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The Question of Identity in a Divided Media Landscape: The Case of Cyprus

by Gary GUMPERT

Professor Emeritus at the Queens College of New York, USA

and Susan J. DRUCKER

Associate Professor at the Hofstra University, USA

Bitter Lemons

In an island of bitter lemons
Where the moon's cool fevers burn
From the dark globes of the fruit,

And the dry grass underfoot
Tortures memory and revises
Habits half a lifetime dead

Better leave the rest unsaid,
Beauty, darkness, vehemence
Let the old sea-nurse keep

Their memorials of sleep
And the Greek sea's curly head
Keep its calms like tears unshed

Lawrence Durrell

Introduction

Cyprus is a communication laboratory and an anomaly. It is an island globally connected but interpersonally divided. It is a land divided by bricks, concrete, barbed wire and other barriers of all shapes and forms that compose the "Green Line" - a buffer zone between the two sides. The "Green Line" gives political and physical form to psychological division. Military operations of 1974 led to the formation of two autonomous areas and the arbitrary shifting of Turkish Cypriots to the north and the Greek Cypriots living in the north to the south. Today, the "Green Line," patrolled by U.N. peace keeping forces, is the line beyond which movement is blocked and communication severed.

The Republic of Cyprus (the Greek Cypriot government of the south) is the only internationally recognized political body on the island, while the independent government of the north remains spurned by the international community, being recognized by Turkey alone. Cyprus is an island of multiple and conflicting identities. Some citizens feel they are Cypriots, plain and simple. Others feel they are Greek Cypriots, proud of their Hellenic heritage and cultural, political and economic ties to Greece. Others assume a Turkish Cypriot identity linked to a distinct religious and linguistic background and proud of the territory in the north, a group distinct from later arriving Turkish settlers living in the independent north yet tied to Turkey. These political and economic realities confront the growing influence of the European Union, and the fact that both the Republic of Cyprus

and Turkey have been informed that they will be thwarted in their efforts to become members of that union (or at least member states of the European Economic Community) until the Cypriot situation is resolved. Both sides now publicly call for the resolution of intercommunal differences and the creation of a new federal system of government. Yet, geo-politics, non-communication and at least 22 years of anger thwart any kind of solution.

This article will provide a profile of the social and media landscape on each side of the "Green Line" taking into account interlocking media relationships with Greece or Turkey as a means of exploring Cypriot identity and nationalism in a rapidly evolving media world.

I. Background

Cyprus became an independent sovereign state in 1960 following a struggle for liberation against the British colonial rule (The Cyprus Republic, 1995). The disagreement between the Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots, can be traced back for centuries, but its contemporary conflagration point can be placed in either the 1950s or 1963 with specific outbreaks of communal strife. In the 1950s a policy of "enosis" or union with Greece was popular on the island during the struggle with the colonialism of Great Britain. British colonial rule (1878-1959) ended in 1959 with the London and Zurich agreements which culminated in Cyprus becoming an independent state, and the Republic of Cyprus declared on August 16, 1960. Hereafter, this period was marked by Greek Cypriot allegations of insurrections by Turkish Cypriot extremists and Turkish Cypriots claims that they were the victims of ethnic cleaning and atrocities at the hands of a terrorist group (Ioannides, 1991). After 1953 tensions had intensified and on March 4, 1964 the UN Security Council established a Peace Keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP). On July 15, 1974 Archbishop Makarios was toppled in a coup led by the Greek military junta and five days later the Turkish army moved in. The Greek-Cypriots and the international community characterized the action as an invasion while the north and Turkey maintain this was a "Peace Operation" because it ended problems generated by enosis. The events of July and August 1974 gave the Turkish Cypriots de facto control in the north and Greek Cypriots control of the south resulting in the resettlement of Turkish-Cypriots living in the South to the north and 180,000 Greek Cypriots living in the north being sent to the south (Remember Cyprus, 1991). Many Greek-Cypriots living in the south are characterized as refugees in their own land (Remember Cyprus, 1991). In 1983 the north declared itself the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC) with Turkey the sole nation to recognize its statehood.¹ At the present time approximately 35,000

1 Turkey claimed she had the right to invade Cyprus under article IV of the Treaty of Guarantee, one of three treaties under the London-Zurich Agreements (1959-1960). Of these three treaties one established Cypriot independence from Britain, one established tripartite headquarters and authorized the presence of Greek and Turkish troops on Cyprus and one contained the ban on enosis (Treaty of Guarantee). It is this last treaty upon which the Turkish government justifies its use of force (Rossides, 1991, p. 56). Turkey became a member of the U.N. after this treaty and under article 103 of the United Nations charter and if any agreement is in conflict with the obligations of membership the U.N. charter prevails. The United Nations and legal authorities concluded that the 1974 invasion was in contravention of international law in that not only did The Treaty of Guarantee not authorize the use of force, but it would be void in any event as inconsistent with the superseding U.N. charter.

Turkish troops are stationed in the north.² Of particular note are individuals who have been missing since 1974. 1,614 Greek-Cypriot citizens including 5 Americans who were taken alive in July 1974. The United Nations passed several resolutions on the missing including support of establishment of an investigatory body and a resolution of the Human Right Commission adopted on October 3, 1981 calling for immediate cessation of attempts to settle Famagust (Varosha) until the issue of the missing was resolved (Rossides, 1991). The most recent action taken with regard to the issue of the missing was the passage of a bill signed into law by President Clinton on October 19, 1994 providing for the United States to launch an investigation into the missing U.S. citizens and others.

II. The Cyprus Problem

Since the 1974 hostilities the island has been divided into two with 60% of the island's land area governed by the Greek-Cypriot Government, 35% of the island governed by the Turkish Cypriot area and separated by the narrow UN buffer zone. The British presence remains with two UK sovereign base areas covering approximately 5% of the island's area ("Introducing Cyprus", 1995).

Viewed as an isolated, independent island, Cypriot identity and nationalism cannot be fully understood since Cyprus has been tethered to both Greece and Turkey for centuries. Cypriotness does not emerge from geography alone. Culturally, politically, linguistically and militarily, even the modern Republic of Cyprus in the South and the declared Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC) are defined by ties which determine who they were, who they are and who they are not. The Cyprus Triangle (Dentash, 1988) continues to exert great influence despite 35 years of independence of colonial status. Connections remain so strong that fear of annexation remains part of the rhetoric. ENOSIS, the idea of annexing Cyprus to Greece, while no longer popular, remains justification for the Turkish Cypriots to distrust and entrench in their position. Statements referring to "mother Greece" and calling Cyprus a "Greek island and bastion of Greece" (The Cyprus Question, 1992) exacerbate the need to emphasize the "Turkish" among Turkish Cypriots. The concept embodied by the Greek term "enosis" is countered by the Turkish word "taxim" meaning partition, the perceived antidote to enosis and the coveted aim of Turkish Cypriots (Ertug, 1995). Partition does not mean isolation since the population, military, and even postal code reflect the reality inherent in the very name "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus." While enosis has receded, to the Greek Cypriots, fear of annexation by Turkey remains (Innoides, 199). The fluttering Greek and Turkish flags are symbols of alliance and division. On one side the Greek flag always accompanies the Cypriot. On the other side, the Turkish flag is always in the foreground. Cyprus is more than "the com-

2 The past 21 years has resulted in international condemnation of Turkey and the north for a variety of human rights violations. Turkey was found to have violated United Nations Charter (articles calling for using peaceful methods for dispute resolution without resort to force. The United Nations Security Council and General Assembly passed a number of resolutions following the invasion calling upon All state to respect the sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity of Cyprus, and demanded an immediate end to foreign intervention (Rossides, 1991 or original source). Both sides publicly call for the resolution of intercommunal differences and the creation of a new federal system of government. Rauf Denktash has been president of TRNC for 13 years and Clafkos Clerides President of the south since 1993.

mon home of the Greek Cypriot community and the Turkish Cypriot community" (doc S/23780 endorsed by Security Council Res. 750, 1992).

III. People, Languages and Religions: A People Divided

Cultural identity and nationalism is obviously shaped by the composition of the population. Population figures for the island as a whole indicate a population of 730,000 as of July 1994 ("Introducing Cyprus," 1995). Approximately 78% of the population are Greek while 18% of the population is Turkish (with a remaining 4% ethnic minorities of Maronite, Armenian and other groups ("Introducing Cyprus," 1995). A distinct portion of the population is composed of Turkish settlers, estimated to be approximately 62,000 Anatolian peasants, 10,000 former Turkish military personnel and 2,000 civil servants as of 1991 (1991). With the additional 35,000 troops in the Turkish army, "it is not inconceivable to suggest that the number of settlers could be close to equally or outnumbering the Turkish-Cypriot population in the north (Ioannides, 1991). In fact, Ioannides (1991) notes that there is nothing surprising about this population transfer maintaining that this has been part of the Turkish colonization pattern dating back to 1571. Such a policy has been supported by Rauf Denktash, president of the north since 1975. Turkey's systematic policy of colonizing northern Cyprus has received little international attention, perhaps because this process has taken place under the guise of moving "seasonal workers," "tourists," and "Turkish-Cypriot immigrants returning home from Turkey" (Ioannides, 1991, p.6).

Denktash himself stated before the United Nations (in 1975) that during the EOKA movement (1954-9) an estimated 30,000 Turkish-Cypriots left the island, resettling in the United Kingdom, Australia, Canada and Turkey (Ioannides, 1991, p.4). After the events of 1974 many Greek Cypriots moved from Cyprus as well.

A. Language

Language is the medium of collective identification (de Swaan, 1991). It has been argued that an essential cultural defense takes the form of preservation of entrenched languages. Languages used on the island are divided as follows: 75% of Greek, 20% Turkish, Arabic (approximately 2,000 of the Greek-speaking Maronites), Armenian (22,740 in Cyprus) (Ethnologue, Cyprus, 1995). The use of the Greek language is particularly interesting in terms of cultural identity since it clearly underscores the strong ties to Hellenism, yet a separate Cypriotness has been maintained to a degree through the use of a dialect of Greek (Zodiates, 1995).

Further, there are many Greek words used by Turkish Cypriots although they may not mean the same for the Turkish Cypriots as for the Greek Cypriots (Ekin, 1995). Turkish settlers speak Turkish with a variety of accents that differ from the Turkish-Cypriot accent (Ioannides, 1991, p. 33). De Swaan (1991) points out that mutual intelligibility and proficiency are two key variables of mutual understanding. States and language groups have a vested interest in emphasizing some differences while glossing over others (De Swaan, 1991, p. 312). While divisions between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots pre-date the current conflict, prior to the division of the island, co-existence led to intelligibility or fluency in both Greek and Turkish despite cultural differences, a situation which is no longer the case among the generations which have grown to maturity on either side of the Green Line since the partition (Economidou, 1995). Greek and Turkish are the *official* languages of the Republic of Cyprus but English is widely spoken and is regularly

used in commerce and government (*Cyprus: the way to full EC membership*, 1993, p.4). The supercentral language (De Swaan, 1991, p. 316) of the region is English, so that the shape of bilingualism may have changed. It is historically ironic that English is becoming the lingua franca of electronic communication.

The naming of places has been a strategy used in the process of partition and identity. Greek names of virtually all villages, towns, cities and districts have been changed to Turkish names with maps reissued to reflect such changes. Cyprus notes the renaming reflected the inner logic of pan-Turkishism which significantly begun in 1969, prior to the 1974 invasion (Ioannides, 1991, p. 180). Names were not changed back to the names given these localities under the Ottoman administration but rather were given new Turkish names. Among the larger cities and towns for example, Kyrenia became Girne, Morphou -- Guzelyurt, Lapithos -- Lapta, Trikomo--Iskele (Ioannides, 1991, p. 41).

B. Religion

In a special issue of *Media, Culture and Society* (1991) focusing on boundaries and identities, issue editors Philip Schlesinger and Nancy Wood suggested "...it seems increasingly probable that conflicts will arise in which Christianity, Islam and Judaism function evermore explicitly as icons of both political identification and self-identification" (p.291). In Cyprus this is certainly true, although not a new phenomenon. The conflict between Christendom and Islam in Cyprus has been dated to the emergence of Islam in the 6th and 7th centuries which was made more permanent with the establishment of a Turkish minority dating back to the Ottoman occupation of Cyprus in 1571 when Turkish colonists and Ottoman soldiers first settled on the island ("Introducing Cyprus, people" 1995). Today, 78% of the population is Greek Orthodox, 18% Muslim, and Maronite, Armenian, Apostolic and other religions constituting 4%.

IV. Visual and Cultural Landscapes as Media

The cultural transformation process of Islamization or the Turkification of the north includes efforts to make the visual landscape conform to Muslim customs and village life. One of the Turkish army's first gestures was to convert the Church of Panagia Glykiotissa (Church of the Virgin Mary, Healer of Pain) in Kyrenia into a mosque despite the fact that there were already two mosques for invading troops to pray. Church after church has been converted into mosques, belfries replaced by minarets with loudspeakers. "The Turkification of Cyprus also meant eradicating all evidence of the history and culture of Greek Cypriots who used to inhabit the region" (Ioannides, 1991, p. 184). Greek Cypriot cemeteries have been desecrated. The *Times of London* reported on the deliberate and usually comprehensive damage found commenting that "in no village we visited was the graveyard intact" (*Flagellum Dei*, 1993). Structures, statues, symbols of Turkish culture and nationalism dot the landscape. Turkish and TRNC flags have been painted or carved into hillsides throughout the country.

The preservation of cultural heritage has been a concern of the government of the south. Perhaps as a response emphasis has been given to intellectual and artistic creation with support given to many cultural centers, museums and art. These cultural activities have been supported through government grants and the sponsorship of theatrical groups and artistic competitions ("Introducing Cyprus", 1995).

A. *The Media Landscape: A Communication Anomaly*

According to Schlesinger and Wood (1991) the interrelationship of culture, nation and communication is the key theme in the study of collective identity. The presence of the "Green Line" assumes that contact and communication can be physically severed by partition. The lines of communication were cut immediately with the conflict of 1974 as a means of fortifying new separate identities, distinct from the common "Cypriotness" shared, and often referred to, by both Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots who had lived side by side in the same village -- but with a long legacy of misunderstanding.

Climates of conflict, destructive and shattering, nevertheless help shape cultural identity. During periods of crises and conflict the questioning and defining of self and the relationship of self to others is accelerated. It is virtually impossible to remain neutral with the pressures of allegiance, welfare and sheer survival imposed from outside. In the case of Cyprus, time has begun to defuse twenty one years of division to the extent that a state of ennui has settled in with a widening communication gap defining the nature of altercation.

The communication landscape of Cyprus is not a simple smooth un-variegated plain. As a result of 100 surveys conducted in Southern Cyprus as part of a pilot project conducted in 1994, plus newspapers listing, and interviews with media representatives and government officials on both sides, patterns of media availability and reception have begun to emerge (Gumpert & Drucker, 1994). On the Southern side there are 210,000 telephones (largely open-wire and microwave radio relay). An urban and rural telephone expansion was implemented and a mobile telephone service with an area coverage of more than 90% of the island and an island-wide automatic radio-paging service are also available. As of 1992 there were 44,106 telephone subscribers in Northern Cyprus but this figure has grown according to sources representing the government of the north at the United Nations (Ertug, 1995). There are 11 AM and 8 FM states, and 1 television station in the Greek sector (Mass Media, 1991) and 5 radio stations in the Turkish sector. Ten of the Southern Cypriot radio stations can be received across the Green line in Northern Cyprus. Television signals received on the Northern side include 8 stations broadcasting in Turkish, one from the British bases in the south (SSVC) and 7 stations broadcasting in Greek (including PIK 1, PIK 2, ET 1 from mainland Greece, LOGOS the Greek Cypriot Church broadcasts, Antenna TV, Sigma TV and LTV). To date 100 surveys have been conducted on media use in Southern Cyprus as part of our pilot project and we are in the process of attempting to arrange to replicate the study in the north. Information is currently not available on how much time is spent in listening to and watching oppositional radio and television programs. Satellite earth stations include one Atlantic Ocean INTELSAT, one Indian Ocean INTELSAT and a EUTELSAT earth station with international service by tropospheric scatter and 3 submarine cables as well as Internet access on both sides (Mass Media, 1991).

But with all of this availability, the citizens on opposite sides of the "Green Line" are nevertheless barred from communicating with each other. Mail between the North and South is exchanged only between Post Office Officials at the checkpoint set up by the United Nations Peacekeeping forces at the Ledra Palace. The U.N. now provides a switchboard through which one may, after answering questions of an operator, make connection with the other side, but according to Gustave Feissel, Assistant Secretary General of the United Nations and Chief of the Mission U.N. Operation in Cyprus (personal communication, 6 July, 1995) few calls

are made as "the average person has no reason to call." The fact that a log is kept and calls are not made anonymously may act as a chilling effect on the use of the switchboard on either side of the Green Line.

Any communication analysis of either side must account for the interlocking media relationships which exist between Greece or Turkey. While there are major linguistic divisions, exacerbated over time, the citizens on both sides of the "Green Line" have a great deal of mass media information and entertainment available (particularly of American origin) and can listen to and watch each other's radio and television programming. But with all of this availability, the citizens on opposite sides of the "Green Line" are nevertheless barred from communicating with each other on an interpersonal basis.

Officially sanctioned and formal efforts have been made at interpersonal dispute resolution (as distinct from geo-political negotiation). Over the past several years an international group of experts on conflict resolution have held sessions in the Ledra Palace checkpoint under the watchful eye of the United Nations peace-keeping forces. Clearly, there is some recognition that informal social contacts and relationships among citizens from each side is necessary, aside from formal state interaction. Use of "controlled communication" in these workshops reveal that each side provided narratives of different histories of Cyprus and their people. Reports indicate a "coming together" with participants opening up, sharing their mutual feelings of loss and separation from the entirety of their Cypriot heritage but the feelings are not reported as having been sustained long beyond the formal and arguable artificial meeting (Hadjipaulou-Trigeorgis, 1994). Informal, unplanned and serendipitous interaction has been cut off.

Telephone penetration has increased dramatically in the last few years. All of the subjects interviewed had telephones. Many owned answering machines. But again, we have a communication anomaly. There is no telephone, telegraph, or postal connection between the north and the south. While worldwide postal service is available, mail between the north and south is barred by officials on both side of the line. Mail directed to the north must be addressed to Mersin 10 Turkey (Ertug, 1995). Postal service of an indirect nature is possible (for example: mail to the north via London and than re-posting). According to the Director of the Department of Postal Services of the Republic of Cyprus, mail will not be delivered in the south with postage stamp issued in the north by "an unrecognized entity" (Vassos Vasiliou, personal communication, July 5, 1995).

B. Internet

Rapid media developments are redefining communication opportunities through new configurations of technology. Thus the computer and modem integrate word processing, facsimile transmission, access to data banks, electronic mail, computer conferencing, bulletin boards, and chat lines. Thus, global connection is a reality and poses an interesting challenge to those who seek to disrupt communication flow. Indeed, can international communication flow ever be successfully prevented? The global Internet system is operating in both Southern and Northern Cyprus and scholars can communicate with the University of Cyprus (in the South) and Eastern Mediterranean University (in the North) via Internet. Yet the extent to which Internet is being used by scholars, businesses and private individuals is not known. According to Yianni Laouri of the Cyprus Neuroscience & Technology Institute in the south a single Internet node is operating under the auspices of the University of Cyprus (personal communication, August 31, 1995). As of late

1995 a second node under the operation of the Cyprus Telecommunication Authority is being planned, but implementation is complicated because of economic and political issues (Philippos Vatiliotis, personal communication, July 5, 1995). Because the north has Internet access a range of new interpersonal communication opportunities, previously unavailable and currently unregulated, emerge.

At this time one group in the south is promoting project "Pythagoras" which includes the development of a bicomunal Internet node.

Our VISION is to empower the people of both communities in Cyprus to assume responsibility in coming closer together, working together and appreciating each other's culture by increasing the level of knowledge on all matters through computerized communications that will allow interaction between people working on the same problem, archiving and searching of data as well as sending and receiving of electronic messages (Project Phythagoras, 1995).

The Internet system is operating in both Southern and Northern Cyprus and scholars can communicate with the University of Cyprus via Internet, yet the extent to which Internet is being used by scholars, businesses and private individuals is not known. Significantly, such technological developments are inevitable and probably of a nature that regulation of such transmission would be extremely difficult, since the means of transmission are not linear. Practically, prohibitions against transmission sent or received from certain locations could be enacted and enforced since web sites and e-mail addresses are traceable but such restrictions would face formidable technical challenges. E-mail systems generally persist in recording and reporting information about the message originator. An anonymous remailer or anonymous server is a free computer service that privatizes e-mail by removing the senders e-mail address. Andre Bacard (1995) notes that a remailer strips away the real name and address in the header at the top of an e-mail and replaces this data with a dummy address and forwards the message. There are presently approximately twenty active Public remailers available on the Internet (Netsurfer Focus, 1995).³ Remailers take steps to safeguard privacy from civilian or government by forwarding messages in a timely manner, which Bacard notes should include holding for a random time before forwarding to increase difficulty in tracing messages.⁴ How secure these remailers are is debatable. The e-mail could be intercepted at a number of nodes and gateways as the e-mail message goes to or from the remailer. A hacker could break into the remailer and read messages anywhere along the transmission route. It is not impossible to determine the identity of a message originator if criminal activity justifies authorities seeking the identity of the sender. This was illustrated by a case in February 1995 in which the Church of Scientology was able to obtain the identity of a remailer service by filing a criminal complaint through Interpol (Netsurfer Focus, 1995).

³ Bacard (1995) notes that remailers tend to come and go as they are labor intensive to maintain and produce no revenues. Further, he refers to the existence of private remailers which restrict users.

⁴ A popular Internet remailer is run by Johan Hesingius, President of a Helsinki, Finland company that helps businesses connect to Internet. His "an@anon.penet.fi" address is common in controversial news groups. This remailer notifies you of your anonymous address.

In defensive response officials on either side of the Green Line could criminalize electronic transmissions. "Hard core privacy people do not trust remailers" according to Bacard who notes under circumstances where there is great concern for privacy protection programs are devised that send such messages to several remailers with only the first remailer knowing the true sender's address but not the final destination of the message. But one is left to consider what suspicions are aroused and messages sent by the very act of using a remailer within a context where traceable addresses are the norm.

To further complicate the communication landscape of this divided island the availability and production of electricity adds yet another layer of complexity since electricity and communication technologies are clearly interdependent. The Electricity Authority of Cyprus (EAC) (in the south) is a semi-autonomous government organization and is primarily responsible for electricity production. One of the power plants, Dhekelia "B", was commissioned in 1983 and additional units were added in 1993. According to authorities at the Electricity Authority of Cyprus in accordance with Government policy, the Authority continues to supply electricity uninterruptedly to the North, although it is prevented from taking meter readings and collecting dues for the electrical energy consumed in these areas. According to a spokesperson for the Electricity Authority that policy is the result of a political decision (Socrates Prodromides, personal communication, July 6, 1995). We assume that the political decision refers to the rhetorical implication that a divided electrical system legitimizes and lays the foundation for further perpetuation of division. The infrastructure of the island reflects an understanding that the island is at least a geographically defined whole so that electricity, telephones and even sewer systems are linked. The unbilled consumption during 1992 reached 380.0 million kWh valued at approximately 18.4 million (Cyprus, 1993). Maintenance requires communication between engineers on both sides. A spokesperson from the north maintains that the interruption of service, frequent brown outs and black outs are politically motivated strikes against the north and that in fact the north has recently opened its own power station and will be supplying energy to the south (Ertug, 1995).

The "Green Line," an artificial barrier erected by humans, gives testimony to a belief that ideas and words can be severed and intercepted by walls of concrete, barbed wire, and sandbags. It is an archaic notion that historically has never held up and will certainly not withstand the power of post-modern communication technology.

V. The Pressure of the European Community

Cyprus is geographically and economically European oriented. Applications have been made by The Republic of Cyprus to join the European Economic Community and more recently the renamed European Union. In August of 1970 an agreement provided the gradual abolition of trade taxes and restrictions by both sides. Ultimately the agreement was to lead to a Customs Union in two stages beginning in June 1973, but the Turkish invasion and division of the island became an impediment to Cyprus joining the European Union. The European Union expressed its condemnation about the Turkish Invasion and tried to help finding a solution about the Cyprus problem. Due to the problem the European Union expressed the intention not to continue with the Association Agreement until a solution was found. After long efforts failed to resolve the dispute, the European Union decided in 1977 that the agreement should continue with renewed nego-

tiations in 1977 leading to a new agreement in 1979 containing the following provisions: "Abolition of trade taxes almost for all Cyprus industry products exported to European Union. 24 millions ECU as a loan and 6 millions ECU as a donation from European Union to Cyprus" ("European Union and Cyprus", 1995). This lasted until 1987 when the second stage was signed in Luxembourg. This agreement set a stage which will last 15 years divided into two phases: Phase One from 1988-1998 providing for gradual abolition of trade taxes in products imported in Cyprus from European Union and the adaptation by Cyprus of the European Union's Customs Policy to third countries. Phase Two to last from 1998-2003 calls for taking all necessary actions needed for the Customs Union and eventual full membership. On July 4, 1990 the Cyprus government made an application for enrollment in the European Union. Reaction to the application was positive and in October 1993 the European Union confirmed that Cyprus would be a member of the European Union as soon as possible and reexamination of the decision date will start 6 months after the scheduled meeting of European Union members in 1996 so that the present government of The Republic of Cyprus anticipates enrollment in the European Union in 1999 or 2000 ("European Union and Cyprus", 1995). Once again the interlocking relationships of Cyprus and Greece and Turkey emerge with the resolution of the "problem" influencing the assessment of the Cypriot application and Turkey's desire for a place in the European Union linked to such a resolution as well. European Union communication policies may then be a decisive factor shaping a newly reconfigured media landscape.

Conclusion

Identity and nationalism may arise from statehood and citizenship or may precede the existence of a state and emerge from culture and ethnicity (Csepeli, 1991). Communication, face to face and mediated, interpersonal and mass, formal and informal, is at the core of the such identity formation. There was a time not so long ago that the media landscape and cultural identity were congruent. But today's electronic communication environment allows for disconnection of medium and geography. Cyprus in this regard represents the extraordinary contrast of medieval warfare functioning with a mental set of territorial control while its foreign and cross cultural identity functions in the non-geographic realm of electronic space.

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Summary: The Question of Identity in a Divided Media Landscape: The Case of Cyprus

The military operations of 1974 in Cyprus led to the formation of two autonomous areas housing Turkish Cypriots in the north and the Greek Cypriots in the south. The island is divided by the "Green Line", patrolled by U.N. peace keeping forces.

Movement is blocked and communication severed. There are multiple and conflicting Cypriot identities and feelings of nationalism ranging from pride in being Cypriots, to feelings of connection to Hellenic heritage, and cultural along with political and economic ties to Greece. A Turkish Cypriot identity linked to a distinct religious and linguistic background co-exists with Turkish settlers living in the independent north yet tied to Turkey.

This article examines the division from a communication perspective taking into account language, religion, the visual landscape and the media landscape on each side of the "Green Line" along with interlocking media landscapes with Greece or Turkey in order to explore influences shaping collective identity and nationalism.