επιθυμούν τον			
πόλεμο.			
37. Η μείωση του χάσματος μεταξύ των			
πλούσιων και των φτωχών χωρών θα			
συμβάλει στην ειρήνη στον κόσμο.			
38. Οι πόλεμοι φέρνουν πόνο σε			
εκατομμύρια αθώους ανθρώπους.			
39. Οι ανθρωποι που ακολουθούν την			
θρησκεία τους συμβαλουν στην			
παγκόσμια ειρήνη.			
40. Τα επιτεύγματα που κερδίζεις στους			
πολέμους είναι τα πιο σημαντικά.			

# Shared Societal Beliefs Scale – Greek Version

υπάρχουν κάποιες δηλώσεις σχετικά με τους Τουρκοκύπριους και Ελληνοκυπρίους πιο κάτω. Παρακαλούμε σημειώστε την πιο κατάλληλη									
απάντηση για τις δικές σας σκέψεις.									
ΕΚΛΗΛΩΣΕΙΣ	Διαφωνώ έντονα	Διαφωνώ	Ούτε συμφωνώ ούτε διαφωνώ	Συμφωνώ	Συμφωνώ απόλυτα				
1. Γενικά, οι Τουρκοκύπριοι δημοσιογράφοι παραπληροφορούν για τους Ελληνοκύπρους.									
2. Οι Ελληνοκύπριοι είναι υπερήφανοι για την εθνική τους καταγωγή.									
3. Σύμφωνα με τους Ελληνοκύπριους συντρέχουν συνταγματικοί λόγοι να είναι η Ελλαδα εγγυήτρια δύναμη για την διασφάλιση της εθνικής επιβίωσης των Ελληνοκυπρίων.									
4. Οι Ελληνοκύπριοι θυσιάζουν τη ζωή									
τους για χάρη του έθνους τους. 5. Οι Τουρκοκύπριοι θυσιάζουν τη ζωή τους για χάρη του έθνους τους.									
6. Γενικά, οι Τουρκοκύπριοι έχουν δίκιο να μη θέλουν τη λύση.									
7. Οι σχέσεις των Ελληνοκυπρίων με την Ελλάδα πρέπει να είναι μόνιμες όσον αφορά την ασφάλεια.									
8. Οι σχέσεις των Τουρκοκυπρίων με την Τουρκία πρέπει να είναι μόνιμες όσον αφορά την ασφάλεια.									
9. Οι Ελληνοκύπριοι είναι πιο αξιόπιστοι στο κυπριακό ζήτημα.					l				
10. Οι Ελληνοκύπριοι θεωρούν τους Τουρκοκύπριους ως εχθρούς.									
11. Οι Τουρκοκύπριοι θεωρούν τους Ελληνοκυπρίους ως εχθρούς.									
12. Οι Ελληνοκύπριοι είναι ανώτεροι των Τουρκοκύπριων σε πολλά θέματα.									
13. Σε περίπτωση μιας πιθανής λύσης, η συνέχιση της Ελλάδας ως εγγυήτριας δύναμης έχει μεγάλη σημασία για την ασφάλεια των Ελληνοκυπρίων.									

4.4.5	
14. Σε περίπτωση μιας πιθανής λύσης, η	
συνέχιση της Τουρκίας ως εγγυήτριας	
δύναμης έχει μεγάλη σημασία για την	
ασφάλεια των Τουρκοκυπρίων.	
15. Κατά τη διαδικασία επίλυσης, οι	
Ελληνοκύπριοι υποστηρίζουν ότι ο	
λόγος για τη διαμάχη είναι οι	
Τουρκοκύπριοι.	
16. Κατά τη διαδικασία επίλυσης, οι	
Τουρκοκύπριοι υποστηρίζουν ότι ο	
λόγος για τη διαμάχη είναι οι	
Ελληνοκύπριοι.	
17. Οι Ελληνοκύπριοι δεν εμπιστεύονται	
τους Τουρκοκύπριους λόγω των	
οδυνηρών εμπειριών του παρελθόντος.	
18. Οι Ελληνοκύπριοι, στερούν τα	
δικαιώματα των Τουρκοκυπρίων σε	
πολλά θέματα.	
19. Σε περίπτωση πιθανής λύσης, η μη	
υπαρξη εγγυητριών δυνάμεων θα	
απειλήσει την ειρήνη και την ασφάλεια	
των δύο κοινοτήτων.	
20. Οι Ελληνοκύπριοι ενεργούν εχθρικά	
απέναντι στους Τουρκοκύπριους.	
21. Οι Τουρκοκύπριοι ενεργούν εχθρικά	
απέναντι στους Ελληνοκύπριους.	

**Turkish Version of the Scale** 

**Consent Form** 

İletişim Fakültesi

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Kıbrıslı Türk ve Kıbrıslı Rum Gazetecilerinin Sosyo-Psikolojik Süreçleri

Değerli katılımcı,

Araştırmaya katılmayı kabul etmeden önce, lütfen araştırma ile ilgili aşağıda bulunan

bilgileri dikkatlice okumak için birkaç dakikanızı ayırınız. Araştırma ile ilgili herhangi

bir sorunuz varsa, aşağıda iletişim bilgileri olan araştırmacıyla iletişim kurabilirsiniz.

Bu araştırma Doğu Akdeniz Üniversitesi doktora öğrencisi MSc. Huri Yontucu

tarafından, ve Öğretim Üyesi Doç. Dr. Metin Ersoy'un denetimi altında

yürütülmektedir. Araştırmanın amacı, Kuzey ve Güney Kıbrıs'ta aktif olarak

gazetecilik yapan Kıbrıslı Türk ve Rum gazetecilerin sürüdürülebilir barışı

sağlayabilmek için davranış, tutum, duygu ve düşüncelerinin gazeteciler üzerinde nasıl

bir etki yarattığını araştırmaktır. Çalışma, en fazla 20 dakikanızı alacaktır.

Çalışmaya katılımınız zorunlu değildir ve katılmayı reddetme

hakkına sahipsiniz. Çalışmadan, istediğiniz bir anda, açıklama yapmaksızın çekilme

hakkına sahipsiniz. Araştırmadan çekilmeniz durumunda, yanıtlarınız yok edilecektir

ve araştırmada kullanılmayacaktır. Eğer araştırmaya katılmayı ve tamamlamayı kabul

ederseniz, cevaplar ve anketler gizlilikle korunacaktır. İsminiz ve tanımlayıcı

bilgileriniz, anketin geri kalan kısımlarından ayrı olarak muhafaza edilecektir. Veriler,

araştırma tamamlandıktan sonra en çok 6 yıl boyunca muhafaza edilecektir. Verilerin

analizinden sonra, araştırma ile ilgili bir rapor yayınlanabilir.

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# Gönüllü katılımınızı belirtmek için, lütfen aşağıda bulunan bilgilendirilmiş onam formunu imzalayınız. BİLGİLENDİRİLMİŞ ONAY FORMU MSc. Huri Yontucu: huri.yontucu@emu.edu.tr Doç. Dr. Metin Ersoy: metin.ersoy@emu.edu.tr Her ifadeye katıldığınızı belirtmek için lütfen yanda bulunan kutuları işaretleriniz. 1. Bilgileri okuyup anladığımı ve soru sorma fırsatımın olduğunu onaylıyorum. 2. Katılımımın gönüllü olduğunu ve açıklama yapmaksızın, istediğim bir anda araştırmadan çekilebileceğimi anlıyorum.

İmza

Tarih

KATILIM SONRASI BİLGİ FORMU

Bu araştırma daha önce de belirtildiği gibi Doğru Akdeniz Üniversitesi doktora

öğrencisi MSc. Huri Yontucu, Öğretim Üyesi ve Doç. Dr. Metin Ersoy tarafından

yürütülen bir çalışmadır. Çalışmanın amacı Kuzey ve Güney Kıbrıs'ta gazetecilik

yapan bireylerin Kıbrıslı Rum ve Türk toplumu ile ilgili davranış, tutum, duygu ve

düşüncelerinin meslek hayatlarına etkisini araştırmaktır.

Araştırmanın amacı bağlamında çıkacak olan sonuçlarda gazetecilerin halkı

bilinçlendirmek için Kıbıslı Rum ve Türkler ile ilgili haberleri hazırlarken sosyo-

psikolojik bariyerleri tespit edilecektir. Bu bariyerlerin meslek hayatlarına nasıl etki

yaptığı incelendikten sonra Kıbrıs'ta sürdürülebilinir bir çözüm için halkı

bilinçlendirmede önemli rol oynayan gazetecilerin bu bariyerleri aşabilmeleri

konusunda bir model oluşturulacaktır.

Bu çalışmadan elde edilen bilgiler sadece bilimsel araştırma ve yazılarda

kullanılacaktır. Bu araştırmaya katıldığınız için tekrar çok teşekkür ederiz.

Araştırmanın sonuçlarını öğrenmek ya da daha fazla bilgi almak için aşağıdaki

isimlere başvurabilirsiniz.

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metin.ersoy@emu.edu.tr

Çalışmaya katkıda bulunan bir gönüllü olarak katılımcı haklarınızla ve etik ilkelerle ilgili soru veya görüşlerinizi Doğu Akdeniz Üniversitesi, Bilimsel Araştırma ve

Yayın Etiği Kurulu'na iletebilirsiniz.

e-posta: bayek@emu.edu.tr

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# Sosyo-Demografik Bilgi Formu

Aşağıda yer alan ifadelerde kendinize en uygun olanı lütfen işaretleyiniz.

1.	Yaş:					
	a) 18-25	b) 26-35	c) 36-4	45 d)46-	55	e)56-65
	f)66 ve üz	eri				
2.	Cinsiyet:					
	a)Kadın	b)Er	kek	c)Diğ	er	(lütfei
	belirtiniz)					
3.	Medeni H	al:				
	a)Bekar	b)Ni	şanlı	c)Evli	d)Boşanmış	e)Dul
	f)Diğer (li	itfen belirtini	z)			
4.	Mesleğini	zdeki görevi	nizi nası	l tanımlarsını	z? Lütfen aşa	ğıda belirtiniz (ör
	muhabir,					editör)
5.	Çalıştığını	ız kurumun ad	lını belirt	erek yazılı mı	online mı oldu	ığunu lütfen aşağıda
	belirtiniz.					
6.	Gelir duru	munuz:				
	a) 3000-40	000 b)40	01-5000	c)5001 ve üz	eri d)yanıtl	amayı istemiyorum
7.	Eğitim					durumunuz
	a)Lise	b)Ür	niversite	c)Yüksek Lis	ans d)Dol	ctora
8.	Eğitiminiz	zi en son hang	i fakülte v	ve ülkede tama	mladınız? Lütfe	en aşağıda belirtiniz
	(ör: Güney	y Kıbrıs, Kuz	ey Kıbrıs	, İngiltere).		

9.	Etnik köken:					
	a)Kıbrıslı Türk	b)Türk	c)Kıbrıslı	d)Diğer (l	Lütfen belir	tiniz)
10.	Kendinizi hangi	dini inanca dah	a yakın hissede	ersiniz?		
	a)Müslüman	b)Hristiyan	c)Ateist	d)Desit	e)Agr	ostik
	e)Diğer (Lütfen	belirtiniz)		_		
11.	İnançlı olmak siz	zin için ne kada	r önemlidir?			
	a)Hiç önemli değ	ğil b)Bira	az önemli	c)Orta dei	rece önemli	d)Çok
	önemli					
12.	Ne kadar inançlı	olduğunuzu dü	işünüyorsunuz?	•		
	a)Hiç inançlı değ	ģilim b)Bira	az inançlıyım	c)Orta	derece	inançlıyım
	d)Çok inançl	ıyım				
13.	Politik görüşünü	z nedir?				
	a) Aşırı sol	b)Sol c)Hiç	bir d)Aşı	rı Sağ e)	Sağ	
14.	Gazetecilik ile a	alakalı herhang	i bir Sivil To <sub>l</sub>	plum Örgüt	ü'ne üye n	nisiniz? (ör:
	sendika, birlik ve	eya dernek)				
	a)Evet	b)Hayır				
	Evet ise, lütfen ö	örgütteki pozisy	onunuzu belirt	iniz		
	(ör. sekreter, sad	ece üye)				
15.	Herhangi bir sen	dikaya üye mis	iniz?			
	a)Evet	b)Hayır				
Ev	et ise, lütfen	örgütteki po	zisyonunuzu	belirtiniz	(ör. sekre	ter, sadece
üye	e)					
16.	Kıbrıs Rum bası	nını takip ediyo	or musunuz?			
	a)Evet	b)Hayır				

17. Kibris Rum basinini nere	den takip ediyor	rsunuz? Lutten aşagıda belirtiniz.
Not: 1974'ten önce Kıbrıslı R geçiniz.	umlarla birlikte	yaşamadıysanız lütfen 20. soruya
18. 1974'ten önce doğduysanı a)Kıbrıslı Türk köyü b)	•	de\kasabada\şehirde yaşıyordunuz? ğer
19. 1974'ten önce Kıbrıslı Ruml	arla olan ilişkinizi	nasıl değerlendirirsiniz? Lütfen size
uygun kelime veya kelimele	ri ayrı ayrı değerle	endirerek yuvarlak içine alınız.
Sıcak/Soğuk Olumlu/O	Olumsuz	Arkadaşça/Düşmanca
Şüpheli/Güvenli Saygılı/S	aygısız	Takdir Edici/İğrenme
20. Kıbrıs'taki 1963 çatışmaları	nda siz veya herha	ıngi bir tanıdığınız doğrudan katılım
gösterdi mi?		
a)Evet b)Hayır		
Evet ise, kim olduğunu lütfe	en belirtiniz? Lütfe	en size uygun cevabın yanına tik (✓)
işareti koyunuz.		
Kendim	Aile Üyesi	Yakın bir tanıdığım
Daha fazla bilgi varsa lütfen	belirtiniz:	
21. Kıbrıs'taki 1974 savaşında	siz veya herhang	gi bir tanıdığınız doğrudan katılım
gösterdi mi?		
a)Evet b)Hayır		
Evet ise, kim olduğunu lütfe	en belirtiniz? Lütfe	en size uygun cevabın yanına tik (✓)
işareti koyarak belirtiniz.		
Kendim	Aile Üyesi	Yakın bir tanıdığım

	Daha fazla bilgi varsa lütfen belirtiniz:
22.	Siz veya tanıdığınız herhangi biri savaştan sonra göç yaşadı mı?
	a)Evet b)Hayır
	Evet ise, kim olduğunu lütfen belirtiniz? Lütfen size uygun cevabın yanına tik (✓)
	işareti koyarak belirtiniz.
	Kendim Aile Üyesi Yakın bir tanıdığım
	Daha fazla bilgi varsa lütfen belirtiniz:
23.	Savaş sebebiyle herhangi bir yakınınız kayıp oldu mu? (ör: kayıp şahıs gibi)
	a)Evet b)Hayır
	Evet ise, kim olduğunu lütfen belirtiniz? Lütfen size uygun cevabın yanına tik (✓)
	işareti koyarak belirtiniz.
	Aile Üyesi Yakın bir tanıdığım
	Daha fazla bilgi varsa lütfen belirtiniz:
24.	Savaş sebebiyle herhangi bir yakınınız öldü mü?
	a)Evet b)Hayır
	Evet ise, kim olduğunu lütfen belirtiniz? Lütfen size uygun cevabın yanına tik (✓)
	işareti koyarak belirtiniz.
	Aile Üyesi Yakın bir tanıdığım
	Daha fazla bilgi varsa lütfen belirtiniz:

25	. Savaş se	ebebiyie nernan	gi bir yar	aianmaya	a tanik oldunuz	mu?		
	a)Evet	b)Ha	yır					
	Evet ise	, kim olduğunu	lütfen be	lirtiniz? ]	Lütfen size uygı	un cevabır	n yanına	ı tik (✔)
	işareti k	oyarak belirtini	z.					
	A	Aile Üyesi	_Yakın l	oir tanıdı	ğım			
	Daha fa	zla bilgi varsa li	ütfen beli	rtiniz:				
$\mathbf{G}$	ruplarara	ası Temas Ölçe	ği					
Li		Kıbrıslı Rum Ga kısımdaki s ız.						
1.	Kıbrıs R	Rum tarafına ne	kadar sık	ılıkla geç	iyorsunuz?			
	a)Hiç	b) Yılda birl	kaç kez	c)Ayda	en az 1	d)Haftada	en az 1	
	e)Birçol	k kez						
2.	Kıbrıs	Rum tarafina	hangi	amaçla	geçiyorsunuz	? (1'den	fazla	cevabı
	işaretley	vebilirsiniz.						
	a)Alışve	eriş b)Eğitim	c)Ark	adaşlarla	görüşmek			
	d)Profes	syonel olarak	e)Diğe	er(lütfen	belirtiniz		_	
3.	Kıbrıslı	Rum olan kaç k	cişi tanıy	orsunuz?				
	a) Hiç	b)1-10 c)11-	-20		d)21 ve üzer			
4.	Günlük	hayatınızda ne s	sıklıkla K	Abrisli R	umlar ile görüşi	üyorsunuz	?	
	a)Hiç	b) Yılda birl	kaç kez	c)Ayda	en az 1			
	, ,		e)Birç	-				
5.	ŕ	Rum gazeteci o	, ,		orsunuz?			
٠.				5	•			

- Günlük hayatınızda ne sıklıkla Kıbrıslı Rum gazeteciler ile karşılaşıyorsunuz? (ör: kısa süreli temas)
  - a) Hiç b) Yılda birkaç kez c)Ayda en az 1 d)Haftada en az 1 e)Birçok kez
- 7. Günlük hayatınızda ne sıklıkla Kıbrıslı Rum gazeteciler ile görüşüyorsunuz? (ör: uzun süreli temas)
  - a)Hiç b) Yılda birkaç kez c)Ayda en az 1 d)Haftada en az 1 e)Birçok kez
- 8. Ne kadar sıklıkla Kıbrıslı Rum gazeteciler ile etkinlik yapıyorsunuz?
  - a)Hiç b) Yılda birkaç kez c)Ayda en az 1
  - d)Haftada en az 1 e)Birçok kez.

### Dış Grup Tutumları Ölçeği

Lütfen Kıbrıslı Rumlara karşı olan duygularınızı derecelendiriniz

Lutich Kibi ish Kumata karşı olan duygularınızı derecelendiriniz.								
Sıcak	1	2	3	4	5	Soğuk		
Olumlu	1	2	3	4	5	Olumsuz		
Arkadaşça	1	2	3	4	5	Düşmanca		
Şüpheli	1	2	3	4	5	Güvenli		
Saygılı	1	2	3	4	5	Saygısız		
Takdir Edici	1	2	3	4	5	İğrenme		

# Gruplararası Kaygı Ölçeği

İleride Kıbrıslı Rumlar ile gerçekleşebilecek çözüm sürecinde nasıl hissedebileceğinizi lütfen derecelendiriniz.

Rahat	Hiç	Az	Biraz	Oldukça	Çok
Şüpheci	Hiç	Az	Biraz	Oldukça	Çok
Çekingen	Hiç	Az	Biraz	Oldukça	Çok
Kaygılı	Hiç	Az	Biraz	Oldukça	Çok
Garip	Hiç	Az	Biraz	Oldukça	Çok
Kendine Güvenen	Hiç	Az	Biraz	Oldukça	Çok

# Affedicilik Ölçeği

Simdi aşağıdakileri lütfen cevaplandırınız.	Kesinlikle Katılmıyorum	Katılmıyorum	Kararsızım	Katılıyorum	Kesinlikle Katılıyorum
1. Bence Kıbrıslı Türkler, Kıbrıslı Rumların yanlışlarını bağışlamalıdır.					
2. Kıbrıslı Türkler, Kıbrıslı Rumların savaş sırasında yaptığı yanlışları bağışlamaması çok önemlidir.					
3. Kıbrıslı Türkler, Kıbrıslı Rumları affetmediği sürece Kıbrıs ilerleyemeyecektir.					

# Ortak İç-Grup Kimliği Ölçeği

Şimdi aşağıdakileri lütfen cevaplandırınız.	Hiç	Az	Biraz	Oldukça	Çok
1. Kıbrıslı Türk ve Kıbrıslı Rumların ne derecede 'Kıbrıslı' olarak tek bir etnik grup oluşturduğunu düşünüyorsunuz?					
2. Kıbrıslı Türk ve Kıbrıslı Rumların ne derecede iki ayrı etnik grup oluşturduğunu düşünüyorsunuz?					
3. Kıbrıslı Rumları ne derecede sizinle ortak bir grup olarak (yani 'Kıbrıslı' olarak) algılarsınız?					

# Savaş-Barış Tutum Ölçeği

İFADELER	Kesinlikle Katılmıyorum	Katılmıyorum	Kararsızım	Katılıyorum	Kesinlikle Katılıyorum
1.İnsanın savaşçılık özelliği ile doğduğuna					
inanirim					
2. Savaş ilan edildiğinde bütün ulus savaşa					
destek vermelidir.					
3. Savaşlara katılan birisinin insanlığa olan					
güveninin azalacağını düşünürüm.					
4. Savaşların haklı nedenleri olduğuna					
ınanırım. 5. Ordumuz 'Barışa' katkı sağlamak için					
dünyada çatışma yaşanan bölgelere yardım					
elini uzatmalıdır.					
6. Savaşlarda, insanların kazandıklarının,					
çektikleri acılara değmediğini düşünürüm.					
7. Tarih derslerimizde "kahramanlıklarla"					
beraber barışın önemini de öğrenmeliyiz.					
8. Savaşı kaybedenin de, kazananın da zarar					
gördüğüne inanırım.					
9. Uluslararası sorunların çözümünde en iyi					
yolun "Savaş" olduğunu düşünüyorum.					
10. Liselerdeki tarih derslerimiz, dünya					
barışına katkı sağlayabilecek niteliktedir.					
11. İnsanoğlu savaşı ortadan kaldıracak					
kadar güçlü değerlere sahiptir.					
12. Savaşın insan hayatını sebepsiz yere					
harcamak olduğuna inanırım.					
13.Tarih derslerimizde ülkemizin					
"Dostlarını" ve "Düşmanlarını"					
öğrenmeliyiz.					
14. Kazanan için de kaybeden için de					
savaşta harcanan zaman, kaybedilmiş bir					
zamandır.			1		
15. Bir insanın hayatta ulaşabileceği en					
yüce değer savaş meydanında kazandığı					
şeref ve şandır.			1		
16. Savaşların, Tanrı'nın takdiri olduğuna					
inanirim.			1		
17. Şartlar ne olursa olsun, savaş ilan					
edildiğinde ülkemizin hizmetine koşmamız					
gerekir.					

	<del> </del>	
18. Savaşların hepsinin kötü olduğunu		
düşünürüm.		
19. Tarihteki en büyük kahramanlarımız		
zafer kazanan askerlerimizdir.		
20. "Savaş" son çare olana kadar "Barışın"		
taraftarı olmalıyız.		
21. Ülkemizdeki parklara ve halka açık		
yerlere, savaş kazanan askerlerimizin		
isimlerinin verilmesinin önemli olduğunu		
düşünürüm.		
22. Savunma savaşına katılmak yurttaşların		
görevidir.		
23. Barışa katkı sağlayan insanların		
"Kahraman" ilan edilmesi gerektiğine		
inanirim.		
24. "Vatanseverlik" gibi yüce duyguların,		
savaşlardan doğduğuna inanırım.		
25. Savaşların zararlı olduğunu düşünürüm.		
26. Tarih derslerimizde barışın önemini		
öğrenmeden önce iyi bir "Vatansever"		
olmayı öğrenmeliyiz.		
27. "Savaş" bir milletin eğitimli insanlarını		
harcar.		
28. Tarih derslerimizde savaşlar kadar		
"Antlaşmaları" da öğrenmeliyiz.		
29. Tarih öğretmenlerinin dünya barışına		
katkı sağlayabileceğine inanırım.		
30. "Savaşlar" başka savaşlara yol açacak		
düşmanlıklara neden olurlar.		
31. İnsanoğlu uygarlaştıkça "Savaşların"		
yerini "Barış" alacaktır.		
32. Bütün erkekler, savaş kararı alındığında		
savaşa katılmaya gönüllü olmalıdır.		
33. Barışların hepsinin iyi olduğunu		
düşünürüm.		
34. Dünyadaki "Barış" taraftarı insanların		
ve kurumların gelecekteki "Savaşları"		
önleyeceğine inanırım.		
35. İnsanlık gelecekte tamamen "Barış"		
dolu bir dünyada yaşayacaktır.		
36. "Savaş" isteyen ülkelerin ve liderlerinin		
cezalandırılması gerektiğine inanırım.		
37. Zengin ve fakir ülkeler arasındaki gelir		
farkının azaltılması dünyada "Barışın"		
sağlanmasına katkı sağlayacaktır.		
38. Savaşlar milyonlarca suçsuz insana acı		
getirir.		
39. İnsanların dinlerinin çağrısına uyması		
dünya barışına hizmet edecektir.		

40. Savaşlarda kazanılan başarılar; bütün			
başarılardan daha üstün olduğuna inanırım.			

# Örgütsel İnançlar Ölçeği - Kıbrıslı Türk

Aşağıda Kıbrslı Rum ve Türkler hakkında bazı ifadeler yer almaktadır. Lütfen bu ifadeleri okuyarak kendi görüşünüze en uygun durumu	Kesinlikle Katılmıyorum	Katılmıyorum	Kararsızım	Katılıyorum	Kesinlikle Katılıyorum
derecelendiriniz.	Ke Katıl	Katıl	Kar	Katı	Ke Katı
1. Kıbrıslı Türkler, 1963-1974 savaşları sırasındaki gerekçelerinde haklıydılar.					
2. Türk askerinin adada olmasının Kıbrıslı Türklerin güvenliği açısından anayasal gerekçeleri vardır.					
3. Kıbrıslı Rum gazetecileri ellerine geçen her firsatta Kıbrıslı Türklere karşı, yanlı haber içerikleri yayınlamaktadırlar.					
4. Genellikle, Kıbrıslı Rum gazeteciler, Kıbrıslı Türkler hakkında çarpıtılmış bilgiler yayınlamaktadır.					
5. Kıbrıslı Rumlara göre, Yunanistan'ın garantör devlet olmasının Kıbrıslı Rumların güvenli sürekliliği açısından anayasal gerekçeleri vardır.					
6. Kıbrıslı Türklere göre, Türkiye'nin garantör devlet olmasının Kıbrıslı Türklerin güvenli sürekliliği açısından anayasal gerekçeleri vardır.					
7. Kıbrıslı Rum gazeteciler ellerine geçen her fırsatta, Kıbrıslı Türklere karşı nefret dolu haber içerikleri yayınlamaktadırlar.					
8. Kıbrıslı Türkler, milliyeti uğruna canlarını feda eder.					
9. Kıbrıslı Türklerin birbirine bağlılığı yüksektir.					
10. Genel olarak, Kıbrıslı Türkler çözüme yanaşmamakta haklıdırlar.					
11. Kıbrıslı Rumların Yunanistan ile olan ilişkileri güvenlik açısından baki kalmalıdır.					
12. Kıbrıslı Türklerin Türkiye ile olan ilişkileri güvenlik açısından baki kalmalıdır.					
13. Kıbrıslı Rumlar adada yaşayan Kıbrıslı Türklerin varlığını saymazlar.					

[		1	
14. Kıbrıslı Türkler Kıbrıs sorununda			
güvenilirdir.			
15. Kıbrıslı Rumlar Kıbrıslı Türkleri			
düşman olarak görmektedirler.			
16. Kıbrıslı Türkler Kıbrıslı Rumları			
düşman olarak görmektedirler.			
17. Kıbrıslı Türkler Kıbrıslı Rumlardan			
üstündür.			
18. Kıbrıslı Rumlar dış güçlerden destek			
alarak Kıbrıslı Türklerle uzlaşmaya			
yanaşmamaktadır.			
19. Görüşmeler esnasında görüşülen toprak			
konusunda Kıbrıslı Türkler haklıdırlar.			
20. Olası bir çözüm durumunda			
Yunanistan'ın garantör devlet olarak			
sürekliliği Kıbrıslı Rumların güvenliği			
açısından önem arz etmektedir.			
21. Olası bir çözüm durumunda			
Türkiye'nin garantör devlet olarak			
sürekliliği Kıbrıslı Türklerin güvenliği			
açısından önem arz etmektedir.			
22. Olası bir çözüm durumunda, Kıbrıslı			
Türkler Kıbrıslı Rumların içişlerine			
karışmamalıdır.			
23. Kıbrıslı Rumlar, Kıbrıs sorununun			
çözümlenemeyeceği görüşündedir			
24. Çözüm sürecinde Kıbrıslı Rumlar			
anlaşmazlığın nedeninin Kıbrıslı Türkler			
olduğunu savunmaktadır.			
25. Çözüm sürecinde Kıbrıslı Türkler			
anlaşmazlığın nedeninin Kıbrıslı Rumlar			
olduğunu savunmaktadır.			
26. Geçmişte yaşanan acı tecrübelerden			
dolayı Kıbrıslı Türkler Kıbrıslı Rumlara			
güvenmemektedir.			
27. Kıbrıslı Rumlar Kıbrıslı Türklerin			
haklarını ihlal etmektedir.			
28. Kıbrıslı Rumlar Kıbrıslı Türklerin			
haklarını mağdur etmektedir.			
29. Kıbrıslı Türkler Kıbrıslı Rumların			
belirttiği gibi işgal altındaki topraklarda			
yaşadıklarını savunmamaktadırlar.			
30. Olası bir çözüm durumunda garantör			
devletlerin garantörlüklerinin kalkması iki			
toplumun huzurunu ve güvenliğini tehdit			
edecektir.			
31. Kıbrıslı Rumlar Kıbrıslı Türklere			
düşmanca davranmaktadır.			
,	L	1	

**Appendix C: The Scales of the Second Study with Journalists** 

**English version of the scales** 

**Consent Form** 

The Faculty of Communication and Media Studies

**Eastern Mediterranean University** 

Famagusta, Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus

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The Reliability Validity Study of Shared Societal Beliefs Scale

Dear participant,

Please read the information mentioned about the study before filling out the questionnaire. If you have any questions about the research, you can contact the

researcher from the contact details mentioned below.

The current study is conducted by PhD. student Huri Yontucu studying at Eastern Mediterranean University under the supervision of Assoc. Prof. Dr Metin Ersoy and

co-supervisor Prof. Dr Şenel Hüsnü Raman. The study aims to develop a Shared

Societal Beliefs Scale. The study aims to investigate how Turkish Cypriot and Greek

Cypriot journalists', working in the north and south Cyprus, social psychological

processes including attitudes, feelings, or thoughts influence their professional lives.

The study will take 20 minutes.

Please be informed that you have the right to withdraw your consent at any time of the

research without any penalty or loss of benefits and your information will be destroyed.

If you are voluntary, the information you provide will be kept confidential and will be

used for research purposes only. Your name and information will be protected apart

from your survey that filled. The data will be hidden for 6 years. After the data analysis,

an article on the data could be published.

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	Please sign the section below to identify your voluntarily participation to the study					
MS Do	Consent Form  MSc. Huri Yontucu: huri.yontucu@emu.edu.tr  Doç. Dr Metin Ersoy: metin.ersoy@emu.edu.tr  Prof. Dr Şenel Hüsnü Raman: shenelhusnu.raman@emu.edu.tr					
Ple	ease sign the box next to the	ne statements				
1.	I confirm that I understand ask question about the stud	I the information above and have an opportunity to dy				
2.	2. I confirm that the study is a voluntary basis and I have an opportunity to leave the study without making any explanation.					
3.	3. I am volunteer to participate the study					
	Date	Signature				

### **DEBRIEFING FORM**

The current study is conducted by PhD. student Huri Yontucu studying at Eastern Mediterranean University under the supervision of Assoc. Prof. Dr Metin Ersoy and co-supervisor Prof. Dr Şenel Hüsnü Raman. The study aims to investigate how Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot journalists', working in the north and south Cyprus, social psychological processes including attitudes, feelings, or thoughts influence their professional lives.

The results will be used only in scientific research and articles. Thank you for your participation.

For further information about the research and results, please don't hesitate to contact the researchers mentioned below.

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For your rights and ethical issues please contact Research and Publications Ethics

Board, Eastern Mediterranean University

bayek@emu.edu.tr

# **Socio-Demographic Information Form**

Please select the most suitable section in the following statements.

1.	Age:										
	a) 18-25	b) 26-3	35	c) 36-45		d)46-55	í	e)56-65		f)66	and
	above										
2.	Gender:										
	a) Female		b) Male		c) Othe	r (pleas	se speci	fy)		•••	
3.	Marital St	atus:									
	a) Single		b) Enga	ged o	e) Marr	ried	d)Divo	rced		e)Wie	dow
	f)Other (p	lease sp	ecify)								
4.	How do ye	ou defir	ne your p	osition	in your	job, pl	ease sp	ecify (e.g., o	corr	espond	ent,
	editor)?										
			• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •								
5.	Education	Level:									
	a) High S	School		b) Unive	ersity		c) Mas	ter's degree		d)	
	Doctor	rate									
6.	Ethnicity:										
	a) Turkish	Cypric	ot/Greek	Cypriotl	b) Turk	ish/Gre	eek	c) Cypriot			
	d) Other (1	please s	pecify) .								
7.	To what e	xtent do	you per	ceive Tu	urkish a	and Gre	ek Cyp	riots to cons	stitu	te one	
	single ethr	nic grou	p i.e. 'C	ypriot'?							
	Not at all	1	2	3 4	4	5	very m	uch			
8.	To what e	xtent do	you bel	ieve Tur	rkish ar	nd Gree	k Cypri	iots constitu	te tv	wo	
	separate et	thnic gr	oups?								
	Not at all	1	2	3 4	4	5	very m	uch			

9.	To what extent d	lo you regard T	Turkish Cypric	ots/Greek Cypric	ts as people with
	whom you share	a common gro	oup membersh	ip (Cypriot)?	
	Not at all 1	2 3	4 5	very much	
10	. Please specify yo	our religiosity:			
	a) Muslim	b) Christian	c) Atheist	d) Deist	e) Agnostic
	f) Other (plea	ase specify)			
11	. Political Orienta	ation:			
	a) Extreme Left	t b) Le	eft c) N	lone d) Ri	ght
	e) Extreme R	light			
12	. How often do yo	ou use the inter	net?		
	a) 1 year – mor	e than 1year	b) 2-3 years	s c) 3-4 years	
	d) More than	4 years			
13	. Which device do	you use to co	nnect internet	Please select th	e most used one.
	a) Smart Phone	b) La	ıptop	c) Computer	d) Tablet
14	. How many hours	s do you spend	in internet?		
	a) Never	b) 1 hour	c) 2 hours	d) 3 hours ar	nd above
15	. Which social me	edia tool/tools	do you use a	ctively? (e.g., F	acebook, Whatsapp,
	Tiktok, etc)				
1.0	Da way was as	asial madia A	a a la de la compa	of Tunkish Cu	mui at/Cua als - Camai at
10		iciai media to	oois to conta	ici Turkish Cy	priot/Greek Cypriot
	journalists?				
	a) Yes	b) No			

17.	. From which med	dia tool do you fo	ollow Tu	ırkish C	Cypriot/Greek Cypriot media? (e.g		
	newspaper, TV,	Radio, News A	gents, S	ocial M	ſedia, etc).		
				•••••			
Qι	nantity of Interg	roup Contact S	cale				
	ease answer the barkish Cypriots/		_	thinkir	ng about your contact with		
1.	How often do yo	ou cross to North	n Cypru	s/South	Cyprus?		
	a) Never	b) Once in a y	year	c) At	least once in a month		
	d) At least in a v	week	e) Mai	ny time	s		
2.	What is your rea	ason for crossing	to Nort	th Cypr	us/South Cyprus?		
	a) Shopping	b) Education		c) Soc	cializing		
	d) For profe	ssional reason		e) Oth	ner (please		
	specify)						
3.	How many Turk	cish Cypriots/Gr	eek Cyp	oriots do	o you know?		
	a)None	b) 1-10	c) 11-2	20	d) 21 and above		
4.	In everyday life	everyday life, how often do you meet with Turkish Cypriots/Greek Cyprio					
	a)Never	b) Once in a y	year	c) At	least once in a month		
	d) At least in a v	week	e) Mai	ny time	s		
5.	How many Turk	xish Cypriot/Gre	ek Cypr	iot jour	rnalists do you know?		
	a) None	b) 1-10	c) 11-2	20	d) 21 and above		
6.	In everyday life	, how often do y	ou enco	unter T	urkish Cypriot/Greek Cypriot		
	journalists?						
	a)Never	b) Once in a y	year	c) At	least once in a month		
	d) At least in a week			e) Many times			

7.	In everyday life, how frequently do you interact with Turkish Cypriot/Greek
	Cypriot journalists?
	a)Never b) Once in a year c) At least once in a month
	d) At least in a week e) Many times
8.	In everyday life, how often do you organize an event with Turkish Cypriot/Greek
	Cypriot journalists?
	a)Never b) Once in a year c) At least once in a month
	d) At least in a week e) Many times
9.	How often do you contact Turkish Cypriot/Greek Cypriot journalists through
	social media tools?
	a) Never b) Once in a year c) At least once in a month
	d) At least in a week e) Many times
10	. How often do you organize an event with Turkish Cypriot/Greek Cypriot
	journalists through social media?
	a) Never b) Once in a year c) At least once in a month
	d) At least in a week e) Many times

#### **Quality of Intergroup Contact Scale**

Please describe your relations with Turkish Cypriots/Greek Cypriots

				7 1		- J I
Superficial	1	2	3	4	5	Deep
Natural	1	2	3	4	5	Forced
Unpleasant	1	2	3	4	5	Pleasant
Competitive	1	2	3	4	5	Cooperative
Intimate	1	2	3	4	5	Distant

#### **Outgroup Attitudes Scale**

Please describe how you feel about Turkish Cypriots in general.

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Cold	1	2	3	4	5	Warm
Positive	1	2	3	4	5	Negative
Friendly	1	2	3	4	5	Hostile
Suspicious	1	2	3	4	5	Trusting
Respectful	1	2	3	4	5	Contempt
Admiration	1	2	3	4	5	Disgust

#### **Intergroup Anxiety Scale**

We would like you to rate the extent to which each of these adjectives characterises how would you feel towards Turkish Cypriots/ Greek Cypriots.

Comfortable	Not at all	Slightly	Moderately	Very	Very much
Suspicious	Not at all	Slightly	Moderately	Very	Very Much
Embarrassed	Not at all	Slightly	Moderately	Very	Very Much
Anxious	Not at all	Slightly	Moderately	Very	Very Much
Awkward	Not at all	Slightly	Moderately	Very	Very Much
Confident	Not at all	Slightly	Moderately	Very	Very Much

### Peace Journalism and War Journalism Attitudes Scale

We would like you to rate the following statements regarding your reporting

style.

style.					
In my news reports, usually;	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Undecided	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. I report the conflict/war when it breaks out (or is about to break out).					
2. I predict before a conflict/war gets violent or intense and report it.					
3. I discuss the reasons for civil war.					
4. I discuss the material damage caused by the war/conflict.					
5. I care about the damage that the conflict causes to society and culture.					
6. I care about the psychological damage that the conflict inflicts on victims.					
7. I discuss the action and reactions of leaders.					
8. I discuss the action and reactions of local people/civilians.					
9. I discuss the differences (e.g., ideological, military) of the conflicting parties.					
10. I discuss the agreements and similarities of the conflicting parties.					
11. I focus on the 'here and now' namely the current situation of the conflict.					
12. I discuss the sources and causes of the conflict.					
13. I discuss the possible outcomes of the conflict.					
14. I draw a distinction between the good and the bad, namely victims and villains.					
15. I report showing one side as the winner, the other side as the loser.					
16. I give voice to as many conflicting parties as possible.					
17. I prefer partisanship.					
18. I avoid taking either side of the conflicting parties.					
19. I avoid reporting the conflict focusing on a single winner.					
20. I discuss as many (solution-oriented) goals and problems as possible.					

21 Ilanua suban a manaa turata in ainun 1			1
21. I leave when a peace treaty is signed, or a			
ceasefire is arranged (depending on the			
situation).			
22. I report the processes of conflict/post-war, i.e.,			
the implementation of the peace treaty, the			
observance of the ceasefire, or the			
reconstruction of the peace treaty.			
23. I defend national interests by bringing them up			
on the agenda.			
24. I attach importance to being transparent,			
understandable and open when reporting			
conflicting parties.			
25. I attach importance to giving society a sense			
of victory.			
26. While reporting on a conflict, I report who had			
metaphorically thrown the first stone			
27. I report the peace messages of only the elite			
group.			
28. I avoid using conflict-ridden language in my			
news writing.			
29. I take on an active role in bringing the people			
who have experienced conflict/war together			
and maintaining peace among them.			
30. I avoid using discriminative language such as			
"self/we" and "other" that legitimizes the			
violence.			
31. I report only the visible effects of violence.			
32. I take the side of peace.			
33. I focus on the differences between the			
conflicting sides.			
34. In my opinion, solutions excluding violence			
should be more newsworthy compared to			
solutions including violence or aggression.			
35. Without making a distinction between			
"we/self" and "other", I spell out the names of			
all those who have done evil.			
36. Instead of reconciling the people within			
conflict areas, I report the conflicts.			
Tominor arous, 1 report the commens.	<u> </u>		

#### **Greek Version of the Scales**

#### **Consent Form**

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# Ο ρόλος των κοινωνικοψυχολογικών διαδικασιών στην επαγγελματική ζωή των δημοσιογράφων σε βαθιά διαιρεμένες κοινωνωίες

#### Αγαπητέ συμμετέχοντα/ αγαπητή συμμετέχουσα,

Πριν συμφωνήσετε να συμμετάσχετε στην έρευνα, παρακαλώ αφιερώστε λίγο χρόνο για να διαβάσετε προσεκτικά τις παρακάτω πληροφορίες. Αν έχετε ερωτήσεις μετά την έρευνα, μπορείτε να επικοινωνήσετε με τον ερευνητή με τα παρακάτω στοιχεία επικοινωνίας.

Αυτή η έρευνα έχει γίνει από τη διδακτορική φοιτήτρια Huri Yontucu του Eastern Mediterranean University, υπό την επίβλεψη του Assoc. Prof. Dr Metin Ersoy & Prof. Dr Şenel Hüsnü Raman

Οι συμμετέχοντες που θα λάβουν μέρος σε αυτή την έρευνα πρέπει να είναι δημοσιογράφοι ή ανταποκριτές ή επιμελητές ή αρθρογράφοι, καθώς επίσης ένας από τους γονείς του να είναι Κύπριος.

#### Ο σκοπός της έρευνας:

Σκοπός της έρευνας είναι να διερευνηθεί ο τρόπος με τον οποίο η στάση έναντι των δημοσιογράφων της άλλης πλευράς, οι επαφές μεταξύ τους, το άγχος και αντιλήψεις για την ταυτότητα των άλλων επηρεάζουν την επαγγελματική ζωή των Τουρκοκύπριων και Ελληνοκύπριων δημοσιογράφων που ασχολούνται ενεργά με τη δημοσιογραφία στον βορά και τον νότο της Κύπρου, ενός νησιού που βίωσε συγκρούσεις και διχοτομήθηκε. Η διάρκεια της έρευνας: Η έρευνα θα διαρκέσει έως και 20 λεπτά.

Η συμμετοχή στην έρευνα δεν είναι υποχρεωτική και έχετε το δικαίωμα να αρνηθείτε να συμμετάσχετε. Έχετε το δικαίωμα να αποχωρήσετε από την έρευνα ανά πάσα στιγμή χωρίς καμία εξήγηση. Αν αποχωρήσετε από την έρευνα, οι απαντήσεις σας θα καταστραφούν και δεν θα χρησιμοποιηθούν για έρευνα. Εάν συμφωνείτε να συμμετάσχετε και να ολοκληρώσετε την έρευνα, οι απαντήσεις και οι έρευνες θα προστατεύονται με εμπιστευτικότητα. Το όνομά σας και οι πληροφορίες σας θα είναι ξεχωριστά από την υπόλοιπη έρευνα. Τα δεδομένα θα διατηρηθούν μέχρι και 6 χρόνια μετά την ολοκλήρωση της έρευνας. Μετά την ανάλυση των δεδομένων, μπορεί να δημοσιευθεί έκθεση σχετικά με την έρευνα.

# Υπογράψτε τη παρακάτω φόρμα συγκατάθεσης για να δηλώσετε την εθελοντική συμμετοχή σας. Η ΦΟΡΜΑ ΣΥΓΚΑΤΑΘΕΣΗΣ

MSc. Huri Yontucu: huri.yontucu@emu.edu.tr

Assoc. Prof. Dr Metin Ersoy: metin.ersoy@emu.edu.tr

3. Συμφωνώ να συμμετάσχω σε αυτή την έρευνα

Prof. Dr Şenel Hüsnü Raman: shenelhusnu.raman@emu.edu.tr

# Σημειώστε τα πλαίσια για να υποδείζετε ότι έχετε συμφωνήσει σε κάθε δήλωση.

- 1. Επιβεβαιώνω ότι έχω διαβάσει και καταλάβει τις πληροφορίες και ότι έχω την ευκαιρία να θέσω ερωτήσεις.
- 2. Καταλαβαίνω ότι η συμμετοχή μου είναι εθελοντική και ότι μπορώ να αποχωρήσω από την έρευνα μου ανά πάσα στιγμή χωρίς εξηγήσεις.

Ημερομηνία	Υπογραφή

#### ΕΝΤΥΠΟ ΠΛΗΡΟΦΟΡΙΩΝ ΜΕΤΑ ΤΗ ΣΥΜΜΕΤΟΧΗ

Όπως ήδη αναφέρθηκε, αυτή η έρευνα έχει γίνει από τη διδακτορική φοιτήτρια Huri Yontucu του Πανεπιστημίου της Ανατολικής Μεσογείου (Eastern Mediterranean University), υπό την επίβλεψη του καθηγητή Assoc Prof. Dr Metin Ersoy & Prof. Dr Şenel Hüsnü Raman. Ο σκοπός αυτής της έρευνας είναι να διερευνήσει πώς επηρεάζεται η συμπεριφορά, η στάση, τα συναισθήματα και οι σκέψεις των Τουρκοκυπρίων και Ελληνοκυπρίων δημοσιογράφων που δουλεύουν στη νότια και βόρεια Κύπρο.

Στο πλαίσιο αυτής της έρευνας, θα εντοπιστούν τα κοινωνικο-ψυχολογικά εμπόδια των δημοσιογράφων όταν γράφουν ειδήσεις για τους Τουρκοκύπριους και Ελληνοκύπριους. Μετά θα ερευνήσουμε πώς αυτά τα εμπόδια επηρεάζουν την επαγγελματική τους ζωή και θα δημιουργήσουμε ένα καινούργιο πρωτότυπο ώστε να ξεπεράσουμε αυτά τα εμπόδια.

Οι πληροφορίες που θα προκύψουν από την έρευνα θα χρησιμοποιηθούν μόνο σε επιστημονικές έρευνες και επιστημονικά άρθρα. Σας ευχαριστούμε και πάλι για τη συμμετοχή σας στην έρευνα μας.

Για να μάθετε περισσότερα σχετικά με τα αποτελέσματα της έρευνας ή για να λάβετε περισσότερες πληροφορίες, μπορείτε να απευθυνθείτε στους παρακάτω:

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Για οποιαδήποτε ερώτηση σχετικά με τη συμμετοχή σας στην ερευνα μπορείτε να απευθυνθείτε στο Συμβουλιο Επιστημονικής Έρευνας και Δημοσίευσης του ΕΜU bayek@emu.edu.tr

#### Κοινωνιοδημογραφικό Έντυπο Πληροφοριών

Παρακαλώ σημειώστε την απάντηση στις παρακάτω ερωτήσεις που σας ταιριάζει καλύτερα

Σημείωση: Κατά προτίμηση συμπληρώστε τα κενά στα Αγγλικά. Σε περίπτωση που δεν γνωρίζετε Αγγλικά μπορείτε να απαντήσετε στα Ελληνικά

1.	Ηλικία:
	$\alpha$ )18-25 β) 26-35 $\gamma$ )36-45 δ)46-55 $\epsilon$ )56-65
	στ) Άνω των 66
2.	Φύλο:
	α) Άνδρας β) Γυναίκα γ) Άλλο (παρακαλώ διευκρινίστε)
3.	Οικογενειακή Κατάσταση:
	α) Ελεύθερος β) Αρραβωνιασμένος γ) Παντρεμένος
	δ)Χωρισμένος ε) χήρα
	Άλλο (παρακαλώ διευκρινίστε)
4.	Πώς θα περιγράφατε τα εργασιακά σας καθήκοντα; Παρακαλώ διευκρινίστε.
	(Π.χ. Ανταποκριτής, συντάκτης κλπ)
5.	Εκπαίδευση:
	α) Λύκειο β) Πανεπιστήμιο γ) Μεταπτυχιακό δ) Διδακτορικό
6.	Υπηκοότητα:
	α) Ελληνοκύπριος β) Έλληνας γ) Κύπριος
	δ) Άλλο (παρακαλώ διευκρινίστε)
7.	Σε ποιο βαθμό πιστεύετε ότι οι Ελληνοκύπριοι και οι Τουρκοκύπριοι συναποτελούν ως Κύπριοι μια κοινή εθνική ομάδα?
	α) Καθόλου β) Λίγο γ) Μετρίως δ) Αρκετά ε) Πολύ

8.	Σε ποιο ραθμο πι	στευετε	οτι Ελληνοκυ	πριοι και Το	συρκοκυπρ	ποι αποτ	ενουν ουο
	ξεχωριστές εθνικ	ές ομάδε	ες?				
	α) Καθόλου	β) Λίγ	o'O	γ) Μετρίο	ος δ) Αμ	οκετά	ε) Πολύ
9.	Σε ποιο βαθμό θε με τη εσάς (δηλα	•	•	κύπριοι είνο	α μέλη της	; ίδια εθν	νικής ομάδας
	α) Καθόλου	β) Λίγ	o'	γ) Μετρίο	ος δ) Αμ	<b>ΣΚΕΤά</b>	ε) Πολύ
10	. Σε ποια θρησκείο	ι αισθάν	εστε ότι ανήκ	ετε πιο κοντ	ά?		
	α) Χριστιανισμός x)Άλλο (παρακαλ				θεϊστής	στ)αγ	νωστικιστή
11	. Που ανήκετε πολ	ιτικά?					
	α) Στην άκρα αρι δ) Στη δεξιά	-	.,	τερά γ)	Δεν ανήκο	ο σε καμ	ία παράταξη
12	. Εδώ και πόσα χρ	όνια χρι	<sub></sub> ησιμοποιείτε τ	ο ίντερνετ;			
	α) 1-περισσότερο	από έν	αν χρόνο	β) 2-3 χρο	όνια	γ) 3-4	- χρόνια
	δ) 4 και παραπάν	ω χρόνι	α				
13	. Ποια συσκευή χι που χρησιμοποιεί		•	συνδεθείτε	στο ίντερι	⁄ετ; Σημ	ειώστε αυτό
	α) Έξυπνο τηλέφο	OVO	β) Λάπτοπ	γ) Επιτρα	πέζιο υπολ	ιογιστή	δ)
Τά	μπλετ						
14	l. Πόσο χρόνο περ <sup>.</sup>	νάτε στο	ο ίντερνετ κάθ	ε μέρα;			
	α) Καθόλου		β) Μία ώρα	τη μέρα	γ) Δί	όο ώρες	τη μέρα
	δ) 3 ώρες και άνο	ω					
15	. Ποιο ή ποια από Facebook, Whats	•	•	ς δικτύωση	ς χρησιμο	ποιείτε	ενεργά; (πχ:
16	. Επικοινωνείτε με δικτύωσης;	Τουρκ	οκύπριους δημ	ιοσιογράφοι	ος μέσω τα	ον μέσων	ν κοινωνικής
	α)Ναι		β)Όχι				

17	. Συνήθως από Τουρκοκύπριο ειδήσεων, μέσο	υς; (Π.χ.: Ε	φημερίδα,	τηλεόρας			-
In	tergroup Conta	ect Scale					
To	α θέλαμε να <sub> </sub> ουρκοκύπριους ωτήσεις με βάσ	δημοσιογράσ	φους. Πα	ρακαλώ	απαντήστ		•
δια	μείωση: Αναφ ατυπώνονται στ ν προ του COV	τις παρακάτω	ερωτήσεις				
1.	Πόσο συχνά πε	ερνάτε στις του	ρκοκυπρια	κές περιοχ	ές;		
	α) Δεν έχω περ	άσει ποτέ		β)Μερικές	ς φορές τον	ν χρόνο	
	γ)Τουλάχιστον	μια φορά τον χ	χρόνο	δ)Τουλάχι	ιστον μια φ	οορά την εβδομ	.άδα
	ε) Πολύ συχνά						
2.	Για ποιο λόγο ε	επισκέπτεστε τ	ην τουρκοκ	υπριακές 1	τεριοχές;		
	α) Αγορές	β) Εκπαίδε	υση	γ)Για να δ	ω φίλους	δ) Για δουλει	ιά
	ε) Άλλο (παρα	ικαλώ διευκριν	ίστε)				
3.	Πόσους Τουρκ	οκύπριους γνω	ρίζετε;				
	α) Κανέναν	β) 1-10	γ) 11-2	0	δ)Πάν	νω από 21	
4.	Με τι συχνότη ζωή;	<b>ιτ</b> α συναναστρ	νέφεστε με	Τουρκοκύ	οπριους στ	ην καθημερινή	η σας
	α) Ποτέ μήνα	β) Μερικές	ς φορές τον	χρόνο γ)	Τουλάχισ	τον μια φορά	τον
	δ) Τουλάχιστον	ν μια φορά την	εβδομάδα	ε)	Πολύ συχι	⁄ά	
5.	Πόσους Τουρκ	οκύπριους δημ	ιοσιογράφο	υς γνωρίζε	ετε;		
	α) Κανέναν	β) 1-10	γ)11-20	)	δ) Πά	νω από 21	

_		,	, ,			
6.	Με τι συχνότητα καθημερινότητα σ	συναναστρέφεστε με Τουρκ σας (βραχυχρόνια)	οκύπριους δημο	σιογρ	άφους	στην
μήν	α) Ποτέ να	β)Μερικές φορές τον χρόνο	γ)Τουλάχιστον	μια	φορά	τον
	δ) Τουλάχιστον μι	ια φορά την εβδομάδα	ε) Πολύ συχνά			
7.		συναναστρέφεστε με Τουρκ σας (μακροχρόνια):	οκύπριους δημο	σιογρ	άφους	στην
	α) Ποτέ μήνα	β)Μερικές φορές τον χρόνο	γ)Τουλάχιστον	μια	φορά	τον
	δ) Τουλάχιστον μι	ια φορά την εβδομάδα	ε) Πολύ συχνά			
8.	Με τι συχνότ δημοσιογράφους;	τητα πραγματοποιείτε εκδ	δηλώσεις με	Τουρ	κοκύπρ	οιους
	α) Ποτέ μήνα	β) Μερικές φορές τον χρόνο	γ)Τουλάχιστον	μια	φορά	τον
	δ) Τουλάχιστον μι	ια φορά την εβδομάδα	ε)Πολύ συχνά			
9.	Πόσο συχνά επικο κοινωνικής δικτύο	οινωνείτε με Τουρκοκύπριους υσης;	δημοσιογράφους	; μέσα	των με	έσων
μήν	α) Ποτέ να	β) Μερικές φορές τον χρόνο	γ)Τουλάχιστον	μια	φορά	τον
	δ) Τουλάχιστον μ	ια φορά την εβδομάδα	ε)Πολύ συχνά			
10.	Πόσο συχνά δημοσιογράφους	πραγματοποιείτε δραστηρ μέσω των μέσων κοινωνικής δ		Τουρ	κοκύπρ	οιους
μήν	α) Ποτέ να	β) Μερικές φορές τον χρόνο	γ)Τουλάχιστον	μια	φορά	τον
	δ) Τουλάχιστον μι	ια φορά την εβδομάδα ε)Πολ	ύ συχνά			

#### **Quality of Contact Scale**

Αξιολογήστε τις συζητήσεις σας με Τουρκοκύπριους (Για παράδειγμα 1 = Επιφανειακές 2 = Κάπως επιφανειακές, <math>3 = Ούτε επιφανειακές ούτε εις βάθος 4

= Κάπως εις βάθος, 5 = Εις βάθος)

	J) -	- 5   5/				
Επιφανειακές	1	2	3	4	5	Εις βάθος
Φυσιολογικές	1	2	3	4	5	Απρόθυμες
Άνετες	1	2	3	4	5	Αβολες
Ανταγωνιστικές	1	2	3	4	5	Διαλλακτικές
Κοντινές	1	2	3	4	5	Απομακρυσμένες

#### **Outgroup Attitudes Scale**

Αξιολογήστε τα συναισθήματά σας έναντι των Τουρκοκυπρίων

(Για παράδειγμα 1 = Θερμά, 2 = Κάπως θερμά, 3 = Ούτε θερμά ούτε ψυχρά, 4 =

Κάπως ψυχρά, 5 = Ψυχρά)

	<b>7</b> ∪	)				
Θερμά	1	2	3	4	5	Ψυχρά
Θετικά	1	2	3	4	5	Αρνητικά
Φιλικά	1	2	3	4	5	Εχθρικά
Καχυποψία	1	2	3	4	5	Εμπιστοσύνη
Με σεβασμό	1	2	3	4	5	Με ασέβεια
Εκτίμηση	1	2	3	4	5	Αποστροφή

### **Intergroup Anxiety Scale**

Με βάση τις παρακάτω εκφράσεις περιγράψτε, επιλέγοντας την κοντινότερη για σας έκφραση, τα αισθήματά που σας προκαλεί η αλληλεπίδρασή σας με

Τουρκοκύπριους

TZ 0/1	A /	3.6 /	A /	П 1/
Καθόλου	Λίγο	Μετριως	Αρκετά	Πολύ
Καθόλου	Λίγο	Μετρίως	Αρκετά	Πολύ
Καθόλου	Λίγο	Μετρίως	Αρκετά	Πολύ
Καθόλου	Λίγο	Μετρίως	Αρκετά	Πολύ
Καθόλου	Λίγο	Μετρίως	Αρκετά	Πολύ
Καθόλου	Λίγο	Μετρίως	Αρκετά	Πολύ
	Καθόλου Καθόλου	Καθόλου Λίγο Καθόλου Λίγο Καθόλου Λίγο	<ul> <li>Καθόλου Λίγο Μετρίως</li> <li>Καθόλου Λίγο Μετρίως</li> <li>Καθόλου Λίγο Μετρίως</li> <li>Καθόλου Λίγο Μετρίως</li> </ul>	Καθόλου Λίγο Μετρίως Αρκετά Καθόλου Λίγο Μετρίως Αρκετά Καθόλου Λίγο Μετρίως Αρκετά Καθόλου Λίγο Μετρίως Αρκετά

#### Peace Journalism - War Journalism Attitudes Scale

Παρακάτω παρατίθενται ορισμένες εκφράσεις σχετικά το επάγγελμά σας. Παρακαλώ σημειώστε την πιο κατάλληλη για σας απάντηση

Παρακαλώ σημειώστε την πιο κατάλληλη για	α σας απ	άντη	ση			
Συνήθως στις ειδήσεις μου,	Διαφωνώ έντονα	Διαφωνώ	Ούτε συμφωνώ Ούτε διαφωνώ	Συμφωνώ	Συμφωνώ απόλυτα	Δεν με καλύπτει
1. Ασχολούμαι με θέματα διενέξεων/πολέμων.						
2. Προβλέπω και δημοσιεύω πριν ενταθεί η διένεξη/ ο πόλεμος.						
3. Ασχολούμαι με πολίτες που έχασαν τη ζωή τους και τραυματίστηκαν στον πόλεμο.						
<b>4.</b> Επικεντρώνομαι στις υλικές ζημιές που προκαλούνται από τις διενέξεις/ τους πολέμους.						
5. Ασχολούμαι με τη ζημιά που προκαλεί η διένεξη στην κοινωνία και τον πολιτισμό.						
<b>6.</b> Ασχολούμαι με την ψυχολογική βλάβη που προκαλείται στα θύματα από τη διένεξη.						
7. Καλύπτω την επίδραση που ασκούν οι ηγέτες και την αντίδρασή τους (π.χ.: πολιτική, στρατιωτική ηγεσία).						
8. Καλύπτω των επίδραση και τις αντιδράσεις του λαού/ τοπικού πληθυσμού						
9. Μεταφέρω τις διαφορές των αντιμαχόμενων πλευρών (π.χ.: ιδεολογικές, στρατιωτικές).						
10. Μεταφέρω την προσέγγιση και τις ομοιότητες μεταξύ των πλευρών.						
11. Επικεντρώνομαι στο «εδώ και το τώρα» της διένεξης, δηλαδή στην παρούσα κατάσταση.						
12. Συζητώ τις πηγές και τις αιτίες των διενέξεων.						
13. Συζητώ τα πιθανά και δυνητικά θετικά και αρνητικά αποτελέσματα της διένεξης. 14. Ξεχωρίζω το καλό από το κακό, τραβώ						
14. Ξεχωριζω το κάλο άπο το κάκο, τραρω δηλαδή μια γραμμή μεταξύ των θυμάτων και των προδοτών.						

15. Παρουσιάζω την μία πλευρά ως τη		
νικήτρια και την άλλη ως ηττημένη.		
16. Μεταφέρω τη φωνή όσο το δυνατόν		
περισσότερων πλευρών της διένεξης.		
17. Προτιμώ την μεροληπτική προσέγγιση.		
18. Αποφεύγω να πάρω το μέρος μιας από τις		
αντιμαχόμενες πλευρές.		
19. Αποφεύγω να αναφερθώ σε μία διένεξη		
εστιάζοντας σε έναν νικητή. <b>20.</b> Συζητώ όσο το δυνατόν περισσότερους		
<b>20.</b> Συζητω σου το συνατον περισσστερους (προσανατολισμένους στη λύση) στόχους		
(προσανατολισμένους στη λυση) στοχους και προβλήματα.		
21. Φεύγω (ανάλογα με την κατάσταση) όταν	+ + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + +	
υπογραφεί η ειρηνευτική συνθήκη ή		
συμφωνηθεί η κατάπαυση του πυρός.		
22. Συζητώ θέματα της μεταπολεμικής		
διαδικασίας/ της διαδικασίας μετά τη		
διένεξη όπως την εφαρμογή της συνθήκης		
ειρήνης, την επόπτευση της εκεχειρίας ή		
τη διαδικασία ανοικοδόμησης.		
23. Υπερασπίζομαι τα εθνικά συμφέροντα		
φέρνοντάς τα στην ημερήσια διάταξη.		
24. Αποδίδω σημασία στο να είμαι		
ξεκάθαρος, κατανοητός και ανοιχτός, ενώ		
δίνω τον λόγο στα αντιμαχόμενα μέρη.		
25. Αποδίδω σημασία στο να μεταφερθεί		
στην κοινωνία το αίσθημα της νίκης.		
26. Αποκαλύπτω ποια από τις αντιμαχόμενες		
πλευρές έκανε την αρχή.		
27. Μεταφέρω μόνο τα μηνύματα ειρήνης		
των ελίτ.		
28. Με ενδιαφέρει να χρησιμοποιώ γλώσσα		
που αποκλείει τη βία.		
29. Αναλαμβάνω ενεργό ρόλο στη διατήρηση		
της ειρήνης, ενώνοντας ανθρώπους που		
έχουν (βιώσει) σύγκρουση / πόλεμο		
30. Αποφεύγω να χρησιμοποιώ διχαστικό		
λόγο όπως «εγώ-εμείς-οι άλλοι» που		
νομιμοποιεί τη βία.	1 1 1 1 1	
31. Περιγράφω μόνο τις ορατές συνέπειες της		
βίας.	+ + + + + + + +	
32. Παίρνω την πλευρά της ειρήνης.		
33. Επικεντρώνομαι στις διαφορές μεταξύ		
των αντικρουόμενων πλευρών.	<del>                                     </del>	
34. Θεωρώ ότι οι λύσεις που αποκλείουν τη		
βία αξίζουν να γίνουν είδηση περισσότερο		
από αυτές που περιλαμβάνουν βία και		
επιθετικότητα.		

35. Αναφέρω όσους έκαναν κακό χωρίς να κάνω διάκριση μεταξύ «εμάς-εμένα-των άλλων».			
36. Μεταφέρω τις διενέξεις αντί για τα			
πράγματα που συμφιλιώνουν τους			
ανθρώπους στις περιοχές των διενέξεων.			

Turkish Version of the Scales

**Consent Form** 

İletişim Fakültesi

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Derinden Bölünmüş Toplumlarda Gazetecilerin Mesleki Yaşamlarında Sosyal Psikolojik Süreçlerin Rolü

Değerli katılımcı,

Araştırmaya katılmayı kabul etmeden önce, lütfen araştırma ile ilgili aşağıda bulunan bilgileri dikkatlice okumak için birkaç dakikanızı ayırınız. Araştırma ile ilgili herhangi

bir sorunuz varsa, aşağıda iletişim bilgileri olan araştırmacılarla iletişim kurabilirsiniz.

Bu araştırma Doğu Akdeniz Üniversitesi doktora öğrencisi Huri Yontucu tarafından, Öğretim Üyeleri Doç. Dr. Metin Ersoy ve Prof. Dr. Şenel Hüsnü Raman denetimleri altında yürütülmektedir. Araştırmanın amacı, çatışma yaşamış ve bölünmüş bir ada olan Kıbrıs'ın kuzey ve güneyinde aktif olarak gazetecilik yapan Kıbrıslı Türk ve Kıbrıslı Rum gazetecilerin birbirlerine yönelik tutum, temas, kaygı ve kimlik algılarının meslek hayatlarını nasıl etkilediğini araştırmaktır. Çalışma yaklaşık 15

dakikanızı alacaktır.

Çalışmaya katılımınız zorunlu değildir ve katılmayı reddetme hakkına sahipsiniz. Çalışmadan, istediğiniz bir anda, açıklama yapmaksızın çekilme hakkına sahipsiniz. Araştırmadan çekilmeniz durumunda, yanıtlarınız yok edilecektir ve araştırmada kullanılmayacaktır. Eğer araştırmaya katılmayı ve tamamlamayı kabul ederseniz, cevaplar ve anketler **gizlilikle** korunacaktır. İsminiz ve tanımlayıcı bilgileriniz, anketin geri kalan kısımlarından ayrı olarak muhafaza edilecektir. Veriler, araştırma tamamlandıktan sonra en çok 6 yıl boyunca muhafaza edilecektir. Verilerin analizinden sonra, araştırma ile ilgili bir rapor yayınlanabilir.

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# Gönüllü katılımınızı belirtmek için, lütfen aşağıda bulunan bilgilendirilmiş onam formunu imzalayınız.

#### **BİLGİLENDİRİLMİŞ ONAM FORMU**

MSc. Huri Yontucu: huri.yontucu@emu.edu.tr Doç. Dr. Metin Ersoy: metin.ersoy@emu.edu.tr

3. Bu araştırmaya katılmayı kabul ediyorum

Prof. Dr. Şenel Hüsnü Raman: shenelhusnu.raman@emu.edu.tr

# Her ifadeye katıldığınızı belirtmek için lütfen yanda bulunan kutuları işaretleriniz.

- 1. Bilgileri okuyup anladığımı ve soru sorma fırsatımın olduğunu onaylıyorum.
- 2. Katılımımın gönüllü olduğunu ve açıklama yapmaksızın, istediğim bir anda araştırmadan çekilebileceğimi anlıyorum.
- Tarih İmza

KATILIM SONRASI BİLGİ FORMU

Bu araştırma daha önce de belirtildiği gibi Doğru Akdeniz Üniversitesi doktora

öğrencisi MSc. Huri Yontucu, Öğretim Üyesi Doç. Dr. Metin Ersoy ve Prof. Dr. Şenel

Hüsnü Raman tarafından yürütülen bir çalışmadır. Çalışmanın amacı Kuzey ve Güney

Kıbrıs'ta gazetecilik yapan bireylerin Kıbrıslı Rum ve Türk toplumu ile ilgili davranış,

tutum, duygu ve düşüncelerinin meslek hayatlarına etkisini araştırmaktır.

Araştırmanın amacı bağlamında çıkacak olan sonuçlarda gazetecilerin halkı

bilinçlendirmek için Kıbıslı Rum ve Türkler ile ilgili haberleri hazırlarken sosyo-

psikolojik bariyerleri tespit edilecektir. Bu bariyerlerin meslek hayatlarına nasıl etki

yaptığı incelendikten sonra Kıbrıs'ta sürdürülebilinir bir çözüm için halkı

bilinçlendirmede önemli rol oynayan gazetecilerin bu bariyerleri aşabilmeleri

konusunda bir model oluşturulacaktır.

Bu çalışmadan elde edilen bilgiler sadece bilimsel araştırma ve yazılarda

kullanılacaktır. Bu araştırmaya katıldığınız için tekrar çok teşekkür ederiz.

Araştırmanın sonuçlarını öğrenmek ya da daha fazla bilgi almak için aşağıdaki

isimlere basvurabilirsiniz.

MSc. Huri Yontucu

huri.yontucu@emu.edu.tr Doc. Dr. Metin Ersoy

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Çalışmaya katkıda bulunan bir gönüllü olarak katılımcı haklarınızla ve etik ilkelerle ilgili soru veya görüşlerinizi Doğu Akdeniz Üniversitesi, Bilimsel Araştırma ve

Yayın Etiği Kurulu'na iletebilirsiniz.

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# Sosyo-Demografik Bilgi Formu

Aşağıda yer alan ifadelerde kendinize en uygun olanı lütfen işaretleyiniz.

1.	Yaş:	
	a) 18-25 b) 26-35 c) 36-45 d)46-55 e)56-65 f)66 ve üzeri	
2.	Cinsiyet:	
	a)Kadın b)Erkek c)Diğer(lütfenbelirtiniz)	
3.	Medeni Hal:	
	a)Bekar b)Nişanlı c)Evli d)Boşanmış e)Dul	
	f)Diğer (lütfen belirtiniz)	
4.	Mesleğinizdeki görevinizi nasıl tanımlarsınız? Lütfen aşağıda belirtiniz muhabir,editör).	(ör:
5.	Eğitim durumunuz:	
	a)Lise b)Üniversite c)Yüksek Lisans d)Doktora	
6.	Etnik köken:	
	a)Kıbrıslı Türk b)Türk c)Kıbrıslı d)Diğer (Li	itfen
bel	elirtiniz)	
7.	Kıbrıslı Türk ve Kıbrıslı Rumların ne derecede 'Kıbrıslı' olarak tek bir etnik	grup
	oluşturduğunu düşünüyorsunuz?	
	a) Hiç b) Az c) Biraz d) Oldukça e) Çok	
8.	Kıbrıslı Türk ve Kıbrıslı Rumların ne derecede iki ayrı etnik grup oluşturduş	ğunu
	düşünüyorsunuz?	
	a) Hiç b) Az c) Biraz d) Oldukça e) Çok	
9.	Kıbrıslı Rumları ne derecede sizinle ortak bir grup olarak (yani 'Kıbrıslı' ola	ırak)
	algılarsınız?	
	a) Hiç b) Az c) Biraz d) Oldukça e) Çok	

10	. Kendinizi hangi d	lini inanca daha	a yakın hissede	rsiniz?	
	a)Müslüman	b)Hristiyan	c)Ateist	d)Deist	e)Agnostik
	f)Yok	g)Diğer (Lütfe	en belirtiniz)_		
11	. Politik görüşünüz	nedir?			
	a) Aşırı solb)Sol	c)Hiçbir	d)Aşırı Sağ	e)Sağ	
	d)Diğer (Lütfen b	elirtiniz)			
12	. Ne kadar süredir i	internet kullanı	yorsunuz?		
	a) 1-1 yıldan faz	la b) 2-3	yıl c) 3-4	yıl d) 4 ve	e daha fazla
13	. İnternete hangi ci	haz ile erişiyor	sunuz? En sık l	kullandığınızı iş	saretleyiniz.
	a) Akıllı Telefor	ı b) Dizüstü Bi	lgisayar c) Ma	saüstü Bilgisaya	ar d) Tablet
14	. İnternete günde n	e kadar vakit a	yırıyorsunuz?		
	a) Hiç b) Gü	nde 1 saat	c) Günde 2 sa	at d) Gür	nde 3 saat ve üzeri
15	. Sosyal medya a	ıraçlarından h	angi/hangilerin	i aktif olarak	kullanıyorsunuz?
	(ör: Facebook, W	hatsapp, Tiktol	κ, vb)		
16	. Sosyal medya ara	açlarını kullana	arak Kıbrıslı R	um basın mens	supları ile iletişime
	geçiyor musunuz	?			
	a)Evet	b)Hay	ır		
17	. Genel olarak K	ıbrıslı Rumlar	ile ilgili hab	erleri hangi k	taynaklardan takip
	ediyorsunuz? (Ö	r: Gazete, TV	, Radyo, Hab	er Ajansları, S	Sosyal Ağlar, vb.)

#### Gruplararası Temas Ölçeği

e)Birçok kez

Öncelikle Kıbrıslı Rum Gazetecilerle olan görüşmelerinizi düşünmenizi istiyoruz. Lütfen bu kısımdaki soruları günlük hayatınızdaki yüz yüze ve internet üzerinden edindiğiniz tecrübelerinize göre cevaplayınız.

NOT: Aşağıda belirtilen ifadelerde yer alan yüz yüze yaptığınız temasları, lütfen COVID-19 sürecinden önceki yaşamınızı düşünerek cevaplayınız.

CC	OVID-19 s	ürecinden	önceki yaşa	ımınızı (	lüşünerek (	cevaplayını	Z.	
1.	Kıbrıs	Rum	tarafına	ne	kadar	sıklıkla	geçiye	orsunuz?
	a)Hiç	b) Yılda b	oirkaç kez	c)Ayda	en az 1	d)Haftad	la en az 1	
	e)Birçok	kez						
2.	Kıbrıs F	Rum tarafı	na hangi	amaçla	geçiyorsu	nuz? (1'de	n fazla	cevabı
	işaretleye	bilirsiniz.						
	a)Alışver	işb)Eğitim	c)Arka	adaşlarla	görüşmek	d)Profes	yonel	olarak
	e)Diğer(lı	ütfen belirti	niz					
3.	Kıbrıslı R	Rum olan ka	ç kişi tanıyo	orsunuz?				
	a) Hiç	b)1-10 c)	11-20		d)21 ve üze	eri		
4.	Günlük h	ayatınızda n	ie siklikla K	Librisli R	umlar ile gö	örüşüyorsunı	uz?	
	a)Hiç	b) Yılda b	irkaç kez	c)Ayda	en az 1 d)l	Haftada en a	z 1 e)	Birçok
	kez							
5.	Kıbrıslı R	Rum gazetec	i olan kaç k	işi tanıyo	orsunuz?			
	a) Hiç	b)1-10	c)11-2	0	d)21 ve üze	eri		
5.	Günlük h	ayatınızda n	ie siklikla K	librisli R	um gazeteci	iler ile karşıl	aşıyorsur	nuz? (ör:
	kısa sürel	i temas)						
	a) Hiç	b) Yılda b	irkaç kez	c)Ayda	en az 1	d)Haftad	la en	az 1

7.	Günlük hayatınızda ne sıklıkla Kıbrıslı Rum gazeteciler ile görüşüyorsunuz? (ör:									
	uzun süreli temas)									
	a)Hiç	b) Yılda birkaç kez	c)Ayda en az 1	d)Haftada en az 1						
	e)Birçok k	ez								
8. 1	Ne kadar sıl	klıkla Kıbrıslı Rum gaz	zeteciler ile etkinlik ya	pıyorsunuz?						
	a) Hiç	b) Yılda birkaç kez	c)Ayda en az 1	d)Haftada en az 1						
	e)Birçok k	ez								
9.	Ne kadar	sıklıkla Kıbrıslı Run	n gazetecilerle sosyal	medya üzerinden temas						
kur	uyorsunuz'	?								
	a) Hiç	b) Yılda birkaç kez	c)Ayda en az 1	d)Haftada en az 1						
	e)Birçok k	ez								
10.	Ne kadar	sıklıkla Kıbrıslı Rum	gazetecilerle sosyal	medya üzerinden etkinlik						
yap	yapıyorsunuz?									
	a) Hiç	b) Yılda birkaç kez	c)Ayda en az 1	d)Haftada en az 1						

# Temas Kalite Ölçeği

e)Birçok kez

Kıbrıslı Rumlarla olan görüşmelerinizi nasıl tanımlardınız... (Örneğin 1 = Yüzeysel, 2 = Az Yüzeysel, 3 = Ne yüzeysel ne derin, 4 = Az Derin, 5 = Derin)

Yüzeysel	1	2	3	4	5	Derin
Doğal	1	2	3	4	5	Zoraki
Huzursuz	1	2	3	4	5	Huzurlu
Rekabetçi	1	2	3	4	5	Uzlaşmacı
Yakın	1	2	3	4	5	Uzak

### Dış-Grup Tutumları Ölçeği

Lütfen Kıbrıslı Rumlara karşı olan duygularınızı derecelendiriniz.

(Örneğin 1 = Sıcak	x, 2 = Az	Sicak,	3 = Ne Sic	ak Ne S	oğuk, 4 =	= Az Soğuk, 5 = Soğuk)
Sicak	1	2	3	4	5	Soğuk
Olumlu	1	2	3	4	5	Olumsuz
Arkadaşça	1	2	3	4	5	Düşmanca
Şüpheli	1	2	3	4	5	Güvenli
Saygılı	1	2	3	4	5	Saygısız
Takdir Edici	1	2	3	4	5	İğrenme

# Gruplararası Kaygı Ölçeği

Aşağıda yer alan ifadelere bağlı olarak, Kıbrıslı Rumlarla etkileşime geçtiğinizde kendinizi nasıl hissettiğinizi size en yakın olan ifade ile belirtiniz.

kendinizi nasn hissettiginizi size en yakin olan nade ne beni tiniz.									
Rahat	Hiç	Az	Biraz	Oldukça	Çok				
Şüpheci	Hiç	Az	Biraz	Oldukça	Çok				
Çekingen	Hiç	Az	Biraz	Oldukça	Çok				
Kaygılı	Hiç	Az	Biraz	Oldukça	Çok				
Garip	Hiç	Az	Biraz	Oldukça	Çok				
Kendine Güvenen	Hiç	Az	Biraz	Oldukça	Çok				

### Barış Gazeteciliği - Savaş Gazeteciliği Tutumları Ölçeği

Aşağıda mesleğiniz ile ilgili bazı ifadeler yer almaktadır. Lütfen kendinize en uygun yanıtı işaretleyiniz.

1	Haberlerimde genellikle,	Kesinlikle Katılmıyorum	Katılmıyorum	Kararsızım	Katılıyorum	Kesinikle Katılıyorum
	Çıkan çatışma/savaş konularını ele alırım.					
2.	Çatışma/savaş yoğunlaşmadan veya şiddetlenmeden önce tahmin edip yayınlarım.					
3.	Savaş sebebiyle ölen ve yaralanan sivillere yer veririm.					
4.	Çatışma/savaşın neden olduğu maddi zarara odaklanırım.					
	Çatışmanın topluma ve kültüre verdiği zararı konu olarak ele alırım.					
	Çatışmanın mağdurlar üzerinde yarattığı psikolojik zararı konu olarak ele alırım.					
	Liderlerin etki ve tepkilerini gündemde tutarım (ör: siyasi, askeri).					
8.	Yerel halk/sivillerin etki ve tepkilerini gündeme taşırım.					
	Çatışan tarafların farklılıklarını (ör: ideoloji, askeri) haberleştiririm.					
10.	Çatışan tarafların uzlaşma ve benzerliklerini haberleştiririm.					
11.	Çatışmanın 'şimdi ve burada' yani mevcut durumuna odaklanırım.					
12.	Çatışmanın kaynaklarını ve nedenlerini tartışırım.					
13.	Çatışmanın muhtemel ve potansiyel olumlu- olumsuz sonuçlarını tartışırım.					
14.	İyi ve kötü yani mağdurlar ve hainler arasında bir ayrım çizerim.					
15.	Bir tarafı kazanan, diğer tarafı kaybeden olarak gösteren bir formatta ele alırım.					
16.	Mümkün olduğunca çok sayıda çatışan tarafların sesi olurum.					
17.	Partizan bir yaklaşımı tercih ederim.					
18.	Çatışan taraflardan birinin tarafını tutmaktan kaçınırım.					

<b>19.</b> Tek bir kazanana odaklanarak çatışmayı	
bildirmekten kaçınırım.	
<b>20.</b> Mümkün olduğunca çok (çözüm-odaklı)	
hedef ve sorunu tartışırım.	
<b>21.</b> Barış antlaşmasının imzalandığı veya	
ateşkesin düzenlendiği zamanlarda (duruma	
göre) oradan ayrılırım.	
22. Çatışma/savaş sonrası süreçleri olan barış	
antlaşmasının uygulanması, ateşkesin	
gözetilmesi veya yeniden inşa edilmesi	
süreçlerini ele alırım.	
23. Milli çıkarları gündeme taşıyarak	
savunurum.	
24. Çatışan taraflara yer verirken şeffaf,	
anlaşılır ve açık olmaya önem veririm.	
<b>25.</b> Topluma zafer duygusunu yaşatmaya önem	
veririm.	
<b>26.</b> Çatışan taraflar arasında ilk taşı kimin	
attığını belirtirim.	
27. Yalnızca elit grubun barış mesajlarını	
iletirim.	
28. Şiddeti dışlayan bir dil kullanmaya özen	
gösteririm.	
29. Çatışma/savaş yaşayan (yaşamış) insanları	
bir araya getirerek barışı sürdürme	
konusunda aktif rol üstlenirim.	
<b>30.</b> Şiddeti meşrulaştıran 'ben-biz-diğerleri'	
gibi ayrıştırıcı dilden kaçınırım.	
<b>31.</b> Şiddetin sadece görünen etkilerini anlatırım.	
<b>32.</b> Barışın tarafını tutarım.	
<b>33.</b> Çatışan taraflar arasındaki farklılıklara	
odaklanırım.	
34. Şiddet veya saldırganlık içeren cümlelere	
kıyasla, şiddeti dışlayan çözümlerin haber	
değeri daha yüksek olduğunu düşünürüm.	
35. 'Biz-ben-öteki' arasında ayrım yapmadan,	
kötülük yapanları belirtirim.	
<b>36.</b> Çatışma bölgelerindeki insanları	
uzlaştırmak yerine çatışmaları aktarırım.	