

The Political Communication Process of the Presidential Election in North Cyprus, 2020

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

Doctor of Philosophy
in
Communication and Media Studies

Eastern Mediterranean University
September 2022
Gazimağusa, North Cyprus

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ABSTRACT

Due to the Covid-19 pandemic, the 2020 presidential election in the Turkish Republic of North Cyprus (TRNC) was postponed from 26 April 2020 to 11 October 2020. In this study, both the traditional media and new media messages are taken into consideration in order to explore political communication process during the 2020 presidential election in the TRNC. From the traditional media, two newspapers with different political views- Kıbrıs and Yenidüzen newspapers are explored. From the new media: Twitter posts which mention the 6 chosen candidates' names (Ersin Tatar, Mustafa Akıncı, Tufan Erhürman, Kudret Özersay, Erhan Arıklı, and Serdar Denktaş) and these 6 candidates' Facebook posts are explored. 'Public Sphere' by Jürgen Habermas and 'Social Capital' theory by Robert Putnam constitute the theoretical framework of the study. The main problem of this study is how political communication will be in the TRNC, 2020, presidential election under the effect of the Covid-19 pandemic.

The themes of Varosha, intervention, the Covid-19 pandemic, election and Cyprus issue are investigated from 7 March 2020 to 31 October 2020 – both in traditional media and new media. Teun Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis is used in analysing the messages.

The findings of the study indicate that newspapers present the news in line with their political views; Twitter analysis points out that Ersin Tatar is the most mentioned name. In the results of Facebook analysis, points out that Erhan Arıklı stands out as the person who used Facebook most in his election campaigns.

In conclusion, due to the Covid-19 pandemic, in North Cyprus, public sphere moved from face-to-face communication to social media and this indicates that the formation of public sphere in the 2020 presidential election altered. In the 2020 presidential election, social capital underwent erosion. The most important indicator of this is the 58.22% participation in the first round of the presidential election which is the lowest participation in the history of TRNC. The findings of the study also indicate that among the 5 themes arose in the study, (Varosha, intervention, Covid-19 pandemic, election, and Cyprus issue), Varosha and intervention stand out as the most frequent criticisms in public tweets.

Keywords: political communication process during 2020, presidential election in North Cyprus, Covid-19 pandemic, Varosha and intervention claims in the election, social capital, public sphere.

ÖZ

Covid-19 pandemisi'nden dolayı, Kuzey Kıbrıs Türk Cumhuriyeti (KKTC) Cumhurbaşkanlığı seçimi, 26 Nisan 2020'den, 11 Ekim 2020'e ertelendi. Bu çalışma, KKTC'deki, 2020 Cumhurbaşkanlığı seçimindeki siyasal iletişim sürecini araştırmak için hem geleneksel medyayı, hemde yeni medya mesajlarını incelenmiştir. Geleneksel medya'dan iki farklı siyasi görüşe sahip olan Kıbrıs ve Yenidüzen gazeteleri araştırılmıştır. Yeni medyadan da seçilen 6 adayın adının geçtiği (Ersin Tatar, Mustafa Akıncı, Tufan Erhürman, Kudret Özersay, Erhan Arıklılı ve Serdar Denktaş) Twitter mesajları ve 6 adayın (Ersin Tatar, Mustafa Akıncı, Tufan Erhürman, Kudret Özersay, Erhan Arıklılı ve Serdar Denktaş) Facebook mesajları araştırıldı. Jürgen Habermas'ın 'Kamusal Alan' ve Robert Putnam'ın 'Sosyal Sermaye' teorileri bu çalışmanın içeriğini oluşturmaktadır. Covid-19 pandemisi etkisi altında, KKTC, 2020 Cumhurbaşkanlığı seçim sürecinde, siyasal iletişimin nasıl olacağı, bu çalışmanın temel problemini oluşturur.

Maraş, müdahale, Covid-19, seçim ve Kıbrıs meselesi temaları, 7 Mart 2020'den 31 Ekim 2020'ye kadar hem geleneksel medyada hemde yeni medyada araştırılmıştır. Teun Van Dijk'in Eleştirel Söylem Analizi, verileri çözümlemede kullanılmıştır.

Çalışmanın bulguları gösterdi ki: gazetelerin kendi siyasal görüşünü destekler nitelikte haber yaptığını, Twitter analizleri de, Ersin Tatar'ın en çok konuşulan kişi olduğuna işaret etmektedir. Facebook analizinin sonuçlarında da, Erhan Arıklılı, Facebook'u kendi seçim kampanyasında en çok kullanan kişi oldu.

Sonu olarak, Covid-19 salgınının etkisiyle, Kuzey Kıbrıs'ta Kamusal Alan oluşumu yüz yüze iletişimden, sosyal medyaya kaydı, bu da kamusal alan oluşumun 2020 Cumhurbaşkanlığı seçimlerinde değışikliğe uğradığını gösterdi.

2020 Cumhurbaşkanlığı seçiminde, sosyal sermaye erozyonu belirgin bir şekilde ortaya çıktı. Bunun en önemli göstergesi, ilk turda 58.22% katılım oranı ile Kuzey Kıbrıs Türk Cumhuriyeti tarihinin en düşük katılımlı cumhurbaşkanlığı seçimi oldu. Çalışmanın bulguları ayrıca gösterdiği seçilen 5 tema arasından (Maraş, müdahale, Covid-19, seçim ve Kıbrıs meselesi) ortaya çıkan Maraş ve müdahale temaları en çok eleştiri alan kamu tweetleri olarak ortaya çıktı.

Anahtar Kelimeler: 2020 Kuzey Kıbrıs Türk Cumhuriyeti Cumhurbaşkanlığı seçim sürecinde siyasal iletişim, Covid-19 pandemisi, Maraş ve müdahale iddiaları, sosyal sermaye, kamusal alan.

DEDICATION

To my parents

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I would like to thank my precious supervisor, Prof. Dr. Bahire Özad for her support. Also, during the meetings, the support of Prof. Dr. Metin Ersoy and Assoc. Prof. Dr. Aysu Arsoy. Last but not the least, I would like to also thank to my dear husband Behzat, and my dear children Mustafa and Mirzan for the patience they have shown during the course of the study.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AKP	Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi- Justice and Development Party
CTP	Cumhuriyetçi Türk Partisi - Republican Turkish Party
DP	Demokrat Parti - Democratic Party
HP	Halkın Partisi - People's Party
KKTC	Kuzey Kıbrıs Türk Cumhuriyeti
RoC	Republic of Cyprus (Kıbrıs Cumhuriyeti)
TRNC	Kuzey Kıbrıs Türk Cumhuriyeti - Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus
UBP	Ulusal Birlik Partisi- National Unity Party
UN	United Nations (Birleşmiş Milletler)
UK	United Kingdom (Birleşik Krallık)
USA	United States of America
WHO	World Health Organization (Dünya Sağlık Örgütü)
YDP	Yeniden Doğuş Partisi (Rebirth Party)

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Turkish Cypriots have always shown sincere interest in politics and hence, participation in elections till 2020 was high. In 2020, the election of the new president led to a change in the election process due to the emergence of the Covid-19 pandemic, particularly, in terms of political communication. Based on this, it is the first time a presidential election has been postponed in North Cyprus. In North Cyprus, the 8th presidential election was going to be on 26 April 2020 but the Parliament made the decision to postpone it to 11 October 2020, due to the Covid-19 pandemic on the 10th of March 2020. Similar to the other countries, the Covid-19 pandemic affected the election dates/periods, political campaigns, propaganda, participation, and politics in general in North Cyprus.

Presidential elections are held in every 5 years in the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus since 1985 (1985, 1990, 1995, 2000, 2005, 2010, 2015). The 8th presidential election, which is the topic of the present study, was planned to be held on 26 April 2020. In this presidential election, eleven candidates ran in the first round. The candidates were Mustafa Akıncı, Ersin Tatar, Tufan Erhürman, Kudret Özersay, Serdar Denktaş, Erhan Arıklı, Arif Salih Kırdag, Alpan Uz, Ahmet Boran, Mustafa Ulaş, Fuat Türköz Çiner. However, among these, six candidates stand out as more popular than others; the President of the time, Mustafa Akıncı; the Prime Minister of the time, Ersin Tatar (the leader of National Unity Party - Ulusal Birlik Partisi - UBP);

the vice-Prime Minister of the time, Kudret Özersay (the leader of the People's Party - Halkın Partisi - HP); Erhan Arıklı (the leader of Rebirth Party - Yeniden Doğuş Partisi - YDP); Tufan Erhürman (the leader of the Republican Turkish Party - Cumhuriyetçi Türk Partisi - CTP); and Serdar Denktaş (the former leader of the Democratic Party - Demokrat Parti- DP). In other words, this election can be considered as the 'political party leaders' competition'. This is because Mustafa Akıncı had been the party leader of the Communal Liberation Party between 1987 and 2001 and he was the president during the 2020 presidential election. Ersin Tatar has been the party leader of the National Unity Party from 2018 until the 2020 election. Kudret Özersay was the party leader of the People's Party and still continues his duty. Erhan Arıklı has been the Rebirth Party's leader since the establishment of the party in 2016 and still, he is in the same position. Tufan Erhürman has been the leader of the Republican Turkish Party since 2016 and still, he is the leader of the party. Serdar Denktaş was the party leader of the Democratic Party between 1996 and 2019. This election is also significant in this sense because all political party leaders competed for the highest position which is the presidency of North Cyprus.

In the first round, which was held on 11 October 2020, no candidate obtained the majority of the votes to be elected as the president. The final result was: Mustafa Akıncı 29.84%; Ersin Tatar 32.35%; Tufan Erhürman 21.68%; Kudret Özersay 5.74%; Serdar Denktaş 4.20%; Erhan Arıklı 5.36%; Arif Salih Kırdag 0.25%; Alpan Uz 0.14%; Ahmet Boran 0.07%; Mustafa Ulaş 0.06% and Fuat Türköz Çiner 0.30%. Therefore, the presidential election went for the second round among the top two candidates who are Mustafa Akıncı and Ersin Tatar.

The second round took place between Mustafa Akıncı and Ersin Tatar on 18 October 2020. The result was: Mustafa Akıncı 48.31% and Ersin Tatar 51.69%. This election led to numerous debates in Cyprus politics on media such as the declaration of candidates about intervention claims in the elections, partially opening the city of Varosha for daily visits, the attitudes of candidates towards the Covid-19 pandemic, and political communication styles which have never been more interesting before in North Cyprus.

The present study initially aimed at investigating the presidential election during Covid-19. After the initial data collection, the study is reshaped in order to explore six experienced politicians/candidates' attitudes towards the presidential election under five categories which are Varosha (Maraş), intervention (müdahale), Covid-19 (pandemic), election (seçim), and Cyprus issue (Kıbrıs meselesi). These topics are analyzed with respect to traditional media (the two print newspapers: Yenidüzen and Kıbrıs) and social media with respect to the six experienced candidates' names (Mustafa Akıncı, Ersin Tatar, Tufan Erhürman, Kudret Özersay, Serdar Denktaş, and Erhan Arıklı) on Twitter and these candidates' Facebook posts directly derived from their individual accounts.

1.1 Background of the Study

There is not a very long history in the sense of presidential elections in North Cyprus. This is because the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC) was established on 15 November 1983 and only four people became the president of TRNC since then. The first president was Rauf Raif Denktaş (1983-2005), the second was Mehmet Ali Talat (2005-2010), the third was Derviş Eroğlu (2010-2015) and fourth was Mustafa Akıncı (2015-2020). In the TRNC, the period for the position of the President is for 5

years and the candidates have to be citizens of North Cyprus and should be university graduates according to the Constitution of TRNC (TRNC Constitution, Article 99: 1, 1b, 1c, 1d). Additionally, Article 99:2 states that “The President of the Republic cannot do any work other than his official duties. He cannot, directly or indirectly, undertake any business engagements of the State or of public bodies”.

The first president Rauf Raif Denktaş had the longest period as the president of Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (elected four times in the years: 1985, 1990, 1995, and 2000). He competed with various candidates but he won the elections until 2005. He decided not to attend election in 2005. In 2005 election, Mehmet Ali Talat (the leader of the Republican Turkish Party - Cumhuriyetçi Türk Partisi - CTP) and Derviş Eroğlu (the leader of National Unity Party - Ulusal Birlik Partisi - UBP) competed. The result was the success of Mehmet Ali Talat with the %55.60, on the other hand, Derviş Eroğlu obtained %22.73 of the votes. In the 2010 elections, the same candidates competed (Mehmet Ali Talat and Derviş Eroğlu) but the result changed reversely. Derviş Eroğlu won with the 50.38% and Mehmet Ali Talat lost with 42.85%. In 2015 elections, the first round was among Mustafa Akıncı, Derviş Eroğlu, Sibel Siber and Kudret Özersay. However, none of the candidates took enough votes and the second round was held between Mustafa Akıncı and Derviş Eroğlu. Finally, Mustafa Akıncı won in the second round with %60.50 and Derviş Eroğlu lost with 39.50%.

The previous presidential elections’ propaganda mostly had been done through traditional media instruments such as newspapers, television, and face-to-face meetings with citizens in the coffee shops (kahvehane), village meetings, and meetings in the public whereas for the 2020 election, new media; particularly Twitter and Facebook have become more visible during the political campaign process due to

Covid-19 limitations in the country. Indeed, Twitter and Facebook as social media have become a significant arena in political communication in the world (Jungherr; 2015, Castells; 2004). This is also valid for the elections in North Cyprus. More significantly, the Covid-19 lockdown changed normal life and this led to a change public sphere during the political campaigns in the 2020 presidential elections in North Cyprus.

Presidential elections were going to be held on 26 April 2020; however, due to the Covid-19 pandemic, the election was postponed to 11 October 2020. What is more, due to the pandemic lockdown, neither candidates nor voters were able to socialize face to face when compared to previous elections. Hence, propaganda through media and particularly social media gained ground. From this perspective, this election provides the ground to investigate the role of social media in political communication in North Cyprus and compare it with traditional media tools' propaganda.

The present study seeks to explore how public sphere and social capital have been altered during the 2020 presidential election due to the partially opening of Varosha for visiting, intervention claims in the elections, the Covid-19 pandemic, election, and Cyprus issue through the discourse of the six most popular candidates.

1.2 Motivation for the Study

The motivation for choosing to study this subject is my background in Political Science and Public Administration. Thus, it has been preferred to focus on the combination of my background education with political communication. Moreover, the political communication of the presidential election in North Cyprus, 2020 took place under the shadow of Covid-19 and particularly lockdown which led to a slightly different

political communication. This reason basically relies on the limitations and precautions of Covid-19 such as keeping the physical distance of at least 1metre from others, wearing a mask, having no public meetings, and avoiding physical contact with people. The form of political communication between politicians and voters led to the use of mass media tools rather than face-to-face communication. This led to a change in the public sphere (Habermas, 1991). This is my first motivation to focus on this election. The second motivation relies on the Social Capital Theory by Robert Putnam (1993). Social networks suffered among people during this election because of the decreasing face-to-face communication/contact. Turkish Cypriots are very much used to be in face-to-face communication; so, the Covid-19 pandemic led to damage to the socialization process among people. Moreover, the partially opening of Varosha for daily visits and intervention claims in the elections appeared as the main topics.

Additionally, there appears to be a lack of research on the Turkish Cypriot's political communication dynamics in the sense of social capital (Putnam, 1993) and public sphere (Habermas, 1991). This issue is important because it can be useful for policy makers to understand, on the basis of academic research, the importance of the traditional and new media combination in the elections and its contributions to the development of democracy. In relation to this, the Covid-19 pandemic had an impact on the politics of North Cyprus, especially in the sense of political campaigns and political communication. During this time, political communication shifted from the streets and face-to-face communication to social media. This issue led to alterations in the public sphere in North Cyprus' political communication and social media's use increased among politicians and voters.

The present study is based on Robert Putnam's (1993) social capital and Jürgen Habermas's public sphere (1991). Putnam's (1993, p.167) concept of social capital contains three components; moral obligations and norms, social networks, and social values (trust). The present study has taken into consideration mainly two components: the social values (trust) and social networks for investigating the presidential election in North Cyprus in 2020.

Due to the negative effect of Covid-19, social interaction, especially, face-to-face interaction between politicians and the voters in North Cyprus in 2020 diminished. On the other hand, the partially opening of Varosha and intervention claims in the election also had a negative influence on the voters. This is because the partially opening a part of Varosha emerged suddenly just only 5 days prior to the presidential elections. In this context, the coalition partner of the government, especially, Kudret Özersay (the leader of the People's Party) and opposition parties leaders, Tufan Erhürman (the leader of the Republican Turkish Party), Serdar Denktaş (the former leader of the Democratic Party) and Cemal Özyiğit (the leader of the Communal Democracy Party), Mustafa Akıncı, the President of the time, declared that the government have not stated anything about the process of the partially opening of Varosha and criticized the government's decision. In other words, these actions led to a reaction from left wing in North Cyprus. In this regard, Mustafa Akıncı (the President of the time) made claims about Turkey's intervention in the elections for not electing him. He also stated that Turkey supported Ersin Tatar (the Prime Minister of the time) and this led to a discussion in the society.

The turnout ratio of the presidential elections in 2020 was 58.22% in the first round whereas in the second round; it was 67.29%. This is the lowest ratio for the presidential

election participation of all the times in North Cyprus. The social values (trust) between the politicians and voters also are affected in a negative way, particularly, on the left-wing in the society. From this perspective, it may be seen as the social capital's erosion in North Cyprus. This had an influence on how domestic political dynamics are shaped. During this election, Covid-19, Varosha, and intervention claims in the election constitute the major themes of the study.

In sum, the Covid-19 pandemic led to a lockdown in North Cyprus. Lockdown led to a drastic change in the social lives of citizens. This new condition brought together new dynamics in the politics of North Cyprus. This is the driving force for this research.

Habermas (1991) put forth his idea of public sphere. The public sphere in Habermas's sense is an area for social life and people to come together for discussing the problems in the society, especially, in the coffee shops. The present study also searched alterations of the public sphere from public discussions to digital discussions due to the Covid-19 pandemic during the presidential election in 2020.

The motivation for choosing these media tools is based on my interest in the newspapers. Newspapers still are read by local people as hard copy; at the same time, it is read through newspapers' websites. Additionally, social media is getting more influential in the political communication' process, more importantly, the spreading of the Covid-19 pandemic speed this up more and more. Because of all these reasons, these media platforms stand as a good source for analysing political communication in North Cyprus' presidential election in 2020.

1.3 Problem Statement of the Study

This study focuses on how the presidential elections have been affected by the Covid-19 pandemic in terms of political communication practices in North Cyprus, 2020. This is because, the Covid-19 pandemic's limitations and precautions (keeping social distance, no meeting with a huge number of people, etc.) led to the formation of different election campaigns such as altering from traditional (public meetings/face-to-face contact) to digitalized propaganda through social media in North Cyprus. The Covid-19 pandemic led to the shift of the so-called public sphere, where political, economic, and other issues are discussed, from face-to-face communication to social media platforms. The new formation of the public sphere is a crucial issue in this election. This research has been carried out in order to explore the new public sphere that is formed in the shadow of Covid-19.

In a nutshell, lockdown due to the Covid-19 pandemic led to a change in the public sphere in North Cyprus in the sense of the political propaganda process. Public sphere formation shifted from face-to-face communication to social media and people discussed presidential elections and contact with politicians with the help of social media, especially, Twitter and Facebook. This research also concentrates on the concept of the 'public sphere' by Jürgen Habermas for the purpose of understanding the changes in the public sphere in North Cyprus from traditional media to new (social) media.

In the present study, the two most popular social media; Twitter and Facebook are taken into consideration in order to find out about the discourse of the candidates on the formation of public opinion. This would provide a basis for laying down the

difference between the traditional and new media social media's role in the formation of public opinion.

The low turnout rate that emerged after the election was an important issue to be investigated. The turnout ratio in this election was much lower than in previous years. In the first round, the participation ratio was 58.22% whereas, in the second round, the participation ratio was 67.22% (see details in Chapters 3, 5 and 6). Therefore, Robert Putnam's concept of social capital gained importance in this study. Additionally, it is useful to explain social capital. This research has focused on evaluating Robert Putnam's (2000) 'social capital' concept in relation to the presidential election in North Cyprus in 2020. The 'social capital' by Putnam; as the associational life of a society that creates bonds of solidarity and a sense of responsibility for the common good and the functioning of democracy. The Theory of Social Capital (Putnam, 1993, p.167) is defined as "features of social organization, such as trust, norms, and networks that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions". Trust and social networks are significant components of Social Capital Theory and need to be investigated in relation to this election. In particular, the trust in politics and politicians and how social networks are important factors that need to be considered. During this election, unpredictable events occurred such as the partially opening of Varosha, intervention claims in the election that became a discussion topic in the society. Therefore, the ratio of participation in the elections is associated with the formation of social capital in this election.

Social capital refers to connections among individuals, social networks, and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them (Putnam, 2000, p. 19). It is a collective action and is seen as essential for participatory democracy and an improved

economy (Deth, 1999; Hooghe and Stolle, 2003; Putnam 1993 & 2000). According to Putnam (1993), trust is essential for people to work together and participate in civil society. Social capital analyses are based on the claim that a pattern of formal and informal sociability develop relations of trust and reciprocity which then increase individuals' capacity to work together in collective action to resolve common problems (Putnam, 1993). The social capital concept is crucial in small nations because the feelings of solidarity and trust are significant. During this election, the candidates tried to show this more and more due to the Covid-19 pandemic. This issue will be analysed through their speeches, posts, and acts.

In summary, Putnam's Social Capital Theory and Habermas' Public Sphere are useful to grasp the alterations of the political culture during the Covid-19 pandemic in North Cyprus. This is because, in a small island, social capital is high and the spreading of the Covid-19 pandemic also increased the need to use the social media in this election more than before. Moreover, the public sphere of politics shifted from traditional to new media whereas meetings with people still were performed by some candidates in a limited manner. In a nutshell, this election process is investigated based on two theories; social capital by (Putnam) and public sphere by (Habermas). The study seeks to explore how these factors affect the form and practice of political communication in North Cyprus.

In a nutshell, the present study seeks to explore how the political communication conducted through traditional (newspaper) and new media (Twitter and Facebook) for 2020 presidential election altered due to Covid-19 pandemic with respect to alterations in public sphere and social capital.

1.4 Aims and Objectives of the Study

The aim of this study is based on the understanding of the political communication process in North Cyprus during the 2020 presidential election under the effects of Covid-19. Presidential elections are important because they are conducted for the highest administrative position in the governance of the country. The present study ultimately has three aims: the first aim is to explore how public sphere (Habermas, 1991) altered in North Cyprus due to the Covid-19 lockdown during the 2020 presidential election. The second aim of the study focuses on social capital (Putnam, 1995) alterations during the 2020 presidential election of North Cyprus. The third aim of the study focuses on exploring which topics became more apparent during the 2020 presidential election of North Cyprus, especially, the discourse on the sensitive issues such as Varosha, intervention claims in the elections, Covid-19 pandemic, presidential election, and the Cyprus issue.

Hence, the present study focuses on the 2020 presidential election in North Cyprus and is only related to six candidates who obtained most of the votes. These candidates are Mustafa Akıncı, Ersin Tatar, Tufan Erhürman, Kudret Özersay, Serdar Denktaş, and Erhan Arıklı with respect to the political propaganda campaigns of the five political leaders/candidates in the presidential election, 2020. In summary, the present study seeks to broadly explore political communication during the Covid-19 pandemic. The aims of the study seek to:

1. Find out how the public sphere (Jürgen Habermas, 1991) has been altered in North Cyprus due to the Covid-19 pandemic during the 2020 presidential election;

2. Investigate the extent to which the concept of social capital put forth by Robert Putnam (1993) has been altered during the presidential election period;
3. Explore which topics emerged during the 2020 presidential elections under the shadow of the Covid-19 pandemic.

In relation to aim 1, the following objective has been set:

- a. To find out how the Covid-19 pandemic has influenced the public sphere formation for political communication in regard to the presidential election, 2020 in North Cyprus.

In relation to aim 2, the following objective has been set:

- a. To find out how social capital was formed during the presidential election, 2020.

In relation to aim 3, the following objectives have been set:

- a. To investigate which issues became more apparent in the candidates' political campaigns;
- b. To find out the discourse of the candidate in relation to the Cyprus issue;
- c. To explore which topics have emerged in traditional media, particularly Kıbrıs and Yenidüzen newspapers in relation to the Covid-19 pandemic.
- d. To explore which topics emerged in new (social) media, particularly Facebook and Twitter during the Covid-19 pandemic.
- e. To explore candidates' views in relation to the partially opening of Varosha.

1.5 Research Questions

This study is conducted to answer the below questions in relation to the presidential election, in North Cyprus, 2020:

RQ1: How did the Covid-19 pandemic alter public sphere during the presidential election in North Cyprus, 2020?

RQ2: How was social capital formed during the presidential election in North Cyprus, 2020?

RQ3: Which topics are mostly used by the candidates in their political campaigns during the Covid-19 pandemic?

RQ4: What are the candidates' points of view towards the Cyprus issue?

RQ5: Which discourse topics became more apparent in traditional media (Kıbrıs and Yenicüzen)?

RQ6: Which discourse topics became more apparent in new (social) media (Twitter and Facebook)?

RQ7: What topics were put forth by the candidates about the partially opening of the Varosha?

1.6 Significance of the Study

Undoubtedly, the Covid-19 pandemic and the lockdown, had a significant impact on the society in North Cyprus as much as other societies in the world. This study is original because there has been dearth of research looking at both traditional and new media tools used in political communication process during the Covid-19 pandemic in North Cyprus, particularly, in relation to the social capital and public sphere. It is important to explore leaders/candidates' attitudes towards the election in the case of integration of the society under the umbrella of solidarity, trust, and the functioning of democracy.

As it has been mentioned earlier, this study aims to explore candidates' political communication features about 'social capital' by Putnam (1993). This is essential

because social capital contributes to participatory democracy and public participation and candidates make contributions to the feeling of solidarity, trust, norms, and networks with citizens. In this parallel, this study shows how the public sphere (Habermas, 1961) works in North Cyprus, especially, which elements have become more visible within the society during the Covid-19 pandemic during the process of presidential election. In a nutshell, this study is important because Putnam's (1993) social capital erosion, and how the public sphere (Habermas, 1991) altered in this presidential election due to the Covid-19 pandemic have not been studied.

The present study offers data triangulation because the data for the study have been collected through multiple data sources: traditional media in the forms of print newspapers; and social media platforms; Twitter and Facebook. This is because data was collected for six months period from 7 March to 31 October 2020. Each newspaper (Kıbrıs and Yenidüzen) has been collected for 6 months (180 days) and the total number of these two newspapers has been 360 front pages. These front pages have been analysed for the presidential election. Also, the six candidates' Facebook accounts have been followed for six months (7 March to 31 October 2020) and the same is done for Twitter accounts of the candidates; tweets, and retweets. This study relies on massive data collected for the study in order to analyse the political communication process and find out cornerstones in this election.

There is research conducted at the Faculty of Communication and Media Studies in the EMU with respect to Covid-19 at the MA level. One of these is an MA thesis by Erem Kızıltan (2020). The study only used Facebook posts and covered the period of 56 days from March to May 2020 under the title of 'İzolasyon Sürecinde Kuzey Kıbrıs Türk Cumhuriyeti Cumhurbaşkanı Aday Adaylarının Yeni Tip Koronavirüs19 (Covid-

19) Kriz Yönetimi Söylemleri). However, Serdar Denktaş had not yet declared his candidacy, so he is not included in that thesis. This study's data collection also covered the period after May, 2020 and issues that arose after May (the partially opening of the Varosha, declaration of intervention by candidates) are significant in the present study. In addition, in the same context, Raif Usal (2021) looked at the influence of Covid-19 and the changes in media practices in North Cyprus under the title of 'Covid-19 Etkisi ve Kıbrıs'ın Kuzeyindeki Medya Pratiklerinin Dönüşümü: Kuzey Kıbrıs Örneği'. However, there has been a dearth of research on the presidential election, in 2020 from the perspective of social capital and public sphere under the effect of Covid-19. This study is significant because it is the first study to focus on the presidential election during Covid-19 concerning the changes in social capital and public sphere in North Cyprus. In addition, there is research about general elections in 2018 in terms of political party leaders' use of social media in North Cyprus by Feza Kılgın. The thesis title is 'Political Party Leaders' Use of Social Media in North Cyprus During Parliamentary Elections-2018'.

1.7 Limitations of the Study

This study is limited to the presidential election in North Cyprus in 2020 and it covered traditional media through two national newspapers: Yenidüzen and Kıbrıs and social media platforms through Twitter and Facebook pages of the six candidates. The study merely focuses on the issues related to election campaigns, the partially opening of Varosha, intervention claims in the election, the Covid-19 pandemic, election, and Cyprus issue. Additionally, the terms/words had been only searched in Turkish language on Twitter and Facebook.

This study has taken into consideration only six candidates, because, they are regarded as experienced politicians and political leaders. Mustafa Akıncı attended this election as an independent candidate; however, in the past he was the Communal Liberation Party's leader. Ersin Tatar was the candidate of the leader of the National Unity Party, Kudret Özersay attended as the leader of the People's Party; Erhan Arıklı was the candidate of the Rebirth Party; Tufan Erhürman was the candidate of the Republican Turkish Party and Serdar Denktaş was an independent candidate but in the past, he was the former leader of the Democratic Party. The main reason for choosing them is based on their political power as party leaders and experienced politicians.

1.8 Definition of Terms

In this section, significant terminology is covered.

Facebook: is one of the most popular social networking sites establishes interpersonal ties worldwide scale. It covers a set of technologies like social groups interaction, personal pages, instant messaging services, socialization of multimedia files, and video calls (Vintimilia-Tapia, Bravo-Torres, Gallegos-Segovia, Ordonez-Morales, Lopez-Nores and Blanco-Fernandez as cited in Kaya and Alhajj, 2019, p.3).

Twitter: is a microblogging social networking service that allows its users to send short text messages up to 140 characters within their personalized profiles since 2004. These messages are called tweets. Also, it allows its users to follow other twitterers on the platform. If you follow someone you can see their tweets on your Twitter timeline (Jungherr, 2015, p.12).

Kıbrıs newspaper: is a national and daily newspaper published in North Cyprus since 1989. It is mainly the supporter of mainstream, right political parties in North Cyprus

since its establishment. It is privately owned by Asil Nadir (Kıbrıs Türk Gazeteciler Birliği, 2012).

Presidential elections: is a type of election in which the head of the state is chosen in both the Parliament and Presidency system. The President has the top position in the state. The period of the time can change from country to country but is generally between 5 years to 7 years (Hague and Harrop, 2007 and Gallagher, Laver and Mair, 2001). However, in North Cyprus, it is for five years (TRNC Constitution, Article 99).

Political communication: is an interactive process that focuses on the transmission of information among politicians, the news media, and the public. This process goes from governing institutions to the citizens and goes horizontally among political actors. Later, it continues upward from public opinion toward authorities (Norris, 2015, p.342).

Propaganda: is a communication process by an organization that tries to promote support for its cause by influencing the attitudes and particularly, the behaviour of large people. It is the dissemination of information such as facts, arguments, rumours, half-truths, or lies to influence public opinion. Propagandists have a specified goal or set of goals. To achieve these, they deliberately select facts, arguments, and displays of symbols and present them in ways they think will have the most effect (Hague and Harrop, 2007, p.138).

Public Sphere: Public sphere is the sphere of private people who come together to discuss freely and determine societal problems. Later on, the public can make an

impact on political authorities. Therefore, democracy can be performed with more effective public participation (Habermas, 1964).

Social Capital: Social capital is based on the ‘features of social organizations, such as trust, norms, and networks, that can improve the efficacy of society by facilitating coordinated actions’ (Putnam, 1993).

Yenidüzen newspaper: is a national and daily published newspaper in North Cyprus since 1975. It is based on left ideological arguments and supporters of left political parties in North Cyprus from the establishment (Kıbrıs Türk Gazeteciler Birliği, 2012).

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Chapter 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

The information included in this chapter comprises politics, communication, political communication, political communication and mass media, research in political communication, agenda-setting theory, ‘social capital’ by Robert Putnam, ‘public sphere’ by Jürgen Habermas, political communication in old (traditional media) and political communication in new media (social media), Facebook’s usage in political communication, Twitter’s usage in political communication.

At the outset of the 20th century, as the world countries in general transformed from empires to nation-states, democracy and democratic election of the rulers have become a common practice throughout the world. In line with this, political communication has become very significant in this century, especially, the development in technologies and the rising concerns for affecting the voters have become an ultimately significant topic for politicians and political parties. Through the developments in mass media, political communication in the political arena has become very significant. In other words, the use of political communication has become very effective in this era together with the improved mass media. Therefore, mass media and social media’s effectiveness is crucial in today’s politics. This is because mass media reach people quickly through audio-visual and written media and give people a chance to communicate their ideas.

2.1 Politics as a Discipline

Politics has always been very significant for human beings ever since they started to live together. Politics is related to the governance of a country from the local to the national level in political science. In the study of politics, human relationships are crucial and human beings do not live in isolation from society. People have communication because they live in communities that may be in small groups such as family or large groups such as country. From this perspective, the study of politics includes inter-group relationships, the management of groups, the operations of their collective decision-making processes, particularly, the activities and operations of the state, also the implementation and enforcement of decisions (Joyce, 2003). In addition, politics is a collective activity, and people who are involved accept a common partnership. Moreover, politics tries to resolve the differences of views and interests through discussion and communication is fundamental to politics. In this regard, political decisions are also binding on society (Hague and Harrop, 2007). Furthermore, politics is related to the exercise of power in society and influence in society during the processes of policy-making within government (Kraft and Furlong, 2007).

The word ‘politics’ comes from the Greek word ‘polis’ and means ‘city-state’ (Heywood, 2011). In Ancient Greek, political ideas emerged within the ‘polis’ environment. The ‘polis’ is a city-state. In the literature, active political life has started historically there (Göze, 2007). In Ancient Greek society, there were independent city-states and each of them had its authority. The biggest and the most effective one was Athens and historically it is believed that political life started in Ancient Greece as the democracy cornerstone historically (Heywood, 2011). Political philosophy is related

to the ideas which provide a basis for politics. From this view, the ideas of the ancient Greek philosophers, primarily Plato (428-347 BC) and Aristotle (384-322 BC) had substantial effects on the process of modern politics (Girdner, 1996).

Politics is inherent in society and is a public activity (Hoffman, 2007). It involves conflict resolution (Hoffman, 2007). Political theory can be defined as the discipline which aims to explain, justify or criticize the disposition of power in society. It portrays the balance of power between states, groups, and individuals (Goodwin, 2007).

The discipline of political science embraces several subfields such as comparative politics, political philosophy, public administration, religion and politics, political theory, elections, public opinion, political communication, and so on (Girdner, 1996). This study has taken into consideration elections, public opinion, and political communication subjects intensely. In this regard, political scientists concentrate on the questions about making decisions and using power in society (Girdner, 1996).

Politics are associated with “how the governance of the state is exercised” and how its branches work. In this context, the state is the main subject of politics. According to Heywood, (2007), the definition of a state is, “an association that establishes sovereign power within a defined territorial area, usually possessing a monopoly of coercive power”. In politics, the president is the head of the state whereas the Prime Minister is the head of the government in modern democracies. However, this study has taken into consideration of presidential elections; hence, the state and theories about the state should be taken into consideration. Important philosophers and thinkers have commented on the definition and nature of the state. There are fundamentally four views about the state. The first view is ‘the contractual view’. From this view, the

state derives from the voluntary agreement of men through the ‘social contract’. Also, there are tasks of the state. According to John Locke who is an English philosopher (Heywood, 2007); the task of the state is to protect the interests of the people (Goodwin, 2007). Locke also focuses on the nature of humans and says humans are free and equal (Heywood, 2007).

Jean Jacques Rousseau, a French philosopher, adds collectivity to the state’s tasks. Moreover, Thomas Hobbes argues that the state’s power is unlimited (Goodwin, 2007). He also lays down his ideas about the state in his book ‘Leviathan or the Matter, Forme and Power of a Commonwealth Ecclesiasticall and Civil’ (1651). Thomas Hobbes supports in his book ‘Leviathan’ that absolutist government is important for eliminating anarchy and disorder. Moreover, Hobbes also advocates that citizens have also obligations toward their state (Heywood, 2007).

Furthermore, John Locke claims that the state’s power is limited by men’s natural rights whereas J.J. Rousseau focuses on the General Will (Goodwin, 2007). His book ‘Social Contract’ (1762) is also significant in terms of the relationship between the state and society. J.J. Rousseau’s idea of ‘general will’ focuses on democracy and its necessity (Heywood, 2007, p.153).

The second view considers ‘the State as arbitrator and nightwatchmen’. It is focused on the minimal role of the state from the view of economics, liberals, and libertarians. According to them, the state is minimal because state intervention prevents individuals’ interests and continuation of it (Goodwin, 2007).

The third view is 'the state as organism'. This view comes from the ideas of Samuel Taylor Coleridge and Friedrich Hegel. They see the state as an integrated organism and set above. Hegel identifies the state as an 'abstract mind' (Goodwin, 2007).

The fourth view considers 'the state as oppressor' and this view is related to the ideas of Karl Marx and Marxist analysis is important. From this view, the state is the vehicle of the ruling class and claims that the 'modern state is a committee for managing the common affairs of the bourgeoisie'. Therefore, it is not an organic unity. Moreover, Marx advocates that "the state is the product and manifestation of the irreconcilability of class antagonisms" (Goodwin, 2007, p.335). This view criticizes the state and its activities highly, particularly, the state focuses on the interests of the individual, not the whole community (Goodwin, 2007).

In regards to the state's governance is directly related to the democratic elections in modern democracies (Dahl & Tufte, 1974; Shamir, Shamir and Sheaffer, 2008). Elections are the actions used to seize a position of power. In other words, elections are the process of voting to elect someone to be the political leader of a party, the Member of Parliament (MP), the Prime Minister, the President, or the mayor in local elections. In other words, elections play a broad role to determine who will be part of the political elite (Gallagher, Laver, and Mair, 2001). The elections are accepted as a vital part of democracy, and it is essential for the continuity of democracy. Elections also give chance for a competition among political parties and candidates that facilitates the legitimizing of a country's political system from the perspectives of citizens (Gallagher, Laver & Mair, 2001; Hague & Harrop, 2007). Furthermore, competitive, free and fair elections are the principal factor for voters to declare their political preferences and delegate their rights to the elected politicians for making

public policy for a specific period (Sakwa and Stevens, 2006). The basic components of the democratic electoral process rely on that the elections should be competitive, and citizens should have a choice between many political parties or candidates. There are essential factors to ensure free elections which are civil liberties that must be secured. The civil liberties cover freedom of speech, freedom of association, freedom to register as a voter, party or candidate, freedom from coercion, freedom of access to the polls, the confidentiality of the vote, and the freedom to the complaint. Fair elections are ensured without partisanship and universal suffrage (Sakwa and Stevens, 2006).

In relation to politics, ‘ideology’ is a significant concept in political theory. Ideology is a term that refers “the science of ideas” (Goodwin, 2007). In other words, ideology is the belief system (Hoffman, 2007). Additionally, ideology offers ideas and knowledge that facilitate beliefs and actions. Moreover, ideology includes persuasive forces and emerges as moral imperatives (Goodwin, 2007). When focusing on the significance of ideology, it is the determining force for the belief of people. Ideological approach is important in relation to Cyprus issue. Until today, there are two opposite ideological stances in relation to the Cyprus issue which are mainly left-wing and right-wing. The left-wing supports the federal solution under the umbrella of the UN parameters whereas right-wing supports the two-state solution on the island.

Moreover, Robert Dahl (1974) clarifies that democracy equates with the institutions and processes of representative government. Therefore, if citizens can participate equally in free and fair elections and elections direct the actions of government, the standards of democracy can be accomplished (Dahl and Tufte, 1974). In other words, Dahl asserts that citizens’ active participation in the political process maximizes the

democratic notions in society. Robert Dahl (1974) focuses on the perspective of a pluralist approach to political government and concentrates on the nature and future of democratic government (Cole, Figgis, and Laski, in Hirst, 1989).

Political participation is also an important factor in determining democracy. To ensure the democracy of a country, political participation should be secured by the political authorities. The definition of political participation “is the activity by individuals formally intended to influence who governs or the decisions taken by those who do. Citizens can be classified by both the extent and the forms of their involvement” (Hague & Harrop, 2007, p.165). From this view, the existence of democratic regimes is associated with the high percentage of political participation by the individual in society. Political participation is vital because every person may have a chance to be involved in the decision-making process by influencing the people in power. Political participation can be performed through the attending to elections in both general, local and presidential or the ratio of turnout, referendum (is a kind of direct democracy to the decision-making process), social movements, demonstrations, or non-governmental organizations activities for affecting the policy-making of the governments (Sakwa & Steven, 2006 and Hague & Harrop, 2007).

Political participation is also useful in forming public opinion. The general definition of public opinion is the public’s idea about a specific topic or issue (O’Connor and Sabato, 2006). In this context, public opinion is generally the total of the individual attitudes and opinions of the mostly adult population in the society. More importantly, the common public opinion has the capability to form the policy-making by influencing the government (Kraft and Furlong, 2007).

Public opinion can also be explained as; “the range of views on some controversial issue held by some significant portion of the population or ‘the informed judgment of a community on an issue of common concern, where that judgment is formed in the context of shared political goals’” (Qualter, 1991, p.511). This theoretical explanation helps to understand the effects of public opinion on the getting power in politics. This is because political actors try to shape a positive public opinion about themselves that acquires support and votes from their citizens. In other words, political actors try various ways to influence the individuals in the society for their own interests and benefit, and while doing so they use the power of the media. In today’s world, doing this has become easier with developing communication networks, mostly through social media platforms.

The formation of public opinion is also another crucial element in politics for both getting support from the voters and continuity of his/her powerful position. The formation of public opinion has a great effect on the benefit of political actors. The composition of public opinion depends on effective communication skills, electoral campaigns, speeches, and powerful media propaganda. The media’s effect on the formation of public opinion cannot be denied. Media reporting of an event or topic is vital in the sense of the structural context of public opinion (Copeland & Copsey, 2017; Baum & Potter, 2019). Historically, the relationship between media and public opinion has been examined by various scholars. Among these scholars, Walter Lippmann, Harold Lasswell, and Paul F. Lazarsfeld stand as the pioneers of political communication (Kaid, 2004). Walter Lippman’s book *Public Opinion* (1921) focused on the formation of public opinion through media, especially, newspapers at that time (Part VII). Harold Lasswell (1927) is a political scientist who investigated propaganda and propaganda tools in politics. Harold Lasswell wrote his book ‘*Propaganda*

Techniques in the World War' (1927). He concentrated on the propaganda analysis for manipulating and activating people during the elections.

Parallel to this, Paul Lazarsfeld (1940) believed in the tradition of empirical data and surveys. For that reason, he made substantial research on public opinion (Lazarsfeld, 1957). He had made research in Erie County in Ohio (1940) during the presidential election, in 1940 for testing the media power or media effect on voting behaviour. In order to do this, he interviewed 600 voters for a long time. The study offered three types of information; the first one “the kind of material which comes from a regular public opinion poll, with the distinction that more detailed questions than usual were asked”, and the second one “information on the same respondents obtained at different time periods”, the third one “the detailed reasons of those people who changed their vote intention” (Lazarsfeld, 1944, p.317-318). At the end of the research in Erie County, propaganda reinforces the vote intentions of decided voters approximately 50% of the voters. However, the campaign is crucial in the sense of activating the people who are undecided or have tendencies (Lazarsfeld, 1944).

Later on, Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Bernard Berelson, and Hazel Gaudet's book 'The People's Choice' (1944) focused on Erie County research again and claimed that media is important but there is another factor for determining the voting behaviour that is 'personal influence'. Moreover, the 'Personal Influence' (1955) book was written by Paul. F. Lazarsfeld and Elihu Katz. They developed a 'two-step flow of theory' from the data in Decatur. According to the Two-Step Flow Theory, opinion leaders have existed in society and their information flow is crucial in influencing individuals. In other words, opinion leaders have the capacity to influence society in forming

views. The messages pass from the media via the opinion leaders to their followers (Baran and Davis, 2012).

Furthermore, John Zaller (1992) has substantial research on the mass media's influence on the formation of public opinion. He is best known for his book 'The Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion' (1992) and he focuses on the formation of public opinion is highly related to the political elites' influence. In other words, changes in public opinion were because of the influence of political elites. In his book, he tries to explain the dynamics of public opinion, basically, how it occurs in society and how public opinion changes over time. Additionally, he concentrates on what forces drive public opinion. From this point, political actors' speeches and discourse have a great impact on the formation of public opinion about an event or an issue. In relation to this study, the discourse of politicians is accepted as political elites' messages. The candidates' messages and discourse have been significant during the election period in the presidential election of North Cyprus in 2020, principally, on the formation of specific themes such as Covid-19, Varosha, and intervention claims. The candidates' discourse has been placed on their individual social media accounts and also reflected on print media. This issue is elaborated on in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6 in detail. Moreover, the role of public opinion in the formation of policy-making is vital. The power of media in forming public opinion is undeniable (Lazarsfeld, 1957).

The power of public opinion was also strengthened by the Scottish philosopher David Hume who stated that "all governments rest public opinion" (in İrvan, 2004, p.274). In this context, John Locke emphasized the power of public opinion and advocated that there is no person who can continue his/her existence when public opinion turns against them (İrvan, 2004).

2.2 Communication as a Discipline

The communication word comes from the Latin word ‘communicare’ and its meaning of sharing or imparting (Peters, 1999). According to Martin Andersen (1959), communication “‘is the process by which we understand others and in turn, endeavour to be understood by them. It is dynamic, constantly changing and shifting in response to the total situation’’ (Andersen, 1959, p.183).

A variety of meanings are attached to the word, communication, and thus it is a term that is difficult to explain with one sentence or one meaning. The history of communication is as old as the history of humanity. Communication is a need for human beings in order to continue their existence in society. There are about 200 definitions of communication (Aziz, 2021). In this regard, Dance and Larson studied all definitions of communication during the 1970s. After their search, they found 126 different definitions from different scholars. These are mainly composed by Bernard Berelson and Gary A. Steiner, (1964) “Communication: the transmission of information, ideas, emotions, skills, etc., by the use of symbols—words, pictures, figures, graphs, etc. It is the act or process of transmission that is usually called communication” (Berelson and Steiner, 1964, p.254). Additionally, George Gerbner (1970) defines communication as ‘social interaction through messages’ (Aziz, 2021, p.28).

According to Fiske (1990), communication is a human activity and communication can be done by talking to another, through the TV for spreading information, and even can be done through hairstyles. Communication is central to our culture and the study of communication embraces the study of culture and how it is integrated into our lives.

Basically, communication is the social interaction through messages (Fiske, 1990, p.1-2).

According to Williams, (2003) John Dewey states that communication is fundamental for human behaviour (Williams, 2003, p.31). John Dewey's definition of "communication is a process and within this process, individuals and groups of people understand each other, so, they accept others'" ideas although differences each other (Williams, 2007, p.32). However, the general definition of communication is a human activity that includes sharing and exchanging information, ideas, thoughts, and news.

The media theorist James Carey (1992) defines communication in his book 'Communication as Culture' as "a symbolic process whereby reality is produced, maintained, repaired and transformed" (Carey, 1992, p.23).

Furthermore, there are various major elements in the communication process. These are sender, message, channel, receiver, feedback, and context (Aziz, 2021). Additionally, there are many types of communication. These are fundamentally composed of verbal communication, non-verbal communication, and written communication. Verbal communication involves that messages are transmitted verbally. On the contrary, non-verbal communication includes messages or information transfer done through body language such as facial expressions, eye contact or posture, etc. Written communication is more formal rather than the other two types. It comprises writing through letters, reports, posters, and so on (Aziz, 2021 and Güngör, 2013).

According to the context of communication, the types of communication can be classified as; intrapersonal communication, interpersonal communication, group communication, public communication, mass communication, organizational communication, intercultural communication, and international communication (Aziz, 2021).

Historically, the communication models have been explained by many scholars; Harold Lasswell (1948) tried to explain media messages by asking this question: “Who says what in which channel with what effect?”. Harold Lasswell’s work had been found useful in the field of political propaganda and its effects (Tekinalp & Uzun, 2013 and Güngör, 2013). Additionally, Claude Shannon and Warren Weaver’s (1949) model focused on how eliminating the noise during telephone waves. Their model is mostly based on technical problems during the communication process (Tekinalp and Uzun, 2013).

George Gerbner (1956) concentrated on his model mostly asking about how the messages are formed and controlled. His model asks the question “what the message is about?”. In this line, he also examines the messages sent by who? and what is their perspectives? (Güngör, 2013, p.68). Additionally, Theodore Newcomb’s (1953) model is known as ABX Model. His model highlighted the role of communication in society and social relations. Moreover, this model suggests social equilibrium in social relations (Tekinalp and Uzun, 2013).

Communication has a significant place in every level of our lives; therefore, interaction with politics emerged as a new field of study; political communication. In other words,

the interaction between politics and communication has developed throughout history as a field of study.

2.2.1 Political Communication as a Discipline

Political communication has been attractive in the academic field. This is because politics is related to communication for gaining citizens' vote in elections both local and national. Political communication is the role of communication in the political process. In this sense, Kinder (1994) argues that political communication' policies target voters' minds and hearts (Schemer, 2012). Furthermore, the relationship between media and democracy become more interesting in the field of political science and media studies.

Historically, Ancient Greek philosophers, particularly, Plato and Aristoteles elaborated on democracy in Ancient Greece. Later, mostly monarchy system ruled over in Europe. Following the Renaissance and reforms particularly, the French Revolution in 1789, the feudal system gradually is replaced by republican governments. On the other hand, this brought democratic origins to Europe and candidates started to struggle for more votes. All these efforts, at the first quarter of the 20th century, parallel to developments in media formed a new field called political communication. Moreover, the elections became the most important thing for democracy. Political leaders/politicians should have implemented a good political communication strategy to be successful in the elections.

Pippa Norris (2015) defines political communication as an “interactive process considering the transmission of information among politicians, the news media, and the public. This process goes from governing institutions to the citizens and goes horizontally among political actors. Later, it continues upward from public opinion

toward authorities’’ (Norris, 2015, p.342). Moreover, Pippa Norris is regarded as one of the most successful academicians in the field of political communication. She was awarded the Doris Graber book award for ‘A Virtuous Circle: Political Communications in Post-industrial Studies’ (2000) and was honoured as the best book in political communication in 2006 (see librarything.com). Additionally, Pippa Norris’s book (1999) ‘On Message: Communicating the Campaign’ is significant in terms of election campaigns by focusing on the impact of television and print media during the British General Election in 1997.

Political communication takes upon various meanings. Political communication is an interdisciplinary field of study and includes scholars from a diversity of backgrounds, especially, political science, mass communication, sociology, journalism, and social psychology (Matthes, 2012). Furthermore, political communication advances its activities in the public sphere and its message’s aim is to make an impact on public opinion (Lopez-Garcia and Pavia, 2019). Additionally, Brian McNair (1999, p.3-4) explains political communication as “purposeful communication about politics”. According to Steven H. Chaffee (1975), political communication is the “role of communication in the political process” (Kaid, 2004, p.xiii). In addition, political communication is a type of communication that aims to strengthen specific ideological aspects in the society purposely put by political actors for their political interests (Aziz, 2003).

Political communication has a long history. It dates back to ancient Greece where a ‘democratic’ state was claimed, and citizens had the right to participate in the governance of the country. In line with the ‘speeches’ delivered in the Senate, Aristoteles drew attention to the ‘rhetoric’- the art of influencing and convincing

others. When concentrating on the earlier times, Ancient Greek philosopher Aristoteles (1962 edn), offered systematic viewpoints and analysed rhetorical techniques that were used by orators in speeches and tried to affect their audience in the assembly in the ancient Athens (Hague and Harrop, 2007). According to Aristoteles, politics is a social activity, always a dialogue not a monologue (Heywood, 2011).

The main contribution of Aristoteles to the field is rhetoric (Hague and Harrop, 2007). Rhetoric includes the concepts of ethos, logos, and pathos for persuasion. His ideas called as 'Aristo model'. Ethos comes from the word ethics and is related to character. It is based on who the message comes from? Is s/he reliable or not? The ethos includes a message-driven by a reliable person that many people may believe. Additionally, logos' aim is to affect people's logic by offering realistic explanations or reality for convincing people. Pathos focuses on emotions and the aim is to influence targeted people and trigger their fear, love, and trust feelings for convincing them. These three concepts are used by politicians during political communications, especially, rhetoric and public speech to take support from the people (Aziz, 2021).

Both politics and communication have the tendency to expand their existence in social spaces. Politics performs through its organizing and the regulatory principle of society such as legal regulation, the administration, structuring of the public sphere, and using the coercive power of the state. On the other hand, communication performs through the multiplication of media and devices designed to transfer messages (Lopez-Garcia & Pavia, 2019). Moreover, Scheufele (2014) claims that political communication is regarded as science communication.

The relationship between media and politics has always been an important research area (Norris, 2014; Castells 2009, Habermas, 1962). The relationship between mass media relations and politics is one of the main features of modern media systems (Ciaglia, 2013). To understand what is political communication, firstly, politics and communication are elaborated on separately.

Political communication always has been the main concern of the political actors, political parties, governments, and actors in political issues. When looking at the stages of it, the earliest times of campaigning were face-to-face communication among party members and people. On the other hand, at the outset of the 21st century campaigns changed. The communication turned to the mass media.

Political communication patterns are highly affected by technology. Mass media developed over time and political communication formed on the ground of technological advancements. Throughout the development of technology in the 20th century, the use of mass media improved and spread throughout the world. Traditional mass media includes newspapers, radio, TV, etc. At the end of the 20th century, through the development of Internet technology, digital media developed and provided means for not only personal communication but also groups and mass communication.

Mass media is associated with the production of standardized information and entertainment products and the distribution of them to large audiences (Wilson, 1994). In this sense, the media surround us in our everyday lives with radio, television, newspapers, the Internet, magazines, and so on (Croteau, Hoynes, Milan, 2012). From this perspective, mass media has an impact on individuals per se and society at large. In line with this, mass media has a direct impact on interest areas for politicians and

politics. Thus, political communication has become more visible in this century with the help of technological developments and became a significant tool for politicians, political parties, and their election campaigns (Anduiza, Cantijoch, & Gallego, 2009).

Communication through mass media has improved fast with the developing technologies. The mass media includes newspapers, radio, TV, film, and digital media in today's media. According to Gurevitch, Coleman, and Blumler (2009), the technological developments caused a division of media into old and new media). The scholars divided mass media into two, old media (traditional) and new media (digital media) (Wilson, 1994).

Moreover, the mass media are also affected by the restrictions of legal and informal political pressures, and economic forces that form the media industry. Additionally, the media's influence is real and irrefutable in the political world and the media are an important actor in politics (Croteau, Hoynes, & Milan, 2012). Hence, political communication cannot be performed without media in this era, especially, with the digitalization of media in today's world.

The power of media has always been discussed in social science, particularly, in politics and public administration. Generally, it is accepted that the media is the fourth power in the government after the legislative, executive, and judiciary in democratic countries. This idea was firstly used by Lord Thomas Babington Macaulay for newspapers/press in the late 18th century in his book 'Hallam: Constitutional History' (1828) according to Robert Park, 1960. This idea still conserves the importance of social sciences. Social media's instruments seem to be a public sphere and it can be

accepted as democratic because each people may demonstrate their ideas and concerns on their social media account.

Manuel Castells (2000) argues that the media have become the place for politics. People receive their information, based on which they form their political opinion and structure their behaviour, through the media and particularly television and radio. The 'fourth estate' or 'the guardians of the public sphere' have over time become increasingly converted into industries, wholly oriented towards the profit motive, just another business held by some conglomerate, bringing about the commercialization versus social responsibility debate. His view of the situation of media needs to discuss in the sense of democracy. In this regard, Castells (2007) claims that politics is primarily media politics and the political communication done by the media for gaining the support and people may consumers in the political market.

However, political communication helps improve democratic origins. When concentrating on the meaning of democracy can be defined as 'government by the people' or 'majority rule' (McLean and McMillan, 2003, p. 139). Democracy involves constitutional government, the rule of law, political freedoms, civil rights and liberties, fair and competitive elections, and an independent legislature and judiciary (Srebrink, 2004, p.330). More public participation indicates democratic values' existence in the current system. Additionally, political participation publications increased in the sense of technology, specifically, the Internet, based on the political activity of the general public according to scholars such as Bimber (2001); Castells (1997); Davis (1999); van de Donk (2004); Norris (2001); Sunstein (2003), Anduiza, Cantijoch & Gallego, (2009). This is an imperative reason for studying in this field. New technology revealed the effects of the Internet on the based-on-call activity in developed countries

and industrial societies. From this viewpoint, the Internet changed political campaigns and changed the cost structure of participation; moreover, it also led to raise in the spectrum of possible political activities (Anduiza, Cantijoch, & Gallego, 2009).

2.3. Political Communication and Mass Media

Political communication can be explained as the process building resulting from the interaction between political actors, media, and citizens (Lopez-Garcia and Pavia, 2019). Political communication researchers investigate the relationship between political actors, media, and citizens. When concentrating as a tool of political communication, it always has been the main concern of the political actors, political parties, government, and actors in political issues. In other words, political parties' history is also the history of political communication. As it is known, communication is a fundamental political activity that provides chances to educate, inform, manipulate and persuade. Kinder (1994) asserts that political communication policies targeted voters' minds and also their hearts and research indicated that political advertisements are the reaction of voters in the sense of emotional way according to many scholars (Brader, (2005); Chang, (2001); Lang, (1991); Thorson, Christ, and Caywood (1991); Schemer, (2012), p.415). Political communication includes both verbal and non-verbal means of signification (Savigny, 2002). In this respect, the relationship between politics and communication formed a new area: political communication. Political communication is directly related to politics and communication interaction. Political communication is an interactive process regarding the dissemination of information among politicians, media, and society. Political communication is an inevitable part of political elections campaigns, political atmosphere, and democracy. Political communication has become a universal reply of political parties in our decade (Negrine and Lilleker, 2002).

Political communication is specifically used as a tool by political parties, politicians, and political actors. They effectively use the language of convincing the voters and mass media tools in today's world. When looking at the periods of it, the earliest times political campaigning was performed through face-to-face communication between political actors and the voters or radio speech. However, in the modern era when 20th-century campaigns changed drastically. Political communication shifted from face to face with the mass media, especially, television (Römmele, 2003, p.8). Television brought politics into the home and contributed to the growth of the awareness of audiences to the public (Gurevitch, Coleman, and Blumler, 2009).

Political parties concentrate on communication techniques and their members had become more professionalized (Negrine and Lilleker, 2002). Politics relies on socialized communication for influencing people's minds. The main channel of communication between the political system and people is the mass media and particularly, TV. More importantly, the media forms an articulated system in which the print press produces original information, TV diffuses to a mass audience and radio customizes the interaction (Bennett, 1990).

Therefore, political communication improved very systematically to affect people's awareness and attention in modern democracies. More importantly, Kinder (1994) argues that other previous research showed that the political campaign in the communication process aimed to affect the voters' emotions (Schemer, 2012). In fact, it is a very clear issue that political parties make effective campaigns for attracting voters and getting support from them, however, the main issue is how political communication evolved and produces in various ways, and language effectiveness and reach process are developed rapidly. When concentrating on the new technologies,

newspapers are losing their readers, and audiences for TV are decreasing because of the rapid growth of the Internet (Gurevitch, Coleman, & Blumler, 2009).

According to Farrell (2001), there are mainly three ages in political communication which are 'the Newspaper age', 'the Television age', and 'the Digital age' (Negrine and Lilleker, 2002, p.306).

Jay Blumler and Dennis Kavanagh (1999) assert that political communication has three phases in the post war period in modern democracies after Second World War. The first phase was accepted as the political parties' communication according to Janda & Colman (1998). In this period, the political systems of the countries are the most important source of debate and activities for social reform. There were three main characteristics of this period. The first one is that most political messages were direct. The politicians/political leaders have the tendency to talk about the topics that are associated with them such as the topics they wanted to change in government and change opposite sides. The second one is that messages are seen on the mass media clearly. The third one is that most of the voters reply accordingly via selectivity and reinforcement (Blumler and Kavanagh, 1999).

The second phase started in the 1960s with the television and there were limited-channel nationwide. It can be said that television had become the main medium of political communication. However, there are some criticisms such as party loyalty decreased. There was a reduction in the frequency of selective patterns of exposure to party propaganda because a medium of even-handed news and financial power affected political communication. TV enlarged its effect on the audience and message flows (Blumler and Kavanagh, 1999).

In the third phase, when happening any important issues, they are expected politicians to tell the media what is happening and inform society. In the case of journalists, the news circulation has sped up and it is occurred a competition among journalists who will take the story first within their media mediums (Blumler and Kavanagh, 1999).

According to Pippa Norris (2000), mass media help political knowledge in a positive way that she expresses the ‘practical knowledge’ that facilitates people easily connect their political and social preferences to the obtainable options (Norris, 2000, p.12). In this respect, Pippa Norris (2000) divided political communication into the eras in the sense of the changes in the structure and organization of party campaigns. Era before modernity, which is called the ‘pre-modern’ era, campaign organizations rely on the direct form of interpersonal communication between candidates and voters at the constituency level (Norris, 2000, p.3). In this era’s campaigns, local party volunteers chose the candidates, rang the doorbells, posted the pamphlets, targeted the wards, and planned the resources. After the radio usage, these patterns started to change in the early 1920s. The partisan-leaning press acted as the main intermediary between politicians and the public in the news media. It started to be strong loyalties (Norris, 2000).

The second era, in the period from the late 1950s to the late 1980s, was named as “the era of domination of modern campaigns”. These are defined as party organizations coordinated closer relation at the national level by politicians and press officers at the central office, advising from external professional media consultants, opinion pollsters, and advertising masters. It also includes active planning and policy presentations within their official campaigning. During this period, campaigns performed news agenda on news and the press such as press conferences, policy

launches, leadership tours, party election broadcasts, and key leadership speeches to make an effect on a relatively small group of editors, producers, and journalists who were the key gatekeepers in a limited range of national newspapers and TV studios (Norris, 2000).

In the third era, in the mid-1990s, political communication evolved as post-modern campaigns, and political parties became pro-active, coordinated, and systematic in news management and targets in the elections. New information technologies, particularly, the use of the Internet, as well as the use of techniques like ‘town-hall meetings’, daily tracking polls, and focus groups, are gradually facilitating more interactive formats between the news media, parties, and the public. Hence, it caused newspaper-party linkages are weakening, as the press responds to a more autonomous ‘media logic’ of sales, rather than traditional political loyalties (Norris, 2000, p.4).

2.3.1 Research into Political Communication

The research in the field of political communication embraces political actors (politicians, parties), intermediary actors (PR agencies, media strategists, spin-doctors), media actors (news organizations, journalists), and the public/electorate (Semetko, De Vreese, & Peter, 2001).

The relationship between politics and communication, there are main theories in the field of Communication and Media Studies that are associated directly with political communication. The present study has taken into consideration explaining research on political communication starting with the following names. In this regard, the Propaganda Technique in the World War by Harold Lasswell (1927), Walter Lippman’s (1921) views on public opinion, People’s Choice (1944) by Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Agenda-Setting Theory by Maxwell McCombs and Donald L. Shaw

(1972), and Public Sphere by Jürgen Habermas (1962 & 1991), Social Capital by Robert Putnam (1993) and Manuel Castells's Network Society: A Cross-Cultural Perspective (2004) and Networks of Outrage and Hope: Social Movements in the Internet Age (2015) are valuable research in both Politics and Communication.

The political communication process relies on strong propaganda aiming at affecting the voters and getting votes from the people. When focusing on propaganda, political communication involves propaganda for attracting people's votes. In other words, "Propaganda is communication by an organization which seeks to promote support for its cause by influencing the attitudes and especially the behaviour of a large number of people" (Hague and Harrop, 2007, p.138). In this regard, communication is a political activity and provides opportunities to educate, inform, manipulate and persuade (Hague and Harrop, 2007). Joseph Schumpeter (1943) claims that the matter of mass media's relationship with politics is framed with the idea of 'propaganda' and fear of its effect on mass society in his Capitalism, Socialism, Democracy's study (Street, 2005, p.19).

In Communication and Media Studies, the study of propaganda started firstly with Harold Laswell, (1927). According to him, propaganda is the management of collective attitudes by the manipulation of significant symbols and includes an attitude to act according to certain patterns of valuation (Lasswell, 1927). Lasswell claims that politics is the study of influence and argues that political propaganda is used for supporting political objectives (Lasswell, 1936). Furthermore, the usage of media for propaganda has been a popular research topic ever since Lazarsfeld used it in the USA in the first half of the 20th century until today in the field of Communication and Media Studies (Ateş, 2000).

Paul F. Lazarsfeld and his colleagues at the Bureau of Applied Social Research made a study (1940-1960) about the role of mass communications in the decision-making in the 'The People's Choice to Personal Influence' (1944), especially, focused on the sense of the changes in public opinion (Katz, 1987). In this context, Paul Lazarsfeld searched and scientifically examined the mass media tools on the effects of voters during the 1940 and 1944 American Presidential elections in his book *People's Choice to Personal Influence* together with Bernard Berelson and Hazel Gaudet and published in 1948.

Moreover, Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Robert K. Merton (1948) claim that the media has narcotizing functions and impacts on the practice of democracy: "modern media may encourage citizens to know more, even to be more opinionated, but to do less about public affairs" (Tuchman, 1988, p.604). From that perspective, media is not only criticized in the sense of harming the democracy but also suggested people are narcotized (being without reaction) by the media, prevented from realizing and thinking about public affairs. It may be argued that media may cause to be people apolitical towards public issues.

One of the important criticisms about media comes from Noam Chomsky and Edward Herman (1988). They developed a theory called the 'Propaganda Model' and explained their ideas in the book 'Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media'. However, this theory is different from others; this is because, it consists of highly media criticism in the USA. Particularly, this criticism concentrates on media ownership, the flow of the news media, and elite domination of the media. Their book highlighted media coverage of the Vietnam War in the USA. The media coverage of the USA press is ultimately criticized in this book, particularly, the support

of media in the USA towards the Vietnam War (Williams, 2003). From this view, the Propaganda Model by Chomsky and Herman is based on the origin of the Critical perspective towards mainstream media in the USA.

It cannot be denied that the media is always influential in the process of the elections in the light of the propaganda. In addition to this, democracy and media have a close relationship because if it is possible media is free from all pressure groups, so, there is a democratic regime in that country. For that reason, it is imperative to search how media and social media work with the election process.

Political propaganda started to be important after emerging democratic states during the 20th century. These started with face-to-face communication and continued with media including radio, TV, and social media platforms such as Twitter, Facebook, and Instagram.

Historically, the first use of mass media tool for propaganda radio was used by Adolf Hitler and Joseph Goebbels in Germany during the Second World War (1939-1945) for convincing and believing that war is necessary and beneficial for the German people. Apparently, the newspapers are also used as political propaganda tools in politics but the first electronic mass media tool was the radio effectively used in WW2 (Oskamp, 1991).

Later, TV became an important tool for political propaganda, especially, the speeches and discussions by political actors in the 1960s. TV gave politicians the opportunity to make their own propaganda and increase their popularity. There are significant studies on the use of TV for political propaganda. According to Blumler and Kavanagh (1999),

TV became the dominant tool for political communication, especially in the USA and Europe. This is because the TV offers speeches by politicians, interviews, and broadcast discussions (Blumler and Kavanagh, 1999). For instance, John F. Kennedy makes his first live TV presidential press conference on 1961 (Baran and Davis, 2010). Furthermore, Gene Wyckoff's book (1968) 'The Image Candidates: American Politics in the Age of Television' is crucial in terms of TV and its usage by politicians for political aims.

There are influential studies about social media and political campaigns. Andrew Chadwick and Phillip N. Howard's (2009) book 'Handbook of Internet Politics' provides detailed information about the Internet and its effects on politics by offering comparative studies such as between the USA and Europe. In chapter 5 of this book, Andrew Chadwick and Nick Anstead focused on parties, election campaigning, and the internet by giving examples from the United States of America and the United Kingdom. Particularly, they pointed out the development of the Internet in election campaigns (Chadwick and Howard, 2009). Additionally, the studies on the formation of political participation on the Internet have increased in recent years. According to Anduiza, Cantijoch, and Gallego, (2009) the Internet allows establishing an atmosphere to form political mobilization. This mobilization can be explained as low-cost compared to other methods, for example, face-to-face communication or telephone contact. Moreover, the Internet offers to send mail or write comments on online platforms and websites. The Internet allows to form of online mobilization and enables a positive effect on mobilization (Anduiza, Cantijoch, & Gallego, 2009). From this perspective, the usage of the Internet, especially, social media platforms enable advantages both for politicians and voters. This is because, politicians may have more chances to talk about their plans, projects, or promises and may get more direct

reactions or answers from their potential voters. On the contrary, the voters or citizens have a more flexible environment on social media in terms of declaring their concerns about social, political, or economical situations.

According to Stieglitz and Xuan (2013), social media have an important impact on public discourse and communication in society. Their attention concentrates on mostly microblogging services; Twitter and the social network site; Facebook. More clearly, these platforms offer advantages for political actors. Twitter enables its users to spread information and declare their political opinions through their networks publicly. Moreover, Facebook started to use pages or groups for providing direct dialogs with citizens and to form a more political discussions environment (Stieglitz and Xuan, 2013).

2.4 Agenda-Setting Theory

Plato's observation says that "those who tell the stories also rule society" (Hague and Harrop, 2007, p.130). This idea evolved and was used by media organs to focus on specific issues and Agenda-Setting Theory was developed (McCombs and Shaw, 1972). Agenda-Setting Theory is another theory related to media and politics. The Agenda-Setting theory is important for analysing the role of the media in politics. The Agenda-Setting theory is based on that the media do not tell people what to think, however, media tell what to think about to people (McCombs and Shaw, 1972). Max McCombs and Donald Shaw (1972) conducted their first study with Walter Lippmann's idea that the information that came from the news media, plays an important role in the construction of our pictures' reality (McCombs and Raynolds, 2008). Hence, it could be said that McCombs and Shaw (1972) make a significant study by considering Walter Lippmann's idea that asserts that media have great effects

on building the realities in people's minds. Additionally, McCombs and Shaw's research embraces the testing of whether media offers an agenda as showing the important issues for making a political effect on the undecided people during the 1968 presidential campaign in the USA. Therefore, some issues are shown in the news as more important and people observe that these issues need to think more about and they are more important issues. McCombs and Shaw called this effect Agenda-Setting (McCombs and Shaw, 1972). They conducted their research among a sample of randomly selected undecided voters and asked what they thought were the key issues of the day, without looking at what candidates said in Chapel Hill, North Carolina (1968). They cited as the explanation for minimal effects (McCombs and Shaw, 1972).

According to Agenda-Setting Theory, media focuses on specific news and gives them a more significant position to the public. In this context, the Theory claims that the media does not say what to think but it gives the public what they will think about. It can be argued that media forms the public debate. According to their Chapel Hill research, undecided voters are affected from the media or press and they thought some issues are important given by the media as important issue (McCombs and Shaw, 1972).

The Agenda-Setting process first starts with the formation of the media agenda, this affects the public, and thus the public agenda is formed (Kaid, 2004). Agenda-Setting Theory found a place outside the USA as well. In Spain, in the city of Pamplona during the spring of 1995, they searched for six major concerns about the public agenda with local news coverage showing a high degree of correspondence (Canell Llamas and Rey, 1996). In addition, in Germany, Brosius and Keplinger (1990) researched national public opinion patterns during 1986, they did weekly comparisons of the

public and media agendas showing that TV news coverage had an important effect on public concerns such as the country's energy supply. Agenda-Setting Theory is still influential in forming discussions and topics during the elections in providing benefits for political parties, politicians, and media owners.

2.5 Social Capital by Robert Putnam

Studies on the concept of social capital have increased rapidly in recent years. These studies consisted of different disciplines such as economics (Antoci, Sabatini, and Sodini, 2013), education (Fearon, Nachmias, McLaughlin and Jackson, 2018), political science (Putnam, 1993 & 2000 and Norris, 2001), sociology (Bourdieu, 1986), and Internet (Neves, 2013).

The origins of the social capital concept go back to James Coleman's (1988) and Pierre Bourdieu's (1986) ideas. Moreover, the term social capital is firstly used by Ivan Light. His work 'Ethnic Enterprise in America' (1972) focused on the term social capital for analysing the problems of the economic development of the suburbs in the 1970s. Additionally, Glenn Loury is an important figure in terms of the social capital term. Her work 'A Dynamic Theory of Racial Income Differences' searched the determinants of different ethnic minorities' incomes and pointed out that social capital is vital to these differences (Harriss and De Renzio, 1997).

Pierre Bourdieu's definition of social capital is highly related to class struggles. His concept of social capital concentrates on conflicts, class struggles, and power. P. Bourdieu (1986) claims that social capital is the total of existing or potential resources related to existing, permanent networks on institutionalized relationships of interpersonal respect and acceptance. Bourdieu's (1980) original definition for social

capital is “the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition” (Bourdieu, 1980, p.2 and Coradini, 2010, p.566).

James Coleman (1988) defined his concept of social capital in his book ‘Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital’ (Coleman, 1988). James Coleman’s concept of social capital relies on sociological aspects and his concept is very popular in sociological studies. His definition of social capital is "it is not a single entity but a variety of different entities, with two elements in common: they all consist of some aspect of social structures, and they facilitate certain actions of actors-whether persons or corporate actors- within the structure " (Coleman, 1988, p.98). Furthermore, Coleman focuses on social capital “as the public good and its benefits that are related to all people involved in a social structure” (Torche and Valenzuela, 2011, p.183). James Coleman (1988) believes that social capital can increase the role of the community by strengthening social bonds and norms of behaviour.

However, since this study is about political communication, Robert Putnam’s concept of social capital studies was taken into consideration. Firstly, it is useful to explain Robert Putnam’s views about media and politics. Robert Putnam is the main scholar that concentrates on the relationship between the media and political science from a pluralist perspective in his own book *Bowling Alone* (2000). The main idea of this ideology relies on the erosion of social capital and the destruction of civic engagement. According to Putnam, mass media is responsible for this crime in society. In *Bowling Alone*, Putnam (2000) states that political participation and the forms of civic engagement decreased in the USA with the support of data and the main suspect for

this situation is mass media. He makes a real criticism of media and its effects on the social capital in the community.

Robert Putnam's work, '*Social Capital*' (1993) points out that trust, norms, and networks facilitate social co-ordination and co-operation for mutual benefits. In this regard, Putnam concentrates on "forms of trust and 'informal institutions' (norms, conventions, unwritten codes of behaviour) assisting through recent scholarships that search to look beyond formal institutions (constitutions, legal codes) and organisational forms (parliaments, political parties) to clarify the probability of establishing or consolidating democracy in the developing world" (Putnam, 1993, p. 163; Putzel, 1997, pp.939-940). More importantly, R. Putnam highlights that "informal norms and culture change more slowly than formal rules and tends to remold those formal rules " (Putnam, 1993, p.163).

According to Putnam (1993), social capital is referred to as 'features of social life networks, norms, and trust- that enable participants to act altogether more effectively to pursue shared objectives (Putnam, 1993, p.167). Putnam's concept of social capital has three constituents which are moral obligations and norms, social values (trust), and social networks (voluntary associations) (Putnam,1993, p.167). He contends that if a region has developed an economic system and has a high percentage of political integration, this is based on the result of that region's successful aggregation of 'social capital' (Putnam, 1993, p.183).

Robert Putnam (2000) advocates that citizen participation in social networks and voluntary organizations is important for life satisfaction, especially for democracy. Furthermore, citizen engagement causes individuals to raise their voices in the sense

of declaring their interests and demands to the government through the use of social networks. Therefore, this gives an opportunity for people to have their voices heard and acquire more inclusion.

Putnam's study 'Making Democracy Work' (1993) with Robert Leonardi and Raffaella Y. Nanetti, is based on the empirical study of civic traditions in the different regions in Italy for approximately 20 years. From a wider perspective, according to Putnam's 'Making Democracy Work' (1993), social networks of civic engagement produce a capacity of trust, reciprocity, and co-operation (social capital) that facilitate a healthy democracy. In this regard, the meaning of social capital means the features of social organizations such as networks, norms, and social trust that help to provide co-ordination and co-operation for mutual benefit.

According to Putnam (1993), trust is essential for people to work together and participate in civil society. When considering the relationship between participation and democracy, social capital has identified the significance of relationships for explaining participation. The social capital analysis is based on the claim that a pattern of formal and informal sociability develops relations of trust and reciprocity which then increase individuals' capacity to work together in collective action to resolve common problems. According to Putnam (1993), social capital is the networks of norms and social trust which allow people to cooperate of common shared objectives. According to Fukuyama and Putnam (1995), a higher level of trust would enhance the probability of working together. In a nutshell, this theory means that there should be trust among political leaders and citizens which develops the logic of political participation and the public sphere. Trust in society helps to improve political progress

and economic development (Putnam 2000). In complex modern societies, social trust can arise from norms of reciprocity and networks of civic engagement (Putnam, 1993).

Trust is crucial in determining to take place in civic engagement. Civic engagement is an indicator of democracy. Additionally, civic engagement (participation) is a vital part of social capital (Putnam, 1993). Civic engagement can take a variety of forms such as voter turnout, attending voluntary organizations, political participation, and social movements (popular movements). The voter turnout is an indicator of high democratic values that each people have an equal right to attend to the public policy. Political participation or citizen participation is regarded as a necessary condition for a cohesive society and helps to diminish social exclusion (Barnes, 1999). Social movements can be defined as people from outside the mainstream form social movements to achieve a common goal by posing an unorthodox challenge to the prevailing political order (Hague and Harrop, 2007).

Trust in societies is a vital driving force to raise political participation. Particularly, the loss of trust in politicians and politics is a threat to democracy. According to Christian Bjornskov (2021), civic honesty and social trust are significant concepts in politics. He defines the term ‘civic honesty’ as the degree to which most people adhere to widely accepted social norms such as honesty. Moreover, he explains social trust as the belief that the majority of other individuals will act in accordance with such norms (Bjornskov, 2021).

Putnam (1993) states that social capital may be regarded as more important rather than physical or human capital for sustaining political stability, government effectiveness, and economic progress. (Putnam, 1993). Accordingly, social capital can help to form

formal and informal sociability and develops relations of trust and reciprocity which then increase individuals' capacity to work together in collective action to resolve common problems (Putnam, 1993). In addition, the main feature of social capital is that it usually serves public goods and it usually serves private goods (Putnam, 1993).

Robert Putnam (2000) advocates that social capital is similar to civic virtue (Putnam, 2000) and is closely related to political participation. In his study, he clearly pointed out the importance of political participation for increasing democracy. Putnam (1993) stressed on the concept of civic culture and tried to explain its placement in democracy.

Robert Putnam (2000) also focuses on the types of social capital. He uses the term 'Bonding social capital' and 'Bridging social capital'. The bonding social capital refers to the relationship between family members and friends and these relations include strong social networks. The term "bonding social capital" refers to resources that can be expressed, such as social and emotional support (Lin, 2001 and 2005). On the one hand, 'bridging social capital' occurs in society and refers to a bridge between communities, groups, and organizations (Putnam, 2000). The 'bridging social capital' is related to less ties and is seen as important for economic development (Putnam, 2000).

Francis Fukuyama (2000) defines social capital as norms that strengthen cooperation among people. These norms seen in human relationships and trust, networks, and civil society are related to social capital (2000). Fukuyama highlights the issue of trust in communities, and he gives trust as the main part of social capital (Fukuyama, 2000). Moreover, he focuses on traditional culture and its components such as social groups for example tribes, clans, villages, associations, and religious sects. All of these are

based on norms that are useful for achieving cooperative acts. He advocates that social capital can be regarded as an asset and considered a liability (Fukuyama, 2000).

Accordingly, Ostrom (1997) states that social capital forms deal with “patterns of relationships, whether these patterns are constructed consciously or unconsciously”. According to Robert Putnam’s study (1993) about Italy, he states that the comparatively higher performance and capacity for engagement of local and regional government in Northern Italy can be directly correlated to the nature, vitality, and density of life in localities. The main significant point is the virtuous circle around social capital: “Stocks of social capital, such as trust, norms, and networks tend to be self-reinforcing and cumulative” (Putnam, 1993).

John Field’s works also hold an important place in relation to social capital theory. John Field’s book, ‘Social Capital’ (2008), examined definitions of Robert Putnam, Francis Fukuyama, James Coleman, Pierre Bourdieu, and Michael Woolcock.

Moreover, Nan Lin (2001) explains the social capital theory in his book ‘Social Capital’. A Theory of Social Structure and Action’ (2001). According to him, social capital is defined “as resources embedded in people’s social network, a resource that may be accessed or mobilized through connections within the network” (Lin, 2005, p.4). Add to this, Eric M. Uslaner focused on the relationship between social capital and television viewing in his article ‘Social Capital, Television, and the ‘Mean World’: Trust, Optimism and Civic Participation’ (1998). In his article, he clarified the importance of trust among people, and the trust ratio to other people decreased from 58% in 1960 to 35% in the mid-1990s in the USA. Uslaner (1998) pointed out that

people who trust others are more likely to get involved in voluntary organizations, so the loss of trust is strongly related to the decline in civic engagement (Uslaner, 1998).

Alejandro Portes (1998 and 2020) has also an important contribution to the literature on social capital theory. According to Portes, social capital can be defined as ‘a source of social control’, ‘a source of family support’, and ‘a source of benefits through extrafamilial (nonfamily) networks’ (1998, p.9 and 2020, p.2).

When concentrating on the definition from different scholars about social capital, it is seen as the importance of trust, networks with family and non-family members, public participation, and norms. In relation to this study, the concept of trust in politics/politicians, social networks, and public participation had been harmed by both Covid-19 and unexpected events (such as the partially opening of the Varosha) that occurred during the political communication process of the presidential election in North Cyprus, 2020. These are explicitly examined in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6.

The significance of social capital is increased in social sciences research in the last 30 years. Social capital research increased in the early 1990s and scholars’ interests increased for social capital (Rothstein and Stolle, 2003). This research diversity changes from politics to economics, sociology, health, and communication. There is a considerable body of research about Putnam’s social capital searched. Adalbert Evers (20003) focuses on the understanding of social capital and civic commitment from the perspective of Putnam’s idea. Bob Edwards and Michael W. Foley (1998) search the relationship between civil society and social capital with Putnam’s idea. In this respect, Lindy M. Edwards (2009) investigates social capital and civic culture. Melissa D. Dodd, John Brummette, and Vincent Hazleton (2015) search the social capital’s

relation to civic engagement and public relations roles. Social capital is also studied in Italy by various scholars on different topics. For example, Roberto Cartocci (2007) focuses on the relation of social capital to politics; Marco Carradore (2009) is interested in sociological aspects. In this line, Fabio Sabatini (2007) looks at social capital as social networks and economics.

In relation to the measurement of social capital, Putnam's '*Social Capital Index*' is crucial. According to Putnam's '*Social Capital Index*', there are five components for measurement which are Measures of Community Organizational Life, Measures of Engagement in Public Affairs, Measures of Community Volunteerism, Measures of Informal Sociability, and Measures of Social Trust (see Table 1). In relation to this study, it has been taken into consideration the second measure; 'Measures of Engagement in Public Affairs' composed of Turnout in the presidential election and attended the public meeting on town or school affairs in last year.

Table 1: Components of the Bowling Alone Social Capital Index (Putnam, 2000, p.40)

Measures of Community Organizational Life Served on committee of local organization in last year (percent) Served as officer of some club or organization in last year (percent) Civic and social organizations per 1,000 population Mean number of club meetings attended in last year Mean number of group memberships Measures of Engagement in Public Affairs Turnout in presidential elections, 1988 and 1992 Attended public meeting on town or school affairs in last year (percent) Measures of Community Volunteerism Number of nonprofit (501[c]3) organizations per 1,000 population Mean number of times worked on community project in last year Mean number of times did volunteer work in last year Measures of Informal Sociability Agree that "I spend a lot of time visiting friends" Mean number of times entertained at home in last year Measures of Social Trust Agree that "Most people can be trusted"

Agree that "Most people are honest"

2.6 The Presidential Elections in North Cyprus and Turnout Ratio

The presidential election in North Cyprus, 2020 is an issue that needs to be examined since it is the election with the lowest ratio of participation in history. This is because the turnout ratio decreased drastically during the presidential election in North Cyprus, 2020 compared to past elections, and attending meetings or face-to-face interaction diminished because of the appearance of Covid-19 on 10 March 2020.

In relation to this study, social capital is vital in terms of understanding the formation of social capital in this election. This is because the presidential election turnout ratio is the lowest ratio for all the times in North Cyprus. According to Putnam's (1993) theory for civic society (which can be said to control social capital to a large extent) may be characterized as civic employment, whereby citizens participate actively in the public field, following their interests in the wider framework of society by working together and recognizing the interests of others. Political equality means that the community is united through the relationships of cooperation and reciprocity, rather than the relationship of authority and reliance. People are engaged in the process of self-governing, pursuing norms of reciprocity, in the preparation of citizens having the ability to find increasing satisfaction in the operation of governance. Solidarity, trust, and tolerance: the citizens are dynamic and equal and they assist, respect, trust each other, and even though they hold different opinions, they can be tolerant of their opponents. Associations are 'social structures of cooperation': the norms and values of the civic community are integrated into distinct social structures and practices. These norms are important and need to be considered by politicians in North Cyprus

and should be preserved in all politicians' acts, behaviours, and discourse. The discourse of the politicians and political communication' language should be supportive of the social capital in North Cyprus. The presidential election' process (2020) is crucial for grasping the social capital erosion among Turkish Cypriots and the basic indicator of this, is the low participation in the polls as 58.22% in the first round whereas the second round was 67.29%. This ratio is the lowest participation in the presidential elections in North Cyprus' political life all over the time (Yenidüzen, 13.11.2020). When comparing the other elections, the participation was 62.34% in 2015 and that election accepted the lowest participation until that day. However, presidential elections in 2020 became the lowest turnout in North Cyprus. In this respect, the public participation in the presidential election was 76.37% in 2010 whereas, in the 2005 election, it was 69.58%.

In 2000, the public participation in the presidential election was 81.2%, this ratio was 85.13% in the presidential election in 1995. Most importantly, the highest participation in the election of all time was 93.48% in 1990 in North Cyprus. The ratio of participation in the 1985 election was 85.7% (Yenidüzen, 13.11.2020).

It can be argued that by looking at these percentages of participation, when passing the times showed a tendency to low participation in the polls. This reason may be regarded as the decreasing trust in the politicians, social capital erosion, and the preservation of the status quo which is not solving Cyprus issue and economic problems.

2.7 Jürgen Habermas and Public Sphere

Historically, there was a public sphere in classical Greece, but it was not until the 17th and 18th centuries in Europe with the development of capitalism, that it assumed a

more distinctive form. In that period, the state became the sphere of public authority that had a legitimate claim to the use of violence indeed. The modern state could be obviously separated from civil society both in a judicial and institutional way. Civil society, as different from the state, comprised the domain of commodity production and exchange, as well as the 'private' family. Between the realm of public authority and civil society there emerged the critical domain of the public sphere. The purpose of the public sphere is to enable people to reflect critically upon themselves and on the practices of the state. The public sphere developed initially out of coffee houses and salons where male members of the bourgeoisie, nobles, and intellectuals met to discuss works of literature (Stevenson, 2002).

The relationship between media, democracy, and the public sphere has been the subject of intensive and increasing academic research. The most influential thinking on the concept of what the public sphere is and why it is important has been made by the German philosopher Jürgen Habermas. Jürgen Habermas was a member of the Frankfurt School and the school comes from the legacy of critical thinking of the mass media (Benson, 2009). His idea was firstly defined and outlined in his *Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* (1962). Jürgen Habermas (1962) is a German sociologist and philosopher who said that the emergence of public sphere like coffee houses would enhance critical discussions of societal issues. The public sphere is an area in a society where individuals can come together to discuss societal issues, or the issues happening in the society. Therefore, these discussions have an impact on political actions. The public sphere can be described as a network of communicating information and points of view which is "reproduced through communicative action", argued by Habermas (1991). The principles of the public sphere, which evolved in the 17th and 18th centuries according to him, involved an open discussion of all issues of

general concern, where issues relevant to the public good could be subject to informed debate and examination. The public sphere, thus, presupposed freedom of speech and assembly, a free press, and the right to freely participate in political debate and decision-making (Habermas, 1991). The descriptive analysis gave a special space for the bourgeoisie class. This is because the bourgeoisie class opened the way for the formation of the public sphere and specifically focused on the 18th century in the sense of the sphere, the Enlightenment period of Europe, and features of media (Habermas, 1991). He asserts that the 'public sphere' was not directly related to the bourgeoisie class. According to Habermas, the public sphere is accepted as a domain of social life where public opinion can be formed (Habermas, 1991).

Habermas's public sphere includes private people come together as a public (Habermas, 1989). He described how was the public sphere was in Germany, Great Britain, and France during the 17th and 18th century and transformation from being a sphere where the rulers were showing their power (a representative public sphere), to becoming a bourgeois public sphere inhabited by the owner of the property and literate man discussing central social and cultural issues (Larsen, 2020). In this context, Habermas's ideas were also influenced by Karl Marx's criticism, especially, in the sense of the bourgeoisie class and the political public sphere. Habermas (1989) argued that Marx conceptualized the political public sphere sarcastic, and Marx criticized the bourgeoisie class/society in the sense of ownership and their public sphere's formation (Habermas, 1989). Habermas (1996) focuses on the relationship between the state and society in the sense of the public sphere and clarifies public sphere is a network for communicating information and points of view. Therefore, the public sphere is the main component of socio-political organization because it is the space where people come together as citizens and compose their independent views to make an impact on

the political institutions of society (Castells, 2008, p.78). Habermas's definition of 'public sphere' as the "domain of our social life in which such a thing as public opinion can be formed" (Habermas, 1991, p.398). Additionally, Habermas (1962) focused on the importance of the public in the functioning of democracy. The public sphere is vital to the progress of democracy in societies.

2.8 Political Communication in Old (Traditional) Media

In recent years, technological innovations have altered the media landscape such as cable television, satellites, fiber-optic technologies, computers, and mobile devices. These all formed significant changes in media products and formats. However, traditional media forms were altered into a digital format causes once-separate media to merge. For instance, books, newspapers, over-the-air radio, films, cable, and satellite television still continue their existence. Moreover, these once-separate media converged and is available in digital form over the Internet. The digital revolution also caused to transformation in the delivery of media content such as newspaper stories and television programs that may be delivered via the Internet to computers laptops, smartphones, and other devices (Croteau, Hoynes, & Milan, 2012). Therefore, political communication cannot be considered separate from these technological changes in the sense of content production and delivery by political actors and political parties.

When looking at the stages of it, the earliest times of campaigning were face-to-face communication among party members and people. On the other hand, at the outset of the 21st-century, campaigns changed. The mass communication started to be conducted through not only traditional media but also new media. When focusing on the new technological improvements, newspapers are losing their readers, and audiences for TV are decreasing due to the rapid growth of the Internet (Gurevitch, Coleman, &

Blumler, 2009). However, the placement of newspapers still preserves its position in politics, propaganda, and dissemination of the news in the communities.

Politicians were aware of the power of media for a long time. The print media is helpful for politicians and political parties' electoral campaign, but with the emergence of the broadcast media, politicians focused on to use it and saw the opportunities in the sense of influencing society. For instance, Herbert Hoover made a political campaign over the radio; Franklin Roosevelt preferred to use the radio to communicate with the public during the Depression times. Furthermore, Dwight Eisenhower used television for campaigns in 1952 and John Kennedy also made effective campaigns over television to make an effective influence on the voters. However, the Internet has started to use broadly in electoral campaigns ever since the 1996 election (Bimber 1998, Croteau, Hoynes, and Milan, 2012, p.221).

2.9 Political Communication in New (Social) Media

Social media influences what we think, experience, and practices 'online media' (Hinton and Hjorth, 2013, p.2). When concentrating on the relationship between social media and political parties or political actors, the usage of social media by political parties for electoral campaigning has become a subject of political communication research in the last years (Baxter and Marcella, (2012); Enli and Skogerbø, (2013); Groshek and Koc-Michalska, (2017); Jungherr (2016), Klinger (2013), Nielsen and Vaccari, (2013); Williams and Girish (2013). In this sense, communicating political issues has a significant role in political mobilization in the issue of building trust both in political actors and the government. Political actors build their messages by using cultural symbols and signs transmitted through devices (Susila, Dean, Yusof, and Wajdi, 2020). In relation to this, digitalization, computers, and the Internet facilitated

broad interactivity between media users and media content. Particularly, it permits users to reply to the question, customize media products and produce and share their own media content (Croteau, Hoynes and Milan, 2021). From this perspective, it offers the politicians means to spread their ideas and maintain interactivity at the same time with their potential voters and supporters. In this era, social media became the cornerstone for politicians to connect with the voters in a direct way (Grant, Moon & Grant, 2010). Moreover, social media platforms became the place of political discussions between politicians/political parties and voters (Hibbing, Ritchie, and Anderson, 2011).

Social media has become a place of interaction and contestation. According to Boulianne (2015), the ability to reach the public through Web 2.0 communication technologies for political parties and candidates in election campaigns is successful (Stetka, Surowic, and Mazak, 2019). Additionally, social media gained an increasing placement as a communication tool by both political parties and political actors for making connections with citizens and mobilizing voters in election campaigns (Stetka, Surowic, and Mazak, 2019). Furthermore, Chadwick (2013) states that with the rising of social media, a hybrid media system emerged.

The main motivation factor for using social media in election campaigns relies on some basic reasons (Enli and Skogerbø, 2013). The first reason is based on marketing and it enables the users to increase their visibility in the public. Moreover, social media marketing is more personal than traditional media. The second reason is mobilization. Social media helps to increase mobilization among people, especially, on Facebook and Twitter (Enli and Skogerbø, 2013). The third reason is that social media enable more dialogue between politicians and voters. These dialogues can take place to

engage with voters, get feedback on political issues, discuss politics on a more continuous basis and engage more voters than previous media outlets (Enli and Skogerbø, 2013).

In today's political communication, together with the technological improvements, the notion of propaganda and political communications has shifted into the new media instruments; social media usage effectively (Castells, 2000). The network society is accepted as a global society because there were not any boundaries (Castells, 2010). Social media presents an alternative public sphere, and it can be accepted as a democratic because each people may demonstrate their ideas and concerns on their social media account. It can be argued that social media played an open and discussion environment to discuss political affairs, political propaganda, and political communication.

Enli and Skogerbø (2013) point out that social media platforms, especially, Twitter and Facebook are the leading platforms for political campaigns and political communication tools for candidates (Enli and Skogerbø, 2013). Furthermore, some scholars claim that the Internet, social media, and Twitter have a great contribution to the continuity of democracy. These instruments have also been praised by democracy advocates for its ability to interact with average citizens (Carpenter, 2010). From a wider perspective, the influence of social media on the direct reflection of the public's views is crucial. The fact that each citizen expresses his or her opinion on political issues also contributes to the freedom of expression, which is a requirement for democracy.

Social media enable political actors to add their personal comments on news stories and the agendas of traditional media. Social media usage offered to add interpretation, correction, and make comments contesting the mass media versions of their public images (Enli and Skogerbø, 2013).

Particularly, Twitter and Facebook have a significant placement in the role of effective political communication and they are important instruments for political communication and are used by politicians and political parties. What is more, numerous studies have been conducted on social media and its political usage, for instance, Larsson and Moe's (2011) study 'Twitter in Politics and Elections in Scandinavia'; Lassen and Brown's (2011) study 'Twitter: The Electoral Connection?'; Hong and Nadler's (2011) study 'Social Media and Political Voices of Organized Interest Groups: A Descriptive Analysis'; Hinton and Hjorth's (2013) book 'Understanding Social Media; and Kaya and Alhajj's (2019) book 'Influence and Behavior Analysis in Social Networks and Social Media.

Facebook and Twitter enable candidates to reach citizens directly, mobilize supporters and influence the public agenda. These basic changes in political communication occurred with current election candidates with a broad range of strategic choices (Stier, Bleier, Lietz, and Strohmaier, 2018). Moreover, political actors such as including all levels from presidents to neighbourhood campaigners use social media platforms, especially, Facebook and Twitter as their primary means of communication. They are offering multimodal, cross-referencing, and interactive styles to the political communication genre. More importantly, they offer a variety of new ways for citizens to connect with politicians such as likes, shares, retweets, and follows, and they are all

became standard terms in the campaign lexicon (Lilleker, Koc-Michalska, Negrine, Gibson, Vedel, and Strudel, 2017).

2.9.1 Facebook's Usage in Political Communication

Facebook is an important instrument used in political communication by politicians and political parties. Facebook accounts are private and rely on one-way or reciprocal friendship contact (Stier, Bleier, Lietz, and Strohmaier, 2018). Facebook is a platform that is used for political discussions by both politicians and the public (Miller, Bobkowski, Maliniak, and Rapoport, 2015). Petty, Brinol, and Priester (2009) argue that Facebook presents credibility to politicians by offering a free political discussion atmosphere. From this perspective, this also provides a democratic environment while giving politicians the chance to express themselves directly to their voters. Additionally, the use of Facebook may give chance to politicians more interact with people and rise political engagement (Householder and LaMarre, 2014). Facebook posts are important for politicians in terms of sharing and disseminating their views with their potential voters (Sørensen, 2016). Another significant aspect of Facebook is based on the impact of political participation. There are numerous studies to indicate Facebook's significance on it. According to Kim and Chen (2016), there is a positive relationship between social media use and political participation. Moreover, Facebook has a vital role in increasing political consciousness (Vitak, Zube, Smock, Carr, Ellison, and Lampe, 2011). Moreover, Kushin & Yamamoto (2010) claim that Facebook has an impact on shaping political decision-making process.

Facebook is the most popular platform in terms of following the news in the USA (Matsa and Shearer, 2018). The effective usage of Facebook in politics started in the USA's presidential elections. Facebook usage for political purposes became more visible during the 2000 U.S.A presidential election (Bentivegna, 2002). Facebook was

actively used by Barack Obama in the 2012' political campaign as a tool for political communication (Gerodimos and Justinessen, 2015). Particularly, Barack Obama's campaign for the presidential election in 2012 on Facebook, it is used mostly rhetorical strategy and post content. Kienpointer (2013) argues that Barack Obama managed very successfully to incorporate logical argumentation into his political rhetoric and 'manoeuvring' to overcome the polarization of partisan discourse, therefore, it combined the normative ideal of logical deliberation with efficient persuasion (Gerodimos and Justinessen, 2015, p.114-116). This strategy is also explained with the Aristotelian model of rhetorical strategy (logos, ethos, pathos) and still is an acceptable tool for grasping political action in modern settings (Martin, 2013, Gerodimos & Justinessen, 2015).

2.9.2 Twitter's Usage in Political Communication

Twitter provides a significant platform for effective political communication all around the world. The posts, tweets, and retweets provide means for interaction among the political elites, journalists, and the public. The main significance of Twitter is that it is deeply interconnected with other spaces constructed by media coverage and campaign communication (Jungherr, 2015). Twitter is a microblogging service that permits its users to share post text messages with maximum of 140 characters, and these messages are called tweets (Jungherr, 2015). Twitter's flow of information and networking function facilitates political (self-) marketing opportunity and is accepted as the main factor for politicians when interacting with other people, particularly, at the institutional level (Frame, Mercier, Brachotte and Thimm, 2016). Moreover, Twitter is regarded as a more direct platform and provides direct communication between politicians and their voters. This maintains Twitter a potential of digital democracy atmosphere (Frame, Mercier, Brachotte, and Thimm, 2016).

On Twitter, most accounts are visible publicly and accessible even to non-registered audiences. Twitter usage is centred around topics and the retweet feature facilitates the diffusion of political information beyond the direct follower network via two-step flow processes (Wu, Hofman, Mason & Watts, 2011).

On the other hand, most accounts on Facebook are private accounts and its usage concentrates on one-way or reciprocal friendship ties. The diffusion of information goes less fluent through this medium because of the broad algorithmic filtering of contents. For this reason, the audience of Facebook posts includes people ‘liking’ a candidate’s page (Stier, Bleier, Lietz, & Strohmaier, 2018).

The United States of America (USA) can be shown as the leading country in the active use of Twitter in elections for political propaganda. Even government agencies use Twitter heavily to disseminate information (Bekafigo and McBride, 2013 and Schroeder, 2018). In this regard, the influence of social media in the 2016, USA presidential election was stronger than ever, leading to a loss of traditional media dominance on public opinion. In 2016, presidential election in the USA, Twitter became the most prominent tool for the election campaigns. Twitter was used effectively by candidates to state their ideas, attack each other, retweet endorsements, and persuade people to vote for themselves (Buccolerio, Bellio, Crestini, and Arkoudas, 2020). According to McCabe (2015), social media platforms, especially, Twitter and Facebook became the main platforms for political campaigns in the 2016 presidential election in the USA. Add to this, Kreiss and McGregor (2018) indicate that technology has become the tool in determining political communication in the USA. These technological instruments can be classified under the name Facebook, Twitter, Google, and Microsoft (Kreiss and McGregor, 2015). Moreover, Kreiss

(2016) identified the 2016 presidential election campaigning as technology-intensive campaigning.

In a nutshell, at the outset of the 21st millennium, among all social media, Twitter stands as the one that provides means for political discussion and participation. In other words, in line with Habermas' concept of public sphere (1991); some scholars (Enli and Skogerbo, 2013 and Larsson and Moe, 2012) mention Twittersphere; meaning Twitter is providing means for public participation. On the one hand, Twittersphere refers to all users of Twitter and their messages, (Bruns and Enli, 2018) on the other hand, it particularly becomes popular during election periods when the public participation is high.

As the use of the Internet technology increased, the significance of Twittersphere in the electoral campaigns increased in the last years, 2015 and 2016 Spanish General elections (Baviera, 2018), the Malaysian General Election in 2013 (Sun, Ch'ng and See, 2018), Swedish Election (Larsson and Moe, 2018) and Norwegian elections' electoral campaigns (Bruns and Enli, 2018) constitute examples of research in the field. In other words, nowadays, Twitter constitutes the public discussion platform for the elections. The use of Twitter for the aim of electoral campaigns helps to increase interactions between politicians and the voters (Auwal, Ersoy, and Dambo, 2022).

In sum, social media's instruments seem to provide a public sphere and it can be accepted as democratic because each person may raise his/her ideas and concerns on their social media accounts. Specifically, social media's instruments (Facebook, and Twitter) enable both voters and candidates to meet directly through social media

without any other parties. In the present study both traditional and social media platforms will be taken into consideration.

Chapter 3

TURKISH CYPRIOT MEDIA AND ELECTIONS

This chapter includes the history of North Cyprus, Turkish Cypriot Press, historical background of political communication for presidential election in North Cyprus, the political background of the candidates in presidential election in 2020, the Covid-19 pandemic and North Cyprus, and Varosha: the city with special status.

3.1 History of North Cyprus

Cyprus is the third biggest island of the Mediterranean Sea, is administered by various authorities throughout its history. These administrations can be classified Richard I who is the King of the United Kingdom (1191), Templar Knights (1192), Lusignans (1192), Memlüklüler (1426), Venetians (1489) and Ottoman Empire (1571). During the 1870s, the Ottoman Empire was weakened in geography. In 1878, the Ottoman Empire rented the island to the United Kingdom on 4 June 1878 with Berlin Treaty. According to this treaty, the Ottoman Empire's ownership was protected but the administration passed to the control of the UK (Beratlı, 2020). In addition, World War I started in 1914 and the Ottoman Empire attended to the war, on the side of the Central Powers; Germany and Austria-Hungary. After these issues, the UK annexed the island on 5 November 1914 and appointed a governor for Cyprus. In 1923, the Ottoman Empire through the Treaty of Lausanne approved the island passed to the UK's autonomy. It arose problems between local people and the UK's authority. Therefore, for solving these disputes, on 16 August 1960, the Republic of Cyprus (RoC) was established with the Zurich and London Agreement (19 February 1959) between

Turkey, Greece, and the United Kingdom (Beratlı, 2020). The Republic of Cyprus consisted of two ethnic communities in the island that are Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot communities (Çarkoğlu and Sözen, 2004). The RoC's political system depends on the 'power-sharing mechanism' (Çarkoğlu and Sözen, 2004, p.123). This mechanism meant that the President of the RoC would be from Greek Cypriots and the Vice-President would be from Turkish Cypriots. What is more, each community would be elect their administrator (Çarkoğlu and Sözen, 2004).

After 3 years, in 1963, disputes started between Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots both in administration and people. The Turkish side was forced to leave the authority of the Republic of Cyprus (Beratlı, 2020). The Republic of Cyprus collapsed due to the conflicts between the Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots at the end of 1963 (Sözen, 2004). In this period, the Turkish Cypriot political leadership became more visible with Dr. Fazıl Küçük. In 1974, Turkey used the right of intervention to the island as a guarantor country, derived from the Treaty of Zurich and London (Article 4, 1959). After Turkey's intervention on the island, the Turkish Federated State of North Cyprus was established on 13 February 1975 as a separate and autonomous state by the Chairman of the Administration, Rauf Raif Denktaş. On 15 November 1983, the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus was established under the Presidency of Rauf Raif Denktaş (Beratlı, 2020). Afterwards, Rauf Raif Denktaş had been regarded as the Turkish Cypriot political leader in the international arena.

The Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC) is an unrecognized 'de facto' state in the international arena (Çarkoğlu and Sözen, 2004). De facto states are mainly regarded as political authorities and their functions perform in a certain territory but without any legal recognition in the international arena (Florea, 2014, p.790 & Özpek,

2014, p. 585). In this case, TRNC was only accepted as a de jure country by the Republic of Turkey.

In this regard, it is useful to mention about Turkish Cypriot political parties. The Republican Turkish Party (Cumhuriyetçi Türk Partisi, CTP) was established on 27 December, 1970 by the initiatives by Ahmet Midhat Berberoğlu. Later on, the party started to be mass party and Naci Talat who came to the general secretary of the party, had an impact on the development of the party in 1973. The Republican Turkish Party seen as the left-wing ideology. In addition, the party supports the federal solution on the island (Beratlı, 2020). The other significant political party for Turkish Cypriot political life, it is the National Unity Party (Ulusal Birlik Partisi, UBP). The party was established on 11 October, 1975 by the initiatives with Rauf Raif Denktaş. The National Unity Party regarded as the right-wing ideology and it is considered as the party that holds onto power the longest (Beratlı, 2020). In other words, these two political parties are considered the most important political parties in the Turkish Cypriot political life. Moreover, the Turkish Cypriot political parties include many other parties such as Communal Liberation Party (Toplumcu Kurtuluş Partisi-TKP), Democratic Party (Demokrat Parti-DP), the People's Party (Halkın Partisi-HP), Communal Democracy Party (Toplumcu Demokrasi Partisi, TDP) currently.

On the other hand, the negotiations between two communities on the island in terms of re-unifying the island is an always ongoing process. The United Nations (UN) is the leading actor in this case. In this context, the UN parameters offer a federal solution as bi-zonal and bi-communal solution and political equality for the two communities (Sözen and Özersay, 2007). Until now, many plans have been presented for the reunification of both sides with the UN initiatives such as Gali Plan (1992), Annan Plan

(2001,2002,2003) (Faustmann, 2008). Moreover, Annan Plan (2004) was the cornerstone to re-unify the island. In other words, the closest plan to the re-unification of both communities is the Annan Plan (2004) and a referendum was held in both communities (Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots) to pass the Annan Plan on 24 April, 2004, before the RoC's accession of the entering as the full membership of the European Union. The RoC accepted to become the full member of the EU in the fifth enlargement process of the EU together with Malta, Poland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Slovenia and Hungary. This enlargement is considered as the largest enlargement process in terms of the number of accepted members (Cini, 2003). The Annan Plan was also important in that it was the attempt for both communities to enter the EU as a united Republic of Cyprus. However, the Annan Plan had not been accepted because of the high disagreement of the Greek side (75%) and despite the agreement of the Turkish Cypriots (65%) (Vural and Peristianis, 2008).

After that, the negotiations for re-unifying Cyprus are still continuing by the efforts of the UN, but there is nothing to conclude until now.

3.2 Turkish Cypriot Press

The first printing office was established in Larnaka in 1878. The name of the printing office was Henry King and Co. This printing office published the first newspaper 'Kipros/Cyprus' on 29 August 1878. However, the first page of the newspaper was English, and the other pages were written in the Greek language (Kıbrıs Türk Gazeteciler Birliği, 2012).

The first newspaper published in Cyprus by the Turks was written in Ottoman Turkish by Aleksan Sarrafyan, namely "Ümid" newspaper. Ümid newspaper is the first

Turkish newspaper by an Armenian. However, the first newspaper published in Ottoman Turkish by a Turk is the ‘Saded’ newspaper. This newspaper was published by Ahmet Emin Efendi in 1889 (Kıbrıs Türk Gazeteciler Birliği, 2012).

It is generally regarded for the Cyprus Turkish press has four eras (Kıbrıs Türk Gazeteciler Birliği, 2012, p.19). The first era is called ‘The First Period of Cyprus Turkish Press History’ (1878-1931). In this period, the language of newspapers was Ottoman Turkish language. During this period, the newspapers mainly listed as: Kokonoz, Akbaba, Feryad, Vatan, Saded and so on. The second era is called ‘The Second Period of Cyprus Turkish Press History’ (1931-1958). This period is also regarded as an era when the newspapers published in new Turkish letters in the British rule period. The newspapers in era include were Haber, Vakit, Hürsöz, Kurun, Kıbrıs, Memleket (Kıbrıs Türk Gazeteciler Birliği, 2012).

The third era is called ‘The Third Period of Cyprus Turkish Press History’ (1958-1975) and is seen as ‘National Struggle Press’. Some of the newspapers that are published in Cyprus are as Nacak, Cumhuriyet, Akın, Mücahit, Limasol’un Sesi, Nizam etc. The fourth era is called ‘The Fourth Period of Cyprus Turkish Press History’ (1975-2012). This era is regarded as ‘The Modernization of the Turkish Cypriot Press’. The newspapers of this period can be listed as: Barış, Ulus, Yeni Devir, İşçi Postası, Demkorasi, Atılım, Emek, Şafak, Bozkurt etc. (Kıbrıs Türk Gazeteciler Birliği, 2012).

When considering the print media, currently, there are 20 printed newspapers: Afrika, Detay, Diyalog, Güneş, Haberal Kıbrıslı, Haberatör, Hakikat, Halkın Sesi, Havadis, Kıbrıs, Kıbrıs Manşet, Kıbrıs Postası, Nacak, Radikal, Star Kıbrıs, Vatan, Volkan,

Yeni Bakış and Yenidüzen.¹ However, during the Covid-19 pandemic, this number started to decrease. In addition to the print media, there are also online newspapers such as GündemKıbrıs, HaberKıbrıs and so on.

When considering the newspaper circulation of North Cyprus; Kıbrıs newspaper and Yenidüzen are among the newspapers with the highest circulation in North Cyprus (Polat, 2011, p. 91, Hançer, 2006, p.6 and Karahasan in ed. by Ercan, 2021).

When looking at the ownership issue, Kıbrıs newspaper is a privately owned newspaper which was established in 1989 and owned by Asil Nadir. Kıbrıs newspaper is a daily newspaper and it is one of the mainstream newspapers in North Cyprus press. Throughout its press life, it supported right-wing parties.

Yenidüzen newspaper started its publication life as the political party' newspaper, namely, Republican Turkish Party (Cumhuriyetçi Türk Partisi-CTP) in 1975. Later on, its existence continued under the Yenidüzen Ltd with the autonomy of independent journalists and under the frame of United Media Group. Currently, it is a daily newspaper. Yenidüzen has a strong left-wing orientation and reflects its ideology to the content of the news. Yenidüzen newspaper defines its mission as peace journalism. The newspaper slogan called as 'Emek En Yüce Değerdir' (Labor is the highest value).

3. 3 Historical Background of Political Communication for Presidential Elections in North Cyprus

Historically, the election campaigns in North Cyprus were predominantly based on radio speeches, attending TV programs, meeting with local people, and street convoys

¹ <https://pio.mfa.gov.ct.tr/medya-rehberi/kibris-turk-basin-tarihi/>

in North Cyprus (Hasgüler, 2008). In other words, the political campaigns have been performed through the traditional propaganda methods such as contacting with public through TV programme debates, TV advertisements, posters and public meetings that is seen as the most effective method for political campaigns (Sözen, 2009). In this context, elections campaigns are generally performed via contacting voters through personal relations, giving booklets or brochures, attending meetings, publicizing via media advertisements and advertisements on billboards, attending TV programs, and organizing rallies in the main cities in North Cyprus (Işıksal, 2015).

Later on, the social media platforms also started to be used for political aims by political parties and politicians in North Cyprus' political communication process (Sözen & Sonan, 2019). It can be argued that traditional campaigns continued its prevalence but social media platforms have also been used for election campaigns recently.

However, after the first arising of Covid-19 on 10th March, 2020 in North Cyprus had great impact on the electoral campaigns. As it has been known, limitations and precautions limited face to face interaction among people, so, social media platforms' visibility increased rapidly in the presidential election of 2020 in North Cyprus compared to other elections. More importantly, the presidential election of North Cyprus in 2020 is the first election after the Covid-19 pandemic's arising in North Cyprus. As such, it has a special place in the history of North Cyprus. In other words, the present study seeks to explore how a health crisis (the Covid-19 pandemic) affected the political campaigns or political communication patterns in North Cyprus.

In sum, election campaigns are mostly conducted through traditional media such as giving public speeches, meeting people face to face and advertisements. However, when social media usage increased in the last years, North Cyprus' politicians, political actors, and political parties started to use it for election campaigns.

Another significant issue that has always been discussed in North Cyprus elections is the claims that Turkey interferes in the elections. Similar to previous elections, these claims were also prominent in this election. There have been claims of intervention by Turkey, especially by the left-wing parties in the previous elections (1990 general election in TRNC). However, these intervention claims by Turkey have never been pronounced this loud and by the various parts of the society. The data from Twitter, in particular, shows that public view on this matter is not formed after Ersin Tatar is elected as the new President that Turkey has actually intervened the election.

Looking at the previous claims regarding Turkey's intervention to the elections, the general elections of 1990 are of great importance. After the general election held on 6 May 1990, the boycott of the Assembly by Demokratik Mücadele Partisi (DMP-Democratic Struggle Party) with left-wing view is one the most discussed events of the time. One of the most important reasons of the boycott is the votes that are found in the trash and the claims that Turkey has intervened with the elections. Except for the three candidates from Yeni Kıbrıs Partisi (YKP-New Cyprus Party) and one candidate from Cumhuriyetçi Türk Partisi (CTP-Republican Turkish Party), all DMP representatives claimed that Turkey supported UBP, and hence UBP won the election. Upon this, a by-election took place in 1991. CTP and TKP (Toplumcu Kurtuluş Partisi - Communal Liberation Party) boycotted the by-election and UBP won 11 of the 12 chairs as a result of the election, increasing its representative number to 45 (Kuzey

Kıbrıs Türk Cumhuriyeti Yüksek Seçim Kurulu-Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus Supreme Election Council, 2017 cited in Kaya, 2021).

There are also similar intervention claims during the times of the UBP-TKP coalition in 1999. After the elections, UBP and TKP formed a coalition government and it continued until 2001. The financial difficulties and bankruptcy of some banks in 1999, caused TKP to associate this economic backdrop with Turkey's intervention to TRNC politics. Due to TKP's such statements, they started to experience problems with UBP who was in close ties with Turkey (Dodd, 2017). Another source of problem is the declarations of Mustafa Akıncı, the Vice-Prime Minister of the time, regarding the removal of Police and Security forces from the body of TRNC Security Forces Command (SFC) and linking them to the body of TRNC Ministry of Internal Affairs. The commander of the time labelled this declaration as treason and Mustafa Akıncı saw this as an intervention to the internal affairs and democracy of TRNC. During this process, the right-wing parties supported SFC. This is among the major reasons for the fall of the coalition government in 2001 (BBC, 2017 cited in Kaya, 2021).

In 2020, presidential election, in contrast to Ersin Tatar's and Erhan Arıkl's claims that there is no intervention in this election (see Facebook posts in Chapter 5), Mustafa Akıncı, Tufan Erhürman and Serdar Denktaş argued that there is intervention by the current administration of Turkey in favour of Ersin Tatar. More importantly, the construction of reality is shaped by intervention claims and caused discomfort among Turkish Cypriots (see Twitter Analysis in Chapter 5).

Additionally, the intervention claims in the 2020 presidential election, are memorable within public cognition as Mustafa Akıncı, as the President of the time, claimed that

Turkey intervened with the election so that he would not be elected. Besides, being more acknowledged by the society and still discussed by certain segments is another important fact of this election, particularly, CTP's declarations and Yenidüzen's news content. In other words, the intervention claims were soaked in by the public and this created cognition in the society (see Chapter 5 and Chapter 6).

The intervention claims to the election were one of the most important issues of this election. According to the claims, the intervention had been done by the current government in Turkey through the meetings/discussions conducted with the Turkish Cypriot society to elect Ersin Tatar, rather than Mustafa Akıncı (Yenidüzen, October, 2020). The existence of these claims and the issue that they were voiced by people at the top level of the state emerged as an example of consciousness in the society.

Even though it has been a long time since the elections; this issue is still being discussed by the politicians/political actors. This fact indicates that this issue will continue to be talked about for a long time. In other words, this election might always be recalled with the intervention claims and the opening of Varosha in the minds of the public. While these claims cause the formation of a certain public opinion on this issue, the main point here is the effectiveness of the role of politicians' discourse in forming public opinion. It may be argued that public opinion formation occurred through the discourse of politicians as well as their actions during this election period.

While the intervention claims particularly publicized in Yenidüzen newspaper, Kıbrıs newspaper did not draw the attention of its readers to this topic. The intervention claims are made openly by the President of the time, Mustafa Akıncı, both through newspaper statements and on his personal social media accounts. While these claims

were supported by Tufan Erhürman who is the leader of CTP, Serdar Denktaş also offered his support for the claims.

Even after these claims, a discourse was formed, especially by the left-wing, popularly known as ‘Biat Değil Özgürlük’ (not obedience, freedom). In this context, this turned into a slogan and used in the street demonstrations by the left-wing parties, specifically, CTP and TDP. It may be argued that this slogan caused a social movement (Castells, 2000) in the society.

3.4 The Political Background of Candidates in Presidential Election, 2020

This election is very interesting because almost all political party leaders and important political actors were candidates: Mustafa Akıncı (the President of the time); Ersin Tatar (the Prime Minister of the time and also the party leader of UBP); Kudret Özersay (vice-Prime Minister of the time and also the party leader of HP). Additionally, Tufan Erhürman (the party leader of CTP); Erhan Arıklı (the party leader of YDP); and Serdar Denktaş (the old DP party leader). This aspect contributes to this election as a special case that may be called a political party leader or former political leaders’ competition.

Mustafa Akıncı, the President of the time, has a left-wing ideology and he acted as one of the former leaders of a political party called the Communal Liberation Party (Toplumcu Kurtuluş Partisi- TKP) between 1987-2001. Communal Liberation Party was founded in 1976 and he was one of the founding members of TKP. He was elected as the Mayor of the Nicosia Turkish Municipality from 1976 to 1990. His political career followed as a Member of Parliament (MP) between 1993- 2009. He also served

as the Minister of State and Deputy Prime Minister in 1998. Additionally, he became the fourth President of TRNC in the 2015 elections. His view about the Cyprus issue relies on finding a solution as an unified Cyprus, namely federation and suitable with UN parameters such as bi-zonal and bi-communal solutions.

On the contrary, Ersin Tatar, the Prime Minister of the time, (also the leader of the National Unity Party of the time) belongs to the right-wing ideology. He was elected as an MP for the first time in 2009. He served as the Minister of Finance between 2009-2013 in Parliament. His political career continued as the party leader of UBP and as the Prime Minister from 2018 to 2020. He was elected as a new President in the 2020 elections. His view about the Cyprus issue is based on the two-state solution and he advocates the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus.

The Vice-Prime Minister Kudret Özersay of the time, (the leader of the People's Party) has a commonly right-wing ideology. He is an academician in politics and he attended negotiations for the Cyprus issue as an advisor to Rauf Denktaş's team in 2002. He continued with Mehmet Ali Talat for Cyprus issue negotiations. Later, he become the Special Representative of Derviş Eroğlu in 2010. Moreover, he was appointed as the Chief Negotiator in 2014. However, he attended as a candidate for the presidential election in 2015. Later, he founded the People's Party in 2016 and become the party leader, and was elected as an MP (Member of Parliament) in the 2018 general elections. His view about the Cyprus issue relies on two separate states and the existence of TRNC. However, he also supports the negotiations regarding the Cyprus issue in the international arena.

Another candidate is Tufan Erhürman. He is the leader of the Republican Turkish Party (CTP) and an academician in law. He acted as a MP from 2013 to now in the Parliament. He was elected as the party leader of CTP in 2016. He served as the Prime Minister between February 2018 to May 2019. He is regarded as the main opposition party on the left-wing ideology. He advocates left-wing ideology both in Cyprus issue solution and also political spectrum. He always supports bi-communal solution for Cyprus issue under the UN parameters and unified Cyprus.

Another candidate is Erhan Arıklı. He is the party leader of the New Birth Party. New Birth Party was founded in 2016 and he is the party leader since 2016. He is also an academician. He has served in a number of Ministerial positions such as the Ministry of Economy and Energy. He has got a strong nationalistic view and his view is based on the right-wing ideological stance. He also opposes to Cyprus solution as bi-communal and bi-zonal solution and supports two-state solution.

Additionally, Serdar Denktaş was another important candidate in the elections. He was the party leader of the Democratic Party (DP) between 1996 to 2019. He was elected an MP for first time in 1990 elections from UBP. He acted in a various administrative position during the years such as the Minister of Interior, the Minister of Youth and Sports, Rural Affairs and Environment, the Minister of Finance, and also as the Deputy Prime Minister. He left the party leader position of DP in May 2019. His political stance is close to the right-wing ideology and supports two-state solution.

3.5 The Covid-19 Pandemic and North Cyprus

Covid-19 pandemic emerged first in Wuhan City, Hubei Province of China on 31 December, 2019.² After the exponential increase of cases all over the world, World Health Organization (WHO) declared Covid-19 outbreak as a pandemic on 11 March 2020.³ According to explanation of World Health Organization (WHO), Covid-19 (Coronavirus disease) is an infectious disease caused by the SARS-CoV-2 virus.⁴ In this regard, most people are infected from the virus and important precautions such as preservation of social isolation, using mask and hygienic conditions and get vaccination were needed. According to WHO, the virus can spread from a person who had Covid-19, especially, from mouth or nose in small liquid particle when they cough, sneeze, speak, sing or breathe. To eliminate this, WHO advised to stay at home and self-isolation.⁵

According to the results, derived from WHO's official website on 17.09.2020, there have been 226,844,344 Covid-19 cases and 4,666,334 deaths around the world. However, vaccination ratio was 5,634,553,040.⁶ In essence, Covid-19 has affected people's lives negatively in the sense of the causing death, limitations and precautions such as transportation limitations, going out limitations and PCR test necessity so on. According to Prof. Dr. Uğur Şahin and Dr. Özlem Türeci (who are found

² <https://www.who.int/emergencies/diseases/novel-coronavirus-2019> - 83

³ <https://www.who.int/emergencies/diseases/novel-coronavirus-2019/events-as-they-happen>

⁴ https://www.who.int/health-topics/coronavirus#tab=tab_1

⁵ https://www.who.int/health-topics/coronavirus#tab=tab_2

⁶ <https://covid19.who.int/>

Pfizer/Biontech vaccination) the effect of pandemic still continues and its impact will continue until the end of 2022.⁷

The first appearance of Covid-19 on 10 March 2020, caused fear in North Cyprus and restrictions applied quickly by the government, such as closing/limiting the flights, curfew, closing the shops except bakeries, markets and pharmacies. Additionally, Turkey sent medical equipment and helped to North Cyprus. Later, vaccination process started in the world and a substantial amount of vaccination aid was maintained by Turkey. On the other hand, the European Union also sent medical aid to South Cyprus (Republic of Cyprus, RoC) meant for sending some to the North Cyprus. However, a crisis took place between the President of the time, Mustafa Akıncı, and the Prime Minister of the time, Ersin Tatar for taking medical aid from the South Cyprus on 17 April 2020. This aid was provided through the initiatives of the President of the time, Mustafa Akıncı. The medical aid was composed of 2000 Klorokin from South Cyprus and this aid was maintained from the European Union to South Cyprus (Tölük and Özad, 2021). This medical aid has been provided via the Bi-Communal Health Committee. Transfer took place through the Bi-Communal Technical Health Committee which made a declaration stating that humanitarian collaboration should not be used for political purposes.

In sum, the Covid-19 pandemic had drastically affected the daily lives in both social, economical and political aspects. Additionally, the struggle with Covid-19 pandemic is still continue globally and in North Cyprus.

⁷ <https://www.haberturk.com/koronavirus-ne-zaman-bitecek-covid-19-salginini-ne-zaman-biter-ugur-sahin-tarih-verdi-3062574>

3.6 Varosha: The City with Special Status

The case of Varosha has a crucial position in Cyprus' history. The city of Varosha is at the suburb of Famagusta city and it was the trade center and tourist center before 1974. After 1974, the city of Varosha stayed under the control of North Cyprus and the city of Varsoha has not been open for settlement after 1974. However, on 08 October 2020, Varosha was opened for the daily visit of the public with the declaration of the Prime Minister of the time, Ersin Tatar after getting full support from the current administration in Turkey (Yenidüzen and Kıbrıs newspapers on 08/09 October 2020). Throughout history, Varosha's status has been discussed between the South and North side of Cyprus, the case has never reached any solution and remained as a negotiation issue. In relation to Varosha's position in the international arena, United Nations is in the leading position. There are two prominent resolutions taken by the UN about Varosha which are resolution 550 (1984) and resolution 789 (1992). Later, others such as resolution 365 (1974), resolution 367 (1975), resolution 541 (1983), and resolution 544 (1983) are added.

In other words, the United Nations' decisions support not opening Varsoha for settlement prior to solution between the two sides. In other words, the UN reserves the status of Varosha according to resolution 550 (1984) and resolution 789 (1992).⁸

The United Nations Security Council resolution 550, came into force on 11 May 1984. It confirms resolutions 365 (1974), 367 (1975), 541 (1983) and 544 (1983). It reaffirms that there should not be any illegal activities in relation to Varosha. UN resolution 550

⁸https://www.securitycouncilreport.org/atf/cf/%7B65BFCF9B-6D27-4E9C-8CD3-CF6E4FF96FF9%7D/s_prst_2020_9.pdf and <https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/154294?ln=en>.

(1984) states that ‘Considers attempts to settle any part of Varosha by people other than its inhabitants as inadmissible and calls for the transfer of this area to the administration of the UN’.

In this regard, resolution 789 (1992) (c) points out ‘that with a view to the implementation of resolution 550 (1984), the area at present under the control of UNFICYP be extended to include Varosha’. According to this, Varosha should not be opened for residence/ living until a solution to the Cyprus issue is found with suitable UN parameters.

After the opening of Varosha on 8 October 2020, three days before the presidential election, it caused a debate in the world, especially, in South Cyprus, Greece and the UN. The UN made a speech about Varosha such as “The Security Council reaffirms the status of Varosha as set out in previous United Nations Security Council resolutions, including resolution 550 (1984) and resolution 789 (1992). Additionally, the Security Council ‘reiterates that no actions should be carried out in relation to Varosha that are not in accordance with those resolutions.’ Despite the fact that the Cyprus issue has been one of the long-lasting problems, the presidential election in North Cyprus during the Covid-19 pandemic in 2020 was the starting point of the present study. Data collected in the study, as it is laid down in Chapter 5 and 6, Varosha emerged as one of the significant themes of the study.

Chapter 4

METHODOLOGY

The information included in this chapter seeks to lay down the details of the research conducted. As it has been mentioned in Chapter 1, the study itself started as research focused on the Presidential election in North Cyprus, 2020 that was going to be held on 24th April 2020. However, the spread of the Covid-19 pandemic led to postpone the presidential election to 11th October 2020. Based on this fact, the data for the study has been collected from 7 March 2020 to 31 October 2020.

This chapter offers information about the research paradigm, qualitative research methodology, research approach, population and sampling, data collection, research process, data analysis, and fitness criteria. This study is based on Critical Discourse Analysis (Van Dijk, 1988) for analyzing the data derived from both traditional and new media: print newspapers; Kıbrıs and Yenidüzen, and social media from Twitter, and Facebook.

4.1 Research Paradigm

The present study has been based on the constructivist paradigm. Guba & Lincoln (1994) suggest that paradigms have ontologies, epistemologies, and methodologies. In line with this, they point out that the constructivist paradigm's ontology is relativism which is based on local and specific constructed realities (Guba and Lincoln 1994). The constructivist paradigm's epistemology is transactional, subjectivist and forms

created findings (Guba and Lincoln 1994). The methodology is a qualitative methodology based on analysis including hermeneutics (Guba and Lincoln 1994).

4.2 Qualitative Research Methodology

The present study is based on the qualitative research methodology. The qualitative research methodology includes “multiple sources of data, inductive data analysis, interpretive and holistic account” (Cresswell, 2009, p.175-176).

The qualitative research methodology concentrates on words rather than quantification as in quantitative research. Qualitative research results are not obtained from statistical procedures or other quantification methods (Bouma and Atkinson, 1987, p.206). Qualitative data are related to meanings and meanings are mediated through language and action (Yates, 2004).

Qualitative research includes inductivist, constructionist, and interpretivist research strategies (Bryman, 2008). Qualitative research includes words, points of view of participants (what they see as important), researcher close (close involvement with the people investigated), theory emergent (concepts and theoretical elaboration emerge out of data collection), process, contextual understanding, and meaning (meaning of action) (Bryman, 2008, pp.393-394).

The qualitative research methodology includes ‘the interpretive study of a specified issue or problem in which the researcher is central to the sense that is made’ (McQueen and Knussen, 2002, p.199).

Qualitative research includes collecting data by examining documents. The researcher is the person who gathers information. In this context, it includes multiple sources of

data rather than relying on a single data source. Later, the researchers review all of the data and make sense of it, and then organize it into categories or themes. Qualitative researchers construct their patterns, categories, and themes from the bottom up, and organize the data. More importantly, the qualitative research process offers participants' meanings. More importantly, qualitative research is a form of interpretive inquiry that allows making interpretations of what they see, hear and understand (Creswell, 2009). Qualitative data presents the researcher's informed understanding of those same objects or cases. (Manheim and Rich, 1995). Additionally, qualitative data offers the evidence presented in words, pictures, or other narrative forms that best captures the research subject's genuine experiences and understanding (Ruane, 2005).

The interpretive inquiry, which is the distinctive feature of the qualitative methodology, has been undertaken in this study. The basic characteristics of interpretive inquiry help the researcher make comments on data. This study offered an interpretive inquiry by the researcher for finding the answers to research questions by using the data collected that have been derived from different sources; Kıbrıs newspaper, Yenidüzen newspaper, Twitter and Facebook.

Qualitative research plays a significant role in political research (Silbergh, 2001). The researcher may focus on their chosen political problem through personal academic interpretation (Silbergh, 2001). Therefore, it is useful to use qualitative research for analyzing the political discourse in this study, particularly in the presidential election of North Cyprus in 2020.

In this study, all data are interpreted hermeneutically. A hermeneutic analysis of qualitative research concentrates on the meanings of the objects and actions of the

participants. Hermeneutics is used to describe a philosophical position that emphasizes the need for a focus on meaning and human beings as meaning-making and meaning-using creatures (Yates, 2004, p.137). The qualitative research is helpful to explore the newspapers' discourse and social media posts during the election and candidates' political propaganda and their communication with the society. In this regard, the main research population targeted is the tweets of Twitter users and candidates' individual Facebook pages. Furthermore, the study is based on an inductive approach. The inductive approach is mostly related to qualitative research. An inductive approach is associated with the generation of new theory arising from the data. In this context, the inductive approach concentrates on exploring new phenomena or considering the previous research phenomena from different viewpoints (Creswell, 2009). Inductive data analysis is directly related to qualitative research. Qualitative researchers construct their patterns, categories, and themes from the bottom up, by organizing the data into increasingly more abstract units of information (Creswell, 2009). In this regard, another characteristic of qualitative research is 'holistic'. It includes reporting multiple perspectives, identifying the various factors entailed in a situation, also sketching the larger pictures that occur (Creswell, 2009, p.176). This study offers multiple perspectives. Data have been collected for six months (7 March to 31 October, 2020) through newspapers and social media platforms. All these provide a holistic approach to the study.

4.3 The Research Design

This study is a case study, which means it focuses on the case of presidential election in North Cyprus, in 2020. In this context, the case study facilitates answering questions and a single case is studied for a term and the results are recorded. The case study is widely used by researchers who are interested in qualitative research (Baskarada,

2014). A case study can be a person, one group, one family, one classroom, one town, or one nation (Bouma and Atkinson, 1995). The case study involves a detailed and intensive analysis of a single case (Creswell, 2009). The case study aims to generate an intensive examination of a single case, about which a theoretical analysis will be engaged in (Bryman, 2008). Williams (2000) claims that case study researchers are often seen in a position to generalize by drawing on findings from comparable cases investigated by others (Bryman, 2008).

The case study is one of the most widely used designs in academic research by researchers who are interested in qualitative research (Baskarada, 2014). A qualitative case study is a research approach that assists in the exploration of a phenomenon within some specific context through various data sources, and it undertakes the exploration through a variety of lenses to reveal multiple facets of the phenomenon (Baxter & Jack, 2008).

A case study of the 2020 TRNC presidential election period is taken as the case. From this perspective, it is concentrated on political communication patterns' changes during the presidential election in North Cyprus, specifically, how social capital changed and how public sphere formed during the Covid-19 pandemic.

When evaluating the case study, it is wider in its relevance and functions to investigate social events (individual, group, institution, profession) in its modern context (Gillham, 2005). In this study, the formation of the public sphere and social capital's erosion has been taken into consideration in North Cyprus as the case study.

4.4 Population and Sampling

The present study comprises both traditional and new/social media. As far as the traditional media is concerned, at the time of the presidential election, there were 20 daily print newspapers in North Cyprus. The population for the newspapers composed of 20 newspapers published in North Cyprus from April to October 2020. These newspapers are listed as: Afrika, Detay, Diyalog, Güneş, Haberal Kıbrıslı, Haberatör, Haberci, Hakikat, Halkın Sesi, Havadis, Kıbrıs, Kıbrıs Manşet, Kıbrıs Postası, Nacak, Radikal, Star Kıbrıs, Vatan, Volkan, Yeni Bakış, and Yenidüzen. (the period between March to October 2020). Additionally, the two different ideological stances' newspapers are chosen as a result of purposive sampling. These are Kıbrıs and Yenidüzen.

Purposive sampling is a form of non-probability sampling and is also known as judgmental, selective, or subjective sampling. Additionally, 'the goal of purposive sampling is to sample cases/participants in a strategic way so that those sampled are relevant to the research questions that are being posed' (Bryman, 2008, p.415). The purposive sampling is fundamentally based on the selection of units (maybe people, organizations, documents, departments, etc) with direct reference to the research questions being asked (Bryman, 2008, p. 375). The use of purposive sampling helped to find the answers to the objectives and aims of the study.

Only the front page of each newspaper is examined for the period of 7 March to 31 October 2020 as a hard copy. The reason for concentrating only on front pages of newspapers is that whole newspapers offer massive data; however, this study has taken specific themes into consideration. What is more, only the headlines of the news that

appear on the first pages of the newspapers are taken into consideration. This is based on the reason that, the important political issues are generally seen on the front pages and political news are more prominent in North Cyprus' press.

During the process of deciding the themes, firstly, this study aimed at studying the presidential election; therefore, the first theme become 'election'. After that, it has concentrated on the news content in newspapers and the selection of themes shaped by newspapers' content. The other significant issue was the Covid-19 pandemic during the election period. Because of that, the second theme becomes 'Covid-19'. The third theme becomes Cyprus-issue. This is because the Cyprus issue is always a popular and discussion topic in North Cyprus' inner politics. The fourth theme was determined after the political developments during the process of the election. Intervention claims in the elections emerged especially, by the left-wing candidates and occurred reactions by the public, so, it has been determined to select it as a theme. The fifth theme becomes Varosha. The partially opening of Varosha is also an unexpected issue and after the opening of it, it led to the discussions between both candidates and the voters. The analysis was first done on paper. Later, data was entered into the SPSS program under the five themes which are Varosha (Maraş), Intervention (müdahale), Covid-19, Election (seçim) and Cyprus-issue (Kıbrıs meselesi). Themes search have been only done in Turkish language because of the users' original language is Turkish and all the news are written in Turkish. The news are then translated into English by back to back translation by two different translators.

For the traditional media, which is newspapers, the sample has been chosen through purposive sampling. Purposive sampling is basically strategic and necessitates an attempt to set a good correspondence between research questions and sampling

(Bryman, 2008). Due to this, the two different ideological stances' print newspapers Kıbrıs and Yenidüzen are chosen. It should be noted that the number of print newspapers decreased to 10 newspapers due to the Covid-19 pandemic in July 2021. The print newspapers of the time are composed of Afrika, Detay, Diyalog, Güneş, Halkın Sesi, Haberatör, Kıbrıs, Vatan, Yeni Bakış, and Yenidüzen.⁹

There are numerous social media platforms such as Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, Whatsapp, Youtube, Tiktok, Snapchat, LinkedIn, FourSquare, Pinterest, and Google Plus in North Cyprus during the presidential election.¹⁰ However, the present study has taken into consideration the two most popular platforms in relation to politics. These are Twitter and Facebook chosen as a result of purposive sampling. Twitter is the most popular platform for political discussions by the public whereas Facebook is the most popular platform among social media in the sense of candidates' sharing new information, speeches, and giving answers. Due to these reasons, these two platforms are helpful for understanding both public and candidates' views.

In relation to Twitter, some names are chosen as a result of purposive sampling. This is because, it is only searched for specific candidates' names. These are Mustafa Akıncı, Ersin Tatar, Tufan Erhürman, Kudret Özersay, Serdar Denktaş and Erhan Arıklı and a term 'KKTC Cumhurbaşkanlığı seçimi' (TRNC Presidential Election). Additionally, themes search have been only done in the Turkish language because Turkish is the users' original language. The tweets are then translated into English by

⁹<http://www.detaykibris.com/pandemi-kibris-turk-geleneksel-medyasini-da-vurdu-10-gazete-vazgecti-262816h.htm>

¹⁰ <https://kibrisdijital.com/en/kuzey-kibrista-sosyal-medya/>

back-to-back translation by two different translators. In sum, Twitter data is derived from population.

The sample for Facebook is derived from six most popular candidates' posts through purposive sampling. There are 2404 Facebook posts in total that are analyzed under the five themes. These themes are searched in the Turkish language because the users' mother tongue is Turkish. These are Varosha (Maraş), Intervention (Müdahale), Covid-19, Election (seçim), and Cyprus issue (Kıbrıs meselesi). In summary, Facebook data is derived from six candidates' posts.

The reason for the selection process of prominent candidates depends on the consideration of powerful and effective political actors/politicians. In other words, these six candidates are regarded as the most popular candidates because of their long and experienced political background. In this context, Mustafa Akıncı was the President during the election and also he was the former party leader of the Communal Liberation Party (Toplumcu Kurtuluş Partisi-TKP) and was seen as one of the most powerful candidates. Another candidate, Ersin Tatar, was the Prime Minister and the party leader of the National Unity Party (Ulusal Birlik Partisi-UBP) during the election. Additionally, Kudret Özersay was the party leader of the People's Party (Halkın Partisi-HP) and was the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs at that time. Tufan Erhürman was the leader of the Republican Turkish Party (Cumhuriyetçi Türk Partisi-CTP) and he was the leader of the largest opposition party at the same time. Also, Erhan Arıklılı was the Rebirth Party's leader (Yeniden Doğuş Partisi- YDP). Serdar Denktaş was the party leader of the Democratic Party between 1996 and 2019 years and an influential politician in North Cyprus' politics. In other words, this election may be seen as the political leaders' competition. These candidates

were regarded as the most influential and important political actors in this election, and because of these reasons, the six candidates were selected for consideration.

4.5 Data Collection

The present study offers two types of media: traditional and new/social media. The study is composed of three parts; the first one is composed of two newspapers which are Yenidüzen and Kıbrıs newspapers during the election period; from 7 March to 31 October 2020. Data from the two print national newspapers' contents' is analyzed in relation to six popular candidates and their views on five themes: Varosha (Maraş), Intervention (Müdahale), Covid-19, Election (seçim), and Cyprus issue (Kıbrıs meselesi). Themes search have been done in the Turkish language in newspapers. This is because newspapers language is Turkish and later translated into English.

In this study, two national print newspapers with different ideological background have been examined. The reason for choosing two newspapers is based on their ideological differences in domestic politics. Yenidüzen supports federal solution to the Cyprus issue. On the contrary, Kıbrıs newspaper mostly supports the two-state solution to the Cyprus issue. However, during the Annan Plan (2004) period, Kıbrıs newspaper followed a different stance and news content was composed in order to support the Annan Plan. These two different ideological newspapers' selection offer a comparison of opposite political stances' perspective to the study.

In this context, Yenidüzen newspaper represents the left-wing ideological stance whereas Kıbrıs newspaper represents the right-wing ideology in general. These newspapers were reviewed from 7 March to 31 October 2020 as hard copies. For

traditional media, the study's data are obtained from the newspapers; 180 days issues are collected, and 360 newspapers' issues are reviewed in total.

The second part is composed of Tweets from Twitter and retweets. The third part of the study includes six candidates' general posts on Facebook. Totally, 2404 Facebook posts by six candidates who are Mustafa Akıncı, Ersin Tatar, Tufan Erhürman, Erhan Arıklı, Kudret Özersay and Serdar Denktaş and all Facebook posts covered from 7 March to 31 October, 2020 are taken into consideration. However, only the posts of the candidates related to five themes were examined which are Varosha (Maraş), Intervention (Müdahale), Covid-19, Election (seçim), and Cyprus issue (Kıbrıs meselesi).

During the process of collecting data, tweets from my Twitter account are followed and Tweets are derived using Google NCapture for Nvivo, searching specifically for the names: Mustafa Akıncı, Ersin Tatar, Tufan Erhürman, Erhan Arıklı, Kudret Özersay and Serdar Denktaş, and 'KKTC Cumhurbaşkanlığı Seçimi' (TRNC Presidency election); therefore, all Tweets considered are taken from people who make comments about these names. Then, the data was transferred to the Nvivo program for analyzing the findings. Twitter results showed which candidates and which topics were talked about more and found by using Nvivo in word cloud version. In this regard, data was obtained from Facebook posts by six candidates' individual accounts, Tweets, retweets, and newspapers.

4.6 Research Process of the Study

This study followed the main steps of qualitative research. The outline of the main steps of qualitative research are followed below (Bryman, 2008, p.370):

1. General research questions
 2. Selection of relevant site(s) and subjects
 3. Collection of relevant data
 4. Interpretation of data
 5. Conceptual and theoretical work
 6. Writing up findings/conclusions
- 5b. Collection of further data
- 5a. Tighter specification of the research questions
-
- ```

graph LR
 5b[5b. Collection of further data] --> 4[4. Interpretation of data]
 5a[5a. Tighter specification of the research questions] --> 5b

```

The present study followed the above-mentioned steps. In step 1, the research questions are composed of as:

RQ1: How did the Covid-19 pandemic alter public sphere during the presidential election in North Cyprus, 2020?

RQ2: How was social capital formed during the presidential election in North Cyprus, 2020?

RQ3: Which topics are mostly used by the candidates in their political campaigns during the Covid-19 pandemic?

RQ4: What are the candidates' points of view towards the Cyprus issue?

RQ5: Which discourse topics became more apparent in traditional media (Kıbrıs and Yenidüzen)?

RQ6: Which discourse topics became more apparent in new (social) media (Twitter and Facebook)?

RQ7: What topics were put forth by the candidates about the partially opening of the Varosha?

In step 2, the selection of relevant sites and subjects; traditional and new media were selected as the relevant sites. The sample for traditional media is composed of the two

print newspapers (Kıbrıs and Yenidüzen) and were selected among 20 print newspapers (7 March to 31 October, 2020) in North Cyprus. In relation to the new media, Twitter and Facebook are selected for these two are the most popular social media platforms in North Cyprus as far as political communication is considered.

In step 3, collection of relevant data covered the period six months (7 March 2020 to 31 October 2020) before the presidential election 2020.

In step 4, interpretation of data was conducted using Critical Discourse Analysis by Teun Van Dijk (1985).

In step 5, conceptual and theoretical work chosen for the present study are social capital by Putnam (1993) and the public sphere by Habermas (1991).

In step 6, Critical Discourse Analysis was used when analysing the findings and answering the research questions. In the light of the research questions considered in this study including the alterations of the public sphere in North Cyprus during the presidential election and the processes of social capital erosion, particularly, trust and social networks features during the election.

#### **4.7 Data Analysis**

Data analysis is done through Critical Discourse Analysis (Van Dijk, 1985, 1993 and 1995). Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) gained importance in the study of text and talk and emerged from critical linguistics, critical semiotics, socio-political conscious and oppositional way of investigating language, discourse, and communication (Van Dijk, 1995, p.17). CDA mainly concentrates on the “common interest in de-mystifying ideologies and power through the systematic and retroductable

investigation of semiotic data such as written, spoken, or visual” (Wodak and Meyer, 2009, p.3). In this regard, the researchers of CDA try “to make their own positions and interests explicit while retaining their perspective scientific methodologies and while remaining self-reflective of their own research process” (Wodak and Meyer, 2009, p.3).

CDA considers “language as social practice” (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997, p.258). Furthermore, CDA’s attention focuses on the relation between language and power, especially, on the institutional, political, gender, and media discourse (Wodak, 2001, p.2). The origin of CDA relies on Michel Foucault’s theories and approaches (Wodak & Meyer, 2008 and Bryman, 2008). In addition to these, Jürgen Habermas, Chantal Mouffe and Ernesto Laclau are also important names in the literature of CDA (Wodak, 2009). In the late 1980s, Norman Fairclough, Ruth Wodak, and Teun Van Dijk contributed to the development of CDA in European Discourse Studies (Blommaert and Bulcaen, 2000).

In the early 1990s, Teun van Dijk, Norman Fairclough, Gunther Kress, Theo van Leeuwen, and Ruth Wodak came together in Amsterdam in January 1991 and discussed their ideas and methods of Discourse Analysis, particularly Critical Discourse Analysis. Van Dijk’s journal ‘Discourse and Society’ (1990) contributed to CDA’s network development (Wodak and Meyer, 2009).

Despite there being various definitions and conceptualizations of what CDA is, Fairclough and Wodak (1997) state that CDA is ‘language as social practice’ and accept the ‘context of language use’ to be crucial (Wodak and Meyer, 2009. p.5). According to Fairclough (2001), CDA basically focuses on the discourse forming and

being formed by social and political practices. From this perspective, social and political practices are real issues that are done by people and it is crucial for understanding society.

CDA's researchers have the tendency to work on specific topics, (Blommaert and Bulcaen (2000), p. 450-451) list these as the following:

1. “Political discourse (Wodak, (1989), Chilton (1998), Fairclough (1989), and Fairclough & Mauranean” (1997);
2. “Ideology (Hodge & Kress (1979) and Van Dijk and his theory sociocognitive theory” of ideology);
3. “Racism (Van Dijk, 1987, 1991,1993, Wodak & Reisigl, 1999)’’;
4. “Economic discourse (Fairclough, 1995)’’;
5. “Advertisement and promotional culture (Fairclough, 1989, 1995, Slembrouck 1993 and Thornborrow, 1998)’’;
6. “Media Language (Fairclough, 1995, Van Dijk, 1991, Kress, 1994, Martin-Rojo, 1995)’’;
7. “Gender (Talbot, 1992, Caldas-Coulthard 1993, 1996, Clark and Zyngier, 1998, Walsh 1998, Thornborrow, 1998)’’;
8. “Institutional discourse (Wodak, 1997)’’;
9. “Education (Kress, 1997, Chouliaraki, 1998)’’;
10. ‘Literacy’ (Heath, 1983 and Street, 1995)’’;

The study is based on Teun Van Dijk's ‘Sociocognitive Approach’. The Sociocognitive Approach is characterized by discourse, cognition, and society. These three components form the Sociocognitive Approach's triangle. The Sociocognitive

Approach argues that some relations are cognitively mediated. In fact, discourse structures and social structures' nature are different in nature; however, they can only be related through the mental representations of language users who are individuals and social members (Van Dijk, 2015, p.64).

Table 2: The organization of the sociocognitive Approach to discourse.

| Level of structure | Cognition                                                         | Society                                 |
|--------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|
| <b>Macro</b>       | Socially shared knowledge<br>Attitudes, ideologies, norms, values | Communities, groups, organizations      |
| <b>Micro</b>       | Personal mental models of (experiences of) social models          | Interaction/discourse of social members |

Van Dijk, 2015, p.71

According to Van Dijk's definition of CDA, "Critical discourse analysis is a type of discourse analytical research that mainly covers the way social power abuse, dominance, and, inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context" (Van Dijk, 2001, p.353).

Van Dijk (1995) puts forth that micro analysis covers language features whereas macro analysis concentrates more on the power relations in terms of politics. The micro analysis covers the lexical, syntactic, and rhetorical interrelations holding within any type of a text. The micro characteristics of a text are related to the linguistic components of a text (the local level) to its overall logical form of it (the global level).

The macro level is the higher level representing the topic, theme, or gist of a text (Van Dijk, 1985). Van Dijk (1985) asserts that macro analysis involves basically three factors: thematic structure, positive self-presentation, and negative other presentation strategies and micro analysis covers words, sentences, and sentence construction (Van Dijk, 1985).

Table 3: Van Dijk's micro and macro analysis

| <b>Micro</b>                                                                                                              | <b>Macro</b>                                                                                                                                                      |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Setting:<br>interaction time<br>location                                                                                  | Macro setting<br>period (days, months, years)<br>space (city, country)                                                                                            |
| Participants: persons<br>Identities: professor<br>Roles: teach<br>Relations: personal power<br>Aims<br>Personal knowledge | Participants: groups, institutions,<br>organizations<br>Identities, e.g. ethnic group, school<br>Roles, e.g., education<br>Group goals<br>Group- social knowledge |
| Action, eg.explain                                                                                                        | Macro act of group, institution: educate,<br>etc.                                                                                                                 |

Van Dijk, 2021, p.10

CDA is not only associated with subjective meanings or experiences of people's language. It is also related to power, power abuse, and dominance and their reproduction involves collectivities which are groups, social movements, organizations, and institutions (Van Dijk, 2008). CDA includes the relationship between discourse and social power, more importantly, explains how power abuse is



enacted, reproduced, or legitimized by the text and talk of dominant groups or institutions (Van Dijk, 2003, p.84).

Since CDA is a suitable tool to reveal the roots of presumptions that are hidden in news, text, sentences, and speeches in the sense of the political communication process by the candidates during the Covid-19 pandemic, it is considered to be the suitable research approach to the present study. CDA also gives an opportunity to find out the understanding of the conceptual framework for investigating discourse and discussions that arose during the presidential election, 2020. These discussions are mainly Varosha (Maraş), Intervention (Müdahale), Covid-19, Election (seçim), and Cyprus issue (Kıbrıs meselesi).

CDA helps to explore the micro and macro structure of specific issues such as the partially opening of Varosha, intervention, Covid-19 pandemic, election, and Cyprus issue. Furthermore, each candidate's election propaganda is analyzed according to Critical Discourse Analysis put forth by Van Dijk (1985). Additionally, when combined multiple data sources are more expressive to illustrate the political communication attitudes of each candidate and investigated the discourse of the candidates about each theme during the process of the Covid-19 pandemic. More importantly, CDA helps to look at the micro and macro structures of discourse that is used in newspapers, Facebook posts by candidates, and Twitter: Tweets and retweets. CDA allows the researcher to interpret the collected data.

In this study, the CDA helped to understand the politicians' role in the election in the sense of the formation of ideology, agenda-setting, and public opinion by the discourse of candidates and to see if there is an abuse of power within their discourses. From this

perspective, Critical Discourse Analysis is found helpful to comprehend power, social actors, dominance, and abuse of power.

The research is divided into two main parts. The first part is composed of the traditional media which is newspaper analysis done through Critical Discourse Analysis (Van Dijk, 1988). CDA is firstly used in the analysis of two newspapers: Kıbrıs and Yenidüzen. Another beneficial contribution of choosing these two newspapers is based on the understanding of discourse towards the Cyprus issue: either as the supporter of the federation and the supporter of status quo newspapers' discourse during the presidential election in 2020. The CDA helps to grasp micro and macro structures of newspapers' discourse during the presidential election in 2020. Van Dijk puts forth that micro analysis covers language features whereas macro analysis concentrates more on the power relations in terms of politics (Van Dijk, 1995).

The second part is new media platforms: Twitter and Facebook posts by six popular presidency candidates; Mustafa Akıncı, Ersin Tatar, Tufan Erhürman, Kudret Özersay, Erhan Arıklı and Serdar Denktaş are taken into consideration. Additionally, CDA is again used for analyzing social media messages.

The analysis is made via the Nvivo program after categorizing the data under five main categories as opening of Varosha, intervention, Covid-19, election and the Cyprus issue for Twitter. The names of these specific words were added in the Turkish language when searching because most users in social media were Turkish Cypriots and used Turkish terms/words within their posts, comments, etc. Especially, Facebook posts and Tweets are analysed in which issues, messages, and slogans are seen foremost by candidates and users. Additionally, Tweets are searched again six

candidates and the term ‘KKTC Cumhurbaşkanlığı Seçimi’ (TRNC Presidency Election). Hence, it may give chance to explore people’s attitudes toward these issues and candidates’ standpoints towards these issues. Themes search have been only done in Turkish language because of the users’ original language is Turkish are written in Turkish. The news, tweets and Facebook posts are then translated into English by back-to-back translation by two different translators.

More significantly, this data collection also helps to understand the new public sphere’s formation on social media and social capital erosion during the presidential election in North Cyprus, 2020.

For the newspapers in order to see the picture of the whole, all data is put in the SPSS programme and unit of measures is used to present the data is percentages. For Twitter, all data is put in Nvivo programme and unit of measures is used to present the data is frequency. For Facebook, the unit of measures is used to present the data is frequency.

#### **4.8 Fitness Criteria**

In qualitative research, validity and reliability show differentiation from quantitative research. The reliability and validity were obtained from numerical indicators in quantitative research. However, qualitative research does not offer numerical results, therefore, the reliability and validity check is not valid for qualitative research (Creswell, 2009).

This study is based on a qualitative research methodology. In relation qualitative research, Lincoln and Guba (1985) and Guba and Lincoln (1994) suggest two main criteria for assessing qualitative research which are trustworthiness and authenticity.

In other words, Guba and Lincoln (1982, 1985, and 1994) suggest that trustworthiness should take place in qualitative research rather than validity and reliability.

These two main criteria are important to increase the credibility of the qualitative study. In other words, in qualitative research, fitness criteria are established through trustworthiness including four main criteria which are credibility, transferability, dependability, confirmability, and authenticity (Bryman, 2008, p.377). However, this study included trustworthiness, credibility, and data triangulation for increasing the credibility of the findings. Trustworthiness includes four criteria: credibility (parallels internal validity), transferability (parallels external validity), dependability (parallels reliability), and confirmability (parallels objectivity) (Bryman, 2008, p.377).

Triangulation is an important concept for credibility in qualitative research. “Triangulation entails using more than one method or source of data in the study of social phenomena” (Bryman, 2008, p.379, Fusch and Ness, 2015, p. 1410). This term has been used by Denzin (1970, p.310) as an approach that uses “multiple observers, theoretical perspectives, sources of data, and methodologies”, however, mostly concentrates on methods of investigation and sources of data (Bryman, 2008, p.379). Patton’s (1999, p.1193) explanation of “triangulation is the use of multiple methods or data sources to develop a comprehensive understanding of the phenomena in qualitative research.”

Bulmer (1983:32) described triangulation as;

“Triangulating..... refers to the attempt to strengthen the validity of empirical evidence in social science by reliance on more than one approach. When a hypothesis can survive the confrontation of a series of complementary methods of testing, it contains a degree of validity unattainable by a hypothesis tested with the more constricted framework of a single method”.

In a similar vein, Creswell (2009:191) described triangulation as;

“Triangulate different data sources of information by investigating evidence from the different sources and to use those entails build a coherent justification for themes. If themes are established based on converging several sources of data or perspectives from participants, then this process can be claimed as adding to the validity of the study”.

In other words, triangulation is an important criteria for enhancing the credibility of the qualitative research to check and establish validity the study. This study has been accomplished by collecting data from three different sources; newspapers, Twitter, and Facebook for six months (7 March to 31 October 2020). This long time and multiple sources of data helps to increase the credibility of the study and enabled data triangulation in this study. The three types of data collection are newspapers, Twitter, and Facebook helped to make triangulation. This is because three types of data strengthen the study's findings. These three data sources also included all pictures on Facebook and words, speeches, and explanations are analysed. The reason for choosing this is based on those analysing words which are loaded with representation and interpretation more than others. For the validity of qualitative research, triangulation is significant (Creswell, 2009, and Patton, 1999). From this view, if converging several sources of data or perspectives from participants are gathered, this multiplicity can enhance the validity of the study (Creswell, 2009).

The cross cross-check is significant for inter-rater reliability (Creswell, 2009, 190). For this study, the cross-check has been performed by both researcher and supervisor by comparing the results that are independently derived. The results showed high similarities between the researcher and the supervisor.

Credibility focuses on the importance of multiple accounts of social reality and is evident in the trustworthiness criterion of credibility. In this context, “‘if there can be several possible accounts of an aspect of social reality, it is the feasibility or credibility of the account that a researcher arrives at that is going to determine its acceptability to others’” (Bryman, 2008, p.377). To achieve this, triangulation is essential (Bryman, 2008).

Credibility means the confidence of the data in qualitative research. In this study, credibility is established through collecting massive data from different sources. To achieve credibility, the data has been collected from 7 March to 31 October 2020 including both traditional media (Kıbrıs and Yenidüzen newspapers) and new media (Twitter and Facebook) sources. The study is based on a long time collecting massive data that entails triangulation of sources.

## **Chapter 5**

### **ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS**

This chapter includes the analysis of the data derived from the two national newspapers: Kıbrıs and Yenidüzen; along with the data retrieved from the new media: Twitter and Facebook. This chapter presents the analysis of the news from Kıbrıs and Yenidüzen newspapers, the analysis of tweets from Twitter (public tweets), and candidates' personal Facebook accounts which were actively used during the presidential election campaign of North Cyprus in 2020.

Critical Discourse Analysis, as suggested by Van Dijk (1988), comprises the analysis of language as micro and macro analysis. Micro structure analysis, as part of Critical Discourse Analysis, concentrates on sentence structure, words, sentences and overall language use in the news (Van Dijk, 1988). Macro analysis is conducted in two ways: thematic or schematic. Headlines, introductions of the news and photographs form the thematic analysis while schematic analysis highlights the introduction of the event, its results, news sources and comments of the parties involved (Van Dijk, 1988). Thus, generalizations are made so that the news content follows an ideologically consistent pathway (Van Dijk, 1988). In this regard, the ideological discourse offered to the readers by the two newspapers was analysed via five themes (Varosha, Intervention, Covid-19, Election and Cyprus issue).

Also, data collected from Twitter directly from the public are analysed regarding the five themes. A certain number of tweets are selected for critical discourse analysis through purposive sampling as the data from Twitter was abundant and it was not possible to analyse them one by one, and most posts were retweets. As for Facebook data, the data collected directly from six candidates' accounts regarding their self-representation of the five themes were analysed through critical discourse analysis.

Van Dijk's sociocognitive approach (SCA) is a triangulation of discourse – cognition – society and focuses on how discourse structures and social structures can influence each other via a cognitive interface (Van Dijk, 2015 and 2016). Van Dijk concentrates on the cognitive aspects of discourse production and understanding (Van Dijk, 2015). This study puts the relationship between cognition, ideology, society and discourse in the foreground. To achieve this aim, it is beneficial to define each term. Cognition can be defined “as the set of functions of the mind, such as thought, perception and representation” (Van Dijk, 2009, p.64). Another concept is ideology which can be described as “the shared, fundamental and axiomatic beliefs of specific social groups such as socialism, neoliberalism, and feminism” (Van Dijk, 2009, p.65). Yet, another significant concept is ‘cognitive processes’. The cognitive process includes the production and comprehension of discourse/interaction based on specific mental models, controlled by context models, and based on knowledge and ideologies (Van Dijk, 2009, p.65). Additionally, semantic mental models are important in the sociocognitive approach. Semantic mental models’ function “as the subjective representations of the events and situations observed, participated in or referred to by discourse” (Van Dijk, 2009, p.65).



However, Van Dijk does not offer a step – by - step procedure for discourse analysis (Van Dijk, 2014). Hence, this study explores sentence structures and language use for micro analysis. The macro analysis concentrates on the social structures and ideological stances behind discourses. In other words, the current study specifically focused on concepts of cognition, discourse, society and ideology and analysed newspapers, Twitter and Facebook.

## **5.1 Traditional Media**

The present study seeks to make an analysis of traditional and new media concerning the five topics mentioned in Chapter 1. First, Kıbrıs newspaper, and then, Yenidüzen newspaper's analysis will be presented. For the analysis, the first pages of each newspaper as hard copy are taken into consideration for the period from 7 March to 31 October 2020 as hard copy and the data was entered into the SPSS program under five themes: Varosha (Maraş), Intervention (Müdahale), Covid-19, Election (seçim) and Cyprus issue (Kıbrıs meselesi). As it has been mentioned in chapter 3, first, a checklist was prepared for each theme's news, photo, area of the photo, upper head, and subhead, for the five candidates: Ersin Tatar, Mustafa Akıncı, Kudret Özersay, Erhan Arıklı, Tufan Erhürman, Serdar Denktaş; then, micro and macro analysis were conducted. The goal of these analyses is to address the trend topics in newspapers' headlines for analysing the newspapers' discourse about five themes.

The coding of the months included in the study duration was as follows: March 2020 as 1, April 2020 as 2, May 2020 as 3, June 2020 as 4, July 2020 as 5, August 2020 as 6, September 2020 as 7, and October 2020 as 8 in the SPSS program (see Appendix A). For each month, the count of each of the five theme's occurrence on each

newspaper's first page was taken into account and analysed through micro and macro analysis methods of CDA in the manner suggested by Teun Van Dijk (2015).

The analysis of the newspapers was performed by looking at the first pages focusing mostly on headlines, language usage, photo area, and words in the news that were repeated in both newspapers. This preference is justified as the first pages are always more attractive for the readers and they include summarizing headlines of the newspapers. A summary of the headlines offers 'a topical evaluation of the whole content of the body text by picturing the national or ideological context of the news report' (Seo, 2013, p.778). In this context, it is preferred to focus on the first pages of the two newspapers about each theme of the study.

To sum up, the study is based on Critical Discourse Analysis and it seeks to analyse the traditional and new media under five themes: Varosha (Maraş), Intervention (müdahale), Covid-19 (pandemic), election (seçim), Cyprus issue (Kıbrıs meselesi).

#### **5.1.1 Analysis of Kıbrıs and Yenidüzen Newspaper for Varosha (Maraş)**

This section covers the analysis of the news about Varosha in Kıbrıs newspaper and Yenidüzen newspaper. The numerical analysis is done through cross-tabulation in SPSS (see Appendix). In this regard, the headline of each news is entered to SPSS and is separated according to months and themes to create a cross-tabulation. However, this section presents the results from the critical discourse analysis of newspapers' headlines in terms of micro and macro analysis. To sum up, the newspapers were analysed by taking the front pages of both newspapers into account for 180 days. The analyses were conducted by focusing on the headlines through CDA.

#### **5.1.1.1 First Theme: Varosha in Kıbrıs Newspaper**

In March, April, May, June, and July 2020, there was no news related to Varosha in Kıbrıs newspaper.

In August 2020, there were only two pieces of news about Varosha in the same newspaper:

**News 1:** “Tatar: Varosha is the land of the TRNC’ and will open completely. There are 300 applications for it.” (22.08.20). (Tatar: KKTC toprağı, Kapalı Maraş mutlaka açılacak).

**Micro Analysis for August:** The language is explicit and explanatory about the partially-opening process of Varosha. The coverage of the partially opening of Varosha is presented as a piece of ordinary news; in other words, it aims to give information through the speech of the Prime Minister at the time, Ersin Tatar. More importantly, this two news are associated with Ersin Tatar and highlighted that Varosha is part of Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus and will open and that any other side/ state has no right to say anything. More importantly, it is reminded that Varosha city is under the control of North Cyprus. From this context, the language is direct and power relations communicated via Tatar’s speech assert his idea as acceptable and supportive of the partial opening of Varosha.

**Macro Analysis for August:** The opening of Varosha’s representation is seen as an exciting moment and it is beneficial for people in North Cyprus in the discourse of Kıbrıs newspaper in the news. It is reminded that Varosha is the land of TRNC and stressed that there are 300 applications from Greek Cypriots for re-claiming their land. This infers that Varosha belongs to TRNC and Greek Cypriots who own land in

Varosha, and are in contact with TRNC to claim their property. Kıbrıs newspaper's discourse has been shaped for supporting the opening of Varosha with an ideological discourse shaped in the light of nationalistic view and right-wing approach. In other words, the main actor, Ersin Tatar, about the opening of Varosha is represented as a positive figure. This depiction is also assisted to form a cognition that can be seen as a useful activity for the future of TRNC and may be welcome by the right-wing. In sum, Kıbrıs newspaper's discourse helped to increase the awareness of the opening of Varosha for the benefit of Turkish Cypriots and TRNC.

The news here was presented as the main headline (25x25) dimension to highlight the significance given to the news. Thus, the newspaper openly stated its proximity and support to the government at the time through its discourse.

In September 2020, there was no news regarding Varosha in Kıbrıs newspaper. There were 7 pieces of news about Varosha in October, 2020:

**News 1:** “Tatar declared after meeting with Erdoğan, the coast of Varosha will be opened.” (07.10.20). (Tatar, Erdoğan’la görüşmesi sonrası açıkladı, Kapalı Maraş sahili açılıyor).

**News 2:** “The exciting day in Varosha: TRNC’s land Varosha opened after 46 years.” (08.10.20). (Maraş’ta heyecanlı gün: KKTC toprağı Maraş 46 yıl sonra açılıyor).

**News 3:** “Historical Step: after 46 years, the specific part of Varosha is being opened for visiting yesterday” and “Within 5 hours, 2332 people visited the important touristic city, Varosha, on foot.” (09.10.20). (Tarihi adım: Kapalı Maraş’ın bir bölümü 46 yıl sonra dün halkın ziyaretine açıldı. Dünyanın en önemli turizm bölgesini, 5 saatte toplam 2332 kişi gezdi).

**News 4:** “Lordos’ son, who has a considerable piece of land in Varosha, declared that if Varosha opens, I will return.” (14.10.20). (Kapalı Maraş’ta en çok mülke sahip Lordos’un oğlu: Maraş açılırsa evime dönerim).

**News 5:** “Turkey’s President Erdoğan: conserve Varosha.”(15.10.20). (Türkiye Cumhurbaşkanı Erdoğan: Kapalı Maraş’a sahip çıkın).

**News 6:** “Fuat Oktay: Varosha has become the future of Cyprus and guarantee for peace.” (25.10.20). (Fuat Oktay: Maraş, Kıbrıs’ın geleceği barışın teminatı olsun).

**News 7:** “Arriving in the TRNC, the Minister of Environment and Urbanisation of Turkey, Kurum examined Varosha and later he met with Ersin Tatar.” (29.10.20). (KKTC’ye gelen Türkiye Şehircilik Bakanı Kurum, Maraş’ta incelemelerde bulundu ardından Cumhurbaşkanı Tatar tarafından kabul edildi).

**The subheading of News 7:** “Varosha’s infrastructure is recovering and environmental planning.” (Maraş’a çevre ve altyapı düzenlemesi yapılıyor).

**Micro Analysis for October:** The news titles have been used in bold capitals for attracting attention. Opening of Varosha is mentioned as ‘A Historical Step’ and the opening of Varosha is explained in detail in the news 3. It offers informative language. Also, it uses affirmative language for the opening of Varosha. The topic related to Varosha is given as a headline and subhead, and it is aimed to attract readers’ attention. The selection of words is suitable for the headlines. Also, newspaper uses colon in headlines that are direct statements by politicians to emphasize that the information comes directly from them.

**Macro Analysis for October:** The opening of Varosha is reflected in a celebration atmosphere by Kıbrıs newspaper and this idea is supported with convincing sentences like the ones seen in the news 1, news 2 and news 3. The representation of Varosha’s

opening under the control of TRNC has been depicted as rational, acceptable and necessary for the current situation. According to the ideological discourse of the newspaper, the opening of Varosha is an event that should be appreciated. Because Varosha was opened against all the opposition of South Cyprus, it was emphasized that our attitude, not yours, is important in the Cyprus negotiations. Moreover, Kıbrıs newspaper draws attention to the support of Turkey, within this act by adding Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's speech who is the President of Turkey in the news 5.

It can be argued that the partial opening of Varosha is an important, necessary and normal action during the political campaigns and people who are placed in the opening of Varosha are depicted as a historical act by the important political figures.

The news discourse here establishes consistency with the ideological discourse of Kıbrıs newspaper because the discourse includes efforts of prevalence and it is emphasized that it will continue with Turkey and TRNC authorities have the power over Varosha. Kıbrıs newspaper implements the main headline (25x25) once again and presented the opening of Varosha as an exciting process. The coast of Varosha is opened; however, the newspaper states 'The Opening of Varosha' and creates a perception that the whole Varosha region is opened. In terms of macro analysis, the newspaper attempts to offer a piece of memorable information for its readers. This could be interpreted as Kıbrıs newspaper is trying to create such a perception in the public. In other words, Van Dijk (1988) suggests that establishing cognition of the newspapers is significant for guiding its readers. The discourse of Kıbrıs newspaper can be seen as an example in terms of Varosha.

Additionally, in the news 6, the Vice President of the Republic of Turkey, Fuat Oktay argues that Varosha is important for the future of Cyprus and the establishment of peace, emphasizing that the opening of Varosha is beneficial for Turkish Cypriots, and the future of Cyprus. He tries to give positive messages for the opening of Varosha.

Moreover, in the news 4, Kıbrıs newspaper also wants to emphasize that the son of Lordos who is one of the richest people in South Cyprus and has a lot of land in North Cyprus, is on the headline, and that even he will come if Varosha is opened and that he has a positive perspective on the opening of Varosha from the South.



Figure 1: Kıbrıs newspaper, 07 October, 2020



Figure 2: Kıbrıs newspaper, 08 October, 2020

#### 5.1.1.2 First Theme: Varosha in Yenidüzen newspaper

In March, April, May, June, July and August, there is no news related to Varosha in Yenidüzen newspaper. In August 2020, there is solely one news about Varosha in Yenidüzen newspaper:

**News 1:** “Upon his return from Ankara, Tatar made an official declaration: Varosha will be opened.” (05.08.20). (Ankara ziyaretinden resmi açıklama: Tatar: Maraş açılacak).

**Micro Analysis for August:** The headline uses explicit and factual information derived from the Prime Minister of the time, Ersin Tatar. Also, the newspaper stresses the specific words such as Ankara, Tatar and Varosha in same sentences for more attention.

**Macro Analysis for August:** Yenidüzen newspaper stresses the visit of Ersin Tatar to Turkey and declares the opening of Varosha after that. It depicts that this decision is



taken together with the Turkish authorities during the visit paid to Turkey. From this perspective, the discourse of the newspaper is related to performing Turkey's wishes without any objection by Ersin Tatar. The most interesting thing is that unlike Kıbrıs newspaper, Yenidüzen newspaper does not refer to Varosha as the land of TRNC. The Prime Minister of TRNC, Ersin Tatar obtains the approval of the Turkish government which is one of the guarantors of Cyprus, for partial opening of Varosha for daily visit.

Yenidüzen newspaper deliberately uses the words Ankara, Tatar and Varosha in the same sentence to emphasize the power balance among them and criticizes this by indirectly referring that Ersin Tatar makes his decisions regarding the ruling of the country together with Turkey.

There is only one piece of news about Varosha in September, 2020:

**News 1:** “The former representative of Turkey in the European Council and Ambassador Daryal Batıbay: It is not opening of Varosha, it is providing compensation for unjust treatment.” (06.09.20). (Türkiye'nin Avrupa Konseyi eski Daimi Temsilcisi Büyükelçi Daryal Batıbay: Maraş'ı açmak yok, mağduriyeti gidermek var).

**Micro Analysis for September:** The language is composed of direct quotations from an old bureaucrat/deputy of Turkey in the European Council, Daryal Batıbay and the headlines points out: “It is not opening of Varosha, it is providing compensation for unjust treatment”. The language is composed of complex sentence.

**Macro Analysis for September:** The discourse of Yenidüzen is composed of criticisms of the opening of Varosha and tries to support their view in relation to opening of Varosha with people who have political background. To put it differently,

it exhibited the public's opinions from an opposing standpoint and stated that the public is against this in consistency with its ideological discourse. Daryal Batıbay's argument is based on the idea that a solution for peace should be maintained without any act disturbing the sensitive issues by the both sides. As it is known, Varosha city has been in a critical position for South Cyprus and opposed to the opening of Varosha historically. Before the election, it would be understood as a negative attitude toward finding a solution Cyprus problem and the main priority should be to remove the unjust treatment of the people of the two sides.

In October, 2020, there are eight pieces of news about Varosha city in October:

**News 1:** "The will is in crush: the opening of closed Varosha is declared in Ankara." (07.10.20). (İrade ezim ezim: Ankara'da Kapalı Maraş'ın açılacağı açıklandı).

**News 2:** "Varosha is in the ballot box." (08.10.20). (Maraş, seçim sandığında).

**News 3:** "Two streets of Varosha are opened under the control of soldiers for the controlled visit in limited time." (09.10.20). (Kapalı Maraş'ın iki caddesi asker gözetiminde kontrollü geçişle, sınırlı zamanda ziyarete açıldı).

**News 4:** "After 46 years, he came to his own house. The opening enables me to enter to my house freely." (16.10.20). (46 yıl sonra, Maraş'taki evine geldi. Açılış kendi evime özgürce girebilmemdir).

**News 5:** "Let's go to picnic in Varosha: Erdoğan made the suggestion to go to picnic in Varosha on during his visit on 15 November." (27.10.20). (Maraş'ta piknik yapalım: Erdoğan, 15 Kasım'da yapacağımız ziyarette Maraş'ta piknik yapalım önerisinde bulundu).

**News 6:** "The first employments in Varosha: Hiring guards for the coastal line." (28.10.20). (Maraş'a ilk istihdamlar! Sahil yoluna gece bekçisi alınacak).

**News 7:** “Konya municipality and TOKİ state that we will restore and refurbish Varosha.” (29.10.20). (Konya Belediyesi ve TOKİ, Maraş (Varosha)’da! İhya ve inşa edeceğiz).

**News 8:** “Cypriot Turkish Building Contractor Association’ rebel about Varosha: We have no respect for ourselves.” (31.10.20). (İnşaat Mühendisleri’nden Maraş isyanı: Kendimize saygımız yok).

**Micro Analysis for October:** The sentence structure is composed mostly of simple and some complex sentences and repetition of negative claims by various sectors regarding the opening of Varosha.

**Macro Analysis for October:** Varosha city’s opening process is criticized by the discourse of Yenidüzen. Additionally, the opening of Varosha’s declaration is made in Ankara and is highly criticized in its discourse. This is another unacceptable issue, because, this act is done beyond the will of Turkish Cypriots. Moreover, their discourse is composed of election and Varosha’s relationship that Varosha is used for elections targeted by Ersin Tatar and Turkey. Yenidüzen newspaper argues that the opening of Varosha is used for the benefit of the supporters of the status quo, not for the supporters of the federal solution. In other words, the ideological discourse is composed of supporting the left-wing ideology about Cyprus solution. Yenidüzen newspaper, reflected its ideology in the news discourse via this headline and its content; actually, highlighting the opening of Varosha is not beneficial for the Turkish Cypriot community and it is considered merely as a move made for the upcoming election.

After finishing the elections, Yenidüzen also continues its criticism about the partially of opening of Varosha. Their discourse is strengthened by other civil unions’ speech,

citizens' interpretations and politicians. Yenidüzen uses Cypriot Turkish Civil Engineers Union's speech, in news 7 and news 8, especially, the criticism of the reconstruction of Varosha by TOKİ (Toplu Konut İdaresi Başkanlığı- Housing Development Administration of the Republic of Turkey) and Konya municipality. The Cypriot Turkish Civil Engineers Union criticized the fact that the infrastructure and construction of Varosha is not given to the local people or Cypriot Turkish Building Contractor Association, but to TOKİ and Konya municipality. Using this title, Yenidüzen newspaper emphasizes the mistake made here through the Cypriot Turkish Civil Engineers Union, which is the authorized body.



Figure 3: Yenidüzen newspaper, 08 October, 2020

### 5.1.1.3 Comparison of the Two Newspapers' Discourse regarding Varosha

During March, April, May and June 2020, there is no any news concerning Varosha in Kıbrıs newspaper; however, in July, there is merely one news which is directly related to the declaration of Ersin Tatar for the land of the Turkish Republic of

Northern Cyprus that is Varosha and the statement that it will certainly be opened. In August 2020, only one news appears on the first page regarding Varosha city, again this is associated with the opening of Varosha's preparation would end up and stressed 300 applications by Greek Cypriots for returning to their residents.

In October, there are 8 pieces of news about Varosha and at the same time of the month of the opening, it increases the placement of the first pages in Kıbrıs newspaper as offering normal act, appropriate for North Cyprus and as reminding the land of TRNC with Ersin Tatar's declaration is highlighted. Kıbrıs newspaper illustrates the opening of Varosha in an exciting manner and Ersin Tatar's declaration is given as a victory. When considering the macro analysis of Kıbrıs newspaper about Varosha, its discourse is settled for the benefit of the right-wing ideological stance. These people seek to preserve the status quo on the island. In other words, they support Ersin Tatar who is the leading political actor in the opening of Varosha. In other words, Kıbrıs newspaper uses the relationship of ideological discourse and power for the advantage of Ersin Tatar and tries to create a perception in this regard in the minds of its readers. Considering that the public view creation process launches after the cognition process, the newspaper's efforts in forming a public view in favour of Ersin Tatar are clearly noted.

On the contrary, in March 2020, there is only one piece of news on the first page of Yenidüzen. Yenidüzen criticizes the news suggesting that if Turkish Cypriot politicians confirm the opening of Varosha, Greek Cypriots would close the borders as citizens' comment about the closing of borders by the Greek side. Indeed, the closing of the borders due to Covid-19. More interestingly, Yenidüzen makes a connection between the closing of borders by the Greek side with Varosha's opening

and it is presented as the fault of the current cabinet's declarations about Varosha. Yenidüzen newspaper, before Varosha was opened, sent a message to its readers in line with its ideological discourse; emphasizing that politicians taking part in the opening of Varosha would harm the peace foundation in Cyprus and attempting to create a public view in this regard. In this case, discourse plays a pivotal role in the exercise of power (Van Dijk, 2015). Yenidüzen newspaper presents a critical stance, through its discourse about the opening of Varosha. It is obvious that this is done to establish cognition in the society that the government at the time practices power abuse to win the upcoming election.

In the macro analysis of Yenidüzen newspaper's news about the partially opening of the Varosha, Yenidüzen exhibits a critical stance for the opening of Varosha from the beginning in its discourse. It tries to show the opening of Varosha is not helpful for the solution of Cyprus problem and strengthens these arguments by putting citizens' statements on the first page, such as criticizing discourse of the government in North Cyprus. Even before Covid-19 cases in North Cyprus, the borders were closed firstly by South Cyprus for taking precautions against Covid-19 in the first days of March and Yenidüzen connected this closing with Varosha's discourse of Ersin Tatar, putting statements "if you say open Varosha, then, they close the borders". It can be said that in this case Varosha is connected with Covid-19 and North Cyprus government's discourse is highly criticized in Yenidüzen newspaper.

The cognition that Yenidüzen newspaper attempts to establish is that the opening of Varosha is an issue to be criticized in the international arena and is against the United Nations parameters. From this pivotal point, the discourse claims that the opening of Varosha will intervene in the Cyprus negotiations and harm the Cyprus issue. The

newspaper associates its ideological discourse of the Cyprus issue with Varosha and Cyprus issue and highlights that the case is not an issue of internal politics but it is a disadvantage with an international dimension. It also emphasizes that the upcoming election was important for the Turkish Cypriot community in some way.

### **5.1.2 Analysis of Kıbrıs and Yenidüzen Newspaper for Intervention**

This section presents the analysis of the news about intervention in Kıbrıs and Yenidüzen newspapers.

#### **5.1.2.1 Second Theme: Intervention in Kıbrıs Newspaper**

Concerning the news about intervention in March, April, May, June, July, August and September 2020, there is no news in Kıbrıs newspaper.

In October 2020, in Kıbrıs newspaper, there is only one piece of news about intervention:

**News 1:** “Tatar: I am upset due to the claims that I won the election as a result of intervention.” (26.10.20). (Müdahaleyle kazandı denmesi beni çok üzdü).

**Micro Analysis for October:** The sharp sentences are used for the explanation of Ersin Tatar and his speech is given from the upper head. Also, it is used colon for showing direct speech from him.

**Macro Analysis for October:** Ersin Tatar’s sentences were reflected in a positive and right act in the discourse of Kıbrıs newspaper. Moreover, Ersin Tatar’s reply to the questions about his winning highlighted. Kıbrıs newspaper pointed out that the claims about intervention in the elections made him very upset. Kıbrıs newspaper depicted intervention claims are not visible and his refusal of the claims of intervention offered acceptably.

Kıbrıs newspaper introduced the intervention to the election in the news flow in a manner that is in favour of Ersin Tatar. While Tatar's chagrin regarding the intervention in the election news is put in the foreground, it tries to emphasize that there is no case of Turkey's intervention in the election in an obvious effort to establish cognition in the society, especially its readers. The news is, once more, presented in the upper head in an impressive style.



Figure 4: Kıbrıs newspaper, 26 October, 2020

#### 5.1.2.2 Second Theme: Intervention in Yenidüzen Newspaper

Considering the news about the intervention in March, April, May, June, July, August and September 2020, there was no any news in Yenidüzen newspaper.

In October, 2020, there are eight pieces of news in October about intervention:

**News 1:** “Sample Table: Before the 11 October presidential election, the intervention towards the willpower of Turkish Cypriots met with a reaction. The candidates who have not escaped from democracy illustrate a sample.” (01.10.20). (Örnek Tablo: 11



Ekim Cumhurbaşkanlığı Seçimi öncesinde Kıbrıs Türk toplumunun iradesine yönelik müdahaleler büyük tepki topladı, demokrasiden kaçmayan adaylar örnek oldu).

**News 2:** “Turkey’s Nicosia Embassy refused the claims of interventions and announced that they will pursue legal procedure.” (02.10.20). (TC Lefkoşa Büyükelçiliği müdahale iddialarını reddetti, hukuki işlem yapacağını duyurdu).

**News 3:** “All sectors of the society reacted against interventions to the election: it will Backlash.” (06.10.20). (Seçime yönelik müdahalelere toplumunu tüm kesimleri tepkili: Ters teper).

**News 4:** “The interventions before the elections and financial aid given 24 hours before the election received a reaction. Our will is not for sale.” (10.10.20). (Seçim öncesi müdahaleler ve seçime 24 saat kala yapılan mali yardımlar tepki topladı: İrademiz satılık değildir).

**News 5:** “AKP worked and Tatar won.” (19.10.20). (AKP çalıştı, Tatar kazandı).

**News 6:** “Handover ceremony: Fuat Oktay who is remembered for the intervention in the presidential election attended the oath ceremony in the Parliament but he did not attend the handover ceremony in the palace, however, the people who come from Turkey attended the ceremony in the palace.” (24.10.20). (Devir, teslim: Cumhurbaşkanlığı Seçimi’ne müdahalesi ile gündemde yer eden ve Meclis Genel Kurulu’ndaki ant içme törenine katılan Fuat Oktay, Saray’daki devir teslim törenine ise katılmadı).

**News 7:** “The meaningful resignation from Supreme Court Board: He resigned from his duty due to anti-democratic act and pressure put on the interventions for the election.” (27.10.20). (Yüksek Adliye Kurulu’nda Anlamli istifa: Anti-demokratik ve baskıcı seçim müdahaleleri nedeniyle görevinden istifa etti).

**Micro Analysis for October:** They used big/bold headlines and repeat some words such as Ankara, AKP, intervention and Turkey in the same sentences. The language is composed of critical words such as anti-democratic and pressure.

**Macro Analysis for October:** In the news 1, Yenidüzen gives a photo of Mustafa Akıncı, Tufan Erhürman and Serdar Denktaş on the front page in a friendly manner. Moreover, it portrays this photo as a collaboration against those who interfered in the election.

Yenidüzen introduced the intervention in the election news together with Turkey and openly used sentences emphasizing that Turkey intervened in the elections in the news 3 and the news 4. It was referred that Turkey spent intense efforts for Ersin Tatar to be elected because the current government in Turkey does not support a federal solution in Cyprus; instead, it supports the sustainability of an independent TRNC so they support Ersin Tatar. The newspaper also underlines that Turkey's intervention in the election to help Ersin Tatar win and this causes reaction from all segments of the society. The upper head reports that the money sent from Turkey is a move done to have the election outcome in favour of Ersin Tatar. While stressing that the willpower of the Turkish Cypriot society is not for sale, Yenidüzen newspaper tries to create cognition to show a reaction against the intervention to the public. In other words, discourse, society and cognition have become the factors that affected each other in this case.

Explicitly, Yenidüzen establishes its discourse on the intervention and election results shift from Mustafa Akıncı to Ersin Tatar. More significantly, these interventions cause reactions among Turkish Cypriots, hence, led to the social capital erosion, especially,

in the trust felt towards to politicians. The discourse is shaped from the perspective of intervention performed by the current administration in Turkey and seen as the opposition to the candidates, particularly, Mustafa Akıncı, the President of the time.

On the other hand, it gives a place to the Turkish Embassy's formal declaration about intervention claims in its headline in the news 2. The Turkish Embassy opposes to the intervention claims and this issue will go to the court. This news depicts as an explanation of the Turkish Embassy without any comment.

Moreover, it points out the resignation of the representative of Supreme Court Board namely, Çetin Veziroğlu from his duty in the news 7. His resignation is associated with presidential election results. Çetin Veziroğlu, who openly argues against the intervention in the elections as the reason for his resignation, and points out that this was undemocratic and pressure id explicit and evaluates this as disrespecting the willpower of the society.

After the election, the flow of the news about intervention is used by Turkey and AKP (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi- Justice and Development Party) together. The most interesting title is that 'AKP worked and Tatar won' and continues with the current administration of Turkey interfered in the election and this will have an impact on Cyprus in the news 5.



Figure 5: Yenidüzen newspaper, 06 October, 2020



Figure 6: Yenidüzen newspaper, 19 October, 2020

### 5.1.2.3 Comparison of Two Newspapers' Discourse for Intervention

Mustafa Akıncı's claims have not taken place in Kıbrıs newspaper's news content at all. On the contrary, Ersin Tatar's sentence is used in a supportive way. Ersin Tatar is

upset about the intervention claims made for his winning Presidential election. On the other hand, Yenidüzen newspaper used as highlighting the claims of intervention by different political and social actors' approval for the intervention. Moreover, Yenidüzen presented Ersin Tatar's success with AKP (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi-Justice and Development Party), in other words, the current administration in Turkey. It can be argued that intervention claims are put forth by Yenidüzen whereas Kıbrıs newspaper never mentioned intervention in their discourse.

The approaches of the two newspapers towards intervention claims reveal their political attitudes toward the Cyprus issue. While Kıbrıs newspaper underlines that survival of TRNC is only possible with the right-wing leader; Yenidüzen highlights the left-wing candidates should be supported. It emphasized the need for a candidate who supports a federal solution for Cyprus in line with the UN parameters (bi-communal and bi-zonal).

As a result of the macro analysis, it is observed that Yenidüzen newspaper presents the news flow in harmony with the view that the candidate who is going to win the 2020 presidential elections is significant for North Cyprus so, a right-wing candidate would avoid a federal solution and Yenidüzen, mostly publishes the news supporting Tufan Erhürman (the leader of the Republican Turkish Party, CTP) and federal solution. However, following the results of the first round of elections, the newspaper's support clearly shifts in favour of Mustafa Akıncı when it comes to supporting either of the two candidates: Mustafa Akıncı or Ersin Tatar. It introduces this attitude through a photo of Tufan Erhürman and Mustafa Akıncı. Yenidüzen, as it has been mentioned earlier, is the political party newspaper that supports Republic Turkish Party (CTP). Tufan Erhürman was their candidate for the first round. By putting the photograph of

Tufan Erhürman with Mustafa Akıncı, it points out at the collaboration of Republican Turkish Party with Mustafa Akıncı for the second round.

In this regard, Yenidüzen newspaper tries to establish discourse (Van Dijk, 1996) by highlighting that the winning of Ersin Tatar is possibly by a clear intervention of Turkey in the elections. The formation of public discourse is seen as the most important step in creating public opinion, Yenidüzen newspaper draws the attention of its readers that the effects of the intervention poses a threat to the existence of the Turkish Cypriot community.

### **5.1.3 Analysis of Kıbrıs and Yenidüzen Newspaper for Covid-19**

This section presents the analysis of data from the two newspapers on Covid-19.

#### **5.1.3.1 Third Theme: Covid-19 in Kıbrıs Newspaper**

Since the first Covid 19 case appeared on 10 March 2020 in North Cyprus, Covid 19 has been placed on the first pages of the two newspapers for almost every day. The flow of information is intense about Covid 19 during this period. Therefore, it is preferred to underline the major and interesting headline news about Covid 19 in both newspapers through purposive sampling. In other words, instead of analysing the news headline/content about Covid 19 for each day in both newspapers, it was opted to examine a selection of the news headlines highlighting the Covid 19 pandemic and the government's actions in this regard.

In March, 2020, in Kıbrıs newspaper, there are 18 pieces of news in March about Covid 19. The headlines are selected in a way that would reflect the main ideas of Kıbrıs newspaper:

**News 1:** ‘ There is no such precaution.’ (17.03.20). (Böyle tedbir olmaz).

**News 2:** “The Coronavirus cases in South Cyprus and North Cyprus.” (22.03.20). (Güney Kıbrıs ve Kuzey Kıbrıs Koronavirus vakaları).

**News 3:** “Do not go to out unless it is necessary.” (24.03.20). (Gerekmedikçe sokağa çıkmayın).

**News 4:** “Coronavirus dates have been extended.” (30.03.20). (Koronalı günler uzadı).

**News 5:** “There is curfew in Cyprus from 21.00 to 06.00.” (31.03.20). (Sokağa çıkmak yasak: 21.00-06.00).

**Micro Analysis for March:** The language used about the Covid-19 cases and measures is informative with simple and imperative sentences. The headlines are composed of explicit and informative structure and are repetition of the number of Covid-19 cases in North Cyprus. Also, the news 1 uses a critical comment: “there is no such precaution” for the crowd in the port of Kyrenia. This is because people are trying to leave Cyprus and no strict precautions are in place to protect the public. This is the only piece of news that expresses criticism toward the government with a large photo of 19x25.5 cm in size. The comparative ratio of Covid-19 cases in South and North Cyprus are also presented in a descriptive manner. In the news 3, the headlines referred to this in imperative using “Do not go to out”.

**Macro Analysis for March:** The first appearance of Covid-19 has occurred in this month and the information flow mostly consisted of the number of Covid-19 cases in North Cyprus in comparison to South Cyprus. The news of the restrictions also became more prominent during this month. However, Kıbrıs newspaper points out that the crowd in Kyrenia Port poses a threat for public health. The government has been criticized for taking insufficient precautions for this problem. In addition, the depiction

of the comparison between North and South Cyprus has been presented in a descriptive way, not depicted as South Cyprus's is being superior to North Cyprus in terms of its governance of Covid-19. From this perspective, it is noted that Kıbrıs newspaper avoids publishing heavy criticism of the government.



Figure 7: Kıbrıs newspaper, 31 March, 2020

There are 30 pieces of news during April, 2020 on Covid-19 in Kıbrıs newspaper. Among these, the most significant ones are:

**News 1:** “Coronavirus is spread and accounts are hit.” (09.04.20). (Koronavirus yayıldı, hesapları vurdu).

**News 2:** “Two municipalities in Karpasia reacted.” (12.04.20). (Karpaz’daki iki belediye tepkili).

**News 3:** “The effect of Coronavirus on the economy will continue for years.” (16.04.20). (Virusün etkisi ekonomide yıllarca sürecek).

**News 4:** “Domestic violence’s dimension can turn into torture.” “Medicine and equipment aid to TRNC from the South.” (sub-title). (17.04.20). (Ev içi şiddetin boyutu işkenceye dönüşebilir: Güney’den KKTC’ye ilaç ve malzeme yardımı).

**News 5:** “175 refugees are in riot.” (23.04.20). (175 göçmen isyanda).





Figure 8: Kıbrıs newspaper, 17 April, 2020

**Micro Analysis for April:** The language is composed of short, simple, and informative sentences about Covid-19 pandemic's limitations. Some news reflects what has happened while others give some insight about the potential consequences of Coronavirus in the news 1 and the news 3. However, Kıbrıs newspaper reflects the situation of refugees in a descriptive manner because they stay in North Cyprus due to the cancellation of all flights in the news 5.

**Macro Analysis for April:** Kıbrıs newspaper mostly publishes the news about the economic problems that arise from Covid-19 and information about the case numbers from other countries. Such news is associated with the negative impact of Covid-19 on education and economy in North Cyprus. However, while doing this, the newspaper also avoids criticising the government intensely and the news content mostly concentrate on the negative impact of Covid-19 cases on the world, financial problems in particular. Kıbrıs newspaper presents the medical aid from South Cyprus as an

ordinary piece of news to its readers. This is because its discourse is parallel to the right-wing ideology about Cyprus issue and the visibility of South Cyprus in cooperation with North is not preferred to put forth. Add to this, in the news 5, Kıbrıs newspaper points out to the difficult situation of refugees in North Cyprus due to Covid-19. Generally, Kıbrıs newspaper focuses on the negative effects of Covid-19 on the society rather than criticizing the government.

There are 31 pieces of news reports in May 2020 concerning Covid-19. However, four pieces of news have been selected for indicating the general discourse about Covid-19:

**News 1:** “Unemployment is at the door.” (02.05.20). (İşsizlik kapıda).

**News 2:** “Streets are revived; Old City artisans are waiting.” (05.05.20). (Sokaklar canlandı, esnaf beklemede).

**News 3:** “Confluence at the vehicle registration office.” (07.05.20). (Araç kayıt izdihamı).

**News 4:** “Rental houses are empty.” (17.05.20). (Kiralık evler boş kaldı).

**Micro Analysis for May:** Factual information about Covid-19 is offered during this month. Simple and short sentences are used in the headlines to reflect economic problems. The reopening of the sectors is depicted in a positive manner.

**Macro Analysis for May:** The news concentrates on the reopening of some sectors roughly after two months and offer economic predictions during this process. Generally, the return of certain sectors is presented as a positive and necessary development. Kıbrıs newspaper draws attention to the financial problems by giving the examples of rental houses and unemployment as a real threat for the society.

However, these negative outcomes resulted from Covid-19 rather than government's actions. In sum, Kıbrıs newspaper avoids using negative discourse against the government's actions regarding Covid-19.

There are 30 pieces of news in June 2020 about Covid-19 in Kıbrıs newspaper:

**News 1:** "Transportation sector is on strike." (09.06.20). (Toplum taşıma süresiz grevde).

**News 2:** "Joy for 'PCR tests' in Pyla." (22.06.20). (Pile'de test sevinci).

**Micro Analysis for June:** The language during this month made use of explanatory words, informative style and positive messages on the management of Covid-19.

**Macro Analysis for June:** In the news 1, the newspaper depicts the concerns of some sectors' such as the transportation sector due to the Covid-19 pandemic. In contrast, in the news 1, they also publish positive news such as buying of estate by foreigners in North Cyprus. The newspaper mostly criticizes the economic effects of Covid-19 on Turkish Cypriots rather than the government's actions during this period. On the other hand, in the news 2, Pyla village is mentioned. The population of the city of Pyla is composed of Turkish and Greek Cypriots. The medical aid comes from South Cyprus to the Greek Cypriots and North Cyprus provides medical aid to Turkish Cypriots. In this piece of news, Kıbrıs newspaper highlighted the joy of Turkish Cypriots for starting the PCR tests in their town. This aid is provided by North Cyprus and it is explicitly pointed out in its discourse.



Figure 9: Kıbrıs newspaper, 22 June, 2020

There are 31 pieces of news in July 2020 regarding Covid-19 in Kıbrıs newspaper:

**News 1:** “Entrance (flights) started without quarantine.” (01.07.20). (Karantinasız girişler başladı).

**News 2:** “Heart disease is more fatal than the pandemic.” (05.07.20). (Kalp, salgından daha öldürücü).

**News 3:** “New decisions are made by the High Committee for Infectious Diseases.” (09.07.20). (Bulaşıcı Hastalıklar Üst Kurulu, yeni kurallar belirledi).

**News 4:** “700 shops are closed, 30000 people are unemployed.” (11.07.20). (700 işyeri kapandı, 30 bin kişi işsiz kaldı).

**News 5:** “Medicine came from Turkey; the pandemic hospital is to be completed soon.” (20.07.20). (İlaçlar geldi, hastane yakında)

**News 6:** “Concerns increase (due to the increasing cases).” (29.07.20). (Endişe büyüyor).

**Micro Analysis for July:** The new Covid-19 pandemic measures taken by High Committee for Infectious Diseases are presented to the public in a descriptive manner. The reopening of the flights is also introduced in large and bold fonts via the headlines.

The language is mostly informative about Covid-19. In other words, factual information is offered and a positive discourse is used regarding the medical aid from Turkey.

**Macro Analysis for July:** The news on the economic aspects of Covid-19 on the society along with the closing of the shops and 30000 people being unemployed are presented. It depicts the unemployment rate as a result of Covid-19 instead of an outcome of the government's management of Covid-19. These economic problems are reflected as the negative impact of Covid-19 on the economy and information is mostly given about the aid from Turkey. The newspaper focuses on the increasing number of cases after the flights are resumed as of July 1 and this is associated with the start of the local infection. This shows that the medical aid from Turkey is highlighted but the restarting of flights is seen as a threat for public health in North Cyprus. However, Kıbrıs newspaper's discourse generally avoids criticizing TRNC government regarding their management of public health.

There are 31 pieces of news in August 2020 about Covid-19:

**News 1:** "5 positive cases in TRNC." (03.08.20). (KKTC'de 5 pozitif vaka).

**News 2:** "State revenue increased by 99% after the normalization processes." (19.08.20). (Normalleşme devlet gelirlerini 99% artırdı).

**News 3:** "During the lockdown, revenue lost is 82 million dollars." (21.08.20). (Kapanmada gelir kaybımız 82 milyon dolar).

**Micro Analysis for August:** The language during this month is composed of simple and informative sentences.

**Macro Analysis for August:** Kıbrıs newspaper stresses the economic deficits and problems caused by Covid-19. The general discourse on the effects of Covid-19 emphasizes the negative consequences for the economy. Covid-19 and economy of the country are highly correlated in Kıbrıs newspaper's depiction. However, in the news, it draws attention to normalization processes that increase the state revenue by 99% and improve the economy. The positive impact of the normalization process on the economy is associated with government's success, namely, Tatar's government. Kıbrıs newspaper tries to form a positive cognition on the management of Covid-19 as achieved by Ersin Tatar.

There are 30 pieces of news in September 2020 regarding Covid-19 in Kıbrıs newspaper:

**News 1:** "School expenditure burn pockets and the pandemic scares." (01.09.20). (Okul masrafları cep yakıyor, salgın korkutuyor).

**News 2:** "Quarantine is required from passengers from B-group countries." (06.09.20). (B grubuna karantina).

**News 3:** "Additional precautions are put into practice." (09.09.20). (Ek tedbirler yürürlükte).

**News 4:** "117 million TL aid from Turkey to TRNC." (30 .09.20). (Türkiye'den KKTC'ye 117 milyon TL).

**Micro Analysis for September:** Factual information about Covid-19 is presented especially regarding quarantine regulations and medical aid from Turkey.

**Macro Analysis for September:** Kıbrıs newspaper uses school fees and expenses under the effect of Covid-19 in the news headlines and highlights Turkey's aid with

bold and big fonts. In other words, it aims to attract readers' attention to Turkey's help during the pandemic. Also, it draws attention to their readers for economic problems as giving information the high school fees.

There are 31 pieces of news in October 2020 about Covid-19 in Kıbrıs newspaper:

**News 1:** "We have to be more careful." (02.10.20). (Daha dikkatli olmalıyız).

**News 2:** "Inner equipment for the rooms has arrived for the pandemic hospital." (08.10.20). (Pandemi hastanesi'nin iç donanım malzemeleri geldi).

**News 3:** "Fuat Oktay: We are with TRNC during pandemic." (22.10.20). (Fuat Oktay: Salgınla mücadelede KKTC'nin yanında olduk).

**Micro Analysis for October:** The factual information about the aid for Covid-19 from Turkey is used also highlighting the cooperation with Turkey during the pandemic in a positive manner by using a quote from Fuat Oktay's speech in the headline. Fuat Oktay's words are given after a colon as an explanation. Furthermore, it is indicated that Covid-19 still has effects on the society and strict measures are needed.

**Macro Analysis for October:** Fuat Oktay's speech becomes prominent for reflecting the collaboration between North Cyprus and Turkey stressing the medical aid from Turkey during the pandemic. The newspaper uses the topics of TRNC, Turkey and aid together in its discourse to remark that Turkey supports the Turkish Cypriot community during this period. From this view, in the news 2, Kıbrıs newspaper put forward the importance of Turkey for Turkish Cypriots by highlighting the construction of the pandemic hospital.

### 5.1.3.2 The Third Theme: Covid-19 in Yenidüzen Newspaper

There are 25 pieces of news in March 2020 about Covid-19 in Yenidüzen newspaper:

**News 1:** “Negligence is noted.” (21.03.20). (Tedbirsizlik dikkat çekti).

**News 2:** “First death (from Covid-19) took place in North Cyprus.” (29.03.20). (Kıbrıs’ın Kuzeyinde ilk ölüm gerçekleşti).

**News 3:** “No high cost of living raise for healthcare professionals.” (30.03.20). (Sağlık çalışanlarında hayat pahalılığı yok).

**Micro Analysis for March:** Factual information on Covid-19 in North Cyprus and a selection of critical words is evident in the discourse of Yenidüzen in terms of government’s management of Covid-19. The newspaper is critical on how the government manages Covid-19 crisis in North Cyprus.

**Macro Analysis for March:** The criticism of government’s actions during the management of Covid-19 is presented in a negative manner and the cuts from the salaries of healthcare professionals are highlighted. This piece of news is significant as healthcare professionals play a crucial role in managing the pandemic and having cuts from their salaries is an unacceptable action. In other words, Yenidüzen focuses on the inappropriate and insufficient actions of the government by giving healthcare professionals as an example. It also depicts the inadequate management of Covid-19 by the government and suggests that the government is following a wrong healthcare management policy. This justification is in parallel with the ideological stance of Yenidüzen, as the supporter of the left-wing while the coalition government of the time is composed of right-wing parties. In effect, Yenidüzen mostly highlights the negative aspects of the government regarding its management of Covid-19.



There are 30 pieces of news about Covid-19 in April 2020:

**News 1:** “Covid-19 test numbers: South Cyprus has 20000 tests; North Cyprus has 4393 tests.” (14.04.20). (Kovid-19 test sayıları: Güney Kıbrıs 20000 test, Kuzey Kıbrıs 4393 test).

**News 2:** “Frivolity: Prime Ministry blamed Presidency of importing illegal medicine into the country.” (17.04.20). (Ciddiyetsizlik: Başbakanlık, Cumhurbaşkanlığını ‘ülkeye yasa dışı ilaç sokmakla’ suçladı).

**News 3:** “From 2674 to 1500: unjust and illegal.” (24.04.20). (2674’den 1500’e: Adaletsiz ve yasadışı).

**News 4:** “1525 letters from Turkish Cypriots to Anastasiadis.” (28.04.20). (1525 Kıbrıslı Türk’den Anastasiadis’e mektup).



Figure 10: Yenidüzen newspaper, 17 April, 2020

**Micro Analysis for April:** The explicit information on Covid-19 and comparison with South Cyprus is presented. It draws attention to the numbers for both test numbers and Covid-19 cases through sentences with numerical data. The selection of words also

consists of highly negative and critical words while explaining of the situation of North Cyprus during Covid-19.

**Macro Analysis for April:** The government is criticized mostly for being incautious and judged by being compared to the actions of South Cyprus. They depict the governments' actions as deemed insufficient. Yenidüzen newspaper compares the Covid-19 pandemic management of South and North Cyprus and presents impressive news that South Cyprus is more successful. The discourse here infers that the right-wing government of the time is inadequate in terms of managing the Covid-19 pandemic aiming to create a public discourse by using Covid-19 suggesting that Ersin Tatar, the Prime Minister and presidential candidate of the upcoming elections of the time, is not successful.

In the news 2, Yenidüzen newspaper also introduces the news on the medical aid from South Cyprus in April 2020 received by the initiatives of Mustafa Akıncı, the president of the time. In contrast to Ersin Tatar's, the Prime Minister of the time, claims that the aid taken by Mustafa Akıncı was illegal; the news discourse is presented highlighting that Mustafa Akıncı's action is right. This is done through a news feed that was parallel to the ideological stance of Yenidüzen newspaper regarding the Cyprus issue. Through its news discourse, the newspaper desires to emphasize that the aid provided by both sides regarding healthcare issues is important and necessary (For further analysis, Tölük and Özad, 2022).

In the news 3, 'From 2674 to 1500: unjust and illegal' it is meant that Tatar's government is not successful in managing the economy as they make cuts from unemployment wages and is reduced from 2674 to 1500. This action is considered as

unacceptable in the challenging living conditions of the time. In other words, Yenidüzen newspaper draws attention to the inadequate governance of the economy in North Cyprus.

In the news 4, ‘1525 letters from Turkish Cypriots to Anastasiadis’ is a significant effort to understand the criticism of the unsuccessful economic governance in North Cyprus. This is because Turkish Cypriots who work in South Cyprus are in bad situation as they could not cross the borders to go to their workplaces in South Cyprus during the Covid-19 pandemic. In order to solve this issue, the people who work in the South present a letter to the Greek Cypriot leader Nikos Anastasiadis requesting help. This letter is offered as a positive step for cooperation with South Cyprus. This piece of news is presented as 26.5x25 in size to attract more attention and the photo area which is used to reflect workers’ situation is 16.5x20 in size.

As for the discourse, this particular news is loaded with ideology. The Prime Minister, namely, Ersin Tatar’s reaction is deemed as frivolous. Yenidüzen newspaper supports a solution to the Cyprus issue on the basis of a federal government. In line with this stance, losing the opportunity for cooperation shapes cognition in the way that the society needs such cooperation for the solution of Cyprus issue.

There are 31 pieces of news about Covid-19 in May 2020:

**News 1:** “What does it mean? 30 soldiers and 53 people arrive. Ministry of Health: no given information.” (07.05.20). (O Ne Demek? 30 asker, 53 kişi geldi, Sağlık Bakanlığı: Bize bilgi verilmedi).

**News 2:** “Not the king, but his people are naked.” (22.05.20). (Kral değil, halk çıplak).

**Micro Analysis for May:** In regard to presenting news on government's actions, a critical and negative language is used against Tatar's government. In the news 2, the metaphor, refers to a traditional old story in which people could not tell their king he is naked. In this case, the newspaper twists people with the King and suggests people not the King is naked and hence refers to the ignorance of people.

**Macro Analysis for May:** It depicts economic problems as the outcome of government's actions and decisions stressing that people are getting poorer by day through the headline: 'Not the king, but his people are naked'. Moreover, in the news 1, the newspaper criticizes the arrival of soldiers coming from Turkey because the flights are cancelled and this action infers privileged practices for the military personnel and their families. Yet, it blames the Ministry of Health for not providing any information. The headline depicts this as a privilege and the newspaper tries to raise public awareness on this matter. Furthermore, Yenidüzen stresses the abuse of power by the government when they offer privileged access to soldiers and their families.

There are 27 pieces of news in June 2020 about Covid-19 in Yenidüzen newspaper:

**News 1:** "50% of the shops are closed after pandemic." (04.06.20). (50% kayıp, salgın sonrası işletmeler kapandı).

**News 2:** "Privileged passengers arrive without quarantine in Ercan." (14.06.20). (Ercan'a karantinasız özel yolcu).

**News 3:** "This news (on arrivals without quarantine) smells fishy." (15.06.20). (Bu iş çok pis kokuyor).

**Micro Analysis for June:** A criticising language is used against the government of the time in North Cyprus.

**Macro Analysis for June:** Financial problems are stressed in the first news as it is announced that 50% of people lost their shops due to Covid-19 and this is the fault of the government of the time. While discussing the effects of the pandemic on the economy of the country, the news discourse underlines this as the failure of the right-wing government of the time.

Moreover, News 2 and News 3 criticize the government for the arrivals from Turkey without quarantine practices inferring that visitors from Turkey have privileges by the government of North Cyprus so they are not subjected to quarantine procedure. Ünal Üstel, the Minister for Transportation is the leading figure in this issue and Yenidüzen highlights his name in the news. These two pieces of news reflects that the government exercises its power for the benefit of certain people.

There are 31 pieces of news in July 2020 in regards to Covid-19 in Yenidüzen newspaper:

**News 1:** “3 cases in 2 days.” (03.07.20). (2 günde 3 vaka).

**News 2:** “5 cases in 5 days.” (05.07.20). (5 günde 5 vaka).

**News 3:** “4408 people are unemployed or have changed their sector.” (17.07.20). (4408 kişi ya işten durdu ya sektör değişti).

**Micro Analysis for July:** The critical information is presented by offering the case numbers and includes comparison with South Cyprus.

**Macro Analysis for July:** The number of Covid-19 cases is presented in the headlines to catch the society's attention. The effects of Covid-19 on social and economic life as well as people losing their jobs are presented and the government is accused for such negative outcomes. Moreover, Yenidüzen expresses that unemployment rate is increasing and government's financial precautions are not sufficient.

There are 31 pieces of news in August 2020 regarding Covid-19 in Yenidüzen newspaper:

**News 1:** "Doctors: there is no infrastructure, strict precautions are needed." (23.08.20). (Hekimler: Altyapı yok, sıkı tedbir şart).

**News 2:** "Debts are increasing for people." (24.08.20). (Borç yükü artıyor).

**News 3:** "It needs to take the South as an example of benefitting from tourism." (26.08.20). (Güney'den turizm konusunda örnek almak gerek).

**Micro Analysis for August:** The critical language is used mostly for the management of government on Covid-19.

**Macro Analysis for August:** The actions of South Cyprus and encouragement of South Cyprus in a positive manner is considered as model actions and such actions need to be performed in North Cyprus. The newspaper, once again, underlines the significance of the united federal structure for its readers by putting the issue in the foreground over economics and tourism. On the other hand, Yenidüzen concentrates on the economic problems of people arising from unsuccessful governance of Covid-19 by Tatar's government.

There are 30 pieces of news in September 2020 about Covid-19 in Yenidüzen newspaper:

**News 1:** “Scary chart, after opening the flights on July 1, the number of cases is increasing.” (05.09.20). (Ürküten tablo: 1 Temmuz da açıldık, vakalar tırmandı).

**News 2:** “Fear, panic and worry; local infection.” (08.09.20). (Korku, panik, endişe, yerel bulaş).

**News 3:** “Schools are closed; government’s decisions keep changing overnight.” (10.09.20). (Geceden sabaha değişiklik, okullar kapandı).

**News 4:** “Locations for free PCR tests are crowded, local infection is spread thanks to the government.” (12.09.20). (PCR test kalabalığı, Devlet eliyle yalaş-bulaş).

**Micro Analysis for September:** Informative and critical language is used to present the number of Covid-19 cases in North Cyprus as well as its comparison with South Cyprus. The newspaper uses negative words such as fear, panic, worry and scary. The newspaper is ironical about the government’s actions through which PCR test location get crowded and more and more people get infected. In other words, government provides basis for increasing Covid-19 positive cases.

**Macro Analysis for September:** In this context, the newspaper makes a critical interpretation of the management of Covid-19 by the government stressing the words such as increase in case numbers, fear, panic and associating them with the resumed flight on July 1. The PCR tests provided free of charge are even criticised claiming that close contact is forced in the queues and the crowd posing a threat for public health. Yenidüzen newspaper points out that this inadequate management is the responsibility of the government. Moreover, it highlights the words education and

Covid-19 pandemic in bold fonts to emphasize that the actions of the government are not efficient enough in managing the process.

There are 31 pieces of news in October 2020 on Covid-19 in Yenidüzen newspaper:

**News 1:** “133 days passed, there is no report.” (25.10.20). (133 geçti, Rapor yok).

**News 2:** “Caution in the schools: 3 students and 1 teacher tested positive in schools.” (26.10.20). (Okullara dikkat: 3 öğrenci ve 1 öğretmen pozitif).

**Micro Analysis for October:** The sentences used for Covid-19 and pandemic management of the government are in a criticising manner.

**Macro Analysis for October:** The criticism of government’s actions and poor management of the Covid-19 process is presented through the use of specific examples such as visitors entering the island without quarantine in May 2020. Yenidüzen, also, reminds to its readers that the government promised to deliver a report but no such report has been prepared about jet flights crisis in June, 2020 in the news 1. Also, the newspaper warns the public that in schools Covid-19 positive cases are observed as three students and one teacher. This is noted in order to notify the public that the government has not managed to take necessary precaution in schools and number of cases started to be observed. These issues are used as examples of how the government abuses its power in a time of crisis. In a criticising manner, the newspaper draws attention to the schools in relation to the increasing number of cases and how the educational process is pursued.





Figure 11: Yenidüzen newspaper, 25 October, 2020

### 5.1.3.3 Comparison of Discourse used in the Two Newspapers about Covid-19

The coverage of the news about Covid-19 in Kıbrıs newspaper is mostly on the number of cases, new precautions are taken by the government, reminding the public to use masks and the economic impact of the pandemic on the economy of North Cyprus. On the other hand, Yenidüzen newspaper's flow of information concentrates on the ineffective management of Covid-19 process by the government, the number of positive Covid-19 cases in the North with comparison to the South, doctors' warnings about Covid-19 and their directions to the government. These news are presented in way that is critical and stresses that the government is inadequate. In its news discourse, Kıbrıs newspaper, instead of criticising Tatar's government for their management of Covid-19, focuses on daily tables of Covid-19 cases, comparing them to South Cyprus and underlining that North Cyprus is in a better condition. It also features Turkey's medical aid and presents the news through an ideological discourse parallel to its ideological stance. In regard to the macro meaning, it emphasizes that

the effects of Covid-19 are felt in the economy but this effect is at similar rates in the world so, it is a natural outcome for TRNC to face similar challenges as the rest of the world.

It can easily be noted that Kıbrıs newspaper supports the government of the time whereas Yenidüzen's stance is completely different from that of Kıbrıs newspaper. In this regard, the news of Yenidüzen highlight mostly poor management of Covid-19 by the government and the effects felt on economy, social life and psychology of the population.

On the other hand, the news discourse of Yenidüzen newspaper stresses the negligence of the government and ineffective practices of TRNC authorities in managing Covid-19 through the upper head news by supporting its view with doctors' statements and public interviews. The newspaper also underlines that North Cyprus is behind South Cyprus in terms of the number of tests done. Yenidüzen newspaper especially introduces catchy and negative news flow with its criticisms and highlights that the right-wing government of the time was not capable of effectively managing Covid-19 and their abuse of power, particularly about the issue with the jet flight that remained on the agenda for a while.

#### **5.1.4 Analysis of Kıbrıs and Yenidüzen Newspaper for Election**

This section presents the analysis of data collected from the two newspapers on the upcoming presidential elections in North Cyprus.

##### **5.1.4.1 The Fourth Theme: Election in Kıbrıs Newspaper**

There is only one piece of news in March 2020 on election in Kıbrıs newspaper:

**News 1:** “The presidential election is postponed for 6 months.” (18.03.20). (Cumhurbaşkanlığı seçimi 6 ay ertelendi).

**Micro Analysis for March:** The language structure used in the news is informative, direct and formal.

**Macro Analysis for March:** The news informs that the election date is delayed due to Covid-19 and focuses on the pandemic conditions as a justification for the delay in the elections. The newspaper, rather than stating a political opinion, reports that the 2020 presidential election is postponed for 6 months, from April 2020 to October 2020 due to the pandemic. The delay in the elections is presented in an ordinary informative style aiming to inform the public without adding any political message.

In April 2020, there is no news about the election:

In May 2020, there is no news about the election on Kıbrıs newspaper's front page.

In June 2020, there are two pieces of news about the election in Kıbrıs newspaper.

**News 1:** “The changing of Cabinet will be finalized today.” (19.06.20). (Kabine de değişim bugün netleşiyor).

**News 2:** “Çaluda is vetoed to replace Üstel, Evren is approved.” (20.06.20). (Çaluda'ya veto; Üstel yerine Evren).

**Micro Analysis for June:** The language structure used in the news 1 is informative and formal. However, the language was critical for the actions of government in the news 2.

**Macro Analysis for June:** The news 2 is related to the changing of a minister within the government. When Ersin Tatar presented his request for a change in the Cabinet to President Mustafa Akıncı, the name suggested by Ersin Tatar, Aytaç Çaluda, is vetoed due to the corruption claims in the previous years. In its headline, the newspaper uses

the news that instead of Aytaç Çaluda, Mustafa Akıncı opted to approve Kutlu Evren as the name to replace the former minister. Kıbrıs newspaper prefers not to put the corruption claims as the reason for vetoing Aytaç Çaluda by Mustafa Akıncı to the forefront. It decides to, rather, put the approved and vetoed names to the foreground but not criticising the necessity of a change in the Cabinet during the pandemic. Here, instead of questioning the actions of the government, the newspaper presents Mustafa Akıncı's veto in a critical manner.

In the news 1, the change in the cabinet will be finalized today is referred to as ordinary information and presented in a neutral manner. The newspaper opts not to reveal the reason for the cabinet change, and informs the readers that the cabinet will be finalized that day as an ordinary piece of news. Kıbrıs newspaper, rather than questioning the current right-wing on whether a cabinet change during a challenging period such as the pandemic is actually necessary, it only informs the readers that the change will be finalized. Thus, the newspaper deliberately avoids criticizing the government of the time during the presidential elections.

In July 2020, there is no news about the election in Kıbrıs newspaper. In August 2020, in relation to the election, there is only one piece of news:

**News 1:** “The election period has officially started.” (12.08.20). (Seçim süreci resmen başladı).

**Micro Analysis for August:** The language structure used in the news 1 as informative.

**Macro Analysis for August:** The launch of the election period is depicted in an ordinary manner solely aiming to give information about the election period. It also gives information about the number of candidates competing in the election.

In September 2020, there are six pieces of news about the election in September:

**News 1:** “The deadline of application for the presidential candidates is September 4.” (01.09.20). (Cumhurbaşkanlığına adaylık başvuruları 4 Eylül’de yapılacak).

**News 2:** “A great support to Turkey, as the guarantor of Cyprus; according to COMAR’s survey.” (04.09.20). Türkiye’nin garantörlüğüne büyük destek, COMAR’ın araştırmasına göre).

**News 3:** “11 candidates will run for the presidency.” (05.09.20). (11 adaylı seçim).

**News 4:** “Tatar: It is time to stand up and move forward for a new future.” (16.09.20). (Tatar: Artık ayağa kalkma ve yeni geleceğe yürüme zamanıdır).

**News 5:** “Will the pandemic affect the participation in the elections? The participation rate was 62% in 2015.” (17.09.20). (Salgın, seçime katılımı etkiler mi? 2015’teki seçime katılım oranı yüzde 62...).

**News 6:** “We will go for Referendum for the fifth time to increase the number of judges.” (28.09.20). (5. kez halk oylamasına gideceğiz).

**Micro Analysis for September:** The use of language in a formal style is prominent in presenting the news flow through the news headlines.

**Macro Analysis for September:** The analysis of the 6-news headline reveals that the words of Tatar, Turkey and election are used together in an effort to create a public cognition in favour of Ersin Tatar. The news’ headlines show that Turkey offers full support for Ersin Tatar in the elections. Ersin Tatar’s speech is used and his words are

stressed such as “move forward for a new future” in a positive manner. Additionally, Turkey’s guarantor position on the island is supported according to the survey results of a private company. Essentially, Turkey’s position regarding North Cyprus is underlined and reminded. The newspaper clearly shows its support for Ersin Tatar by intentionally putting Ersin Tatar’s election slogans to the foreground underlining Ersin Tatar’s “a new beginning and future” discourse. What is inferred by the “new beginning and future” discourse is bringing a new perspective to the Cyprus issue and that this new perspective is a solution with two states rather than the bi-zonal and bi-communal federal solution that is in accordance with the UN parameters. Kıbrıs newspaper also reports on the survey results of private companies and expresses its own stance by publishing the survey results that highlight Ersin Tatar and Turkey’s support. The newspaper also suggests whether the pandemic would affect the rate of participation in the elections in its headlines highlighting the relation between Covid and election rate. This infers that Covid measures are sufficient and that people should go voting.

In October, 2020, there are 15 pieces of news about election in October:

**News 1:** “The Turkish Embassy: It is not acceptable to use Turkey as a tool for the elections.” (02.10.20). (TC Lefkoşa Büyükelçiliği: Türkiye’nin seçim malzemesi yapılması kabul edilemez).

**News 2:** “The Foreign Secret Intelligence organizations manipulate the technical works of Turkey.” (06.10.20). (Yabancı istihbarat örgütleri, Türkiye’yle yapılan teknik çalışmaları manipüle ediyor).

**News 3:** “The voters will have their say tomorrow.” (10.10.20). (Yarın söz seçmende).

**News 4:** “Let’s go to the ballot box to elect the President.” (11.10.20). (Haydi sandığa).

**News 5:** “The Second Round: No candidate has earned more than 50% of the votes, Ersin Tatar and Mustafa Akıncı will compete for the second round of elections on October 18.” (12.10.20). (İkinci tur: Hiçbir aday geçerli oyların 50%’sinden bir fazlasını alamadı, 18 Ekim Pazar günü yenilenecek seçimde en çok oy alan Ersin Tatar ve Mustafa Akıncı yarışacak).

**News 6:** “The highest rate of participation is in Lefke. We have seen the lowest participation in presidential election TRNC history with 58.29%.” (13.10.20). (En fazla katılım Lefke’de. Yüzde 58.29’la tarihin en düşük katılımlı Cumhurbaşkanlığı seçimini yaşadık).

**News 7:** “The preparation for the second round, Tatar: for a safer future..., Akıncı: We are tolerant people.” (14.10.20). (2. tura hazırlık, Tatar: Daha güvenli bir gelecek için...Akıncı: Bizler hoşgörülü insanlarız...).

**News 8:** “Parties are determined; CTP, TDP and YDP, DP and HP decided which candidate to support on Sunday.” (15.10.20). (Saflar belirlendi; CTP, TDP, DP ve HP Pazar günkü seçimde kimi destekleyeceklerine karar verdi).

**News 9:** “One stamp should be used for a valid vote.” (16.10.20). (Geçerli oy için mühür bir kez vurulmalı).

**News 10:** “Tatar: choose bravery not captivity.” (17.10.20). (Tatar: Esareti değil cesareti seçin).

**News 11:** “Today, we go to ballot box to elect the President.” (18.10.20). (Cumhurbaşkanını seçmek için bugün sandık başındayız).

**News 12:** “President is Ersin Tatar: 51.69% Tatar, 48.31% Akıncı.” (19.10.20). (Cumhurbaşkanı Ersin Tatar, Tatar: %51.69 Tatar, %48.31 Akıncı).

**News 13:** “Tatar: I will rise our homeland to better standards.” (20.10.20). (Ülkemizi daha iyi noktalara taşıyacağım).

**News 14:** “Tatar is to take over presidency today and Fuat Oktay is coming to the ceremony.” (23.10.20). (Tatar, bugün görevi devralıyor; törene Fuat Oktay da geliyor).

**News 15:** “The news period starts in Presidency.” (24.10.20). (Cumhurbaşkanlığı’nda yeni dönem başladı).

**Micro Analysis for October:** An explicit and informative language is used to report the election results.

**Macro Analysis for October:** The newspaper mostly presents Ersin Tatar’s propaganda and his slogans in a very striking and supportive manner in the news 7 and the news 10. In the news about the election, Kıbrıs newspaper, firstly uses headlines that are descriptive and put Ersin Tatar in the foreground; then, after the results of the first round, it starts to use news headlines and news feed that put Ersin Tatar to the foreground even more. Later on, the names of Ersin Tatar and Fuat Oktay are used together to underline that Turkey’s support is to Ersin Tatar. It also presents news supporting the view that the claims regarding Turkish Embassy’s intervention to the election process is not realistic and such claims are unacceptable in the news 1. Kıbrıs newspaper presents the power relation between Ersin Tatar, Turkey and solution with two states. Additionally, in the news 2, Kıbrıs newspaper pointed out that the other countries’ authorities interfere to the Turkey’s technical infrastructure. Kıbrıs newspaper also tried to draw attention to other countries’ attempt to interfere in the election and Turkey with this headline.



#### **5.1.4.2 The Fourth Theme: Election in Yenidüzen Newspaper**

In March, April, May, June 2020, there is no news about election in Yenidüzen newspaper.

There is only one piece of news about the election in July 2020 in Yenidüzen newspaper:

**News 1:** “Early election signals: Real or bluff ?.” (22.07.20). (Erken seçim sinyali, rest mi blöf mü?).

**Micro Analysis for July:** The news offers critical comments regarding the early election signals.

**Macro Analysis for July:** The criticism stressed for the government suggestions about election time such as real or bluff? It has focused on critical view about current government’ speeches for taking earlier the date of general election. Yenidüzen newspaper emphasised its mistrust regarding whether the government’s words reflected the truth or not, and wanted to help its readers question if the actions of the right-wing government of the time were authentic or manipulative.

There are 9 pieces of news about election in Yenidüzen newspaper in August 2020:

**News 1:** “Tatar – Ataoğlu - Arıklı are called to Ankara - DayDayDay.” (05.08.20). (Tatar - Ataoğlu - Arıklı Ankara’ya çağırıldı- DayDayDay).

**News 2:** “No consensus in Ankara. YDP party leader Arıklı’s declarations decoded negotiations about government formation with the authorities in Turkey.” (06.08.20). (Ankara’dan uzlaşma çıkmadı. YDP Genel Başkanı Arıklı’nın açıklamaları, TC yetkilileri huzurunda hükümet pazarlıklarını deşifre etti).

**News 3:** “Erhürman: The subject is here; the centre is Nicosia.” (07.08.20).  
(Erhürman: Özne burasıdır, merkez Lefkoşa’dır).

**News 4:** “It hurts the community conscience – (Public employment).” (11.08.20).  
(Kamu vicdanını yaralıyor).

**News 5:** “Reactions grow.” (12.08.20). (Tepki büyüdü).

**News 6:** “The invitation from the ambassador to the resentful members of (the Parliament from) UBP.” (15.08.20). (Elçi’den, UBP’nin küslerine yemek).

**News 7:** “Erhürman: Leadership, not leader.” (30.08.20). (Lider değil, Liderlik).

**News 8:** “Prime Minister Tatar’s photos commented as in the prayer are in the spotlight - Going to Dervish convent for election received reaction.” (31.08.20).  
(Başbakan Ersin Tatar’ın zikir olarak yorumlanan bir toplantıdaki görüntüleri gündem oldu- Seçim için Dergaha).

**Micro Analysis for August:** Yenidüzen newspaper uses a clearly critical and mocking language for the government of the time and its actions.

**Macro Analysis for August:** The newspaper mostly gives publicity to Tufan Erhürman’s propaganda and his words such as willpower, leadership and Cyprus issue being stressed as the election message to their followers (news 3 and news 7). Yenidüzen newspaper presents the visit to Ankara by people from the right-wing (Tatar-Ataoğlu-Arıklı) in a criticising manner and underlines that this visit before the elections would benefit Ersin Tatar with the clear support of Turkey in the news 1. Additionally, it associates Ersin Tatar’s photos from a religious session to the elections and presents its obvious criticism of Ersin Tatar to its readers. Also, in another news headline; the news 8, the dinner between the Turkish Embassy and the resentful representatives of UBP is emphasized as a step-in favour of Ersin Tatar in the

presidential elections so that the other representatives offended by Ersin Tatar would offer their support to Ersin Tatar during the elections. Here, Yenidüzen newspaper, effectively presented to its readers that Turkey intervened with the election process in a way that would benefit Ersin Tatar.

Moreover, the government of the time is emphasized to have followed a poor economic policy and the newspaper tried to establish cognition in the minds of its readers on this basis by criticizing the actions of the current government, rather than the pandemic.



Figure 12: Yenidüzen newspaper, 05 August, 2020

There are 4 pieces of news appeared about the election in Yenidüzen newspaper in September 2020:

**News 1:** “The election competition has been launched officially.... 11 candidates applied.” (05.09.20). (Seçim yarışı resmen...11 aday başvurdu).

**News 2:** “UN General Secretary Guterres: the efforts for Cyprus will start after the election.” (17.09.20). (BM Genel Sekreteri Guterres, Kıbrıs’taki çabalar seçimler sonrası başlayacak).

**News 3:** “The agenda of Tribal Sheikhs (Tatar’s photos in Nicosia Old City).” (20.09.20). (Şeyhler gündemi).

**News 4:** “Akıncı: Turkey intervenes to prevent me from being elected.” (30.09.20). (Akıncı: Türkiye, seçimi kazanmamam için aleni müdahale ediyor).

**News 5:** “Prime Minister, Democracy and Willpower FLEW AWAY, RUN AWAY. 117 million TL has been given by Fuat Oktay to be used in the election.” (30.09.20). (Başbakan, demokrasi, irade, UÇTU, KAÇTI. Oktay’dan seçime özel 117 milyom TL).

**Micro Analysis for September:** The language used comprises of critical sentences towards to the current government in both North Cyprus and Turkey.

**Macro Analysis for September:** Ersin Tatar and Fuat Oktay’s meetings are seen as an intervention before the election and criticizes due to the loss of democracy and willpower in TRNC. Moreover, Ersin Tatar’s photos are prominent for criticism and are used in a negative manner. Yenidüzen newspaper stresses that the aid from Turkey is in fact for Ersin Tatar to win the election and this needs to be perceived as an intervention to the elections. It clearly presents to its readers that the intervention is pursued by Turkey to help Ersin Tatar win and this damages the Turkish Cypriot democracy (news 5). The newspaper also presents UN General Secretary Antonio Guterres’ speech in line with its stance on Cyprus issue and a solution in Cyprus must be a federal one within the framework of the UN parameters in the news 2. Moreover,

in the news 4, Mustafa Akıncı's declaration offered in a convincing style that Turkey intervenes to the election for not to elect him.

There are 10 pieces of news about election in October 2020 in Yenidüzen newspaper:

**News 1:** "Akıncı: I am actively in politics for around 45 years, but, there has never been such an intervention in the election." (05.10.20). (Akıncı: 45 yıldır aktif siyasetin içindeyim, bu kadar müdahaleli bir seçim yaşanmadı).

**News 2:** "Today is the day for ballot boxes." (11.10.20). (Bugün sandık başındayız).

**News 3:** "Again, it is the second round; the participation in the ballot box is 58.21% and it is the rate." (12.10.20). (Yine ikinci tur. Sandığa katılım %58.21 ile en düşük oranda oldu).

**News 4:** "The lowest participation: from 93% to 58%. Evaluation of the historical decrease in participation to the election by Narin Şefik, the President for the Supreme Election Council: Pandemic is used as the cover for the resentment toward politics." (13.10.20). (%93'den %58'lere... En düşük katılım. Yüksek Mahkeme Başkanı Narin Şefik: Pandemi siyasete küskünlüğü kapatmak için kılıf olarak kullanıldı).

**News 5:** "The support for federal solution: CTP Party Council decided to support Mustafa Akıncı with unanimity in the second round of the elections." (14.10.20). (Federal çözüm desteği. CTP Parti Meclisi'nden ikinci tur için Mustafa Akıncı'ya oy birliği ile destek kararı çıktı).

**News 6:** No sentence has been used on the front but published solely a photo of people doing victory sign. (18.10.20). (Herhangi bir cümle kullanılmadı, sadece barış işareti yapan kişileri gösteren bir fotoğrak kullanıldı).

**News 7:** "AKP did all the work and Tatar won. Akıncı: 48.31% (62910 votes), Tatar: 51.69% (67322 votes)." (19.10.20). (AKP çalıştı, Tatar kazandı. Akıncı: %48.31 (62910 oy), Tatar: %51.69 (67322 oy)).

**News 8:** “The results of the second round.” (20.10.20). (Seçim, II. Tur sonuçları).

**News 9:** “Take over: Fuat Oktay who is recalled with interventions to the election and has been in the spotlight, attended to the handover ceremony at the Parliament ceremony but did not attend to the handover ceremony in the palace.” (24.10.20). (Devir, teslim. Cumhurbaşkanlığı seçimine müdahalesi ile gündemde yer alan Meclis Genel Kurulu’ndaki devir-teslim törenine katılan Fuat Oktay, Saray’daki devir-teslim törenine katılmadı).

**News 10:** “Political Scientist Hakan Gündüz: Domestic peace is wounded seriously.” (26.10.20). (Siyaset Bilimci Hakan Gündüz: İç barış büyük yara aldı).

**Micro Analysis for October:** A critical language is used by repeating specific words such as Turkey, AKP and Ersin Tatar in the sentences.

**Macro Analysis for October:** It presents the winning of Ersin Tatar with Turkey’s intervention and depicts this victory as the result of the current administration in Turkey through headlines such as “AKP did all the work and Tatar won”. The newspaper saliently reports that Ersin Tatar’s success is in fact the achievement of Turkey and AKP (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi-Justice and Development Party) and expresses the belief on intervention to the election for its readers. More importantly, in the upper head, it uses Narin Şefik’s, the President for the Supreme Election Council, announcement that the low participation to the election is not due to the pandemic but because of the wrong politics in an effort to highlight that Turkish Cypriot community’s confidence in politicians and politics is shaken. Yenidüzen newspaper underlines that the low participation in the elections is to be questioned and infers that this needs to be assessed in relation to the effectiveness of democracy. The newspaper, through Narin Şefik, the President for the Supreme Election Council, as a

reliable authority for source of information, presents that the low participation in the elections is not, in fact, the result of the pandemic but fault of the politicians' mistakes and establishes a public opinion in this regard. Trust is a crucial factor in social relationships due to its significance in establishing social capital. The social capital erosion formed in the society, especially against politicians is a clear example of the low participation rate in the elections (news 4).

The news 6 is also important. The front page of 18.10.20 newspaper, the day of the election, is very significant in terms of understanding the discourse of Yenidüzen newspaper. The newspaper referred to the Cyprus issue by putting a photo showing the crowd people with the victory sign. In other words, Yenidüzen stressed the message that their candidate supports federal solution or left-wing candidate.



Figure 13: Yenidüzen newspaper, 13 October, 2020





Figure 14: Yenidüzen newspaper, 18 October, 2020

#### 5.1.4.3 Comparison of the Two Newspapers' Discourse on Election

The presidential election news is published with a picture in favour of Ersin Tatar in Kıbrıs newspaper and his usage of the TRNC (Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus) in his discourse is stressed as a hidden message to draw the attention of cognition toward a two-state solution. Kıbrıs newspaper offers a news feed that puts Ersin Tatar's speeches positively to the foreground through the main headlines. It is obvious that this is done in order to create a positive representation of Ersin Tatar for the public. On the other hand, Yenidüzen newspaper discourse in regards to the election results is associated with Turkey and its intervention such as AKP helping Ersin Tatar to win the election. In plain language, Yenidüzen newspaper reports via its headlines that Turkey, with its support and intervention, interfered with the election process. Yenidüzen newspaper publishes also follows a news feed that put Tufan Erhürman's



speeches to the centre throughout the election process; and this is to be expected as the newspaper belongs to the CTP political party. However, after the results of the first round of elections and that it becomes certain that Mustafa Akıncı and Ersin Tatar would compete in the second round, the newspaper uses a photo of Tufan Erhürman and Mustafa Akıncı from a meeting of theirs as its upper head. The newspaper infers to its readers, especially the left-wing, that Mustafa Akıncı will also be supported by CTP in the second round of elections.

#### **5.1.5 Analysis of Kıbrıs and Yenidüzen Newspapers for Cyprus Issue**

This section presents the analysis of the data collected from the two newspapers on Cyprus in relation to a solution for the Cyprus issue.

##### **5.1.5.1 Fifth theme: Cyprus Issue on Kıbrıs Newspaper**

There is no news about Cyprus issue in March, April, May, June and July 2020 in Kıbrıs newspaper. There is only one piece of news in August 2020 in Kıbrıs newspaper:

**News 1:** “The reopening of the borders is a milestone (according to Nicosia shopkeepers).” (02.08.20). (Sınır kapılarının açılması dönüm noktası oldu).

**Micro Analysis for August:** The language is used in a descriptive manner giving positive messages to the public.

**Macro Analysis for August:** The news is about the reopening of the borders between the two sides and how this is positive step in terms of cooperation between the two communities. From this perspective, Cyprus issue is on the agenda of both sides so the reopening of borders had a positive impact on the economy according to the shopkeepers of the Old City. The newspaper presents the reopening of the borders after

the pandemic as a positive step for the economy of both communities through the comments of the shopkeepers.

There are 3 pieces of news related on the Cyprus issue in September 2020 in Kıbrıs newspaper:

**News 1:** “UN General Secretary Guterres: I will re-start the political procedures after the election in TRNC.” (17.09.20). (BM Genel Sekreteri Guterres: KKTC’deki seçimlerin ardından siyasi süreci tekrar başlatacağım).

**News 2:** “Turkey’s Foreign Minister Çavuşoğlu: Let’s decide what to negotiate.” (18.09.20). (Türkiye Dışişleri Bakanı: Çavuşoğlu: Neyi müzakare edeceğimizi belirlemeliyiz).

**News 3:** “A regional conference suggestion by Erdoğan.” (23.09.20). (Erdoğan’dan bölgesel konferans önerisi).

**Micro Analysis for September:** The language is descriptive and informative on Cyprus issue.

**Macro Analysis for September:** The news focus on UN General Secretary Guterres’ speech in the context of re-unification negotiations resuming after the presidential election in North Cyprus in the news 1. In this regard, the news 3 is included about Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’s suggestion for the Cyprus solution by meeting through a regional conference together with the guarantor countries. The other news is about Turkey’s Foreign Minister Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu and his declaration. He stressed that it would be good to learn what we will discuss with the UN. Kıbrıs newspaper specifically uses the terms Turkey, UN and negotiation process in the same sentences

to highlight the significance and role of Turkey during the process of Cyprus negotiations.

There are 6 pieces of news about Cyprus issue in Kıbrıs newspaper in October 2020:

**News 1:** “Erdoğan: We are ready for dialogue with Greece without any precondition.” (01.10.20). (Erdoğan: Yunanistan’la ön koşulsuz olarak diyaloga hazırız).

**News 2:** “Tatar: Federation thesis is collapsed despite extreme compromise. There has been 46 years of negotiations with the UN’s parameters without any successes.” (05.10.20). (Tatar: Federasyon tezi aşırı tavizlere rağmen çöktü. Kıbrıs’ta 46 yıldır BM parametrelerine bağlı olarak federasyon görüşüldü, hiçbirşey başaramadı).

**News 3:** “TRNC President Tatar: We will stand as steep and not be meek at the table.” (19.10.20). (KKTC Cumhurbaşkanı Tatar: Masada ezik değil, dik duracağız).

**News 4:** “Erdoğan: the two-state solution should come to the table.” (27.10.20). (Erdoğan: Masaya iki devletli çözüm gelmeli).

**News 5:** “Tatar and Anastasiadis will meet on November 3.” (28.10.20). (Tatar ile Anastasiadis 3 Kasım’da görüşüyor).

**News 6:** “Tatar: no matter they would recognize or not, TRNC is a distinct state.” (30.10.20). (Tatar: İster tanısinlar, ister tanımasınlar KKTC ayrı bir devlettir).

**Micro Analysis for October:** The language is in a descriptive manner with positive messages about Cyprus issue using the speeches of Ersin Tatar and Recep Tayyip Erdoğan.

**Macro Analysis for October:** Ersin Tatar’s claim is that federation for Cyprus is destroyed and 46 years with the UN on a federal solution accomplished nothing (news 2). This news is portrayed as true speech and federal solution is not applicable solution

for Cyprus issue. In the news 4, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's suggestion the two-state solution is prominent and presented in a positive and acceptable manner. In this context, Ersin Tatar's sentence highlights that the Turkish side will sit in trust and with self-confidence to the table with the UN for Cyprus negotiations. Kıbrıs newspaper broadcasted its news regarding the Cyprus issue through the terms Turkey, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and Ersin Tatar in a style that attempts to highlight a solution alternative for Cyprus issue would be accepting the existence of TRNC in a two-state solution. Ersin Tatar also argues that Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus will continue to exist even if it is without other countries' recognition (news 6). This news is presented as important and rightful in Kıbrıs newspaper.

#### **5.1.5.2 Fifth Theme: Cyprus issue in Yenidüzen Newspaper**

There is no news in March, April, May, June, July, August and September 2020 in Yenidüzen newspaper about Cyprus issue. There are 3 pieces of news regarding Cyprus issue in October 2020 on Yenidüzen newspaper:

**News 1:** "The support for federal solution." (14.10.20). (Federal çözüm desteği).

**News 2:** "The first meeting will be on November 3 (Tatar and Anastasiadis will meet unofficially)." (28.10.20). (İlk görüşme 3 Kasım'da).

**News 3:** "Thank you from UN General Secretary Guterres to Akıncı." (30.10.20). (Guterres'ten Akıncı'ya teşekkür).

**News 4:** "The eyes are on the negotiation table, UN General Secretary Guterres replied Greek Cypriot Leader Nikos Anastasiadis' letter: The negotiations will resume within the frame of the UN." (31.10.20). (Gözler müzakare masasında. BM Genel Sekreteri Guterres, Kıbrıslı Rum lider Nikos Anastasiadis'in mektubuna yanıt verdi: Müzakereler yeniden BM çerçevesinde başlayacak).

**Micro Analysis for October:** The language used in the news is informative.

**Macro Analysis for October:** In the news 1, Yenidüzen used a photo that shows Mustafa Akıncı and Tufan Erhürman in a friendly manner after the first round of election, and written as headline; “The support for federal solution”. This headline referred to the ideological stance of Yenidüzen about Cyprus issue is federation and stressed Tufan Erhürman and his party supports Mustafa Akıncı in the second round.

In the news 3, the UN General Secretary Guterres’ speech expresses his thanks to Mustafa Akıncı for the initiatives of Cyprus solution. This discourse is depicted as Mustafa Akıncı’s efforts are the right steps to take and are considered as the suitable act for Cyprus. The newspaper, here, aims to underline that the meetings Mustafa Akıncı conducts in the presence of the UN for the Turkish Cypriot community are crucial and this is also acknowledged by the UN General Secretary. In the news 4, the answer from Antonio Guterres to the letter of Nikos Anastasiadis is to restart the UN negotiations. While attempting to emphasize the significant role of UN in Cyprus issue, the newspaper, in fact, offers its support for a federal solution regarding Cyprus issue. From this perspective, the discourse on Cyprus solution suggests that the talks need to continue with the UN in international arena and this act should to be supported.



Figure 15: Yenidüzen newspaper, 14 October, 2020

### 5.1.5.3 Comparison of Two Newspapers’ Discourse for Cyprus Issue

Kıbrıs newspaper uses very supportive language for Ersin Tatar and his speeches by publicising his repetitive and crucial words such as TRNC, two-state solution and Turkey. It can easily be argued that Kıbrıs newspaper draws attention to Tatar and his actions such as reopening of the Varosha and declaration in Ankara. On the other hand, Yenidüzen’s depiction is more supporting of the federal solution and continuation of the negotiations under this scheme with the initiatives of the UN. As it is clearly seen from the depiction of Kıbrıs newspaper, it supports separate states referred to as the two-state solution according to its ideological stance which emerges from a nationalistic origin. Yenidüzen newspaper emphasizes the UN, South Cyprus and Mustafa Akıncı to draw attention to a federal solution and supporters of this solution. Regarding the Cyprus issue, both newspapers present a discourse in line with their

ideological stance and use the news headlines to strengthen the existing views of their readers or to influence the readers with the opposing views. In terms of news density, Cyprus issue is discussed at relatively lower rates in both newspapers, compared to other topics, during the election period.

## **5.2 New (Social) Media**

This section presents the analysis of the data gathered from Twitter and Facebook as the new media platforms.

### **5.2.1 Analysis of Data from Twitter**

During the period of data collection, I entered into my Twitter accounts regularly and tweets are derived through using Google NCapture for Nvivo, searching specifically for the names of the candidates: Ersin Tatar, Mustafa Akıncı, Kudret Özersay, Erhan Arıklı, Tufan Erhürman and Serdar Denktaş, along with ‘KKTC Cumhurbaşkanlığı Seçimi’ (TRNC Presidential election); therefore, all tweets are from people who commented on these names. Later on, the sentences containing the names of 6 candidates and the 5 themes (Varosha, Intervention, Covid, Election and Cyprus issue) are matched through Nvivo software and found on Twitter to be further analysed via CDA.

As the number of tweets transferred to Nvivo is close to 2500 pages on paper, it was not possible to analyse them one by one. Thus, the sentences on all pages are read one by one, in order to select the supporting and opposing sentences for critical discourse analysis of each theme.

Firstly, the themes used most are identified in the following table on the basis of the candidates. Critical discourse analysis is also implemented to the Twitter results with a different approach from that of the newspapers. As it can be seen from the Table

below, it is not possible to analyse 44702 tweets one by one through critical discourse analysis, so purposive sampling is conducted to determine and analyse the tweets containing each theme and names of the candidates.

The most significant contribution of the Twitter results for this study is that it will identify on which topic and candidates the public discourse is shaped and determine the cognition regarding these matters.

The five main themes of the study are; Varosha, intervention claims in the election, Covid-19 (pandemic), election, Cyprus issue are searched on Twitter. In addition to these, certain names also appear in the table such as motherland (anavatan), and South Cyprus (Güney Kıbrıs).

Table 4: Twitter analysis on each theme in relation to the most popular candidates

|                                               | Motherland | Covid | Solution | South Cyprus | Cyprus | Varosha | Intervention | pandemic | Election | Total |
|-----------------------------------------------|------------|-------|----------|--------------|--------|---------|--------------|----------|----------|-------|
| 1 : erhan anıklı - Twitter Search ~ Twitter   | 1          | 12    | 3        | 0            | 52     | 4       | 0            | 17       | 419      | 508   |
| 2 : ersin tatar - Twitter Search ~ Twitter    | 1380       | 1915  | 199      | 1366         | 7264   | 4916    | 12           | 245      | 4052     | 21349 |
| 3 : kudret özersay - Twitter Search ~ Twitter | 3          | 32    | 12       | 191          | 260    | 77      | 0            | 4        | 444      | 1023  |
| 4 : mustafa akıncı - Twitter Search ~ Twitter | 721        | 47    | 3923     | 1773         | 6909   | 1007    | 6            | 155      | 4567     | 19108 |
| 5 : serdar denктаş - Twitter Search ~ Twitter | 0          | 3     | 10       | 4            | 274    | 31      | 0            | 1        | 490      | 813   |
| 6 : tufan erhürman - Twitter Search ~ Twitter | 0          | 0     | 24       | 2            | 827    | 4       | 0            | 10       | 1034     | 1901  |
| Total                                         | 2105       | 2009  | 4171     | 3336         | 15586  | 6039    | 18           | 432      | 11006    | 44702 |

Table 5: Twitter analysis on each theme in relation to the most popular candidates (in Turkish)

|                                               | anavatan | Covid | Çözüm | Güney Kıbrıs | Kıbrıs | Maraş | Müdahale | pandemi | Seçim | Total |
|-----------------------------------------------|----------|-------|-------|--------------|--------|-------|----------|---------|-------|-------|
| 1 : erhan anıklı - Twitter Search ~ Twitter   | 1        | 12    | 3     | 0            | 52     | 4     | 0        | 17      | 419   | 508   |
| 2 : ersin tatar - Twitter Search ~ Twitter    | 1380     | 1915  | 199   | 1366         | 7264   | 4916  | 12       | 245     | 4052  | 21349 |
| 3 : kudret özersay - Twitter Search ~ Twitter | 3        | 32    | 12    | 191          | 260    | 77    | 0        | 4       | 444   | 1023  |
| 4 : mustafa akıncı - Twitter Search ~ Twitter | 721      | 47    | 3923  | 1773         | 6909   | 1007  | 6        | 155     | 4567  | 19108 |
| 5 : serdar denктаş - Twitter Search ~ Twitter | 0        | 3     | 10    | 4            | 274    | 31    | 0        | 1       | 490   | 813   |
| 6 : tufan erhürman - Twitter Search ~ Twitter | 0        | 0     | 24    | 2            | 827    | 4     | 0        | 10      | 1034  | 1901  |
| Total                                         | 2105     | 2009  | 4171  | 3336         | 15586  | 6039  | 18       | 432     | 11006 | 44702 |



Twitter results that stemmed from Nvivo programme analysis show that the highest circulation of tweets is about Ersin Tatar with 21349 in total, the second highest are about Mustafa Akıncı with 19108 in total. These names are followed by Tufan Erhürman with 1901 tweets, Kudret Özersay with 1023, Serdar Denktaş with 813, and lastly, Erhan Arıklılı with 508 tweets on Twitter.

When the five themes Varosha, Intervention, Covid-19, election and Cyprus issue are taken into consideration with candidates' names, the most noticeable results are on Ersin Tatar's name which is mostly used together with Cyprus for 7264 times, Varosha for 4916 times and election for 4052 times. It should be noted that Mustafa Akıncı and Ersin Tatar went for the second round in the election which is why they have higher number of tweets when compared to the other candidates.

### **5.2.2 Analysis of Tweets about Varosha**

In relation to Varosha, a total of 44702 tweets are found and analysed as part of this study. The breakdown for the number of tweets by each candidate is as follows: Erhan Arıklılı has 4 tweets, Ersin Tatar has 4916, Kudret Özersay has 77, Mustafa Akıncı has 1007, Serdar Denktaş has 31, and Tufan Erhürman has 4 tweets.

In summary, out of the 6039 total tweets, Ersin Tatar has 4916 tweets followed by Mustafa Akıncı with 1007 tweets about Varosha. On the other hand, Kudret Özersay has 77 tweets and Serdar Denktaş has 31 tweets while Erhan Arıklılı and Tufan Erhürman each have 4 tweets about Varosha. The public discussed Ersin Tatar together with Varosha mostly as he is the leading actor of the process.

Varosha is searched as both 'Maras' and 'Maraş'. Tweets are selected according to the use of the word Varosha and candidates' names on tweets. Tweets are also translated

from Turkish into English and the translations are presented in brackets. It can be argued that the main reason why Varosha is talked about less on Twitter is because it was announced to be opened 5 days prior to the election, hence, people are less likely to comment on it. However, Varosha become the most criticized act on the public tweets.

### **Examples of Tweets on Varosha on Twitter:**

Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

“Tatar says the beaches of Maras (Varosha) will be opened to the public. (Maraş sahili açılıyor).”

Reference 9 - 0.01% Coverage

“Ersin Tatar’s government is down. Probably due to the difference of opinions regarding the opening of Varosha. (janreno\_\_ Ersin Tatar hükümeti düştü.muhtemelen maras açılmasıyla alakalı görüş ayrılıkları..).”

Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

“We, as YDP, applaud the practices regarding Varosha”). (Erhan Arıklı: “YDP olarak Maraş konusunda yapılan uygulamayı alkışlıyoruz”).

Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

“Hopefully, Varosha will stop being a ghost town  
(Ersin Tatar: “İnşallah Maraş bir hayalet kent olmaktan çıkacak).”

Reference 6 - 0.01% Coverage

“President Erdoğan’s Varosha statement, what Ersin Tatar says...  
(Cumhurbaşkanı Erdoğan’ın Maraş mesajı, Ersin Tatar’ın söyledikleri çok).”

Reference 9 - 0.01% Coverage

“Akıncı, Ersin Tatar, Annan Plan, Varosha, embargo, etc. (Akıncı, Ersin Tatar, Annan planı, Maraş, ambargo vs. vs).  
For those who are interested in. (İlgilenenler için).”

Reference 18 - 0.01% Coverage

“I guess this is not the opening of Varosha referred to by presidential candidate Ersin Tatar. (Cumhurbaşkanı adayı Ersin Tatar’ın kastettiği Maraş açılımı bu değildir sanırım).”

Reference 24 0.01% Coverage

“Despite the bribery in favour of Ersin Tatar, the opening of Varosha and the threats against Akıncı. (Ersin Tatar lehine verdiği rüşvetlere, Maraş açılımına, Akıncı’ya yönelik tehditlere rağmen).”

Reference 38 - 0.01% Coverage

“ALL PATHS are tried for Tatar to win. (Tatarın kazanması için HER YOL deneniyor).  
Varosha was opened for show only. (Maraş göstermelik açıldı).  
In case, the elections. (Olur da, seçimleri).”

Reference 42 - 0.01% Coverage

“Tatar broke the hearts of many focal points. Ignored Özersay on the Varosha matter, Arıklı’s.... (Tatar çok fazla odağın kalbini kırdı. Maraş meselesinde Özersay’ı ekarte etti, Arıklı’nın).”

Reference 43 - 0.01% Coverage

“Ersin Tatar is not the Prime Minister. His move for Varosha caused the government to fall.  
(unsalunlu Ersin Tatar başbakan değil. Maraş hamlesi hükümetin düşmesine neden oldu).”

Reference 54 - 0.01% Coverage

“Closed Varosha is being opened after 46 years, in Ankara. (Kapalı Maraş 46 yıl sonra açılıyor Ankara’da).”

Reference 55 - 0.01% Coverage

“Tatar trusts Erdoğan but that Varosha issue brought his end.  
(Tatar Erdoğan’a güveniyor ama o Maraş meselesi kendisini bitirdi).”

Reference 62 - 0.01% Coverage

“Akıncı criticizes the reopening of Varosha. (Akıncı Maraş açılımını eleştiriyor).  
Anastasiades: Stop Ankara. (Anastasiades Ankara’yı durdurun).”

### **Micro Analysis of Tweets on Varosha on Twitter**

The sentences about Varosha are repeated with the names of Ersin Tatar, Mustafa Akıncı, Turkey and Recep Tayyip Erdoğan in order to provide a descriptive and critical analysis of the views of the two people with opposing stance.

## **Macro Analysis of Tweets on Varosha on Twitter**

The CDA analysis of the tweets gives more significance to macro analysis because the discourse in the tweets helps us understand what the opening of Varosha means for the public. Discourse represents social cognition and this is important in managing the minds (Van Dijk, 2015). In the Twitter comments about Varosha, the use of the words Tatar, Erdoğan and Varosha in the same sentence highlighted the trust of Ersin Tatar in Turkey and in President Erdoğan during the election process and that Turkey's support is with Ersin Tatar. Moreover, Tatar's government was criticized for not informing Kudret Özersay, the coalition partner of the time. According to the public's discourse led to the falldown of the coalition government due to Ersin Tatar's act (Tweet: Ersin Tatar is not the Prime Minister His move for Varosha caused the government to fall) Additionally, the tweet 'Tatar broke the hearts of many focal points. Ignored Özersay on the Varosha matter' clearly indicates Ersin Tatar's wrong act during the process of Varosha as not informing his coalition partner; Özersay. Public see this act as an unethical behaviour in politics that Varosha's opening process is not the open for the benefit of Turkish Cypriots, it is opened for the benefit for Ersin Tatar. More interestingly, Varosha's opening process has been resulted with the fall of government, this is because it occurred nonconfidence between coalition partners.

In fact, while the announcement of the opening of Varosha from Turkey is criticized in some tweets, it is stressed that Ersin Tatar used this process to gain advantage in the elections. Additionally, some tweets indicate that there is a huge support for electing Ersin Tatar by Turkey and Varosha became as a tool for it. A directly critical language is also used in certain tweets during the opening process of Varosha (Tweet: ALL PATHS are tried for Tatar to win. Varosha was opened for show only) More importantly, in terms of opening of Varosha, the public discourse on the opening of

Varosha sees the opening as a step-in favour of Ersin Tatar, not for the benefit of Turkish Cypriots.

The tweet “Akıncı criticizes the reopening of Varosha and Anastasiades: Stop Ankara” clarifies Mustafa Akıncı’s views about Varosha and South Cyprus’s possible reactions for the opening of Varosha. This tweet shows that public cognition has been shaped by the process of Varosha supported by Turkey for helping Ersin Tatar to win.

The tweet “I guess this is not the opening of Varosha referred to by presidential candidate Ersin Tatar” is also significant for understanding the public discourse. Public indicates their concerns and views about the opening of Varosha in a criticizing manner. This is because, the opening of Varosha is not an acceptable act suddenly five days before the presidential elections without giving any information to the public and coalition partners. The public see as an act of Ersin Tatar for the investment of election. In addition, the tweet “We, as YDP, applaud the practices regarding Varosha” referred as right-wing politicians’ happiness in the sense of the opening of Varosha. It can be clearly argued that right-wing ideology supports the opening of Varosha even if they compete with Ersin Tatar in the presidential elections, however, the left-wing candidates, mainly Mustafa Akıncı shows his reactions for Varosha. As a result, Varosha is an issue that polarized between left and right ideology in North Cyprus. The main reason for reaction to the opening of Varosha, it constituted as hope for the supporters of federal solution under the umbrella of UN parameters.

#### **5.2.2.1 Analysis of Tweets for Intervention**

The word ‘intervention’ is searched both as ‘mudahale’ and ‘müdahale’. In relation to intervention, 18 tweets are found on Twitter. The word intervention is used in relation to only two names: Ersin Tatar, the Prime Minister of the time with 12 tweets and

Mustafa Akıncı, the President of the time, with 6 tweets on Twitter. The other candidates' names have not been used with intervention. This is due to Mustafa Akıncı's claims about interventions by Turkey for him not to be elected and Ersin Tatar's strong rejection of the matter.

### **Examples of Tweets on Intervention on Twitter:**

Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

“Tatar: Hello... Is it Turkey? Please intervene, bro!.  
(Tatar: Alo... Türkiye mi? Lütfen müdahale edin be gardaş!).”

Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

“Erdoğan-AKP government intervened with the elections in Cyprus becoming co-conspirator and partner in crime. Ersin Tatar won the election, TRNC, Mustafa Akıncı, Cyprus. (Erdoğan-AKP iktidarı Kıbrıs seçimlerine müdahale ederek, işbirlikçi ve suç ortağı. Ersin Tatar'a seçim kazandırmıştır KKTC, Mustafa Akıncı, Cyprus).”

### **Micro Analysis of Tweets on Intervention on Twitter**

The sentences about intervention are mostly used together with the words of Erdoğan, Turkey and Tatar through a criticizing language by the public on Twitter.

### **Macro Analysis of Tweets on Intervention on Twitter**

Although, the claims of intervention are not a term often used in Twitter, the following tweet used by the public caught attention in particular: “Tatar: Hello...Is it Turkey? Please intervene, bro”. It is worth noting that this tweet also received the highest number of retweets. As the above-mentioned tweet presented Ersin Tatar's call to Turkey for intervention in a mocking and criticizing manner, this can be interpreted as the public's belief that Turkey supports Ersin Tatar for the election.

In, yet, another tweet, Erdoğan, AKP, Cyprus election and intervention is used together in a criticizing manner to share with the public that it is a wrongful act. On the other hand, the words of Mustafa Akıncı and intervention are used together in a manner confirming the intervention despite supporting an opposing view, by addressing Mustafa Akıncı and saying that this is how intervention is done (Tweet: Erdoğan-AKP government intervened with the elections in Cyprus becoming co-conspirator and partner in crime. Ersin Tatar won the election, TRNC, Mustafa Akıncı, Cyprus).

In the tweets collected from the public, it is noted that a cognition about intervention is formed, no matter which wing is supported, as Ersin Tatar is elected and Mustafa Akıncı is not. Hence, the public discourse in the tweets is shaped toward the belief that Turkey intervened with the election to help Ersin Tatar win. This was evidently seen as a justified act by right-wing supporters while left-wing supporters considered the move as an unacceptable intervention to the democracy of TRNC.

#### **5.2.2.2 Analysis of Tweets for Covid-19**

In relation to Covid-19, Covid-19 and pandemic are searched as the most popular words regarding the topic. First, there are 2009 tweets with the word Covid-19 and the second word pandemic is included in 432 tweets. In total, 2441 tweets are posted and the ratio of each candidate to tweets on Covid-19 is calculated. Erhan Arıklı's name is used in 12 tweets for Covid and 17 tweets with the word pandemic, resulting in a total of 29 tweets. Ersin Tatar's name is seen with Covid in 1915 tweets and with pandemic in 245 tweets, making a total of 2160 tweets. Kudret Özersay's name appears in 32 tweets in relation to Covid and 4 tweets with the word pandemic, having 36 tweets in total. Mustafa Akıncı's name is noted to be used in 47 tweets with Covid and in 155 tweets with pandemic, appearing in a total of 202 tweets. Serdar Denktaş's name is used in 3 tweets with Covid and in 1 tweet together with pandemic making a total of

4 tweets. Lastly, Tufan Erhürman's name is not used together in any tweet with the word Covid-19 but it is used in 10 tweets with the word pandemic.

Compared to the other themes from this study, Covid-19 and pandemic are the most used terms in the tweets during the election. Both the words Covid and pandemic are searched in Turkish among the tweets and are analysed through CDA.

### **Examples of Tweets on Covid-19 pandemic on Twitter:**

Reference 75 - 0.01% Coverage

“As of midnight in Turkey, the Covid-19 patients in the region will be transferred to the healthcare facilities in Turkey.  
(Türkiye'nin gece yarısından itibaren bölgedeki Covid-19 hastalarının Türkiye'deki sağlık kuruluşlarına).”

Reference 85 - 0.01% Coverage

“Prime Minister Ersin Tatar: Covid-19 patients are being transferred to Turkey.  
(Başbakan Ersin Tatar: Covid-19 hastaları Türkiye'ye naklediliyor).”

Reference 239 - 0.01% Coverage

“Ersin Tatar claimed that the CoronaVirus (Covid-19) pandemic in the country is under control. (Ersin Tatar, ülkede Corona Virüs (Covid-19) salgınının kontrol altına alındığını).”

Reference 240 - 0.01% Coverage

“Tatar announced that there have been no new cases of Covid-19 for the past five days.  
(Tatar 5 gündür yeni bir Covid-19 vakası tespit edilmediğini açıkladı).”

Reference 245 - 0.01% Coverage

“...President Mustafa Akıncı for bringing Covid-19 medication from South Cyprus.  
(Cumhurbaşkanı Mustafa Akıncı'yı Güney Kıbrıs'tan Covid 19 virüs İLACı getirttiği için).”

Reference 250 - 0.01% Coverage



“in his meeting, expressed that Turkey’s support for TRNC will continue in its fight against Coronavirus (Covid-19).  
(görüşmesinde, Türkiye’nin KKTC’ye desteğinin Koronavirüsle (Covid-19) mücadelede de süreceğini ifade).”

Reference 263 - 0.01% Coverage

“The Prime Ministry Covid-19 Coordination Council formed upon Ersin Tatar’s order, Dr. Sibel... (Ersin Tatar’ın talebiyle oluşturulan Başbakanlık Covid-19 Koordinasyon Konseyi Dr Sibel).”

Reference 12 - 0.01% Coverage

“the first death in TRNC due to COVID-19. (Kıbrıs Türk Cumhuriyeti’nde (KKTC) koronavirüs (Covid-19) nedeniyle ilk ölüm gerçekleşti).”

Reference 13 - 0.01% Coverage

“TRNC President Mustafa Akıncı’s request from Greek authorities for COVID-19... (KKTC Cumhurbaşkanı Mustafa Akıncı’nın, #koronavirüs (Covid-19) nedeniyle Rum yönetiminden talep).”

Reference 28 - 0.01% Coverage

“Aid from President Erdoğan for the new type of Covid-19 pandemic.  
(Cumhurbaşkanı Erdoğan’dan yeni tip Koronavirüs (Covid-19) salgını nedeni ile yardım).”

Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage

“Akıncı’s duration of duty has expired, as there has been no new election during the pandemic... (açtı. Akıncı’nın görev süresi bitti, Pandemi sürecinde yeni seçim yapılmadığı için).  
NEWSFLASH. (SONDAKİKA).  
TRNC President Ersin Tatar: by providing us with great support during the pandemic. (KKTC Cumhurbaşkanı Ersin Tatar: Pandemi döneminde bizlere büyük destek vererek).”

Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

“With Recep Tayyip Erdoğan as the leader, MOTHERLAND support throughout the pandemic.  
(Recep Tayyip Erdoğan olmak üzere, Pandemi sürecinde bize destek olan ANA).”

Reference 22 - 0.01% Coverage

“Motherland Turkey” highlight in the balcony speech. (balkon konuşmasında ’Anavatan Türkiye’ vurgusu).  
By providing us with great support during the pandemic. (Pandemi döneminde

bizlere büyük destek vererek).’’

Reference 62 - 0.01% Coverage

‘‘The construction of the pandemic hospital was launched with the instruction from Recep Tayyip Erdoğan.  
(Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’ın Talimatı ile Pandemi Hastanesi Yapımı Başlandı" diyor).’’

Reference 224 - 0.01% Coverage

‘‘Prime Minister Ersin Tatar, ‘‘The completion of the pandemic hospital by October...  
(Başbakan Ersin Tatar, ‘‘Pandemi hastanesinin Ekim ayına kadar tamamlanması).’’

Reference 228 - 0.01% Coverage

‘‘There was presidential election in TRNC but it is postponed to October 11 due to the pandemic.  
(KKTC’de Cumhurbaşkanlığı seçimi vardı ama pandemi nedeniyle 11 Ekim’e ertelendi).’’

Reference 237 - 0.01% Coverage

‘‘Public: You promised a pandemic hospital, what happened to that?. (Halk: Pandemi hastanesi sozu veriydiniz oldu o).’’

Reference 238 - 0.01% Coverage

‘‘Ersin Tatar: I did not say pandemic, I said patisserie.  
Cok yakinda. Soon.  
(Ersin Tatar: Ben pandemi demedim pastane dedim!).’’

### **Micro Analysis of Tweets on Covid-19 on Twitter**

The sentence structure and language use regarding Covid, concentrated around Covid-19, aid from Turkey, Ersin Tatar and the pandemic hospital. The sentences are mostly ironical in a questioning manner, briefly informative using a plain but mocking language regarding the aid and Covid-19.

### **Macro Analysis of Tweets on Covid-19 on Twitter**

The tweets about Covid and pandemic are mostly noted to the retweets about the medical aid from Turkey. The tweets about Ersin Tatar and the pandemic hospital built by Turkey also have high number of retweets. In addition to Ersin Tatar's statement about Covid-19 being under control before the elections, Mustafa Akıncı's expired duty period as of April 2020 was included in the tweets. The medical aid from South Cyprus requested by Mustafa Akıncı was also in the tweets with comments from some parties arguing that Mustafa Akıncı is the subject of unfair accusation. In terms of macro analysis, sentences about Turkey, Ersin Tatar and pandemic hospital are in the forefront, and it is noticed that the medical aid from Turkey is presented in an informative manner. This shows that during a pandemic such as Covid-19, public discourse is more about the importance of the medical aid and the society does not offer much criticism on such acts.

Also, there is another interesting tweet "Ersin Tatar: I did not say pandemic, I said patisserie" focuses on criticizing Ersin Tatar's discourse in a mocking language. This tweet questions Ersin Tatar's discourse if it is true or not by the public. In other words, the public used a sarcastic language about Ersin Tatar that referred as his acts are questionable in the sense of trust.

#### **5.2.2.3 Analysis of Tweets for Election**

In relation to the election, a total of 11006 tweets are found on Twitter. Erhan Arıklı's name is used in 419 tweets with the word election. Ersin Tatar's name appears in 4052 tweets in relation to the election. Kudret Özersay's name is seen in 444 tweets with the word election. Mustafa Akıncı's name is used in 4567 tweets in regards to the election. The name of Serdar Denktaş appears in 490 tweets about the election. Tufan Erhürman's name is used in 1034 tweets on the election. On an important note, Mustafa Akıncı is the leading name to be mentioned in relation to the election with

4567 tweets, the highest number of tweets among all six candidates. The words of both ‘seçim’ and ‘secim’ are searched in Turkish over Twitter.

### **Examples of Tweets on Election on Twitter:**

#### **Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage**

Ersin Tatar thanks Erdoğan in his post-election speech.  
(Ersin Tatar secim sonrasi konusmasinda Erdogan'a tesekkür ediyor).

#### **Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage**

Mustafa Akıncı received 29% of the votes. Election is left to the second round.  
Ersin Tatar's...  
(Mustafa Akıncı %29 oy aldı. Secim 2. Tura kaldı. Ersin Tatar'ın).

#### **Reference 36 - 0.01% Coverage**

It was already opened for Ersin Tatar, it will lose its meaning after the elections.  
(Ersin Tatar için açılmıştı zaten secim sonrası anlamını yitirir).

#### **Reference 39 - 0.01% Coverage**

There is no government at the moment. Cypriots are against Varosha being used as an election material!).  
(hükümet yok suan. Kıbrıslılar Marasın secim malzemesi yapılmasına karşı!).

#### **Reference 43 - 0.01% Coverage**

after the previous bribery, Ersin Tatar's new election bribe: 1 year of unpaid ...for the farmer.  
(rusvetinden sonra Ersin Tatar'dan yeni secim rusveti: Ciftciye 1 yıl ödemesiz).

#### **Reference 45 - 0.01% Coverage**

According to the latest election survey in North Cyprus, the first round...  
(Kuzey Kıbrıs'ta Yapılan Son Secim anketine göre, ilk turda).

#### **Reference 44 - 0.01% Coverage**

The results of TRNC Presidential elections:... (KKTC Cumhurbaşkanlığı seçim sonuçları)  
Opened ballot boxes: 97.45%. (Açılan sandık: yüzde 97.45).

#### Reference 462 - 0.01% Coverage

We extend heartfelt thanks to Turkey. In order to make election tools, to Motherland Turkey...  
(Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'ne teşekkürü borç sayarız. Seçim malzemesi yapmak için Anavatan Türkiye'ye).

#### Reference 3531 - 0.01% Coverage

Critical elections approach in Cyprus. (Kıbrıs'ta kritik seçim yaklaşıyor...).  
Ersin Tatar in TRNC. (KKTC'de Ersin Tatar).

#### Reference 3548 - 0.01% Coverage

The TRNC Elections will be on October 11. (11 Ekim'de KKTC'de seçim var).  
I hope Mustafa Akıncı...the election. (Umarım seçimi Mustafa Akıncı).

#### Reference 3579 - 0.01% Coverage

President Akıncı will continue his duty until the elections.  
(Cumhurbaşkanı Mustafa Akıncı, seçim tarihine kadar görevine devam edecek).

### **Micro Analysis of Tweets on Election on Twitter**

The sentences are generally simple and informative. They provide information on the change in the date of the election and Mustafa Akıncı continuing his duty despite the duration being expired. Also, some tweets referred to the cooperation between Turkey and TRNC. Also, some tweets only reflected the ratio of the presidential election' results in an informative way.

### **Macro Analysis of Tweets on Election on Twitter**

The comments about the elections mostly have tweets on postponing of the presidential elections, and how Mustafa Akıncı would continue his duty until the elections despite the duration being over. However, Ersin Tatar's thankful message to Recep Tayyip Erdoğan after winning the election is the tweet with the highest number of retweets. The analysis of the discourse for this case shows that Ersin Tatar expressed his thanks

Turkey and Recep Tayyip Erdoğan for the support he received throughout the election process. Also, some tweets claim that the reopening of Varosha is a move to gain advantage in the elections and it is acknowledged as a step-in favour of Ersin Tatar by the public. Furthermore, the medical aid package offered by Ersin Tatar for the farmers with no payment in one year is seen as bribery by the public and discourse reflecting their reactions in parallel to this belief are noted in the comments and the tweets.

#### **5.2.2.4 Analysis of Tweets for Cyprus Issue**

In relation to Cyprus issue, three words solution, South Cyprus and Cyprus are searched on Twitter. The first word, solution is in 4171 tweets; the second word, South Cyprus is included in 3336 Tweets and the third word, Cyprus is used in 15586 tweets.

Erhan Arıklı's name is used in 3 tweets for solution; 52 tweets for Cyprus, so there are a total of 55 tweets in regard to Cyprus solution. Ersin Tatar's name appears in 199 tweets for solution, 1366 tweets for South Cyprus and 7264 tweets for Cyprus making 8829 tweets in total on Cyprus solution. It is noted that Kudret Özersay's name is used in 12 tweets with the word solution, in 191 tweets with South Cyprus and in 260 tweets for Cyprus resulting in a total of 463 tweets. Mustafa Akıncı's name appears in 3923 tweets with solution, followed by 1773 tweets with South Cyprus and 6909 tweets with Cyprus, adding up to 9074 tweets about Cyprus issue. As for Serdar Denktaş, his name is observed in 10 tweets for solution, 4 tweets for South Cyprus and 274 tweets for Cyprus, making a total of 288 tweets on Cyprus issue. Lastly, Tufan Erhürman's name is used in 24 tweets with solution, 2 tweets with South Cyprus and 827 tweets with Cyprus, resulting in a total of 853 tweets on Cyprus issue.

In regard to the Cyprus issue, the words of 'cozum', 'çözüm', 'kıbrıs', 'kibris', 'guney kıbrıs', 'güney kıbrıs' are searched in Turkish and analysed accordingly. In sum, the

distribution between the candidates' names and themes reveals that Ersin Tatar is the name that is discussed the most on Twitter followed by Mustafa Akıncı.

### **Examples of Tweets on Cyprus issue on Twitter:**

#### Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

Ahmet Savaşan: "Ersin Tatar will sit on the solution table with his head held high..."

(Ahmet Savaşan: "Ersin Tatar Çözüm Masasına Başı Dik Oturacak").

#### Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

Tatar, by saying that "we will not give up on a two-state solution", he...  
(Tatar, "İki devletli çözüm için pes etmeyeceğiz" diyerek "İster).

#### Reference 24 - 0.01% Coverage

Tatar: The five-party conference suggested by Turkey is the last chance for solution. (Tatar: (Türkiye'nin önerdiği beşli konferans çözüm için son şans).

#### Reference 69 - 0.01% Coverage

Ersin Tatar: Federal solution failed. It was like forced marriage, anyway. (Ersin Tatar: Federal çözüm başarısız oldu. Zaten zorla evlilik).

#### Reference 129 - 0.01% Coverage

Ersin Tatar: Turkey officially declared that there is no hope for a federal solution. (Ersin Tatar: Türkiye, federal çözüm umudu kalmadığını resmen ortaya koymuştur).

#### Reference 7 - 0.01% Coverage

Erhürman is someone who is close to Akıncı in terms of ideas and solution recommendations. (Erhürman Fikirleri ve çözüm önerileri açısından Akıncı'ya yakın biri).

#### Reference 6 - 0.01% Coverage

Kudret Özersay: "The only solution is not federation, on the basis of cooperation..."

(Kudret Özersay: "Yegane çözüm federasyon değildir, iş birliğine dayalı).

#### Reference 125 - 0.01% Coverage

TRNC President Mustafa Akıncı: “If we want a solution in Cyprus, some of the land we took from the Greeks... (KKTC Cumhurbaşkanı Mustafa Akıncı; “Kıbrıs’ta çözüm istiyorsak Rum’lardan aldığımız toprakların bir).

Reference 3112 - 0.01% Coverage

said “I won’t obey”? (biat etmem” dedi?).  
Hear, oh, TURKISH CYPRIOT? (Duy ey KIBRIS TÜRKÜ?)

Reference 319 - 0.01% Coverage

Akıncı who says that federation is a TABOO. (Federasyon TABUDUR diyen Akıncı).

### **Micro Analysis of Tweets on Cyprus issue on Twitter**

The discourse makes use of a descriptive language defining the ideology of candidates both directly in favour of and against a federal solution.

### **Macro Analysis of Tweets on Cyprus issue on Twitter**

From the tweets on Cyprus issue, it is observed that the public mostly uses ideological discourse of Ersin Tatar and Mustafa Akıncı about the topic. In Ersin Tatar’s discourse, Turkey and two-state solution is more frequently used with emphasis on Ersin Tatar’s trust in Turkey. In particular, the words of Tatar, Turkey and two-state solution are used in the same sentence to highlight that both Ersin Tatar’s and Turkey’s stance on Cyprus issue are parallel to each other.

On the other hand, Mustafa Akıncı’s statement that some of the land owned now might be given to the Greeks for a federal solution in Cyprus is one of the tweets with the highest number of retweets. What Mustafa Akıncı referred to here is the consideration of the ratio of land and property owners before 1974 to the population, and the issue of giving land to the Greek and Turkish population on the island as suggested by both











#### 5.2.2.10 Word Cloud for Serdar Denктаş on Twitter



Figure 20 Word Cloud for Serdar Denktaş

The word cloud about Serdar Denktaş indicates that the words of Mustafa, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=U3333333333>, ballot box and presidency are the most common words after his name.

### 5.2.2.11 Word Cloud for Tufan Erhürman on Twitter



Figure 21 Word Cloud for Tufan Erhürman

Lastly, the word cloud for Tufan Erhürman reveals that Mustafa Akıncı, Ersin, and ballot box are the most frequently used words after his name. In other words, Tufan Erhürman's name used mostly with ballot box as referring to the election by the public tweets.



### 5.3 Analysis of Data from Facebook

The discourse of candidates is analysed through Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis by concentrating on their Facebook accounts. The accounts are analysed in correlation with the 5 themes of the study which are Varosha, intervention, Covid-19, election and Cyprus issue.

Each candidate's individual account is searched for the period between March 2020 and October 2020 and screenshots of their relevant posts are taken regularly with an iPad. The data is presented in the table regarding their posts from their personalized Facebook accounts in relation to the five themes: Varosha (Maraş), Intervention (Müdahale), Covid-19 (pandemic), election (seçim), and Cyprus issue (Kıbrıs meselesi). The analysis of Facebook posts are done by calculating the posts of each candidate about the five themes. This calculation shows how the discourse of each candidate is formed during the election period.

As all the data collected over Facebook are directly gathered from each candidate's account, the Facebook data can be defined as 'politicians' discourse' (Van Dijk, 2015). The data from Facebook enables the critical discourse analysis (Van Dijk, 2016) of the views of 6 important candidates on 5 themes as their self-representation during 2020 presidential election.

In this regard, the Table 6 below presents the number of posts about the 5 themes by each candidate. However, as it is not actually possible to analyse all 2404 posts, specific posts representing candidates' clear views on the five themes are selected through purposive sampling.



More importantly, as it can be seen in Table 6, the number of posts by each candidate on the selected five is also summarised. In this regard, the candidate with the highest number of posts about the 5 themes between March 7 and October 31 2020 is Erhan Arıklı with 736 posts. He is followed by Tufan Erhürman with 429 posts, Ersin Tatar with 412 posts, Mustafa Akıncı with 336 posts, Kudret Özersay 249 posts, and Serdar Denktaş with 242 posts. This shows that Erhan Arıklı is the most active candidate on Facebook with the highest number of posts during the election period. Then, Serdar Denktaş is the least active during this period with 242 posts.

The candidate with the highest number of posts about the Varosha theme is Ersin Tatar as the most influential person of the opening with 6 posts in an attempt to deliver a significant message to mass audiences about the opening of Varosha. He was followed by Kudret Özersay and Tufan Erhürman with 3 posts each, and Mustafa Akıncı with 2 posts. The candidates with the lowest number of posts about Varosha are Erhan Arıklı and Serdar Denktaş with 1 post each.

The highest number of posts about intervention belongs to Mustafa Akıncı, Serdar Denktaş and Erhan Arıklı with 3 posts each with evident discourse expressing an opposing view. These candidates are followed by Ersin Tatar and Tufan Erhürman with 2 posts each.

Tufan Erhürman is the candidate owning the highest number of posts about Covid-19 with 83 posts, followed by Mustafa Akıncı with 60 posts, Kudret Özersay with 25 posts, Serdar Denktaş with 24 posts and Ersin Tatar with 19 posts.

A more detailed analysis reveals that Erhan Arıklı pursued his own election propaganda by actively using Facebook and sharing 711 posts. The other candidates' number of Facebook posts are as follows: 374 posts by Ersin Tatar, 332 posts by Tufan Erhürman, 298 posts by Mustafa Akıncı, 217 posts by Kudret Özersay, and lastly, 209 posts by Serdar Denktaş.

In regards to the Cyprus issue, Mustafa Akıncı has the leading number of posts with 18 posts, followed by Ersin Tatar with 11 posts. The posts of each of these candidates represent completely opposing views on the matter. They are followed by Tufan Erhürman with 10 posts, Serdar Denktaş with 6 posts, and Kudret Özersay with 4 posts.

Table 6: Analysis of Facebook posts by each candidate regarding each theme (07/03/20-31/10/20)

|                       | <b>The number of Varosha posts (Maraş)</b> | <b>The number of Intervention posts (Müdahale)</b> | <b>The number of Covid-19 posts</b> | <b>The number of Election (seçim)</b> | <b>The number of Cyprus issue (Kıbrıs meselesi)</b> | <b>Total posts</b> |
|-----------------------|--------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|--------------------|
| <b>Ersin Tatar</b>    | 6                                          | 2                                                  | 19                                  | 374                                   | 11                                                  | 412 posts          |
| <b>Mustafa Akıncı</b> | 2                                          | 3                                                  | 60                                  | 298                                   | 18                                                  | 336 posts          |
| <b>Kudret Özersay</b> | 3                                          | 0                                                  | 25                                  | 217                                   | 4                                                   | 249 posts          |
| <b>Erhan Arıklı</b>   | 1                                          | 3                                                  | 16                                  | 711                                   | 5                                                   | 736 posts          |
| <b>Tufan Erhürman</b> | 3                                          | 2                                                  | 83                                  | 332                                   | 10                                                  | 429 posts          |
| <b>Serdar Denktaş</b> | 1                                          | 3                                                  | 24                                  | 209                                   | 6                                                   | 242 posts          |
| <b>Total posts</b>    |                                            |                                                    |                                     |                                       |                                                     | 2404 posts         |

### **5.3.1 First Theme: Varosha on Facebook**

**Micro Analysis of Ersin Tatar's posts on Facebook in relation to Varosha:** He used mostly Varosha, best decision, and his own name to the forefront with positive sentences. He used plural sentences to highlight 'our' words.

**Macro Analysis of Ersin Tatar's posts on Facebook in relation to Varosha:** He uses photos as visual aids to stress the opening of Varosha and that a new future has started in North Cyprus. He also uses meeting photos with people and live broadcast for the opening of Varosha.

He actively supports the opening of Varosha, in other words, he is the main actor during this process together with Turkey. He intentionally gives his message about Varosha, underlining it as the first step for a new period in North Cyprus with reference to specific issues such as Cyprus solution. Moreover, he supports his view and actions by suggesting that the opening of Varosha will help improve economic prosperity through tourism. The financial contribution of Varosha is deliberately mentioned in order to form cognition in the society that economic prosperity will increase with the partial opening of Varosha. He is in an effort to establish a positive cognition in the public regarding the opening of Varosha by highlighting that port of Famagusta will become more valuable once Varosha is opened. This is a significant factor in helping himself earn more votes. It is emphasized that this is for the benefit of Turkish Cypriots by delivering a message to the public about economic prosperity through the opening of Varosha.

**Examples of Ersin Tatar's posts about Varosha on Facebook:**

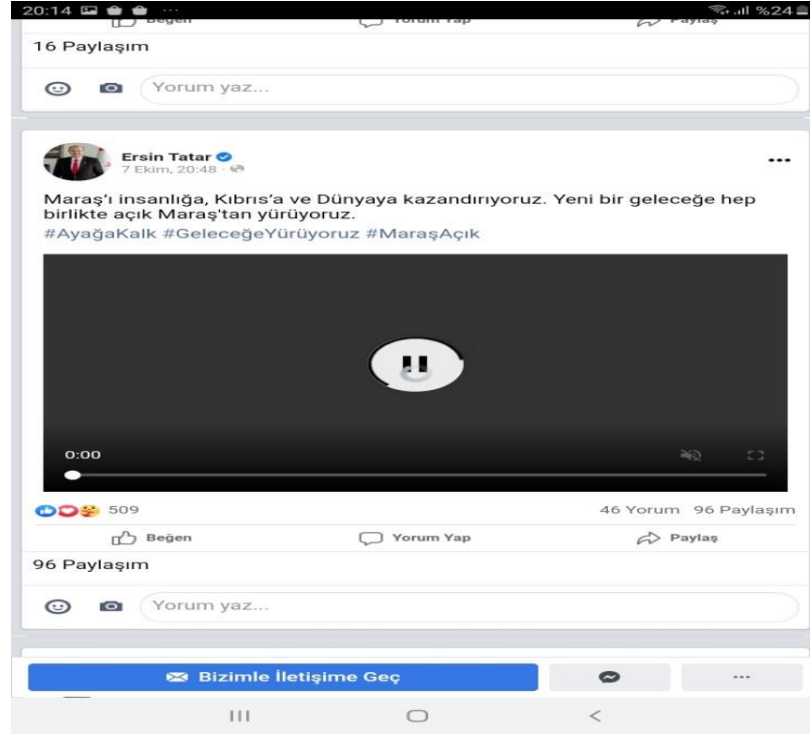


Figure 23: Ersin Tatar's post for Varosha on Facebook



Figure 24: Ersin Tatar's post for Varosha on Facebook

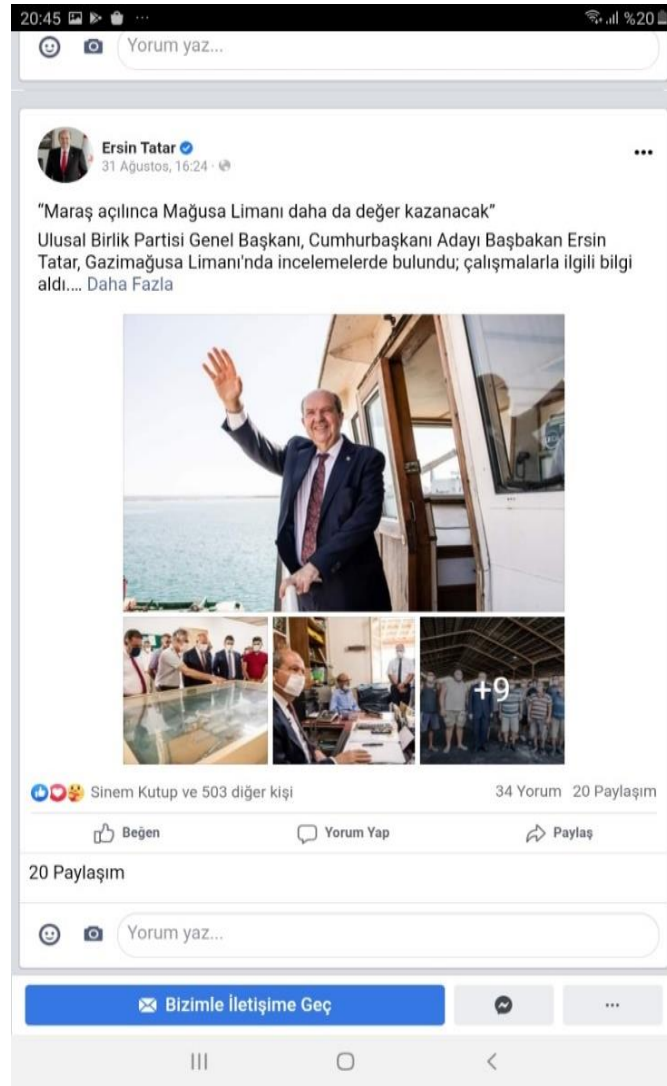


Figure 25: Ersin Tatar's post for Varosha on Facebook

**Micro Analysis of Mustafa Akıncı's posts on Facebook in relation to Varosha:**

His view about Varosha is explicit and distinct for the process of the opening of Varosha and his use of the language in his posts reflects his opposing stance.

**Macro Analysis of Mustafa Akıncı's posts on Facebook in relation to Varosha:**

The opening of Varosha is considered as a dark point for the democracy of North Cyprus and suggested that these actions are pursued solely for the purpose of benefitting one candidate during the election without giving the candidate's name. In his posts, Mustafa Akıncı, emphasizes that the activation of the water pipe and the

ceremonies held for the opening of Varosha, despite the electoral prohibitions, are also ways of violating the electoral prohibitions. Furthermore, as these actions put the democratic status of the Turkish Cypriot community into a questionable position, Akıncı claims, without giving any names, that the opening of Varosha is not for the benefit of the society but to help Tatar win the election with this advantage.

#### **Examples of Mustafa Akıncı's posts about Varosha on Facebook:**

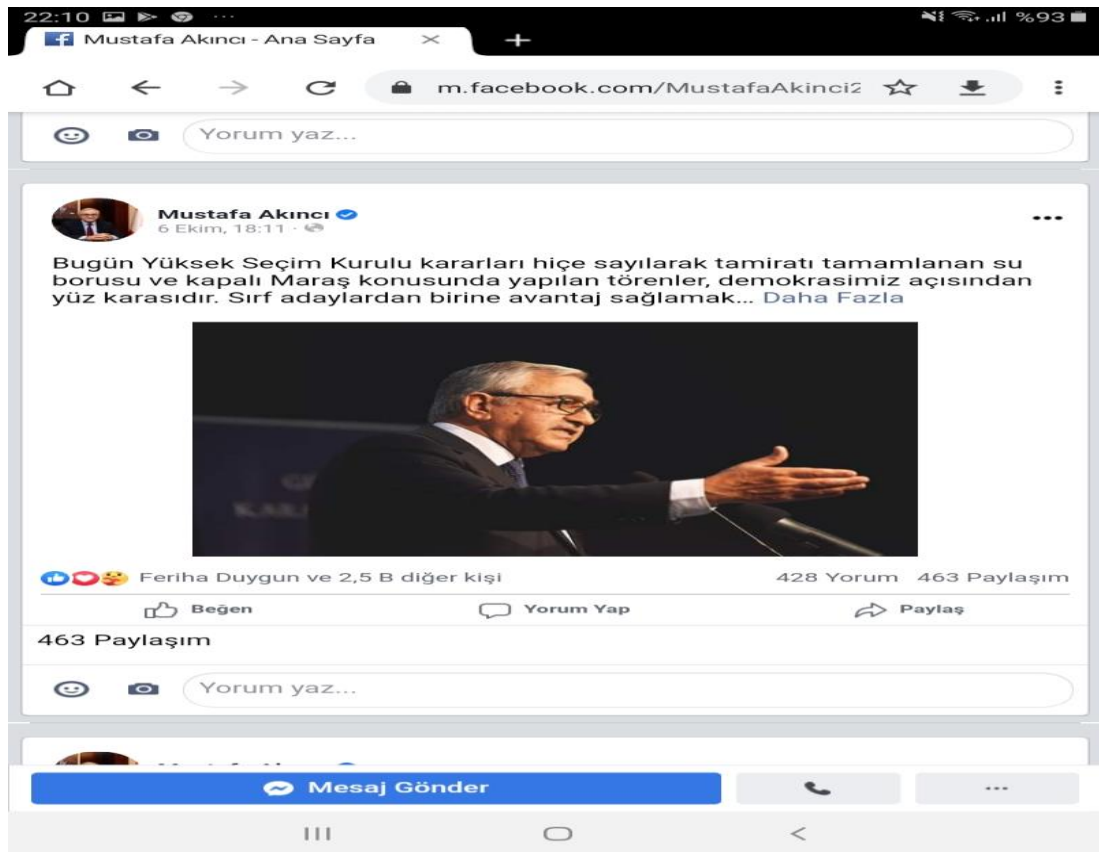


Figure 26: Mustafa Akıncı's post for Varosha on Facebook

#### **Micro Analysis of Kudret Özersay's posts on Facebook in relation to Varosha:**

He uses formal and negotiation discourse about Varosha rather than focusing on whether Varosha needs to remain closed or be completely opened.

## Macro Analysis of Kudret Özersay's posts on Facebook in relation to Varosha:

He supports the opening of Varosha; however, he gives more importance to the case of ownership. More importantly, he argues that the opening of Varosha has been hidden from him and this resulted in the ending of the coalition government. In other words, the coalition partner of the government, felt himself dismissed by Ersin Tatar, the main actor during the opening process of Varosha.

## Examples of Kudret Özersay's posts about Varosha on Facebook

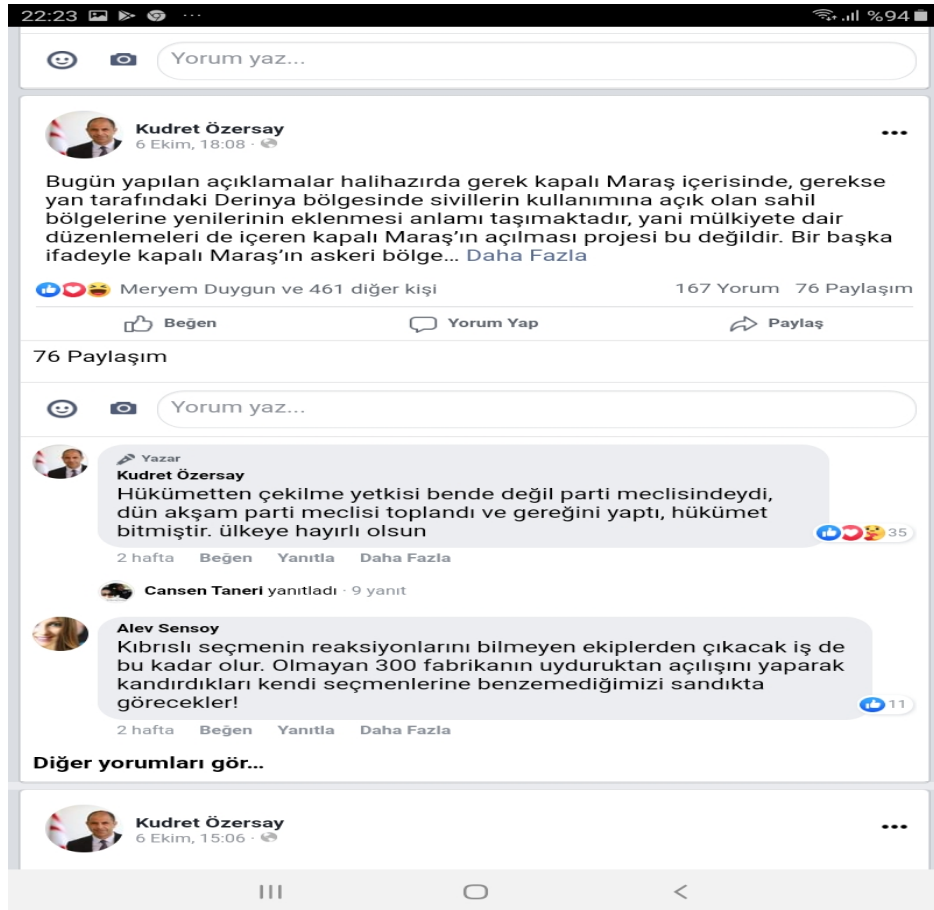


Figure 27: Kudret Özersay's post for Varosha on Facebook

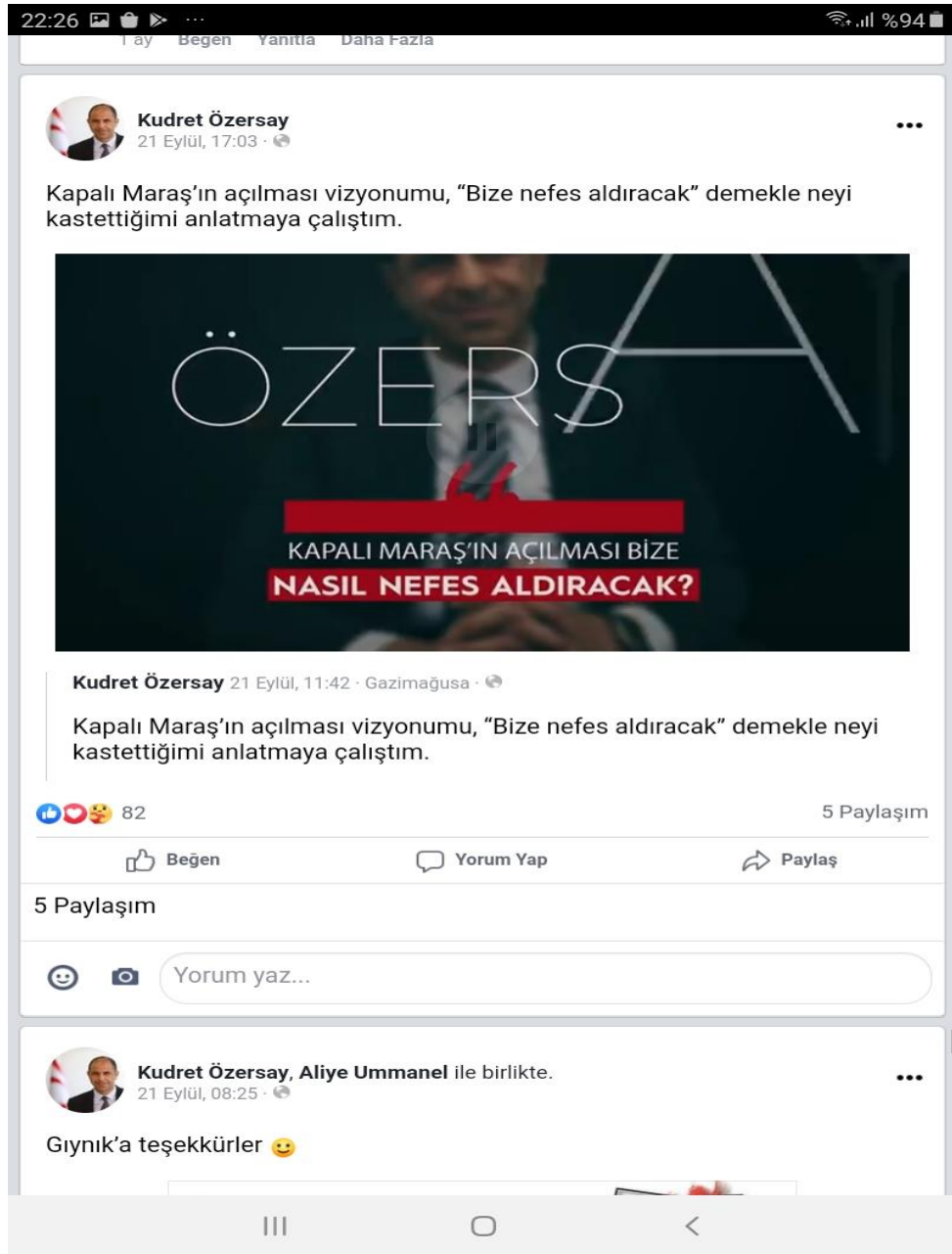


Figure 28: Kudret Özersay's post for Varosha on Facebook

**Micro Analysis of Erhan Arıklı's posts on Facebook in relation to Varosha:** He uses the opening of Varosha in a supporting way and his attendance to the ceremony is depicted with a photo used in his individual Facebook account.

**Macro Analysis of Erhan Arıklı's posts on Facebook in relation to Varosha:** He discusses the opening of Varosha as an important step but with deficiencies. In



essence, he completely supports the opening of Varosha. He even exaggerates by referring to Varosha as the place where snakes and rats lived for 46 years and he personally witnesses its opening. It is evident that the opening of Varosha is a message to the supporters of the federal solution emphasizing that Varosha is the land of TRNC and people will live on it, not snakes.

### Examples of Erhan Arıklı's posts about Varosha on Facebook:



Figure 29: Erhan Arıklı's post for Varosha on Facebook



Figure 30: Erhan Arikli's post for Varosha on Facebook

### Micro Analysis of Tufan Erhürman's posts on Facebook in relation to Varosha:

He uses an official language with legal terms to discuss the opening of Varosha. Also, he used question mark sentences for stressing of the government's action needs to be questioned.

### Macro Analysis of Tufan Erhürman's posts on Facebook in relation to Varosha:

He reviews the opening of Varosha as an unsuitable act within the decisions of the UN and that Varosha should not be used as a tool to gain advantage during the elections. His view is against the opening of Varosha for public visitors. Also, he underlines that the support for the opening of Varosha will only be provided within the framework of international law; and that what is happening taking place is not the opening of Varosha.

### Examples of Tufan Erhürman's posts about Varosha on Facebook:



Figure 31: Tufan Erhürman's post for Varosha on Facebook



Figure 32: Tufan Erhürman's post for Varosha on Facebook

**Micro Analysis of Serdar Denktaş's posts on Facebook in relation to Varosha:** He uses an explanatory language with critical comments in order to describe his stance regarding the opening of Varosha.

**Macro Analysis of Serdar Denktaş's posts on Facebook in relation to Varosha:** He criticizes the opening of Varosha and Ersin Tatar's actions regarding this issue. He

sees this step as an election tool to help Ersin Tatar win. Serdar Denktas claims that Varosha should be opened in accordance with the UN Security Decisions and this opening to the public in a haste does not have the same meaning; thus, misinforming the public through this opening. He underlines that Tatar lost the respect of his own community with this act.

### Examples of Serdar Denktas's posts about Varosha on Facebook:



Figure 33: Serdar Denktas's post for Varosha on Facebook

### **5.3.2 Second Theme: Intervention on Facebook**

**Micro Analysis of Ersin Tatar's posts on Facebook in relation to Intervention:** He uses his prominent speech to attract more attention from his followers and writes his speeches which infer that he puts emphasis on this issue twice.

**Macro Analysis of Ersin Tatar's posts on Facebook in relation to Intervention:** He rejects the intervention claims from the current administration of Turkey to the election and faults Mustafa Akıncı for using Turkey in his intervention speech. He actively uses Mustafa Akıncı's discourse and labels his words as wrong and that the public is negatively affected by him. Ersin Tatar also emphasizes that such issues should not go beyond the government and politicians and not be reflected to the public, while stressing that the reflection of such matter to the media in Turkey is also wrong in his opinion. In his discourse here, Tatar, concentrates more on the issue that the reflection of such matters to the public is not right, rather than discussing whether there is an intervention or if it is an issue of democracy. In doing this, he attempts to create a public cognition in favour of himself.

### Examples of Ersin Tatar's posts about Intervention on Facebook:



Figure 34: Ersin Tatar's post for Intervention on Facebook

### Micro Analysis of Mustafa Akıncı's posts on Facebook in relation to Intervention:

He uses direct and repetitive language underlining that intervention occurred during the elections.

### Macro Analysis of Mustafa Akıncı's posts on Facebook in relation to

**Intervention:** He declares that there is direct intervention from Turkey to the election as Turkey sends people to work against Mustafa Akıncı so he would not be elected.

This situation needs to be fixed because it would result in the establishment of wrong

relations with Turkey over the years. He always underlines the significance of the willpower of Turkish Cypriots and that Turkish Cypriots have the capacity to change this situation. Mustafa Akıncı further stresses that the intervention splits the Turkish Cypriot community. From this point, he highlights that there is a threat for the social networks (Putnam, 1993) within the Turkish Cypriot community and this causes polarisation within an already-small community.

Mustafa Akıncı also puts his view on peace to the foreground with his slogan: ‘Peace, not war; diplomacy, not conflict’. Moreover, in his post, by saying that his community has the ability to depict its willpower, Mustafa Akıncı emphasizes that intervention will not be tolerated in the Turkish Cypriot community. Such posts highlight Mustafa Akıncı’s confidence in the community as he, particularly, honours the Turkish Cypriot community through the sentences in his discourse. This reflects his trust in the community in relation to determining its own future and that external intervention will not prevent this. With the “the answer is willpower” slogan, he underlines that the will of the Turkish Cypriot community is more important than everyone and everything.



### Examples of Mustafa Akıncı's posts about Intervention on Facebook:



Figure 35: Mustafa Akıncı's post for Intervention on Facebook



Figure 36: Mustafa Akıncı's post for Intervention on Facebook



Figure 37: Mustafa Akıncı's post for Intervention on Facebook

**Micro Analysis of Kudret Özersay's posts on Facebook in relation to Intervention:** He does not exhibit any discourse in relation to the claims of intervention.

**Macro Analysis of Kudret Özersay's posts on Facebook in relation to Intervention:** He does not exhibit discourse in relation to the claims of intervention.

It was very interesting to note that he has not referred to the intervention claims, which is a prominent topic during the election, in his discourse. It is interpreted that Kudret Özersay deliberately avoids discussing intervention claims as the issue of intervention might put him in a difficult position.

**Examples of Kudret Özersay’s posts about Intervention on Facebook:** None.

**Micro Analysis of Erhan Arıklı’s posts on Facebook in relation to Intervention:**

He uses his own photos as visual support to stress that he has not taken part in intervention and his words: ‘Do not use Turkey as a tool for the elections’. He makes use of very assertive and striking sentences regarding this issue.

**Macro Analysis of Erhan Arıklı’s posts on Facebook in relation to Intervention:**

He concentrates on the intervention claims from an opposing view and claims that Turkey has no intention of intervening with the elections. He advocates explicitly that intervention has not taken place and by referring to the person claiming that intervention occurred, he sends a message to Mustafa Akıncı: “No intervention took place but if you keep saying it did, Turkey will do so because of you”. While attempting to emphasize the significance of Turkey, he brings a view against the intervention claims and that there is no such thing, claiming that is wrong and this issue should not be made into an election material.

### Examples of Erhan Arikli's posts about Intervention on Facebook:



Figure 38: Erhan Arıklı's post for Intervention on Facebook



Figure 39: Erhan Arıklı's post for Intervention on Facebook

**Micro Analysis of Tufan Erhürman's posts on Facebook in relation to Intervention:** He uses explicit and critical comments about the intervention claims.

**Macro Analysis of Tufan Erhürman's posts on Facebook in relation to Intervention:** He supports the claims of intervention and that it is acknowledged as an intervention to Turkish Cypriots' willpower damaging the democracy of the country. He also states that no intervention is acceptable without knowing its origin and ignoring any intervention is based on the public's willpower. In parallel to Mustafa

Akıncı, Tufan Erhürman criticised Ersin Tatar for violating the decision of the Supreme Election Council by referring to the opening of Varosha 5 days prior to the elections and the activation of the water pipe. It is highlighted that this conflicts with the democratic values and damages the country's democracy.

Like Mustafa Akıncı, Tufan Erhürman emphasizes that the willpower of the Turkish Cypriot community is the only place to put our faith in and that he has full confidence in the public.

### Examples of Tufan Erhürman's posts about Intervention on Facebook:



Figure 40: Tufan Erhürman's post for Intervention on Facebook





Figure 41: Tufan Erhürman's post for Intervention on Facebook

**Micro Analysis of Serdar Denktaş's posts on Facebook in relation to Intervention:** He uses confirmative language regarding intervention and criticizes the events happening in North Cyprus.

**Macro Analysis of Serdar Denktaş's posts on Facebook in relation to Intervention:** He confirms that intervention occurred with a photo from a newspaper in his posts and that intervention needs to be considered as a damaging act against the democracy of North Cyprus. Serdar Denktaş also confirms the news of intervention of



Turkey by sharing the news headline from ‘Özgür Newspaper’. He uses a more certain language by the sharing the news which claims that the arrival of Ali Genç, press consultant for Fuat Oktay, and his team to TRNC and their meeting with Ersin Tatar and his team every day at a hotel explains everything. Denктаş also highlights that these actions pose a threat to the will power and the future of the Turkish Cypriot community. As a candidate from the left-wing, Serdar Denктаş uses a more severe indicator compared to the other left-wing candidates, Mustafa Akıncı and Tufan Erhürman.

### Examples of Serdar Denктаş’s posts about Intervention on Facebook:



Figure 42: Serdar Denктаş’s post for Intervention on Facebook



Figure 43: Serdar Denktas's post for Intervention on Facebook

### 5.3.3 Third Theme: Covid-19 on Facebook

**Micro Analysis of Ersin Tatar's posts on Facebook in relation to Covid-19:** He uses photos of visiting the hospital, the construction process of the pandemic hospital and Turkey's medical aid for the Covid-19 pandemic.

**Macro Analysis of Ersin Tatar's posts on Facebook in relation to Covid-19:** He prominently uses live broadcast of Turkey's medical aid for Covid-19 and repeatedly

reminds of Turkey's aid in his posts. He evidently focuses on the concept of motherland and offers his strong support for the concept.

#### Examples of Ersin Tatar's posts about Covid-19 on Facebook:



Figure 44: Ersin Tatar's post for Covid-19 on Facebook

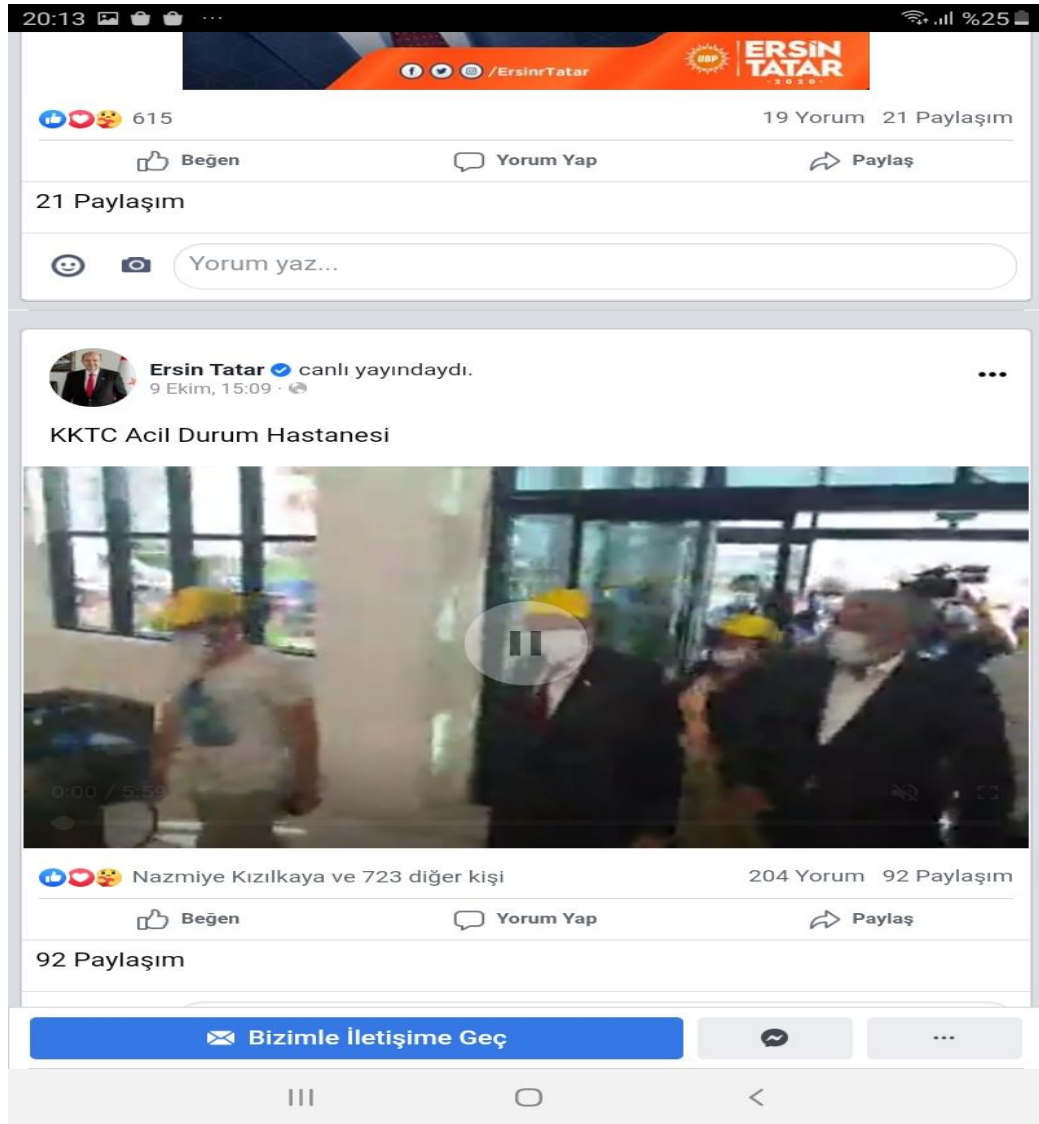


Figure 45: Ersin Tatar's post for Covid-19 on Facebook

#### **Micro Analysis of Mustafa Akıncı's posts on Facebook in relation to Covid-19:**

He uses a critical language to talk about the actions of the government.

#### **Macro Analysis of Mustafa Akıncı's posts on Facebook in relation to Covid-19:**

His view composes of preserving the public health and he criticizes the path the government follows, especially, the lifting of mandatory quarantine in North Cyprus. Mustafa Akıncı emphasizes, with photos of mask usage that this pandemic is severe and rules should be followed. Mustafa Akıncı uses sentences that highlight the

inadequacy of the government in managing the pandemic and that it is wrong to flex the quarantine rules, in particular.

### Examples of Mustafa Akıncı's posts about Covid-19 on Facebook:



Figure 46: Mustafa Akıncı's post for Covid-19 on Facebook





Figure 47: Mustafa Akıncı's post for Covid-19 on Facebook



Figure 48: Mustafa Akıncı's post for Covid-19 on Facebook

**Micro Analysis of Kudret Özersay's posts on Facebook in relation to Covid-19:**

He uses an informative and explanatory language as the spokesman for the government, until the opening of Varosha.

**Macro Analysis of Kudret Özersay's posts on Facebook in relation to Covid-19:**

As the spokesman for the government, he informs the public about the Covid-19

decisions and measures taken by the Council of Ministers. In his posts, he explains that the process is conducted in order to make rational decisions.

### Examples of Kudret Özersay's posts about Covid-19 on Facebook:



Figure 49: Kudret Özersay's post for Covid-19 on Facebook





Figure 50: Kudret Özersay's post for Covid-19 on Facebook



Figure 51: Kudret Özersay's post for Covid-19 on Facebook

**Micro Analysis of Erhan Arıklı's posts on Facebook in relation to Covid-19:** He uses an ironic language to criticize the acts of the government and the precautions taken. He also thanks Turkey in his speeches for finishing the pandemic hospital within 45 days.

## Macro Analysis of Erhan Arıklı's posts on Facebook in relation to Covid-19: He

makes use of sarcastic comments and sentences to criticize government's management of the pandemic and gives his recommendations on what to do during the pandemic. On the other hand, he continues to show his support to Turkey for the medical aid and the pandemic hospital by effectively pointing out the concept of 'motherland'. Moreover, he highlights that the quarantine regulations need to be monitored more strictly by the government.

## Examples of Erhan Arıklı's posts about Covid-19 on Facebook:



Figure 52: Erhan Arıklı's post for Covid-19 on Facebook

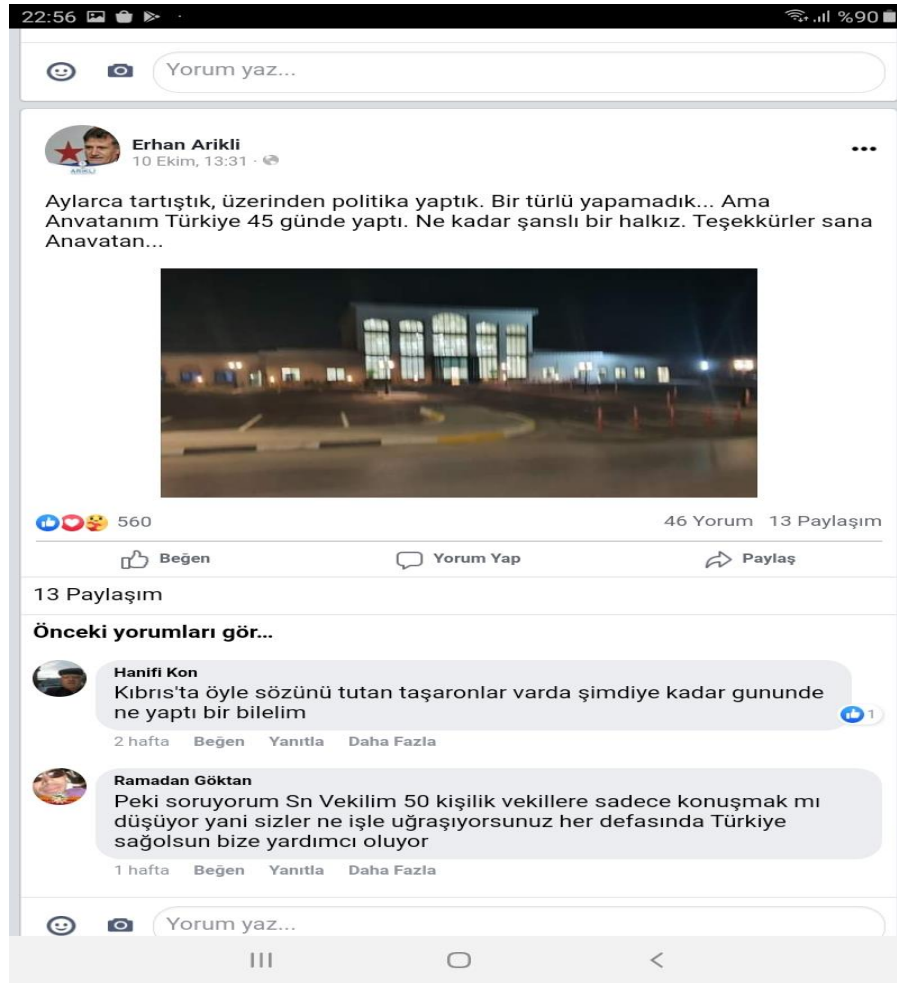


Figure 53: Erhan Arikli's post for Covid-19 on Facebook

#### **Micro Analysis of Tufan Erhürman's posts on Facebook in relation to Covid-19:**

He uses photos with the explanations of doctors and a critical discourse for the government.

#### **Macro Analysis of Tufan Erhürman's posts on Facebook in relation to Covid-19:**

He criticizes the acts and decisions of the government regarding the management of Covid-19 and he supports his views with the speeches of the pandemic doctors. He highlights that the wrongful acts of the government continue by heavily criticising the lack of a pandemic hospital despite the promises of the government and that the hospitals are not able to adequately serve the other patients.

## Examples of Tufan Erhürman's posts about Covid-19 on Facebook:



Figure 54: Tufan Erhürman's post for Covid-19 on Facebook



Figure 55: Tufan Erhürman's post for Covid-19 on Facebook

#### Micro Analysis of Serdar Denктаş's posts on Facebook in relation to Covid-19:

He uses a critical language and offers his ideas on managing Covid-19.

#### Macro Analysis of Serdar Denктаş's posts on Facebook in relation to Covid-19:

He focuses on the economic problems arising due to Covid-19 in North Cyprus and he states that the wrongful acts of the government harm the workers of the closed shops.

He emphasizes that the government is not providing sufficient support to the unemployed and that it fails in managing the pandemic.

### Examples of Serdar Denktas's posts about Covid-19 on Facebook:



Figure 56: Serdar Denktas's post for Covid-19 on Facebook





Figure 57: Serdar Denktas's post for Covid-19 on Facebook

#### 5.3.4 Fourth Theme: Election on Facebook

**Micro Analysis of Ersin Tatar's posts on Facebook in relation to Election:** He effectively uses visuals by editing himself and his slogans such as “A new President, a new Future together”.

**Macro Analysis of Ersin Tatar's posts on Facebook in relation to Election:** It can be argued that he pursues active and aggressive political campaigns on Facebook by focusing on his promises such as offering a new future for Turkish Cypriots after his



winning. He uses the TRNC flag mostly in order to stress the slogan “We are committed to this country with love”. He prefers to concentrate on reminding the existence of TRNC both visually and verbally. With the use of the TRNC flag in his posts, the message he gives through such visuals is the emphasis for the two-state solution on the island.

### Examples of Ersin Tatar’s posts about the Election on Facebook:



Figure 58: Ersin Tatar’s post for Election on Facebook

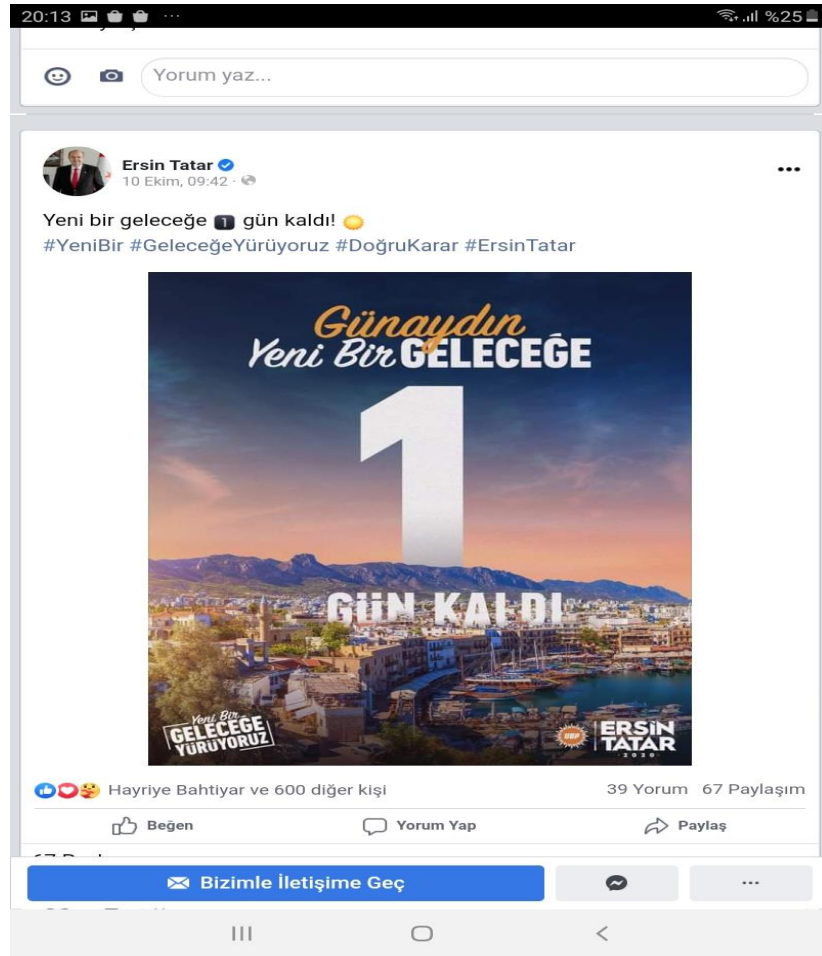


Figure 59: Ersin Tatar's post for Election on Facebook

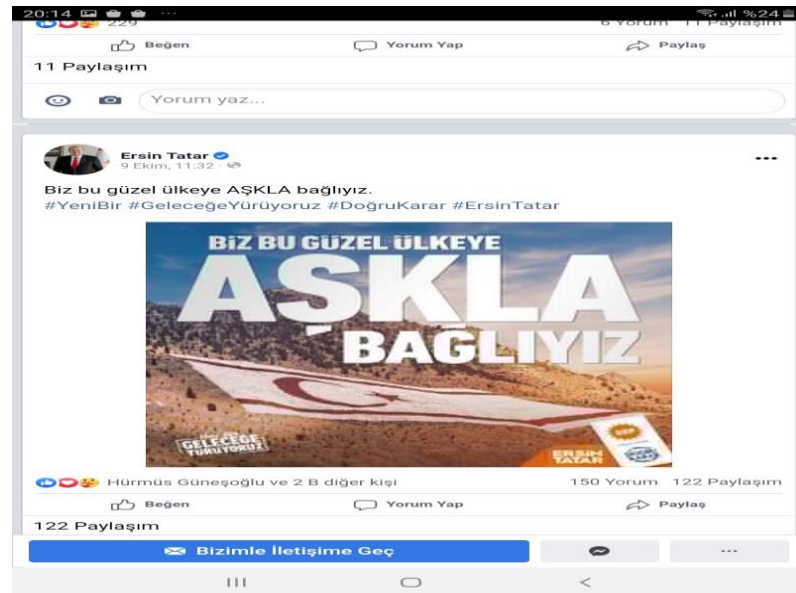


Figure 60: Ersin Tatar's post for Election on Facebook

**Micro Analysis of Mustafa Akıncı's posts on Facebook in relation to Election:** He uses photos accompanied by his views and slogans for the election, particularly focusing on the words of willpower, democracy, not obedience and solution.

**Macro Analysis of Mustafa Akıncı's posts on Facebook in relation to Election:** He emphasises mostly the trust to his citizens and their willpower. He shares photos of the places he visits as part of the election campaign with the emphasis on using masks. Also, by saying that those who have not been on the island even for 4-5 day in reference to the people coming from Turkey, he shares his views on intervention to the election through his photos together with his citizens underlining his confidence in the community. This is put forward by Mustafa Akıncı as an act of good will in establishing social capital between a politician and the society. As can be seen in the examples above, Mustafa Akıncı uses a discourse that uses the importance and power of the Turkish Cypriot community and this is a major factor in forming trust within the community.

Moreover, Mustafa Akıncı, arriving there upon the invitation of a student named 'Tuana', he delivers the message that he is always in support of his community and embraces each citizen regardless of age, status, and occupation.

## Examples of Mustafa Akıncı's posts about the election on Facebook:



Figure 61: Mustafa Akıncı's post for Election on Facebook



Figure 62: Mustafa Akıncı's post for Election on Facebook

**Micro Analysis of Kudret Özersay's posts on Facebook in relation to Election:** He uses visuals of mostly himself talking with people and give their names as part of the visits he has for the election campaign.

**Macro Analysis of Kudret Özersay's posts on Facebook in relation to Election:** He uses photo of the places he visits and gives the names of the people he talks with, to reflect a positive environment. He also uses public's willpower and his trust in it in his discourse as a positive message and stresses that the public shows great interest in him since he became a candidate.

**Examples of Kudret Özersay's posts about the election on Facebook:**



Figure 63: Kudret Özersay's post for election on Facebook





Figure 64: Kudret Özersay's post fot Election on Facebook

**Micro Analysis of Erhan Arıklı's posts on Facebook in relation to Election:** He uses photos of himself with people and depicts his pictures with people and convoys through positive sentences.

**Macro Analysis of Erhan Arıklı's posts on Facebook in relation to Election:** He actively points out his crowded convoys and refers that he is in a powerful position in presidential election. His election discourse depicts him as being ready for the



presidency and that he will win with the great support from the different segments of the society.

### Examples of Erhan Arıklı's posts about the election on Facebook:

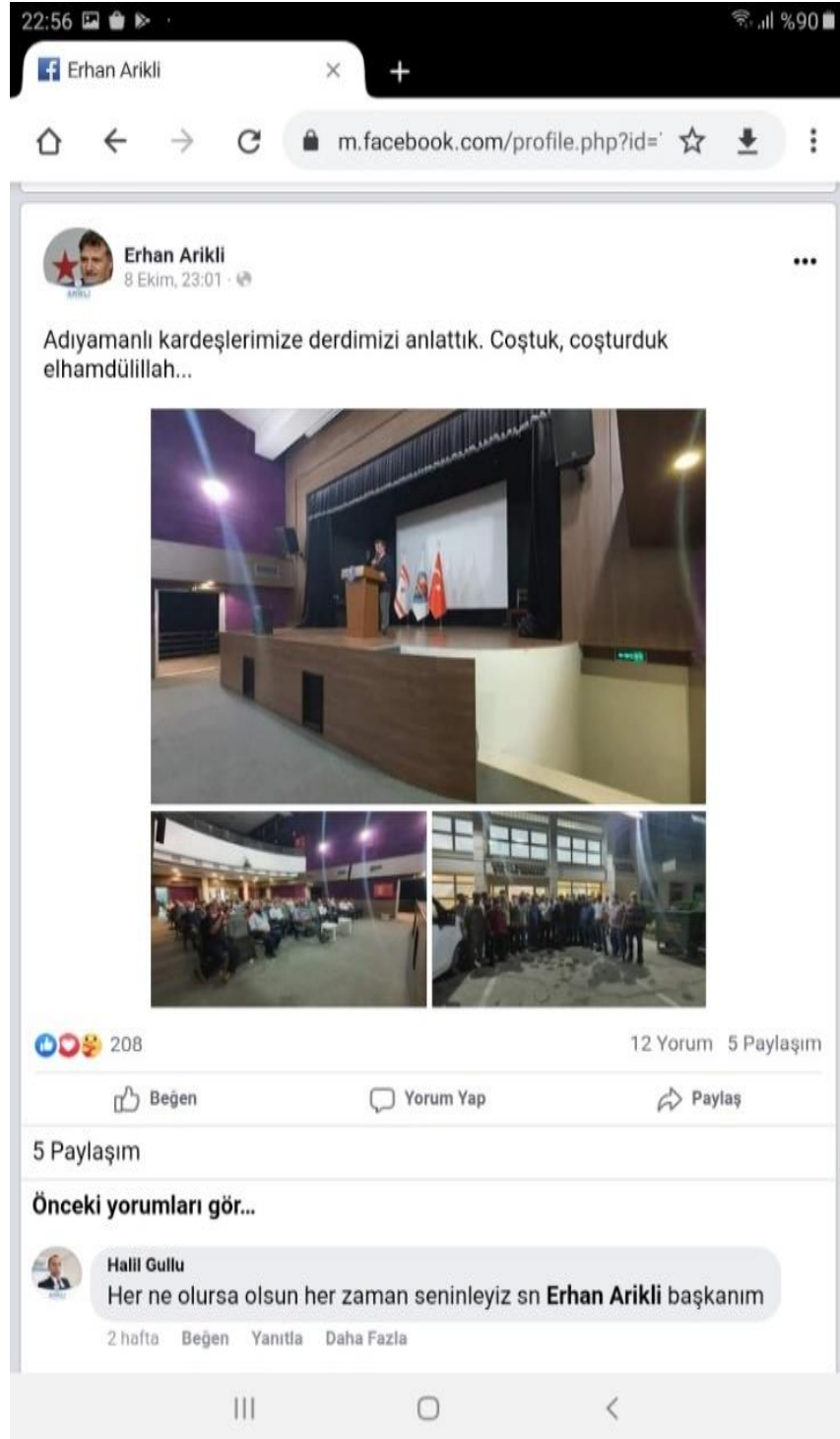


Figure 65: Erhan Arıklı's post for election on Facebook

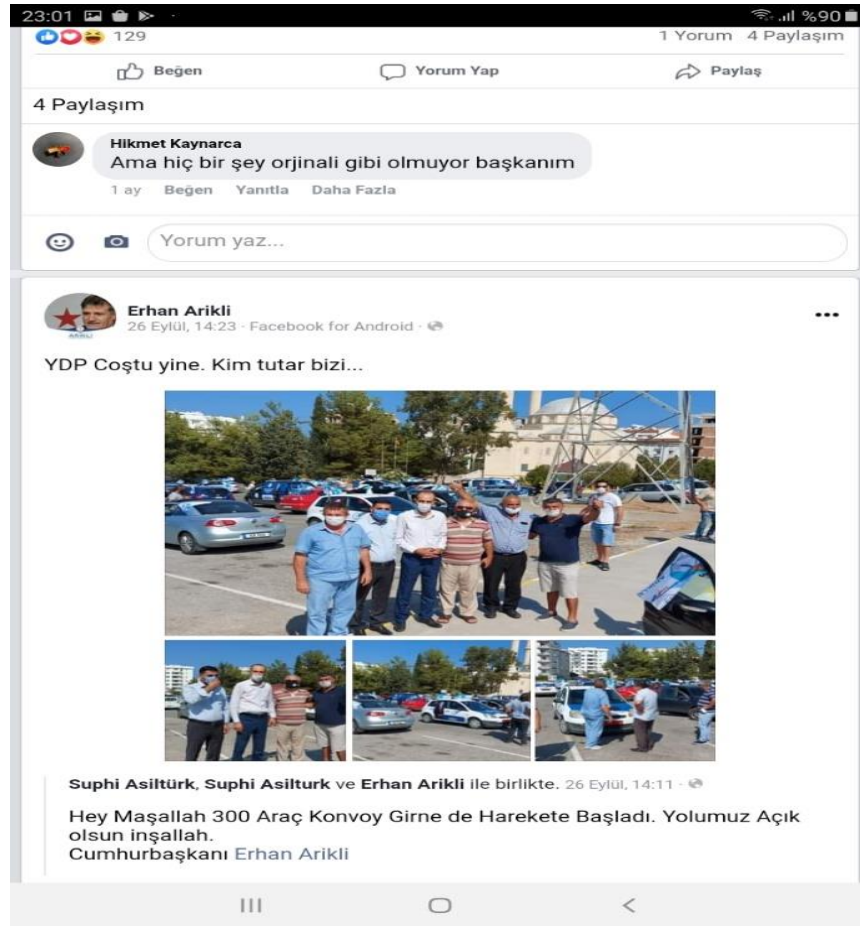


Figure 66: Erhan Arıklı's post for election on Facebook

**Micro Analysis of Tufan Erhürman's posts on Facebook in relation to Election:**

He uses photos of meeting people and gives the names of the locations he visits during his campaign.

**Macro Analysis of Tufan Erhürman's posts on Facebook in relation to Election:**

He uses positive and trusting messages such as “the right one is coming” and “the method is not disagreement, it is dialogue.” His messages put an emphasis on issues such as unity, Turkish Cypriots' will, democracy, opposition to intervention and the opening of Varosha. When especially saying that ‘the right one is coming’ he emphasizes that he is a righteous and honest candidate. The slogan, ‘we promise, we

will be we' infers that he will own the public without discriminating anyone and fight for the unity of the Turkish Cypriot community.

### Examples of Tufan Erhürman's posts about the election on Facebook:



Figure 67: Tufan Erhürman's post for Election on Facebook



Figure 68: Tufan Erhürman's post for Election on Facebook

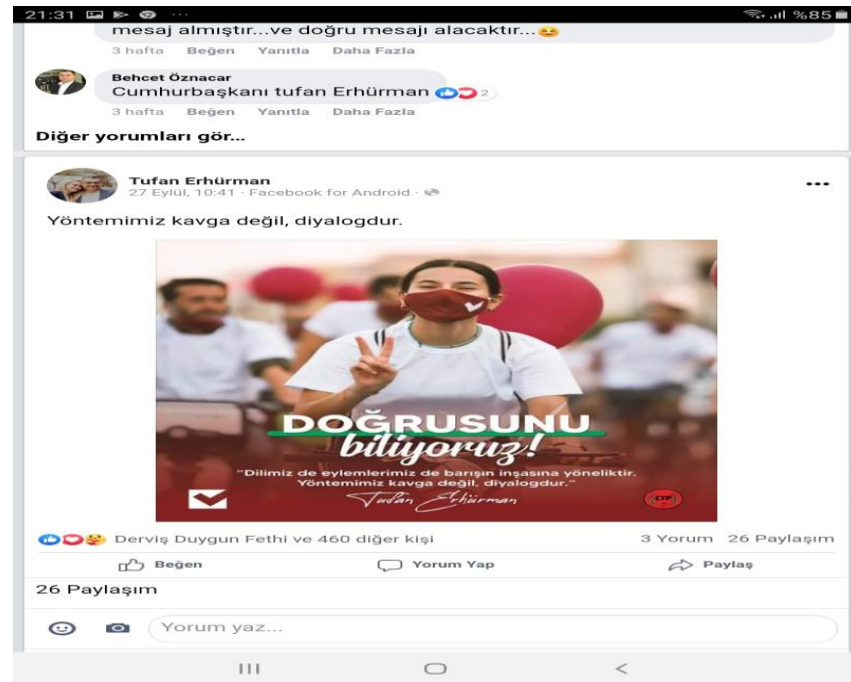


Figure 69: Tufan Erhürman's post for Election on Facebook

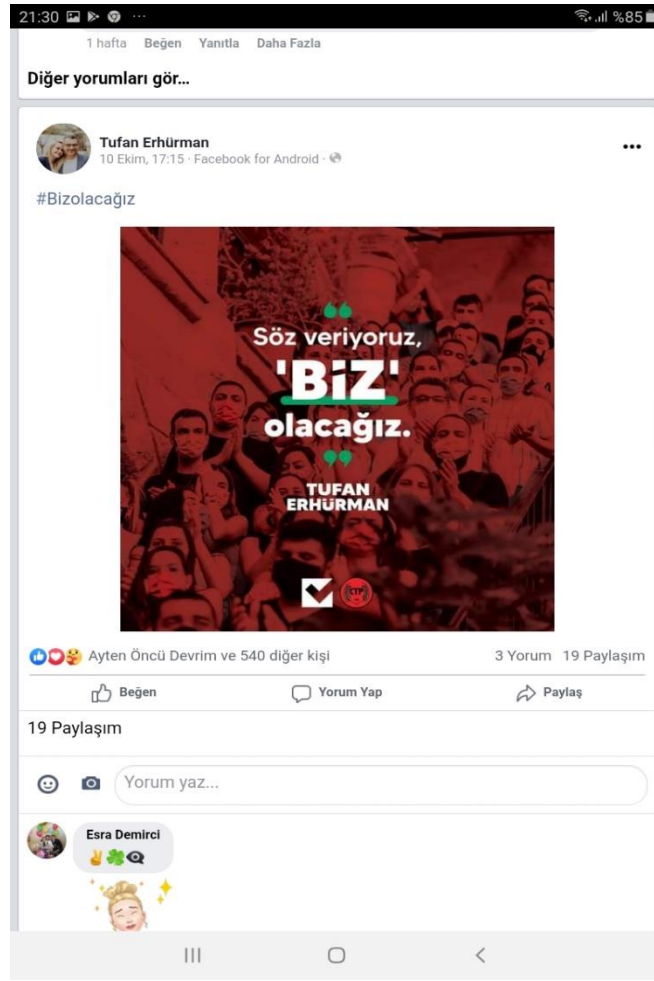


Figure 70: Tufan Erhürman's post for Election on Facebook

**Micro Analysis of Serdar Denktaş's posts on Facebook in relation to Election:** He uses photos as visual support for his ideas.

**Macro Analysis of Serdar Denktaş's posts on Facebook in relation to Election:** He focuses on the words of democracy, homeland and solution the most during his election campaigns. Especially with the slogan, 'if it is to be solved, only Serdar can do it', he stresses that the Turkish Cypriot community should trust in him and delivers the message that his solution to the problems is sufficient.

In his Facebook post, he argues that Tatar is on the wrong path in going to Turkey instead of looking for his homeland in Cyprus and that his wrongdoing is to Cyprus

due to Ersin Tatar's frequent visits to Turkey. From this point, he, by giving names, says that Ersin Tatar did wrong to the Turkish Cypriot community.

In, yet, another post his discourse of 'It is time for a new Republic, the New Future is neither the Cults nor fights with Turkey is the answer' makes reference to Ersin Tatar with the words cult and new republic emphasising that Ersin Tatar is not the right candidate. He makes a reference to Ersin Tatar by inferring a photo of him in the newspapers from a religious ceremony and points at Ersin Tatar by using metaphors and not giving names. He also makes reference to Mustafa Akıncı with the discourse 'neither a fight with Turkey is the answer' inferring that Mustafa Akıncı argues with Turkey and uses the word 'answer' from Mustafa Akıncı's election slogan to point at him. His discourse infers that neither of the candidates is a good fit for the presidency. Moreover, Serdar Denktaş announces that he cleared his election schedule due to Covid-19 and he will communicate with the voters over TV and social media highlighting that his style of political communication is more digital through the effect of Covid-19 on political contact.

## Examples of Serdar Denktaş's posts about the election on Facebook:



Figure 71: Serdar Denktaş's post for Election on Facebook





Figure 72: Serdar Denktaş’s post for Election on Facebook



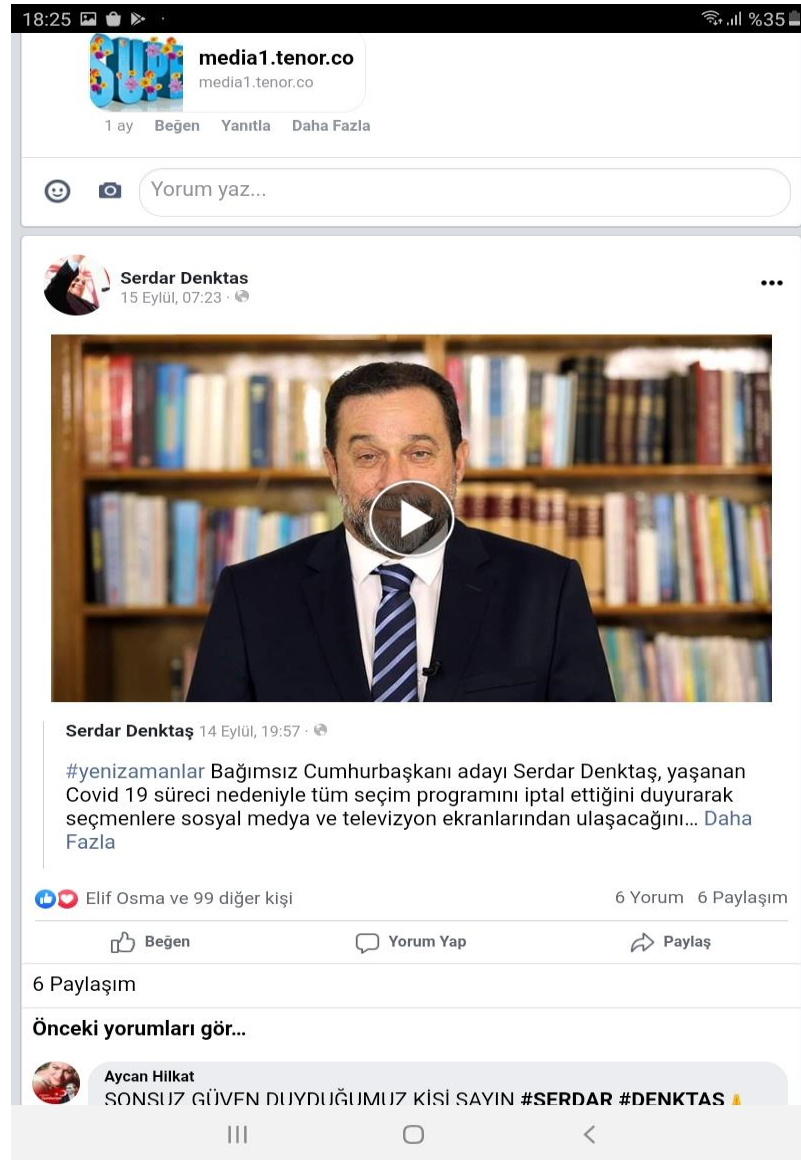


Figure 73: Serdar Denktas's post for Election on Facebook

### 5.3.5 Fifth Theme: Cyprus issue on Facebook

#### Micro Analysis of Ersin Tatar's posts on Facebook in relation to Cyprus issue:

He intentionally uses photos to underline a new future for Cyprus within a two-state solution.

#### Macro Analysis of Ersin Tatar's posts on Facebook in relation to Cyprus issue:

He insistently blames Mustafa Akıncı for his wrong act in Crans Montana and uses claims that Nikos Anastasiadis' speech on Turkey's guarantor position becomes up for

discussion because of Mustafa Akıncı. In this context, he concentrates on the federation and that it is not the only option for a solution in Cyprus as Mustafa Akıncı offered. Tatar emphasizes that there are alternative ways and Turkish Cypriots will never give up on political equality on the island. He clearly declares his stance for Cyprus solution in support of the two-state solution and political equality.

Ersin Tatar highlights that his views on the Cyprus issue are different, especially over Mustafa Akıncı. In his comparisons with Mustafa Akıncı, he underlines that Akıncı made a mistake in Crans Montana and tries to establish a public opinion in this regard.

#### Examples of Ersin Tatar’ posts about the Cyprus issue on Facebook:



Figure 74: Ersin Tatar’s post for Cyprus issue on Facebook



Figure 75: Ersin Tatar's post for Cyprus issue on Facebook

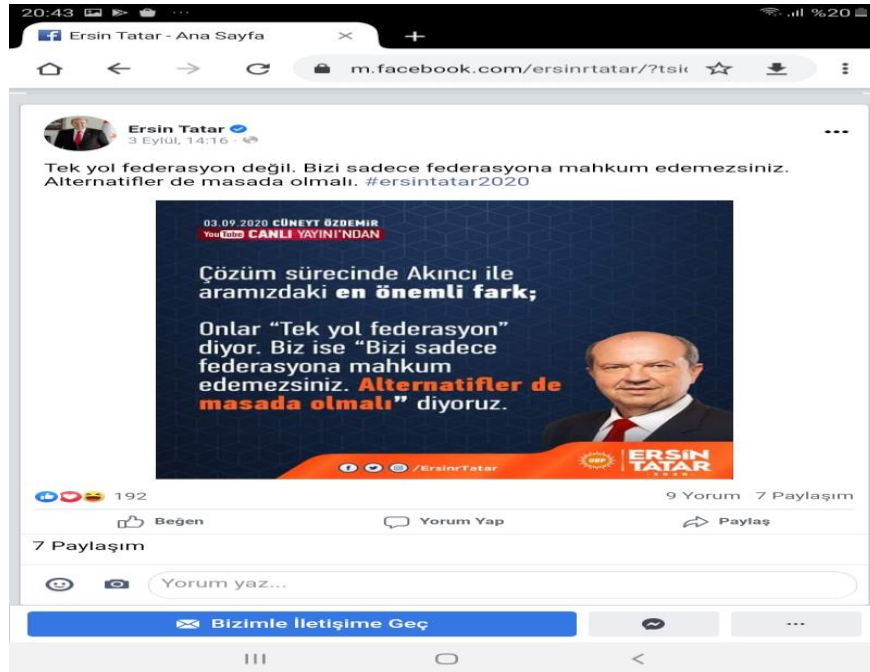


Figure 76: Ersin Tatar's post for Cyprus issue on Facebook

**Micro Analysis of Mustafa Akıncı's posts on Facebook in relation to Cyprus**

**issue:** He uses apparent language for the support of federation as a solution of the Cyprus issue.

**Macro Analysis of Mustafa Akıncı's posts on Facebook in relation to Cyprus**

**issue:** He reflects that his view for Cyprus solution is based on federation with two independent states under one governance and there is no need to talk about a unitary state. In addition, he emphasises the necessity of presence of the UN during the negotiation meetings through a photo of the UN General Secretary Antonio Guterres. He highlights, especially with his photo with Guterres and slogan 'The answer is determination', that the solution for the Cyprus issue will continue with the UN parameters.

**Examples of Mustafa Akıncı's posts about the Cyprus issue on Facebook:**



Figure 77: Mustafa Akıncı's post for Cyprus issue on Facebook



Figure 78: Mustafa Akıncı's post for Cyprus issue on Facebook

**Micro Analysis of Kudret Özersay's posts on Facebook in relation to Cyprus**

**issue:** He uses a direct and explanatory language when discussing the Cyprus issue.

He also uses a discourse that puts his ideas to the forefront.

**Macro Analysis of Kudret Özersay's posts on Facebook in relation to Cyprus**

**issue:** He declares his view in support of the existence of TRNC but he fosters the idea

that the negotiations should continue in the international arena with the use of the TRNC flag in his messages. Therefore, it can easily be argued that he supports the existence of TRNC rather than federation as the solution. Additionally, he stresses the struggle of Turkish Cypriots is never-ending.

### Examples of Kudret Özersay's posts about the Cyprus issue on Facebook:



Figure 79: Kudret Özersay's post for Cyprus issue on Facebook



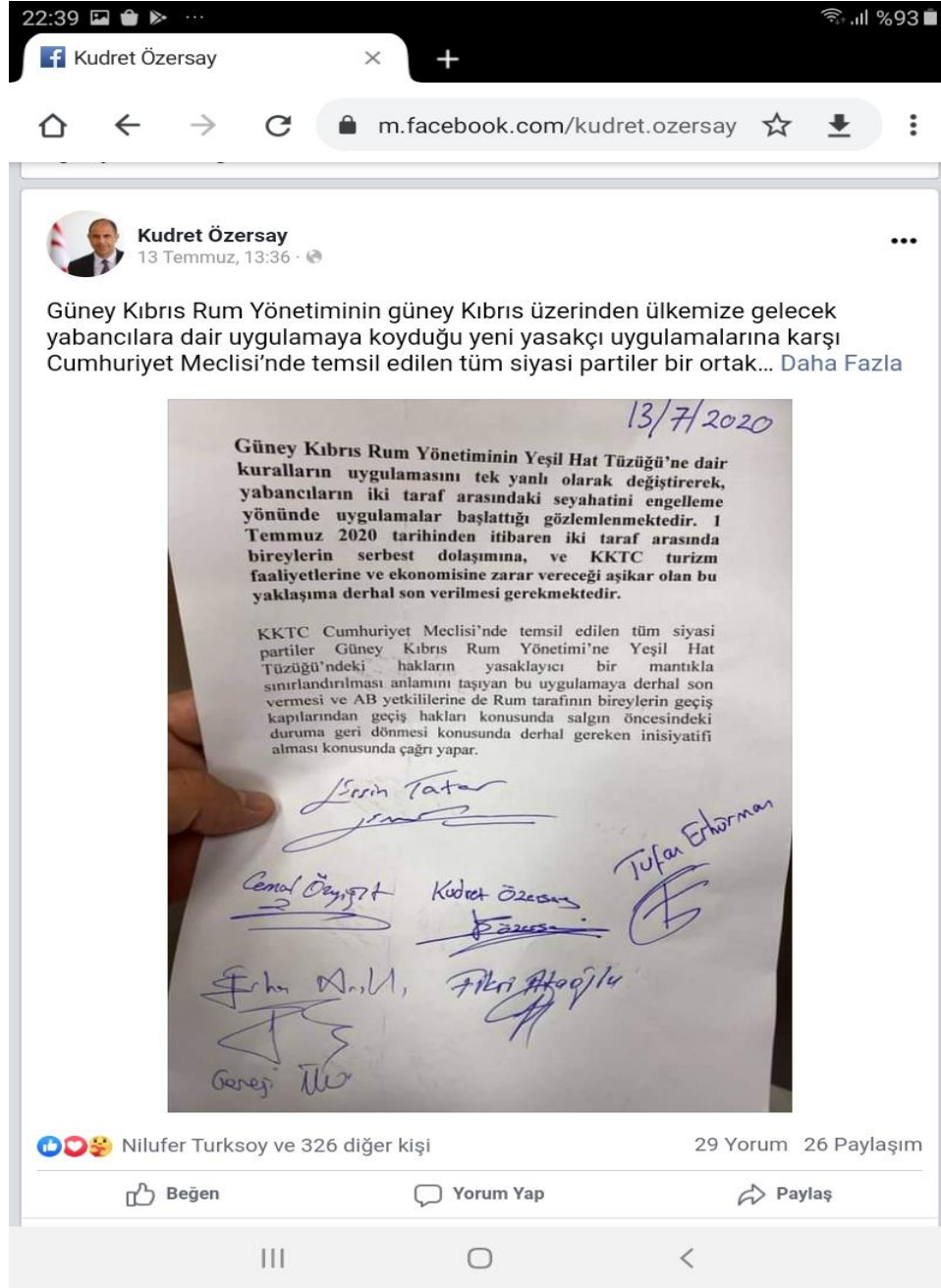


Figure 80: Kudret Özersay's post for Cyprus issue on Facebook



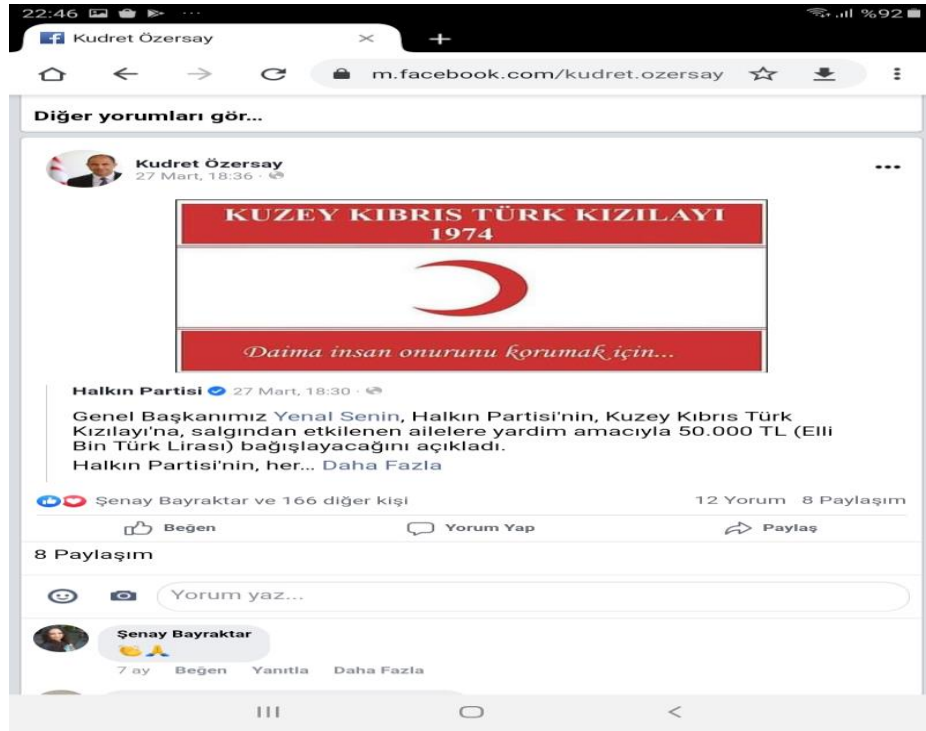


Figure 81: Kudret Özersay's post for Cyprus issue on Facebook

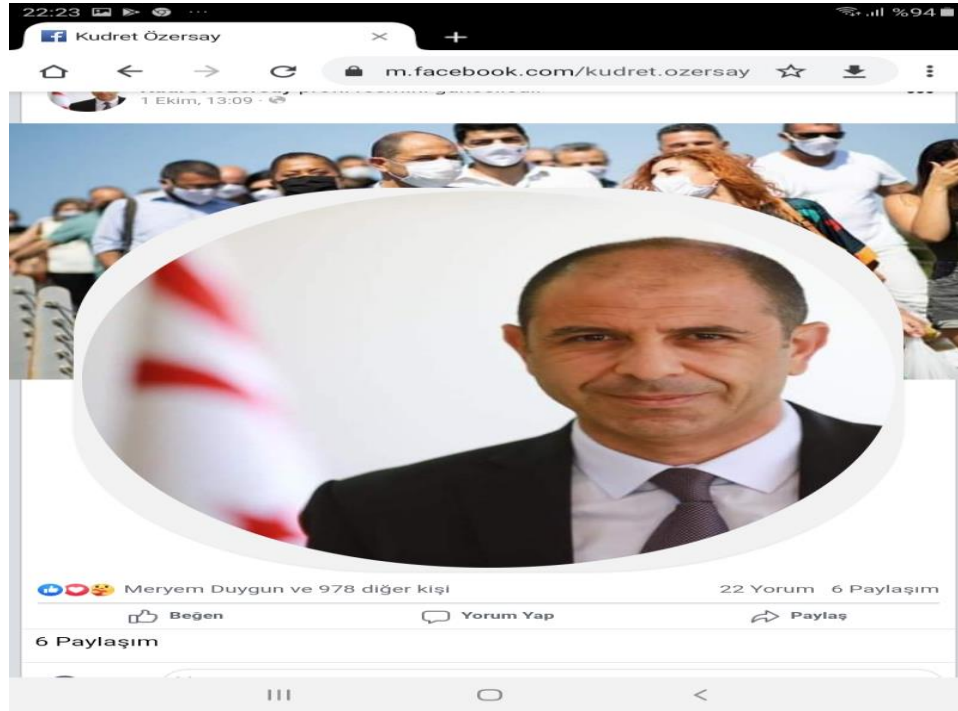


Figure 82: Kudret Özersay's post for Cyprus issue on Facebook

### Micro Analysis of Erhan Arıklı's posts on Facebook in relation to Cyprus issue:

He uses explicit and repetitive words, such as not negotiate for federation.

### Macro Analysis of Erhan Arıklı's posts on Facebook in relation to Cyprus issue:

His view for the Cyprus issue is based on a two-state solution and maintains the existence of TRNC rather than a federal solution in Cyprus. He repeatedly expresses his perspective and criticises people who want a federal solution stressing that if he is to be elected, there will never be a talk of or negotiation for a federal solution. Moreover, by claiming that the Turkish Cypriot community does not desire federation as the solution and his discourse suggests that international law and the UN should respect that in order to highlight to his voters that the public cognition is this direction.

### Examples of Erhan Arıklı's posts about the Cyprus issue on Facebook:



Figure 83: Erhan Arıklı's post for Cyprus issue on Facebook



Figure 84: Erhan Arıklı's post for Cyprus issue on Facebook



Figure 85: Erhan Arıklı's post for Cyprus issue on Facebook

### **Micro Analysis of Tufan Erhürman's posts on Facebook in relation to Cyprus**

**issue:** He uses apparent words and sentences to express his perspective of the Cyprus issue. His choice of words includes positive words such as dialogue, solution, compromise to create a positive effect on the voters.

### **Macro Analysis of Tufan Erhürman's posts on Facebook in relation to Cyprus**

**issue:** He explicitly declares his view for Cyprus solution as federation within the process of negotiating the UN parameters. He also emphasizes that, if he is to be elected, he is ready to discuss the Cyprus issue within the framework of the UN parameters and that a conference with the participation of the parties and guarantor members is crucial for the future of Cyprus.

### **Examples of Tufan Erhürman's posts about the Cyprus issue on Facebook:**



Figure 86: Tufan Erhürman's post for Cyprus issue on Facebook



Figure 87: Tufan Erhürman's post for Cyprus issue on Facebook

**Micro Analysis of Serdar Denktaş's posts on Facebook in relation to Cyprus issue:** He uses an explanatory and informative language about his ideas on the Cyprus issue.

**Macro Analysis of Serdar Denktaş's posts on Facebook in relation to Cyprus issue:** He advocates the existence of TRNC and says that the Greek Leader Nikos Anastasiadis' ignorance of Turkish Cypriots is not acceptable at all. Instead, he underlines that Anastasiadis' speech at the UN General Council on preferring to have a two-party dialogue with Turkey is unacceptable as he clearly ignores the existence of Turkish Cypriots.

## Examples of Serdar Denktaş's posts about the Cyprus issue on Facebook:

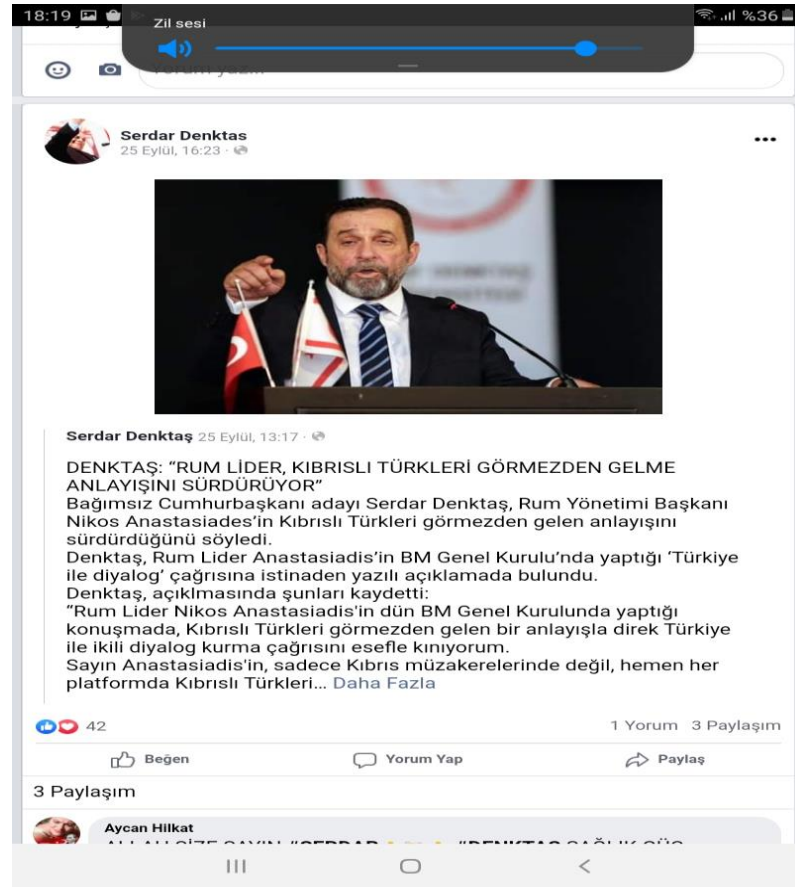


Figure 88 Serdar Denktaş's post for Cyprus issue on Facebook

## 5.4 Findings

The combination of the data from three different sources: newspapers, Twitter and Facebook yields significant findings. The Table 7 below also shows each candidate's attitude towards the five themes.

### 5.4.1 Data Analysis of Newspapers According to CDA

Newspapers are still noted to be an influential medium for the adult and elderly people in North Cyprus. The coverage of headlines of these newspapers were chosen for analysis based on the themes. It is reasonable to assume that the newspapers select specific headlines most likely to be in line with their ideological spectrum such as Kıbrıs newspaper's headlines as 'Exciting day in Varosha: TRNC's land Varosha is

opened after 46 years' as seen in the news 7. In other words, Kıbrıs newspaper treats the opening of Varosha as a normal issue. Kıbrıs newspaper's discourse helps to the preservation of status quo in specific issues such as the management of Covid-19 by the government is not criticised as much as by Yenidüzen newspaper's discourse; while the opening of Varosha is welcomed by Kıbrıs newspaper and intervention claims have no place in the newspaper.

Kıbrıs newspaper's discourse is composed of mainly support for the opening of Varosha in parallel with its political view which is from the right-wing and a nationalistic view. The language constitutes to convince its readers in order to affirm the steps regarding Varosha, particularly, the Prime Minister of the time, Ersin Tatar's initiatives. When giving the space to the news related to Ersin Tatar, the newspaper makes use of large dimensions such as 23x25 cm<sup>2</sup> and 25x25 cm<sup>2</sup> along with the depiction of Ersin Tatar's speeches underlined in a positive manner. In line with this, intervention claims by Mustafa Akıncı has not taken place on Kıbrıs newspaper's first page. Moreover, Ersin Tatar points out that he is deeply upset with the claims that he is elected due to Turkey's intervention. Additionally, the news regarding Covid-19 is depicted as both critical and supportive of government's actions and decisions during pandemic in Kıbrıs newspaper.

Yenidüzen exhibits an opposing stance on the opening of Varosha starting from the beginning of the process. Yenidüzen tries to show the opening of Varosha as the unhelpful step for the solution in Cyprus and strengthens this argument by putting citizens' statements on the first page, such as speeches criticizing North Cyprus government's discourse about Varosha. Even before the start of Covid-19 in North Cyprus, the borders were closed firstly, by South Cyprus in the early days of March

and Yenidüzen connects this with Varosha, putting statements such as ‘if you say Varosha will be opened, then, they close the borders’. In other words, the closing of borders done firstly by South Cyprus is associated as the fault of the North Cyprus government by Yenidüzen. It can be said easily that Varosha connected with Covid-19 and the acts of North Cyprus government are highly criticized. In regards to the management of Covid-19 by the government in North Cyprus, Yenidüzen uses mainly doctors, healthcare personnel’s declarations to stress that the acts of the government and the precautions are not helpful during the pandemic.

Yenidüzen newspaper uses photos more effectively as covering larger dimensions with critical statements. It stresses the party leader of the CTP, Tufan Erhürman’s statements by offering more logical solutions such as thinking of the public first before the election. Yenidüzen’s headlines on 8 October 2020 focuses on the opening of the Varosha because Yenidüzen is opposed to the opening, and it linked the opening to the election as a factor of determining the future president.

While Yenidüzen newspaper, in its news about intervention, claims that there is clear intervention and this is done for Tatar to be elected, Kıbrıs newspaper publicised Tatar’s sorrow due to the claims of intervention and that there is no intervention trying to establish a public opinion in this regard.

#### **5.4.2 Data Analysis of Twitter According to CDA**

According to the Twitter results, the public discusses the actions of Ersin Tatar mostly in two opposing views as supportive and unsupportive. It can be argued that the macro structure composes of Ersin Tatar’s speech and acts, the Prime Minister of the time, in a total 21349 tweets. The other macro structure is formed around Mustafa Akıncı as the second person to be mentioned the most on Twitter with 19108 tweets. This is



because of the fact that the two names are left to the second round in the elections and this increased the mentioning of their names on Twitter. The crucial point is that some discourse expresses the global meaning or main topics of the summarized discourse and summary relation between two discourse may be formulated in terms of macro structure (Van Dijk, 1980, p.10). In this context, macrostructures of social interaction need to consider the participants' plan to see, interpret and memorize (Van Dijk, 1980, p.11). Macrostructures may be offered in the discourse as thematical (or topical) words or sentences (Van Dijk, 1980, p.27).

From this perspective, Ersin Tatar may be seen as macrostructure because users' (participants') comments and memorization are shaped around his name on Twitter. Additionally, CDA focuses on how discourse structures influence mental representations. The global level of discourse topics may have influence on what people see as the most significant topic of text or talk, hence, it is associated with the high levels of their mental models (Van Dijk, 2005, p.358). In this study, Twitter results indicate that people consider election, Varosha and intervention as the most important topics and provided commentary views about them. It can be argued that political tweets revolved around elections' comments and Varosha during the presidential election 2020 in North Cyprus. More importantly, cognition is formed through candidates' speeches and discourse (Van Dijk, 2005), however, public's cognition is constantly formed especially with the issue of Varosha and its effects on the election and voices in the international arena in about the presidential election of 2020.

Twitter results reveal that there is a cognition in the public that the opening process of Varosha is an action by Tatar to win the election. The tweets with intervention claim

also support the existence of such a cognition in the public that the action is considered to be in favour of Tatar winning the election. While the aid from Turkey during Covid-19 mostly has positive tweets, the comments on the Cyprus issue put the ideological stance of each candidate regarding this matter to the forefront. More importantly, Twitter results are significant for the study in the sense of having a general understanding regarding the direction of public discourse.

#### **5.4.3 Data Analysis of Facebook According to CDA**

Data obtained from the Facebook posts of six candidates are summarized in this part.

##### **Ersin Tatar's Facebook Posts:**

It can clearly be seen that Ersin Tatar is the candidate with the second highest use of Facebook during the election period with 412 posts. His posts are mostly composed of 374 posts on the election campaign such as speeches, meeting with local people in both cities and villages, information on the dates of the TV programmes, promises for his voters, family photos and specific slogans such as “Vote and Own Your Future”, “We are walking to the new future”, “True decision is Ersin Tatar”, so on. Election posts are followed by posts on Covid-19 which includes precautions for Covid-19, and information on the construction and opening of the pandemic hospital. Then, 11 posts are found related with the Cyprus issue stressing the end of a federal solution, start of a new process with as independent and preservation of TRNC in the international arena. Also, Varosha is included in 6 posts with the support speech on the opening of Varosha and the new period that has started with it. The least popular theme is intervention with the ratio of 2 posts criticizing the President of the time, Mustafa Akıncı's discourse about Turkey's intervention to the elections for Mustafa Akıncı not to be elected. Ersin Tatar declares that Mustafa Akıncı should stop his speeches about

accusing Turkey of intervention and that his attacks on Turkey would not yield any results.

Ersin Tatar especially targeted Mustafa Akıncı in his Facebook posts using a discourse which suggested that Mustafa Akıncı is the wrong candidate and he is the right one.

#### **Mustafa Akıncı's Facebook Posts:**

Mustafa Akıncı shared 336 posts on Facebook and he is the fourth candidate regarding the frequent use of Facebook. He has 2 posts on Varosha, 3 posts on intervention, 60 posts on Covid-19, 298 posts on the election and 18 posts on Cyprus issue. His view regarding the opening of Varosha is that the opening is not acceptable and it damages the democracy in North Cyprus. He insists on his beliefs that intervention took place by Turkey so that he is not elected. According to him, Covid-19 process is not managed efficiently by the government of the time. His election campaigns focus on specific words such as willpower, independence, not obey, democracy and solution. He shows his effort for a solution in Cyprus through a platform of federation within the UN initiatives.

#### **Kudret Özersay's Facebook Posts:**

Kudret Özersay has a total of 249 posts and he is the fifth most active user of Facebook among the candidates. He has 3 posts on Varosha, 0 posts on Intervention, 25 posts on Covid-19, 217 posts on Election and 4 posts on Cyprus issue. He argues that Varosha is opened but there is deficiency in the arrangement of the opening of Varosha such as ownership regulations. More interestingly, he never expresses an opinion about the intervention claims. He generally gives information about Covid-19 like limitations, precautions and arrangements as the spokesman for the government. Additionally, he

shares meeting photos with local people in different locations. In relation to the Cyprus issue, he advocates the existence of TRNC rather than federation. He concentrates on mostly election posts, a total of 217, showing that his priority is on his election campaign.

#### **Erhan Arıklı's Facebook Posts:**

Erhan Arıklı is the candidate with the most frequent use of Facebook during the election campaigns with 736 posts. He has 1 post on Varosha, 3 posts on Intervention, 16 posts on Covid-19, 711 posts on Election and 5 posts on Cyprus issue. He clearly supports and celebrates the opening of Varosha by attending the ceremony in person. He certainly rejects the claims of intervention and makes negative comments for the management of Covid-19 by the government of the time. As for the election campaigns, he mostly shares posts for election campaigns about the places he visits, meetings and convoys with his supporters. He also supports the existence of TRNC and not the solution of federation.

#### **Tufan Erhürman's Facebook Posts:**

Tufan Erhürman is the third frequent user of Facebook for election campaign purposes with a total of 431 posts. His posts comprise of 3 posts on Varosha, 2 posts on Intervention, 83 posts on Covid-19, 332 posts on election and 10 posts on Cyprus issue. He opposes to the opening of Varosha and considers this step as a mistake. He also argues for the intervention claims and that the existence of intervention is an insult to willpower and democracy of Turkish Cypriots. He never approves of the actions and decisions for the management of Covid-19, especially the lifting of mandatory quarantine. His election campaigns revolved around his visits, talks and meetings with the voters. In relation to Cyprus issue, he actively supports federation.

### **Serdar Denktaş's Facebook Posts:**

Serdar Denktaş with 242 posts is the least active candidate on Facebook to pursue his political communication over social media. His posts include 1 post on Varosha, 3 posts on Intervention, 24 posts on Covid-19, 209 posts on election and 6 posts on Cyprus issue. He expresses his disapproval regarding the opening of Varosha and interprets it as trying to gain advantage for Ersin Tatar in the election. He also strongly argues that intervention occurred from Turkey by using news content in Özgür Gazete as his supporting source. He also criticises the activities of government during the pandemic. His election posts composed of mostly the dates of TV programmes and his ideas regarding various issues. Lastly, he supports the existence of TRNC instead of federation as a solution alternative.

In addition to presenting the summary of each candidate's perspective on the five themes, this table is also analysed. Table 7 presents the summary of each candidate's perspective on the five themes.

Table 7: The summary of each candidate's perspective towards each theme

|                       | <b>Opening of Varosha</b> | <b>Intervention</b> | <b>Covid-19</b>                      | <b>Election</b>                      | <b>Cyprus issue</b>     |
|-----------------------|---------------------------|---------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| <b>Ersin Tatar</b>    | Support                   | Not accept          | Positive messages to manage pandemic | Visible political communication      | Two-state solution      |
| <b>Mustafa Akıncı</b> | Not support               | Accept              | Positive messages to manage pandemic | Constructive political communication | Federation              |
| <b>Kudret Özersay</b> | Not support within        | Not clear           | Positive messages to                 | Not visible political                | Both suggestions may be |

|                       |                                     |            |                                      |                                      |                                                      |
|-----------------------|-------------------------------------|------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------|
|                       | these conditions                    |            | manage pandemic                      | communication                        | discussed with the support for the existence of TRNC |
| <b>Erhan Arıklı</b>   | Support                             | Not accept | Positive messages to manage pandemic | Visible political communication      | Two-state solution                                   |
| <b>Tufan Erhürman</b> | Not support                         | Accept     | Positive messages to manage pandemic | Constructive political communication | Federation                                           |
| <b>Serdar Denktaş</b> | Not support within these conditions | Accept     | Positive messages to manage pandemic | Constructive political communication | Two-state solution                                   |

## 5.5 Triangulation of the Data

Triangulation helps to eliminate biases arising from the use of a single method (Bryman, 2008). In this context, triangulation is significant for understanding social capital erosion on Turkish Cypriots by considering multiple sources of data. When considering the triangulation of the study, multiple sources of data (newspapers, Twitter and Facebook for six months) is used. Additionally, the collected data are used to answer the research questions. Furthermore, the findings from the newspapers, Twitter and Facebook provides improved credibility for the current study. This is because the combination of results from these sources of data offers consistency and confirmability in regards to the aim of the study. This study aims at the exploring the formation of public sphere (Habermas, 1991) under the effect of Covid-19 in North

Cyprus during the 2020 presidential election campaigns. In this context, another aim is to investigate the social capital (Putnam, 1993) on the society, particularly in terms of trust and social networks. Moreover, as the final aim of the study the results of the findings clarify which topics become more prominent during the presidential election campaign.

Kıbrıs and Yenidüzen newspapers represent traditional media in North Cyprus while Twitter represents public cognition of the themes completed with Facebook representing candidates' points of view regarding each theme. The findings of the study demonstrate that Covid-19 has affected the political campaigns, political communication and the discourse of the candidates such as the shift in focus more toward Covid-19 and their suggestions for the management of public health. The formation of public sphere is established on the social media platforms due to the limitations arising from Covid-19. Therefore, the formation of public sphere is reshaped under the effect of a public health crisis in North Cyprus. The new public sphere has led to the use of more digital interaction and limited face-to-face communication. In addition, the results of Twitter reflect the public discourse about five themes, among which discourse on Varosha and intervention play a crucial role in social capital erosion. The public discourse is composed of criticizing the intervention coming from the current administration of Turkey for electing Ersin Tatar as the new president. What is more, Facebook posts by candidates also help to understand their priorities among the five themes. The candidates' posts are crucial for influencing their followers in terms of helping to shape the cognition of the voters. In this context, findings from two newspapers with different ideological stances help to grasp the way they attempt to manipulate their readers (Van Dijk, 2008) for their own interest or ideology regarding the five themes. Moreover, analysis of the

newspapers, Twitter and Facebook point out which topics are more visible during the 2020 presidential election. Undoubtedly, Covid-19 is the most repeated theme in the newspapers, the discourse of both the public (tweets) and the candidates (posts). What is more, in the present study, actor triangulation has been used. In the study, newspapers represent the press, Twitter data represents the public opinion and Facebook data represents the candidates' views.

## **5.6 Discussion of the Study**

The significance of this study relies in the application of Social Capital Theory; particularly on the analysis of trust and social networks relationship on the Turkish Cypriot community during 2020 presidential election. During the election period, unexpected events such as the opening of Varosha and claims of intervention took place. The city of Varosha had been closed from 1974 to 2020; however, the city was partially opened on 06.10.2020, five days prior to the election. The main political actor during the process of the opening of Varosha is Ersin Tatar, the Prime Minister of the time. Counter arguments for the opening of Varosha are presented by Mustafa Akıncı, the President of the time, Tufan Erhürman (the leader of CTP), Serdar Denktaş (the former leader of DP), and also by other left-wing party members such as TDP (Toplumcu Demokrasi Partisi- Communal Democracy Party) and BKP (Birleşik Kıbrıs Partisi- United Cyprus Party). Trust and social networks, which are the fundamental factors of social capital, are damaged during the 2020 presidential election in North Cyprus. However, their damage is not only due to the Covid-19 pandemic but also because of the unexpected political developments that has led to fractures in the Turkish Cypriot society. One of the most important reasons for these fractures is the partial opening of Varosha 5 days before the election. While this situation received a reaction especially from the parties known as the left-wing; CTP



and TDP, another reaction came from Kudret Özersay, who is the coalition partner in the government of the time.

This study also concentrates on examining the low turnout ratio at the 2020 presidential elections of North Cyprus and the alterations of political communication practices that occurred during the process of the Covid-19 pandemic. However, it would not be effective to associate the low turnout ratio in this election solely to the Covid-19 pandemic. Surely, the impact of Covid-19 cannot be ignored, but the intervention claims in the election, argued by the president of the time, Mustafa Akıncı are also significant. What Mustafa Akıncı wants to point out as intervention to the election is that because Turkey's current administration does not want him to be re-elected as president, they interfered with the elections in TRNC to help Tatar win. Therefore, the administration of Turkey provided full support to Ersin Tatar to be elected as the new president. Another significant event is the partially opening of Varosha before five days election that need to be reviewed. The main actors of the partial opening of Varosha are Ersin Tatar (the Prime Minister of the time) and Recep Tayyip Erdoğan (the President of Turkey). This is because, on 6 October 2020, they announced together in Ankara that Varosha will be opened on 8 October 2020. These unpredicted events came as a surprise to the coalition government partner, Kudret Özersay and caused the fall of the coalition government. Moreover, Kudret Özersay is one of those actors who talks in support of the opening of Varosha under Turkish control but emphasises that the opening should not have been conducted in this manner (see his Facebook post). He also argues that Tatar's turning of Varosha into an election campaign is something to be criticized. Since these events have never happened before in the political history of the Turkish Cypriot community, this issue is a crucial research topic as it causes social capital erosion. Undoubtedly, the Covid-19 pandemic

has influenced the formation of social capital as well as the transformation of social capital from traditional meetings to social media. However, in North Cyprus, in addition to Covid-19, multiple factors namely, the opening of Varosha, intervention claims, and after the election, the results of turnout ratio have led to the erosion of social capital in the Turkish Cypriot society.

In other words, the main significance of this election in 2020 compared to the previous elections is the low turnout rate to the presidential election associated with the partially opening of Varosha, intervention claims in the elections, and the Covid-19 pandemic. These issues became more prominent during the presidential election in 2020. The partially opening of Varosha made an effect on the public, particularly; it caused reactions by left-wing candidates and the coalition government partners, namely, Kudret Özersay. The intervention claims made firstly by Mustafa Akıncı led to the formation a fragile situation on people. The intervention claims to the election attracted reaction from the public and especially caused the formation of ‘Not Obedience, Freedom’ movement (Yenidüzen). As this election was the presidential election with the lowest participation rate, it was revealed that the social capital level in the community needed to be investigated. It was shown as a fragile situation especially in terms of trust and social networks.

Yet, another significant development is that the transfer of political communication from conventional channels such as meetings face to face communication to digital platforms. In other words, how a health issue such as the Covid-19 pandemic has influenced the formation of public sphere in North Cyprus is another major result of the 2020 presidential election in North Cyprus.

This study is also significant in understanding the changes in the public sphere from conventional to digital (new/social media) patterns during a public health crisis. This pandemic is the first public health crisis that affected the political elections drastically in terms of postponing the date of the elections, methods of electoral campaigns, politicians' electoral discourses, ways to reach voters and delivering their messages to the citizens. The novelty of this research emerges from the lack of academic research on the transformation of the public sphere under the effect of a pandemic during a presidential election. The Covid-19 pandemic also changes the discourse of candidates and emphasizes more healthcare management as a new dimension of public administration. From this perspective, the management of Covid-19 became more interesting over time and candidates tried to focus on using the pandemic in their political propaganda through both the social media and newspapers in the country. In this regard, this is the first time that a health problem has evidently affected the politics of North Cyprus without any doubt. The Covid-19 pandemic changed the patterns of traditional political campaigning and shifted to campaigns over social media. The Covid-19 pandemic caused a drastic change in the formation of the public sphere making it take place on social media platforms. The main contribution of this study is that it is the first time a change in public sphere has been so evident in an election in North Cyprus due to Covid-19 and its effects on the society such as limitations and precautions. The traditional electoral campaign shifted from conventional methods such as public meetings, face-to-face contact and personal communication to digital/social media electoral campaign by using Twitter and Facebook.

It can be argued that the formation of public sphere changed considerably and people become more active on social media to share their ideas, protests and reactions. Twitter analysis from this study concentrates on the public view on the five themes of the study

because the citizens know that their views will reach to the politicians through social media. The interactivity on social media is also another important outcome regarding the formation of the new public sphere on social media.

To sum up, the study focuses on the 2020 Presidential election in North Cyprus, however, the patterns of election campaigns are conducted in similar ways for both the national and presidential elections. As it has been mentioned in Chapter 1, the presidential election in North Cyprus officially started in 1983. There had been eight elections (1985, 1990, 1995, 2000, 2005, 2010, 2015 and 2020) so far. In 2020 presidential election, the use of social media by candidates, their approach toward the partial opening of Varosha, the confirmation or denial for the claims of intervention, and the Covid-19 pandemic arising have been significantly highlighted when compared to the previous elections. More importantly, the partial opening of Varosha and intervention claims in the elections by the candidates has made this election special in the history of North Cyprus. In this regard, the Covid-19 pandemic affected not only the communication patterns but also altered the public sphere shifting it from traditional media campaigns to social media campaigns. The other significant result occurred in the sense of social capital erosion that is evidently seen in the ratio of election turnout and candidates' discourse relying on concepts of will, democracy, govern yourself and not obedience. This election not only caused the loss of trust in politics or politicians but also affected social networks in the society due to impact of the Covid-19 pandemic.

The civic participation has also changed during this electoral process. The civic participation process, which was on the streets and squares before, is, now, actively reflected on social media with the effects of the Covid-19 pandemic in this presidential

election. This change in civic participation is another feature that makes this election different from the others.

In the 2020 election, the discourse and political communication are shaped by the effect of the Covid-19 pandemic such as face-to-face meetings performed within a limited time with the voters, and the interaction between politicians and the voters mostly taking place on social media. From this perspective, the public sphere has highly occurred on new media and the existence of social media is very prominent during this election. Particularly, candidates' Facebook posts reflected their views on the partial opening of Varosha, intervention claims in the elections, and the Cyprus issue. The candidates with the left-wing ideology (Mustafa Akıncı and Tufan Erhürman) draw attention by criticising the partial opening of Varosha and they state that Varosha is used as an election tool by Ersin Tatar. In this regard, Cyprus issue is still their priority as they support solving it under the federation within suitable UN parameters. On the contrary, the right-wing candidates (Ersin Tatar and Erhan Arıklı) strongly support the opening of Varosha and reject the intervention claims in the elections. Solving of Cyprus issue within the UN parameters is not on their agenda. More interestingly, the two right-wing candidates (Serdar Denktaş and Kudret Özersay) are also opposed to the opening of Varosha, in this way (see Chapter 4) and Kudret Özersay states that the government fell apart due to the opening of Varosha. Serdar Denktaş also claims that intervention had been done so that certain candidates are not elected (see Facebook posts).

During this election, political communication process has taken place over social media with the changing technologies all around the world, hence, the spectrum of the political propaganda embraces more active social media usage in North Cyprus as

well. In this era, social media has increased importance in politics all over the world together with traditional media. However, traditional media still maintains its significance in the political elections in North Cyprus. As a case study, this research explores different views about the partially opening of Varosha, intervention, Covid-19 pandemic, election, and Cyprus issue addressing the link between public sphere, social capital, and social networks in North Cyprus.

## **Chapter 6**

### **CONCLUSION**

This chapter presents the conclusions drawn from the current study and the research questions are answered in line with the findings derived from Kıbrıs newspaper, Yenidüzen newspaper, Twitter, and Facebook posts. This chapter includes a summary of the study, conclusions drawn from the study, and suggestions for further research, respectively.

#### **6.1 Summary of the Study**

The study aims at understanding the political communication process for the 2020 presidential election in North Cyprus under the shadow of the Covid-19 pandemic. This study also aims at investigating the erosion of social capital during the 2020 presidential election among Turkish Cypriots and how public sphere is formed through the shift from conventional election campaigns to social media campaigns, particularly over Twitter and Facebook. To evaluate this, data are collected from Kıbrıs and Yenidüzen newspapers from 7 March 2020 to 31 October 2020, along with posts from Twitter and candidates' Facebook accounts for the same duration. The collected data are analysed with the CDA. The significance of this study is that social capital (Putnam, 1993) has not been investigated in any of the previous presidential elections in North Cyprus. What is more, the formation of public sphere has also not been examined during presidential election under the light of a global health crisis.

This study has been limited to the presidential election in North Cyprus in 2020 and it has covered traditional media solely through two national newspapers: Kıbrıs and Yenidüzen. The social media platforms are also limited to Twitter and Facebook. The study focuses on the issues related to election campaigns, the partially opening of Varosha, intervention claims in the election, the Covid-19 pandemic, election, and the Cyprus issue.

The most significant contribution of this study to the existing literature is the emergence of social capital erosion among Turkish Cypriots during 2020 TRNC presidential elections. In particular, there is no study on social capital erosion in relation to a presidential election in North Cyprus available in the literature. This erosion especially occurs when there is lack trust in politics and politicians but it is also noted that it damages social networks with the impact of Covid-19. In this regard, the political communication patterns shifted from ‘traditional’ to ‘digital’ and the ‘traditional public sphere’ to digital platforms such as Facebook and Twittersphere where the public expresses its views in a democratic manner. To sum, the formation of public sphere took place over social media platforms. This study suggests that the growing awareness on the role of new (digital) media political communication in North Cyprus during Covid-19 and the formation of the public sphere increased drastically over social media.

This study also highlights the importance of social capital; trust and social networks in civic engagement/political participation. Civic engagement in political life and social life are also damaged due to both Covid-19 and unexpected events such as the opening of Varosha and intervention claims to the elections by the current administration in Turkey for changing the public’s idea not to vote for Mustafa Akıncı



and elect Ersin Tatar (as it is explained in Chapter 5). These events formed a fragile situation in domestic politics and in the society in terms of social trust to the politics and politicians. This study offers a decent area of study for the field of political communication.

## **6.2 Conclusions Drawn from the Study**

This section presents the conclusions drawn from the study. To this aim, the research questions put forth in Chapter 1 are re-visited and answered through the findings of the study.

### **RQ1: How did the Covid-19 pandemic alter public sphere during the presidential election in North Cyprus, 2020?**

The public sphere, as it has been put forth by Habermas, is a place to talk, discuss and form public opinion (Habermas, 1991). Until this most recent presidential election in North Cyprus, public sphere has been formed through face-to-face meetings in different locations as well as crowded meetings in city/village centres. The public sphere is, now, altered due to the Covid-19 pandemic and it has moved to social media. Due to the Covid-19 pandemic, people experience a decrease in mobility so the discussion of important issues take place on social media instruments, especially Twitter and Facebook as the new public sphere. In this election, five themes are considered as more prominent such as the partially opening of Varosha, intervention claims in the elections, the Covid-19 pandemic, election speeches, and the Cyprus issue.

The Covid-19 pandemic has prompted politicians and political actors to rethink their propaganda strategies and focus on improving their presence on social media in North

Cyprus. Technological advancements have changed the public sphere practices which is as important as the political matters. The formation of public sphere shifted from coffee shops (Habermas, 1991) to social media platforms. The inner political matters such as Varosha and intervention claims in the elections are, now, more visible during the elections process of the 2020 presidential elections. In the 2020 presidential elections, the candidates share their concerns, specifically about the partial opening of Varosha, intervention claims in the elections, the Covid-19 pandemic through various platforms and these concerns are clearly reflected in their discourse and speeches, the President of the time, Mustafa Akıncı (Yenidüzen, 06.10.20), in particular. Evidently, he states that the partially opening of Varosha is done without his permission and the government has hidden the agenda from him. More significantly, Tufan Erhürman and Serdar Denktaş also believe and declare as such that the official opening of Varosha is performed to help Ersin Tatar gain an advantage in the election (see Chapter 5).

Ersin Tatar received the highest number of mentions on Twitter while Erhan Arıklı has the highest number of posts on Facebook followed by Ersin Tatar. When focusing on the themes, it is worth noting that election, intervention and Varosha have received more interesting comments on social media, particularly on Twitter. However, the cases of Varosha and intervention claims are significant because the opening of Varosha also resulted in the fall of the government.

Moreover, with the effects of the Covid-19 pandemic, digital technology has been more effective for more political communication than the conventional political campaigns of the past. This is because the Covid-19 pandemic forced the social isolation practices and people are in need of alternative platforms to eliminate the isolation and get actively involved in the presidential election. This gave the way to

the emergence of a new public sphere on new media which is also known as the digital media.

Social media provides a platform to discuss politics freely. For example, people's concerns are clearly visible in their tweets, especially about Varosha and intervention. Facebook accounts of the candidates points out that they also share concerns with the followers regarding the five themes.

The new formation of public sphere is apparent in the presidential election as each candidate reflect their prior concerns through their Facebook posts and as a public discourse is formed over Twitter. Interestingly, despite all the shift toward digital media, the existence of newspapers as traditional media is still in place.

The recent formation of a new public sphere in North Cyprus is shaped with the effects of Covid-19 causing a change in the way public sphere is established. During this election, both the public and the candidates mostly interacted over a digital environment creating a new public sphere. This can be referred to as the 'new digitalized public sphere under Covid-19 in North Cyprus'. As the 2020 presidential election still has influence on the formation of public sphere with ever-lasting effects, it is acknowledged that the role and significance of the 2020 presidential election is completely different than the elections of the past.

Looking at the larger picture, the Covid-19 pandemic has affected the world in a negative way from economic prosperity to social life, from mobility to public health. With limited mobility due to Covid-19 and the transfer of political campaigns to social

media, it can be argued that the public sphere is composed extensively of the social media in the 2020 presidential elections of North Cyprus.

## **RQ2: How was social capital formed during the presidential election in North Cyprus 2020?**

Voter turnout in TRNC elections is high when compared with the international standards, as is the rate of citizen participation in the political parties (Siaroff, 2000, p. 25). However, the presidential election in 2020 has drastically changed this tradition by having the lowest turnout rate in the history of TRNC. It is mostly claimed that this historic change is due to Covid-19; however, some people disagree such as Narin Şefik, the Chair of the Supreme Election Council.

Such disagreements are also voiced by some of the important social and political actors. Narin Şefik, the Chair of the Supreme Election Council gave a speech to Yenidüzen newspaper after the election and stated that: ‘Pandemic is used to cover for the resentful politics and politicians’. She clearly stated that Turkish Cypriots’ trust will be eroded in this election and pandemic is not the sole reason because all the necessary measures were taken and restrictions of safety were in place. She also draws attention to the rate of the lowest participation: from 94.57% in 1990 to 58% in 2020. Narin Şefik underlines that this low participation cannot only be associated with Covid-19 and that it is also the outcome of the faulty action of the politicians.

Upon the announcement of the election results, Serdar Denktaş also draws attention that the willpower of Turkish Cypriots will erode and this is a fundamental issue for North Cyprus. In other words, he supports the claims the intervention and that the opening of Varosha is turned into a tool for the election through his posts of Facebook.

While the unexpected opening of Varosha during this election and intervention claims created a negative perception on social cognition (see Twitter analysis in Chapter 5), they also greatly damaged the social capital, particularly trust and social networks. To put it differently, this study draws centrally on the concept of social capital and trust and social networks as the main qualities of social capital.

Critical Discourse Analysis is seen as the most appropriate methodology to help understand the political discourse of candidates in terms of meaning behind their words, speeches or discourses. In addition to CDA, socio-cognitive approach by Van Dijk (1988) has also greatly contributed to the present study. Varosha may be regarded as a politically aimed act for the benefit of Ersin Tatar and according to the data from Twitter, cognitive of the society is formed in the direction that the opening of Varosha is not an appropriate act during the elections.

It is possible to explain social capital as social trust which is essential in cooperating for the sustainability of shared objectives. Putnam claims that when people connect more with other people, namely through face-to-face communication within the community, the amount of trust also increases (Putnam, 1993). Social capital erosion has been experienced during the 2020 presidential elections as a result of various factors. In this regard, the turnout rate in the election is a significant indicator of social capital erosion during the 2020 presidential election.

The first signalling factor for the erosion of social capital is the patterns of turnout rate in the election which is 58.22% in the first round and 67.29% in the second round making 2020 presidential elections the election with the lowest turnout in the history of North Cyprus. The presidential election process (2020) is crucial in grasping the

social capital erosion among Turkish Cypriots and the most basic indicator of this is the low participation in the election as 58.22% in the first round and 67.29% in the second round.

The second factor signalling social capital erosion is the results yielded after the analysis of Twitter data. The public discourse on Twitter reveals a cognition that Turkey intervened with the elections to help Ersin Tatar win. The public indicates its clear belief through their tweets. In other words, the data from Twitter, through the comments, shows that the public discourse is on intervention and this made the Turkish Cypriot community question their trust in the politicians.

In this election, this turnout ratio is the lowest of all the presidential elections in the political history of North Cyprus (Yenidüzen, 13.11.2020). The comparison with the previous election shows that the participation was 62.34% in 2015 and that election was accepted the lowest participation until that day. In this respect, the public participation ratio in the presidential elections was 76.37% in 2010 whereas, in the 2005 election, it was 69.58%. In 2000, the public participation in the presidential election was 81.2%, and this ratio was 85.13% in the presidential election in 1995. Most importantly, the highest rate of participation in the elections in the history of North Cyprus was 93.48% in 1990 elections. Five years before that, the participation rate was 85.7% in the 1985 election. (Yenidüzen, 13.11.2020).

By looking at the given turnout rates, it can be argued that, the public shows a gradually reduced tendency to participate, the reason for this can be claimed as the decreased trust in the politicians, increased social capital erosion, and the preservation of the

status quo of the unsolved Cyprus issue along with increasing number of economic problems.

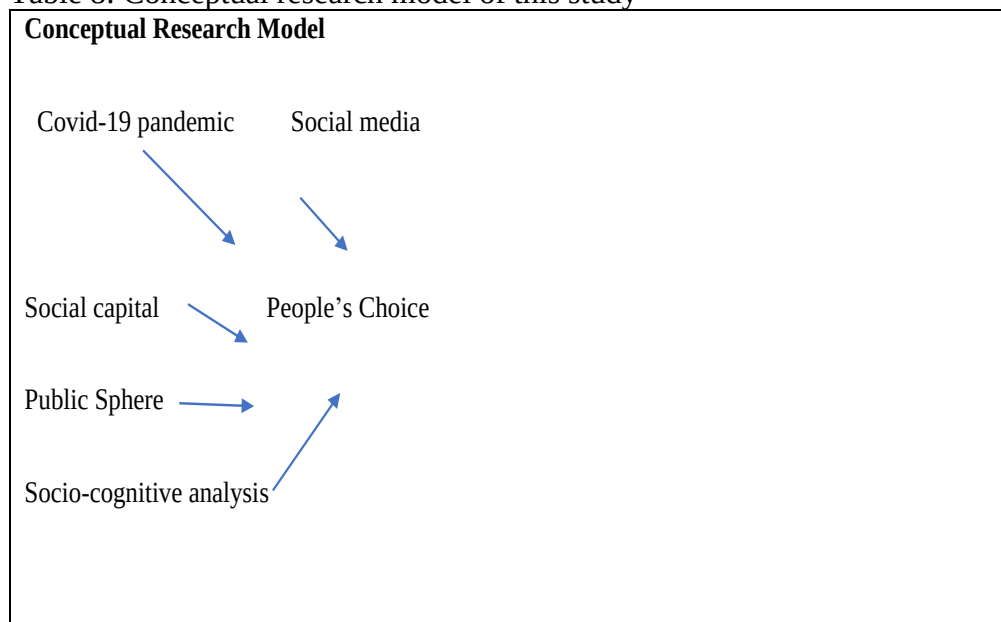
The reason for low participation may bound up with the Covid-19 pandemic, and it is, undoubtedly, an important factor but the discourse on intervention and even Mustafa Akıncı's claims of receiving threats have affected the mind set of Turkish Cypriots and cause a fragile state in terms of internal politics and politicians. The candidates Mustafa Akıncı, Tufan Erhürman, and Serdar Denktaş especially highlight the concepts of 'will', 'independence', 'trust', 'true'. In light of these, it is true that trust within society helps to improve political progress and economic development (Putnam 2000). However, what has been experienced during this election damaged the notion of trust in politicians in North Cyprus.

Citizen participation is seen as a necessary prerequisite for a cohesive society and a way to reduce social exclusion (Barnes, 1999, p.61). Public authorities try to legitimate their actions by more direct presence within their public and by setting more direct and dynamic mechanisms of accountability (Barnes, 1999, p.61). During this election period, citizen participation decreased which harmed democracy, and caused the destruction of civic engagement. From this perspective, 2020 presidential election has been an election during which social capital erosion is largely felt, and where Mustafa Akıncı and Tufan Erhürman made efforts to create an atmosphere of peace and stability based on cooperation and solidarity within Turkish Cypriots. It is obvious that there was low participation to the 2020 presidential election due to the mistrust in politicians and it is the most evident outcome of the social capital erosion between the society and politicians.

According to the study titled ‘North Cyprus Corruption Barometer, 2021’ (Sonan and Gökçekuş, 2022), the trust of Turkish Cypriots in politicians is decreasing. As the mistrust of the Turkish Cypriot community in its politicians reached a striking and questionable level, the most important factor here is the need to re-establish the trust bond between the community and the politicians. From this perspective, the formation of a new social capital may be an important driving force for gaining the trust in politics. The most important factor trust relies on is the cooperation and solidarity with the voters.

In a nutshell, as a result of the findings of the study, the following conceptual model is designed. All factors related to the presidential election during the Covid 19 pandemic, such as social capital, public sphere, socio-cognitive analysis, traditional and social media have an impact on people’s choice.

Table 8: Conceptual research model of this study





**RQ3: Which topics are mostly used by the candidates in their political campaigns during the Covid-19 pandemic?**

Public discourse is a means for the social reproduction of power. To this aim, politicians may exercise their political power through public discourse and have a chance to confirm and reproduce their political power through public discourse (Van Dijk, 2006, p.362). The discourse used in this election are considered to be noteworthy because each candidate's concerns were different. Ersin Tatar exhibits an attitude that supported Turkey's preferences, always stressing that we can continue down this path together and highlighting Turkey's financial support during the Covid-19 pandemic. His slogans mostly focus on owning the future referred to as the need for a striking change in sensitive issues such as Varosha, the two-state solution suggestion, and complete independence from South Cyprus. Additionally, Ersin Tatar argues that the last five years have been wasted because the Turkish Cypriot community has not gained anything in Crans Montana with Mustafa Akıncı, the President at the time. More interestingly, Ersin Tatar earns the full support of the current administration in Turkey during the election process and the declaration of the opening of Varosha took place in Ankara together with Recep Tayyip Erdoğan (President of the Republic of Turkey).

On the contrary, Mustafa Akıncı declares his views about the intervention done by the current administration of Turkey in order for him not to be elected and claims that he even received threats urging him not to participate as a candidate in the election (see Facebook posts in Chapter 5). Also, he supports negotiations with South Cyprus within the framework of the UN parameters such as a bi-zonal and bi-communal federal solution for the Cyprus issue. Mustafa Akıncı argues that the opening of Varosha is a real political mistake and as the President of the time, he has not been informed on the

matter by the government. On a different note, Tufan Erhürman states his opposition to all kinds of interventions despite their source of origin. Erhan Arıklı, on the other hand, uses a discourse that supports the ideas of Ersin Tatar regarding both Varosha and the non-existence of any kind of intervention in the elections. As the coalition partner in the government at the time, Kudret Özersay also criticises the partial opening of Varosha and clearly argues that Ersin Tatar as the other partner of the coalition government provided no information for him, so the government fell apart because of Ersin Tatar's initiatives for the opening of Varosha. Finally, Serdar Denktaş supports the claims of interventions and considers the opening of Varosha as an election tool to benefit Ersin Tatar. During this election, the discourse is mainly composed of Varosha, intervention, and reduced trust in politicians as it is clearly seen from the turnout ratio and the Covid-19 pandemic.

On top of that, each candidate's election slogan is also presented in Table 9 below. The evaluation of the slogan used by each candidate is significant in terms of identifying their priorities and concerns. In this regard, Ersin Tatar offers a promise for a new future, depicts the five years with Mustafa Akıncı as a waste of time and argues that he should be elected in order to avoid more waste of time. Mustafa Akıncı, on the other hand, presents his confidence in and anticipation from the Turkish Cypriot community with the themes of 'Not obedience, Freedom' and 'will'. As for Kudret Özersay, he emphasizes that he is with the society with the slogan 'We will succeed together'. Erhan Arıklı, with his claims of re-establishing TRNC, suggests that the current situation is not right and that he would overcome all the problems. Pointing out that 'he is the right decision', Tufan Erhürman put himself to the forefront as the ideal candidate. Lastly, Serdar Denktaş asked for votes from the public by promising that he could solve all the problems.

While Covid-19 was the most prominent discourse during the election period, Cyprus issue was the least prominent. Also, the most influential events are, undoubtedly, the opening of Varosha and claims about the election of Ersin Tatar by Turkey through interventions to the elections.

In summary, as it has been indicated by the data in Table 7, the influence of slogans also shows each candidate's view regarding the five themes (see Table 9). Ersin Tatar's discourse on the opening of Varosha is depicted as a true decision and a new future. On the contrary, Mustafa Akıncı focuses on the concept of 'not obedience, freedom'. While Kudret Özersay has not used a clear slogan that was recalled in the minds of the citizens; Erhan Arıklı focuses on TRNC and its homeland as the island of Cyprus highlighting his nationalistic view. Tufan Erhürman's slogan is based on the concepts such as peace and friendliness and the true decision is to elect him. Lastly, Serdar Denktaş focuses on new times and gives signals for changes if he is to win this election.

Table 9: The most used slogans by the candidates during the election campaigns

|                    | <b>Propaganda Slogan</b>                                      | <b>Propaganda Slogan</b>                                                                                               | <b>Propaganda Slogan</b>                                    | <b>Propaganda Slogan</b>                                 | <b>Propaganda Slogan</b>                                                  |
|--------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>Ersin Tatar</b> | Vote and Own Your Future (Oyunu Kullan, Geleceğine Sahip Çık) | We are walking to the new future, Right decision is Ersin Tatar (Yeni Bir Geleceğe Yürüyoruz, Doğru Karar Ersin Tatar) | We will not lose 5 more years (5 yıl daha Kaybetmeye ceğiz) | Right decision, open Varosha (Doğru karar, Maraş'ı açar) | A new President, A new future (Yeni Bir Cumhurbaşkanı, Yeni Bir Gelecek ) |

|                       |                                                                     |                                                                                              |                                     |  |  |
|-----------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--|--|
| <b>Mustafa Akıncı</b> | Not obedience, Freedom (Biat Değil Özgürlük )                       | Our common power is will (Ortak Gücümüzün olan İrademiz)                                     | The Answer is Akıncı (Cevap Akıncı) |  |  |
| <b>Kudret Özersay</b> | We will succeed together (Birlikte Başaracağız)                     | Our decision is surely, Kudret Özersay (Kararımız Elbet Kudret Özersay)                      |                                     |  |  |
| <b>Erhan Arıklı</b>   | We will re-establish the TRNC (KKTC'yi yeniden kuracağız)           | Our love and our case is for Cyprus (Sevdamız da Davamızda Kıbrıs)                           |                                     |  |  |
| <b>Tufan Erhürman</b> | The True Choice is Tufan Erhürman (Doğrusu Tufan Erhürman)          | We will win together for friendliness and Peace (Dostluk ve Barış İçin Birlikte Kazanacağız) |                                     |  |  |
| <b>Serdar Denktaş</b> | If it is to be solved, only Serdar can do it (Çözerse Serdar çözer) | New era with Serdar (Serdar'la yeni zamanlar)                                                |                                     |  |  |

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**RQ4: What are the candidates' points of view towards the Cyprus issue?**

This data is derived from their Facebook posts, Twitter mentions and their speeches publicised in the newspapers. Ersin Tatar is known for his nationalistic stance and always declares his views as supporting the two-state solution; in other words, he supports the existence of TRNC in the international arena. Ersin Tatar advocates going along with Turkey to the negotiations and taking its support in the Cyprus-solution process. Mustafa Akıncı always claims that his perspective towards the Cyprus issue as the reunification of Cyprus under a federation in line with the UN parameters. His discourse is also composed of opposition to the current regime in Turkey especially regarding their stance about the Cyprus issue. On the other hand, Kudret Özersay's stance is to support the existence of TRNC by using the flag of TRNC in most of his Facebook posts. Then, again, Erhan Arıklı also supports the existence of TRNC whereas Tufan Erhürman advocates a federal solution on the island. As for Serdar Denktaş, while emphasizing his faith in the conservation of TRNC's existence, he also signals that he is not against the discussion of a different process, especially through his recent slogans and Facebook posts.

However, alongside this, Cyprus issue has been less prominent in the discourse of each candidate compared to the other themes and in this election, Cyprus issue was relatively in the background considering previous years. This is believed to be due to Covid-19 pandemic, Varosha and claims of intervention received more attention by both the media and the public.

**RQ5: Which discourse topics became more apparent in traditional media (Kıbrıs and Yenidüzen?)**

Throughout this election process, the Cyprus issue remained less visible due to Covid-19. However, matters such as intervention in the elections, political communication process of specific candidates and Varosha has been more visible in both Kıbrıs and Yenidüzen newspapers. According to HaberKıbrıs, the Cyprus solution issue has not been mentioned more in this election compared to the previous elections, however, the duty of the President associated with negotiations for Cyprus, and the study results shows that the finding solution to Cyprus problem did not have wide coverage during the election process.<sup>11</sup> Our findings suggest that newspaper headlines offer a static representation of the Cyprus issue in line with their ideological beliefs. Kıbrıs newspaper confirms the status quo of Cyprus that may continue whereas Yenidüzen newspaper focuses on the negative aspects of the government's acts of that time such as the partial opening of Varosha, the Covid-19 measures, economic package aid for Covid-19 aid and its coverage does not welcome the discourse of government.

However, the depictions in Kıbrıs newspaper have been in support of the partial opening of Varosha whereas Yenidüzen newspaper immensely criticises the act. The management process of Covid-19 by the government is also not welcomed in the content of Yenidüzen. On the contrary, Kıbrıs newspaper does not offer a highly critical discourse unlike Yenidüzen. More interestingly, the intervention claims do not take any part in Kıbrıs newspaper, however, Kıbrıs solely uses Ersin Tatar's speech

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<sup>11</sup> <https://haberkibris.com/11-aday-propaganda-sureci-icin-calismalarini-surduruyor-1232-2020-09-20.html>

that the intervention claims upset him more than Mustafa Akıncı's discourse about the intervention claims.

When the ratio of coverage is considered, a significant difference is observed in two newspapers. Kıbrıs newspaper prominently and consistently uses Ersin Tatar's speeches and claims. More importantly, Kıbrıs newspaper depicts a picture attempting to create a sense that the partial opening of Varosha is a normal act and a necessity for the benefit of Turkish Cypriots. On the other hand, Yenidüzen newspaper is shaped more prominently with the intervention claims in the elections and the criticisms regarding the partial opening of Varosha. The themes that were covered the most by both newspapers is Covid-19.

The discourse of Mustafa Akıncı starts to become more apparent concerning intervention and Varosha in September and October 2020. He openly says that there is a real intervention for him not to be elected by the current administration of the Republic of Turkey. His argument is supported by the slogan 'Biat Değil Özgürlük' translating into 'Not obedience, freedom'. Within this speech, the independence and re-unification of Cyprus to form a 'federation' is emphasized.

The other crucial point is that the partially opening of Varosha became a real crisis between Prime Minister Ersin Tatar, the government, and President Mustafa Akıncı. Akıncı declared that "I have not received any information about the opening of Varosha, no one informed me" (see Chapter 5) and this is seen as another argument supporting Mustafa Akıncı's claims about intervention and the current administration of Turkey having a negative attitude towards him. He explicitly argues that this election has not taken place under fair conditions and this intervention causes the

prohibition of the negotiations for Cyprus solution in the sense of federation in April 2021 in Geneva.

This election has a critical place in the political history of North Cyprus as it was challenged with claims that had never been voiced so obviously in North Cyprus by the competing candidates. There have been significant events during the political communication process of the 2020 presidential election. One of such events is the opening of Varosha for public visiting 3 days prior (08.10.20) to the election (11.10.2020). Also, this election is also the first election to be postponed due to a global health crisis, the Covid-19 pandemic. Moreover, candidates' discourse is also noted to be strong and explicit with claims about interventions and holding bias. All these factors are crucial in understanding power relations (Van Dijk, 1995) within a country.

Kıbrıs newspaper points out that to the broader impact of the formation of public opinion about Varosha is that it is considered as the right act by the government and intervention claims are not reflecting the truth. Kıbrıs newspaper also exhibits a supportive manner about Varosha and intervention claims as a right-wing/mainstream newspaper. Yenidüzen newspaper draws attention by mostly criticising the opening of Varosha as well as the intervention in the elections by the current administration in Turkey.

In sum, both newspapers follow the news flow that is parallel to their ideological backgrounds. Kıbrıs newspaper mostly put right-wing candidates, especially Ersin Tatar to the forefront in line with its own right-wing view. To this aim, it supports the two-state solution regarding for the solution of the Cyprus issue. In contrast, Yenidüzen newspaper continues from a left-wing view and reflects its stance against



all kinds of intervention through its news content. It emphasises the support for a bi-zonal and bi-communal federal solution in line with the UN parameters to solve the Cyprus issue.

**RQ6: Which discourse topics became more apparent in new (social) media (Twitter and Facebook)?**

The candidates attempt to influence their voters more by using social media accounts and mass media tools compared to visiting voters, having meetings, convoys and engaging in face-to-face communication. In this election, each candidate gave speeches on BRT radio and TV in addition to private radio and TV corporations, online TV, websites, newspapers, and agents due to the Covid-19 pandemic. The advertisements of the candidates are also seen in newspapers, radio, on TV, websites, social media as well as posters on the billboards and panes at the bus stops to draw attention as propaganda tools for the presidential candidates at pre-determined locations by the Supreme Election Council.<sup>12</sup>

Social media give public the opportunity to talk and discuss the presidential election and the discourse content composed of common interest on social media. The digital media offers a new form of connective action (Pond and Lewis, 2017, p. 213) during the 2020 presidential election in North Cyprus. This function of social media became more distinct due to Covid-19 limitations and precautions for politicians/candidates. The Covid-19 pandemic has a limiting impact on conventional propaganda strategies such as go-to meetings in the arena, meeting with local people, and attending convoys

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<sup>12</sup> <https://haberkibris.com/11-aday-propaganda-sureci-icin-calismalarini-surduruyor-1232-2020-09-20.html>

that were previously common in North Cyprus. The major reason for the increased use of social media as a platform of political propaganda is Covid-19.

The presence of candidates on social media has substantially increased and the discussion of topics, problems, and propaganda shifted mostly to social media. The public sphere emerged within technology, particularly, social media namely, Twitter and Facebook during the 2020 presidential election in North Cyprus (see Table 4, Table 5 and Table 6).

The flow of information by the public also took place on social media especially on Twitter regarding issues such as the partial opening of Varosha, and the criticisms about the intervention claims (see Chapter 5). On Facebook, candidates commonly posted about their election campaign propagandas by sharing their election slogans and photos with the public, discourse about specific matters such as Cyprus issue, intervention, Varosha and the Covid-19 pandemic.

As Covid-19 pandemic is one of the most trending topics on social media, the posts mostly include how the Covid-19 process has been managed, the medical aids from Turkey, number of cases and deaths (see Twitter analysis in Chapter 5). On the other hand, reopening of Varosha and intervention claims are also topics criticised by the public (see Twitter analysis in Chapter 5).

According to the Table 6 formed after analysing the posts on candidates' personal Facebook accounts, the topics covered the most by the candidates are photos regarding the election, election propaganda and promises, slogans and Covid-19. To sum up, Covid-19 and candidates' election campaigns had a great place on social media.

**RQ7: What topics were put forth by the candidates about the partially opening of Varosha?**

Varosha city has been a handicap for many years but after the declaration on the opening of Varosha by the initiatives of the Prime Minister Ersin Tatar at the time together with the President of Turkey Recep Tayyip Erdoğan in Ankara, it has caused shockwaves within certain sides in the government and other political actors, especially the coalition partner of the government Kudret Özersay, President Mustafa Akıncı at the time, the main opposition party leader Tufan Erhürman (CTP) and other political leaders such as TDP leader Cemal Özyiğit.

Ersin Tatar has been the main actor during the process of opening Varosha and even government partner Vice-Chair of Prime Minister Kudret Özersay has declared that he was not informed in any way about the opening of Varosha so he ended his partnership within the coalition government on 07 October 2020. According to the newspapers, this development has been welcome by Ersin Tatar who is the Prime Minister at the time (Yenidüzen and Kıbrıs newspaper). More importantly, Ersin Tatar flew to Ankara, the capital city of the Republic of Turkey, 3 days before the opening of Varosha, and he declared the opening of Varosha in Ankara together with Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. This attitude has received both criticism and praise but Yenidüzen makes use of a very critical headline as ‘Varosha is in the Ballot Box’ (Maraş seçim sandığında) covering almost the whole of the first page on 8 October 2020. In contrast, Kıbrıs newspaper makes use of a neutral headline as ‘Varosha beach is being opened’ (Maraş sahili açılıyor) on 07 October 2020.

The partial opening of Varosha causes the coalition government between UBP and HP to collapse. Once split to two sides as supporters and non-supporters, the supporting

sides are composed of Ersin Tatar, the Prime Minister of the time and Erhan Arıklı. The non-supporters of the opening of Varosha include Mustafa Akıncı, the President of the time, Tufan Erhürman, and also Serdar Denktaş, however, Kudret Özersay's stance is not explicit. He advocates the opening of Varosha with some arrangements planned before the opening; however, once Ersin Tatar, as one of the coalition partners, has officially announced the opening of Varosha, Kudret Özersay has stated that he has no knowledge of the event and resigned from the coalition government.

The opening of Varosha for public visiting has been reflected as if it is being completely open for settlement. However, only a part of Varosha's beachline is opened for the public. It is an issue to be discussed whether the opening of Varosha is to be considered as misinforming the public as not all details are given to the press.

In summary, the review of each candidate's perspective on these 5 themes, it is noted that each candidate delivers the message that he is on the same path that is parallel to his own ideology and tries to earn some votes. While Ersin Tatar and Erhan Arıklı are the biggest supporters for the process of the partial opening of Varosha, they both argue in their discourse that this is for the benefit of the Turkish Cypriot community in terms of both the economy and social relations. On the other hand, Mustafa Akıncı and Tufan Erhürman who criticized the partial opening of Varosha which took place only five days prior to the presidential election claim that the democratic values of the Turkish Cypriot community are being violated. Serdar Denktaş depicts that he shares the same view with Tufan Erhürman and Mustafa Akıncı and highlights that this action is not deemed appropriate by the society. Although Kudret Özersay is not completely against the opening of Varosha, he has not approved of the way it is done. Kudret

Özersay, the coalition partner with Ersin Tatar, also uses a discourse criticising Ersin Tatar for this initiative which was not shared by him.

In relation to the claims of intervention, Mustafa Akıncı uses a discourse arguing that the current government in Turkey intervened with the elections so Mustafa Akıncı will not be elected and that he has full confidence in the Turkish Cypriot community in showing their full reaction. In other words, Mustafa Akıncı gives importance to his dialogue with the public and to his social network. Tufan Erhürman, instead of discourse on the intervention to the election could be from Turkey, he says that no intervention could be considered as acceptable no matter where they come from. As a reaction to the claims of intervention, Serdar Denktaş shares a photo, from Özgür Gazete, of the news on his account, from Özgür Gazete, about Tatar regularly meeting with representatives from Turkey and shows to his voters how intervention exists. On the other hand, Ersin Tatar and Erhan Arıklı represent a completely different attitude and that Turkey would never do such a thing and even the rumours of such an action is discomfoting.

In relation to the discourse on Covid-19, all candidates deliver messages of surviving the pandemic as the society and leave Covid-19 in the past successfully. These positive messages remind people to use masks and call them to be even more cautious than before. Additionally, Erhan Arıklı, Serdar Denktaş and Tufan Erhürman publish discourse that mostly criticises the Tatar-Özersay coalition government.

During the election campaigns, Ersin Tatar exhibits a more aggressive political communication process compared to the other candidates. In doing this, he included both face-to-dace meeting which we refer to as conventional and shared regular posts

on Facebook to become more visible. Additionally, he gives names in his Facebook posts in order to use Mustafa Akıncı's name in a critical manner. Mustafa Akıncı, on the other hand, pursues his political discourse mostly over the Turkish Cypriot community and highlights his confidence in the citizens. Compared to the other candidates, Kudret Özersay's political communication process was not very evident in both social media, newspaper news and slogans so it is possible to say that he conducts a very effective political communication method. In contrast, Erhan Arıklı follows a more aggressive political communication policy. In doing so, he uses a critical language against other candidates making his aggressive approach more obvious. As for Tufan Erhürman, he mostly puts concepts of Turkish Cypriot community, democracy and will power to the forefront in order to highlight the importance he gives to the Turkish Cypriot community. Lastly, similar to Mustafa Akıncı and Tufan Erhürman, Serdar Denktaş also uses a discourse that puts the Turkish Cypriot community and its future in the spotlight.

As for Cyprus issue, while Mustafa Akıncı and Tufan Erhürman are both suggesting a federation-based solution, Ersin Tatar and Erhan Arıklı emphasize their faiths in the existence of TRNC and a two-state solution. Serdar Denktaş also expresses his view on this matter by suggesting a two-state solution. Lastly, Kudret Özersay emphasizes his faith in the existence of TRNC and discussing other alternatives based on international law and dialogue.

### **6.3 Suggestions for Further Research**

This study differs from the past research carried out previously on the use of social media due to the large sample of data it uses. The present study opens pathways to new discussions about the effects of new (digital) media's existence during the pandemic

and changes in the formation of the public sphere within political communication. In this regard, the establishment of social capital is highly important in societies.

However, further research is needed to identify the domestic and international political conditions, particularly the perspectives of guarantor countries regarding each theme. More importantly, Manuel Castells's concept of Social Movements (2012) can be examined together with the 'Not Obedience, Freedom' movement that originated in this election. Manuel Castells is an important scholar in the field of Communication and Media Studies, concentrating especially on the relationship between media and politics. His view about social movements is crucial and for further research, 'Biat Değil Özgürlük' (Not obedience, freedom) demonstrations can be studied in the sense of social movement in North Cyprus starting over social media and shifted to streets as public demonstrations.

Parallel to this, Manuel Castells' idea on 'Social Networks' has been considered in the sense of understanding the role of media in politics. This is because Castells (2000) argues that nearly in all countries, media has become the platform for politics advocating that the emergence of 'information society' is born with the changing relationship between capitalism, the state, and new social movements (Castells, 1996). From this perspective, Covid-19 prevented the holding of meetings as political campaigns whereas the new media emerged as a more effective tool for communication for electoral campaign purposes. Future studies can concentrate on the 'Not Obedience, Freedom' formation originating as the society's reaction by considering the different country's studies on Manuel Castells's social movements and comparing studies in the world.

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## **APPENDIX**

Table 10: The analysis of the news about Varosha in K1brıs and Yenid1zen newspapers

| Haber     |       |         |    | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative Percent |
|-----------|-------|---------|----|-----------|---------|---------------|--------------------|
| Newspaper | Month |         |    |           |         |               |                    |
| K1brıs    | 1.00  | Missing | 99 | 25        | 100.0   |               |                    |
|           | 2.00  | Missing | 99 | 30        | 100.0   |               |                    |
|           | 3.00  | Missing | 99 | 31        | 100.0   |               |                    |
|           | 4.00  | Missing | 99 | 30        | 100.0   |               |                    |
|           | 5.00  | Missing | 99 | 31        | 100.0   |               |                    |
|           |       |         |    | 1         | 3.2     | 50.0          | 50.0               |
|           |       | Valid   |    | 1         | 3.2     | 50.0          | 100.0              |
|           | 6.00  | Total   |    | 2         | 6.5     | 100.0         |                    |
|           |       | Missing | 99 | 29        | 93.5    |               |                    |
|           |       | Total   |    | 31        | 100.0   |               |                    |
|           | 7.00  | Missing | 99 | 30        | 100.0   |               |                    |
|           |       |         |    | 1         | 3.2     | 12.5          | 12.5               |
|           |       |         |    | 1         | 3.2     | 12.5          | 25.0               |
|           |       |         |    | 1         | 3.2     | 12.5          | 37.5               |
|           |       |         |    | 1         | 3.2     | 12.5          | 50.0               |
|           |       |         |    | 1         | 3.2     | 12.5          | 62.5               |
|           |       | Valid   |    | 1         | 3.2     | 12.5          | 75.0               |
|           |       |         |    | 1         | 3.2     | 12.5          | 87.5               |
|           |       |         |    | 1         | 3.2     | 12.5          | 100.0              |
|           |       | Total   |    | 8         | 25.8    | 100.0         |                    |
|           |       | Missing | 99 | 23        | 74.2    |               |                    |
|           |       | Total   |    | 31        | 100.0   |               |                    |
| Yenid1zen |       | Valid   |    | 1         | 4.0     | 100.0         | 100.0              |
|           | 1.00  | Missing | 99 | 24        | 96.0    |               |                    |
|           |       | Total   |    | 25        | 100.0   |               |                    |
|           | 2.00  | Missing | 99 | 30        | 100.0   |               |                    |
|           | 3.00  | Missing | 99 | 31        | 100.0   |               |                    |
|           | 4.00  | Missing | 99 | 30        | 100.0   |               |                    |
|           | 5.00  | Missing | 99 | 31        | 100.0   |               |                    |
|           |       | Valid   |    | 1         | 3.2     | 100.0         | 100.0              |
|           | 6.00  | Missing | 99 | 30        | 96.8    |               |                    |
|           |       | Total   |    | 31        | 100.0   |               |                    |
|           |       | Valid   |    | 1         | 3.3     | 100.0         | 100.0              |
|           | 7.00  | Missing | 99 | 29        | 96.7    |               |                    |

|         |    |    |       |       |       |
|---------|----|----|-------|-------|-------|
| Total   |    | 30 | 100.0 |       |       |
|         |    | 1  | 3.2   | 12.5  | 12.5  |
|         |    | 1  | 3.2   | 12.5  | 25.0  |
|         |    | 1  | 3.2   | 12.5  | 37.5  |
|         |    | 1  | 3.2   | 12.5  | 50.0  |
| Valid   |    | 1  | 3.2   | 12.5  | 62.5  |
| 8.00    |    | 1  | 3.2   | 12.5  | 75.0  |
|         |    | 1  | 3.2   | 12.5  | 87.5  |
|         |    | 1  | 3.2   | 12.5  | 100.0 |
| Total   |    | 8  | 25.8  | 100.0 |       |
| Missing | 99 | 23 | 74.2  |       |       |
| Total   |    | 31 | 100.0 |       |       |

Table 11: The analysis of the news about intervention in Kıbrıs and Yenidüzen newspapers

| Haber     |       |         |    | Frequency | Percent | Valid-Percent | Cumulative-Percent |
|-----------|-------|---------|----|-----------|---------|---------------|--------------------|
| Newspaper | Month |         |    |           |         |               |                    |
| Kıbrıs    | 1.00  | Missing | 99 | 25        | 100.0   |               |                    |
|           | 2.00  | Missing | 99 | 30        | 100.0   |               |                    |
|           | 3.00  | Missing | 99 | 31        | 100.0   |               |                    |
|           | 4.00  | Missing | 99 | 30        | 100.0   |               |                    |
|           | 5.00  | Missing | 99 | 31        | 100.0   |               |                    |
|           | 6.00  | Missing | 99 | 31        | 100.0   |               |                    |
|           | 7.00  | Missing | 99 | 30        | 100.0   |               |                    |
|           |       | Valid   |    | 1         | 3.2     | 100.0         | 100.0              |
| Yenidüzen | 8.00  | Missing | 99 | 30        | 96.8    |               |                    |
|           |       | Total   |    | 31        | 100.0   |               |                    |
|           | 1.00  | Missing | 99 | 25        | 100.0   |               |                    |
|           | 2.00  | Missing | 99 | 30        | 100.0   |               |                    |
|           | 3.00  | Missing | 99 | 31        | 100.0   |               |                    |
|           | 4.00  | Missing | 99 | 30        | 100.0   |               |                    |
|           | 5.00  | Missing | 99 | 31        | 100.0   |               |                    |
|           | 6.00  | Missing | 99 | 31        | 100.0   |               |                    |
| Yenidüzen | 7.00  | Missing | 99 | 30        | 100.0   |               |                    |
|           |       |         |    | 1         | 3.2     | 12.5          | 12.5               |
|           |       |         |    | 1         | 3.2     | 12.5          | 25.0               |
|           | 8.00  | Valid   |    | 1         | 3.2     | 12.5          | 37.5               |
|           |       |         |    | 1         | 3.2     | 12.5          | 50.0               |
|           |       |         |    | 1         | 3.2     | 12.5          | 62.5               |
|           |       |         |    | 1         | 3.2     | 12.5          | 75.0               |

|         |       |    |       |       |       |
|---------|-------|----|-------|-------|-------|
|         |       | 1  | 3.2   | 12.5  | 87.5  |
|         |       | 1  | 3.2   | 12.5  | 100.0 |
|         | Total | 8  | 25.8  | 100.0 |       |
| Missing | 99    | 23 | 74.2  |       |       |
| Total   |       | 31 | 100.0 |       |       |

Table 12: The analysis of the news about Covid-19 in Kıbrıs and Yenidüzen newspapers

| Haber     |       | Frequency | Percent | Valid-Percent | Cumulative-Percent |
|-----------|-------|-----------|---------|---------------|--------------------|
| Newspaper | Month |           |         |               |                    |
| Kıbrıs    | 1.00  |           | 1       | 4.0           | 5.6                |
|           |       |           | 1       | 4.0           | 11.1               |
|           |       |           | 1       | 4.0           | 16.7               |
|           |       |           | 1       | 4.0           | 22.2               |
|           |       |           | 1       | 4.0           | 27.8               |
|           |       |           | 1       | 4.0           | 33.3               |
|           |       |           | 1       | 4.0           | 38.9               |
|           |       |           | 1       | 4.0           | 44.4               |
|           |       |           | 1       | 4.0           | 50.0               |
|           |       | Valid     | 1       | 4.0           | 55.6               |
|           |       |           | 1       | 4.0           | 61.1               |
|           |       |           | 1       | 4.0           | 66.7               |
|           |       |           | 1       | 4.0           | 72.2               |
|           |       |           | 1       | 4.0           | 77.8               |
|           |       |           | 1       | 4.0           | 83.3               |
|           |       |           | 1       | 4.0           | 88.9               |
|           |       |           | 1       | 4.0           | 94.4               |
|           |       |           | 1       | 4.0           | 100.0              |
|           |       | Total     | 18      | 72.0          | 100.0              |
|           | 2.00  | Missing   | 7       | 28.0          |                    |
|           |       | Total     | 25      | 100.0         |                    |
|           |       |           | 1       | 3.3           | 3.4                |
|           |       |           | 1       | 3.3           | 6.9                |
|           |       |           | 1       | 3.3           | 10.3               |
|           |       |           | 1       | 3.3           | 13.8               |
|           |       | Valid     | 1       | 3.3           | 17.2               |
| Yenidüzen | 2.00  |           | 1       | 3.3           | 20.7               |
|           |       |           | 1       | 3.3           | 24.1               |
|           |       |           | 1       | 3.3           | 27.6               |
|           |       |           | 1       | 3.3           | 31.0               |
|           |       |           | 1       | 3.3           | 34.4               |

|      |         |        |    |       |       |       |
|------|---------|--------|----|-------|-------|-------|
|      |         |        | 1  | 3.3   | 3.4   | 34.5  |
|      |         |        | 1  | 3.3   | 3.4   | 37.9  |
|      |         |        | 1  | 3.3   | 3.4   | 41.4  |
|      |         |        | 1  | 3.3   | 3.4   | 44.8  |
|      |         |        | 1  | 3.3   | 3.4   | 48.3  |
|      |         |        | 1  | 3.3   | 3.4   | 51.7  |
|      |         |        | 1  | 3.3   | 3.4   | 55.2  |
|      |         |        | 1  | 3.3   | 3.4   | 58.6  |
|      |         |        | 1  | 3.3   | 3.4   | 62.1  |
|      |         |        | 1  | 3.3   | 3.4   | 65.5  |
|      |         |        | 1  | 3.3   | 3.4   | 69.0  |
|      |         |        | 1  | 3.3   | 3.4   | 72.4  |
|      |         |        | 1  | 3.3   | 3.4   | 75.9  |
|      |         |        | 1  | 3.3   | 3.4   | 79.3  |
|      |         |        | 1  | 3.3   | 3.4   | 82.8  |
|      |         |        | 1  | 3.3   | 3.4   | 86.2  |
|      |         |        | 1  | 3.3   | 3.4   | 89.7  |
|      |         |        | 1  | 3.3   | 3.4   | 93.1  |
|      |         |        | 1  | 3.3   | 3.4   | 96.6  |
|      |         |        | 1  | 3.3   | 3.4   | 100.0 |
|      |         | Totals | 29 | 96.7  | 100.0 |       |
|      | Missing | 99     | 1  | 3.3   |       |       |
|      | Totals  |        | 30 | 100.0 |       |       |
|      |         |        | 1  | 3.2   | 6.3   | 6.3   |
|      |         |        | 1  | 3.2   | 6.3   | 12.5  |
|      |         |        | 1  | 3.2   | 6.3   | 18.8  |
|      |         |        | 1  | 3.2   | 6.3   | 25.0  |
|      |         |        | 1  | 3.2   | 6.3   | 31.3  |
|      |         |        | 1  | 3.2   | 6.3   | 37.5  |
|      |         |        | 1  | 3.2   | 6.3   | 43.8  |
|      |         |        | 1  | 3.2   | 6.3   | 50.0  |
|      |         |        | 1  | 3.2   | 6.3   | 56.3  |
|      |         |        | 1  | 3.2   | 6.3   | 62.5  |
|      |         |        | 1  | 3.2   | 6.3   | 68.8  |
|      |         |        | 1  | 3.2   | 6.3   | 75.0  |
| 3.00 | Valid   |        |    |       |       |       |





|  |         |        |    |       |       |       |
|--|---------|--------|----|-------|-------|-------|
|  |         |        | 1  | 3.2   | 7.7   | 92.3  |
|  |         |        | 1  | 3.2   | 7.7   | 100.0 |
|  |         | Totals | 13 | 41.9  | 100.0 |       |
|  | Missing | 99     | 18 | 58.1  |       |       |
|  | Totals  |        | 31 | 100.0 |       |       |
|  |         |        | 1  | 3.2   | 9.1   | 9.1   |
|  |         |        | 1  | 3.2   | 9.1   | 18.2  |
|  |         |        | 1  | 3.2   | 9.1   | 27.3  |
|  |         |        | 1  | 3.2   | 9.1   | 36.4  |
|  |         |        | 1  | 3.2   | 9.1   | 45.5  |
|  |         |        | 1  | 3.2   | 9.1   | 54.5  |
|  |         |        | 1  | 3.2   | 9.1   | 63.6  |
|  |         |        | 1  | 3.2   | 9.1   | 72.7  |
|  |         |        | 1  | 3.2   | 9.1   | 81.8  |
|  |         |        | 1  | 3.2   | 9.1   | 90.9  |
|  |         |        | 1  | 3.2   | 9.1   | 100.0 |
|  |         | Totals | 11 | 35.5  | 100.0 |       |
|  | Missing | 99     | 20 | 64.5  |       |       |
|  | Totals  |        | 31 | 100.0 |       |       |
|  |         |        | 1  | 3.3   | 9.1   | 9.1   |
|  |         |        | 1  | 3.3   | 9.1   | 18.2  |
|  |         |        | 1  | 3.3   | 9.1   | 27.3  |
|  |         |        | 1  | 3.3   | 9.1   | 36.4  |
|  |         |        | 1  | 3.3   | 9.1   | 45.5  |
|  |         |        | 1  | 3.3   | 9.1   | 54.5  |
|  |         |        | 1  | 3.3   | 9.1   | 63.6  |
|  |         |        | 1  | 3.3   | 9.1   | 72.7  |
|  |         |        | 1  | 3.3   | 9.1   | 81.8  |
|  |         |        | 1  | 3.3   | 9.1   | 90.9  |
|  |         |        | 1  | 3.3   | 9.1   | 100.0 |
|  |         | Totals | 11 | 36.7  | 100.0 |       |
|  | Missing | 99     | 19 | 63.3  |       |       |
|  | Totals  |        | 30 | 100.0 |       |       |
|  |         |        | 1  | 3.2   | 14.3  | 14.3  |
|  |         |        | 1  | 3.2   | 14.3  | 28.6  |

|  |  |         |       |    |       |       |       |
|--|--|---------|-------|----|-------|-------|-------|
|  |  |         |       | 1  | 3.2   | 14.3  | 42.9  |
|  |  |         |       | 1  | 3.2   | 14.3  | 57.1  |
|  |  |         |       | 1  | 3.2   | 14.3  | 71.4  |
|  |  |         |       | 1  | 3.2   | 14.3  | 85.7  |
|  |  |         |       | 1  | 3.2   | 14.3  | 100.0 |
|  |  |         | Total | 7  | 22.6  | 100.0 |       |
|  |  | Missing | 99    | 24 | 77.4  |       |       |
|  |  | Total   |       | 31 | 100.0 |       |       |
|  |  |         |       | 1  | 4.0   | 5.3   | 5.3   |
|  |  |         |       | 1  | 4.0   | 5.3   | 10.5  |
|  |  |         |       | 1  | 4.0   | 5.3   | 15.8  |
|  |  |         |       | 1  | 4.0   | 5.3   | 21.1  |
|  |  |         |       | 1  | 4.0   | 5.3   | 26.3  |
|  |  |         |       | 1  | 4.0   | 5.3   | 31.6  |
|  |  |         |       | 1  | 4.0   | 5.3   | 36.8  |
|  |  |         |       | 1  | 4.0   | 5.3   | 42.1  |
|  |  |         |       | 1  | 4.0   | 5.3   | 47.4  |
|  |  |         |       | 1  | 4.0   | 5.3   | 52.6  |
|  |  |         |       | 1  | 4.0   | 5.3   | 57.9  |
|  |  |         |       | 1  | 4.0   | 5.3   | 63.2  |
|  |  |         |       | 1  | 4.0   | 5.3   | 68.4  |
|  |  |         |       | 1  | 4.0   | 5.3   | 73.7  |
|  |  |         |       | 1  | 4.0   | 5.3   | 78.9  |
|  |  |         |       | 1  | 4.0   | 5.3   | 84.2  |
|  |  |         |       | 1  | 4.0   | 5.3   | 89.5  |
|  |  |         |       | 1  | 4.0   | 5.3   | 94.7  |
|  |  |         |       | 1  | 4.0   | 5.3   | 100.0 |
|  |  |         | Total | 19 | 76.0  | 100.0 |       |
|  |  | Missing | 99    | 6  | 24.0  |       |       |
|  |  | Total   |       | 25 | 100.0 |       |       |
|  |  |         |       | 1  | 3.3   | 3.3   | 3.3   |
|  |  |         |       | 1  | 3.3   | 3.3   | 6.7   |
|  |  |         |       | 1  | 3.3   | 3.3   | 10.0  |
|  |  |         |       | 1  | 3.3   | 3.3   | 13.3  |
|  |  |         |       | 1  | 3.3   | 3.3   | 16.7  |

|  |  |  |  |    |       |       |       |
|--|--|--|--|----|-------|-------|-------|
|  |  |  |  | 1  | 3.3   | 3.3   | 20.0  |
|  |  |  |  | 1  | 3.3   | 3.3   | 23.3  |
|  |  |  |  | 1  | 3.3   | 3.3   | 26.7  |
|  |  |  |  | 1  | 3.3   | 3.3   | 30.0  |
|  |  |  |  | 1  | 3.3   | 3.3   | 33.3  |
|  |  |  |  | 1  | 3.3   | 3.3   | 36.7  |
|  |  |  |  | 1  | 3.3   | 3.3   | 40.0  |
|  |  |  |  | 1  | 3.3   | 3.3   | 43.3  |
|  |  |  |  | 1  | 3.3   | 3.3   | 46.7  |
|  |  |  |  | 1  | 3.3   | 3.3   | 50.0  |
|  |  |  |  | 1  | 3.3   | 3.3   | 53.3  |
|  |  |  |  | 1  | 3.3   | 3.3   | 56.7  |
|  |  |  |  | 1  | 3.3   | 3.3   | 60.0  |
|  |  |  |  | 1  | 3.3   | 3.3   | 63.3  |
|  |  |  |  | 1  | 3.3   | 3.3   | 66.7  |
|  |  |  |  | 1  | 3.3   | 3.3   | 70.0  |
|  |  |  |  | 1  | 3.3   | 3.3   | 73.3  |
|  |  |  |  | 1  | 3.3   | 3.3   | 76.7  |
|  |  |  |  | 1  | 3.3   | 3.3   | 80.0  |
|  |  |  |  | 1  | 3.3   | 3.3   | 83.3  |
|  |  |  |  | 1  | 3.3   | 3.3   | 86.7  |
|  |  |  |  | 1  | 3.3   | 3.3   | 90.0  |
|  |  |  |  | 1  | 3.3   | 3.3   | 93.3  |
|  |  |  |  | 1  | 3.3   | 3.3   | 96.7  |
|  |  |  |  | 1  | 3.3   | 3.3   | 100.0 |
|  |  |  |  | 30 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 0     |
|  |  |  |  | 1  | 3.2   | 5.3   | 5.3   |
|  |  |  |  | 1  | 3.2   | 5.3   | 10.5  |
|  |  |  |  | 1  | 3.2   | 5.3   | 15.8  |
|  |  |  |  | 1  | 3.2   | 5.3   | 21.1  |
|  |  |  |  | 1  | 3.2   | 5.3   | 26.3  |
|  |  |  |  | 1  | 3.2   | 5.3   | 31.6  |
|  |  |  |  | 1  | 3.2   | 5.3   | 36.8  |
|  |  |  |  | 1  | 3.2   | 5.3   | 42.1  |
|  |  |  |  | 1  | 3.2   | 5.3   | 47.4  |

3.00 Valid



|  |         |        |    |       |       |       |
|--|---------|--------|----|-------|-------|-------|
|  |         |        | 1  | 3.3   | 3.7   | 85.2  |
|  |         |        | 1  | 3.3   | 3.7   | 88.9  |
|  |         |        | 1  | 3.3   | 3.7   | 92.6  |
|  |         |        | 1  | 3.3   | 3.7   | 96.3  |
|  |         |        | 1  | 3.3   | 3.7   | 100.0 |
|  |         | Totals | 27 | 90.0  | 100.0 |       |
|  | Missing | 99     | 3  | 10.0  |       |       |
|  | Totals  |        | 30 | 100.0 |       |       |
|  |         |        | 1  | 3.2   | 3.7   | 3.7   |
|  |         |        | 1  | 3.2   | 3.7   | 7.4   |
|  |         |        | 1  | 3.2   | 3.7   | 11.1  |
|  |         |        | 1  | 3.2   | 3.7   | 14.8  |
|  |         |        | 1  | 3.2   | 3.7   | 18.5  |
|  |         |        | 1  | 3.2   | 3.7   | 22.2  |
|  |         |        | 1  | 3.2   | 3.7   | 25.9  |
|  |         |        | 1  | 3.2   | 3.7   | 29.6  |
|  |         |        | 1  | 3.2   | 3.7   | 33.3  |
|  |         |        | 1  | 3.2   | 3.7   | 37.0  |
|  |         |        | 1  | 3.2   | 3.7   | 40.7  |
|  |         |        | 1  | 3.2   | 3.7   | 44.4  |
|  |         |        | 1  | 3.2   | 3.7   | 48.1  |
|  | 5.00    | Valid  | 1  | 3.2   | 3.7   | 51.9  |
|  |         |        | 1  | 3.2   | 3.7   | 55.6  |
|  |         |        | 1  | 3.2   | 3.7   | 59.3  |
|  |         |        | 1  | 3.2   | 3.7   | 63.0  |
|  |         |        | 1  | 3.2   | 3.7   | 66.7  |
|  |         |        | 1  | 3.2   | 3.7   | 70.4  |
|  |         |        | 1  | 3.2   | 3.7   | 74.1  |
|  |         |        | 1  | 3.2   | 3.7   | 77.8  |
|  |         |        | 1  | 3.2   | 3.7   | 81.5  |
|  |         |        | 1  | 3.2   | 3.7   | 85.2  |
|  |         |        | 1  | 3.2   | 3.7   | 88.9  |
|  |         |        | 1  | 3.2   | 3.7   | 92.6  |
|  |         |        | 1  | 3.2   | 3.7   | 96.3  |
|  |         |        | 1  | 3.2   | 3.7   | 100.0 |



Table 13: The analysis of the news about the Election in Kıbrıs and Yenidüzen newspapers

| Habers    |       |         |    | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumul Percent |
|-----------|-------|---------|----|-----------|---------|---------------|---------------|
| Newspaper | Month |         |    |           |         |               |               |
| Kıbrıs    | 1.00  | Valid   | 1  | 1         | 4.0     | 100.0         | 100.0         |
|           |       | Missing | 99 | 24        | 96.0    |               |               |
|           |       | Total   |    | 25        | 100.0   |               |               |
|           | 2.00  | Missing | 99 | 30        | 100.0   |               |               |
|           |       | Valid   | 1  | 1         | 3.2     | 100.0         | 100.0         |
|           |       | Missing | 99 | 30        | 96.8    |               |               |
|           | 3.00  | Total   |    | 31        | 100.0   |               |               |
|           |       | Valid   | 1  | 1         | 3.3     | 50.0          | 50.0          |
|           |       | Missing | 99 | 1         | 3.3     | 50.0          | 100.0         |
|           | 4.00  | Total   |    | 2         | 6.7     | 100.0         |               |
|           |       | Missing | 99 | 28        | 93.3    |               |               |
|           |       | Total   |    | 30        | 100.0   |               |               |
|           | 5.00  | Missing | 99 | 31        | 100.0   |               |               |
|           |       | Valid   | 1  | 1         | 3.2     | 100.0         | 100.0         |
|           |       | Missing | 99 | 30        | 96.8    |               |               |
|           | 6.00  | Total   |    | 31        | 100.0   |               |               |
|           |       | Valid   | 1  | 1         | 3.3     | 16.7          | 16.7          |
|           |       | Missing | 99 | 1         | 3.3     | 16.7          | 33.3          |
|           | 7.00  | Valid   | 1  | 1         | 3.3     | 16.7          | 50.0          |
|           |       | Missing | 99 | 1         | 3.3     | 16.7          | 66.7          |
|           |       | Total   |    | 1         | 3.3     | 16.7          | 83.3          |
|           | 8.00  | Valid   | 1  | 1         | 3.2     | 6.7           | 6.7           |
|           |       | Missing | 99 | 1         | 3.2     | 6.7           | 13.3          |
|           |       | Total   |    | 1         | 3.2     | 6.7           | 20.0          |
|           | 9.00  | Valid   | 1  | 1         | 3.2     | 6.7           | 26.7          |
|           |       | Missing | 99 | 1         | 3.2     | 6.7           | 33.3          |
|           |       | Total   |    | 1         | 3.2     | 6.7           | 33.3          |

|           |         |                   |    |       |       |       |
|-----------|---------|-------------------|----|-------|-------|-------|
|           |         |                   | 1  | 3.2   | 6.7   | 40.0  |
|           |         |                   | 1  | 3.2   | 6.7   | 46.7  |
|           |         |                   | 1  | 3.2   | 6.7   | 53.3  |
|           |         |                   | 1  | 3.2   | 6.7   | 60.0  |
|           |         |                   | 1  | 3.2   | 6.7   | 66.7  |
|           |         |                   | 1  | 3.2   | 6.7   | 73.3  |
|           |         |                   | 1  | 3.2   | 6.7   | 80.0  |
|           |         |                   | 1  | 3.2   | 6.7   | 86.7  |
|           |         |                   | 1  | 3.2   | 6.7   | 93.3  |
|           |         |                   | 1  | 3.2   | 6.7   | 100.0 |
|           |         | Totals            | 15 | 48.4  | 100.0 |       |
|           | Missing | 99                | 16 | 51.6  |       |       |
|           | Totals  |                   | 31 | 100.0 |       |       |
|           |         |                   | 1  | 4.0   | 50.0  | 50.0  |
|           | Valid   |                   | 1  | 4.0   | 50.0  | 100.0 |
| 1.00      | Totals  |                   | 2  | 8.0   | 100.0 |       |
|           | Missing | 99                | 23 | 92.0  |       |       |
|           | Totals  |                   | 25 | 100.0 |       |       |
| 2.00      | Missing | 99                | 30 | 100.0 |       |       |
| 3.00      | Missing | 99                | 31 | 100.0 |       |       |
| 4.00      | Missing | 99                | 30 | 100.0 |       |       |
|           | Valid   |                   | 1  | 3.2   | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| 5.00      | Missing | 99                | 30 | 96.8  |       |       |
| Veriduzen | Totals  |                   | 31 | 100.0 |       |       |
|           |         |                   | 1  | 3.2   | 11.1  | 11.1  |
|           |         |                   | 1  | 3.2   | 11.1  | 22.2  |
|           |         |                   | 1  | 3.2   | 11.1  | 33.3  |
|           |         |                   | 1  | 3.2   | 11.1  | 44.4  |
| 6.00      | Valid   |                   | 1  | 3.2   | 11.1  | 55.6  |
|           |         |                   | 1  | 3.2   | 11.1  | 66.7  |
|           |         |                   | 1  | 3.2   | 11.1  | 77.8  |
|           |         | Sezim Icin Dergah | 1  | 3.2   | 11.1  | 88.9  |
|           |         |                   | 1  | 3.2   | 11.1  | 100.0 |
|           | Totals  |                   | 9  | 29.0  | 100.0 |       |



|      |         |    |    |       |       |       |
|------|---------|----|----|-------|-------|-------|
|      | Missing | 99 | 22 | 71.0  | 0     | 0     |
|      | Total   |    | 31 | 100.0 | 0     | 0     |
|      |         |    | 1  | 3.3   | 25.0  | 25.0  |
|      |         |    | 1  | 3.3   | 25.0  | 50.0  |
|      | Valid   |    | 1  | 3.3   | 25.0  | 75.0  |
| 7.00 |         |    | 1  | 3.3   | 25.0  | 100.0 |
|      | Total   |    | 4  | 13.3  | 100.0 | 0     |
|      | Missing | 99 | 26 | 86.7  | 0     | 0     |
|      | Total   |    | 30 | 100.0 | 0     | 0     |
|      |         |    | 1  | 3.2   | 11.1  | 11.1  |
|      |         |    | 1  | 3.2   | 11.1  | 22.2  |
|      |         |    | 1  | 3.2   | 11.1  | 33.3  |
|      |         |    | 1  | 3.2   | 11.1  | 44.4  |
|      | Valid   |    | 1  | 3.2   | 11.1  | 55.6  |
| 8.00 |         |    | 1  | 3.2   | 11.1  | 66.7  |
|      |         |    | 1  | 3.2   | 11.1  | 77.8  |
|      |         |    | 1  | 3.2   | 11.1  | 88.9  |
|      |         |    | 1  | 3.2   | 11.1  | 100.0 |
|      | Total   |    | 9  | 29.0  | 100.0 | 0     |
|      | Missing | 99 | 22 | 71.0  | 0     | 0     |
|      | Total   |    | 31 | 100.0 | 0     | 0     |

Table 14: The analysis of the news about Cyprus issue in Kıbrıs and Yenidüzen newspapers

| Haber  |      | Newspaper |    | Month | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative Percent |
|--------|------|-----------|----|-------|-----------|---------|---------------|--------------------|
| Kıbrıs | 1.00 | Missing   | 99 |       | 25        | 100.0   | 0             | 0                  |
|        | 2.00 | Missing   | 99 |       | 30        | 100.0   | 0             | 0                  |
|        | 3.00 | Missing   | 99 |       | 31        | 100.0   | 0             | 0                  |
|        | 4.00 | Missing   | 99 |       | 30        | 100.0   | 0             | 0                  |
|        | 5.00 | Missing   | 99 |       | 31        | 100.0   | 0             | 0                  |
|        | 6.00 | Valid     |    |       | 1         | 3.2     | 100.0         | 100.0              |

|             |      |          |    |    |       |       |       |
|-------------|------|----------|----|----|-------|-------|-------|
| Veri duzen: |      | Missing: | 99 | 30 | 96.8  | 0     | 0     |
|             |      | Total:   |    | 31 | 100.0 | 0     | 0     |
|             |      |          |    | 1  | 3.3   | 33.3  | 33.3  |
|             |      | Valid:   |    | 1  | 3.3   | 33.3  | 66.7  |
|             | 7.00 |          |    | 1  | 3.3   | 33.3  | 100.0 |
|             |      | Total:   |    | 3  | 10.0  | 100.0 | 0     |
|             |      | Missing: | 99 | 27 | 90.0  | 0     | 0     |
|             |      | Total:   |    | 30 | 100.0 | 0     | 0     |
|             |      |          |    | 1  | 3.2   | 16.7  | 16.7  |
|             |      |          |    | 1  | 3.2   | 16.7  | 33.3  |
|             |      |          |    | 1  | 3.2   | 16.7  | 50.0  |
|             |      | Valid:   |    | 1  | 3.2   | 16.7  | 66.7  |
|             | 8.00 |          |    | 1  | 3.2   | 16.7  | 83.3  |
|             |      |          |    | 1  | 3.2   | 16.7  | 100.0 |
|             |      | Total:   |    | 6  | 19.4  | 100.0 | 0     |
|             |      | Missing: | 99 | 25 | 80.6  | 0     | 0     |
|             |      | Total:   |    | 31 | 100.0 | 0     | 0     |
|             |      |          |    | 1  | 4.0   | 50.0  | 50.0  |
|             |      | Valid:   |    | 1  | 4.0   | 50.0  | 100.0 |
|             | 1.00 | Total:   |    | 2  | 8.0   | 100.0 | 0     |
|             |      | Missing: | 99 | 23 | 92.0  | 0     | 0     |
|             |      | Total:   |    | 25 | 100.0 | 0     | 0     |
|             | 2.00 | Missing: | 99 | 30 | 100.0 | 0     | 0     |
|             | 3.00 | Missing: | 99 | 31 | 100.0 | 0     | 0     |
|             | 4.00 | Missing: | 99 | 30 | 100.0 | 0     | 0     |
|             | 5.00 | Missing: | 99 | 31 | 100.0 | 0     | 0     |
|             | 6.00 | Missing: | 99 | 31 | 100.0 | 0     | 0     |
|             | 7.00 | Missing: | 99 | 30 | 100.0 | 0     | 0     |
|             |      |          |    | 1  | 3.2   | 33.3  | 33.3  |
|             |      |          |    | 1  | 3.2   | 33.3  | 66.7  |
|             | 8.00 | Valid:   |    | 1  | 3.2   | 33.3  | 100.0 |
|             |      | Total:   |    | 3  | 9.7   | 100.0 | 0     |
|             |      | Missing: | 99 | 28 | 90.3  | 0     | 0     |
|             |      | Total:   |    | 31 | 100.0 | 0     | 0     |