

A fly in the ointment: How Turkish Cypriot radio news aggravates relations with the Republic of Cyprus

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Abstract

2008 was a year of optimism for those who wanted to find a solution to the Cyprus conflict. Drawing on data from a news production study and a Critical Discourse Analysis of news broadcasts, this paper looks at the way radio news in the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus aggravated relations with the Republic of Cyprus during this time of improved relations. Although on the surface stations applaud the election of pro-federation politicians and efforts being made to resolve the Cyprus conflict, a closer look at the language used by radio news shows that the news is anything but pro-solution. In fact, lexical and grammatical choices perpetuate the conflict, communicating uncertainty, suspicion and even threat, in each case slightly differently, to support each station's associated ideologies and interests which are consistently anti-unity. These ideological newscasts result from the close relationship between the news media and politics where a plurality of stations offer a range of viewpoints but all are connected to political parties and interests whose concerns are mostly that of self-interest.

Introduction

The 'Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus' (TRNC) is an internationally unrecognized nation-state occupying the northern third of the island of Cyprus which since the 1960s has existed in conflict with the mainly Greek Cypriot controlled 'Republic of Cyprus' (ROC). After a shared Republic, following independence from Britain, from 1960-1963 the two sides have existed in various degrees of conflict. While the ROC is integrated into the European Community, the TRNC, due to international sanction and embargoes, exists in isolation. The TRNC itself is a multi-party democracy, although the Turkish government and Turkish military maintain a powerful influence (Lacher and Kaymak 2005; Mallinson 2005).

At times, much of the TRNC's population has favoured reaching a solution to the Cyprus conflict with the ultimate aim of unification. This was reflected in the 2003 parliamentary and 2004 presidential election victories of the *Cumhuriyetçi Turk Partisi* (CTP) which aimed to remain independent yet form a loose federation with the ROC. The ROC's election of a pro-federation government in 2008 resulted in two such governments for the first time on the island of Cyprus since it was split in 1974. Despite these positive steps, news media in both the ROC and the TRNC have aggravated the Cyprus conflict (Bailie and Azgin 2008; Panayiotou 2006; Papadakis 2005; Azgin 1996).

This discrepancy can be explained through an examination of TRNC news media's relations to political parties. In any given nation, the news media are thought of as an integral part of its social and political system, informing, prioritizing, shaping and controlling events, opinions and society itself (Fairclough 2003; Wodak, 2001; Tuchman 1978). However, it has been shown that relations between a nation's news media and politics are not universally consistent, but differ from one nation to the next (Weaver 2005 and 1998). Hallin and Mancini (2004: 67) identify three models of media and politics in developed capitalist democracies of Western Europe and North America: *the Northern/Central European Model*, *the North Atlantic or Liberal Model* and *the Mediterranean or Polarized Pluralist Model*. *The Northern/Central European Model* associated with Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, Germany, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden and Switzerland have high newspaper circulation, a historical shift from a

strong party press towards a neutral commercial press, strong journalistic professionalisation, strong state intervention in the press but with protection for press freedom; press subsidies and strong public-service broadcasting. *The North Atlantic* model typical of Britain, America, Canada and Ireland have a neutral commercial press, information-oriented journalism, low political parallelism, strong professionalisation and formal autonomy from governance. The TRNC is characteristic of *the Mediterranean or Polarized Pluralist Model*. Nations which subscribe to this model have a politically oriented press; high political parallelism in journalism where the government, political parties, and businessmen use the media; the state plays a large role as owner, regulator and funder; there is weak journalistic professionalisation and a high degree of ideological diversity and conflict in society. There are also differences between the TRNC and this model. Unlike this model, the TRNC has a large press circulation, political power holders continue to control the media, so the TRNC is not experiencing 'savage de-regulation'. This model highlights that not all media are characteristic of *the North Atlantic* model which is most associated with the ideals of objectivity and the role of the fourth estate (ibid.). In fact, it has been demonstrated that these ideals do not sit well with nations with high political parallelism, such as the TRNC (Mancini 2004; Waisbord 2000).

In the TRNC, political parties claim they want 'solutions' to the on-going Cyprus conflict. But keeping relations such that there are two separate Cypriot states brings huge rewards in terms of power and finance to those in positions of power (Lacher and Kaymak 2005). This paper analyses data from news production studies and a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) of the language used in radio news broadcasts by three radio stations when representing relations with the ROC. This close analysis reveals stories highlight difference, mistrust and even an adversarial relationship. Though relations could have been represented positively with two pro-federation governments in Cyprus at the time, relations are represented which covertly present the agendas of stations' owners/controllers who are fundamentally against improved relations. Pro-resolution discourses are omitted or where they are present serve as a pretext to support discourses which are negative about relations, a strategy noted by van Dijk (1993: 7) when examining texts about race.

Methodology

In this paper CDA is carried out in the first place on two news stories produced by the Turkish Cypriot news agency (*Türk Ajansı Kıbrıs* or *TAK*) related to the 24 February 2008 election victory of pro-federation Dimitris Christofias in the ROC. Radio stations in the TRNC are poorly resourced and all material is sourced from *TAK*. Secondly, how these texts are used and transformed by radio stations according to their ideological requirements is considered. These are examples drawn from a larger corpus of 40 texts analysed that covered news stories about relations from 25 September 2007 until 10 April 2008.

In CDA, details of the linguistic choices in texts are analyzed to allow the analyst to reveal the broader discourses that are articulated (Fairclough 2001; van Dijk 1993). These discourses can be thought of as models of the world and project certain social values and ideas and in turn contribute to the (re)production of social life. The question

of power has been at the core of CDA. The aim is to reveal what kinds of social relations of power are explicitly and implicitly present in texts (van Dijk 1993). Since language can (re)produce social life, what kind of world is being created by texts and what kinds of inequalities, interests might this seek to perpetuate, generate or legitimate. Language is not simply a neutral vehicle of communication but a means of social construction. Analysis of the broadcasts of TRNC radio reveals just such a perpetuation of social relations in the name of power and economic interest.

Analysis draws on basic lexical choices which reveal simply what kinds of words are found in texts. What is included and excluded may be politically or socially significant, suiting text producers' interests and purposes (Kress 1989). These can be thought of, therefore, as ways by which authors seek to shape the way the world and events appear. Also analysed is the representation of participants or 'social actors' (Wodak and Weiss 2005), drawing especially on the way these can be classified and categorized (van Leeuwen 1996) and the representation of social action (ibid 1995). Here questions such as who does what to whom in sentences and where participants are positioned in more active or passive roles due to sentence positioning are examined.

Representations of social actors within reported speech are also considered. Reported speech is a powerful resource used to legitimise what is reported, implicate reliability, and support writers' 'aims and ideological point of view' (Caldas-Coulthard 1994: 303). This is achieved through speaker selection which reflects cultural beliefs of writers and gives voice to some people instead of others (ibid.: 304). Likewise, which participants are represented within the reported speech and how their actions are represented lexically and grammatically are also ideological choices. Whether direct or indirect, reported speech is 'filtered through the news process, in other words, through the re-interpretation and evaluation of many people – reporters, copy-writers, sub-editors and editors' (ibid.). In the data used in this paper it is clear that different radio stations foreground or background specific social actors through representational strategies and through the attribution of agency in and out of reported speech.

The method of CDA carried out is supplemented by newsroom studies of three TRNC radio stations. It is the ethnographic data that allows us to understand the 'social goings on' behind the news broadcasts that are subsequently analysed. There is a long tradition of newsroom studies from the classic work of Fishman (1980) and Tuchman (1978) to a more recent revival such as in work by Niblock and Machin (2006) and Paterson and Domingo (2008). Such studies allow the researcher to go behind the scenes of production and investigate the tacit assumptions and processes that go into making news. In this study, newsrooms were observed and editors and journalists were interviewed over six months. The ethnographic component of this research is particularly important given criticisms of CDA that it often assumes too much from simple text analysis and does not consider pretext and context (Widdowson 2004; Philo 2007). In fact, leading proponents of CDA have themselves argued for just such an addition (Fairclough 2003 & 1995; van Dijk 1997).

Turkish Cypriot Radio

As in many other British colonies, radio was established in 1948 by and for the British military to promote the colonial government's policies (Kannaouros 2004: 2; Dedeçay 1988: 45). During the time of the shared Republic (1960 to 1963), the *Cyprus Broadcasting Corporation (CyBC)* was seen by the government as essential for propaganda purposes (Dedeçay 1988: 79). With the collapse of the shared Republic in 1963, Turkish Cypriots were forced to abandon their places at *CyBC*, but quickly established six new radio stations (Azgın 1996: 657; Sayıl 2000: 5). In 1997, private broadcasting was introduced and 29 of these broadcasters were operating during the time of the study. The state owned radio stations are controlled by political elites with the strong influence of the Turkish military and the private stations are controlled by more individualised political interests.

TAK

Virtually all news heard on TRNC radio broadcasts, observations in newsrooms revealed, is sourced directly from *TAK*. This has an important effect on the ideological content of the broadcasts. While individual radio stations change stories to foreground and background different social actors, all stations have very few resources meaning *TAK*'s ideology is often still found in stories sitting alongside that of the individual news stations.

TAK, founded in 1973, offers written news and a photography service for local broadcasters and newspapers. According to *TAK* journalist Selim Kumbaracı, over 90 percent of TRNC news comes from *TAK*. On the one hand, *TAK* produces news that supports the government (which was CTP at the time of the research) since it is overseen by a seven member politically-appointed board of directors and financed by the government along with subscription fees. On the other hand, *TAK* has a long Turkish nationalistic heritage. The agency forms one part of the Turkish Cypriot civil service built up by 40 years of Turkish and nationalist rule. According to Azgın (1996), the Turkish Cypriot civil services have a deep nationalistic tradition alongside the influence of the Turkish military. This was supported by the researcher's own conversations with *TAK* employees and its client radio stations. In *TAK* news feeds, therefore, it is common to find a mixture of pro-CTP government discourses about solutions alongside pro-Turkish nationalism and heavy anti-ROC sentiments.

Radio stations

Three radio stations were selected which represent a range of political ideologies. They are *Bayrak International (BRTI)*, *KFM* and *Radjo T*. The nature of each station, its ownership and affiliation and news-writing practices are described.

- *BRTI*:

BRTI is the state-run broadcaster's English language radio service. It is financed mainly by the government with some advertising. TRNC's *Bayrak Radio-Television Corporation Law number 50/1983*, which established *BRTK* in 1983, states that the station 'must broadcast successful events and anniversaries of national days, instil a sense of patriotism, and produce news in accordance with the national interests'. This law also dictates that *BRTK* is directly linked to the Prime Minister's office and answerable to its board of governors made up of political appointments and representatives from the

Turkish military. Like *TAK*, the station must represent the government in a positive light balanced with the views of nationalists and the military.

Of the three radio stations *BRTI* had the largest number of staff at 22, although journalists had little formal training and complained of being unable to source or corroborate stories due to the severe lack of equipment. Two computers and telephones were shared. For the most part, stories were sourced from *TAK*, the role of journalists was to filter and edit these stories. After, language would be checked by editors. No verification was carried out on any of the claims made in news feeds meaning it is *TAK* with its pro-government and nationalistic influences which lays out the news agenda.

- *KFM*:

KFM is the radio service of TRNC's largest media conglomerate *KMG*. It is financed by advertising and *KMG*'s newspaper operations. Editors and management said, when interviewed by the author, that *KMG* was independent of political parties. However, observations and interviews revealed that the political interests of the owner (Asil Nadir) were a key influence on output. Before the 2003 parliamentary victory of CTP, Nadir and *KMG* were vocal supporters of Turkish nationalist parties (Azgin 1996: 656). However, Nadir switched allegiances and developed close personal contacts with pro-federation CTP. In interviews, station employees reported how this resulted in a dramatic change of programming.

Nadir's allegiances form part of political and business networks of which *KFM* is one part. Nadir benefits from a large number of monopoly import and export licenses ranging from white goods to fruit to exclusive restaurant chain deals. Though these interests are not connected directly to mainland Turkey, they would suffer greatly through unification which would result in a loss of their monopolies due to the arrival of international competitors already trading in the ROC.

KFM employed nine staff in the newsroom, mostly inexperienced, young, university graduates who had no formal training. There was no collection of news stories by station staff. Journalists simply cut and pasted from *TAK*. There was no attempt at any verification or corroboration. When asked, newswriters at the station said that they chose news from *TAK* which was independent of political parties and 'what is good for the TRNC'. But this independence was not evident in newscasts, as was acknowledged by one editor-announcer who said: 'You won't see any anti-government stories in our news. We tend to protect them ... we follow *TAK* who are controlled by the government anyway'. As seen above, this is not strictly true as *TAK* contains a confusion of positive representations of the government along with Turkish nationalist discourses. This becomes evident when analyzing *KFM*'s news stories.

- *Radyo T*

Radyo T is the radio service of the *T Media Group*. Newsroom manager Mehmet Moreket stated that *T Media Group* 'is just making a profit' and has no political agenda. However, it was observed that nationalist UBP politicians visited the station daily to discuss programming with Moreket, himself a self-professed nationalist and former Turkish Cypriot soldier. *T Media Group* employed eight newswriters of which two were

reporter-editors. Necessary equipment was even more scarce than elsewhere. So, Moreket wrote and controlled all aspects of news-making.

Radyo T's business links are more limited than those of *KFM*. However, because owner Ersin Tatar is the Minister of Finance for the Turkish Nationalist UBP and part owner of Tatar & Co. Chartered Accountants, he is allowed access to lucrative, mostly Turkish mainland, contacts and contracts which businessmen without his political connections do not enjoy. But in the first place this station was controlled by those who were deeply embittered by the conflict and sought no co-operation with the ROC.

Radyo T also uses *TAK* feeds with stories being chosen that involved the Turkish Nationalist Party and its interests. This was supplemented with information from the *BRTI* website and Turkish nationalist politicians themselves who would provide additional information while visiting the station.

TAK and Radio Broadcasts

On 26 February 2008, two days after Christofias's victory, *TAK's* daily feed included coverage of a press briefing by the US State Department Spokesman Tom Casey and speeches by British Labour Party politicians Jack Straw and Joan Ryan. *BRTI* covered Casey's briefing, *KFM* covered the British event and *Radyo T* covered both. Analysis begins with *TAK's* coverage then goes on to show how the three radio stations used, ignored and changed these stories under the thematic headings of the ROC, Cypriot solutions, the TRNC and Turkey. Analysis of the language reveals that each station shapes its coverage slightly differently, representing imaginary relations and solutions to the Cyprus conflict, evoking differing discourses about Turkish Cypriot nationalism which promote each station's own ideas and interests about the nature of Cyprus, TRNC and the ROC. This allows for stories that on one level appear to be applauding a change of government to be shaped in ways which foreground negativity for the benefit of those associated with each station.

TAK - Story 1:

1. U.S. Department of State congratulated Dimitris Christofias who won the presidential elections in South Cyprus.
2. State Department spokesman Tom Casey in his written statement said the U.S. expects to work together with Christofias toward a compromise solution and the reunification of the island.
3. Casey said, "The United States will work with Greek Cyprus and the Turkish Cypriot community towards a comprehensive policy solution within the framework of a bi-zonal, bi-communal federation which is accepted by the majority.
4. We will work with the UN, the Greek Cypriot side, the Turkish Cypriot community, Turkey, Greece and the EU for a just and lasting solution."

This account shows *TAK's* strong sympathies for Turkish nationalist ideas such as a lack of support for the ROC, division on Cyprus and Turkey's importance. The government of the ROC is represented with its status withheld. The semi-formal naming 'Dimitris Christofias' and formal naming 'Christofias' in sentences one and two deny him

honorifics used when naming other officials (van Leeuwen 1996: 53). The government is de-emphasised grammatically by being passivated in sentence one and in prepositional phrases in sentences two through four, excluding agency associated with the government.

Though not named specifically, the TRNC is represented in ways which emphasise division and distinctiveness. This is achieved lexically by naming 'South Cyprus' in sentence one, a name which not only denies the ROC's legitimacy by not using its official name, but also presupposes division and is thus less inclusive than 'the Republic of Cyprus'. Furthermore, *TAK* chose to include a part of Tom Casey's direct reported speech which names both Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots, reminding listeners of two distinct people (sentences three and four). The reported speech also represents a solution as 'bi-zonal and bi-communal', again reminding listeners of two distinct people and places.

We find that Turkey is represented only once, yet important. It is one participant in sentence four which the US will work with to find a 'solution' along with other players in the conflict. This list represents Turkey as one of the participant in the conflict and one which is needed for a solution, thus articulating its importance.

TAK - Story 2:

1. UK Justice Minister Jack Straw and the Labour Party's Enfield MP and Special Representative for Cyprus Joan Ryan, said it should be emphasised that this is an important time for a solution in Cyprus and necessary support should be given.
2. In the UK, Labour Party MPs of Turkish origin with some city council members, academics, businessmen and journalists who are among the founders of the Friends of Turkey's Labour Party lobby group celebrated its first anniversary at the British House of Commons.
3. Hosted by the UK's Special Representative for Cyprus and Enfield MP Joan Ryan, the UK Labour Party Justice Minister Jack Straw, Deputy Chairman Harriet Harman, Communities and Local Government Minister Hazel Blears, Turkey's Ambassador to London Yigit Alpogan, with Consul General Bahadır Kale and Embassy Undersecretary Atılay Ersan, members of the British House of Commons, House of Lords, Lord Ahmed of the Muslim members and many other guests attended.
4. Speaking at the meeting, Deputy Chairman Harriet Harman reminded that the United Kingdom will continue to support Turkey's membership with Turkey's European Union membership discussions.
5. Later at the celebrations of Friends of Turkey's Labour Party group's first anniversary, the Justice Minister Jack Straw stressed that the Labour Party at all levels supports Turkey's EU membership.
6. In his speech, Straw drew attention to the importance of the results in the election of an administration on the Greek Cypriot side which is willing to work for a solution.
7. He voiced his pleasure in the out come.
8. Straw said they need to give support to Turks who live on the island with its problems and stand behind these well-intentioned people who want real change and a solution.

9. Straw said that a major obstacle to Turkey's EU accession to overcome is a solution on the island.
10. Straw said they also want a just and equitable solution in Cyprus.
11. The last word at the first anniversary of the founding of the Friends group came from Labour Party's Enfield MP and the UK Special Representative for Cyprus, Joan Ryan, who expressed her pleasure at being at Turkey's Labour Party in regard to Cyprus.
12. "We are at a very important point in the Cyprus issue, there is a great opportunity in front of us to ensure we go forward and join in a solution on the island" Ryan said.
13. Turkey's willingness in this regard is highlighted, now there is a willingness on the part of the Greek side, said Ryan.
14. The next 9-10 months are extremely important.
15. Turkey will make a big difference in terms of the situation to a solution, Ryan indicated,
16. She stressed that this opportunity should be supported.

This feed not only demonstrates *TAK's* support for mainland Turkey and the unimportance of the ROC, but also *TAK's* closeness to the CTP government.

Turkey is represented as important using a number of strategies. Lexical strategies see Turkey named seven times, three personal namings. Personal namings such as 'Turkish Ambassador Yigit Alpogan' in sentence three gives listeners a point of identification with an official whose status is emphasised using functional honorifics. Though mostly in prepositional phrases, Turkey is also represented with agency as in sentence fifteen in, 'Turkey will make a big difference', emphasising its importance and strength.

As is the case with all *TAK* feeds, the ROC's government is de-emphasised. In fact, the government is all but excluded, named as 'an administration on the Greek Cypriot side' in sentence six and 'the Greek side' in sentence thirteen, both in indirect speech. Caldas-Coulthard (1994: 304) notes that writers of indirect speech are 'in complete control of the character's supposed talk... There is not even the pretence that the voice of the character is heard'. Here, both namings emphasise difference, being 'Greek' while an 'administration' connotes far less permanence and importance than a 'government'. Both are in prepositional phrases, further de-emphasising the ROC grammatically.

Though the CTP government is not named, due to the sources being foreign officials, its policies are echoed in how speech is re-contextualised. One CTP policy is this being 'an important point in time' mentioned three times. For CTP, this was an important time being four years in office and readying itself for an election the following year. The word 'solution' is used six times, collocated with Cyprus and once with 'just and equitable'. CTP policies claimed a desire for 'solutions', ones that were 'just and equitable'. Finally, CTP-supporting Turkish Cypriots are represented positively as 'well-intentioned people who want real change'; that is, CTP-supporters wanting solutions.

Radio news reports

The ROC

Like *TAK*, the ROC's government is represented as lacking status through titillation in the *BRTI* story. President-elect Christofias is named 'Dimitris Christofias', not formal with functional honorifics, as is the case with all other politicians on *BRTI*. He is also named 'Mr Christofias' which is formal but withholds his status, formality and power as president-elect (van Leeuwen 1996: 53). One editor said it is *BRTI* policy to name the ROC's president as 'leader of the Greek Cypriot administration' and not 'president' as this would acknowledge the status of the ROC as the island's sole authority which is against the politics of both pro-federation CTP and Turkish nationalist UBP. The only mention of Christofias's status is 'his victory on Sunday's presidential election', ignoring his title despite this being the topic of the story.

BRTI represents a government surrounded with uncertainty, despite the story being one of congratulations. Here two strategies are used. One strategy is passivating Christofias as in, 'the spokesman [Tom Casey] expressed the hope that Mr Christofias will work together with the US in order to promote the reunification of Cyprus and reach a settlement'. By saying the spokesman 'hopes' he 'will' work, there is no certainty of cooperation, just a conditional representation of the future.

A second strategy is the use of co-text. Though the ROC's government is collocated with positive lexical choices such as 'congratulated', 'victory', 'hope' and 'will work together' reflecting CTP hopes for some pro-solution results, co-text reveals uncertainty. In the above sentence, the U.S. is 'still committed' to a federal solution. To 'still' be committed, means it has been committed before this statement. This presupposes that there have been obstacles, one being the ROC's government. These articulate discourses of uncertainty about Christofias, reflecting CTP policies and influences in writing news by representing CTP desiring a solution while being able to blame the ROC for no progress.

On *KFM*, the government is the only aspect of the ROC represented, unlike the other stations and *TAK* which represent 'South Cyprus' and 'the Greek Cypriot public'. Even Christofias is excluded. This sparse representation offers listeners no points of identification, making it easy to 'other' the ROC (van Leeuwen 1996: 48). Like *TAK* and the other stations, we find the ROC's government is represented in ways which limit its status, though different strategies are used. The ROC's government is impersonally named as 'the Greek Administration', not its internationally recognised name of 'the Republic of Cyprus'. This limits the status of the government, a reflection of CTP policies. Also identifying it as 'Greek' does not include the common 'Cypriot' naming used by *TAK* and the other stations' stories. These namings both articulate discourses of difference and a lack of status similar to other stations. When asked why the government was named as such, one editor claimed that this is how *TAK* wrote it, so she wrote it the same way.

Despite its lack of status, we find the ROC's government is represented conditionally positive as in, 'She explained that Turkey stressed its willingness about this topic [to find a solution] and now the Greek Administration is contributing this willingness'. Two strategies are used here. One strategy is it is collocated with the positive lexical choice

of 'willingness [to find a solution]'. However, activations are conditionally positive, like *TAK*. The ROC is activated in a state process with no agency, de-emphasising its power in a non-dominant sentence position. It is collocated with 'now', realising a discourse of the ROC's reluctance in finding a solution. This is part of CTP policy of deflecting criticisms at not finding a solution aimed at itself. Meanwhile, Turkey is in a dominant sentence position, activated positively by already 'stressing its willingness' to find a solution.

On *Radyo T*, we also find the ROC's government is represented conditionally positive, though it lacks status and is surrounded with uncertainty, even more than on *BRTI* reflecting the chief-editor's sentiments that the ROC 'is not to be trusted'. Two subtle differences in this story reflect Turkish nationalism. Firstly, Christofias is named 'Christofias' excluding the honorific 'Mr' used on *BRTI* and not a formal naming denying him respect and formality attributed to all other politicians on *Radyo T*. The second difference is the government is impersonally named 'the Greek Cypriot side' a name not seen in the other stories, though on *TAK*. This naming accentuates both difference ('Greek Cypriot') and connotes opposition in a game or war ('side').

Cypriot solutions

On *BRTI*, we find Cyprus is represented as a future imaginary which mirrors the solution to the Cyprus conflict called for by pro-federation CTP. Cyprus is named twice as 'a bi-zonal and bi-communal federal solution', while only named once as such by *TAK*. This naming draws upon discourses which make clear *BRTI*'s and *CTP*'s vision of the future. One editor claimed that 'we are now answerable to CTP which is pro-solution'. This naming also distinguishes the TRNC from the ROC, identifying two zones and communities. Cyprus is also represented as 'the two sides on the island' a naming not found in *TAK*, further articulating discourses of division. By representing two zones, communities and sides more than *TAK*, *BRTI* articulates discourses of difference on Cyprus while addressing its legal mandate to promote a Turkish Cypriot nation.

Unlike the other stations, a future Cyprus is not spelt out on *KFM*. Although 'solutions' are a CTP policy and appear six times, three times collocated with Cyprus, there is no indication of what solution is being called for. The word rings hollow. The idea of a solution being 'fair and balanced' and the present being a 'very important point in time' are CTP sentiments emphasised in this story, as was the case with *TAK*. These lexical choices evoke discourses about Cypriot 'solutions' and 'importance' echoing one editor's comment that *KFM* news is CTP-friendly. Representing CTP and its actions positively whilst also representing Turkish nationalist sentiments, such as division on Cyprus, is a result of cutting and pasting *TAK* feeds which are themselves CTP friendly, though also Turkish nationalist.

On *Radyo T*, difference is accentuated through lexical choices, moreso than on the other stations. Phrases such as 'reuniting the island' presupposes Cyprus is divided while 'a federation which consists of two regions and two societies' points to two governed areas and peoples. This naming is an imaginary which both CTP and UBP claim they want, CTP preferring a federation with the ROC while UBP's Tatar claiming that if a solution is necessary, a very weak federation or a confederation with two independent

states is desirable. This story, however, articulates reservations about a single Cyprus not seen in the other stories. Cyprus is collocated with ‘compromise’ and ‘efforts’, not ‘solutions’, a popular lexical collocation on *TAK*, *BRTI* and *KFM*. In fact, ‘solution’ only appears twice and not collocated with Cyprus. However, collocating ‘efforts’ with Cyprus reminds listeners of the ‘compromises’ and work needed for a solution. These collocations throw into question the idea that the efforts needed for compromise are not worthwhile, articulating far less positive discourses about Cyprus than the other stations and reflecting Tatar’s Turkish nationalist solution of two separate states on Cyprus.

TRNC

Like *TAK*, representations of a TRNC nation on *BRTI* are indirect, referring to two zones and communities on the island (see above). Representations of residents emphasise difference between the TRNC and the ROC, while de-emphasising the two groups together in, ‘Mr Casey reiterated that the US was still committed to a bi-zonal and bi-communal federal solution on the island which will be accepted by the majorities of Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots’. By naming ‘Greek Cypriots’ and ‘Turkish Cypriots’, each group is homogenised emphasising the idea of two distinct peoples (Wodak, de Cillia, Reisigl, and Leibhart 1999: 4). At the same time, the idea of the two groups together is de-emphasised by appearing at the end of a long sentence in a prepositional phrase, signifying discourses of separation and division; discourses which reflect Turkish nationalist influences at *BRTI*.

On *KFM*, references to the TRNC nation are even more vague than on *BRTI*, inferred four times in the phrase ‘a solution on the island’. This phrase presupposes there is a problem and division, though there is no mention of ‘community’ or ‘zone’. This exclusion of a TRNC nation draws on discourses of the TRNC being better off as part of a federation with the ROC, a CTP policy. Representations of TRNC residents also demonstrate *KFM*’s support for CTP as in:

Straw pointed out that Turks who live on the island are faced with some problems in regard to a solution. Straw said, “We have to stand behind these people who have good intentions in terms of real change and we need to provide the help which is needed by them”.

Here, residents are collocated with ‘stand behind’, ‘help which is needed’ and ‘faced with some problems’ creating a theme of a powerless group which needs help. However, this group is not all TRNC residents but CTP-supporting pro-federation Turks who have ‘good intentions in terms of real change’. This representation of speech is framed in such a way that Straw supports CTP ‘solutions’, thereby contributing to CTP legitimacy.

On *Radyo T*, division and difference are emphasised more than in other station stories. Like *BRTI* and *TAK*, ‘South Cyprus’ is used to name the ROC, mapping out two distinct nations and articulating discourses of difference. Residents are also represented very similarly to *BRTI* named ‘the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot publics’ again accentuating difference. However, ‘The Turkish Cypriot public’ is collocated with ‘Greek Cypriots’ and ‘the Greek Cypriot side’ emphasising difference more than on the other

stations (Fairclough 2003: 131). As *Radyo T* owner Tatar claims, 'there are two nations of people on Cyprus: Greeks and Turks'. Though named to accentuate difference, non-dominant sentence position in a prepositional phrase de-emphasises the two groups together (van Dijk 1991).

Turkey

Like *TAK*, Turkey is only represented once in the middle of a list on *BRTI*. Though minimally named, this represents Turkey as an important player in solutions. As one editor said 'when we write stories, we have to satisfy Turkey but also pro-solution CTP which distances TRNC from Turkey'.

KFM's story represents Turkey extensively due to the event covered being a meeting of a Turkish organisation. *KFM* generally does not represent Turkey as much as other stations. However, like most other representations on *KFM*, Turkey is framed in ways which support CTP, as in, 'Ryan expressed that a solution will create a great chance for Turkey's situation and this great chance should be taken'. Here, in indirect speech Turkey is collocated with 'a great chance'. However, Turkey's 'great chance' is conditional on 'a solution' to the Cyprus conflict. Connecting a Cypriot solution to Turkey's E.U. prospects, though a real possibility, also outlines CTP desires for a solution. Lexically binding CTP's policies with Turkey's future represents an imaginary relationship between the two and contributes to the legitimization of CTP policies.

On *Radyo T*, Turkey is represented more positively than the other stories. Like *KFM*, all namings are impersonal which runs counter to *Radyo T*'s tendency to personally represent Turkey. Though no nominations are used, functional namings such as 'Turkey's Labour Party's political branch' evoke discourses of Turkish importance, rather than personalities (van Leeuwen 1996:59). Turkey's importance is also represented by being an important actor necessary to find a solution, like *BRTI*'s story. However, collocations and co-text differ, 'Turkish political branch' and 'Turkish descent' being in co-text with 'celebrated'. This positive collocation is similar to that seen on *KFM*, however, there is no co-text which puts CTP conditions of settlements on these positive collocations. These collocations and co-text draw upon discourses of Turkish closeness and partnership more than the other stations.

Conclusion

These stories about the international reaction to the election of President-elect Christofias produce more similarities than differences, reflecting stations' news gathering practices. On the surface, they all applaud the election's results. However, they also produce more sinister similarities such as Christofias never being named as "President-elect" despite this being the stories' assumed topic. Though these stories use *TAK* for news gathering, lexical and grammatical changes, omissions and inclusions produce stories which signify discourses about different relations between TRNC and the ROC, reflecting the ideologies of their owners and controllers promoting self-serving discourses of national identity and relations.

With few resources or trained staff, stations are dependent on *TAK* for news gathering which produce stories that contain mixed and confused ideological messages positively representing the pro-federation CTP government alongside the strong tradition of Turkish nationalism. *BRTI*, with a similar remit, produces stories with similar ideological messages. *KFM* cuts and pastes stories from *TAK* which promote CTP at all costs while *Radjo T* does the same for its nationalist pro-Turkey politics.

Listeners expect stations to promote the views of affiliated politicians but are largely unaware that even events about positive developments in relations with the ROC are recontextualised in order to support these interests. Stations select and modify *TAK* stories to create a close discursive fit with their own ideologies, regardless of the consequences.

Unfortunately, despite a situation in TRNC at the time when much of the population supported moves towards unification and integration into Europe, these radio stations promoted different discourses that do not support this. In fact, this analysis demonstrates the extent to which even 'positive' stories about relations promote the interests of elites associated with these stations, all of whom do not share this desire for unification and peace on the whole of Cyprus for their own benefit. A chance at promoting peace in Cyprus which would benefit the majority of all Cypriots has been lost for the sake of political and economic gain for TRNC's and Turkey's elites. This can be seen across a range of news stories where each promote particular self-serving nationalist discourses.

This situation has been further aggravated with the 2009 and 2010 electoral victories of Turkish nationalists in TRNC. Due to the close relations between TRNC politics and the media, *TAK* and therefore radio news has veered towards Turkish nationalism. Currently another round of UN-sponsored peace and federation talks continue in this atmosphere of Turkish nationalism while the chances for peace in Cyprus fade into TRNC's collective memory, like the hopes pinned on the idea of two pro-federation governments in Cyprus.

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