

Framing of the Annan Plan in Print Media: A Comparative Analysis

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Abstract

This dissertation presents a comparative analysis of headline articles, op-eds, and cartoons on the Annan Plan that appeared in Turkish Cypriot, Greek Cypriot, Turkish and Greek newspapers in the month preceding the twin referenda held on 24 April 2002. The dissertation provides a content analysis of 12 newspapers central to the issue: *Afrika*, *Kıbrıs*, *Vatan*, *Charavgi*, *Fileleftheros*, *Cumhuriyet*, *Milliyet*, *Yeni Şafak*, *Rizospastis*, *Ta Nea* and *Kathimerini*. The research primarily investigates the patterns of similarity and difference in the use of “win-win”, “win-lose”, “lose-lose”, “there is no alternative”, and “risky gambling” frames in print media...

By employing content analysis, the collected data from 12 newspapers across three main themes (articles, op-eds, and cartoons) are coded through a detailed codebook. The findings of the study indicate that the game theoretical frames were not only used to present the “yes” or “no” choices by pro-yes and pro-no newspapers, but newspapers with a critical stance refuted the game theoretical logic when questioning the legitimacy of the referendum itself. In this sense, the logic of game theory and prospect theory appears at the backbone of the referendum and how it was framed by print media. Findings also point out that this logic originates from policymakers and then finds its place in the print media. Finally, this dissertation sheds light on the complexity of a multiparty conflict where primary and secondary parties adhere to the Mediterranean Media Model.

The research combines several disciplines such as political science, media studies, social psychology, and conflict analysis and resolution, drawing from the related literature. Last but not the least, the comparative content analysis offers an important tool for further research in this domain that could be applied in other cases.

Keywords

Annan plan; Cyprus; frames; Greece; referendum; Turkey

INTRODUCTION

General Motivation

This dissertation's title "Framing of the Annan Plan in Print Media: A Comparative Analysis" indicates that the study is about how the Annan Plan has been framed in different national newspapers. Indeed, the study looks at how Turkish Cypriot, Greek Cypriot, Turkish and Greek newspapers from the left, center and right of the political spectrum framed plan in the month before the referenda. First of all, the Cyprus conflict has been selected, because it is a very good example on linkage politics, operating on five interrelated levels. The levels identified by Michael (2001) are the local, the national, the subregional, the regional and international. The local level refers to the Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots, the national level refers to Cyprus as a whole, the subregional level refers to the Cyprus, Turkey and Greece triangle, the regional level refers to the EU, Southern European and Middle Eastern countries, and the international level refers to all the international actors such as the United Nations and the US. The presence of five interrelated levels, provides an opportunity in the study of frames, to trace the patterns of similarity and difference, as well as interaction.

Secondly, the dynamics between the conflicting parties also makes the nature of the conflict unique. Michael (2001) underlines a double minority syndrome in relation to Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots, where Turkish Cypriots have identified themselves as a minority in the island, and the Greek Cypriots as a minority within its subregional context. Also, in the wider context, the two "motherlands" Turkey and Greece are the only two nations in the world that have won their independence against each other. The second question is why the Annan Referendum. The Annan Referendum was selected because it is a point in the conflict, where the parties came closest to a resolution.

The Referendum was the single main news story Turkish Cypriot, Greek Cypriot, Turkish and Greek newspapers for a month. Naturally this resulted in an immense amount of debate on the subject in the public space, i.e., newspapers. The newspapers became a

forum in which the Annan Plan and Cyprus conflict were discussed. Some newspapers supported the plan, whereas others opposed it, yet a very dynamic discussion took place. The pursuit of this study was to look at the discussions metaphorically speaking under a magnifying glass, seeking to understand not only the relationship between media frames and voters' choices, but also how parties relate to oneself, the other and third parties. In other words, the pursuit of this study has been to understand the mental map of the conflict in the minds conflicting parties. The search has been for the frames, or patterns of thought in the Turkish Cypriot, and Turkish news "meydan"¹, likewise Greek Cypriot and Greek news "πλατεία"²

Purpose of the Study

One definition of conflict is a process characterized by stages of initiation, escalation, controlled maintenance, de-escalation, and termination either as settlement or conflict resolution (Sandole, 2003). To better understand a conflict, conflict resolution theory separates the process of conflict into parts such as parties, issues, objectives, means, conflict-handling orientations, and conflict environments. Also, theory provides general explanations on how every conflict proceeds; yet the pattern of every conflict has a unique development and resolution that depends on many things including history, culture, and perceptions. To speak metaphorically, a conflict is like a river, and every river takes its own course. The course the Cyprus conflict has taken has been very complex and continues to be as such. Why is this so? First of all, Cyprus is a Mediterranean island of strategic importance, with a colonial history. Second, it is a multi-issue, multi-party conflict. Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots are the primary parties of the conflict, Turkey and Greece are secondary parties, and the UN, the EU, and the US are third parties. Issues range from guarantorship, territory, military presence, displaced persons, properties, to settlers and immigrants.

The United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP), deployed since 1964, is the UN's longest-serving peacekeeping mission. So far, concepts such as parties and issues have been reviewed, yet all gain meaning through perception. Only when

¹ Turkish word for square

² Greek word for square

coupled with perception can the issues in a conflict gain significance. Self-perception and the perception of the other make society's parties, or adversaries, in a conflict, and it is the media that shapes perceptions. This study focuses on the Cyprus conflict, at a time when it came closest to resolution, in the month prior to the April 24 Annan Referendum. It explores the coverage of the Annan Plan in the Turkish Cypriot, Greek Cypriot, Turkish, and Greek media and seeks to understand the frames within which the plan was presented by the parties. Conflict is never static. Rather it is dynamic, with constant changes, developments, adaptations, and reactions. The newspaper coverages on the conflict provides researchers the opportunity to understand how this process occurs, or rather, how it is given meaning.

This study offers an examination of the above-mentioned process by presenting a comparative content analysis of headline articles, op-eds, and cartoons that appeared in the Turkish Cypriot, Greek Cypriot, Turkish, and Greek newspapers about the Annan Plan during the April 2004, when the referendum took place. The analysis covers 12 newspapers: *Afrika*, *Kıbrıs*, *Vatan*, *Charavgi*, *Fileleftheros*, *Machi*, *Cumhuriyet*, *Milliyet*, *Yeni Şafak*, *Rizospastis*, *Ta Nea*, and *Kathimerini*. The research questions are as follows:

RQ 1: What are the patterns of similarity and difference in the use of win-lose, win-win, lose-lose, there is no alternative, and risky gambling frames in the Turkish Cypriot, Greek Cypriot, Turkish and Greek newspapers analyzed?

“Win-win,” “win-lose,” and “lose-lose” are game theory terms that describe the outcomes of a particular negotiation. They also have been adapted to the field of conflict resolution. A “win-win” outcome occurs when each party perceives that it has won. Usually, this outcome is reached after an integrative bargaining process. “Win-lose” outcomes take place when one party perceives that it has won and the other that it has lost. In most cases, this outcome is reached after a distributive bargaining process. “Lose-lose” outcomes are when all parties are worse off than at the beginning of the negotiation (Spangler, 2003) . The “there is no alternative frame” builds on Kahneman and Tversky's (1979) prospect theory that postulates that gains and losses are valued differently. According to prospect theory, which is also known as loss-aversion theory, more weight is put on perceived gains. The risky gambling framework is a schema of understanding developed by this study to

refer to the association of voting affirmatively or negatively during the Annan Referendum to games of chance and risk-taking.

RQ 2: Does the coverage of the Turkish Cypriot, Greek Cypriot, Turkish, and Greek newspapers of the Annan Plan demonstrate characteristics of the Mediterranean Media Model such as press-political party parallelism? What additions to the Mediterranean Media Model can the findings of this content analysis make?

RQ 2 focuses on to what extent the content analysis findings confirm that the Turkish Cypriot, Greek Cypriot, Turkish, and Greek coverage of the Annan Referendum fit Hallin and Mancini's (2004) Mediterranean or Polarized Pluralistic Media Model. After their study of media in western democracies, Hallin and Mancini suggested that there are three media models: the Mediterranean or polarized pluralist model; the North, Central European or Democratic corporatist model; and the North Atlantic or Liberal model. Accordingly, five countries constitute examples to this model: Greece, Spain, Portugal, Italy, and France.

The main characteristics of the media in these Southern European countries, all of which have experienced periods of authoritarian rule, are a low level of newspaper circulation, press political-party parallelism, weaker professionalization, and a high level of state intervention. Papathassopoulos (2007) extended Hallin and Mancini's initial list, suggesting that also Turkey, Cyprus, and Malta can be given as examples of the Mediterranean Media Model. This study focuses on patterns of press political-party parallelism, internal pluralism, and commentary-oriented journalism in the newspapers selected. The study examines how the two primary parties in the conflict, the Turkish and Greek Cypriots, and two secondary parties, namely Turkey and Greece, all of which can be said to have the Mediterranean-type media, covered the Annan Plan.

Methodology

This study carries out a content analysis of headline articles, op-eds, and cartoons about the Annan plan published between October 2002 and May 2004 in 12 newspapers. A newspaper representing the left, a newspaper representing the center, and a newspaper representing the right of the political spectrum have been selected from each primary and secondary party to the conflict. The Turkish Cypriot newspapers selected for the analysis

are *Afrika*, *Kıbrıs*, and *Vatan*; the Greek Cypriot newspapers are *Charavgi*, *Fileleftheros*, and *Machi*; the Turkish newspapers are *Cumhuriyet*, *Milliyet*, and *Yeni Şafak*; and the Greek newspapers are *Rizospastis*, *Ta Nea*, and *Kathimerini*. The content analysis covers three data sets, each consisting of one unit of analysis. The findings of each dataset are discussed in one analysis chapter. The first dataset (D1) consists of 332 headline articles, the second dataset (D2) of 1237 op-eds, and the third dataset (D3) of 347 cartoons, making the sum total of the data 1916. The coding of the datasets was done by one Turkish native speaker and one Greek native speaker, both from the field of political science and international relations. The “Depiction of the 2004 Referendum on the Annan Plan” codebook was used for the coding.

RESULTS

Parties to the Cyprus Conflict and National Contexts during the Annan Plan

Paul Wehr’s (1979) conflict map distinguishes between primary parties, secondary parties, and third parties. Primary parties are defined as parties who oppose one another, use fighting behavior, and have a direct stake in the outcome of the conflict. Following this definition, the primary parties in the Cyprus conflict are Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots. Secondary parties are defined as those who have indirect stakes in the outcome. They are not direct adversaries but are often allies or sympathizers with primary parties. Thus, we can say that in the Cyprus conflict, Turkey and Greece are the secondary parties. Third parties are defined as actors such as mediators and peacekeeping forces which can intervene to facilitate conflict resolution. In the case of Cyprus, the UN, US, and the EU are the principal third parties.

To understand the Cyprus conflict, we first need to understand the issues the primary parties prioritize. The Turkish Cypriots sought to secure the post-1974 conditions by preserving their basic administrative structures (Michael, 2007). Autonomy and self-determination appear as key issues for Turkish Cypriots both inside and outside the negotiation process (Ertegin, 1984). They showed a preference for a confederation or loose federation.

On the other hand, the events of 1974 constitute the main reference point for the Greek Cypriots, causing a general sense of insecurity. The Greek Cypriots have reservations about a federal or transitional government and emphasize the demilitarization of the island. Thus, the current situation appears to them as more desirable than any federal solution that does not include a strong central authority and withdrawal of Turkish troops. Interestingly, Michael (2007) points out a double insecurity dilemma experienced by both communities and their motherlands. From the Greek Cypriot side, there is suspicion of Turkish Cypriot secessionist objectives and fear of Turkish occupation. The Turkish Cypriots for their part, feel insecurity in relation to a possible return to the pre-1974 situation as a minority in the island.

Another key to understanding the mindsets of the parties is familiarity with each national context. Let us begin with the political context of Southern Cyprus. A significant development in the Turkish Cypriot political scene was the development of a strong opposition. Left-wing opposition parties such as the Republican Turkish Party (CTP) and the Communal Liberation Party (TKP) advocated coexistence with Greek Cypriots, and also less dependence on Turkey (Michael, 2007). On 14 December 2003, national elections took place in the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC) during which the CTP received 35.17 % of the votes. On 11 January 2004, the leader of CTP, Mehmet Ali Talat, formed a government in coalition with *Demokrat Parti* (DP), traditionally more rationalist. Thus, during the referendum, Rauf Denktaş was president, Mehmet Ali Talat was prime minister, and Serdar Denktaş was minister of foreign affairs (Dodd, 2003). Inevitably, having a pro-Annan Plan government in office was influential in assuring a “yes” vote in Northern Cyprus.

The parliamentary elections of 14 December 2003 in Northern Cyprus as well as the presidential elections of 16 February 2003 in Southern Cyprus were dominated by the Annan Referendum. On the Turkish Cypriot side, a CTP-DP coalition led by pro-settlement prime minister Mehmet Ali Talat, came out of the ballots. On the other hand, in the South of the island, the leader of the Democrat Party (DIKO), Thasos Papadopoulos, who had reservations about the Annan Plan, won the elections with 51% of the vote (Samaras, 2005), and became president following the ten-year presidency of Glafkos Clerides, who had been favorable to the Annan Plan. Katsis (2002) points out that the

rejectionist/concessionist polarization had replaced the former left/right political divide in the political landscape of the South before the referendum. In the parliamentary elections that took place on 27 May 2001, the Communist Progressive Party of the Working People (AKEL) won 34.7% of the votes, the liberal conservative Democratic Rally (DISY) founded by Glafkos Clerides received 34.0% and DIKO 15.8%.

In Turkey, the Justice and Development Party (AKP) won the parliamentary elections of 2 November 2002 with a landslide victory, leading to the formation of a stable, single-party government under the premiership of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan (Phillips, 2004). In 2004, the year in which the twin referenda on the Annan Plan took place, the Turkish government consisted of both secular and Islamic components. In other words, the hegemony of Islamist politics had not materialized fully. Secular politician Ahmet Necdet Sezer was president of the Republic led by the government of Prime Minister Erdoğan. The military still had its traditional presence in Turkish politics, apparent in the National Security Council. Yet, Chief of Staff Hilmi Özkök made it clear on several occasions that he was cooperating with the Erdoğan government.

After assuming office, Erdoğan supported the Annan Plan and made an important shift in Turkish foreign policy by distancing his government from the hawkish Turkish Cypriot President Rauf Denktash (Phillips, 2004). The main opposition party, the Republican People's Party (CHP), was critical of the plan. In regards to Turkey-EU relations in the period, Turkey was given the prospect of EU accession at the 1999 Helsinki Summit. In the Copenhagen Summit of 2002, the EU declared that it would open accession negotiations with Turkey once it fulfilled the Copenhagen Criteria (Aydın-Düzgüt & Çarkoğlu, 2009). Yet the commencement of accession negotiations was put under conditionality, where the EU made clear that Turkey could not block Cypriot accession to the EU, by refraining from contributing to the resolution of the conflict.

In Greece, the parliamentary elections took place on 7 March 2004 and the leader of the center-right New Democracy, Kostas Karamanlis, formed his government after receiving the vote of confidence on March 23. Former prime minister Kostas Simitis, leader of the left-wing PASOK expressed its support of the Annan Plan. In contrast, in his discourse, Karamanlis underlined that the decision belonged to the Greek Cypriots (Marrogordatos, 2005). Thus, the overview of the national contexts of the primary and

secondary parties indicates that the Turkish and Turkish Cypriot governments were supportive of the Annan Plan, the Greek Cypriot government was against it, and the Greek government was neutral. The frames present in the newspapers analyzed cannot be thought of independently from the political contexts in the primary and secondary parties, especially given that some of the newspapers analyzed present a high degree of press-political party parallelism.

The Overview of the Annan Plan

The Annan Plan is referred to as the most comprehensive attempt to find a solution to the Cyprus conflict. The plan, developed by UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan, was first introduced in January 2002. The document was revised five times to find a common ground between the two sides. The final version is known as Annan V. Finally, on 24 April 2004, the twin referenda on the Annan Plan that envisaged a unification of the island was approved by the Turkish Cypriots with 64.91% and rejected by the Greek Cypriots by 75.83% votes. Following the referenda, the Greek Cypriot government joined the European Union without a solution to the conflict (Ulusoy and Verney, 2009; Varnava and Faustman, 2009). This study examines the general features of the Annan Plan and the UN peace plan that intertwined with the Turkish and Cypriot accession processes to the EU. It seeks to explain why the Turkish Cypriots voted “yes” and Greek Cypriots voted “no.”

The plan covered the seven major issues of the conflict: the political system, guarantorship, three freedoms, territorial adjustment, military buildup, displaced persons and properties, settlers and immigrants, and EU membership (Sözen and Özersay, 2007). In regard to the political system, the plan envisaged the formation of two constituent states and one federal common state (Oran, 2013; Sözen and Özersay, 2007). The status and relationship between the component states and federal state were inspired by the Swiss example, while the EU and foreign policy-related matters were inspired by the Belgian example. The legislative was to be based on a bicameral parliament composed of a senate and a chamber of deputies. Half of the senators and at least a quarter of the deputies were to be Turkish Cypriots. The plan also proposed the establishment of a supreme court, consisting of Cypriot and non-Cypriot members.

On the issue of guarantorship, the plan foresaw that the 1960 treaty of guarantee would remain in force. As to the three freedoms, no restrictions were put on the freedom of movement; however, the freedom of settlement and freedom of property had some restrictions. The rights of return provided for the return of refugees in large numbers, although Greek Cypriots residing in the North made up 18% of the population in the next 19 years (Asmussen 2004; Sözen and Özersay, 2007). Additionally, land and property claims were to be dealt with by a property board. Concerning territorial adjustment, the amount of Turkish Cypriot territory was to be reduced to 29%. On military buildup, the plan envisaged a timetable for foreign troop withdrawal, according to which 650 Turkish and 950 Greek military personnel would remain on the island. The plan foresaw a lightly armed, separate police force for each state, and a police force for the federal state.

The plan introduced a complex formula in relation to displaced persons and properties. The remaining displaced persons not settled within the framework of territorial adjustment either would be reinstated to their former properties or compensated financially. As for settlers and immigrants, the plan allowed 45,000 immigrants and settlers on both sides. The settlers and immigrants to remain were to be selected based on criteria such as marriage, period of employment, and residency. Finally, in regard to EU membership, the plan stated that the arrangements for the agreement would be incorporated into the *acquis communautaire*. However, given that Cyprus joined the EU on 1 May 2004 without a solution, this last point became void.

DISCUSSION

This study stands on two theoretical pillars: The prospect theory of Kahneman and Tversky (1979) and the Mediterranean media model of Hallin and Mancini (2004). The

chapter begins with an overview of decision-making theories with an emphasis on prospect theory and then explains central concepts in the study of communication such as agenda-setting and framing. Furthermore, it reviews the applications of prospect theory in the fields of international relations and political science. Finally, it discusses the Mediterranean media model and key concepts of this model such as press-political party parallelism.

Prospect Theory

Many researchers use the logic of strategic games to develop a theory on decision-making and economic behavior. Von Neumann and Morgenstern (1944) introduced the expected-utility theory in their book, *Theory of Games and Economic Behavior*. The theory states that under conditions of risk and uncertainty, individuals seek to maximize their gains by ranking the expected utilities of alternative actions. Thus, the rational behavior of decision-makers is at the core of expected utility theory. Expected utility is calculated by multiplying the value of each possible outcome with the probability of that outcome occurring.

Since the late 1970s, Kahneman and Tversky (1979) have challenged the rationality principle of expected utility theory and developed prospect theory as an alternative model to understand decision-making under risk. Prospect theory explains how alternative descriptions of the same outcome led to shifts of preferences.

Kahneman and Tversky (1979) conducted an experiment on students at Stanford University and the University of British Columbia to prove how framing an outcome affects choices. They told the first groups of students to assume that there was an outbreak of an unusual Asian disease in which a loss of 600 people was expected. They were asked to choose between two alternative programs to combat the disease. In the first problem, program A stated that 200 people would be saved, and program B stated that there was a 1/3 probability that 600 people would be saved and a 2/3 probability that nobody would be saved. Seventy-two percent of the 152 students chose program A, while 28% chose program B. The same public health case was worded differently to a second group of students in the second problem. Program C stated that 400 people would die and program D stated that there was a 1/3 probability that nobody would die, and a 2/3 probability that 600 people would die. This time 22% of the 155 students chose C, while 78% chose D.

Kahneman and Tversky (1981) concluded that the preferences in the first and second problems illustrate that choices involving gains are often risk-averse and choices involving losses are often risk-taking. This is called the certainty effect. In other words, people tend to engage in more risk to avoid losses viewed as certain. Levy (1998) refers to alternative A as the survival frame and alternative C as the loss frame.

Problem 1: There is an outbreak of an unusual Asian disease which is expected to kill 600 people. Two alternative programs to combat the disease have been formed (N=152).

Table 1

Outbreak of Asian Disease

Scenario	Percentage
A: 200	72
B: 1/3 chance 600 will be saved, 2/3 chance all die	28

Table 2

Test of Student Perceptions of Risk

Scenario	Proposed outcomes	Percentage of students for each option
A	people will be saved (survival frame)	72
B	1/3 chance 600 will be saved, 2/3 chance all die	28

Problem 2: There is an outbreak of an unusual Asian disease which is expected to kill 600 people. Two alternative programs to combat the disease have been formed (N=155)

Table 3

Test with Mortality Frame

Scenario	Percentage
C: 400 people will die (mortality frame)	22
D: 1/3 chance that nobody will die, 2/3 chance that all will die	78

Interestingly, the writing of this dissertation coincided with the Covid 19 pandemic, which followed a similar path with the disease scenario that Kahneman and Tversky used in their experiment. Thus, one can say that a similar experiment on prospect theory can be repeated by framing the Covid 19 pandemic to see whether people chose to take more risk when losses were viewed as a given.

Quattrone and Tversky (2004) start their discussion on risk aversion by stating that “a significant feature of the value function is that losses loom larger than gains” (p. 330). How can we interpret the “losses loom larger than gains principle” of prospect theory? The loss aversion property of prospect theory explained by Quattrone and Tversky develops around the idea that displeasure associated with loss is more significant than pleasure associated with gain. Levy (1992) elaborates on this very principle by stating that more weight is given to losses than comparable gains. For example, the Equal Rights Amendment is framed in two different ways. In the first frame, it is presented as an attempt to eliminate discrimination, and in the second as legislation designed to improve women’s status in society. When the same question was posed to Stanford University students in the two different frames, the support was 9% more in the eliminating discrimination frame.

Another concept of prospect theory related to the “losses loom larger than gains” theme is the endowment effect. The endowment effect can be explained as the value given to what one has as opposed to comparable things that one does not have.

Reference points and how they are determined are key for comprehending prospect theory (Levy and Thompson, 2010). In their discussion about the causes of war, Levy and Thompson state that gains and losses are measured in terms of deviations from a reference point. “Preference reversal” happens when the preference changes as a result of a change in the reference point. Levy and Thompson underline that framing in a choice problem involves the identification of a reference point. Moreover, they state that the status quo is

the most common reference point. Yet, this is not always the case. Alternatively, one can also think of deviations from an aspirational level (Levy, 1992).

Another key concept of prospect theory is the decision frame (Breuning, 2007). Breuning defines the decision frame as the decision-maker's conceptions of the act's outcomes. The calculation of the probability of the desired outcomes of a particular action becomes essential. There are many examples of how the decision frame works in foreign policy. Although the main premise of realism asserts that a state tries to maximize its gains, political psychology points to a different side of the story, where perceptions influence decisions, and in turn frames influence perceptions. Prospect theory has two phases, the editing and evaluating phase (Levy, 1992; Mintz and Derouen, 2006). The first phase, or the editing phase, consists of the preliminary analysis of the choice problem, in which the available options and outcomes are identified. Framing holds an important place in this phase. In the second phase, or the evaluation phase, the preferred prospect is selected. In summary, the two phases demonstrate that prospect theory offers a complex analysis of decision making, looking at all dynamics involved, compared to expected utility theory, which takes a rather simplistic approach.

Table 4

Primary Parties' expectations of gain and loss

Parties	Gain	Loss
Turkish Cypriots	Confederation or loose federation	Territorial concession
Greek Cypriots	Strong federation and demilitarization of the island	Joint federal or transitional government

The Polarized Pluralist or the Mediterranean Media Model

After studying the relationship between media and politics in 18 western European countries, Canada and the U.S., Hallin and Mancini (2004) introduced three media models: the Mediterranean or Polarized Pluralist Model, the North/Central European or Democratic Corporatist Model, and the North Atlantic Liberal Model. France, Greece, Italy, Portugal, and Spain were given as examples of the Mediterranean Model; Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, Germany, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, and Switzerland of the North/Central European Model; and Britain, Ireland, the U.S., and Canada, of the North Atlantic Model (Hallin and Mancini, 2004). Hallin and Mancini used four criteria to compare Western European and North American media systems: the development of media markets, press-political party parallelism, journalistic professionalism, and the degree and nature of state intervention in the media system.

An understanding of the concept press-political party parallelism is a prerequisite to following how Hallin and Mancini developed their categories. The notion of press-political party parallelism was first developed by Seymour-Ure (1974). Seymour-Ure's notion of press-party parallelism is based on three aspects: (1) the party ownership and/or management of mass media by political parties, (2) the partisan bias in the editorial choices of media organizations, and (3) the party affiliations of readers (Çarkoğlu, 2010).

Regarding the first of the four criteria, Hallin and Mancini have identified that France, Greece, Italy, Portugal, and Spain have low newspaper circulation and an elite politically-oriented press. As to the second criteria, countries that represent the Polarized Pluralist model display high political parallelism, external pluralism, and commentary-oriented journalism. As to the third criteria, Southern European countries have weaker professionalization and instrumentalization. Finally, in relation to the fourth criteria, these countries have strong state intervention (Hallin and Mancini, 2004). Hallin and Mancini explain the reasons behind their findings with the similar historical backgrounds of southern European countries, underlining that Greece, Spain, and Portugal overthrew authoritarian regimes and experienced transitions to democracy in 1974 and 1975. The late transition to democracy set the tone of the relationship between media and politics in these

countries. The mass media became accustomed to taking a position in conflicts and were regarded as a means of ideological expression and political mobilization (Hallin and Mancini, 2004).

Papathanassopoulos (2007) extended Hallin and Mancini's Mediterranean media model by adding three more countries to the list: Turkey, Cyprus, and Malta. Papathanassopoulos argues that all eight countries share late transition to democracy, pointing out that democratic consolidation took place in Greece, Spain, and Portugal between 1975 and 1985, and that Turkey experienced military coups, in 1960, 1971, and 1980 (Papathanassopoulos, 2007). The main characteristics of the Mediterranean Model introduced by Hallin and Mancini also are applicable to Turkey, Malta and Cyprus. The state news agencies such as Agence France Presse in France, the Italian Agency AGI in Italy, EFE in Spain, ANA in Greece, and Anadolu Ajansı in Turkey are given as examples of state intervention in the media (Papathanassopoulos, 2007).

Studies on press-political party parallelism have been done in Turkey and Northern Cyprus. For example, a study done by Çarkoğlu (2010) indicates that in both the 2002 and 2007 parliamentary elections, 60% of *Cumhuriyet* readers voted for the Republican Peoples' Party (RPP). The study evaluates the press-party parallelism of conservative newspapers as a whole. Accordingly, 80% of *Vakit*, *Akit*, *Yeni Şafak*, and *Türkiye* readers voted for the Justice and Development Party (JDP) during the 2007 elections.

Kalkan, Şafaklı, and Günalp (2015), studying the press-party parallelism of Turkish Cypriot newspapers, identify *Güneş*, *Ortam*, *Demokrat Bakış*, and *Yeni Düzen* display press-party parallelism. *Yeni Düzen* exhibits parallelism with the Republican Turkish Party (RTP), and the National Unity Party (NUP). *Africa* and *Vatan* are identified as newspapers that openly show their ideology, whereas *Kıbrıs* is described as a newspaper that positions itself in the center and adapts according to the context (Kalkan, Şafaklı and Günalp, 2015). Among 15 newspapers published in Northern Cyprus, *Kıbrıs* ranks the highest, *Yeni Düzen* fourth, *Afrika* sixth, *Vatan* seventh, and *Güneş* ranks tenth in terms of readership.

Another concept closely related to press-political party parallelism is pluralism. There are two types of pluralism, internal and external. Internal pluralism is the existence of different opinions within each media organization and external pluralism is the presence of multiple opinions in the media as a whole (Hallin and Mancini, 2004). However, in the

more recent understanding, the distinction between internal and external pluralism is not that clear. Rather, media pluralism is used as one concept, mostly as a criterion for evaluating the level of democracy in a country. For example, the EU has conducted studies of media pluralism in member countries. In this form, media pluralism refers to the plurality/diversity of media suppliers, freedom and affordability of access, content pluralism and diversity of ideas, diversity of news sources, independent and not concentrated editorial practices, diversity and transparency of media ownership, and cultural and social diversity in media programs and ideas (Perusko, 2010).

This study has presented an overview of the two main theoretical foundations of this study, Kahneman and Tversky's (1979) prospect theory and Hallin and Mancini's (2004) Polarized Pluralist Media or Mediterranean Media Model. These theoretical foundations serve as the macro and micro backbones of this study. Prospect theory is used as a tool to analyze the logic used in the frames to cover the Annan Plan in Turkish Cypriot, Greek Cypriot, Turkish, and Greek newspapers, with reference to referendum-framing studies. Thus, it is concerned with the analysis at the detail level. Hallin and Mancini's Polarized Pluralist Media or Mediterranean Media Model is used as a blueprint to understand the larger picture presented by the selected newspapers. Concurrently, key communications theory concepts such as agenda-setting, priming, framing, press-political party parallelism, and internal and external pluralism are reviewed, some in relation to their significance to prospect theory and others in relation to their significance to the Mediterranean Model. For example, framing is essential in prospect theory and press political party parallelism is essential in the Mediterranean Media Model.

This study provides an application of prospect theory to an important international case. An evaluation of the existing literature shows that the analysis of the Annan Plan in the Turkish Cypriot, Greek Cypriot, Turkish, and Greek press will provide another case study that applies prospect theory to peace referendum framing. So far, themes that convey the certain loss in the case of a "no" vote have been identified in relation to the case of Northern Ireland. The absence of the loss theme has been discussed in relation to the "no" vote of Southern Cyprus, yet the presence of the loss theme has not been discussed in relation to the "yes" vote of Northern Cyprus. Once again, "losses loom larger than gains"

when citizens are going to the ballots to accept or refuse a peace referendum. Former studies have linked an unsuccessful peace referendum result to the absence of highlighting losses. Then, the question remains how a “yes” and a “no” can be situated in the twin referenda that took place on the Mediterranean island of Cyprus? Identifying the themes used to “sell” the Annan Plan to the Turkish Cypriots will expand the scope of research in the field. Also, the current study will allow researchers to see how the specific dynamics of the Mediterranean Media Model were manifested in the two conflicting parties on the Mediterranean island of Cyprus when covering the Annan Plan and the secondary parties to the conflict, Turkey, and Greece.

CONCLUSION

The Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot Press Frameboxes and News Events Covered

The Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot press utilized both separate Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot frameboxes as well as a common Cypriot framebox to present the issues around the Annan Plan to their readership. Each party was concerned with news events in its own national context, the other side of the divided island, Turkey, Greece, and on the international level.

Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot Frameboxes

The comparative content analysis conducted has demonstrated the use of different frame boxes by the Turkish Cypriot newspapers when covering the Annan Plan, in their headline articles, op-eds, and cartoons

Let us start with the mental maps of the two primary parties to the Cyprus conflict, the Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot frameboxes. In the Turkish Cypriot framebox used by the Turkish Cypriot press, first, there is the identity issue. The Cypriot left, center, and right represented by the newspapers *Afrika*, *Kıbrıs*, and *Vatan* each have a different outlook on Cypriot identity. The left is for full Cypriot independence, also vis-a-vis Turkey. It is against the “*anavatan/ yavru vatan*” (motherland/ babyland) duality. It emphasizes above

all, the Cypriot identity. The center manages to find a compromise, or harmony, between the Cypriot and Turkish identities. In other words, for the center, the Cypriot and Turkish identities coexist. *Kıbrıs* does not underline the conflict between these two identities but rather reinforces the harmony.

The Cypriot right, as seen in the newspaper *Vatan*, refuses the existence of a Cypriot identity upfront, and opts for a Turkish identity. Second comes the level of national politics, where we find national political actors such as President Denktaş, Prime Minister Mehmet Ali Talat, Minister of Foreign Affairs Serdar Denktaş, and Northern Cypriot political parties such as the RTP, UBP, and DP. The civil society and the pro-"yes" rallies in Nicosia were also important in the Turkish Cypriot framebox. Finally, the Turkish Cypriot newspapers used game theoretical frames, such as "there is no alternative," and "risky gambling" frames to understand the Annan Plan and present it to their readership. How the Turkish Cypriot right questioned the application of the entire game theoretical logic to the referendum is highly interesting.

In the Greek Cypriot mental map as well, identity plays an important role. Reminiscent to the Turkish Cypriot identity formation, the left represented by *Charavgi* prioritizes a Cypriot identity, the center combines a Greek and Cypriot identity as in *Fileleftheros* and Cypriot Hellenism is dominant in the right, as seen in the *Machi*. At the national level of the Greek Cypriot framebox, we see political actors such as Greek Cypriot President Papadopoulos, political parties such as AKEL and DISY, and the leader of AKEL Hristofyas. As to the use of game theoretical frames, Greek Cypriot newspapers use game theoretical frames less when compared with Turkish Cypriot newspapers, yet when they do, the "win-lose" frame is preferred. The Greek Orthodox religion is also more visible on the right of the political spectrum. For example, the *Machi* has more religious references than the *Charavgi*.

Yet, an important finding of this research is that there is a common Cypriot framebox, as well as separate Turkish Cypriot and Greek frameboxes. This might be explained by the distinct history of the island, which includes a colonial period. In the common Cypriot framebox, there is a strong anti-imperialist pillar that becomes visible in critical approaches to the US, the EU and the UN from both the North and South of the island. Not only are both communities critical of third parties involved in the conflict, but

in the sense of humor they employ to demonstrate this criticism is also parallel. The Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot sense of humor features a strong blend of sexism and racism.

Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot News Events

The newspapers developed their frames on the Annan Plan with the use of their frameboxes, and in the context of the event line of April 2004, preceding the referendum of April 24. First, Turkish Cypriot newspapers. All three of the newspapers analyzed, *Afrika*, *Kıbrıs*, and *Vatan* covered events about the referendum in the primary parties of the conflict that is, of course, first Northern Cyprus, and then Southern Cyprus. Second, the newspapers covered events on secondary parties of the conflict, namely Turkey and Greece, and finally, they covered events at the international level. All three newspapers covered the Bürgenstock meeting on the Annan Plan finalized on March 29. As to key events that took place in Northern Cyprus, *Afrika* emphasized the “yes” meetings in Nicosia in its coverage, as well as ultranationalist terror against the supporters of “yes.” *Kıbrıs* also underlined the “yes” meeting, with the “yes *be annem*” frame. *Vatan*, on the other hand, gave the views of non-governmental organizations, and elements of civil society that opposed the plan. As to key events that took place in Southern Cyprus, all three newspapers emphasized AKEL’s committee meeting and Prime Minister Mehmet Ali Talat’s visit to Southern Cyprus to speak with AKEL and DISI leaders. *Afrika* and *Kıbrıs* supported Mehmet Ali Talat’s visit, whereas *Vatan* opposed it.

Regarding events that took place in Turkey, *Afrika*, *Kıbrıs*, and *Vatan* followed the National Security Council Meeting in Ankara, and the declaration of the council following the meeting. *Afrika* and *Kıbrıs* interpreted the declaration as proof of non-involvement of the military in the government’s Cyprus policy, whereas *Vatan* took it as a critical stance taken by the military establishment of the country against the Annan Plan. Also, the Turkish Cypriot newspapers followed the speech given by President Denktaş at the Turkish Parliament. *Vatan* backed Denktaş and was critical of the Turkish government for betraying the national cause, whereas *Afrika* and *Kıbrıs* were critical of Denktaş.

The Greek Cypriot newspapers followed the news events in Southern Cyprus, the other part of the island, Greece, Turkey, and the international community. All three of the

Greek Cypriot newspapers, *Charavgi*, *Fileleftheros*, and *Machi* covered the announcement of President Papadopoulos regarding the referendum. AKEL and DISY's decision-making processes, that is, their internal meetings on the issue, were covered again by all three newspapers. Given its closeness to AKEL, the viewpoint of the party was more underlined in *Charavgi*, as compared to the other two newspapers. Meeting for "yes" and "no" in Nicosia were also covered, however in a very different manner. Out of the three newspapers, *Machi* was hostile to the "yes" meeting at which there were participants also from Northern Cyprus, calling it a political anti-rally. As to the news events that took place in the North of the island, the newspapers were concerned with Denktaş's position, the policy of the RTP, and Prime Minister Mehmet Ali Talat. The Greek Cypriot newspapers were interested in the difference of opinion between Ankara and Denktaş.

As to events in Turkey and Greece, the Greek Cypriot newspapers followed the speech of Denktaş in the Turkish Parliament, Erdogan's reaction to the speech, and the declaration of the National Security Council. Finally, regarding events in Greece, the Cyprus policy of Karamanlis was followed very carefully. *Charavgi* took a doubtful position as to Karamanlis's remarks, whereas *Fileleftheros* was more neutral. At the international level, the newspapers were first concerned with the Bürgenstock meeting, and then with the UN Security Council Meeting on the guarantees to be given to Cyprus.

Turkish and Greek Press Frameboxes and News Events Covered

Turkish and Greek Press Frameboxes

Having discussed the frameboxes of the primary parties to the Cyprus conflict, we can move on to discussing the frameboxes of the secondary parties to the Cyprus conflict, namely Turkey and Greece. To understand the Turkish framebox, it is first necessary to understand the context of the first decade of the 21st century in Turkish politics. With the coming to power of the AKP in 2002, the political polarization in Turkey shifted from left/right to secular/Islamic. Thus, the secular elements of society that opposed the AKP also opposed its policies such as its Cyprus policy, and conservative elements of society embraced its policies, regardless of the meaning behind the policy.

At the national level, the different parts of the political establishment of Turkey of the time period consisted of President of the Republic of Turkey Necdet Sezer, Prime

Minister Tayyip Erdoğan, Minister of Foreign Affairs Abdullah Gül, the National Security Council consisting of civil and military members such as the Chief of Staff General Hilmi Özkök, and political parties such as the AKP and the CHP. Once again, it should be underlined here that the Turkish press constitutes an example of Hallin and Mancini's Mediterranean Model by displaying press-political party parallelism. *Cumhuriyet* showed parallelism with the main opposition party CHP, whereas *Yeni Şafak* showed parallelism with the ruling AKP. As opposed to *Cumhuriyet* and *Yeni Şafak*, *Milliyet* showed no one-to-one parallelism with either political party. The positions that the newspapers take on the Annan Plan also should be understood in this light. *Yeni Şafak*, in parallel with the AKP, supported the plan, whereas *Cumhuriyet* in parallel with CHP was against the plan.

Turkey's start of the accession negotiations with the European Union, or rather being part of Europe, is another frame in the Turkish press framebox. This is especially so for the newspaper *Milliyet*, which had many correspondents in European capitals. However, it should be noted that the European vocation or frame is rather a new one in the case of the newspaper *Yeni Şafak*. In other words, the *Milliyet* had a true European vocation coming from the tradition of its editor-in-Chief, Abdi İpekçi, who was assassinated by Mehmet Ali Ağca in 1979, and represented by many Europhile columnists such as Sami Kohen. *Yeni Şafak* used the European frame instrumentally to support the AKP.

The Turkish framebox also presents the theme that "Turkey" should come before Cyprus. Although this is not said outright at all times, there is a reference to Turkish Cypriots owing a favor to Turkey in some of the op-eds. Interestingly, the Cyprus issue is framed as a national cause, but at the same time, a Turkey-first position also coexists with the national cause frame. The conciliatory stance on the Cyprus issue, a pro-solution position, is slammed by the national discourse as a " *ver kurtul*" (leave it and survive) frame. The mirror image of the "Turkey first" frame is also present in the Turkish Cypriot press. Especially *Afrika* says it loud and clear on many occasions, that Cyprus should not carry the burden of Turkey. The newspapers take a stance against the Turks from Turkey that have populated the island.

To understand the Greek framebox, we need to have a look at the political context of the country in the April of 2004, the month preceding the referendum. On March 8, 2004, a month before the studied period, general elections took place in Greece, giving a victory

to Costas Karamanlis's New Democracy Party. So, when Karamanlis took office as head of the country, there were negotiations with Turkey on the Annan Plan in his lap. The Greek Communist Party and the small left coalition also were represented in parliament. Similar to the Turkish press, the Greek press displays press-political party parallelism, again providing an example of Hallin and Mancini's Mediterranean Media Model. *Rizospastis*, is the official news organization of the Greek Communist Party. *Kathimerini* shows press-political party parallelism with *New Democracy*, and *Ta Nea* is at the center resembling *Milliyet*. The themes of the Greek framebox include political parties such as PASOK and its leader Papandreou.

It should be noted that Greece and Turkey are the only two countries in the world that have won their independence from each other, thus the national identities of both countries have developed in opposition to one another. 2004 comes after the Turkish Greek rapprochement initiated by foreign ministers Andreas Papandreou, and Ismail Cem, thus the anti-Turkish feeling, as well as the anti-Greek feeling is not that prominent, yet still, the Turkish intervention in Cyprus is seen as a "Turkish invasion" in Greece, and the country does not accept the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, for its part, Turkey sees the Cypriot issue as its national cause

Despite their differences, there is also a common Greek-Turkish framebox, influenced by shared history and culture. Similar to the case of the common Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot sense of humor, there is also a common Turkish and Greek sense of humor, evident again, in the racist and sexist elements of the cartoons printed in the Turkish and Greek press. Also, both the Turkish and Greek press have a strong anti-imperialist tradition, especially visible in the newspapers *Cumhuriyet* and *Rizospastis*. *Cumhuriyet* and *Rizospastis* speak from a common ground, viewing the Annan Plan as a scheme of the British and Americans, a plot against Turkey in the case of *Cumhuriyet*, and a plot against Greece in the case of *Rizospastis*. The Greek framebox is also prone to conspiracy theories such as the Turkish framebox.

Similar to the mutual skepticism seen in some of the elements of the Turkish and Turkish Cypriot press against each other, there is also doubt towards each other in the Greek Cypriot press and Greek press. For example, the Greek Cypriot newspaper *Charavgi* underlines that Karamanlis stands indirectly for "yes." The underlying point here is that the

national interests of Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots are not necessarily the same as those of Turkey and Greece, respectively.

The Greek newspapers also make use of the game theoretical framebox. In parallel to Greek Cypriot newspapers, they make more use of the "win-win" frame. The "there is no alternative frame" was not that prominent in Greek language media, more specifically the Greek Cypriot press and the Greek Press, precisely because "having no alternative" was not the case for Greek Cypriots. The Greek Cypriots were promised entry into the European Union on May 1, following the referendum, irrespective of whether a "yes" or "no" emerged from the ballots, thus they had an alternative. Yet we can make a distinction in the Greek language press, between europhiles and euroskeptics. It can be argued that Europhile and Euroskeptic frames are both present in the Greek language press. For example, the Greek Cypriot newspaper Fileleftheros can be given as an example of a newspaper that uses a Europhile frame, since it opens its pages to politicians from EU countries such as Finland's former Minister of Foreign Affairs Maarti Ahtisaari.

Turkish and Greek News Events

As for news events covered by Greek newspapers, all three newspapers are interested in the Karamanlis government's position on the plan. Also, the Greek press shows interest in the position of other political parties such as PASOK, and leader Papandreou's position on the Annan Plan. As for Turkey, the Greek press is interested in the Erdogan government's position on the Annan Plan, and also the Greek newspapers follow Turkish-EU relations closely. Regarding Southern Cyprus, they emphasize the "no" of Papadopoulos, and regarding Northern Cyprus, they underline the position of Denktaş, and also Mehmet Ali Talat and his party CTP. At the international level, the Greek press covers the Bürgenstock summit and the UN Security Council Meeting. Also, Verheugen's remarks constitute a news event.

Findings from Headline Articles, Op-Eds, and Cartoons

The analysis of the headline articles dataset yields five sets of conclusions. The first set of conclusions is related to the positions the headline articles have taken towards the

plan. Among the 12 newspapers analyzed, *Afrika*, *Kıbrıs*, *Milliyet*, and *Yeni Şafak* are in the “yes” camp of the referendum, whereas *Cumhuriyet*, *Vatan*, *Charavgi*, *Fileleftheros*, *Machi*, *Rizospastis*, *Ta Nea*, and *Kathimerini* are in the “no” camp. The highest percentage of support for the plan among the newspapers in the “yes” camp is given by the Turkish Cypriot newspaper *Afrika*. Whereas the highest percentage of opposition in the “no” camp is given by the Greek newspaper *Rizospastis*.

The second set of conclusions is related to the game theoretical frame. The first significant outcome is that the “no alternative” variant of the game theoretical frame is used in newspapers that support the Annan Plan. However, the “risky gambling” variant is used in both pro-“yes” and pro-“no” newspapers. Pro-“no” newspapers also prefer to use the theme of the negative consequences of a no vote in the referendum. Second, one of the sources of the “there is no alternative” frame is the US state department, as demonstrated in Secretary of State Collin Powell’s speech saying there is no alternative to the referendum

The second set of conclusions is related to the solution frame used by pro-“yes” newspapers and the “continuation of the status quo” frame used by pro-“no” newspapers. The analysis demonstrates that the continuation of the status quo frame has the same building blocks. This parallel is particularly visible between the Turkish Cypriot nationalist *Vatan* and the Greek Cypriot nationalist *Machi*.

The third set of conclusions is related to press-political party parallelism and patterns of similarity. Despite the expectation that there would be similarity in how newspapers of similar political leaning cover the Annan Plan, in the Turkish and Turkish Cypriot newspapers, the outcome demonstrates the opposite. For example, the leftist Turkish newspaper *Cumhuriyet* shows more similarity to the Turkish Cypriot conservative daily *Vatan*. Both newspapers take an actively pro-“no” position, and use the frame of “continuation of the status quo.” This can be explained by press-political party parallelism. In the Turkish media context, since the Annan plan was supported by the AKP government, newspapers in opposition to the government such as *Cumhuriyet* took a pro-“no” position, whereas newspapers that aligned with the government such as *Yeni Şafak* took a pro-“yes” position. *Milliyet*’s stance on the plan cannot be explained by press-political party parallelism, since at that time the newspaper did not show parallelism with a political party although regarded as central left.

There is also a significant pattern of parallelism in how the Turkish newspaper *Cumhuriyet* instrumentalizes the Annan Plan to criticize the Erdoğan government, and how the Greek newspaper *Rizospastis* instrumentalizes the plan to criticize the Karamanlis government. Thus, both *Cumhuriyet* and *Rizospastis* do not agree with the pro-"yes" position of the Turkish and Greek governments and criticize their policies on the Annan Plan. Also, it should be noted that all three of the analyzed Greek newspapers are critical of the Karamanlis governments policies vis-a-vis the Annan Plan, whereas in the Turkish context, a significant degree of criticism is only present in *Cumhuriyet*.

The fourth set of conclusions is related to the frames particular to this dataset, specifically to the headline articles of the Turkish Cypriot, Greek Cypriot, and Turkish and Greek newspapers. The "constitutional court and referendum law" theme has a significant presence in the Turkish Cypriot newspapers, creating a moment of flashback to Putnam's two-level games. In the Turkish newspapers, concepts related to European law, such as primary law, secondary law, and the derogation issue have a high degree of visibility.

Finally, each data set brings a new angle to the research or has a distinguishing result. To follow this logic, what then is the contribution of the dataset on headline articles of the selected newspapers to the study, holistically speaking? The newspaper landscape in all the studied countries reflects a Putnam type-two level games. For the Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot newspaper landscape, the first level is Cyprus, and Turkey and Greece are the second level. From the perspective of the Turkish and Greek newspaper landscape, Turkey and Greece are the first level, and Cyprus is the second level. The toolkit of these two-level games is the remarks of the politicians on the issue, often given in quotations. Actually, it would be better to say three-level games, if we take international organizations such as the UN and the EU, plus other countries with stakes such as the US and the UK as the third level.

The findings of the analyzed op-eds bring us to seven important conclusions. The first is that three of the analyzed newspapers come close to the advocacy journalism described in Hallin and Mancini's Mediterranean Media Model: The Turkish Cypriot *Afrika*, the Turkish *Milliyet*, and the Greek *Ta Nea*.

Second, the op-eds pages of the newspapers for the most part, again in line with the Mediterranean Media Model, acted as forums where different opinions were discussed. Among the newspapers analyzed, *Milliyet*, *Afrika*, *Kıbrıs*, *Fileleftheros*, *Charavgi*, *Kathimerini* and *Ta Nea* showed characteristics of internal pluralism, giving room to op-eds both for and against the plan.

Third, the op-eds also served as an indicator of press-political party parallelism. Especially, the printing of op-eds written by AKEL members in the Greek Cypriot leftist *Charavgi* demonstrated a parallelism between the political party and the newspapers.

Fourth, a strong anti-imperialist discourse was present in the Turkish Cypriot *Afrika*, Greek Cypriot *Charavgi*, Turkish *Cumhuriyet*, somewhat *Milliyet*, and Greek *Rizospastis*. What I find of particular interest is that the pattern here is that an anti-Annan Plan position comes together with an anti-imperialist mindset, meaning that for *Cumhuriyet* and *Rizospastis* to oppose the plan does not come as a surprise; however, a very peculiar discourse is developed by the Turkish Cypriot *Afrika*'s strong anti-imperialist stance, with its equally strong pro-"yes" position that it states with the "yes *be annem*" phrase. The op-eds of this newspaper singled out, in the sense that it questioned, the main pillars of the Cypriot equation, from the Turkish foreign policy perspective, demanding the independence of Turkish Cypriots, vis-a-vis Turkey.

Fifth, the research questions about the use of game theoretical frames have revealed a very interesting pattern. The content analysis carried out importantly documented how Turkish language newspapers against the Annan Plan either deconstructed a specific game theoretical frame, such as *Cumhuriyet*'s deconstruction of the "win-win" frame or took one step further such as *Vatan* and questioned the entire game theoretical logic on which the frames were built. This similarity between the newspapers *Cumhuriyet* and *Vatan* is highly interesting. Sixth, the analysis carried out that among the game theoretical frames, the Greek language newspapers preferred the use of "win-lose" frame. Last, the main pillar of the "yes" campaign, the "there is no alternative" frame in the pro-"yes" press, was also used by *Vatan* to back the "no" campaign through persuading the readership that there was no alternative but saying "no."

The analysis indicates that most of the Turkish newspaper cartoons are in favor of the Annan plan, whereas most of the Greek newspaper cartoons are against it. First of all,

game theoretical frames are prominent in both the left of Turkish Cypriot, Greek Cypriot, Turkish and Greek newspaper cartoons, whereas the same prominence is not visible in those of the right. Second, the newspaper cartoons of the primary parties to the conflict, as well as the secondary parties, carry elements of racism and sexism. Surprisingly, some of the cartoons printed in the newspapers of different parties display the exactly same logic. Language, the use of Turkish/Greek and English is also an important dynamic within the Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot sense of humor. The presence of English language in Cypriot cartoons can be interpreted in light of the island's colonial past.

Finally, the Turkish left, Greek Cypriot, and Greek cartoons display a strong position against third-party intervention. Going back to the point of Papathanassopoulos (2008) that Spain, Italy, France, Greece, Portugal, Turkey, Malta, and Cyprus constitute examples of Hallin and Mancini's (2004) Mediterranean Model, this study brings the argument one step further. Yes, Turkey, Greece, and Cyprus all constitute examples of the Mediterranean Model with a high degree of press-political party parallelism, but furthermore, we can theorize that Mediterranean nations that are primary and secondary parties, i.e., the Cyprus, relate to this conflict using the same news frames. Thus, their understanding of the conflict is different, yet the tools they use to understand it are not. Also, we can talk about a particular Cypriot sense of humor that embodies traces of the island's colonial history.

What stance do Turkish and Greek Cypriot newspaper cartoons take on the Annan Plan? In parallel to the stance taken by the newspapers of the primary parties to the conflict, the newspapers of the secondary parties of the conflict, namely Turkey and Greece, follow the same pattern: Turkish newspaper cartoons mostly support the plan, whereas Greek newspaper cartoons mostly oppose it. Since the "there is no alternative" frame is used as a justification for voting "yes" in the referendum on the Annan plan, it is present in the Turkish newspaper cartoons. The logic of the frame is "Turkish Cypriots must vote 'yes' because they have no alternative." On the other hand, game theory as a more general theme is present in both the Turkish and Greek newspaper cartoons. The newspapers of the secondary parties to the conflict have the same aspect of racism and sexism present in the cartoons of primary party newspapers. In the case of Turkish newspapers, we can say that the widespread "*ver kurtul*" frame, which is used to express making concessions on the

Cyprus conflict, is also present in the cartoons. Finally, also Turkish and Greek cartoons of newspapers from the left are critical of third-party intervention.

A pattern of important difference is visible when contrasting the Turkish Cypriot and the Turkish left. The Turkish Cypriot newspaper from the left of the political spectrum, *Afrika*, is pro-"yes," yet it takes a position against third-party intervention, whereas the Turkish newspaper with a similar political leaning, *Cumhuriyet*, is pro-"no," and at the same time, it takes a position against third-party intervention. It can be said that the anti-third-party intervention serves as a general common ground, and each leftist newspaper takes its own position in regard to the Annan Plan.

Preprint

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