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A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF PRESS COVERAGE OF THE 1974 CYPRUS
CRISIS BY THE TURKISH NEWSPAPER, CUMHURIYET,
AND THE GREEK NEWSPAPER, TO VIMA

THESIS

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This study is concerned with determining whether the Turkish newspaper, Cumhuriyet, and the Greek newspaper, To Vima, differed in their coverage of the 1974 Cyprus crisis.

Issues of the newspapers covering the period, July 16-August 31, 1974, were examined. News items related to the crisis were categorized as hard news, soft news, editorials, and illustrations. Totals for each category were measured in column inches and converted to percentages of total available space in each newspaper. Categories were added to obtain total coverage of the crisis by each newspaper.

This study concludes that Cumhuriyet devoted proportionately more coverage to the crisis than To Vima, in both total coverage and all news categories.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Cyprus, an island republic in the Eastern Mediterranean, has been an area of constant conflict between Greece and Turkey for the past twenty years because of its population which is made up of two ethnic groups, Turkish-Cypriots and Greek-Cypriots. During this period, newspapers in both countries have devoted liberal portions of their space to the Cyprus issue.

Both Turkey and Greece have a great variety of newspapers; pro-government, anti-government, party organs, liberal, conservative, left-wing, right-wing, and others. Although these newspapers differ in their presentations of news events, when an event of national importance, such as the Cyprus issue, occurs, they tend toward greater homogeneity in coverage.

The worst Cyprus crisis to date occurred in the summer of 1974 when a Greek-inspired coup in the small island republic led to military intervention by Turkey, resulting in the de facto partition of Cyprus into Turkish-Cypriot and Greek-Cypriot zones. Newspapers in the two countries covered the crisis with vigor, because in both countries Cyprus is considered a "national cause." Throughout the summer of 1974, Cyprus was the main issue in Turkish newspapers. In Greek newspapers, on the other hand,

the crisis had to share top priority with news about the return to civilian rule in Greece after seven years of military dictatorship. It is, therefore, possible that, although the Cyprus issue is equally important to both countries, newspapers in the two countries did not give equal amount of coverage to the crisis.

Statement of the Problem

The problem of this study was to determine if there was any difference in the amount of coverage given to the 1974 Cyprus crisis by certain Turkish and Greek newspapers.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was (1) to determine the amount of coverage given to the 1974 Cyprus crisis by the Turkish newspaper, Cumhuriyet, and the Greek newspaper, To Vima, over a period of forty-seven days and (2) to make a quantitative comparison of the two newspapers' coverage of the crisis of the period.

Hypotheses

To carry out this study, the following hypotheses have been formulated:

1. Cumhuriyet devoted a greater portion of its space to hard-news articles on the Cyprus crisis than did To Vima.
2. Cumhuriyet devoted a greater portion of its space to soft-news articles on the Cyprus crisis than did To Vima.
3. Cumhuriyet devoted a greater portion of its space to editorial articles on the Cyprus crisis than did To Vima.

4. Cumhuriyet devoted a greater portion of its space to illustrations on the Cyprus crisis than did To Vima.

5. The total amount of coverage given to the 1974 Cyprus crisis by Cumhuriyet is proportionately greater than the coverage given to the crisis by To Vima over the same period.

Recent and Related Studies

To date, little research has been done on either the Turkish or the Greek press.

The few studies done on the Turkish press have been, primarily, in the broadcasting field. Sahin studied the broadcasting autonomy in Turkey,¹ and Dogan studied the feasibility of utilizing a direct broadcast satellite for education and development in Turkey.² In 1973, Nayman, Atkins, and O'Keefe studied the attitude of Turkish newsmen toward their profession.³

Turkey in My Time by Yalman, a prominent Turkish journalist, gave insight into the Turkish press in the early years of the Turkish Republic.⁴

¹Haluk Sahin, "Broadcasting Autonomy in Turkey: 1961-1971," Journalism Abstracts, XII (1974), 35.

²Ulvi Dogan, "The Feasibility of Utilizing a Direct Broadcast Satellite for Education and Development in Turkey," Journalism Abstracts, XII (1974), 9-10.

³Oguz B. Nayman, Charles K. Atkin, and Garrett J. O'Keefe, "Journalism as a Profession in a Developing Society: Metropolitan Turkish Newsmen," Journalism Quarterly, L (Spring, 1973), 68-76.

⁴Ahmed Emin Yalman, Turkey in My Time (Norman, Okla., 1956).

Some characteristics of the Turkish press were briefly discussed in books in the field of international mass communication. One such book is The Foreign Press, in which Merrill presents three characteristics of the Turkish press: the nationalistic tone of the entire press; the great amount of space given to foreign news; and the harsh government measures used against the press.⁵

In 1959, Graves studied the press in Greece and found that Greek newsmen tended to editorialize excessively and that Greek newspapers were in deep financial debt to the Greek government.⁶

Paraschos studied the Greek press of the 1960s and concluded that the Greek newspaper publishers' tendency to meddle in government affairs had resulted in harsh press controls by the military government of 1967.⁷

Books written on Greece under the military regime of 1967-74 include chapters discussing the Greek press. Mrs. Vlachos, a prominent Greek publisher, reported on the captivity of the Greek press in Greece Under Military Rule, in which she said that Greek newspapers devoted a large amount of space to foreign news.⁸

⁵John C. Merrill, Carter R. Bryan, and Marvin Alisky, The Foreign Press (Baton Rouge, 1964), p. 233.

⁶Wallace Graves, "Journalism in the First Democracy," Journalism Quarterly, XXXVI (Summer, 1959), 209-212.

⁷Emanuel Paraschos, "The Rise and Fall of the Greek Press: A Historical Survey of the Greek Press in the 1960s," Journalism Abstracts, VIII (1970), 106.

⁸Richard Clogg and George Yannopoulos, Greece Under Military Rule (New York, 1972), pp. 61-62.

Merrill pointed out two characteristics of the Greek press: sensationalism and lively editorializing.⁹

Studies that analyze the content of a specific Turkish or Greek newspaper have not been done. Nor have any comparisons been made between the performances of the Turkish and the Greek press.

Definition of Terms

For the purposes of this study, the following definitions were formulated:

1. Hard news--News on events that are both timely and significant to a large group of people.
2. Soft news--News on events that are primarily strong on human interest and relies on emotional or entertainment appeal; such an event need not be timely or significant to a large group of people.
3. Editorial article--An editorial, column, news analysis, or news commentary; all articles voicing an opinion, affective or directive, are included under this term.
4. News from Cyprus--All hard-news articles that are about what was happening in Cyprus itself.
5. News about Cyprus--All hard-news articles that are related to the Cyprus crisis, but are not news from Cyprus itself.
6. Illustrations--Photographs, cartoons, and maps, including cutlines.

⁹Merrill, p. 95.

7. Total available space--Total space available in all issues of each newspaper, over the forty-seven-day period under study, as determined by multiplying column length (in inches) by number of column per page and by number of pages.

Methodology

Selection of Newspapers

Several factors were considered in selecting the two newspapers for this study. In many ways Cumhuriyet (Republic) of Istanbul, Turkey, and To Vima (The Step) of Athens, Greece, are similar.

First, both newspapers have circulations over 100,000. Considering that Istanbul and Athens have thirty-six¹⁰ and nineteen daily newspapers, respectively, these circulations can be classified as large.¹¹

Second, in countries where sensationalism and editorializing are widely accepted ways of journalism, the two newspapers have managed to stay above the average "popular" newspaper. Merrill has stated that Cumhuriyet is considered to be "the New York Times of Turkey."¹² To Vima, too, is one of the leading "serious" newspapers of Greece.

¹⁰ Merrill, p. 233.

¹¹ Graves, p. 209.

¹² Merrill, p. 234.

Third, the two newspapers' political affiliations are similar. In a region where almost all newspapers are closely affiliated with political parties or other pressure groups, Cumhuriyet and To Vima have followed a relatively independent line. Although the two newspapers give some support to center-left liberal parties in their respective countries, they are not party organs. They are noted for constructive criticism in their editorials and for fairness of coverage in their news.

The period during which the two newspapers were examined is from July 16 to August 31, 1974, inclusive, because the major events that characterize the 1974 Cyprus crisis took place during those forty-seven days.

Categories

In this study, articles on the Cyprus crisis appearing in the two newspapers were classified by the type of coverage according to the following categories:

1. Hard-news articles
2. Soft-news articles
3. Editorial articles
4. Illustrations

"Hard news" included all articles that were timely and significant to a large number of persons. Under this category were two subcategories:

A. News from Cyprus--all hard-news articles that were about what was happening in Cyprus itself.

B. News about Cyprus--all hard-news articles that were related to the Cyprus crisis but were not news from Cyprus itself.

"Hard news" included all local military, social, economic, and political news on the crisis, as well as news on the international impacts of the crisis.

"Soft news" included all features and human interest stories on the crisis, as well as dialogues and announcements by organizations and individuals.

"Editorial articles" included all editorials, columns, news analyses, and new commentaries on the crisis, written by the two newspapers' editorial staff, regular writers, and special writers. Articles of this sort appearing in foreign newspapers and translated into the pages of Cumhuriyet and To Vima were included under this category.

"Illustrations" included all photographs, cartoons, and maps, with outlines, related to the Cyprus crisis, appearing in the two newspapers. Under this category were the following subcategories:

A. Hard-news illustrations--all illustrations accompanying hard-news articles.

B. Soft-news illustrations--all illustrations accompanying soft-news articles.

C. Editorial illustrations--all illustrations accompanying editorial articles.

D. Illustrations standing alone--all illustrations that were not related to any specific article.

After the articles about the Cyprus crisis were categorized, the number of articles under each category was noted and the length of each article was measured in column inches. In counting lengths of hard-news, soft-news, and editorial articles, only body copy, headlines, and subheads were considered. Illustrations (including cutlines) related to these articles, were treated under the fourth subcategory of illustrations.

In this way, when the four categories were totaled, they gave the total amount of coverage of the Cyprus crisis for each of the two newspapers.

It should be noted that the two newspapers were not of the same size. That is, total available space was not the same in the two newspapers. Cumhuriyet had eight pages with eight 21-inch columns per page. To Vima had varying numbers of pages with eight 23-inch columns per page. For this reason, in order to make valid comparisons between the two newspapers, all column-inch measurements for all categories were converted into percentages of total available space in each newspaper.

In this way, when the percentage figures for the four categories were totaled, they gave the total percentage of the Cyprus crisis coverage, for each of the two newspapers.

These percentage figures, not the column-inch totals, were utilized in making the following comparisons between the two newspapers:

1. Comparison of percentages of hard news related to the Cyprus crisis, appearing in the two newspapers, was made to test the first hypothesis.

2. Comparison of percentages of soft news related to the Cyprus crisis, appearing in the two newspapers, was made to test the second hypothesis.

3. Comparison of percentages of editorials related to the Cyprus crisis, appearing in the two newspapers, was made to test the third hypothesis.

4. Comparison of percentages of illustrations related to the Cyprus crisis, appearing in the two newspapers, was made to test the fourth hypothesis.

5. Comparison of percentages of total coverage of the Cyprus crisis by each of the two newspapers was made to test the fifth hypothesis.

Each of the four categories--hard news, soft news, editorials, illustrations--were studied chronologically. Tables were prepared to illustrate the comparisons.

Limitations

This study is limited to one Turkish newspaper, Cumhuriyet, and one Greek newspaper, To Vima. All issues of the Turkish newspaper for the forty-seven-day period were studied. To Vima is not published on Mondays. Furthermore, two issues of the Greek newspaper were unobtainable. For these reasons, the issues of the two newspapers studied were not equal in number.

This study was limited by the fact that it sought to determine and compare the amount of material on the Cyprus crisis that appeared in the two newspapers over the period of study, without actually comparing the quality or tone of the contents.

Organization of the Study

Chapter II of this study is a quantitative analysis and comparison of hard-news articles related to the Cyprus crisis, appearing in the two newspapers; Chapter III compares soft-news coverage; Chapter IV compares the amount of editorial articles touching on the crisis, in the two newspapers; Chapter V compares the proportions of illustrations on the crisis to total available space in the two newspapers; Chapter VI analyzes and compares total coverage given to the crisis by the two newspapers; observations and conclusions are presented in Chapter VII.

Brief accounts of the nature of hard-news, soft-news, and editorial articles related to the crisis and appearing in the two newspapers over the period under study are included in Chapters II, III, and IV, respectively.

CHAPTER II

QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS AND COMPARISON OF HARD-NEWS COVERAGE OF THE CYPRUS CRISIS BY CUMHURIYET AND TO VIMA

The most important events during the 1974 crisis were the Greek-inspired coup on the island; military intervention on the part of Turkey; the holding of peace talks in Geneva, which produced no results; and further Turkish military moves on the island, which led to the de facto partition of Cyprus into Turkish-Cypriot and Greek-Cypriot zones.

On July 15, 1974, the Cypriot government of Archbishop Makarios was overthrown by the Greek-trained national guard.

The next day, Cumhuriyet reported, "Greece announced a Greek republic on Cyprus" in its top story on page one. On the same day, the Turkish newspaper ran eleven hard-news articles related to the crisis, devoting a total of 197.5 column inches to the coverage of the coup and its impact on Turkey.

On the same day, To Vima had one hard-news article with 63.5 column inches, headed, "The government was overthrown in Cyprus yesterday." The Greek newspaper reported announcements by the new administration in Cyprus.

For the next three days, the Turkish newspaper had the following main headlines on its first page: "England asked Greece to withdraw the instigators of the coup"; "Ecevit¹ met

¹Turkish Premier

with Wilson² in London"; and "We [Turkey] allowed 24 hours for a peaceful solution." The headlines in the Greek newspaper during the same three days were, "A new government was formed yesterday in Cyprus"; "Nicosia³ airport opens tomorrow"; and "The new government in Cyprus announces its policy."

During the early hours of July 20, Turkish troops landed on Cyprus. Cumhuriyet reported, "The Turkish army in Cyprus" and ran ten hard-news articles related to the events, totaling 219.5 column inches. To Vima did not report the military intervention that day. Its main headline read, "After Athens, Mr. Cisco⁴ goes to Ankara," and the three hard-news articles (38.0 column inches) it ran related to the crisis were mostly concerned with political moves to solve the crisis that had started four days earlier.

On July 21, To Vima, for the first time, devoted all of its first page to the Cyprus crisis. A two-line banner headline read, "Greeks in Cyprus fight the invaders!" Twelve hard-news articles related to the crisis appeared that day in the Greek newspaper--a total of 249.5 column inches.

On the same day, Cumhuriyet printed eleven hard-news articles related to the crisis, totaling 374.5 column inches. The main headline read, "Our army in control of the situation in Cyprus."

²British Premier

³Capital of Cyprus

⁴United States Undersecretary of State

Cumhuriyet reported a cease-fire on the island on July 22, and added, "We [Turkey] bombed a Greek invading force." To Vima did not circulate that day, but on July 23, it, too, reported a cease-fire on the island, while Cumhuriyet repeated the previous day's headline about the cease-fire and added, "The military operation ended in success."

On July 23, the military junta in Greece made history by turning over the government to civilians. Constantine Karamanlis, a former prime minister, was summoned from France to head the new government. To Vima's main headline, the next day, read, "Civilian government under Mr. Karamanlis." Cumhuriyet reported the news of the change, "Greece returns to civilian rule," but its main hard-news reportage was devoted to the Cyprus crisis: twenty hard-news articles totaling 264.0 column inches.

The peace talks, aimed at finding a solution to the crisis, started on July 25. Turkey, Greece, and Great Britain sent their foreign ministers to Geneva in order to seek an agreement on the Cyprus problem.

Two rounds of talks took place in Geneva, with no eventual agreement, although on July 31 both newspapers reported that the parties had reached a tentative agreement. Cumhuriyet reported, "Our military victory in Cyprus was verified yesterday in Geneva." To Vima's main page-one headline read, "Agreement in Geneva."

The second round of Geneva talks lasted until August 13. During that period Cumhuriyet's main page-one articles reported on the talks and on the Turkish government's attitude on the Cyprus

situation. During the same period, To Vima's hard-news coverage was divided between the Geneva talks and the political situation in Greece.

On August 9, both newspapers' main headlines were about the resignation of President Richard M. Nixon of the United States. Both read, "Nixon resigned."

On August 13, Cumhuriyet warned, "We [Turkey] said our last word in Geneva," while To Vima reported, "British formula and Turkish plans for Cyprus."

The next day, Turkey started its second military operation in Cyprus, expanding the Turkish-controlled area until about 40 per cent of the island was under control of the Turkish army.

On August 14, Cumhuriyet printed a late edition reporting in a 96-point banner headline, "Our army advances in Cyprus." To Vima's main headline read, "Greece warns the five great powers." The Greek newspaper did not have a late edition to report on the Turkish military moves.

On August 15, To Vima's 2-1/2-line banner headline read, "General approval for [Greece's] pulling out of NATO." Cumhuriyet briefly reported on the Greek government's decision to pull out of NATO, but its main headline was, "Our armed forces are entering Magosa."⁵ That day, Cumhuriyet and To Vima each had ten hard-news articles on the crisis (320.5 and 291.0 column inches, respectively).

⁵Port City in Cyprus; also known as Farmagusta.

The second Turkish military operation on Cyprus ended on August 17, when a cease-fire went into effect.

On August 18, Cumhuriyet wrote, "40 per cent of Cyprus under our control." The Greek newspaper said the Turks were violating the cease-fire.

From that day, until the end of the period under study, August 31, the two newspapers reported on various facets of the Cyprus crisis, the most important of which was the assassination of the United States ambassador to Cyprus. On August 20, Cumhuriyet reported in its main page-one headline, "The Greeks killed the American ambassador." To Vima had a smaller headline reading, "All condemn the assassination of the U.S. ambassador to Nicosia."

On the following days, Cumhuriyet's main hard-news articles reported Greek-Cypriot atrocities against Turkish-Cypriots; the unwillingness of Greece to participate in renewed peace talks; the exchange of prisoners on Cyprus; the decision of Greek-Cypriots to engage in guerrilla warfare against the Turkish army in Cyprus; the killing by Greek-Cypriots of a Turkish news agency correspondent in Cyprus; and the views of the Turkish government for a permanent solution to the crisis.

During the same period, To Vima's main page-one stories were mostly concerned with Greece's internal affairs; but the Greek newspaper also gave top priority to news about the United States and Soviet formulas for a solution to the crisis, to the views of the Greek government on the crisis, and to the assassination attempt on the Greek-Cypriot Socialist Party leader on August 30.

During the forty-seven-day period under study, Cumhuriyet published 429 hard-news articles related to the Cyprus crisis. This represented a total of 8,890.0 column inches, or 14.1 per cent of the total available space.⁶ Of this total, 3,032.0 column inches, or 4.8 per cent of total available space, were devoted to news from Cyprus and 5,858.0 column inches, or 9.3 per cent of total available space, were devoted to news about Cyprus. To Vima, in thirty-nine issues published over the same period, had 278 hard-news articles. This represented a total of 5,802.5 column inches, or 10.0 per cent of total available space. Of this total, 1,951.5 column inches, or 3.4 per cent of total available space, were devoted to news from Cyprus and 3,851.0 column inches, or 6.7 per cent of total available space, were devoted to news about Cyprus (See Tables I, II).

TABLE I

NUMBER OF HARD-NEWS ARTICLES RELATED TO THE
CYPRUS CRISIS IN CUMHURIYET AND TO VIMA

	<u>Cumhuriyet</u> ¹	<u>To Vima</u>
Total number of hard-news articles	429	278
Number of hard-news articles in an average issue (approximation)	9	7

⁶All column-inch totals were measured to the nearest half inch; all percentages were calculated to one decimal place.

TABLE II

AMOUNT AND PERCENTAGE OF HARD NEWS RELATED TO THE CYPRUS
CRISIS IN ALL ISSUES OF CUMHURIYET AND TO VIMA

	<u>Cumhuriyet</u>		<u>To Vima</u>	
	Column Inches	Percentage of Total	Column Inches	Percentage of Total
News from Cyprus	3,032.0	4.8	1,951.5	3.4
News about Cyprus	5,858.0	9.3	3,851.0	6.7
Total hard news	8,890.0	14.1	5,802.5	10.1

In an average issue Cumhuriyet had nine hard-news articles on the crisis, totaling 189.0 column inches, of which 64.5 column inches were devoted to news from Cyprus and 124.5 column inches were devoted to news about Cyprus. To Vima's average issue had seven hard-news articles on the crisis, totaling 148.5 column inches, of which 50.0 inches were devoted to news from Cyprus and 98.5 column inches were devoted to news about Cyprus (See Tables I, III).

TABLE III

AMOUNT AND PERCENTAGE OF HARD NEWS RELATED TO THE CYPRUS CRISIS
IN AVERAGE ISSUES OF CUMHURIYET AND TO VIMA

	<u>Cumhuriyet</u>		<u>To Vima</u>	
	Column Inches	Percentage of Total	Column Inches	Percentage of Total
News from Cyprus	64.5	4.5	50.0	3.4
News about Cyprus	124.5	9.3	98.5	6.7
Total hard news in an average issue	187.0	14.1	148.5	10.1

The results support the first hypothesis that Cumhuriyet devoted a greater portion of its space to hard-news articles on the Cyprus crisis than did To Vima. Cumhuriyet devoted 14.1 per cent of its total available space to hard news on the crisis in the issues studied, while To Vima's proportion of hard news on the crisis was less (10.1 per cent of total available space). This means that Cumhuriyet devoted 39 per cent more of its proportionate space to hard news on the crisis than did To Vima. The ratio of Cumhuriyet's proportion of hard news on the crisis to that of To Vima is about 1.4:1.

The data that led to the results that support the first hypothesis were obtained by measuring the lengths of hard-news articles in the two newspapers, measuring only body type and headlines, and not illustrations. When the amount of space occupied by illustrations (photographs, cartoons, and maps) accompanying hard-news articles is included in the totals, the hypothesis is again supported. Measuring hard-news articles as a total of body type plus headlines and illustrations, the following results were obtained:

Cumhuriyet devoted 9,809.5 column inches, or 15.5 percent of total available space, to hard-news articles on the crisis. Of this total, 3,744.0 column inches, or 6.0 per cent of total available space, were devoted to news from Cyprus and 6,065.5 column inches, or 9.6 per cent of total available space, were devoted to news about Cyprus. To Vima devoted 6,759.0 column inches, or 11.8 per cent of total available space, to hard-news articles on the crisis. Of this total, 2,282.5 column inches, or 4.0 per cent of total available space, were devoted to news from Cyprus and 4,476.5 column inches, or 7.8 per cent of total available space, were devoted to news about Cyprus (See Table IV).

TABLE IV

AMOUNT AND PERCENTAGE OF HARD NEWS RELATED TO THE CYPRUS
CRISIS IN ALL ISSUES OF CUMHURIYET AND TO VIMA
(ILLUSTRATIONS INCLUDED)

	<u>Cumhuriyet</u>		<u>To Vima</u>	
	Column Inches	Percentage of Total	Column Inches	Percentage of Total
News from Cyprus	3,744.0	6.0	2,282.5	4.0
News about Cyprus	6,065.5	9.6	4,476.5	7.8
Total hard news	9,809.5	15.6	6,759.0	11.8

In an average issue, Cumhuriyet had 208.5 column inches of hard-news articles on the crisis, of which 79.5 column inches were devoted to news from Cyprus and 129.0 column inches were devoted to news about Cyprus. To Vima's average issue had 173.0 column inches of hard-news articles on the crisis, of which 58.5 column inches were devoted to news from Cyprus and 114.5 column inches were devoted to news about Cyprus (See Table V).

TABLE V

AMOUNT AND PERCENTAGE OF HARD NEWS RELATED TO THE CYPRUS CRISIS
IN AVERAGE ISSUES OF CUMHURIYET AND TO VIMA
(ILLUSTRATIONS INCLUDED)

	<u>Cumhuriyet</u>		<u>To Vima</u>	
	Column Inches	Percentage of Total	Column Inches	Percentage of Total
News from Cyprus	79.5	6.0	58.5	4.0
News about Cyprus	129.0	9.6	114.5	7.8
Total hard news in an average issue	208.5	15.6	173.0	11.8

These results also support the first hypothesis. Cumhuriyet's proportion (15.6 per cent) of hard news on the crisis was greater, by roughly 32 per cent, than To Vima's proportion (11.8 per cent).

CHAPTER III

QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS AND COMPARISON OF SOFT-NEWS COVERAGE OF THE CYPRUS CRISIS BY CUMHURIYET AND TO VIMA

From the day of the coup in Cyprus until the Turkish military intervention (July 15-20), Cumhuriyet had little soft-news coverage of the crisis. The longest feature stories on the crisis published in the newspaper during this six-day period were about the previous events that had led to the overthrow of the government in Cyprus. During this period To Vima had no soft-news articles on the crisis.

During the first Turkish military intervention on the island (July 20-22), Cumhuriyet's soft-news stories on the crisis consisted mostly of human interest themes on the anomalies in the island republic's everyday life. Cumhuriyet ran stories on the plight of tourists in Cyprus, caught in the midst of a major crisis, and on reminiscences of Turkish soldiers who participated in the military intervention.

During the same period To Vima did not publish many human interest stories related to the crisis. Rather, the Greek newspaper's soft-news articles on the crisis were more concerned with announcements by Greek social, cultural, business, and political organizations urging support for the Greek interests in Cyprus or stating a specific line of action, such as material support for Greek-Cypriots.

On July 28, Cumhuriyet started a series of seven soft-news articles titled "From the Greek coup in Cyprus to the Turkish peace operation."¹ The series, written by one of the Turkish newspaper's regular feature writers, ran through August 3.

To Vima had a few soft-news articles on the crisis during the same seven-day period. The newspaper ran parts of the diary of an American journalist who was in Cyprus during the first stages of the crisis, and profiles on Greek-Cypriot notables.

During the period of uneasy peace that lasted until the second Turkish military operation on Cyprus, Cumhuriyet published soft-news articles that touched both on the situation in Cyprus and on the impacts of the crisis on Turkey and abroad. On August 4, the Turkish newspaper ran a page-long interview story titled "The story of five days and five nights in Geneva," in which a Turkish envoy to the Geneva talks gave an account of his mission. On August 5, Cumhuriyet ran a seven-column feature story discussing British interests in Cyprus.

Another lengthy feature appeared in Cumhuriyet on August 7, rounding up the attitudes on Cyprus of Turkish governments since 1950. On August 12, a human interest story on the Turkish newspaper's last page was titled "He never hurt an ant; and now he's got this Cyprus headache." This was an interview with the Turkish premier's wife. Two feature stories on August 6 and 12 focused on the lives and hardships of Turkish-Cypriots during the crisis.

¹The Turkish military intervention on Cyprus was officially termed "peace operation."

During this period, most of To Vima's soft-news articles were on the Greeks' expressions of satisfaction with the change of regime in Greece. Nevertheless, the newspaper had some lengthy feature stories and interviews on the Cyprus crisis, but not as many as its Turkish counterpart did.

On August 4, To Vima ran a feature story about tourists returning from Cyprus titled "Bombs were blowing up everything." On August 8, a lengthy interview with Makarios was about the Archbishop's interpretation of the Geneva talks and his views on the change of regime in Greece. An interview with British Foreign Minister James Callaghan was published in To Vima on August 13, in which the British statesman talked of a "magic solution" to the crisis that would be acceptable to all parties.

During the Turkish military expansion in Cyprus (August 14-18) Cumhuriyet's soft-news articles presented varied interpretations of the worsening situation on the island republic. A page-long feature story in the August 15 issue explained the Turkish view of the reasons behind the failure of the Geneva talks. Another page-long interpretative story on August 17 rounded up the attitudes on the crisis of Turkey, Greece, and the major world powers. Still another page-long story on August 19 was devoted entirely to a dialogue with the Turkish prime minister, who presented an evaluation of the situation and outlined possible future lines of action and plans for a solution to the crisis.

During the same period, To Vima had a number of soft-news articles dealing with the attitudes of various world governments

towards the situation in Cyprus. An August 17 story titled "France supports Greece" was on the French government's favorable attitude toward Greece. The same story explained that West Germany, too, was politically supporting Greece in the Cyprus conflict. A six-column feature story on August 21 was devoted to the involvement of United States Secretary of State Henry Kissinger in the Cyprus conflict and on his attempts to settle the dispute.

To Vima also published two soft-news articles, on August 15 and 20, in which a Greek socialist leader interpreted the Cyprus situation from the standpoint that Greece was under the threat of an American-inspired plot.²

From August 22 until the end of the period under study, the Turkish newspaper's longest soft-news articles were a story on the Turkish government's plans for a solution to the crisis (August 25), human interest stories on the death of a Turkish correspondent in Cyprus³ (August 27 and 28), and a feature story on talks between Turkish-Cypriot and Greek-Cypriot leaders (August 21).

During the same period, To Vima ran a feature story on the determination of Greek-Cypriots to fight (August 22), an interpretative story on the economic conditions in Cyprus after the

²Andreas Papandreou; now head of the Panhellenic Socialist Party.

³Adem Yavuz of the ANKA news agency.

hostilities (August 24), and a feature story on the background of the July 15 coup in Cyprus (August 31).

During the forty-seven-day period under study, Cumhuriyet published 94 soft-news articles related to the Cyprus crisis, totaling 3,017.0 column inches, or 4.8 per cent of total available space. To Vima published 91 soft-news articles related to the crisis, totaling 1,612.5 column inches, or 2.8 per cent of total available space (See Tables VI, VII).

TABLE VI

NUMBER OF SOFT-NEWS ARTICLES RELATED TO THE CYPRUS CRISIS
IN CUMHURIYET AND TO VIMA

	<u>Cumhuriyet</u>	<u>To Vima</u>
Total number of soft-news articles	94	91
Number of soft-news articles in an average issue (approximation)	2	2

TABLE VII

AMOUNT AND PERCENTAGE OF SOFT NEWS RELATED TO THE CYPRUS CRISIS
IN ALL ISSUES OF CUMHURIYET AND TO VIMA

	<u>Cumhuriyet</u>		<u>To Vima</u>	
	Column Inches	Percentage of Total	Column Inches	Percentage of Total
Total soft news	3,017.0	4.8	1,612.5	2.8

In an average issue Cumhuriyet had two soft-news articles on the crisis, totaling 64.0 column inches. The average issue of To Vima, too, had two soft-news articles, totaling 41.0 column inches (See Tables VI, VIII).

TABLE VIII

AMOUNT AND PERCENTAGE OF SOFT NEWS RELATED TO THE CYPRUS CRISIS
IN AVERAGE ISSUES OF CUMHURIYET AND TO VIMA

	<u>Cumhuriyet</u>		<u>To Vima</u>	
	Column Inches	Percentage of Total	Column Inches	Percentage of Total
Average soft news	64.0	4.8	41.0	2.8

The results support the second hypothesis that Cumhuriyet devoted a greater portion of its space to soft-news articles on the Cyprus crisis than did To Vima. Cumhuriyet devoted 4.8 per cent of its total available space to soft news on the crisis in the issues studied, while To Vima's proportion of soft news on the crisis was 2.8 per cent of total available space. This means that Cumhuriyet devoted 69 per cent more of its space to soft news on the crisis than did To Vima. The ratio of Cumhuriyet's proportion of soft news on the crisis to that of To Vima is about 1.7:1.

The data that led to the results that support the second hypothesis were obtained by measuring the lengths of soft-news articles in the two newspapers, measuring only body type and headlines, and not illustrations. When the amount of space occupied by illustrations (photographs, cartoons, and maps) accompanying soft-news articles is included in the totals the hypothesis is again supported. Measuring soft-news articles as a total of body type plus headlines and illustrations, the following results were obtained.

Cumhuriyet devoted 4,122.0 column inches, or 6.5 per cent of total available space, to soft-news articles on the Cyprus crisis. To Vima devoted 1,783.5 column inches, or 3.1 per cent of total available space, to soft-news articles on the crisis (See Table IX).

TABLE IX

AMOUNT AND PERCENTAGE OF SOFT NEWS RELATED TO THE CYPRUS CRISIS IN ALL ISSUES OF CUMHURIYET AND TO VIMA (ILLUSTRATIONS INCLUDED)

	<u>Cumhuriyet</u>		<u>To Vima</u>	
	Column Inches	Percentage of Total	Column Inches	Percentage of Total
Total soft news	4,122.0	6.5	1,783.5	3.1

In an average issue Cumhuriyet had 87.5 column inches of soft-news articles on the Cyprus crisis. To Vima's average

issue had 45.5 column inches of soft-news articles on the crisis (See Table X).

TABLE X

AMOUNT AND PERCENTAGE OF SOFT NEWS RELATED TO THE CYPRUS CRISIS IN AVERAGE ISSUES OF CUMHURIYET AND TO VIMA (ILLUSTRATIONS INCLUDED)

	<u>Cumhuriyet</u>		<u>To Vima</u>	
	Column Inches	Percentages of Total	Column Inches	Percentages of Total
Average soft news	87.5	6.5	45.5	3.1

These results also support the second hypothesis, Cumhuriyet's 6.5 per cent of soft news on the crisis was greater, by roughly 109 per cent, than the 3.1 per cent of To Vima.

CHAPTER IV

QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS AND COMPARISON OF EDITORIAL COVERAGE OF THE CYPRUS CRISIS BY CUMHURIYET AND TO VIMA

Cumhuriyet did not welcome the July 15, 1974, coup in Cyprus. The newspaper warned in a July 17 editorial, "Think fast; act quickly," urging that Turkey act soon in order to prevent the situation from gaining anti-Turkish dimensions. Another Cumhuriyet editorial on the same day was titled "Turkey now has the right to intervene." During the period preceding the Turkish military intervention on Cyprus, other Cumhuriyet editorials had a similar tone: either a peaceful solution should be achieved soon, or Turkey should intervene.

In its July 21 issue Cumhuriyet welcomed the Turkish military intervention on Cyprus with editorials titled "The great duty [that that feel on Turkey to force a solution to the crisis]," "Salute! [to the Turkish intervention]," and "War for peace," meaning that Turkey had undertaken the intervention in order to achieve peace on the island. When a cease-fire went into effect on the island on July 23, a Cumhuriyet editorial analyzed the possibility of a peaceful solution to the problem.

To Vima had no editorial articles prior to the Turkish military intervention. On July 23, the first part of a three-part

editorial, titled "The wolves," appeared in the Greek newspaper. The title was directed to the Turks who, according to the writer, were responsible for the deterioration of Greek-Turkish friendship. On the same day, another Greek editorial hailed the Greek nation's willingness to defend its rights. On July 24, in an editorial, titled "United and Free," To Vima welcomed Greece's return to civilian rule and said that new government should give top priority to the Cyprus crisis.

A July 24 editorial in Cumhuriyet touched on the "difficulty of making peace," in light of what had happened in Cyprus. During the Geneva peace talks Cumhuriyet devoted editorial space to discussing and evaluating the proceedings of the negotiations. When an agreement appeared to have been reached in Geneva on July 31, Cumhuriyet's editorials were optimistic. Notable editorial headlines on that day were "The first round ended with success," and "Agreement for Cyprus." But as the talks continued without further results, the Turkish newspaper warned that time was running at Turkey's expense.

During the Geneva talks, To Vima had a few editorials on the crisis. A July 28 editorial, titled "The Cyprus tragedy," credited Archbishop Makarios with having struggled to avoid the crisis. On July 30, an editorial was on the disagreeable Turkish stand at the Geneva talks. An August 3 editorial, titled "Democracy in Greece and Cyprus," touched on the geographical, military, and political advantages that Turkey enjoyed during the crisis.

An August 4 editorial, titled "Trial of Cyprus and Hellenism,"¹ focused on the relations between Greece and Cyprus. An August 6 editorial complained of the Turks' looting of Greek stores and houses in Cyprus. An August 8 editorial, titled "The position of Greece," put forth the Greek position at the Geneva talks.

A number of editorials that were printed in foreign newspapers appeared in the pages of To Vima during this period.

The publisher of Cumhuriyet wrote "We [Turkey] are right" after the second Turkish military operation in Cyprus that took place on August 15. A number of Cumhuriyet editorials welcomed the Turkish expansion on the island with headlines such as "Continuation of the success," "A new Cyprus," and "The solution to the problem." The Turkish newspaper also published a three-part editorial (August 17-19) written by a retired Turkish general, giving insight into the historical developments leading to the 1974 Cyprus crisis.

There was no immediate editorial reaction to the second Turkish military operation in Cyprus on the part of To Vima. On August 18, an editorial titled "Turkish shovenism" attacked Turkey for adopting a bullying attitude against Greece. On the same day, another Greek editorial hailed Greece's decision to withdraw from NATO, because of her allies' apathetic standing during the crisis.

When the American ambassador to Cyprus was assassinated by Greek-Cypriots in the capital of Cyprus,² Cumhuriyet published an

¹Hellenism can be translated as "greekness."

²August 20, 1974.

editorial titled "The last murder," saying that the assassination was the latest in a long series of murders carried out by militant Greek-Cypriots. Turkey, the editorial said, was right in intervening in Cyprus, and the real aggressors were not the Turkish army but the murderous Greek-Cypriots. To Vima's editorial on the killing of the American ambassador was titled "Provocators," and said that assassination was the work of a few provocators who were also responsible for starting the crisis.

For the rest of the period under study, Cumhuriyet had several editorials touching on the future of Cyprus. On August 23, an editorial, titled "Captive journalists," attacked Greek-Cypriots for imprisoning thirteen Turkish correspondents in Cyprus. When one of the correspondents was released after being wounded and died two days later, the newspaper published several editorials condemning the "atrocious crime." A number of editorials also appeared, warning the Greek-Cypriots that if they tried to carry out their threats of waging guerrilla warfare against the Turkish army in Cyprus, they might be confronted with a third Turkish military operation on the island.

During this period To Vima published a number of editorials from foreign newspapers. There were several notable editorial articles in the newspaper: an August 22 editorial on the persons responsible for the Cyprus tragedy; an August 23 editorial on Greece's relation with NATO; an August 24 editorial on the role of the United States in the crisis; and an editorial, titled "Catharsis and the Cyprus issue," pointing out the importance of

political stability in Greece, as related to Greece's diplomatic efforts on the Cyprus crisis.

During the forty-seven-day period under study, 229 editorial articles related to the Cyprus crisis appeared in Cumhuriyet. They totaled 5,375.0 column inches, or 8.5 per cent of total available space. To Vima had 47 editorial articles related to the crisis, a total of 944.5 column inches, or 1.6 per cent of total available space (See Tables XI, XIII).

TABLE XI

NUMBER OF EDITORIAL ARTICLES RELATED TO THE CYPRUS CRISIS IN
CUMHURIYET AND TO VIMA

	<u>Cumhuriyet</u>	<u>To Vima</u>
Total number of editorial articles	229	47
Number of editorial articles in an average issue (approximation)	5	1

TABLE XII

AMOUNT AND PERCENTAGE OF EDITORIALS RELATED TO THE CYPRUS CRISIS IN
CUMHURIYET AND TO VIMA

	<u>Cumhuriyet</u>		<u>To Vima</u>	
	Column Inches	Percentages of Total	Column Inches	Percentages of Total
Total editorials	5,375.0	8.5	944.5	1.6

In an average issue Cumhuriyet had five editorial articles related to the Cyprus crisis, a total of 114.5 column inches. To Vima's average issue had one editorial related to the crisis, a total of 41.0 column inches (See Tables XI, XIII).

TABLE XIII

AMOUNT AND PERCENTAGE OF EDITORIALS RELATED TO THE CYPRUS CRISIS IN AVERAGE ISSUES OF CUMHURIYET AND TO VIMA

	<u>Cumhuriyet</u>		<u>To Vima</u>	
	Column Inches	Percentage of Total	Column Inches	Percentage of Total
Average editorials	114.5	8.5	41.0	1.6

The results support the third hypothesis that Cumhuriyet devoted a greater portion of its space to editorial articles on the Cyprus crisis than did To Vima. Cumhuriyet devoted 8.5 per cent of its total available space to editorial articles on the crisis in the issues studied, while To Vima's proportion of editorials on the crisis was much less (1.6 per cent). This means that Cumhuriyet devoted 419 per cent more of its proportionate space to editorial articles on the crisis than did To Vima. The ratio of Cumhuriyet's proportion of editorials on the crisis to that of To Vima is about 5.2:1.

Cumhuriyet's 8.5 per cent of total available space devoted to editorials on the crisis is more than five times that of To Vima's

1.6 per cent. This big difference can be attributed to the fact that the Turkish newspaper maintains a large group of regular editorial writers (two in the first page, two in the second page, one in the third page). Cumhuriyet also allows space for at least one, but generally two, articles of opinion by prominent Turks. In addition, one unsigned editorial appears in the first page of the Turkish newspaper almost daily. During the forty-seven-day period under study, most of Cumhuriyet's editorials were on the Cyprus crisis.

To Vima had two editorial writers (one in the first page, one in the second page) whose articles appeared in the Greek newspaper's page regularly. Unsigned editorials, as well as articles of opinion by prominent Greeks, also appeared in To Vima regularly. Few of the Greek newspaper's editorials were on the Cyprus crisis. Most of To Vima's editorials during the period under study were concerned with the political situation in Greece.

The data that led to the results that support the third hypothesis were obtained by measuring the lengths of editorial articles in the two newspaper, measuring only body type and headlines, and not illustrations. When the amount of space occupied by illustrations (photographs, cartoons, and maps) accompanying editorial articles is included in the totals the hypothesis is again supported. Measuring editorial articles as a total of body type plus headlines and illustrations, the following results were obtained:

Cumhuriyet devoted 5,627.5 column inches, or 8.9 per cent of total available space, to editorial articles related to the Cyprus crisis. To Vima devoted 955.0 column inches, or 1.6 per cent of total available space, to editorial articles on the crisis (See Table XIV).

TABLE XIV

AMOUNT AND PERCENTAGE OF EDITORIALS RELATED TO THE CYPRUS CRISIS
IN ALL ISSUES OF CUMHURIYET AND TO VIMA
(ILLUSTRATIONS INCLUDED)

	<u>Cumhuriyet</u>		<u>To Vima</u>	
	Column Inches	Percentage of Total	Column Inches	Percentage of Total
Total editorials	5,627.5	8.9	955.0	1.6

In an average issue Cumhuriyet had 120.0 column inches of editorials on the Cyprus crisis. To Vima's average issue had 24.5 column inches of editorials on the crisis (See Table XV).

TABLE XV

AMOUNT AND PERCENTAGE OF EDITORIALS RELATED TO THE CYPRUS CRISIS
IN AVERAGE ISSUES OF CUMHURIYET AND TO VIMA
(ILLUSTRATIONS INCLUDED)

	<u>Cumhuriyet</u>		<u>To Vima</u>	
	Column Inches	Percentage of Total	Column Inches	Percentage of Total
Average editorials	120.0	8.9	24.5	1.6

These results also support the third hypothesis. Cumhuriyet's proportion (8.9 per cent) of editorial articles on the crisis was greater, by roughly 437 per cent, than the 1.6 proportion of To Vima.

CHAPTER V

QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS AND COMPARISON OF ILLUSTRATIONS RELATED TO THE CYPRUS CRISIS IN CUMHURIYET AND TO VIMA

During the forty-seven-day period under study, Cumhuriyet published 179 illustrations (photographs, carttons, and maps) related to the Cyprus crisis, a total of 2,541.5 column inches, or 4.0 per cent of total available space. To Vima had 127 illustrations related to the crisis, a total of 1,451.5 column inches, or 2.5 per cent of total available space (See Tables XVI, XVII).

In an average issue Cumhuriyet had four illustrations on the crisis, or 54.0 column inches. To Vima had three illustrations on the crisis in an average issue, totaling 37.5 column inches (See Tables XVI, XVIII).

TABLE XVI

NUMBER OF ILLUSTRATIONS RELATED TO THE CYPRUS CRISIS IN CUMHURIYET AND TO VIMA

	<u>Cumhuriyet</u>	<u>To Vima</u>
Total number of illustrations	179	127
Number of illustrations in an average issue (approximation)	4	3

Illustrations on the Cyprus crisis, appearing in the two newspapers during the period under study, can be classified as follows:

1. Hard-news illustrations (See Tables XVII, XVIII):

Cumhuriyet published 919.5 column inches of such illustrations, accounting for 1.5 per cent of total available space. Of this total, 712.0 column inches, or 1.2 per cent of total available space, were devoted to illustrations accompanying news from Cyprus and 207.5 column inches, or 0.3 per cent of total available space, were devoted to illustrations accompanying news about Cyprus. To Vima had 956.0 column inches of such illustrations, accounting for 1.7 per cent of total available space. Of this total, 330.0 column inches, or 0.6 per cent of total available space, were devoted to illustrations accompanying news from Cyprus and 625.5 column inches, or 1.1 per cent of total available space, were devoted to illustrations accompanying news about Cyprus.

In an average issue Cumhuriyet had 19.5 column inches of hard-news illustrations (15.0 column inches of illustrations on news from Cyprus and 4.5 column inches of illustrations on news about Cyprus). To Vima's average issue had 24.5 column inches of hard-news illustrations (8.5 column inches of illustrations on news from Cyprus and 16.0 column inches of illustrations on news about Cyprus).

2. Soft-news illustrations (See Tables XVII, XVIII):

Cumhuriyet published 1,105.0 column inches of such illustrations, accounting for 1.8 per cent of total available space.

To Vima had 171.0 column inches, or 0.3 per cent of total available space.

In an average issue Cumhuriyet had 23.5 column inches of soft-news illustrations. To Vima's average issue had 4.5 column inches.

3. Editorial illustrations (See Tables XVII, XVIII):

Cumhuriyet had 252.5 column inches of such illustrations, accounting for 0.4 per cent of total available space. To Vima had 10.5 column inches, or 0.02 per cent of total available space.

In an average issue Cumhuriyet had 5.5 column inches of editorial illustrations. For To Vima this amount was found to be 0.5 column inches.

4. Illustrations standing alone (See Tables XVII, XVIII):

Cumhuriyet had a total of 264.5 column inches of such illustrations, making up 0.4 per cent of total available space. To Vima had 313.5 column inches, or 0.6 per cent of total available space.

In an average issue Cumhuriyet devoted 5.5 column inches to illustrations standing alone, and To Vima, 8.0 column inches.

TABLE XVII

AMOUNT AND PERCENTAGE OF ILLUSTRATIONS RELATED TO THE CYPRUS
CRISIS IN ALL ISSUES OF CUMHURIYET AND TO VIMA

	<u>Cumhuriyet</u>		<u>To Vima</u>	
	<u>Column Inches</u>	<u>Percentage of Total</u>	<u>Column Inches</u>	<u>Percentage of Total</u>
Illustrations on news from Cyprus	712.0	1.2	330.0	0.6
Illustrations on news about Cyprus	207.5	0.3	625.5	1.1

Hard news illustrations	919.5	1.5	956.5	1.7
Soft-news illustrations	1,105.0	1.7	171.0	0.3
Editorial illustrations	252.5	0.4	10.5	0.0
Illustrations standing alone	264.5	0.4	313.5	0.5
Total illustrations	2,542.5	4.0	1,451.5	2.5

TABLE XVIII

AMOUNT AND PERCENTAGE OF ILLUSTRATIONS RELATED TO THE CYPRUS
CRISIS IN AVERAGE ISSUES OF CUMHURIYET AND TO VIMA

	<u>Cumhuriyet</u>		<u>To Vima</u>	
	Column Inches	Percentage of Total	Column Inches	Percentage of Total
Illustrations on news from Cyprus	15.0	1.2	8.5	0.6
Illustrations on news about Cyprus	4.5	0.3	16.0	1.1
	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -
Hard-news illustrations	19.5	1.5	24.5	1.7
Soft-news illustrations	23.5	1.7	4.5	0.3
Editorial illustrations	5.5	0.4	0.5	0.0
Illustrations standing alone	5.5	0.4	8.0	0.5
Total illustrations in an average issue	54.0	4.0	37.5	2.5

Illustrations, in the context of this study, can also be classified by type (photographs, cartoons, and maps):

1. Photographs (See Tables XIX, XX, XXI):

Cumhuriyet published 144 photographs related to the Cyprus crisis, totaling 2,080.5 column inches, or 3.3 of total available space. To Vima had 117 photographs related to the crisis, totaling 1,322.5 column inches, or 2.3 per cent of total available space.

In an average issue Cumhuriyet had three photographs related to the crisis, totaling 44.5 column inches. To Vima also had three photographs, totaling 34.0 column inches.

2. Cartoons (See Tables XIX, XX, XXI):

Cumhuriyet published 28 cartoons related to the Cyprus crisis, totaling 313.5 column inches, or 0.5 per cent of total available space. To Vima had six cartoons related to the crisis, totaling 74.5 column inches.

In an average issue Cumhuriyet had one cartoon with an average length of 6.5 column inches. To Vima had none.

3. Maps (See Tables XIX, XX, XXI):

Cumhuriyet published seven maps related to the Cyprus crisis, totaling 147.5 column inches, or 0.2 per cent of total available space. To Vima had four maps, totaling 54.5 column inches, or 0.1 per cent of total available space.

In an average issue neither newspaper had any maps (average column-inch figures were 3.0 for Cumhuriyet and 1.5 for To Vima).

TABLE XIX

NUMBER OF TYPES OF ILLUSTRATIONS RELATED TO THE CYPRUS CRISIS
IN CUMHURIYET AND TO VIMA

	<u>Cumhuriyet</u>		<u>To Vima</u>	
	Total of All Issues	Average Issue	Total of All Issues	Average Issue
Photographs	144	3	117	3
Cartoons	28	1	6	0
Maps	7	0	4	0
Total illustrations	179	4	127	3

TABLE XX

AMOUNT AND PERCENTAGE OF TYPES OF ILLUSTRATIONS RELATED TO THE
CYPRUS CRISIS IN ALL ISSUES OF CUMHURIYET AND TO VIMA

	<u>Cumhuriyet</u>		<u>To Vima</u>	
	Column Inches	Percentage of Total	Column Inches	Percentage of Total
Photographs	2,080.5	3.3	1,322.5	2.3
Cartoons	313.5	0.5	74.5	0.1
Maps	147.5	0.2	54.5	0.1
Total illustrations	2,541.5	4.0	1,451.5	2.5

TABLE XXI

AMOUNT AND PERCENTAGE OF TYPES OF ILLUSTRATIONS RELATED TO THE
CYPRUS CRISIS IN AVERAGE ISSUES OF CUMHURIYET AND TO VIMA

	<u>Cumhuriyet</u>		<u>To Vima</u>	
	Column Inches	Percentage of Total	Column Inches	Percentage of Total
Photographs	44.5	3.3	34.0	2.3
Cartoons	6.5	0.5	2.0	0.1
Maps	3.0	0.2	1.5	0.1
Total illustrations in an average issue	54.0	4.0	37.5	2.5

The fourth hypothesis that Cumhuriyet devoted a greater portion of its space to illustrations related to the Cyprus crisis than did To Vima is supported by the results obtained in this study. Cumhuriyet devoted 4.0 per cent of its total available space to illustrations on the crisis, while To Vima's proportion of illustrations related to the crisis was less with 2.5 per cent. This means that Cumhuriyet devoted 59 per cent more of its proportionate space to illustrations on the crisis than did To Vima. The ratio of Cumhuriyet's proportion of illustrations on the crisis to that of To Vima is about 1.6:1.

In some subcategories To Vima did have more coverage of the crisis than Cumhuriyet. For example, To Vima had more proportionate space devoted to illustrations on news about Cyprus (1.1 per cent) than did Cumhuriyet (0.3 per cent). Also, the total percentage of hard-news illustrations on the crisis was slightly higher for To Vima (1.7 per cent) than it was for Cumhuriyet (1.5 per cent). To Vima had, proportionately, more space devoted to illustrations standing alone (0.5 per cent) than did Cumhuriyet (0.4 per cent). When the overall percentage totals were compared, it was found that Cumhuriyet had a greater proportion of its space devoted to illustrations related to the Cyprus crisis than did To Vima.

CHAPTER VI

QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS AND COMPARISON OF TOTAL COVERAGE OF THE CYPRUS CRISIS BY CUMHURIYET AND TO VIMA

In the issues studied Cumhuriyet had 429 hard-news articles, 94 soft-news articles, 229 editorial articles, and 179 illustrations that were related to the Cyprus Crisis. To Vima had 278 hard-news articles, 91 soft-news articles, 47 editorials, and 127 illustrations on the crisis (See Table XXII).

TABLE XXII

NUMBER OF NEWS ITEMS RELATED TO THE CYPRUS CRISIS IN ALL ISSUES
OF CUMHURIYET AND TO VIMA, CLASSIFIED BY TYPE OF COVERAGE

	<u>Cumhuriyet</u>	<u>To Vima</u>
Hard-news articles	429	278
Soft-news articles	94	91
Editorial articles	229	47
Illustrations	179	127

Cumhuriyet devoted 31.4 per cent of its total available space, or a total of 19,823.5 column inches, to covering of the crisis.

These totals were made up of 8,890.0 column inches, or 14.1 per cent of total available space, of hard news; 3,017.0 column inches, or 4.8 per cent of total available space, of soft news; 5,375.0 column inches, or 8.5 per cent of total available space, of editorials; and 2,541.5 column inches, or 4.0 per cent of total available space, of illustrations. To Vima devoted 17.0 per cent of its space, or 9,811.0 column inches, to covering the crisis. These totals were made up of 5,802.5 column inches, or 10.1 per cent of total available space, of ahrd news; 1,612.5 column inches, or 2.8 per cent of total available space, of soft news; 944.5 column inches, or 1.6 per cent of total available space, of editorials; and 1,451.5 column inches, or 2.5 per cent of total available space, of illustrations (See Table XXIII).

TABLE XXIII

AMOUNT AND PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL COVERAGE OF THE CYPRUS CRISIS IN ALL ISSUES OF CUMHURIYET AND TO VIMA, CLASSIFIED BY TYPE OF COVERAGE

	<u>Cumhuriyet</u>		<u>To Vima</u>	
	Column Inches	Percentage of Total	Column Inches	Percentage of Total
Hard news	8,890.0	14.1	5,802.5	10.1
Soft news	3,017.0	4.8	1,612.5	2.8
Editorials	5,375.0	8.5	944.5	1.6
Illustrations	2,541.5	4.0	1,451.5	2.5
Total coverage	19,823.5	31.4	9,811.0	17.0

In an average issue Cumhuriyet had nine hard-news articles, two soft-news articles, five editorial articles, and four illustrations on the crisis, totaling 421.5 column inches--189.0 column inches of hard news, 64.0 column inches of soft news, 114.5 column inches of editorials, and 54.0 column inches of illustrations. To Vima's average issue had seven hard-news articles, two soft-news articles, one editorial articles, and three illustrations on the crisis, totaling 251.0 column inches--148.5 column inches of hard news, 41.0 column inches of soft news, 24.0 column inches of editorials, and 37.5 column inches of illustrations (See Tables XXIV, XXV).

TABLE XXIV

NUMBER OF NEWS ITEMS RELATED TO THE CYPRUS CRISIS IN AVERAGE ISSUE OF CUMHURIYET AND TO VIMA, CLASSIFIED BY TYPE OF COVERAGE

	<u>Cumhuriyet</u>	<u>To Vima</u>
Hard-news articles	9	7
Soft-news articles	2	2
Editorial articles	5	1
Illustrations	4	3

TABLE XXV

AMOUNT AND PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL COVERAGE OF THE CYPRUS CRISIS IN
AVERAGE ISSUES OF CUMHURIYET AND TO VIMA,
CLASSIFIED BY TYPE OF COVERAGE

	<u>Cumhuriyet</u>		<u>To Vima</u>	
	Column Inches	Percentage of Total	Column Inches	Percentage of Total
Hard news	189.0	14.1	148.5	10.1
Soft news	64.0	4.8	41.0	2.8
Editorials	114.5	8.5	24.0	1.6
Illustrations	54.0	4.0	37.5	2.5
Total coverage in an average issue	421.5	31.4	251.0	17.0

The results support the fifth hypothesis that the total amount of coverage given to the 1974 Cyprus crisis by Cumhuriyet was proportionately greater than the coverage given to the crisis by To Vima. During the period studied Cumhuriyet devoted 31.4 per cent of its total available space to items related to the Cyprus crisis, while To Vima devoted only 17.0 per cent of its space to covering the crisis. This means that Cumhuriyet devoted 84 per cent more of its proportionate space to the Cyprus crisis than did To Vima; the Turkish newspaper gave 39 per cent more of its space to hard

news on the crisis, 69 per cent more to soft news, 419 per cent more to editorials, and 59 per cent more to illustrations, than did the Greek newspaper. The ratio of Cumhuriyet's proportionate coverage of the crisis to that of To Vima is about 1.8:1 (See Table XXVI).

TABLE XXVI

COMPARATIVE AMOUNTS OF COVERAGE GIVEN TO THE CYPRUS CRISIS BY CUMHURIYET AND TO VIMA

	Percentage of total		Percent greater coverage by <u>Cumhuriyet</u>
	<u>Cumhuriyet</u>	<u>To Vima</u>	
Hard news	14.1	10.1	39
Soft news	4.8	2.8	69
Editorials	8.5	1.6	419
Illustrations	4.0	2.3	59
Total coverage	31.4	17.0	84

CHAPTER VII

OBSERVATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

Observations

It was observed that Cumhuriyet allocated its space to the coverage of the Cyprus crisis as follows: 44.9 per cent of all news items related to the crisis were hard news; 15.2 per cent, soft news; 27.1 per cent, editorials; and 12.8 per cent, illustrations. To Vima's coverage of the crisis was made up of 59.2 per cent, hard news; 16.4, soft news; 9.6 per cent, editorials, and 14.8 per cent, illustrations (See Table XXVII).

TABLE XXVII

AMOUNT AND PERCENTAGE MAKEUP OF CYPRUS CRISIS COVERAGE IN CUMHURIYET
AND TO VIMA

	<u>Cumhuriyet</u>		<u>To Vima</u>	
	Total Column Inches	Percentage of Total Cyprus Crisis Coverage	Total Column Inches	Percentage of Total Cyprus Crisis Coverage
Hard news	8,890.0	44.9	5,802.5	59.2
Soft news	3,017.0	15.2	1,612.5	16.4
Editorials	5,375.0	27.1	944.5	9.6
Illustrations	2,541.5	12.8	1,451.5	14.8
Total coverage of Cyprus crisis	19,823.5	100.0	9,811.0	100.0

It is seen from Table XXVII that To Vima's hard-news articles on the crisis contributed a larger percentage to its total coverage of the crisis than did Cumhuriyet's hard-news articles. On the other hand, Cumhuriyet's editorials contributed a larger percentage to its total Cyprus crisis coverage than did To Vima's editorials. In both newspapers, soft news and illustrations had roughly similar percentages of total coverage given to the crisis.

The factor that contributed most to the difference in amount of coverage of the crisis between the two newspapers was that To Vima had very little editorial coverage of the crisis (about one-fifth of that of Cumhuriyet). The Turkish newspaper devoted all of its second page to editorials, in addition to editorial space on pages one and three. Furthermore, Cumhuriyet devoted most of its editorials, in the issues studied, to the crisis, and had as many as five editorials related to the crisis in one issue. To Vima's editorial coverage of the crisis, on the other hand, was far less than that of its Turkish counterpart.

The total available space in the forty-seven Cumhuriyet issues studied was 63,168.0 column inches.¹ For the thirty-nine To Vima issues studied this total was 57,426 column inches. An average issue of Cumhuriyet had 1,344.0 column inches of space, while To Vima's average issue had 1,472.0 column inches.

On only two days during the period studied To Vima had more coverage of the Cyprus crisis than did Cumhuriyet. On August 23,

¹Total available space was found by counting all the space in one issue (including the flag, masthead, and space given to advertising) and multiplying this by number of issues.

To Vima devoted 412.0 column inches, or 28.0 per cent of its space, to the crisis, compared to Cumhuriyet's 308.0 column inches, or 23.0 per cent of total space. And, on August 21, To Vima had 411.0 column inches, or 27.9 per cent of its space, devoted to the crisis, compared to Cumhuriyet's 354.5 column inches, or 26.4 of total space. During the rest of the period under study, Cumhuriyet had more daily coverage of the crisis than did To Vima.

The dates when Cumhuriyet had the greatest amount of coverage devoted to the crisis were August 17, with 726.5 column inches (54.1 per cent of space); July 21, with 711.0 column inches (52.9 per cent of space); and August 16, with 636.5 column inches (47.4 per cent of space).

The dates when Cumhuriyet had the least amount of coverage devoted to the crisis were August 30, with 140.0 column inches (10.4 per cent of space); August 10, with 141.0 column inches (10.5 per cent of space); and August 8, with 219.0 column inches (16.3 per cent of space).

The dates when To Vima had the greatest amount of coverage devoted to the crisis were July 23, with 374.0 column inches (33.9 per cent of space); July 21, with 478.0 column inches (32.5 per cent of space); and August 17, with 457.5 column inches (31.1 per cent of space).

The dates when To Vima had the least amount of coverage devoted to the crisis were July 16 through July 20, when the Greek

newspaper's Cyprus crisis coverage stayed below five per cent of space available in one issue.

Conclusions

The findings of this study supported hypotheses one through five.

As explained in Chapter II, hypothesis one was supported. The amount of hard news related to the Cyprus crisis was proportionately greater in the Turkish newspaper than it was in the Greek newspaper.

As explained in Chapter III, hypothesis two was supported. The amount of soft news related to the Cyprus crisis was proportionately greater in the Turkish newspaper than it was in the Greek newspaper.

As explained in Chapter IV, hypothesis three was supported. The amount of editorials related to the Cyprus crisis was proportionately greater in the Turkish newspaper than it was in the Greek newspaper.

As explained in Chapter V, hypothesis four was supported. The amount of illustrations related to the Cyprus crisis was proportionately greater in the Turkish newspaper than it was in the Greek newspaper.

As explained in Chapter VI, hypothesis five was supported. The total amount of coverage given to the 1974 Cyprus crisis by the Turkish newspaper was proportionately greater than the coverage given to the crisis by the Greek newspaper.

This study has shown that Cumhuriyet had more coverage of the 1974 Cyprus crisis than did To Vima, both in total coverage and in all different types of news items--hard news, soft news, editorials, and illustrations.

The fact that the Greek newspaper devoted less of its space to covering the Cyprus crisis than did the Turkish newspaper can be attributed to the following two factors:

1. During the first few days of the crisis Greece was still ruled by a military dictatorship, which exercised harsh controls on the Greek press. For this reason, Greek newspapers could not publish any news on the crisis, other than what the military government would permit. Consequently, the Greek press coverage of the crisis in the first few days was minimal.

2. When Greece returned to civilian rule on July 24, 1974, all press controls were abolished and freedom of the press was restored. During the remainder of the period studied, the Greek newspaper gave more coverage to the crisis than it did under the dictatorship, but still its coverage of the crisis was not as extensive as Cumhuriyet's, because of the overwhelming amount of news material generated daily by the internal political situation in Greece.

Meanwhile, Turkey enjoyed internal political stability which produced few big news-breakers. In short, during the period studied, the Turkish newspaper had only the Cyprus issue to capitalize on, while To Vima had to report extensively both on the Cyprus crisis and on the Greek internal political situation. Consequently,

To Vima did not cover the crisis as extensively as Cumhuriyet did.

The factors assumed to be contributing to the difference in coverage of the crisis by the two newspapers could also affect the performance of Turkish and Greek newspapers in general. Nevertheless, the generalization that Turkish newspapers in general covered the 1974 Cyprus crisis more extensively than their Greek counterparts cannot be made at this point, since this study was limited to only one Turkish and one Greek newspaper.

The significance of this study lies in that it undertook, for the first time, the task of comparing the quantitative performances of a Turkish and a Greek newspaper related to an event equally important to both Turkey and Greece. Comparing the qualitative performances of specific Turkish and Greek newspapers, or comparing the performances of the Turkish and Greek press systems in general, can be suggested as topics for future studies.

It should be noted, however, that there are several problems involved in analyzing the content of foreign newspapers. It is difficult to find panels of independent judges to evaluate the content of foreign newspapers, because of the language barriers involved. Also, the various word scales and formulas used in content analysis may lose their validity when applied to foreign newspapers, because of differences in semantics among languages.

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