

Towards an Ethical Hermeneutics of Journalism

Duygu Onay-Çoker

TED University (Turkey)

Abstract:

This paper applies a Ricœurian ethics in a two-fold personal/societal critique, choosing as a case study the representation of an “other” in a newspaper article. The personal critique uses a historical narrative (my own) as a window. Through it, we see hysterical stories about national enemies—in this case the Greek Cypriots—imposing themselves upon the developing consciousness of a growing child. I describe my awakening—through Ricœur’s idea of the creativity of language—from the spell of these dominant normative national narratives to the possibility of re-reading them creatively. Ricœur’s blueprint for engagement with such narrative structures holds out the promise of reading them in an ethical manner, and this is achievable through his linguistic hospitality. From there, this study, analyzing the ethical predicaments of mainstream journalism from the perspective of critical media studies, problematizes the issue of otherness in the news. The example taken up, a current Turkish newspaper article covering a Turkish Cypriot Parliamentarian’s remarks in session regarding the experiences of 1974 Cyprus, reveals how this otherization is actually constructed under the name of the journalistic profession. This essay then borrows a Ricœurian ethical perspective with a view to making news language more hospitable, repositioning both news organizations and news items alike within Ricœur’s ethical paradigm of leading a good life with and for others within just institutions. This conceptualization of the news item itself as a just institution is a change that journalists could make in order to bring the news more in line with a Ricœurian sense of ethics and away from the current dominant practices in mainstream journalism.

Keywords: otherness, narrative, Paul Ricœur, ethics, journalism, representation, Cyprus

Résumé:

L’article en question applique une éthique Ricœurienne dans le cadre d’une double critique personnelle/sociétale, en choisissant en tant qu’étude de cas, la représentation d’un “autre” dans un article de journal. La critique personnelle utilise une narration historique (la mienne) comme une fenêtre. A travers celle-ci, nous voyons des récits hystériques au sujet des ennemis nationaux—dans ce cas-ci les Chypriotes grecs—s’imposant sur la conscience en développement d’un enfant en pleine croissance. Je décris mon réveil—à travers la notion de Ricœur sur la créativité du langage—du charme de ces narratifs nationaux

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normatifs dominants à la possibilité de les relire de manière créative. L'ébauche de Ricœur pour l'engagement avec de telles structures narratives a bon espoir de les lire de manière éthique, ce qui est réalisable à travers son hospitalité langagière. De là, cette étude, qui analyse les embarras du journalisme du courant dominant du point de vue des études critiques des médias, problématise la question de l'altérité dans les nouvelles. L'exemple repris, un article de journal turc actuel couvrant les remarques d'un Parlementaire Chypriote turc en session concernant les expériences de Chypre de 1974, révèle comment cette altérisation est en réalité construite sous le vocable de la profession journalistique. Cet essai emprunte donc une perspective éthique Ricœurienne dans le but de rendre le langage des nouvelles plus hospitalière, repositionnant à la fois les organisations de presse et les articles de presse semblables dans le cadre du paradigme éthique de Ricœur afin de mener une bonne vie avec et pour les autres au sein des institutions justes. Cette conceptualisation de l'article de presse lui-même en tant qu'institution juste constitue un changement que les journalistes pourraient faire en vue de mettre les nouvelles plus en conformité avec un sens d'éthique Ricœurien et les éloigner des pratiques prépondérantes actuelles du journalisme du courant dominant.

Mots clés: altérité, narratif, Paul Ricœur, éthique, journalisme, représentation, Chypre.

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TED University (Turkey)

A narrative, 1980s Cyprus

Events are like the layers of my dresses; there are always other things beneath them. And words express other words far beyond themselves.

Mehmet, Yaşın, Yellow Amber, 2014

When I was a little girl in the early 1980s, I remember trying to fall asleep. My shoes still on, I would chew a piece of gum, lying in my mom's bedroom in Kythea/Değirmenlik, Cyprus (the Turkish part). For the two years that we lived there—despite her constant protestations—my mom simply could not convince me to take off my shoes in bed. I couldn't. I had to be ready. Ready to run away when the Greek Cypriots¹ came. And thus my reason for chewing gum: to keep my mouth busy, making it harder for me to fall asleep. But still, finally I would drift off to sleep, exhausted from waiting for my nightmare to come true.

But Greek Cypriots were not, in fact, the cause of my anxiety. The narratives were. The narratives of TV, radio, school—the dominant discourses of my childhood society—found a way to drip into my developing consciousness. Unaware of my fears of the Greek Cypriots, one time my mom took me to the Museum of Barbarism.² But the Museum of Barbarism wasn't a museum. For a child at that age, it was a crime scene. It was the home where little Turkish Cypriots like me were murdered. It showed evidence, traces of my dead peers in their mom's arms in the bloody bathtub in their home. And the horrifying impression that such an encounter leaves does not simply drift away. It remains. After our visit to the museum, taking a bath became a dreadful undertaking. But my mom never understood why, when she would call me for a bath, I would run away screaming. She didn't understand, of course, because I didn't tell her. I didn't tell anyone. I didn't tell my fears even to my closest friends, for if I talked about my fears, they might come true.

My fears were my own manifestation of Freud's uncanny, the word he used to describe something deeply familiar that has to remain hidden and secret. The intimate becomes so intimate that it becomes *strange*.³ My fears, though, were about people just like me, people who had previously lived in my house,⁴ who had used the things we found when playing in our garden, and who had led a life similar to mine and my family's. In this way, I externalized the strange and it became like Kristeva's external stranger.⁵

My friends and I did not discuss our fears but we were all scared of the Greek Cypriots and the possibility that they might come back. While playing in the garden, I remember we would go into a panic at the sound of a helicopter. Older children would go to churches to search for any Greek Cypriots hiding there. I was not so brave to look for a Greek Cypriot, though. I did

not know what a Greek Cypriot looked like and I had no intention of learning. I was just scared of them.

Later, my family and I moved back to eastern Turkey to a small town called Tatvan, near Van lake in the province of Van. At that time, there was a popular myth about a lake monster that did terrible things to people living by the lake. As it happened, we were living in a lakefront house. The monster, in my mind, was a Greek Cypriot, of course, a secret—again—that I didn't share with anyone. I don't remember how I pictured the monster but I was sure that it did all of the horrible things that a Greek Cypriot did.

At the beginning, hysterical stories about national enemies had the desired effect on me. After learning to read, the media and schools started to cultivate my fears of Greek Cypriots as the "other." And since my childhood home was a small island, where there was no other reality but the Turkish Cypriot-Greek Cypriot dichotomy, with all the attendant feelings of otherness coursing through the air,⁶ the Greek Cypriots remained my mind's predominant fear for a long time, even after we left.

Confronting the Past and the Dominant Discourse in News through Ricœurian Creativity of Language

Since then, however, just like Ricœur's historian/novelist restructuring the unfolding of events in order to accommodate a revised plot structure,⁷ as I came to learn of the suffering experienced by Greek Cypriots, a new reading of my internal recollections arose. An awareness of this "new set of facts [that claimed my] attention"—facts that existed previously but were incompatible with, and so went unnoticed by, my indoctrinated worldview—enabled me to look back and see Cyprus again as my home, and feel the desire to live there. And because I became able to see Cyprus in this way, I know and can say that I have faced my fears completely. Narratives that I have decided to consciously listen to have liberated me from these fears. As Ricœur suggests, my awareness and acceptance of narratives that were different, and even oppositional to, the dominant one that I had carried until this realization, carried me beyond the oppressive order of my existence to a more liberated and refined one.⁸ Through understanding national identity as dependent not so much on a lived-history, but rather the narratives and representations of that history, I have understood that it was not Greek Cypriots that terrified me so much as the Museum of Barbarism itself, with its constant emphasis on the ethos of war and its propagandistic fear-mongering. Representations of Greek Cypriots, and not the people themselves, were the wellspring of all my fears.

This is the story of my childhood and that of many others like me who grew up in Cyprus following the events of 1974, which divided the island into two parts. Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots could not directly interact with one another for years, and thus children like me learned the stories of the other through our parents and had them reinforced in school and by the media. Although we all were living within spitting-distance of each other, especially in the divided capital city Nicosia/Lefkoşa, many generations grew up with this division fueled by our own dominant national narratives. This paper, then, seeks to redress the radical implications of such narratives that kept me in fear for so much of my youth.

In order to do it, this study takes Ricœurian creativity of language as a baseline, which “constantly strains and stretches the laws and codes of language that regulate it.”⁹ Here Ricœur suggests that even if the order of language is replete with codes, it is also capable of creatively violating them. According to him, human creativity is always in some sense a response to a regulating order,¹⁰ and following Ricœur’s sense through imagination, I will make the established laws function creatively and subvert them in the news story I have chosen. As I will try to show, a Ricœurian sense of narrative gives the opportunity of rereading national stories through this type of creativity and suggests that “To say that narration is a recital which orders the past is not to imply that it is a conservative closure to what is new. On the contrary, narration preserves the meaning that is behind us so that we can have meaning before us.”¹¹

As understood in my story of childhood, I will also undertake here an alternative reading of history as Ricœur suggests “The implications of narration as a retelling of history are considerable, for history is not only the story of triumphant kings and heroes, of the powerful; it is also the story of the powerless and dispossessed.”¹²

As a case study¹³ for this Ricœurian reading, I have selected a text about events that took place in Cyprus in 1974. This text was published in one of Turkey’s most popular newspapers, and it is, I would suggest, an exemplar of mainstream journalism’s structural and ethical imperatives of othering. However, before we get to an analysis of the newspaper article covering the event, we must first seek to understand the construction of reality in the news (*The Dialectic Between Self and Other in the News*). Against this construction, a reading of Ricœur’s linguistic and narrative hospitality elucidates the transformative power that the event in question held—a power that, as I describe in the following section (*Scapegoating in the News*), was wholly obscured in the retelling of the event within the confines of the news article. This specific instance of journalistic malfeasance is actually connected to the problematic news values that dominate the mainstream news industry. These—negativity and elite—centrism—are dealt with in the following section (*News Values, Otherness and Objectivity*), culminating in a discussion on the elusiveness of objectivity in the news and the implications of that. To combat the structural and ethical problems in journalism, I then suggest the application of the Ricœurian tenets of “just institutions,” “the good life,” and “with and for others” to news organizations, the news in general, and news items (*Press and News as Just Institutions Providing for a Good Life with and for Others*). Taking up a Ricœurian perspective of ethical ontological translation I finally propose a hermeneutic model of linguistic hospitality, which can provide more responsible narratives in journalism that dismantle the problematic of otherness (*A Ricœurian Attempt to Rewrite the News Chosen*).

However, this essay is not a “to-do-list” to achieve a more ethical journalism, just as Ricœur does not provide a checklist for living a more just and responsible life. Rather, I seek to provide a perspective fundamentally different from that of previous theoretical studies, one that suggests a narrative understanding that doesn’t also demand a change in a media outlet’s economic or political structures and ideologies. This paper, then, is an interdisciplinary discussion that would interest both Ricœurian thinkers as well as scholars focusing on the ethics of journalism.

Narratives on Cyprus, 1974

My father says
 Love your homeland
 My homeland is divided into two
 Which part should I love?¹⁴
 Neşe Yaşın, *Love Your Homeland*

The island was divided in two in 1974 and Cypriots from both sides fled from their homes and resettled in the homes—on their nation’s side—that had just been abandoned. My aim here is not to reproduce the national discourses of any side regarding the events of 1974, but rather to call to mind the possibility of transferring stories without their becoming fossilized, and so recall the possibility of understanding shared human pain. The world is comprised of a plurality of peoples, cultures and languages, according to Ricœur; and narratives can help us transfigure the past, provided that we reread them in a critical manner. Doing so creates a space in which we may listen to the stories of various peoples, cultures and languages thoughtfully, encountering the other with empathy. With this aim, I now present narratives on the events of 1974 from both sides, consciously avoiding a reproduction of the dominant national discourses.

(Ramadan, a 47-year-old Turkish Cypriot):

About the relationship with Greek Cypriots: “[...] my friends were Greek, and sometimes when my mother had work she would leave me with a Greek Cypriot neighbor, and of course then we spoke Greek.” [...] “My mother breast-fed two or three Greek Cypriot children, meaning I have ‘milk-siblings’ who are Greek Cypriot.”

About Cyprus Talks after the events of 74: “... After every negotiation we would have hope. Eventually, that hope began to disappear, but I still have it. I’m among those who believe it’s possible to live together.”¹⁵

(A young university student Greek Cypriot):

About the Turkish Cypriots living in their house: “The people who now live in our house are very nice. They kept these photographs of my family and some valuables, like embroideries and have now given them to us (she shows them to me). I wonder if they knew that one day we would return. The family who lives in my parents’ house comes from Ayios Nikolaos of Paphos [meaning they are Cypriots]. They are very clean and have kept the house and the garden in good condition.”¹⁶

George (a 62-year-old Greek Cypriot):

About Turkish Cypriots: “We have lived together for years and there have been no problems at all. We work together, we are in each other’s coffee shops and at parties and weddings we mix.”¹⁷

This is the ever-lengthening list recounted by both sides in Cyprus. However, because these narratives are not being published by mainstream media, the entire world still considers Cyprus’s to be eternally divided. My main concern now will be a news item published by one of

the most read newspapers in Turkey and supportive of this idea of division, thus reproducing the national discourse.

The Dialectic Between Self and Other in the News

If I could only meet you one day, I'd be so happy, ever so happy
 I'm keeping all your photographs, little girl:
 Here is your birthday
 Under the mandarin tree, the cake with three candles you, in the sea with Donald Duck
 you, waving from the car your parents smiling at you and now you are smiling at me
 I'll give these pictures back to you, little girl,
 But from time to time
 All this weighs heavily on me. I'm anguished. What if they killed you during that war?¹⁸
 Mehmet Yaşın, *Don't Go Back to Kyrenia*, 2000

In the social and political sciences, critical scholars of the news production process and its occupational ideologies have considered news not as a mirror of reality, but rather as a means of constructing it. In line with these scholars, my study understands the issue from the perspective of Ricœur's philosophy, which is premised on the assumption that it is impossible to achieve objectivity regarding human existence. In other words, it is impossible for language to mirror reality. The example, which is the focus of this study, and which was published in the mainstream Turkish newspaper SÖZCÜ,¹⁹ illustrates this phenomenon. This news item covered a speech given by the Turkish Republic of North Cyprus' Deputy Doğuş Derya to the Parliament of the Turkish Republic of North Cyprus on December 18, 2014, a speech concerning the events of 1974.²⁰

Regarding the idea of the construction of reality, I would like to start from a Ricœurian sense of mediation. According to the philosopher, "The relation between language and reality, experience or the world, whatever term you like, is a dialectical one: given that the sign is not the thing, that the sign is in retreat in relation to it, language is constituted marginally, in a sense, in relation to experience and becomes for itself a spoken universe." And the relation between language and the world takes us to the possibility of there being a plurality of meanings, resonating with linguistic hospitality. In order to explain linguistic hospitality, let me begin briefly with the self and other dialectic in Ricœurian philosophy.

Ricœur explains that self is never sufficient and enough on its own, but needs and so seeks signs of meaning in the other in order to come into existence. Kearney, regarding this dynamic's ethical connotations, states that "[...] self and other is registered in Ricœur's works as both a poetic responsibility to the alterity of sense and an ethical responsibility to other sufferers and supplicants."²¹ Derya's speech, which through recalling a founding event of a common past, aims to remind us that there were people other than Turks who suffered because of the military operation through recalling a founding event of a common past, has an ethical responsibility to the sufferer other. This ethos, as a touchstone of the philosophy of Ricœur, resonates through Derya's speech for Cypriots (mostly women) as others. Derya implicitly requires us to listen to

the others' stories in order to understand the poetic responsibility to the alterity and their suffering.

Linguistic hospitality, which for Ricœur means "the pleasure of dwelling in the other's language,"²² appears here, and in the sense of listening to the others and welcoming their stories, requires an ethical translation. From this perspective, I would like to explain Derya's speech as an ethical endeavor in the context of Ricœurian ethics and its implications for hospitality, in a Ricœurian sense, through his models for the integration of identity and alterity. In my case study, Turkish Cypriot Derya's speech clearly states that "There are others who suffered apart from Turkish Cypriots. Greek Cypriots, Armenians and Maronites did as well; they became homeless and were raped." Derya's ethical speech, which is in line with Ricœurian linguistic and narrative hospitality, is about the people, particularly women of the other (Greek) side, who suffered in the 1974 military operation.

Her comments reminded the Turkish parliament that pain and suffering occurred on all sides. Considering that since 1974 there has only been a tenuous ceasefire (and not outright peace) between Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots and that negotiations are still ongoing, it is easy to recognize the significance of Derya's attempt to call the common suffering of both sides just that—*common*. Her speech concerned the silenced victims who suffered from this military operation, which she did through echoing the women—the most disadvantaged group regardless of their nations—who suffered due to events at that time. However, first of all, the compassion that was so clearly underlying her speech was not reported in this news article. The newspaper's representation of the speech, which in fact does not cover the entire speech that was given, does not take responsibility in welcoming the other, the forgotten one(s), let alone in expressing sympathy by recounting their stories, in the Ricœurian sense. Citing even one of her sentences expressing the idea that women were among those who suffered in 1974 would have clarified Derya's speech, which could then have been read as endeavoring to give voice to those silenced and/or ignored during the events of 1974.

Accepting that there were different others who were suffering, Derya's speech opens the door to differences of memories. Therefore, linguistic hospitality—"[...] taking responsibility in imagination and in sympathy, for the story of the other"²³—appears in Derya's words. Her speech reminds us that it is possible to tell stories differently—not meaning everything is relative—based on the same events, on even the founding events of any nation, which both makes stories richer and deeper and prevents these stories from becoming arrogant discourses that blind us to the "radical implications" of believing in such stories. This is in fact what Derya's speech was trying to achieve, the shattering of the Turkish national discourse of the events of 1974.

With her comment that "There are no winning sides in wars," Derya means that the suffering each side undergoes is itself an inevitable loss. She implies that without confronting this terrible event through the eyes of those who suffered, it would not be possible to forgive (without forgetting) and to create a new and peaceful future together. According to Ricœur, recounting the founding events of national history in different ways is reinforced by the exchange of cultural memories, emphasizing that "[The] unfulfilled future of the past is the major benefit that we can expect from the crossing of memories and the exchange of narratives."²⁴ Thus, the past becomes important not as a bygone—something that is over and done with—or not as a record of all that

has happened but rather as a living story that we tell others and ourselves and has meaning for us today. Stories, therefore, in Ricœurian philosophy, are the most crucial component in any movement to heal a society split by events that cause suffering, as is Cyprus today. Derya's words also remind us that the past does not mean *passed*, but rather that it lives in our memory and is made tangible through our every recounting of it. Therefore, the aim of her speech is to create a future by remembering the past in the Ricœurian sense.

Scapegoating in the news

And here we arrive at the general argument this study will advance: News is a problematic construction of reality. The specific thesis then that the study will argue for, which is merely an outgrowth of the above, is that SÖZCÜ's news article is a misrepresentation of the events surrounding Derya's speech. Correspondingly, here I argue that this news item failed its task because of two main reasons: the structural problems in the news item itself and the perception of newsworthiness in the news making process. The first pillar of my thesis: the structural problems embedded throughout this representation of Derya's speech comprise its intentional distortions and structural bias.

Regarding the former, I argue that not covering the entire speech of Derya, identifying her speech with a crisis and choosing a combative and angry photo of her, are intentional distortions of the event that occurred in the Parliament of the Turkish Republic of North Cyprus. Without any single reference to her actual statements, this story elides the speech's original subjects, victims of the military operation. In fact, she never mentions the armed forces, either Turkish or Greek, nor does she accuse any side of committing war crimes. She wants to emphasize the reality that women faced in the atmosphere of war. She avoids accusations, instead emphasizing the toll of human suffering war can take on all human beings, but especially on women, who face the possibility of murder and rape and must simultaneously shoulder the burden of protecting their family and children. Derya states that lasting peace in Cyprus is contingent on the recognition of suffering endured by women on all sides of the conflict in the truth and reconciliation commissions.²⁵ In the Ricœurian sense, peace is possible only after hearing the voices of those who have been silenced, and Derya's speech is a call to such ethical engagement with the past. Without confronting the past or ignoring the silenced people's call to be heard, living together in peace in the future will not be possible in Cyprus.

While Ricœur believes, as stated above, that recalling the past in this ethical way allows for the creation of a more harmonious future, he further stipulates that this process is contingent upon the representation of a plurality of voices. The past itself cannot be changed, but as every retelling is a reinterpretation of sorts, constructing a narrative comprised of many voices allows for a more equitable understanding of the past, and thus, a more equitable vision of the future. Exchanging memories and narratives in this way is a kind of critical rereading of a shared past, which may unlock the potencies and expectancies that the subsequent unfolding of history has forgotten or betrayed.²⁶ Transfiguring the past by expanding the narratives that shape our understanding of it makes people more hospitable and sympathetic to the other. Derya's speech clearly attempts to restructure the public's shared memory of the past by giving voice to those silenced and unearthing a new (and perhaps discomfiting) narrative that acknowledges

tremendous suffering by women on all sides of the conflict. On the other hand, instead of taking the responsibility of confronting the past, the news article—because of its intentional bias—identified the speech as a crisis, full of violence, and otherized both Derya herself and the people on whose behalf she tried to speak, as stated in this paragraph of the news:

A crisis arose on the island because the parliament of the Turkish Republic of North Cyprus' Deputy Doğuş Derya said in the general assembly that not only had Turks, but also Greek Cypriots and Armenians, suffered losses and had been raped.

The coverage of the speech elides this ethical endeavor, by sensationalizing Derya's words and effectively otherizing her and those she attempts to speak for, since her words run counter to the dominant narrative of the events. Rather than a plea for radical compassion, the news reported the speech itself as "a crisis" and by implication, Derya as a provocateur. Through the word "crisis," it reveals the hidden dominant ideology of the discourse.

Further analysis regarding the paper's intentional distortion of the event—of the headlines, banners, images and structure of the news item in regard to otherness—reveals that there are in fact two others represented in this reporting, both the deputy herself and also the disadvantaged, silenced groups of people (mostly women) whose stories the deputy reminds us of. By associating the issue in the sensationalized language of "crisis," the text presents the dominant Turkish narrative of the events as the unequivocal baseline, the primary truth against which competing narratives must combat, rather than with which to co-exist. Thus, representing Derya as the "cause of a national crisis" otherizes her by suggesting that her speech is outside the accepted historical narrative of events, and simultaneously points to an unwillingness to welcome her words and those she speaks for with a more equitable understanding.

The headlines regarding the speech demonstrate that the journal is complicit in such unethical practices. The headline of the story reads, "Shocking Words in the Turkish Republic of North Cyprus' Parliament," with the word "shocking" and "crisis" producing the same otherizing effect as "crisis" by unduly scandalizing the speech, albeit in a less inflammatory way than the aforementioned SÖZCÜ headline that proclaimed "Turkish Soldiers Are Rapists," which not only sensationalized the speech but did so through its very misrepresentation. SÖZCÜ demanded "Derya Must Apologize Immediately," presuming that she was wrong to make these remarks, upholding the dominant narrative as incapable of allowing dissenting or even pluralistic views. Should a reader peruse no further than the headlines and the accompanying photographs, he or she might simply deduce that Derya was arrogantly accusing the Turkish Military of war crimes, which of course, she was not. Thus, this reader might believe that she should indeed apologize for her incendiary words when, in fact, it is the otherizing language of news that is incendiary.

The photo accompanying the article further participates in the process of otherizing Derya. In the photo, Derya is shown in a combative posture, leaning forward with a hand raised in an oppositional gesture.²⁷ Her expression, with eyebrows crossed and teeth bared, conveys a kind of frothing anger and reinforces the notion that Derya is a dangerous assailant of the dominant narrative. The editorial implications of this photograph's inclusion in the publication are clear, as is the decision to yet again elide the stories of the very people for whom Derya speaks. Therefore, the photo chosen is an intentional distortion of the event. While there is ample photographic evidence from the 1974 events of Cypriot women enduring the very tragedy of

which Derya speaks, no single image is included here to underscore the validity of their experiences. Once again, these victims are otherized through editorial decisions, which I argue is intentional bias.

The form of the news item itself is problematic as well, and we can now analyze the second component of my argument's first pillar, regarding the article's structural bias. It is divided into two main sections: the first explains Derya's party connection and gives a three-sentence snippet of her speech, which is the only original part of her speech mentioned in the article. "There is no winning side in wars. There are others who suffered apart from Turkish Cypriots. Greek Cypriots, Armenians and Maronites did as well, became homeless and were raped." And the second section, twice as long as the first one, is formed by sources lambasting the deputy's unapproved speech. In fact, fully two-thirds of the news item is simply a regurgitation of the society's dominant narratives.

SÖZCÜ's proclamation that "Derya must apologize immediately" is intended to rectify the transgression she made—in which she allegedly slandered the entire Turkish nation. The audience reads this demand as the common sense request of the Turkish people and the wording makes it seem as though the nation is simply waiting for her apology. Similarly, the language of the heading "She has received a number of threats" further exemplifies the item's structural bias. The reporter explains neither who threatened her nor how she was threatened, rendering those who made the threats invisible. Therefore, the heading implicitly supports the common sense view that such disobedience naturally deserves to be met with intimidation.

The structural bias evident in SÖZCÜ's article reflects the tendency for the news to carry the dominant governmental, political and military discourse, ideologically unfiltered (if perhaps thoroughly unintentionally). Instead of being a voice for the voiceless, journalists prefer to give structural preference and privileged access to authoritative and institutional sources for both the definition and interpretation of events under the name of professionalism and objectivity. But in order to give voice to the silenced, in order to achieve a hospitable journalism, sympathy, understanding and empathy for the other are necessary. The absence of these qualities allows for the dominant societal viewpoint to project itself through the journal, to which it then inevitably seeks to safeguard its access.

News Values,²⁸ Otherness and Objectivity

The second pillar of this study's thesis, which concerns the problematic representation of Derya's speech, concerns the values that the news as a global institution espouses. It is these values, I argue, that promote bigotry. The two news values in particular that impinge on the construction of otherness are negativity and elite-centrism.

Regarding the former, I determine two types of negativity here. The first negativity prioritizes negative representation of the other as more newsworthy than positive portrayals. This study's SÖZCÜ article transparently exemplifies this trend, by emphasizing the crisis aspect of the story and representing Derya in an oppositional light, which starts with its photograph of her and goes on in the text with straightforward accusations against her. The other type of negativity manifests in the selection of negative examples of the events of 1974. For instance, although there have been peace talks and numerous efforts geared toward bringing Turkish

Cypriots and Greek Cypriots together through literature, music and cultural activities, audiences are not informed of these positive contributions toward realizing peace.

Both types of negativity are apparent in my example. This is not surprising, as a large part of the news narrative is reserved for crises, tension and violence. This negative discourse and representation influence the audience's reactions, perspectives and behavior about both the deputy and the people for whom she wants to speak.

The audience, however, does not recognize this negative spin, because audiences perceive news as objectively mirroring reality. Why do they? Because according to the operant professional ideology of journalism—the field that produces the news—it is possible to separate fact from opinion. This then allows reported events to be viewed as purely factual accounts of reality, a phenomenon called the “reality effect.” It is this reality effect that discourages the audience from thinking critically about news.

Negativity, as a news value, reduces the possibility for an audience to develop more positive perspectives on the other. Additionally, its preponderance adversely affects a community's ability to transfigure the past through the retelling of its stories today—which would allow for the creation of a common narrative upon which to base the future tomorrow—a goal that is hampered by the constant barrage of this grey—tinted perspective on *truth*.

Compounding this tendency toward negativity is a sibling tendency, characterized by its pull to the side in ideological matters with the powers-that-be. This news value is elite—centrism, meaning the privileging of voices of government, politics and military officials over the other. The exclusion of the voice of the other is strictly connected to this news value; since elite—centered ideas uphold the status quo, they disallow the proliferation of alternative thought, never challenge established power, and thus, do not support social change or allow the voice of the other to be heard. In my example, parliamentarians in opposition to Derya's speech accuse her of insulting The Turkish Soldier and expect an apology from her, representing the elites and the supporters of the status quo.

In general, all news values ignore the background and context of the event at hand. Catastrophic events especially are frequently represented without accompanying description of their historically complex roots. News values focus on elites, short—term issues and basic, easily digestible events. This dynamic is on full display in the news example taken up here, which supports the dominant discourse and sustains the status quo through the following actions: focusing on the crisis aspect, ignoring Derya's historical research and emphasizing a controversy. In other words, SÖZCÜ has created a basic and easygoing narrative whose purpose is to attract considerable attention. This is the direct outcome of elite—centrism. This characteristic of the journalism practiced by SÖZCÜ (in this case a useful example of widespread, mainstream journalism in Turkey), I argue, damages not only the peace talks between Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots but also affects the audience's perception of the other side, imperiling the peaceful future of the island. And because of these values, an event that is reduced from its social-historical context—its background overlooked, its short-term crisis quality exaggeratedly overemphasized—becomes newsworthy in tabloid newspapers. This is precisely what happened in my chosen example.

Analyzing the structure of the article through these salient news values, it seems the deputy's speech is manipulated by SÖZCÜ's decision to zero in on, and then repeat again and again, just two of the many sentences she uttered. Of course, the implicit argument seems cogent: using sentences from the original speech demonstrates the objectivity of the messenger (journalist and/or news org), since including original speech from the speaker conveys a seemingly pure impartiality on the part of the journalist.

I suggest, however, that there are two problems regarding objectivity here. The first one is that objectivity itself is a problematic norm of journalism (it is not possible). The second one is that so-called objectivity is not possible by citing only two sentences and ignoring the rest of the speech. Regarding the first problem, the wide acceptance of journalistic objectivity—by which journalism is understood to be characterized by impartiality, lack of prejudice and bias, and the goal of accurate reporting²⁹—causes daily journalistic routines and news production to be recognized as a technical and scientific, rather than subjective process. According to the professional ideology, journalists have to wriggle themselves out of a political identity and melt into journalism's ideology of objectivity.³⁰ In this process, journalists become neutral mediators instead of political agents with their own opinions, and audiences are recognized as consumers devoid of critical thought.

As stated before, however, a majority of journalism scholars holds that journalism does not mirror reality but rather constructs it.³¹ According to this perspective, news can be perceived as a discourse, to which journalists bring their own evaluative baggage, which excludes alternative views.³² It can thus be established that the process of selecting what the reader reads involves judgments, personal values, and prejudices.³³ As Schudson stated, "Journalists normally work with materials that real people and real events provide; but, by selecting, highlighting, framing, shading and shaping in reportage, they create an impression that the audience takes to be real."³⁴ Looking at my example from this perspective, I argue that the SÖZCÜ journalist's intentional repetition of Derya's words in the small space of the article is his/her own selection.

The effect, then, of producing journalism according to the dictates of conventionally understood objectivity—isolating and removing these two cherry-picked speech morsels from their context and thus reducing the entire speech event's multi-layered meaning to a one-dimensional narrative—is that it creates us-them binaries. These binaries put the entirety of the crimes on one side's shoulders, render investigative journalism and the use of anything but official data derived from the dominant discourse unnecessary, frame stories to make them comprehensible for the audience by removing an event's complexities, and inevitably dehumanize and/or stereotype the other. Objectivity again prevents the audience from thinking critically and questioning the original event.

And from these issues concerning objectivity arise journalism ethics' most serious problem: otherness. Since the objective news mentality perpetuates the status quo, which is constructed by the dominant discourse, it never gives a voice to the voiceless, the other, the forgotten. Therefore, objectivity itself, which is the professional ideology of journalism, is a problem.

I would like to turn here to Ricœur's postulation of the impossibility of objectivity. In Ricœur's philosophy, even the speaker in the act of speaking translates his knowledge into his language.³⁵ This gap between knowledge and language renders it impossible to transparently

mirror reality through language. In addition to this, news is mediated through the professional rules of journalism, which further distort reality; news is strictly constructed by both the professional occupation, corporate ideology and the well—established routines of journalistic practices, the underlying principles of which are widely accepted, bureaucratically organized, and ideologically structured.

This brings us to the end of the discussion of negativity, elite-centrism, and the problem of objectivity in the production of the news. I have analyzed the ethical problems of the news item, such as the negative representation of the other(s), a determined hierarchy of voices in which ideas or groups are marginalized when they do something outside of authority's discourse (represented in the SÖZCÜ article), and the structure of the news item itself. We can see that because journalists prefer representing the other(s) negatively, public recognition of them is always negative. As I have shown, instead of being a voice for the other, journalists prefer giving structural preference and privileged access to authoritative and institutional sources for the definition and interpretation of events under the name of professionalism and objectivity. But because journalism carried out under these operating assumptions restricts the ability to heal socio-historical grievances, I would argue that it becomes important to seek out alternative modes of engaging in the act of journalism. Specifically, I argue that journalism should make space for rational arguments, political struggle, and critical thinking instead of pretending to be objective.

In order to achieve a hospitable journalism, sympathy, understanding and empathy for the other are necessary. Therefore, journalists, hosting the other in the news, should be prepared to forfeit their dependence on authoritative discourses, since the mere act of giving voice to the other destabilizes this discourse. Ricœurian ethics, I suggest in the following, does not allow the marginalization of the non-institutional voices in the news.

The News Item as a Just Institution Providing for the Good Life with and for Others

Justice is the first virtue of social institutions, as truth is of systems of thought.

John Rawls

In this part, I start with two main Ricœurian arguments on justice and institutions: "living well is not limited to interpersonal relations but extends to the life of institutions" and "justice presents ethical features that are not contained in solicitude, essentially a requirement of equality."³⁶ My aim is to analyze whether SÖZCÜ and the news item I chose, as institutions, could provide equality and justice, as it is explained above, to live well in a Ricœurian sense.

Ricœur, suggesting the Aristotelian idea of justice ("The just, then, is the lawful and fair...")³⁷ emphasizes the importance of justice within institutions as "justice extends further than face to face encounters."³⁸ Regarding the institutions of the press, my argument is a simple one: justice is vital. "The idea of plurality suggests the extension of inter-human relations to all those who are left outside of the face to face encounter of an I and a you and remind us that there are third parties"³⁹ according to Ricœur, and in the case here the third party is "the silenced women" represented in the news item.⁴⁰

A fundamental feature of institutions is that they govern the apportionment of roles, tasks, and advantages or disadvantages between the members of society. Ricœur suggests that there are goods and burdens to be shared. He explains the two sides of sharing: The first one is being an equal part of an institution and the second, apportionment, is the distinction of shares assigned to each individual in the system of distribution.⁴¹ I will argue that SÖZCÜ does not have either of these sides. Regarding the first side, journalists as a part of an institution are not equal with the other journalists working in the same institution. There is a certain hierarchy between the employees and even their food courts are situated in different places. Journalists working in mainstream media (not only in SÖZCÜ but in all mainstream media organizations) are not allowed to editorialize on their own. News is always checked and edited many times by different experts before being published because of the multilayered structure of the media company. At the end of this process, the journalist writing the original news often cannot even recognize her own narrative. The mediation of the news through this multi-layered editing process through numerous departments is what is meant by the term “objective” and it is how SÖZCÜ restrains the ethical creativity of journalists.

To regard the second side of Ricœur’s sharing, apportionment, which means receiving a share, in terms of our SÖZCÜ example, is beside the point. In the representation of Derya’s speech, both she and, correspondingly, the people ignored, do not receive any share. Although “The plurality includes third parties, who will never be faces”⁴² the news item does not include any of the silenced people/third party.

Since being part and receiving a share go together, according to Ricœur,⁴³ there is no justice for the ignored, silenced women Derya speaks for. Within such institutional constraints, a journalist cannot represent the third party equally, since the journalist herself/himself is not positioned to behave as an equal with the editorial or decision-making board within the hierarchical structure of the press institution. Therefore, there is no equality either for the team working for the press institution or for the others represented in the news, as Ricœur suggested is necessary for just institutions.

When we look from a more general perspective, the apportionment of advantages and disadvantages both for the audience as third parties and press workers is not equal in press institutions in Turkey. Turkey’s media landscape is dominated by large multi-sectoral groups, which means media ownership remains concentrated in the hands of a few large and private holding companies. The government uses various forms of financial pressure to punish criticism and the press fails to cover corruption or demonstrations and protests. Therefore, censorship becomes the default response to events, protests, and bombings. Focusing on the journal I chose, SÖZCÜ—being one of the most widely read newspapers in Turkey, largely by secular and modern Turkish people—can be characterized by an immutable professional hierarchy. Working within the professional ideology of journalism as SÖZCÜ does means both that journalists are seen simply as people mirroring the reality objectively, not as political agents, and that the hierarchy between journalists is easily observable. Not to forget, the professional journalistic ideology also requires adherence to its official dogma, “objectivity.” Turning to the idea of just institutions and the associated issue of equality, it is clear that SÖZCÜ does not have a structure providing equality to working journalists, and thus perhaps does not raise the political awareness of their audience.

Finally, I want to emphasize Ricœur's ethical intention "aiming at the good life with and for others in just institutions."⁴⁴ The good life, following Socrates' dictum, is a life worth recounting. There is a direct connection between narrative and life in that life itself is a narrative, and we create the story of our lives. As explained by Ricœur "between our aim of a 'good life' and our particular choices a sort of hermeneutical circle is traced by virtue of the back-and-forth motion between the idea of the "good life" and the most important decisions of our existence."⁴⁵ Through this circle, self-interpretation, self-questioning and self-esteem become possible. The SÖZCÜ news item, quite contrarily—instead of providing an opportunity for (self-)interpretation or questioning of the events—explicitly supports the dominant discourse and shuts out the possibility of investigating voiceless others in history. The news transforms the dominant/elite voice to common sense and marginalizes Derya's voice as well.

In this context, SÖZCÜ is quite transparently not a just institution. Therefore, postulating Ricœurian just institutions, here I argue that the news item itself may be a just institution, if it is narrated through justice and equality. The structure of a news item, including its narrative's ethical features, its ability to contain solicitude and the requirement of equality for third parties should promise, I believe, a kind of justice.

The current news article itself, on the other hand, does not include the third parties, and not even the speech of a Member of the Parliament—which struggled to remind the world and her community of the sorrow of the faceless, nameless people—is represented sufficiently. Derya's speech has been reduced to 3-4 sentences and repeated. Therefore, this news item is offensive to Ricœurian philosophy. Rather, the policy of ignoring the silenced/voiceless is maintained. Derya as a voice of the other is accused and forced to be silent.

In fact, the ethical potentiality of a news item as a narrative becomes significant. In a Ricœurian manner, narratives embody plurality and flexibility, which does not mean narratives are relative and disrespectful of singularities. On the contrary, plurality means involving multiple perspectives of recounting the founding events of history; flexibility means retelling the same events in different ways. In addition to these, in the Ricœurian model of hermeneutics, "taking responsibility in imagination and sympathy for the story of the other"⁴⁶ is one of the main concerns. This ethics of hospitality gives a voice to the voiceless. Finally, transfiguring the past is one of the most important concerns of Ricœurian ethics, which calls for a recounting of historical events in a critical manner to unlock their potential power of emancipation.

Suggesting the news item as a just institution, I am not proposing to change any economic or political structures of SÖZCÜ, but rather that I experience the creation of the same news I analyze in an ethical manner through Ricœur's just institutions and linguistic hospitality, described in detail below.

A Ricœurian Attempt to Rewrite the News Chosen

Taking the Ricœurian translation ethos (in the same linguistic community) as a baseline, which reads "It is always possible to say the same thing in another way,"⁴⁷ in this section I attempt to demonstrate how one could rewrite the news article from an ethical perspective. I rewrite the possible headlines, section headers and texts through Ricœur's creativity of language. This exercise is a demonstration of a small change that journalists could make in order to bring

the news more in line with a Ricœurian sense of ethics and away from the current dominant practices in mainstream journalism. In other words, without adding extra information to the original news yet adhering to the original event, journalists could—as I do here—just apply the Ricœurian ideas to the current text. In this attempt, taking into consideration the totality of the Ricœurian context, such as narrative plurality and flexibility for welcoming otherness, transfiguring past for sharing stories, and also the main properties of his ethical aim such as leading a good life with and for others in just institutions, I rewrite the news from the headline to the text.

Headlines might be:

Debate in the Turkish Republic of North Cyprus—(Instead of: Shocking Words in Turkish Republic Of North Cyprus' Parliament: Turkish Soldiers Are Rapists)

There is no winning side in war Said Lefkosa Deputy Doğuş Derya—(Instead of: She went up to the rostrum and she said “Turkish Soldiers are rapists”)

Journalists hosting the other in the news should be prepared to forfeit their dependence on authoritative discourses, as they require the voiceless to remain voiceless, and thus, the mere act of giving voice to the other destabilizes this discourse. A Ricœurian perspective does not allow for the marginalization of the non-institutional voices in the news.

The News might be:

The parliament of Turkish Republic of North Cyprus's deputy Doğuş Derya came in for criticism saying in the general assembly that not only the Turkish side but also Greek Cypriots and Armenians had losses and were raped.

Republican Turkish Party—united nations (CTP-BG) Lefkoşa deputy Doğuş Derya gave a speech in the parliament of the Turkish Republic of North Cyprus and said that ‘There is no winning side in wars. There are others who suffered apart from Turkish Cypriots. Greek Cypriots, Armenians and Maronites had losses, became homeless and were raped.’”

(A photo in the news item would show a standard picture of Derya with the caption “Member of the Republican Turkish Party, Doğuş Derya.”)

Debates Over on 1974 Events—(Instead of: She has to apologize immediately)

Her speech was met by protests. The deputies in their tables protested at what Derya said and reacted by saying her arguments were unacceptable because Derya called Turkish soldiers rapists. After the protest the Democrat party national powers Lefkoşa Deputy Zorlu Töre went up to the rostrum and demanded that Derya apologize. Since she did not apologize, a debate over her speech erupted on social media and on the island.

Reaction and Support are together—(Instead of: She is threatened a lot of times)

The Republican Turkish Party (CTP), which she belongs to, the Socialist Democracy Party (TDP) and the Socialist Party of Cyprus (KSP) supported her. She had reactions from the Democratic Party whose president is the son of Rauf Denktaş, Serdar Denktaş and the National Union Party (UBP). Denktaş said that “Turks came to the island for Turks who were raped and killed.” Comments started on social media both against and in favor of her. Derya went to a police station in no time flat because of defamations and

threats. She filed an official complaint against the people who threatened her and posted sexist tweets about her on social media.

In addition to the photo chosen to have a more likeable representation of the first other (Doğuş Derya), a second photo should be used for women who, I argued, are second others/silenced/ignored that Derya mentioned. For instance, the women in the second photo⁴⁸ had to run away from their home because of the 1974 military operation in Cyprus. We do not know exactly who these women are, or even which side they are from. The only thing we can identify is that they were running away from their hometown with their children in a state of fear. The terror of military operation is written all over this photo. We do not see men here; we do not know what happened to them. The grief of victims running away makes us understand the seriousness of the situation. I suggest these photos should have been chosen to represent this news narrative since their content is relevant to the deputy's speech.

A Ricœurian perspective requires journalists to explore an event's background, representing its causes in detail and concentrating on their long-term results. Since reporting an event without its background is to misinterpret it, reporting requires detailed investigation into the many causes of an event instead of generalizing and exaggerating them for commercial purposes. When retrieving the past, journalists should contact people who shared this past and record all sides of this history, providing an enriched narrative through these stories' plurality and flexibility. An investigation of the past allows journalists to listen to the story of the other that forecasts the invisible effects of any event in order to make the future more peaceful. Therefore, the main points of Derya's speech, the research she conducted about the narratives of raped women should be included in this news story as well.⁴⁹

This attempt at rewriting the news may also provide an opportunity for the audience to think critically about the dominant discourse, which means the good life in the Ricœurian sense. The good life is one worth recounting and includes the power to self-question, to criticize. As an institution, rewritten news may also equalize sides, Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots without marginalizing each other.

Conclusion

In this study, looking from a critical perspective, I postulated that mainstream journalism, which supports and is supported by dominant national narratives, and its basic determiners like economy and politics, are the most important mechanisms of decision making in media institution. In addition to these, media organizations themselves, the professional ideology and ethical rules of journalism are other important determiners. Without requesting a change in them, I suggested employing the creativity of language and the possibility of news items being just institutions to rewrite the chosen news story. The intention was to hear alternative and civil witnesses instead of the dominant discourse.

This research separates itself from other Ricœurian-journalistic works through its critical perspective on the media, since this paper identifies both journalistic professionalism and its claim to objectively mirror reality as the main ethical problematical issues and then criticizes them. My aim was twofold: the first was to analyze the ethical problems of the chosen news story by focusing on its representation of otherness. The second was to suggest solutions for these

ethical problems through plurality and the flexibility of narratives, welcoming otherness, sharing stories, recounting the past and applying these ethical issues to news items. I also postulated the news item itself as a just institution by using Ricœurian ideas.

I believe Ricœur's philosophy provides an attentive ethical approach to news: by recalling and transfiguring the past, the hope of living together in the future arises, even when using the same information as in the original news. Instead of recording only the event itself like an objective mirror of reality, taking the responsibility for the other made a marked improvement. Viewed from a Ricœurian perspective, the journalist is not only responsible for reality but also for her own choice of words.

The content of Derya's speech, which gives a voice to silenced people, creates the possibility of a peaceful future together. The original news story, on the other hand, reduced the speech to a crisis. News in general, constructed by the dominant discourse, does not want to give a voice to the voiceless, the other, or the forgotten. However, the application of Ricœurian thought changes the general perspective of the representation of the other, causing the audience to think critically about the event, giving a voice to the other and informing the audience about the background of the event. Therefore, as I suggested, Ricœurian ethics has important implications for journalism ethics. Ricœur's homology between text and social action would be an important idea for further research regarding the news narrative and event through his "Meaningful action considered as a text."

- ¹ This paper uses the nomenclature Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots. However, Mehmet Yasin proposed the more culturally sensitive usage *Turkishcypriots* and *Greekcypriots*. The reason for this usage is to emphasize the distinction between the separate societies belonging to the Turks, Turkish Cypriots, Greeks and Greek Cypriots. For more information: Mehmet Yaşın, 1994, *Turkish Cypriot Poem Anthology*, İstanbul, YKY.
- ² Museum of Barbarism: A home situated in the Northern side of Cyprus, which is lovely, until you enter it. Inside there are remnants of a slayed mother and her three children, such as photographs, blood, and hair in the bathroom. In other rooms, the marks of other slayed people can be seen. According to the claims, Greek Cypriots killed Turkish Cypriot Dr. Nihat İlhan's wife, children and their guests, while Dr. İlhan was assisting childbirth of a Greek Cypriot woman at a hospital on Christmas Eve, 24 December, 1963. In the house, which was converted into a museum, all the news about this crime published in the national and international press can be seen.
- ³ Sigmund Freud, *The Uncanny*, trans. David McLintock, (London: Penguin Classics, 2003).
- ⁴ We were told that Greek Cypriots were living in our neighborhood until 1974. Our house belonged to a Greek Cypriot family that had fled the Turkish occupation. There were not only houses, but a lot of things in our neighborhood that remained from them like furniture, photographs and churches.
- ⁵ Julia Kristeva, *Strangers to Ourselves*, trans. Leon S Roudigez, (Colombia: Colombia University Press, 1991).
- ⁶ Following the Greek Military Coup, Turkish forces came to Cyprus in 1974.
- ⁷ Richard Kearney, "The Creativity of Language," Interview with Paul Ricœur. *A Ricœur Reader: Reflection and Imagination*, Edited by Bario J. Valdes, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 216-246.
- ⁸ Richard Kearney, "The Poetics of Language and Myth," Interview with Paul Ricœur. *A Ricœur Reader: Reflection and Imagination*, Edited by Bario J. Valdes, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 104.
- ⁹ Kearney, "The Poetics of Language and Myth," 106.
- ¹⁰ Kearney, "The Poetics of Language and Myth," 106.
- ¹¹ Kearney, "The Poetics of Language and Myth," 104.
- ¹² Kearney, "The Poetics of Language and Myth," 100.
- ¹³ My case study is a news item published on 11-18, 2014 in Sözcü. "Shocking Words In Turkish Republic Of North Cyprus' Parliament: Turkish Soldiers Are Rapists," 18, November, 2014. (<http://www.sozcu.com.tr/2014/gundem/kkctc-meclisinden-sok-sozler-turk-askeri-tecavuzcu-682402/>)
- ¹⁴ This poem is dedicated to the dividedness of Cyprus by Neşe Yaşın.
- ¹⁵ Rebecca Bryant, "Displacement in Cyprus," *Consequences of Civil and Military Strife*, Report 2, Life Stories: Turkish Cypriots Communities, (Cyprus: Prio Cyprus Centre, 2012), 28-29.

¹⁶ Maria Hadjipavlou, "The Crossing along the Divide: The Cypriot Experience", *The Walls Between Conflict and Peace*, ed. Alberto Gasparini, (Brill, 2017), 208-209.

¹⁷ "Love and War: The Story of Cyprus."

<https://www.litro.co.uk/2015/04/love-and-war-the-story-of-cyprus-2/>

¹⁸ This poem by Mehmet Yaşın portrays the dividedness of Cyprus. Addressing a little girl from the other side of the island, he implies that after migrating to the North or South, people have to live in each other's houses with their photos and furniture.

¹⁹ A progressive and left-leaning publication, SÖZCÜ's (the English translation is *Spokesman*) editorial ideology is grounded in the Pro-Western worldview established by the Kemalist Enlightenment, favoring modernization and secularization. The importance of choosing SÖZCÜ comes from its ideology of Western modernism.

²⁰ "Shocking Words In The Turkish Republic Of North Cyprus' Parliament", 18 November 2014, *SÖZCÜ*.
<http://www.sozcu.com.tr/2014/gundem/kkctc-meclisinden-sok-sozler-turk-askeri-tecavuzcu-682402/>

"Shocking Words in the Parliament of the Turkish Republic of North Cyprus: Turkish Soldiers Are Rapists: She went up to the rostrum and said 'Turkish soldiers are rapists'

A crisis arose on the island because the parliament of Turkish Republic of North Cyprus's deputy Doğuş Derya said in the general assembly that not only the Turkish side but also Greek Cypriots and Armenians suffered losses and were raped and killed. The Republican Turkish Party—United Forces (CTP-BG) Lefkoşa deputy Doğuş Derya gave a speech in the parliament of the Turkish Republic of North Cyprus and said that 'There is no winning side in wars. There are others who suffered apart from Turkish Cypriots. Greek Cypriots, Armenians and Maronites did as well, become homeless, had losses and were raped.'"

'She has to apologize immediately'

Her speech caused a crisis in the parliament. The deputies protested against Derya from their seats and reacted to Derya's calling Turkish soldiers 'rapists' as unacceptable. After the protest, the Democrat Party-National Forces Lefkoşa Deputy Zorlu Töre went up to the rostrum and demanded that Derya apologize. Since she did not apologize, the debate over her words erupted both on social media and throughout the island.

Derya has received many threats

The Republican Turkish Party (CTP), which she belongs to, supported her, alongside members of the Socialist Democracy Party (TDP), and the Socialist Party of Cyprus (KSP). She has faced reactions from the Democrat Party, whose president, Serdar Denktaş, is the son of Rauf Denktaş, and the National Union Party (UBP). Denktaş said that "Turks came to the island for Turks who were raped and slaughtered." Comments started on social media both against and in favor of her. Derya went to

a police station in no time flat because of defamations and threats. She filed an official complaint against the people who threatened her and posted sexist tweets about her on social media.”

- ²¹ Paul Ricœur, “Reflections on a New Ethos for Europe,” *The Hermeneutics of Action*, (London: Sage Publications, 1996), 9.
- ²² Paul Ricœur, *On Translation*, translated by Eileen Brennan, (London: Routledge, 2006), 10.
- ²³ Richard Kearney, “Paul Ricœur and Hermeneutics of Action,” *Research in Phenomenology*, 37, (2007), 12-14.
- ²⁴ Paul Ricœur, “Reflections on a New Ethos for Europe,” *The Hermeneutics of Action*, (London: Sage Publications, 1996), 8.
- ²⁵ According to the newspapers Evrensel (Turkish) and Cyprus Mail Online (Greek Cypriot), a truth commission is necessary for peace in Cyprus, and it is only in idea form for now. Yakinthou, Christalla, *Cyprus Mail Online*, “Truth Commissions as Reconciliation Roulette”, 28, August 2016. <http://cyprus-mail.com/2016/08/28/truth-commissions-reconciliation-roulette/> Accessed 29 May 2017. Karaca, Sevda. Unay, Ezgi, *Evrensel*, “Women in Cyprus taking the silent lid of” 31, January 2016. <https://www.evrensel.net/haber/271369/kibrisli-kadinlar-sessizlik-perdesini-araladi-savasta-kadinlar-tecavuz-ve-surgun-yasadi-bilin>
- ²⁶ Kearney, “Paul Ricœur and Hermeneutics of Action,” 157.
- ²⁷ “Shocking Words in Turkish Republic of North Cyprus’ Parliament: Turkish Soldiers Are Rapists.” Sozcu.com.tr
<http://www.sozcu.com.tr/2014/gundem/kkctc-meclisinden-sok-sozler-turk-askeri-tecavuzcu-682402/>
- ²⁸ News values decide which events are included or excluded in the news and therefore the decision making process of journalists is strictly connected to them. As Stuart Hall argues, millions of events occur daily in the world, but only a tiny proportion ever become viable as potential news stories (The Determination of News Photographs, 1973). Today the most accepted news values are frequency, threshold, unexpectedness, continuity, unambiguity, meaningfulness, composition, elitcentrism and negativity (Galtung and Ruge, 1965; Harcup and O’Neill, 2001).
- ²⁹ Michael Schudson, *The Sociology of News*, (New York: Norton, 2003), 33-64.
- ³⁰ This idea comes from objective—scientific journalism’s ideological underpinning of “the facts.” This factuality naturalizes the news and makes it impossible to question. The role of truth-seeking makes journalists forfeit their subjectivity like scientists. This professional perspective, as Harbers outlined, makes it possible to naturalize and legitimize the visions and interpretations of the social world that journalism provides (145). As Broersma argued, when journalism became a distinct occupation,

practices, routines, and conventions that facilitated quick and reliable production were standardized. Writing news had increasingly less to do with personal genius or literary talents, but instead became an almost industrial process (23). One of the main aims in making journalism professional is not to support journalist's institutional identity but instead to make journalists adapt to the free market.

³¹ Robert A. Hackett, "Decline of a Paradigm: Bias and Objectivity in News Media Studies", *Critical Studies in Mass Communication*, Volume 1, Number 3, (September 1984), 234.

³² Philip Schlesinger, *Putting Reality Together: BBC News*, (London: Constable, 1978), 168.

³³ Schudson, *The Sociology of News*, 33.

³⁴ Schudson, *The Sociology of News*, 2.

³⁵ Domenico Jervolino, "The Hermeneutics of The Self and Paradigm of Translation", *Translation and The Machine*, ed. Steve Berneking, Scott S Elliot, (2008), 61-73.

³⁶ Ricœur, *Oneself as Another*, 194.

³⁷ Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, trans. Robert Williams, ESQ, V2, 1129a35-b1, (London: Longmans & Green, 1879).

³⁸ Paul Ricœur, *Oneself As Another*, trans. Kathleen Blamey, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 197.

³⁹ Ricœur, *Oneself as Another*, 195.

⁴⁰ According to Ricœur, "The plurality includes third parties who will never be faces" (Ricœur, *Oneself as Another*, 195).

⁴¹ Ricœur, *Oneself as Another*, 200.

⁴² Ricœur, *Oneself as Another*, 195.

⁴³ Ricœur, *Oneself as Another*, 200.

⁴⁴ Ricœur, *Oneself as Another*, 172.

⁴⁵ Ricœur, *Oneself as Another*, 179.

⁴⁶ Ricœur, "Reflections on a New Ethos for Europe", 5-14.

⁴⁷ Ricoeur, *On Translation*, 25.

⁴⁸ "A panel will be held themed 'Bloody Noel and Turkish Cypriot's Battle for Existence.'" 10 December, 2016. [kibrishaberoku.com](http://www.kibrishaberoku.com).

<http://www.kibrishaberoku.com/gundem/ankarada-kanli-noel-ve-kibris-turk-halkinin-varolus-savasi-konu-panel-duzenlenecek/1664>

- ⁴⁹ Since the original news item does not have Derya's investigation about loss and rapes and did not get coverage of her story about the silenced people, I could not put them in the rewritten news. The rewritten news should also involve the information from truth commissions in Cyprus.