Nayia Roussou
Unpublished Thesis

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TELEVISION AND
THE CULTURAL IDENTITY OF
CYPRUS YOUTH

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
UNIVERSITY’S REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF PH.D

NAYIA ROUSSOU

JANUARY 2001
COVENTRY UNIVERSITY
TO MY FAMILY
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TELEVISION AND THE CULTURAL IDENTITY
OF CYPRUS YOUTH

- Nayia Roussou

ABSTRACT

The present thesis was begun in October 1996, with the aim of exploring the relationship between Cyprus television and aspects of the national and cultural identity of Cyprus youth.

The thesis consists of seven chapters in all, which can be summarized as follows: In the first chapter, a survey of the historical, political, and media realities in Cyprus establishes the ground for the present study, while in the second chapter, a literature review presents the writings on culture and identity, media theories and their development, with a discussion of important theoretical concepts and perspectives, like Cultural Studies, identity theory, globalisation versus localisation, postmodernism with its fragmentation and concepts of "otherness," as well as the relationship of all these concepts to Cyprus realities. A review of the relationship between television and media research to young audiences – internationally and locally - and a final discussion of quantitative and qualitative methodologies, ends Chapter two, foregrounding, at the same time, the third chapter on Methodology.

The choice of the mixed paradigm – quantitative (statistical) and qualitative (Text and Discourse analysis of television programmes, and interviews and group discussions with the sample) is discussed, explained and documented in the third chapter. The fourth chapter consists of the presentation, statistical correlation and discussion of the results from the Statistical Field Survey, which rendered insights into the sample’s attitudes and mapped the ground for the next two stages – the Programme analysis and the Interviews, by offering cues and clues for these stages. The fifth chapter presents a textual and discourse analysis of the first five programmes leading the sample’s preference list in the Field Survey, while chapter six discusses the interviews and group discussions which were both cross-fertilized by the results of the Statistical Survey and the Programme Analysis. Finally, in the seventh chapter
the conclusions from the Research are discussed in the light of the initial aims and goals of the study and suggestions are made for future research which can both derive from, and continue to add to the issues which have been investigated in the present project.

The present Research Study did not aim at validating or corroborating one or more hypotheses, as it used a mixed paradigm with different methodological approaches, which could not, as a result render thoroughly congruent or consistent results. It did seek, however, through the use of its progressive, longitudinal research model conducted at different time periods, to empirically draw to the surface, as consistently and extensively as possible, answers to the goals and aims established initially in the thesis, which answers have rendered complementary conclusions throughout the stages of the cross-paradigm used.

Nayia Roussou
CHAPTER ONE

PREMISES OF THE PRESENT RESEARCH STUDY

I.1 Culture, Identity and Television

Cyprus is a country that emerged into the status of a new bi-communal state, gaining its independence in 1960 under a problematic constitution and after four years of internal unrest and fighting (1955-59). This phase which occurred towards the end of a long period of British colonial rule (1878-1959) led the country to a state of political life during which it had to face all the problems, conflicts and difficulties of adjustment in economic, social and cultural areas, which new states usually encounter. (Endnote No. 1, p. 327) The issue of the formation and development of a national, social or cultural identity is very much an issue at stake in Cyprus as a result, as in any other newly formed state.1

The inter-dependence of nations after World War II and the promotion of inter-cultural exchange among them was promoted by the establishment of embassies and cultural missions all over the world, which contributed to the wider economic, commercial and socio-cultural exchanges and provided strong incentives and channels for international communication. This created a strongly multi-national scene which encouraged cross-national, cultural research. Moreover, the multiplication of new states proceeded with a new impetus, during the second half of the twentieth century, in the wake of post-colonial political history. This development, together with the more recent dismantlement of the Soviet Union, which created new realities in Eastern Europe, have added to these new trends and have extended the list of new realities these new states (Cyprus included) have had to face.

As Rokkan (in Richards, 1995) proposes, one of the main conflicts in a new state is the "identity crisis", i.e. the crucial initial challenge in the establishment and development of a common culture as well as the development of media and agencies for the socialisation of

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1 This issue which will be developed later on in the thesis, is also connected to the general identification of Cyprus citizens, who, living as they do, in a multi-cultural country of different ethnic communities – Greek-Cypriots, Armenians, Maronites and others – must still be classified under their official citizenship status as "Cypriots". Further on, it will, however, be clarified that the study actually focused exclusively on Greek-Cypriots.
future citizens into a community of social codes, values, memories and symbols - in brief a common history. This identity crisis has become a sharp issue in the historical development of new-states and is still of crucial importance in the inter-connectedness of these states with their new technology and new media systems (all instruments of culture) all the more so, because these instruments are not essentially indigenous; they are imported from the more developed countries - that is, America and the states of Northern Europe. The financial, social and cultural forces that had to be integrated by a new political condition, initiated, as in the case of most other newly emergent nations, an intricate pattern of relationships and priorities, intranationally, as well as internationally. One can say that in the case of most newly-formed states, there is, as in the case of classical Hellenism, a “distinction between ethnos (the people) and kratos (the state) which played a significant role in political philosophy”. (Friedman, 1995:118). This distinction between nation and state, together with the accompanying phenomena of modernity which are part of every newly-independent state, were also present in Cyprus. Friedman (1995:214) juxtaposes modernity and identity in illuminating terms:

“Modernity, as it has been used, is an essentially historical concept, a statement of the temporal position of the present as a cultural form, or form of life. This might not, then, appear to be comparable to ethnicity; it is not a culturally defined identity with a fixed content. It is rather a condition, a state of affairs, the definition of a period, but one that has always been associated with some specifically Western self-definition.”

The elements of this condition according to Friedman – industrialism, democracy, individualism and science - which define Western civilization are obvious features of the Cyprus post-colonial state.

Friedman again attributes the phenomenon of the “re-emergence of cultural identity, whether religious or ethnic in a period of decline” to the influx of Western modernity, which endangers traditional identity as a result of “a capitalist process of development”. (Ibid, 38)

It is perhaps important at this stage to pause for a discussion of the term “cultural identity” to foreground the theme of the present study.

Miegel (in Fornas and Bolin, 1994:208) distinguishes between three components of identity – “personal, social and cultural identity”. Cultural identity, he proposes, is formed and developed through the process of lifestyle development and is related “on the one hand, to the personal identity and on the other, to social identity.”

So the same values, attitudes and actions may both distinguish the individual and also help him either to identify with others, (or to hold distance) from them.
The achievement of this balancing between the collective and the individual in different areas like the political, the ideological and that of lifestyle, is, according to Ganetz (in Fornas and Bolin, 1995:77), one of the most basic elements of modernity.

The condition of modernity has, in the case of Cyprus, given rise to conditions pregnant with unique repercussions. Capital accumulation and technology development, the influx of the media and Western lifestyles after Independence, Media pluralism after the 90's, together with the unresolved political problem of the problematic London-Zurich Treaty Agreements and the Turkish invasion of 1974, have all been factors contributing to the internal struggle between global and local tensions in the midst of which identity processes have had to develop.

The processes in which most newly-independent states have found themselves, have initiated a universal wave of globalisation in which, according to Mike Richards (1995), the Media were assigned different roles: from a “neutral instrument” benignly used in a good cause, they were successively regarded as instruments of “neo-colonialism” and “cultural imperialism”. There was a phase in Cyprus in the decade of the 80’s when this position was expressed in different public discussions. In a subsequent stage the media came to be regarded as social forces participating in and contributing towards the homogeneous formation of a “world culture” - which has been associated to a great extent with what is described as “Westernisation”. John Tomlinson (1996) phrases the concept of Westernisation in terms that can help us discuss identity processes in Cyprus in clear terms:

“When people talk about ‘Westernisation’ they are referring to a whole range of things: the consumer culture of Western capitalism with its now all-too-familiar icons (McDonald’s Coca-Cola, Levi Jeans), the spread of architecture and of music, the adoption of an urban lifestyle consuming extensively the information and entertainment products of the electronic mass media, a range of cultural values and attitudes regarding personal liberty, gender and sexuality, human rights, the political process, religion, scientific and technological rationality and so on.”

All of these are therefore present in a great number of countries around the globe, but also form part of a pattern that features the realities of Cyprus culture.

One of the proponents of the cultural homogenisation thesis is Meyrowitz (in Gillespie, 1995:16). He argues, that “the electronic media, particularly television, have led to a radical restructuring of social life by disrupting the traditional link between culture and geography, allowing people to escape from forms of identity forged by the relations between persons and the ‘symbolic place’ identical with geographical locality.” Meyrowitz (Ibid)
proposes that the media are destroying our sense of “locality” and the “popular search for ‘roots’ and the resurgence of concern with ethnic identity, are signs of the decay of group identity, rather than of its regeneration.”

The current realities about Cyprus, which we will examine in more detail later in the present chapter, the Island’s new hypostasis as a modern state, its radically changing (pluralistic) media as contemporary agents of socialization, as well as its particular political situation, have all been instrumental in the conception of the present study’s theme about the relationship of television and the cultural identity of Cyprus adolescents.

It is, however, important, at this point to make the conjunction between the national and cultural identity. Plamenatz (1973:23-24) has proposed that nationalism:

“... is a cultural phenomenon and a desire to preserve or enhance a people’s national or cultural identity, when that identity is threatened, or when there is a desire to transform or even create it where it is felt to be inadequate or lacking”.

So the phenomenon of nationalism in post-colonial conditions is not strictly speaking distinct from the cultural identity of a people. As Simon During (1987) aptly points out, “The post-colonial desire is the desire of decolonized communities for an identity.” So even though many practices and effects of post-colonial theory like “transportation, slavery, and displacement, emigration and racial and cultural discrimination” do not apply to Cyprus’s colonial or post-colonial socio-cultural development, the tension between Western culture and local resistance is evident in the processing of the national and cultural identity of the Greek-Cypriot population, after Independence. An area that has given rise to some of the themes of the present study.

I.2: Aims of Present Study:

Richards (1995) quoting Schiller (1992) opens up questions about television and national identity which are fundamental to the present research project:

“Who would dream of bracketing television and national identity? Television as it operates today, is a mortal enemy of national identity. As a market-driven industry, TV practically guarantees the destruction of national identity.” (Richards:1995, 262 - 3)

“Identification,” again according to Richards (Ibid:256) “presupposes an “other”, whom we resemble or who resembles us. What or whom we choose to identify with and what
or whom we choose to leave out is significant in the construction of cultural identity. The question of “Otherness” cannot be left out, therefore, of any kind of discussion about cultural identity, whether we refer to the “Other” ontologically, historically, ethnographically, or culturally. Even though the proposition may be unsettling, according to Ricoeur (1965:278), it is inevitable:

“When we discover that there are several cultures, instead of just one, and consequently, at the time we acknowledge the end of a sort of cultural monopoly, be it illusory or real, we are threatened.. (by) our own discovery. Suddenly, it becomes possible that there are just Others, that we ourselves are an ‘other’ among Others.”

And the spread of communication technologies, like globalised television, is one such potent carrier of the problematics of this Otherness:

“The screen is implicated in the construction of the fundamental antimonies of ‘self-us-good’ versus ‘Other-them-bad’”. (Morley & Robins, 1995).

Or, as Coker (1992:197) phrases it more specifically with regard to identity:

“Everything seen on the screen says something about ourselves. It challenges us to respond, to relate what we see to what we are. It compels us to validate our own identity.”

“Culture,” Mackay and O’Sullivan (1999:2) propose, cannot be understood without foregrounding the media.” And almost a decade earlier, Arjun Appadurai (in Featherstone, 1990) argues that “communication systems and the media have been deeply implicated in the development of modernity” and that “modern times are constituted partly through their mediascapes, as the media not only provide information but also have profound implications for forms of identity.” (Ibid). Meyoritz (1985:308) will specify the concept even more definitively by arguing that television has led to a new reconfigured social order:

He uses the notion of a ‘sense of place’ which raises questions of identity and mediated versions of space and place to explain the profound change caused by television – i.e. identities arise and are shaped in part through changing mediated versions of space and place.

How and where does television come in, on the Greek-Cypriot side, where research can be conducted and how does the formation of young people’s cultural identity, relate to the television programmes they watch? The question is crucial, especially in a country like Cyprus, where stability and welfare have been threatened and disrupted seriously by historical events, inspite of an eventual ongoing financial and technological progress that puts Cyprus on the map of modernity.
The radical changes in the radio-television scene effected in the Island, after 1990, with the arrival of pluralism and the commercialization of television, placed a new set of values before Cyprus viewers, young and old.

The end of the monopoly by the Cyprus Broadcasting Corporation, in 1990, signified two things: on one hand, this station had to review its policies and broadcast contents in order to effectively face competition, in the context of an unfolding, antagonistic scene. This also meant that with the de facto partition of the Island and the illegal television stations functioning in the occupied areas, there was not much use for programmes addressed to the Turkish community. On the other hand, the complex realities of local-global dialectics and tensions had to be handled not only by the CyBC, but by all the channels that were called upon to contribute to a discourse of media power and authority, codified into the usual battle of the Ratings.

The Greek-Cypriot scene was not taken by surprise when pluralism set in, but this new dimension added to the complexities already existing, as far as the national, or cultural identity of the Greek-Cypriots was concerned.

Hall (in Gillespie, 1995:18) maintains that "globalisation does have the power to contest and dislocate national identities, in that it has a pluralizing impact, opening up new possibilities and positions of identification". Gillespie (1995:21) herself epitomizes these dialectics as follows:

"Media she says, "mediate cultures; and as cosmopolitans read media, they translate between territorial, local, diasporic, national and global cultures and identities."

The national and socio-cultural identity of Cyprus youth, in relation to broadcast television had to go through a new procedure and process of translation, after Independence, having to integrate the new broadcast messages into new historical, political and socio-cultural realities and dimensions, a subject to be discussed in a subsequent section. One cannot, besides, lose sight of the fact that, as Gillespie again notes:

"Identity should be seen as a 'production' which is never complete, always in process and always constituted within, not outside, 'representation'." (Ibid:22)

The media scene and Media representations changed radically, with the arrival of pluralism in the Island, after 1990.

Traditional cultural processes and behaviours in Cyprus are, because of its historical circumstances, intricately interwoven with the national identity of Greek-Cypriots and with
the flag, the land, the soil, the language, the values associated with the physical and historical landscape, ethnic origins, religion, the customs, the norms, the traditions, the values. Can and will, however, all these survive commercial television, whether broadcast programmes originate from English-speaking countries, from Greece, or are locally produced in Cyprus?

The aims of the present research study, titled "Television and the Cultural Identity of Cyprus Youth", are more analytically, the following:

- **To investigate the cultural/national identities of 13-18 year-old Greek-Cypriots in Cyprus, in relation to globalising tendencies, as mediated by television. In particular:**
  - To identify and explore:
    1. socio-cultural themes and themes associated with national/political issues, e.g. representations of sex, women, violence and drugs, as well as politics and problems of nationhood and ethnicity as manifested in locally-produced and imported television programmes (from USA, UK, Greece).
    2. attitudes and beliefs of the sample on the above socio-cultural themes and on national/political problems and issues – the Cyprus problem, relations with Turkish-Cypriots and language issues.
    3. To identify and analyse responses and television readings of interviewed teenagers to TV program contents, especially in relationship to the themes specified in 1, above.

The above aims and goal have been left as suggested in the candidate’s initial dissertation proposal to the University, because it was felt that they should be given in their original form. In the light, however, of the literature reviewed and the Cyprus realities surveyed before the actual research was begun, adjustments considered appropriate were made and will be pointed out later in the thesis.

One cannot lose sight of the fact that the state of growing modernity in Cyprus after Independence has been marked by the parallel development of the mass media of
communication. The role of the Media in the creation of self-identity and social relations cannot, today, be left out of any relevant discussion, according to Giddens (1991:4):

"With the development of mass communication, particularly electronic communication, the interpenetration of self-development and social systems, up to and including social systems, becomes ever more pronounced."

It is the overall aim of the present study to examine the premises and functions of this interpenetration between television and the collective cultural identity of the sample, in the Cyprus socio-cultural context, which partakes of the modern globalized mediascape.

1.3: Cyprus: Recent Historical Developments

In order to be able to contextualize the whole issue of the contemporary cultural identity of young people in Cyprus, one should know more about both recent historical developments and the Cyprus problem, more about the Cyprus media scene and also about the younger population of the Island, its lifestyle and tendencies, all three areas forming thus, the separate themes of the sections which follow.

The history of Cyprus has been marked by centuries of foreign occupation, adventures and political vagaries. Its strategic position at the geographical crossroads of three continents, in combination with the indigenous resilience and cosmopolitan consciousness of the population has enabled the people not only to survive but also to adjust to and integrate the ongoing process of modernisation which began with the British rule of the Island, in 1878, when the Ottomans ceded Cyprus to the British Empire. After the 1955-59 EOKA struggle and the ensuing Independence Treaties of Zurich and London, inspite of the strong Enosis-with-Greece movement in the Island (Endnote No. 2, p. 327) still existing at the time, as mainland Greeks and Greek Cypriots share the same culture, this Enosis vision began to fade out and was ultimately relegated to historical nostalgia. This, according to Kyriacos Markides, was due to a number of differences in the political and economic institutions in the structure of Greek and Cyprus society:

"Although mainland Greeks and Greek Cypriots shared the same culture, the structure of their societies and their political and economic institutions were diametrically different and often contradictory. Cyprus was spared the various historical convulsions that plagued Greece during the twentieth century and obstructed the normal evolution of the Greek society. It was spared the two world wars, the Asia Minor disaster of 1922 and the bloody Greek civil war of the 1940's. The Cypriots were able to develop their social and economic institutions relatively unhampered." (Markides, 1977:78)
Besides, as Markides (Ibid:68) again notes:

"The transition from colonialism to independence left the major institutions of the island relatively intact. Cyprus remained a member of the British Commonwealth and most of its external trade was conducted with the former colonial metropolis. The entrepreneurial class, the specialists in imports primarily of consumer goods, thrived as the standard of living rose. There were virtually no barriers set up by the government for the control of imports. Luxury goods were in abundance. Though Cyprus was an agricultural society, one out of six Cypriots owned a vehicle for a total of more than 100,000 by 1972."

Inspite of this modernising process however, internal forces of tradition, like the Church and its power, education in the sense of Hellenistic paedhia (body of cultural knowledge) and even forces like the Cooperative movement preserved the sense of historical continuity and cultural process in the Island. Several factors or agencies of socialization have, as a result, played an important role in the process of socialization and culture formation. Besides Rosengren (1994:7-8), points out further agencies of socialization apart from the conventionally acknowledged agencies of the family, the peer group and the working group:

"Three other types of socialization agents are found in somewhat more differentiated societies: priests (sometimes organized in churches) teachers (sometimes organized in schools and universities) and law agents (sometimes organized in courts and police forces)."

These agents, the church, educationists and cooperative leaders did play a very strong traditional role in Cyprus, as elaborated in Endnote No. 3 (327-328).

Nevertheless, the ongoing modernisation or continuous secularisation of Cyprus, with the influx of technology, automobiles, mass media and modern economy, contributed, according to Markides, to the "decline and debunking of cherished traditional values and ideologies". (Markides, 1977:79)

The end of the EOKA national liberation struggle and the inauguration of Independence, was not the beginning of a new era of peace in the Island, but the beginning of a sharp, inter-communal cleavage between the Greek-Cypriot and the Turkish-Cypriot communities, known henceforth, as the Cyprus conflict.

The inter-communal problems arising from the London-Zurich agreements led to the 1963 inter-communal events: In an effort to revise some of the provisions of the constitution, President Makarios proposed thirteen points to create a more unified republic. The Turkish Government rejected them and the fighting which ensued culminated in the withdrawal of the Turkish-Cypriot M.P.'s and government officials, as well as most Turkish-
Cypriot citizens from Nicosia and other major towns, into the Turkish quarters. They established their own administration, police, courts and an army “trained and led by mainland Turkish officers” bringing under their control about 5% of the Island’s territory. (Markides, 1977:28-29).

After 1963, the socio-political balances were radically changed. Politically the question of Enosis was still a major issue with disloyal political Government opponents. Furthermore, the anti-government activities of EOKA B, a terrorist group created in 1972, together with the dictatorship at the helm of the Greek government paved the way to the coup of 1974 against Archbishop Makarios and the subsequent Turkish military intervention by the Turkish troops in July, 1974. The invasion brought about the final “territorial consolidation of the two communities”. (Groom, in Koumoulides, ed., 1986:128).

The de facto geographical separation between the two communities brought about a metamorphosis that is worth examining, at least to that extent which relates to the goals of the present study.

Economic progress in the years after 1974 continued to carry Cyprus along the course of modernity. According to Theophanous (in Tsangaras and Peristianis, 1995:16):

“Financial progress concentrated mainly on tourism, the extension of the public and wider public sector, the Construction Industry, the export of agricultural and light industry products - initially to Arab countries (1974-84) - and the gradual increase of services, mainly between 1984-94.”

Besides the above progress, however, during the years after the invasion, there has occurred, not just a territorial, but a socio-cultural consolidation as well. The national identities of the two communities have become reinforced along parallel lines in a triple direction: On the Greek side, people tend to consider themselves either as “Greeks” (the affiliation being with Greece, the motherland), “Greek Cypriots” or “Cypriots.” Generally, one could say there is a Helleno-centric drive and a Cypro-centric drive, the latter having led after the invasion, to the formation of the Neo-Cyprian Association, that has drawn a lot of political criticism. Whereas Cypro-centrism, however, was limited to the traditional left-wing movement before 1974, the spectrum was widened to include followers from other political parties and ideologies as well. The foundational proclamations of the Neo-Cyprian Association attempted several different evaluations of the country’s problems and pointed out lessons to be realised by the Cypriots: The Association, in stating its aims and positions, proposed that love of the country be cultivated among the communities, as well as a
“democratic way of life”, in place of the obstacles presented by former chauvinistic tendencies:

“Greeks, Turks, Armenians, Maronites and others, we all live in this land and inspite of all the differences, real or artificial, we have common interests and aspirations which define our identity as Cypriots, which only we, as inhabitants of this place can understand and protect.” (Peristianis in Peristianis & Tsangaras, eds., 1995: 133.)

However, inspite of the fact that the Association’s positions were in time accepted by members of right and left wing political parties, the semiology (the flags, the anniversaries, etc.) the values and identification symbols of the three groups – “Greeks”, “Greek-Cypriots” and “Cypriots” became “radically different” (Ibid: 125 - 40).

On the other hand, in the Turkish sector, one can almost identify a similar pattern of cultural nationalism, with Turkish-Cypriots rating themselves as “Turks”, “Turkish-Cypriots”, (strongly affiliated with mainland Turkey) or just “Cypriots”, with a strong emphasis on their “Cypriotness” (citizens of the Cypriot Republic).2

Other than this common trend, however, there are more cultural differences between the two communities today, than there are similarities. The dispersed identities and the hyphenated nationhood that the two communities had adopted, as Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots have created a dichotomy, instead of a conflation of their ethnicity and nationhood. And, whereas the conflation of ethnicity and nationhood is a natural process in the case of ethnic groups claiming self-determination (Gillespie, 1995:10) in the case of Cyprus citizens, this claim to self-determination, because of the different feelings of nationhood among the two communities (Greek-Turkish), has brought about the opposite result – a cleavage between ethnicity and nationhood. Gillespie (Ibid) suggests that:

“...ethnicity, as consciousness of shared ethnic identity tends to crystallise in situations where people of different backgrounds come into contact or share the same institutions of political systems.”

Hall, in Grossberg, (1993) defines ethnicity as:

“The astonishing return to the political agenda of all those points of attachment which give the individual some sense of place and position in the world, whether these be in relation to particular communities, localities, territorialities, languages, religions, or cultures”.

This kind of crystallisation has been absent in the state of Cyprus: its ethnic

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2 As presented in a series of lectures by Turkish-Cypriot journalist, Nesie Yasin, Nicosia, March, 1997.
communities - Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots - have been and still continue to be caught in a painful process of survival, inspite of an unsolved political problem and an environment of dispersed communities: Greek Cypriots – looking to Greece (the Enosis movement) - and Turkish Cypriots looking to Turkey, in issues related to language, religion, territoriality and culture.

It is no coincidence, therefore, that the two communities in Cyprus have, for one, developed distinct cultural elements that have given them, especially after 1974, a feeling of separate ethnicity and a "place-bound nationalism" which has negated the other side. This has been one of the main impediments in the way of forming a unitary nation-state in Cyprus, as would have been the case in any other country coming out of colonialism. A nation-state involves "coherence and integrity of identity" according to Morley & Robins (1995:24). This has been lacking in the newly established state of Cyprus, as the differences between the two communities did not allow them to respond to the requirements for the construction of a nation-state:

"The construction of nation states involved the elimination of complexity, the extrusion or marginalisation of elements that compromised the 'clarity' of national attachment. This process was about the purification of space and of identity. The nation state does not easily tolerate difference". (Ibid:23)

Kyriacos Markides, referring to Cyprus realities, describes this decisive lack of homogeneity, which was one of the historical cornerstones of the modern nation-state in Europe, in the following words:

"It is a tragedy that Greeks and Turks developed their national identities on the basis of their mutual traditional antagonisms. The national celebrations of the Turks are Greek defeats and vice-versa. A durable republic cannot be maintained when Turkish Cypriots celebrate the twentieth of July, the invasion date, as a national holiday and Greek Cypriots treat it as a day of mourning. Nor is the diligent commemoration by Greek Cypriots of the Greek War of Independence of 1821 and the Greek Cypriot rebellion of 1955 conclusive to intercommunal trust." (Markides, 1977:185-6).

Of course, population shifts have also occurred after 1974, as the influx of refugees from the occupied area has been absorbed by the cities of Nicosia, Limassol and Larnaka, as well as Unoccupied Famagusta. This has changed the character of the population and the socio-cultural features of these cities. A new factor entering these changes is connected to the demarcation line which today runs across the entire Island, not just the capital, Nicosia, which was, at any rate divided as far back as 1963.
Greek-Cypriots along this demarcation line live closer to the threat of incidents by the Turkish soldiers stationed in the occupied area and for this reason, many of the areas along the borderline are not inhabited. Inspite of this, however, there is an effort at resistance, in the sense that sometimes people choose to live by the demarcation line thus declaring their persistence at claiming their land, and their human rights of free movement and choice of residence, close to the territories in which they were born and raised.

The Dherynia incidents in August, 1996, along the demarcation line in the Unoccupied Famagusta area, are good evidence in point: When a crowd of Greek-Cypriots tried to cross the demarcation line, one Greek-Cypriot – Tassos Isaac – was beaten to death by Turks from Turkey, while Solomos Solomou, who climbed the flag pole to bring down the Turkish flag, was shot dead in cold blood, by the same bunch of “grey wolves” from Turkey.

So the political conflict in the Island has created a set of new, harsh realities, which must, if a proper solution is to be found, be faced by a new attempt at a political and cultural rapprochement. Today, Cyprus is partaking in a world process of the diffusion of global cultural values spread by the Media, the Internet and an international communication and information system. Its cultural identity is open to world influences on one hand, whereas, on the other, its local (social, ethnic and cultural) identity is being dichotomized by internal political problems.

The Media, as well as the profile of Cyprus Youth will be discussed in the sections that follow, as media are always one of the social agencies that can contribute to the definition of self, or group identity, or as in the present study, the (collective) cultural identity of Cyprus youth.

I.4: The Media Scene in Cyprus

The CyBC (Cyprus Broadcasting Corporation) - comprising both radio and television channels - monopolized electronic communication as of 1959, when it officially began broadcasting during colonial rule, until 1990, when the first private radio channel – SUPER and until 1992, when the first private television channel - the church channel LOGOS were established. There are today five private TV channels broadcasting on a national level, in Cyprus: LOGOS, ANTEENA, SIGMA and ALPHA, while LUMIERE is a closed-circuit (subscription) channel. There are also several private local channels broadcasting in the Island, in Limassol, Paphos and Larnaca. Their programmes however are not listed in the local Radio-TV magazines and they are rarely, if ever covered in Pancyprian Ratings.
Research Surveys. Their overall audience percentages in other words, still seem to be fractional. CyBC and ET.1 – Greek Public TV.,\textsuperscript{3} relayed in the Island since 1990, together with satellite antennas which are now available at accessible prices, complete the picture of audience fragmentation of Cyprus audiences, in a population of about 600 thousand people. This audience, then, is no longer one coherent audience. It has become fragmented, because of the existence and function of many television channels. Television, in its turn, reflects this fragmentation, by trying to cater to different age-group-tastes and cultural expectations, always targeting at bigger numbers in the ratings struggle.

In 1994, the Research Department of the Public Information Office in Cyprus (Christodoulou: Dec.17-23), conducted a survey of the programmes broadcast by CyBC 1 & 2, LOGOS and ANT.1, as to type of programme and country of origin. The majority percentages of the channels are given in the table below, details following:

- **LOGOS:** 37.6%, Cyprus productions
- **ANT.1:** 43.1%, Greek productions
- **CyBC.1:** 31.68%, Greek productions

LOGOS, which is the church channel, had the highest percentage of locally produced (Cyprus) productions - 37.76% - and the lowest percentage in programmes of American origin - 17.34%, of all the channels in the Island. A percentage of its programmes - 16.22% - were from the United Kingdom, 7.30% from New Zealand, 15.06% from Greece, 4.86% from Europe and 1.38% from other countries of the world.

ANT.1 aired 43.61% of its programmes, from Greece and 38.91% from the United States.

CyBC. 1 broadcast a comparatively high percentage of Cyprus productions (31.68%). The highest percentage of imported programmes comes from the United States - 41.06%, while 10.05% come from the United Kingdom and 10.89% from Greece. Latin American (Brazil and Mexico) productions formed 4.48% of the total number of broadcast programmes,

\textsuperscript{3} Now NET – New Greek TV, channel 2
whereas the remaining programmes from Australia and the rest of Europe rise only to 1.15% and 0.10%, respectively.

CyBC. 2, created in 1992 by Public Radio/Television to face the challenge of private television, with more entertainment programmes, has a very small percentage of Cyprus productions - only 5.75%. The share of American productions is very high - 59.56% - while productions from the United Kingdom, represent 13.53%.

The rest of Europe had a comparatively significant share, with a percentage of 5.89%, Latin America also having its share with 4.75% and Australia, with 2.29%. (PIO Research, 1994).

Deregulation and Commercialization have introduced new competition norms in broadcasting – a world phenomenon.

Efforts for the application of a common television Code of practice, in the context of the Law for Private Television, have not as yet succeeded practically, either in Greece, which provides the Cyprus private channels with a staple supply of programmes, or in Cyprus. Neither has re-regulation for Private Broadcasting been effectively applied at this time and day in Cyprus – Oct. 2000. The new market freedoms accompanying commercial television, have set new rules for broadcast expression that can play different roles in the constitution of identity. The intensification of globalised media contents that accompanies pluralistic broadcasting, have offered Cyprus audiences a wider range of socio-cultural representations than before. Inspite of this pluralistic function of the media, however, Sarup (1998:175), among other theorists we shall refer to in the second chapter, proposes that “the modernists stress the unitary subject and the view that identity must have some ‘core’ or essence that must remain the same.” Contrarywise, Reimer (in Fornas & Bolin, 1995:139) proposes a postmodern (fractured and non-unitary) condition as a result of media pluralism.

“An ever-more pervaded media reality is an indication of a postmodern condition.” Or, as Bignell (1997:161) points out, “Postmodernist thought claims that all ‘real meaning’ is vanishing because experience and reality are now shaped or ‘simulated’ by the discourses of the media.”

In another approach to post modernity, Jaworski & Coupland (1999:5) believe that:

“Postmodernity is the shift in advanced capitalist economies from manufacturing to service industries.”
Even though Cyprus cannot, of course, be classified under advanced capitalist economies, the emphasis in its economy is on services - mainly tourism services. So, it can be said that the parameters of modernity already established cannot be strictly separated from ensuing postmodernist elements in the socio-cultural structure of the country. It is therefore important to establish at the outset these elements in the contemporary life of Cyprus:

“Modernism, broadly, territorialises and tends towards a cultural imperialism based upon an ethics of ‘enlightenment’; postmodernism, by contrast, deterritorialises and tends towards an internationalist pluralism. In literary terms, modernism is about the discovery of a tradition or of a national voice which one can claim as one’s own; in the postmodern condition, one speaks always with the tongues of others in one’s ear/throat.” (Docherty, 1996, 205)

“Otherness”, therefore, whether in the concept of post-modernity or in the conceptual Cyprus realities (Greeks and Turks) is an element not to be ignored.

In Cyprus, apart from the tradition or the national voice that is apparent in many cultural traditions or national symbols that have prevalence in the life of the country, language itself and its use in television programmes is, in essence of crucial importance.

The picture of ratios presented earlier, indicates that the three languages prevalent on Cyprus home screens are English, Standard Modern Greek and the Cyprus dialect. This is in perfect accord with language as part of the cultural identity of Cypriots, a theme studied by Lydia Sciriha (1996) in “A Question of Identity: Language Use in Cyprus.” The Research was conducted in the context of the association of language as an instrument and also an expression of culture and identity.

In Cyprus English is widely spoken, while Standard Modern Greek is the basic language of instruction in formal education, on all levels. The Greek-Cypriot dialect is, on the other hand, generally spoken by the Greek-Cypriots, while Turkish is also a language spoken by only a small part of the Greek-Cypriot population.

Sciriha’s research concluded that while English is in reality widely spoken, only about 4% of Greek Cypriots know Turkish, leaving the two languages - Standard Modern Greek and the Greek-Cypriot dialect, in competition with each other. (1996:104 -105).

The issue will definitely be revisited but it is, perhaps interesting to note right from the beginning the ambivalence existing around Standard Modern Greek and the Cyprus dialect, with reference to language use in programmes, as quoted by Sciriha (1996:86) in her research, conducted after the introduction of media pluralism:
The statement in the research which declares that the Greek Cypriot dialect should not be used on television as a language medium, obtained the third highest rating - 56.67 points - while the highest rating of all - 58.07 points - was given to the statement that the dialect should not be acquired by children as a first language and the second highest rating - 57.93 points - was given to the statement which considers that the dialect is spoken by uneducated people. (Ibid)

Furthermore, it is also interesting to refer to Prodromou’s argument (in Tsangaras & Peristianis, 1995:87) that the Cyprus dialect has been loosing ground in industrialized (modernized) Cyprus for half a century now.

“As it was a dialect corresponding to an ‘agricultural traditional society’, without great demands on written communication and intellectual (participative) education, it could not be an adequate language instrument or horizon of thought”.

This “gap”, according to Prodromou, was filled by a foreign, international language (English in this case.). This has survived colonialism and the “pseudo-dilemma” as he terms it, is whether Standard Modern Greek or English will be the language of contemporization in Cyprus.

Of course, apart from language use the onset of media pluralism has elicited criticism in other countries like America, and England, where commercial broadcasting arrived decades earlier than it did in Cyprus. Grossberg (in Connor, 1997:190) defines “contemporary TV in terms of its deliberate superficiality, its multiplication of empty, merely interreferential images.”

Murdock (in Aldridge & Hewitt, 1994: 3-19) postulates the following views about British commercial television (ITV):

“This peculiar structure (the ITV Companies) generated a specific kind of populist ethos which was more sympathetic to American styles and to the new consumerism, less inclined to defer to cultural and political authorities, more disrespectful, more engaged with popular experience, more responsive to the emerging cultures of youth”.

In contrasting Public (BBC) and Private television (ITV), Murdock resounds the public debate around these two types of institutions, in many parts of the world, including Cyprus:

“Where the BBC’s sense of itself was built around notions of national unity and cultural inheritance, ITV enlarged the spaces, for voices to speak with the accents of region,
class and generation and to speak to the contemporary experience of dislocation and change.”
(Ibid: 7 & 8)

Regional and generational, as well as dislocation and change factors are also present in the historical meeting between CyBC and Private television in Cyprus which hopes to join the European Union in the near future. Quite a few of the above media features, are also present in Cyprus, as will be seen later in the chapter on Literature Review. A conscious effort at modernization of many of its contemporary educational, social and economic institutions is definitely on hand. One such area which has known a lot of progress during the last 5 - 8 years, is that of social research. More especially research that has to do with young people and characteristics of their personality. In presenting therefore, a selection, in the next section, of the goals and conclusions of some of these research studies about young people, we attempt to outline the profile of Cyprus youth today, as regards their socio-cultural attitudes, lifestyle and deviance from culture – drugs, or delinquency - as well as expressed social concern about these deviances. This is a sphere in which Cyprus youth shares quite a few characteristics with global youth realities and global youth culture, which, today also constitutes part of the television (generational) contents that try to reach world viewers. This canvass is considered necessary if we are to foreground the foundations on which the present study has been built. The profile of Cyprus youth, their features and lifestyle, as well as social deviance problems, as part of their generational profile, will be examined in a global context and with television as a socializing agency, in order to establish possible connections between the particular and the universal, the identity of Cyprus youth and the strains observed in global youth culture. Television, one of the mediating factors, being both local and global in character and contents, can thus be investigated as to its role and relationship to the formation of the consciousness of the study’s sample.

To this effect, the present trend in globalisation - i.e. "spreading of economic and cultural practices"(Ang, 1996:171) - could not possibly omit the process of exporting from the "core" - i.e. the more developed countries, to Cyprus, in the "periphery"- social problems identified with the younger generation. Furthermore as Cyprus prepares to enter the European community, these widespread social issues take on more significance, as the process of globalisation brings us closer to international trends and anxieties. Perhaps this "globalisation" may not be "determinist" but it is still "determining". (Ang, 1996:170). The question of a globalised television, versus the formation and continuous re-processing of a national cultural identity, has been a dominant issue in the unification of Europe, itself, where questions of national cultural identities have to test their uniqueness against the internal
cultural coherence of a united Europe. The Commission of the European Communities (1984:28) maintains that television can be an instrument of integration:

"Television will play an important part in developing and nurturing awareness of the rich variety of Europe's common cultural and historical heritage. The dissemination of information across national borders can do much to help the peoples of Europe to recognise the common destiny they share in many areas."

Television is one of the mirrors of history, together with the family, the church, the formal education system and the informal agencies of socialisation. Friedman (1995:141) argues that "the constitution of identity is an elaborate and deadly serious game of mirrors. It is a complex temporal interaction of multiple practices of identification external and internal to a subject or population." These mirrors, or these constituents of history and therefore of identity, must, therefore be placed in the contexts of time and space, if the assessment of their role will be close to any degree of reality. The problem is that with the globalisation of the media, there is, today, what Harvey (1997:296) describes "a time-space compression, in reference to the rate of transport of people, sound, pictures and any other forms of information, including of course, money." This time-space compression, an inherent feature in the process of globalisation is both a subjective and an objective process in any society, or nation, as it "refers both to the compression of the world and to the intensification of the consciousness of the world as a whole."

It is pertinent, therefore, that the problems and characteristics of Cyprus youth culture be placed in a local-global context, before we embark on the analytical study of the relationship of television in Cyprus (already involved in global processes of production and consumption) with the cultural identity of Cyprus youth.

1.5: The Profile of Cyprus Youth Today: Characteristics/Concerns

Throughout history, perceptions of youth — the cornerstone of the future — have been associated not only with a study of their incipient characteristics, but also with concerns about their transitional difficulties from adulthood to youth. Hesiod, as far back as the eighth century B.C. described youth as follows: (Rice, 1996:7)

"I see no hope for the future of your people if they are dependent on the frivolous youth of today, or certainly, all youth are reckless beyond words."

24
In the 18th century when modernity processes were quickly changing society and family relations, Loring (Ibid) expresses his own worries and comments:

“When children and young people are suffered to haunt the taverns, get into vile company, rabbie up and down in the evening, when they should be at home to attend family worship; in the dark and silent night, when they should be in their beds, when they are let alone to take other sinful courses without check or restraint, they are then on the high road to ruin.”

In the 19th century, a time when social and technical modernization were creating new structures in production/consumption relationships and the enrichment of mass media and mass culture - the birth of film 1886 was well on its way - concern with the young, was also prevalent. Several writers referred to youth as “disorderly” and “disobedient” and Dickens “depicted adolescent children as helpless and abused pawns who were exploited for economic advantage in the cruel and uncaring world of industrial England.” (Ibid)

In modern times, the 1960’s gave rise to a climate where generational rather than social class conflict emerged between adolescents and adults:

This is illustrated in Musgrove’s (1969:50) view that young people are a “social class in themselves, relatively independent of the stratification system of adults.”

The factor of social class was brought back in the 70’s and in the years that followed preoccupation with youth issues was always in the forefront. Boethius (in Fornas & Bolin, eds., 1995:48) argues that even though modernisation affects the whole population, as Drotner suggests, this preoccupation with youth “has to do with the fact that youth comprise a sort of the ‘avant garde’ of consumption, a market of adolescents that came into its own with world economic progress after World War II. They pioneer the modern, they fall upon new media and media products. Their knowledge of the world, through television programmes has placed them on the same level of knowledge with adults.”

Filipson and Nordberg (1992) are more specific:

“It was primarily young people who consumed the Nick Carter books and comic books and now they consume films, TV, videos, etc., to a much greater extent than the rest of the population. Obviously, youth are also the most important consumer group as regards computer and TV games.”

The generational conflicts seem then to be intensified on this further account of consumption as young people may seem to provoke or challenge the older generation.

This provocation or challenge is further augmented by the culture of deviance, or the subcultures of drug abuse, delinquency and violent modes of behaviour. In the developed
countries of Northern Europe and the United States, much social concern has led to a lot of research in these areas, which is not, however, always conclusive as to the reasons for such deviant behaviour. A lot has also been written about the formation of the identity of the young, identity being “a total concept of the self” (Rice, 1996:36) as well as the different agents of socialization including the media.

The general profile of Cyprus youth as documented by relevant research reports does not, on one hand, appear to present acute or serious problems. On the other hand, the eternal preoccupation with the younger generation, as the citizen-groups of the future, does show up in Cyprus, as it does in other countries, in various research surveys.

Hendry, Schuchsmith, Love & Glendinning (1996:7-8) in their discussion of the “main” adolescent task for identity formation indicate two approaches of study – the internal psycho-analytic approach and the external sociological approach, which latter:

“... concentrates on the nature of roles and role conflict, the pressures of social expectations and the relative influence of different agencies of socialization, such as parents, peers, teachers and the media.”

In tracing the research reports on Cyprus youth below, elements about their relationships with television have also been included, to foreground the theme of the study, as it is the relationship of television as a socializing agency and the cultural consciousness and identity of the sample which concerns us here.

The National Youth Committee for Youth Year - 1985 - conducted a survey on Cyprus youth in that year and completed it by 1990, using a sample of 1500 respondents from all over Cyprus, ages 14 to 30. Some of the general conclusions were as follows:

♦ “Without wanting to ignore problems and without an intention of resting easy, we can say that the youth of Cyprus have a comparatively high level of education, that is, they are generally ‘educated’, they have, by an overwhelming majority, creative activities, they love work and pursue the most productive occupation possible. In their everyday behaviour they follow the rules and traditions of our society, with such diversifications which can be accepted without great difficulty, by their parental generation.” (Konis, 1990:11)

Young people who belong to groups of a deviant culture – “marginal” or “antisocial” “are comparatively small minorities and should not affect the overall Youth Profile.” (Ibid).

♦ Other findings in the social and cultural areas, included the following:
  • “52.2% of our young people are very satisfied or extremely satisfied with the work they do.
• It must be considered disappointing that, even though, Cyprus, as a state signs the international agreement which provides for equal pay for work of equal value, only half of the respondents disagreed explicitly with the statement that men must be paid more than women, for work of equal value.

• 36% agree with premarital relations for men, but only 12% agree to this for women

• 3.7% stated that the most important reason for which young people should get married, is 'to create a family'

• 80.0% stated they believe in God.

• 95% of unmarried people live with their parents”

(Ibid: 35-45)

♦ As to findings with regard to what young people consider to be their greatest problems, some of the conclusions were as follows:

• “Their most important (material) problem seems to be unemployment and the lack of financial resources.

• Different percentages of the respondents, however stated that problems included ‘communication between them’, ‘the influence of foreign models’, ‘smoking’, ‘drugs’ and their ‘army service’.

• As to violence in the football field and hooliganism, 5.8% stated that they deliberately ‘caused damage to foreign property’, together with others.

• 7.3% of the respondents would like to move away from their families, if they could, attributing their lack of communication to a generation gap.”

Beyond the above general trends among young Cypriots, it will be more enlightening to quote from further research on different other aspects connected with the present study about young people and television: their lifestyle — including leisure and entertainment — their media viewing habits and elements of deviant cultural phenomena.

Some of the general conclusions from a research study conducted in 1995 by the Research and Development Centre of Intercollege for the Government Youth Board, on a Pancyprian rural/urban scale among a sample of 1500 15 - 29-year-olds, about the “Free Time of Cyprus Youth” were as follows:

♦ “The results established by the research look hopeful, encouraging and at the same time challenging. Our young people are well educated in percentages much higher than in the past, they are industrious and gradually adopt contemporary social attitudes, but at the same time, they seem to be easily integrated in society with a tendency towards the support of the establishment. This does not help in the advancement of faster changes, a demand of our times, and herein lies the challenge. Particular importance is given to the
area of free (leisure) time, where the rather surprising and serious conclusion is that young people are not satisfied with the manner in which they spend their free time and the manner in which they are entertained.

- Television appears to be one of the main media of entertainment in the above survey. Almost everyone answered that they spend their evenings (after 8) in front of the television set. Percentage wise, 72.9% watch television every day and 16.7%, 2 - 3 times a week. 57.5% watch, up to two hours each time, 29.8% watch from 2 - 4 hours and 7.00%, over four hours. As to programme preferences, sports ranked highest - 32.4% - and films second - 20.5% - with Greek serials coming third, with 13.5%. Gymnasium students ranked the highest score in viewing serials - 173.6% - and films second - 158.6%. Parallel high scores were ranked by girls over boys, with regard to the same television programmes: 211.9% watch serials and 158.1%, films. The highest score for boys rendered a priority of 205.8%, in sports programmes.” (“Free Time of Young People in Cyprus”, 1997:11)

Other conclusions were as follows:

- “Most of our young people have a good education and there is a rising tendency in the percentages of educated youths, than in the past (1985). They are industrious enough, are generally pleased with the work they do and an increasing number are employed in the job they studied for. However, there is enough mobility in the labour market, in search of higher salaries and job satisfaction.

- There are continuing prejudices in connection to working women, even though things have improved, compared to past conditions.

- Percentages of young people who are members of parties and organisations are low, while 37.5% neither belong to, nor support any organisation.

- A number of young people do not seem to feel free to express themselves politically, while those really interested in politics, are few and 38.4% do not care at all.

- In the context of the political tradition of their family, young people seem distant both from the left and right and are inclined to neutrality or uncertainty.

- There have also been results indicating inactivity of young people in the confrontation of their personal or social problems.

- More and more people live away from their parents.

- The generation gap does not appear to be big.

- The majority of young people (bigger than that of 1985) believe in God, but churchgoers are few, as well as those trusting the priesthood. The same limited trust is shown to other officiates, representing authority or the adult world in general.” ("Free Time of Young People in Cyprus", 1997:175-76)

Inspite of the above rather reassuring picture of young people in the Island, social concern about the “culture of deviance” - drug, delinquency and violence problems in connection to young people in Cyprus is frequently expressed, not only in the Press, but during different events and on different occasions. This is not surprising if we bear in mind
that deviance phenomena are comparatively new in Cyprus and have become more widespread during the last 10-15 years.

It is therefore significant to examine the main problems among young people which give rise to public concern, in a documented manner that will enable us to see the identity (lifestyle as well as ethnicity attitudes) of young people, in Cyprus, in relation to television, in the appropriate research light.

In 1994, concern about rising juvenile delinquency, was the reason that the House of Representatives assigned a study on "The Phenomenon of Juvenile Delinquency in Cyprus Society" to psychologist, Mihalis Papadopoulos, sociologist, Nicos Peristianis and sociologist/economist, Prodromos Prodromou. The three writers establish the phenomenon in the following words, in the introduction of the study they submitted to the House: (1994, 3-4)

"There is the impression, among the public, that recently there is a rise in criminal acts in Cyprus society, more especially among young people. This impression is certainly not unjustified. On the other hand, it does not seem to respond to reality, either. Available criminal statistics do not confirm the disquieting rise of crime in Cyprus. Neither in its general lines, or as to juvenile delinquency. However the detailed examination of criminal trespasses by minors, indicates a definite diversification of criminal characteristics."

The three specialists have devoted a part of their study to the Media and its role in propagating news about crime, as well as to its possible effects, with regard to violence expressed in young people's behaviour. Further reference to this study is made in the chapter on Literature Review.

Drugs are another issue that keep the Media busy. Especially drugs among young people. A de-toxication centre was set up near Macheras Monastery outside Nicosia, in October, 1997, and reports about drugs among young people are on the increase. A report in the newspaper "Fileleftheros" (Sept. 1997) carrying the title, "Drugs: 30,000 young people are Users", voices public concern in very eloquent terms:

"Youth, which forms the future of our semi-occupied fatherland has been corrupted by the invasion of drugs. Statistical research and assessment of the situation, raises users of "slow death" to 30,000, almost entirely, young people. Recent research has indicated that drugs are inside schools now."

Parallelwise, in almost every television news bulletin there are items about the arrest of dealers, pushers, or drug users.

Here is how Pavlakis and Veresies (1994:50) specify the connection:
“Television has a primary role among the mass media sources of information, in regard to narcotics and their harmful results and in issues connected to the prevention of their circulation. Without doubting the intentions of the Mass Media, it is obvious that such a source (like the media) contains unchecked information, with no scientific basis. Above all, it is also a cold, impersonal means of information. All questions about narcotics thus remain standing, plus others which can accumulate. So uncertainty and confusion grows”.

The homogeneous approach of television, which disregards age, gender, social class and educational level, is then criticised and a point is made that “wrong messages contrary to the ones desirable, can be transmitted, with the danger of shaping stereotype attitudes and views about narcotics, which it will be very difficult, if not impossible to change.” (Ibid)

Juvenile delinquency - the revolt or the insubordination to the establishment and its various institutions - is another feature of young people’s behaviour which has come under scrutiny during the last few years, even though official figures do not seem to be on the rise, with regard to 11-18-year-olds - the “juvenile population”, according to Cyprus official statistics. Official reports from Police Records about this group, (at the time the research began in May, 1997) gave us the following picture, as to serious and minor offenses, during the years 1991 - 1996:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Serious Offences</th>
<th>Minor Offences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Boys</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>219</td>
<td>317</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>239</td>
<td>348</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>297</td>
<td>469</td>
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<td>1994</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>351</td>
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<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>194</td>
<td>224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>272</td>
<td>333</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Serious offences include arson, burglaries, explosives and sexual attack, while minor offences include stealing (of property up to 30 CY pounds), attack and attack with intent to injure, gambling, etc. (Cyprus Police Report on Juvenile Delinquency, 1991-96, 1997)
It is worth noting that there was a rise in delinquency between the years 1991 and 1993, a drop in 1994, but a rise occurred again between the years 1995 and 1996. It is also worth noting that delinquency among girls, even though low, has been steadily rising. Finally, the general percentages of delinquency among the juvenile population of 61,620 (31,630 boys and 29,990 girls) in 1996, is comparatively low. The low level of juvenile delinquency in general was also established by another research survey conducted by the Intercollege Research and Development Centre in 1995, among 450 14 - 21-year-olds. One of the main conclusions was that:

"Running away from school, use of alcohol, fights and minor vandalisms, are the major offenses of young people in Cyprus" (Intercollege Research and Development Centre, 1996)

Drug-usage rose to 5.2% (soft drugs) and 0.4% of the sample confessed to using hard drugs. Other resulting data included the following:

- “65% of girls and 60% of boys run away from school
- 84% of boys and 69% of girls use alcohol
- 37% - 11% show violent behaviour
- 26% - 18% commit acts of minor vandalism
- 11.6% - 5.3% trespass against property”

According to another research conducted by ESPAD (European School Survey for Alcohol and drugs), in which Cyprus participated in 1996, together with 24 other European countries, the rise observed in the use of drugs between the research conducted by the Government Youth Board and the survey of the Intercollege Research and Development Centre, in 1995, seems to continue. A brief summary of the results of the ESPAD research, which used a sample of 2,350 students aged 15 - 18, reads as follows:

“The proportion who had consumed any alcoholic beverage during the last 12 months, was slightly higher than average (85% in Cyprus, compared to 80% in Europe). For the proportion who had been drunk during the same period, quite the opposite was true; 27% in Cyprus compared to 48% on average, in Europe. Just above half of the Cypriot students had ever smoked (53%) while the average figure is 67%; 23% had smoked during the last 30 days (average 32%). 5% had used cannabis (12% on average) while use of any other drug was reported to be 3%. Lifetime use of inhalants was much less prevalent (3%) than the average in all European countries (13%). The use of tranquilizers was equally frequent (8%), as the mean figure indicates. The proportion who reported use of alcohol in combination with pills was 5% (9% on average)”. (ESPAD, 1997)
It is worth observing that even though drug addiction in Cyprus seems to be much lower than in the remaining European countries, alcohol consumption (to any quantity) seems to be higher by 5% and cigarette smoking seems to be quite high - 53% (ever smoked) to 67% in other European countries.” (ESPAD, 1997)

In the light of the above, some of the special conclusions seem to coincide with European trends:

- "The age of the first use of drugs seems to be dropping lower and students can obtain drugs from people they know; they also seem to be introduced to drug usage by friends or family members. This disproves - as it does in other countries - the theory that young people are introduced to drugs by strangers." (ESPAD, 1997)

The trends and figures sampled from the above conclusions of different research surveys about young people in Cyprus, seem to give us quite a few pointers about features in the socio-cultural identity of Cyprus youth, aged 11 - 29, an age group that includes the sample age-group of the present study, which is 13-18-year-olds. Quite a few of these trends coincide with features of young people’s collective identities in other countries. An indication that global social trends and concerns in the profile of young people are also present to a certain extent in Cyprus. The possible presence of these trends or problems in the overall cultural identity of the age group under investigation and the way these trends feature in relation to television programme contents to be examined, are all connected with the issues which we will attempt to explore through both the quantitative and the qualitative phases of this research. The quantitative Statistical Survey will aim at establishing the general attitudinal positions of the sample, while the overall relationship between their lifestyle and cultural value system and their television viewings will be investigated in the qualitative research stages which will follow – discourse analysis (of programmes) and interviews.

The existing literature on the structure and dimensions of cultural identity, its global versus its local dimensions, television culture as such and the contents of Cyprus television programmes - imported and locally-produced - as well as their possible relationship to the socio-cultural values, problems, lifestyle and ethnic identity of young Cypriots, will be our targets in the next chapter on Literature Review.
CHAPTER TWO
LITERATURE REVIEW

II.1: Introduction

In the previous chapter, the historical and political background of Cyprus as a state, the profile of Cyprus youth, as well as the media developments and present scene in the context of the Island’s socio-cultural realities were established. In the light now of the stated aims and themes of the present research study - i.e. to focus on television and the cultural identity of Cyprus youth in the context of local-global dialectics - the author intends to proceed, in this chapter to a more detailed survey of the study’s main themes. To realize this it has been considered appropriate to discuss the following topic areas in respective Literature Review sections:

• Culture and Identity
• Media, Messages and Audience Reception
• Culture, Globalisation and the Media in Cyprus
• The Relationship between Television and Young People
• Television and Young Audiences: A Survey of the Relationship
• Television Programmes and Youth Culture: Readings and Effects
• Methodological Approaches

The chapter is rounded off with a section which reviews different Methodological Approaches, in the light of the discussions on identity, culture, contemporary issues on globalisation and the media, and the relationship of television and young audiences. As these discussions bring together modern approaches to the investigation of Media-Audiences relationships, it also establishes and explains the Methodology to be adopted in the present study.

II.2: Culture and Identity

“Culture”, as defined by O’Connor and Downing (1995: 10) is seen “both as a product and as the social process that brings that product into being”.

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“Culture”, is very often used in the sense of “high” culture, signifying the elitist processes of literary production or pursuits, like the composition and staging of operas, classical music concerts, ballet performances, painting and sculpture.

A distinction between “high culture” as defined above, should however be made from “popular” and “mass culture.” Of course, there was, traditionally, a distinction between “popular” and “mass” culture and between these two and “high” culture. Popular culture is connected with traditional or indigenous music, artefacts, food, narratives or entertainment, whereas “mass culture” consists of “cultural expressions generated by big business simply and solely to advance the bottom line.” (Downing, Mohammadi, S.- Mohammadi, 1995:20, 21)

High culture was a feature of modernity and developments in the technocratic and rationalistic planning of “ideal social orders” that testified to “a belief in linear progress and absolute truth.” (Harvey, 1997:35). This culture was a phenomenon in a world where the distribution of capital, a phenomenon of economic expansion and a technocracy spreading and asserting its practices under the hegemonic surveillance of the United States, also involved a parallel development of “high culture”:

“High modernist art, architecture, literature, etc., became establishment arts and practices in a society where a corporate capitalist version of the Enlightenment project of development for progress and human emancipation held sway as a political-economic dominant.” (Ibid)

In the mid-60’s, the non-linear perspective to the function of the Media proposed by Canadian thinker Marshal McLuhan together with his concept of the globalisation of culture through the media, introduced a new understanding of their implication in culture, which considered the media to be:

“...deeply in the development of modernity, not only because they are central to the growth of the capitalist economy but also because of their key role in political and cultural life.” (Mackay & O’Sullivan, 1999:2).

As far back as the 60’s, Marshall McLuhan (1964:19) would argue:

“After three thousand years of explosion, by means of fragmentary and mechanical technologies, the Western World is imploding. During the mechanical ages we had extended our bodies in space. Today, after more than a century of electric technology, we have extended our central nervous system itself in a global embrace, abolishing both space and time as far as our planet is concerned.”
This shrinking of the world has been described by the cultural geographer David Harvey (1997:147) as leading to a “time-space compression” an expression that tries to illustrate that the “world is collapsing ‘inwards’ towards us.” (Reimer in Fornas & Bolin, 1995:65).

Moreover, Reimer will argue that during the last two decades the further explosion of the media into the pluralistic model, has created a reformation of the world media market, bringing about new forms of self-knowledge for the individual and new forms of social interaction and group identity. Media pluralism with its repetitive pattern of horror, violence and explicit sexualism has increased our levels of moral and cultural tolerance and has narrowed down the gap between high and low culture. (Ibid:52-53)

The word "identity" has a very big range of semantic interpretations. Freud describes identity as the earliest expression of an emotional tie with another person. (Hall, 1997:3) Hall (Ibid: 3), however, draws us away from this stable, permanent perception of identity, to indicate that when we speak about the identity of populations or cultures, we are referring to the more fluctuating process not of being but of becoming; this is especially true in the modern, post-colonial world, where the search for identity is not the “so-called return to roots” but a “coming-to-terms with ‘our routes’”, which is a more definitely discursive approach to identity:

"In common ‘identity’ “is constructed on the back of a recognition of some common origin or shared characteristic with another person or group, or with an ideal and with the natural closure of solidarity and allegiance established on this foundation. In contrast with the ‘naturalism’ of this definition, the discursive approach sees identification as a construction, a process never completed - always in process." (Hall Ibid: 3)

The above discursive practice, Hall indicates, defines the dialogue between the subject (agency) and politics (locality with its incumbent social, historical and other realities.) In the context of this discourse, ethnic, national, social and cultural identities very often appear to overlap.

Modern identities have been associated with the development of modernity and the struggle of nations to maintain their indigenous characteristics in a dialectical implication with hegemonic power systems (economic and technological) which even though considered as the “Others”, are essentially a substitute for what would be desired to be identified as the “Same”. In post-colonial nation-states, the welding of a national or ethnic identity was part of the development of these nations, as a form of guarantee or resistance, to assert a newly-won independence and to consolidate newly won national boundaries. The ongoing modernity discourse, however, in areas of world economy, information exchange
and technology have been gradually leading to changes in the area of identity, as knowledge of the “Other” is becoming a serial part of the everyday experiences of individuals and national communities. Television has played a very decisive part in these changes, by representing social realities and projecting images of “Others” in the intimacy of reconstructed events, mostly removed from our immediate socio-cultural horizon.

Television, according to Meyoritz (1985:309) has served,

“...as an instrument of demystification. It has led to a decline in the image and prestige of political leaders, it has demystified adults for children and demystified men and women for each other”.

It is, nevertheless, important at this point to establish certain boundaries or discriminatory lines between different overlapping versions of identity, as the present study focuses on cultural identity.

Thomas (1997:3) defines national identity as follows:

"National identity is often taken to mean a shared structure of feeling, a largely imagined consciousness, that is reinforced both through life’s daily routines, as well as through ritualized, symbol-laden celebrations of nationhood."

Thomas (Ibid: 4& 5) also considers,

"...the right to culture" or the "inherited baggage of culture and its interpretation (through communication channels) as the inalienable right of every nation."

He also stresses that,

"in our media-saturated environment the mass media are a primary source for meanings, understandings and interpretations on a host of issues including those related to the question of national identity."

Featherstone (1997:109) emphasizes the “overarching significance of discourses, images and practices in building allegiance to a nation.” The dispersion of images and memories, which took on a religious dimension, as they could “subsume” the individual into the totality of a nation, could be facilitated by not only the film industries, but also television, as it could, with its “instanciation” and “simultaneity”, definitely promote forcefully this forming of a national totality. (Ibid)

On the other hand, there is always a struggle over different representations and the fact is that unanimity or concensus, are not always present in images of ethnic...
representation on national television. This can cast the contributiveness of television to the construction of national identity in a continually procedural context.

To this effect, Richards (1995:257) in making a direct connection between the media and “national identity”, warns about the analytical approach that should therefore be adopted:

“As Patterson points out, the precise link between changes in the nature of television and national identity remains open to analysis; yet it is clear that national identities are one expression of collective identities, complex in their formation and widely represented on television.”

In a discourse on "Remaking Ethnicity", Gillespie (1995:9) quotes Brass (1991:19), as follows:

"Ethnicity or ethnic identity(...) involves, in addition to subjective self-consciousness, a claim to status and recognition, either as a superior group or as a group at least equal to other groups."

Gillespie (1995:11) herself, will comment that "ethnicity is central to all forms of cultural identity, but it does not constitute identity as a whole."

The "social identity theory" originally formulated by Henri Tajfel (1974, 1981,1982) as quoted in Billig (1995:64-65), has been developed more recently under the heading of a "self-categorization" theory, a general theory of group identity, exploring universal psychological principles, which are presumed to lie behind all forms of group identity. This self-categorization links self-identification to stereotyping, according to Billig (1995:66):

"Stereotypes are shared, cultural descriptions of social groups.... means of distinguishing 'them' from 'us', thereby contributing to 'our claims of unique identity.'" (Ibid:80 & 81)

De Vos (1995:20) believes that, even though strictly speaking nationality is indistinguishable from ethnicity, in a more general sense, the concept of “nation” and “nationality” can frequently include different groups that “have achieved political unification but still consider some territorial base, actual or desired.” And he sums up the relationship between ethnic and national identity and culture in the following words:

“It can be argued that for many people, national identity and subjective cultural identity cannot be distinguished, especially when ethnic identity and a national territorial identity have been united historically. Otherwise, ethnic identity is either a more specific or a broader identity than national identity.”
The above can be said to apply specifically to Cyprus, where ethnicity (Greek-Cypriots) and nationhood (Cypriot citizens) have coincided with territorial consolidation in the case of both Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots, after the dislocation of the unified national state of Cyprus in 1974. Cultural identity, therefore, in the present study is closely associated with the national (ethnic) identity of the Greek-Cypriots.

The cultural expressions, therefore, of a people, seem to partake in its overall national, ethnic and social identity. Or to reverse the tables, as Renato Rosaldo (1993:xi) has suggested,

".. it is a pronounced feature of the present that 'questions of culture'...quite quickly become...questions of identity and developments in the organisational context seem to bear this out."

Clifford Geertz, quoted in Inglis (1993:175) gives us a more picturesque account:

"Culture is an ensemble of stories we relate about ourselves. The benefits resulting from culture are the sense of identity, membership, mutuality, loyalty and patriotism. These values entail by definition, exclusion, enemies, rejection, quarrels, betrayal, warfare."

A rather complicated picture involving different discourses and multiple negotiations, processes of both inclusion and exclusion. As Morley & Robins (1995:91) point out:

"It is a question of recognising the role of the stories we tell ourselves about our past in constructing our identities in the present."

Memory, in other other words and more specifically memories of the homeland, or the fatherland (the essence of nationhood) is a potent factor in the building of culture and identity.

An elaboration of this definition into the composite concept of the "cultural identity" would definitely give us an account of the negotiation of the individual and the collective selfhood of a nation, within the exigencies of the political economy and of the existing technological and social institutions. Friedman (1995:30) places this in context as follows;

"Cultural identity is something that individuals have and that is the basis of a certain kind of social identity, but such identity is never the content of the social institutions of society."
The combination of internal (individual) and external (ethnic) features is what gives us eventually the syncratic concept of “cultural identity” again well illuminated by Friedman (1995:30):

"There are two broad types of cultural identity. The first and most modernist is that of ‘lifestyle’ which is the least ascriptive insofar as it refers to the practice of a culturally specific theme which makes no claims to historical legitimacy and which can be freely chosen by the individual subject. The second type of identity is usually designated as ethnic." (Ibid:3)

There are others again who use the term “culture” in identification with “cultural identity”, i.e. of American, Greek, Indian or other ethnic culture, that encompasses both artefacts and social processes that define a way of life. (Downing, Mohammadi, S.-Mohammadi, 1995:20,21)

Miegel (in Rosengren, 1994:214) makes a very explicit connection between lifestyle and identity:

“I have argued that any lifestyle involves a meaningful pattern of relations between values, attitudes and actions of all possible kinds. It is thus impossible to keep the different types of value apart in discussing identity and lifestyle. The same is true for the relation between the individual and society. In contemporary Western society the different types of value – material, aesthetic, ethical and metaphysical – are mingled together in consumer goods and the mass media.”

The life-period of youth is a particularly sensitive, and volatile time for the individual and the formation of identity – individual or collective - as this precise period is of a particularly complex nature. Reimer (in Fornas and Bolin, 1995:128) will suggest:

“..it is during the restless and mobile period of youth that the need and desire to test the new and carve out individual identities is strongest. Young people have a great deal of free time and considerable interest in consumption and entertainment (even if the financial means to pursue them is lacking.)”

And they are, moreover still in the stage of accumulating a memory bank as to their identity. “Film and television media” according to Morley & Robins (1995:91) play a powerful role in the construction of collective memories and identities.”

It is therefore appropriate at this point, to clarify the semiotics around “individual” and “collective identity”. Reimer (in Fornas and Bolin, 1995:128) proposes that reference to the individual does not of necessity stop reflecting on the whole. He argues that “it would seem more fruitful to view people as contradictory creatures, within whom there is a constant
struggle between different ‘identities’ (sexual, class, etc.)”. These different ‘identities’, including the cultural and the national identities, Stuart Hall describes as being “conceptualized in relation to the different social worlds we inhabit, something with a history ‘produced’ in process.” (Hall in Ibid:129). Turner (1996:63) views culture as “whole way of life”, whereas E.P. Thompson, quoted in Turner (Ibid) defines it as “a struggle between ways of life”. This latter definition of culture, is perhaps more realistic when one examines it as a process in the making, with the (global) media and their representations playing a significant role in the structuring of identity. More so, if we are to accept the very reasonable position of Morley & Robins (1995:134) that the question of representation always involves,

“...a relation of power, as well as a relation of knowledge between representor and represented (whether or not the Other concerned - being represented - is wearing an ‘exotic’ or tribal dress.)"

The time in history when the so-called nations of the third world won their independence from the powerful nations of the North and the West, was associated in socio-cultural studies with a period of cultural imperialism - reflected in media representations - a subject already related to Cyprus, a newly-independent country, in Chapter One (8) of the present study. With the withdrawal, however, of colonial hegemony from the prosценium of international power politics, the concept of cultural imperialism phased out, in time, into another process, that of “Westernisation”. The term is used to refer to different aspects of life in Western countries, adopted by developing nations in the East and South:

“When people talk about ‘Westernisation’ they are referring to a whole range of things: the consumer culture of Western capitalism with its now all-too-familiar icons (McDonald’s, Coca-Cola, Levi Jeans), the spread of European languages (particularly English), styles of dress, eating habits, architecture and music, the adoption of an urban lifestyle based around industrial production, a pattern of cultural experience dominated by the mass media, a range of cultural values and attitudes regarding personal liberty, gender and sexuality, human rights, the political process, religion, scientific and technological rationality and so on”. (Tomlinson, 1996)

The intercultural flow that followed decolonisation, “the globalisation of capital with the displacement of huge numbers of people from their homes in Asia, Africa or Latin America to the West” with its “cultural interpenetration” (Ibid) has, according to many writers and thinkers created new globalisation realities that have signified the end or at least the “imminent decline” of the West”. (Ibid) As Tomlinson (Ibid) proposes:
“Globalisation refers to the rapidly developing process of complex interconnections between societies, cultures, institutions and individuals, world-wide”.

The process of globalisation, with its political, socio-economic and technological developments has been associated with ongoing processes of fragmentation as well as homogenisation. The concept of fragmentation could here apply in a twofold direction: social fragmentation, on one hand, which would be one of the natural processes preceding modernisation or Westernisation in the first half of the century; on the other hand, it would also involve fragmentation in the sense that as we truly get involved in the globalisation process, the persistence of existing localised economic and other national structures, makes heterogeneity a continuous phenomenon, even though globalisation considers the world as a single place with “Western modernity extending globally.” (Downing, Mohammadi, S.Mohammadi, 1995:485). Homogenisation, on the other hand would refer to the worldwide spread of similar practices, concepts and lifestyles.

Globalisation however, as a concept indicating that the world is becoming a single place, even if originally considered an extension of modernity and of Western hegemonic practices, today has diffused into so many different cultural expressions and nuances that one can say that “it is undermining the cultural power of the West from which it first emerged.” (Tomlinson, 1996). These practices and processes have embraced marketing and the commodification of products, production and consumption, as well as the diffusion of cultural practices, of which television is a prime tool. It is not, therefore, surprising that the term “glocalize” from the Japanese word “dochakuka” meaning “global localization” (Robertson, 1994:174) has passed into the television vocabulary to denote local productions based on global patterns, but never extending beyond the local boundaries of consumption and popularity. (Ibid)

Harvey (1997:296) renders the economic aspects of this “time and space compression” that globalisation implies, with the decentralization of industrialization on a global range by concluding that,

“...the result has been the production of fragmentation, insecurity and ephemeral, uneven development, within a highly unified global space economy of capital flows.”

Cultural codes he believes, being firmly rooted in the values and forms of economy have given rise to whole new “distinctive systems of interpretation and representation.” Friedman (1995:198) is not far from this concept when he suggests that globalization is about processes of attributions of meaning that are of a global nature.”
In consequence diverse social, economic and national structures remain factors of fragmentation, inspite of the spreading globalisation perspectives and practices.

However, this spreading of global economic, ideological and cultural practices (Ang, 1996:171) with its accompanying fragmentation further expresses itself more generally, in the weakening of former national identities and the emergence of new identities. It really involves a cultural fragmentation and decentralisation of capital accumulation that marks a major shift in hegemony, in the world system. This process has been taking the form of movements and trends towards local autonomy and self-control evidenced in countries of Eastern and Western Europe and North America. (Friedman, 1995:86)

The above fragmentalisation of cultural trends, is a strong factor undermining the world concept of a global culture. And even though consumption-wise, there is a tendency towards the

"...multinationalization of world market products, the interplay between the world market and cultural identity, between local and global processes, between consumption and cultural strategies, is part of one attempt to discover the logics involved in this apparent chaos." (Friedman, 1995:102,103).

Thus, pressures on the process of the negotiation of selfhood or, more broadly, nationhood, with worldhood, often lead to a neo-traditionalist trend among nations, which is due to the "security and even isolation provided by traditionalist identity in times of crisis." (Friedman, 1995:243) This is expressed in the desire for roots, the ethnification of the world, and the return to religion and stable values.

In the light of the preceding survey of Cyprus territorial, national and ethnic realities and the literature review about national/ethnic and cultural identity, it evolved that the only diversification in the original goals and aims of the study considered appropriate by the author, was that the “investigation of the national/cultural identity” of the sample, should concentrate on the two features of “ethnicity and lifestyle” as connected to the national/cultural identity of Cyprus youth. It is also challenging, of course, in the context of the original aims and goals, to trace the interplay and tensions between the local and the global in culture and the role of television in identity processes, in the local-global dialectics.

Golding (in Richards, 1995:253) defines the following four factors as crucially focal in global cultures:

1. First is the supposed **decline of the nation as a cultural force**: people are asserted to identify more with supra-national cultural affiliations than with those of the nation.
2. Allied to this is the end of the nation-state as a political and economic force. New levels of organisation both above, at the supra-national level and below, at that of the region, are said to be taking over the functions previously performed by national governments.

3. Thirdly is what Golding refers to as the “syndication of experience” - the emergence of major cultural, commercial symbols in the form, most obviously, of internationally traded brand goods.

4. Finally, he points to the role of the major international languages, particularly English, as vehicles for international culture.

Cyprus, as already seen in Chapter One, is a country with many idiomorphic (ethnic) as well as many characteristic modernity problems: fragmentation brought about by media pluralism and the sharing of economic power in a capitalistic society that has been on the rise for the last 40 years. High consumption patterns are a mark of economic development and cosmopolitan/global trends in the thinking and lifestyle of people, have been the results of increasing tourist rates and high numbers of University students abroad. Furthermore, the Turkish invasion of 1974, brought about another kind of fragmentation which was geographical and sociological: 200,000 refugees have been disembedded and dispossessed of their property and have settled in the unoccupied part of the Island; social coherence among the dispersed rural and urban communities has been shattered. Any coherence still existing between the Greek and Turkish-Cypriot communities, was also wiped out and segregation was finalised. Media pluralism and the commercialization of the television experience, pop culture, CD's, internet communication and globalised styles of consumption patterns are today firmly established in the lives of the younger generation. The ideological and cultural practices and features of Cyprus youth, as established in Chapter One (24-32), fall within the context of similar youth practices, globally. Cyprus, as a result seems to respond adequately to global features of culture, but at the same time, it is caught between tradition, modernity and even postmodernity, as we already hinted in Chapter One (21) and as we shall see in the section that follows on the theoretical approaches to television and culture. It is, in other words, a country, like many others, caught in a socio-political transition that cannot but influence its cultural parameters and the role of different agencies like television, in the making or remaking of cultural identity. According to Gillespie (1995:10),

"...the term ethnicity acknowledges the place of history, language and culture in the construction of subjectivity and identity, as well as the fact that all discourse is placed, positioned, situated and all knowledge is contextual."
Cyprus with its modern national boundaries and frontiers, as we saw (Ch.1:15-17), seems to respond well to this definition of ethnicity.

On the other hand, Hebdige (in Gillespie, 1995:14) argues that “the new, transnational media possess a power to bind disparate, dispersed groups into ‘communities of affect’ that are explicitly utopian.” To this effect, he cites the examples of the 1980’s pop charity spectaculars – Band Aid, Live Aid, the Free Mandela concerts. Events such as these express and stimulate a desire to feel connected to others, constructing alliances which, as Hebdige points out, “may be transitory and superficial; none the less they may signal new forms of collective identification in a global youth culture.”

These new-style globalising experiences are also present in Cyprus life. Where do the balances weigh then and where do the points of relationship touch in these local-global dialectics? And where does the role of television lie? A role much discussed in the theoretical perspective of the approaches and interpretations of media-audience relationship that has developed since the early beginnings of television.

II.3: Media, Messages and Audience Reception: From the Hypodermic Model, to Critical Studies

The syndication of the television experience today has taken Western (English-language) programmes to many parts of the world, also diffusing Western lifestyles and socio-cultural attitudes to different nations at the same time.

While it is not the exclusive purpose of this chapter to examine the drift of media theory with regard to the translation of television messages and effects, it is important to give a panoramic development of these theories, to establish the precincts for the Research Methodology selected in this project, as research methodology cannot be considered apart from theory. As Lewis (1997:83) states:

"Those who argue that one cannot consider method without considering theory, are quite right: a method is simply a way of expressing a theoretical position."

Before we narrowcast the relationship between television and young audiences, in this chapter therefore and prior to the subsequent chapter on methodology, it is considered appropriate to trace theoretical developments in the area of the media and the audience, to
arrive at the contemporary theoretical perspectives, currently prevalent in the investigation and analysis of this relationship.

A theory, according to Inglis (1993:44),

"...is, among other things, simply a means of including a wide range of apparently related events and phenomena, within the terms of a single set of descriptions."

The structure or narrative of theoretical inquiry into the mass media according to the same author (Ibid), presents three “social orders and practices: signification (meanings), power and production”. Power is here used in the sense of power being exercised over people, or power used by a person in the form of manipulation over others. In another sense, it could also refer to empowerment of people (audiences), wherein feelings or attitudes are generated in them, by which they can proceed to act; and production refers to the forces producing the media messages.

If we define culture as Geertz does in Inglis (Ibid:179), as “the stories we tell ourselves, about ourselves”, then, Inglis concludes, the “study of public communications is the study of the making of culture itself.” It is not unnatural, as a result, that Media Theory has reflected the mainstream cultural theories, existing at any time. The entry of the mass media into the areas of cultural production - Press, Film, Radio and Television - made its effect on different parameters of culture and media theory. The creation of what was considered “mass society” resulting from the Mass Media, was not credited with “potent identities”. It was considered that mass audiences were exposed to the power of the media which could inject mass consciousness with a direct ideology in the form of a hypodermic needle. (Morley, 1995:45) This straight, unmediated effects approach to mass persuasion was revised by the research done in the 40’s by Katz and Lazarsfeld, who introduced the “primary group” into the picture, this group forming a “protective screen” around the individual and facilitating the flow of media messages through the group to the audiences in the theoretical paradigm described by the researchers, as the “two-step-flow of communication.” (Ibid:48).

Klapper (1960) taking up from the two-step-flow, developed the “dominant effect” model – i.e. persuasive communication acting as an agent of reinforcement than of change. (Ibid). Various theoretical inroads still continued to express their concern with the effects of the function or dysfunction of the media, throughout the 60’s in America, until the formulation of other theoretical approaches which began to run parallel in the UK: Denis
McQuail and Sven Windhal (1981:75) in describing the interpretative paradigm, which sought to move away from the traditional effects and to examine the media messages through the “complicated piece of filtering equipment” of the viewer, tried to examine “not what the Media do to people, but what people do with the media.” This theoretical approach, contextualized in the “Uses and Gratifications” theory was proposed in different models, but the main idea underlying the logic of investigations into the approach according to Katz et al (1974)

“is concerned with the (1) social and psychological origins of (2) needs, which generate (3) expectations of (4) the mass media or other sources, which leads to (5) differential patterns of media exposure (or engagement in other activities) resulting in (6) need gratification and (7) other consequences, perhaps mostly unintended ones.” Furthermore, the above investigation models “include motives for satisfying needs and functional alternatives for fulfilling these needs.”

The Uses and Gratifications approach was left rather undeveloped however. Some of the criticism contained in McQuail and Windahl, (1981:78-79) lists the following objections, among others:

1. That the approach is too individualistic in method and conception. This makes it difficult to tie to larger social structures.

2. That Elliot proposes that the empirical research in this approach relies to a high degree on subjective reports of mental states and is hence too ‘mentalistic’ — it attributes psychological processes to the viewers, abstracted from their social condition.

3. That the approach shows little or no sensitivity to the substance of the media content itself, dealing mainly with very general categories of content.”

Elliot further pointed out that another flaw in the Uses and Gratifications Theory, is the fact that “television consumption is more a matter of availability, than of selection”. (Morley, 1995:52). Referring to Downing (Ibid), he further points out that in the context of this perspective, media messages are given out as an unstructured mass of “differential interpretations”, whereas it is the audience that can interpret any given content “in a variety of ways.”

Inglis (1990:146) is more highly critical of the “Gratifications” approach, as he considers that the very term has an infantile ring to it, whereas “Needs, a very urgent one.” “The line from gratify to need is as crudely straight as the line from stimulus to response – i.e. conditioned reflexes, reinforced by success and reward.” There is, in other words, an under-estimation of the audience and its responses in the examination of this media-audience relationship.

Implicit in the development of theories about media, is the concept of the audience and the modifications in its understanding and interpretation, through time. The social
character of the mass media audience (viewing with others) was examined in the 50’s, by various writers. Freidson (quoted in Webster & Phalen, 1997:12), one of the earliest writers to comment on the identity of the audience, observed that:

"... the audience is only inaccurately called a mass. We find that most individuals go to the movies in the company of another person and that family rather than solitary listening and watching tend to be characteristic of radio and television."

And Katz & Lazarsfeld (Ibid) criticized those early theorists that considered the mass audience as an “amorphous social organization with a paucity of interpersonal relations.” An objection which led him to formulate the theory of media effects through the influence of the group.

An extreme view of the audience as an undifferentiated mass that could be politically, socially and economically exploited by media producers in their battle for the Audience Ratings, was the “Panopticon” (Herbst, 1993). As mentioned by Webster & Phalen (1997:15) the “Panopticon” originally cited by Foucault(1977) and subsequently taken as a metaphor for audience research (Ang, 1991) and public opinion polls (Herbst, 1993) the Panopticon was “a prison design wherein a central guard tower looked out, over an encircling ring of prison cells.” (Ibid:15) The demassification and fragmentalisation of the audience brought about by the onset of media pluralism and the new realities of globalisation, have created new conceptions of media audiences. The onset of cultural studies which is the subject of the section that follows, introduced new perspectives to the study of the media, the message and the audience. Livingstone (1993:9) outlines the following picture:

"Reception and ethnographic research have demonstrated that the mass audience is significantly heterogeneous not only in relation to gender, class, culture and age, but also in relation to cognitions, involvement and styles of viewing. In short, the ‘mass’ of mass communications has been challenged and theories and methods must adapt.”

It would, perhaps add more details to the course of audience study developments, if we outlined Alasuutari’s (1999: 2-13) approach to audience studies, a more recent presentation of three generations of approaches in fact which outline the course of audience reception analyses:

The First Generation of reception research, initiated by Stuart Hall laid the foundations for the study of audience reception in the context of “media studies”, a branch of the broader “intellectual movement, called ‘cultural studies’”, according to Alasuutari. This reception paradigm by Hall emphasizing as it did the “determinate moments” of the
encoding and decoding processes, moved away "from a behaviouristic stimulus-response model to an interpretive framework, where all effects depend on an interpretation of media messages. It was within this paradigm that the dominant or hegemonic codes, the negotiated and the oppositional ones were introduced, to be developed and applied later by David Morley in his “Nationwide Audience”.

The Second Generation or “ethnography” studies which became known as “qualitative audience reception studies” used in-depth interviews of the viewers to analyse audience interpretations, with a movement away from “conventional politics” to “identity politics.” In this “ethnographic turn” which Alasuutari distinguishes from the first generation “linguistic turn”, there was an emphasis on what is described as “interpretive communities”. This involves ample familiarity with the group of people from among whom the group of interviews are conducted, or at least, more “field experience”, as participant observation is ideal, but unfortunately, not always feasible.

The Third Generation brought back the media to media studies, which the second generation had the tendency to take out, by focusing on the interpretation, rather than the linguistic and discourse analysis and the direct ascription of relationships between media contents and audiences which the first generation had done. But this combination of media and audience was effected in the setting of a postmodern world, where “Others” play a significant role in a continually changing global media scene and where “reality only exists to us through meanings, discourses and discursive practices.” These developments toward a more discursive, polysemic approach to audience interpretation has marked, again according to Alasuutari an important turn:

“A psychological interest in viewers’ mental processing and interpretation of media messages has given way to a more sociological perspective, within which one studies the range of frames and discourses on the media and their contents as a topic in its own right, not as a lens through which to peek into individual acts of reception.”

II4: Cultural Studies and Postmodernism

During the last 40 years the intellectual perspective composed of combined approaches to the study of media-audience relationships was that initiated and developed by British cultural studies - an object of public media discourse, globally. This project which uses a new set of disciplines for the study of culture and society, was inaugurated by the Birmingham University Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, which, in the context
mainly of first generation audience studies, initially developed a variety of critical approaches for "the analysis, interpretation and criticism of cultural artefacts." (Kellner, 1995:6). Its context of research and exploration provides, according to Kellner (1995:6) "the materials for constructing identities, behaviour and views of the world."

British Cultural Studies position television-audience discourses in the contextual framework of Gramsci’s model of “hegemony” and “counter-hegemony”,” specifying the ways that cultural forms served either to further social domination or to enable people to resist and struggle against domination.” This tension between domination and resistance placed in the arena of the negotiation between television texts and the viewer's readings, necessarily involves a complex procedural endoscopy of the encoding-decoding system of televisual discourse. Class, gender, race, colour and spatial modifications all become normative factors in the praxis of transmission/reception, production/consumption, domination/subordination, or domination/resistance.

Parkin (in Morley, 1995:88) goes beyond the dialectic “hegemonia” of Gramsci, proposing a more complex system for the interpretation of meanings, by claiming that three social sources can provide different interpretations of messages. These social sources are:

- The dominant value system, deriving from the major institutional order and respectfully promoting the endorsement of existing inequality.
- The subordinate value system deriving from the local working class community and promoting an accommodative, negotiated response to factors of “inequality and low status.”
- The radical value system deriving from the working class political party and promoting oppositional interpretations.

Morley in his research on the “Nationwide Audience” in 1980 (1995:121) using the Parkin schema of meaning systems, developed the concept of “preferred readings” to compromise the positions of complete text openness, on one hand and the polysemic “differential” interpretations of audiences, on the other. So audiences are called to do their own “productive” work, in consumption, but under “determinate conditions which are not of their own choosing”, as the codes enter on the production side. These closures of the “preferred” or “dominant” reading can take different forms, i.e.:

(Morley, 1995:84):

“The headline, the caption to a photograph, or the commentary to a film report which tell us how to interpret the significance of the images we see.”
Furthermore, speakers and presenters and the identification they may seek to invite from audiences through the programmes’ discourses, can also promote “preferred” or “dominant readings.”

Polysemy naturally becomes a very complex issue in the case of television messages, as Morley (1995:123) also suggests:

“Words or images can produce different meanings in different contexts – and the principal context is that of other words and images. Television with its rich range of picture and sound, colour, light and shadow, is one impressively rich context for the polysemic production of texts.”

It is not strange, as a result, that textual analysis in cultural studies, was also enriched and extended by discourse analysis which is discussed further below.

The major lines of development in cultural studies may have originated in England, but many other traditions have contributed to it, like the sociology of Bourdieu and de Certeau in France and the American anthropological tradition of James Carey, or Clifford Gertz’s “cultural science”. (Turner, 1992:3-4). Cultural studies, again according to Turner (Ibid:6) defines itself in part through:

“...its disruption of the boundaries between disciplines, and through its ability to explode the category of ‘the natural’ – revealing the history behind those social relations we see as the products of a neutral evolutionary process.”

Several theoretical concepts have been incorporated in the British school of cultural studies, to create a long-range epistemological outlook on culture and the study of culture.

The use of language and Ferdinand de Saussure's theory of language was a starting point for cultural studies. When Saussure maintains that "the relation between a word and its meaning is constructed, not given, he is directing us to the cultural and social dimensions of language." (Turner, 1992:13). Language relates to culture, according to Saussure and language analyzes signs and their meaning; it is not, therefore surprising that semiotics and the analysis of language, or texts, as a method, has become "part of the vocabulary of cultural studies". (Ibid:21).

Textual analysis, which succeeded quantitative content analysis, is one of the necessary tools or means used to analyze the creation of meaning, in cultural studies research. Here, nonverbal language like the audio-visual signs of television language is used within the context of semiotic analysis to position the reception of messages by the audience.
The exploration, therefore of how audiences receive, perceive and assimilate, or reject televised messages (Kellner, 1995:12) has become part of the overall cultural studies approach in the research of media-audience relationships. This relationship between text and audience reception, with all its encoding-decoding complexes, has given rise to another theoretical concept used in culturalist analysis – that of discourse. Perhaps several definitions of discourse, quoted by Jaworski & Coupland, eds. (1991:1) will give us a notion of the complexity of the method.

Stubbs (1998:1) defines discourses as “language above the sentence or above the clause.” Fasold (1990:65) regards it as the “study of any aspect of language use”, but Brown and Yule (1983:1) will further the definition beyond the dimensions of language:

“The analysis of discourse is, necessarily, the analysis of language in use. As such, it cannot be restricted to the description of linguistic forms independent of the purposes or functions which these forms are designed to serve in human affairs.”

Turner (1996:30) will further the functions of discourse, by pointing out that it really refers to:

"...socially produced groups of ideas or ways of thinking that can be tracked in individual texts or groups of texts, but that also demand to be located within wider historical and social structures or relations."

Of course developments in the use of discourse analysis, have differentiated its use in linguistic studies from media studies. Television is a composite medium which enriches language with the additional use of its own generic means of expression – speech, music, sound effects, images, lighting, camera movements, scenic properties and intertextual combinations for the production of meaning. So the function of discourse is more than ever considered a matter which concerns production and consumption and their relationship to television programme meanings, as interpreted by the viewer. Cook (1992:1) illustrates this in his own description of discourse:

“It is not concerned with language alone. It also examines the context of communication: who is communicating with whom and why; in what kind of society and situation, through what medium; how different types of communication evolved and their relationship to each other.”

Approaches to media discourse analysis include a wide range of perspectives according to Garrett & Bell, eds. (1998:4):
Discourse has been a potent instrument of analysis in cultural studies. It has been used, in fact to analyze texts as well as socio-cultural practices. (Fairclough, 1995:14) Ways of media production by media workers and ways of consumption – or reception – by audiences, have been an object of analysis on different levels, (Ibid) often inviting contradictory or even conflicting assessments of the ideological value of discourse analysis, as textual analysis. Textual analysis emphasizes the production of meaning and the negotiations and inter-relations between the production (medium) side and the consumption (audience) side. In the particular case of media text, Bell & Garrett (1998:3) point out that:

"Media texts are (then) communicative artefacts which reflect the technology that is available for producing them. The music and sound effects of modern media can act in similar ways to prosodic features in spoken texts – or distant locations, and so on."

Hall (in Turner, 1996:188) consents to this, in holding that the media use their power “to signify events in a particular way” but he also proposes that from the angle of ideology, identity is formed not only at the grass roots levels of psychism and instincts, but also through the discursive practices which “constitute the social field”, (Hall, 1997:7) that is, beyond mere textual analysis. So the production of meaning and the different levels of its consumption (class, gender, race) can play different roles in the formation of identity. In fact, the significance of discourse in the construction of identity still continues to grow in current writings. Chris Barker (2000:166) proposes that:

"Identity is not a thing, but a description in language. Identities are discursive constructions which change their meanings according to time, place and usage."

Cultural studies propose that culture be studied within the social relations and the entire value system, within the network of political ideologies and social and economic realities of a country.

Chris Barker (2000:34) defines Cultural studies as an:
"Inter-disciplinary or post-disciplinary field of inquiry which explores the production and inculcation of maps of meaning. It can be described as a language-game or discursive formation concerned with issues of power in the signifying practices of human life."

Cultural Studies essentially constitute a complex combination of theoretical concepts used critically to analyze the consumption or reception side of the media, to investigate audiences in different countries, with different socio-historical circumstances, spatial and temporal realities and with individual circumstances of different nations, or communities. It is uncertain, Barker (Ibid:32) will add, which of the meanings identified in the Media,

"...will be activated by actual readers/audiences/consumers. By this is meant that audiences are active creators of meaning in relation to texts. They bring previously acquired cultural competencies to bear on texts so that differently constituted audiences will work with different meanings".

The overall analysis, as a result, of ideological concepts like values, beliefs, attitudes and socio-cultural concepts, has been codified as a new theory of ideology used in the framework of Cultural Studies (Van Dijk, in Bell & Garret, 1998:23-24) to consist of three main components:

♦ Social Functions, which answer the simple question of why people develop and use ideologies in the first place.

♦ Cognitive structures, which examine how ideologies monitor social practices, as well as the mental nature and the internal components and structures of ideologies, and

"their relations to other cognitive structures or social representations, such as socially shared values, norms, attitudes, opinions and knowledge, on the one hand and personal and contextual models (experiences, intentions, plans etc.) on the other hand."

♦ Discursive Expression and Reproduction. This is a theory of the ways ideologies are expressed, acquired and reproduced by the structures of socially situated text and talk. This theory is a special case of a broader theory of the ways in which ideologies are expressed and reproduced by social practices in general.

The general working assumptions shared by those who support the Cultural Studies perspective are generally the following, according to Lembo and Tucker, Jr. (1990:990):

- "(a) Society is divided into dominant and subordinate groups that have different access to social power;
- (b) dominant groups assert their power in cultural as well as political and economic domains;
• (c) cultural meanings are lined to the social structure and, consequently, to power relations and such meanings can be understood only if the history of the social structure and power relations is made explicit;
• (d) the creation of cultural meanings by media users is relatively independent of the institutional production of media objects;
• (e) this relative independence can act as a basis for oppositional politics.

In other words, a multiculturalist political, cultural and media pedagogy is developed through cultural studies which "aims to make people sensitive to how relations of power and domination are encoded, or embodied, in cultural texts, such as those of television or film." (Ibid:7) This is one of the areas in which global-local dialectics, in connection to cultural studies, have been an object of extensive discussion. Grossberg (1993:2) gives the stigma of these debates in the following words:

"Too much of the contemporary discussion about cultural studies is trapped in the fruitless opposition between the global and the local. The former tends to see cultural studies as a 'traveling theory' and consequently often fetishizes and reifies theory. The latter tends to emphasize local exigencies and political demands and often ends up substituting 'political necessity' for theoretical work".

Even though relationships between the local and the global, are constituted, according to some thinkers, by "specific spaces, configurations and circulations of power" – potentially affecting the formation of cultural identity - (Foucault, in Grossberg, 1993:8) Grossberg (1993:12) himself questions this: "I believe it is important to ask whether every struggle over power can or should be organized around identity." In spite of this wavering over the complexes of power articulations in the analysis of media and cultural studies as connected to cultural identity formation, promoters of this perspective underline the forces of "hegemonic" or ruling socio-cultural forms of domination and seek "counterhegemonic" forces of "resistance and struggle." (Kellner, 1995:31). In other words, Cultural Studies situate culture within a socio-historical context - with an emphasis on space:

"First, cultural studies must move from a temporal to a spatial logic of power and second, it must move from a structural to a machinic theory of power." (Grossberg, 1993:7)

In spite of the popularity of Cultural Studies during the last three decades, several problems have been pointed out with this perspective (Lembo & Tucker, Jr.) (1990:99) in connection mainly to power dialectics and the situational context of viewing:

"The first concerns the conception of culture and opposition that underlies the Cultural Studies perspective. Although Cultural Studies scholars recognize the importance of shared meanings, their understanding of the formation of those meanings remains confused with the
oppositional (or resistant) content of those meanings. As a result, the concept of culture is always tied to power relations - the very power that it is understood to oppose.”

The second problem with the cultural studies perspective, concerns its understanding of television viewing. Stuart Hall, according to Turner (1996:83) installs a new vocabulary of analysis in the area and a new theory of “cultural production and reception.”

Hall (Ibid) further maintains that:

“There is nothing natural about any kind of communication: messages have to be constructed before they can be sent. And just as the construction of a message is an active, interpretive and social event, so is the moment of its reception.”

To illustrate the fact that Cultural Studies are not a set standard of practices in media studies, the example of Postmodernism using discourse analysis could be mentioned, as one of the challenges which led Cultural Studies to think about texts in new ways. (Turner, 1996:121). By moving away from studying “the production of meaning towards understanding the ‘social distribution of power’”, Cultural Studies has been facing up to one of the criticisms against it that:

“The focus on the point of consumption rather than of production has left cultural studies open to criticisms that it has a blind spot in relation to political economy, to an informed analysis of the conditions of production of the texts it goes on to inspect.”

Television is, besides, another type of language - the prevalent, current language of the visual analog - icon, symbol, sound - difficult as yet to analyse thoroughly and critically but of international impact. Furthermore it is also a communication language that is still an elusive challenge to social science research which seeks to examine its role in human behaviour. The encoding-decoding continuum as proposed in our times by Stuart Hall (Inglis, 1990:167) is by far a more than simple model of assessing the ways and means of interpreting television messages, as the structure of meaning is always intricately interwoven with our culture and our ideology; and our response to the television language can be varied and complex, all depending on our individual personality in its particular social setting. In other words, the second and third generation of audience studies and interpretations, with their emphasis on interpretive communities and on polysemic reception and “Otherness” respectively, are developments and challenges that Cultural Studies are called upon to face.

Hall (in Turner, 1996:84-85), recognizing that the television message, in going through the encoding-decoding process, puts itself through complexes of codes on both sides
that may, or may not converge, proposes that even though the television message is “polysemic”, it is not “pluralistic”. Its openness is defined by dominant codes with which societies classify and define their political and socio-cultural systems.

In decoding messages, viewers, therefore, according to Hall, may construct their reading from a “dominant-hegemonic” position (the ‘preferred’ reading, which is more rare among audiences), the “negotiated “ position, which is more widely adopted by audiences and the “oppositional” position, where the viewer sees the message without sympathy or compliance but in the framework of his personal alternative references.

The diverse and polysemic nature of television readings and the openness with which audiences can approach television semiotics, has generated another series of theoretical approaches. The interpretative process, through the multiplicity of significations could according to Fiske, be hampered by the openness and polysemy, or the indeterminacy of meaning:

“What television delivers is not programmes but a semiotic experience. This experience is characterized by its openness and polysemy. Television is not quite a do-it-yourself meaning kit but neither is it a box of ready-made meanings for sale. Although it works within cultural determinations, it also offers freedoms and the power to evade, modify, or challenge these limitations and controls. All texts are polysemic, but polysemy is absolutely central to television’s textuality.” (Fiske, 1989:59)

Furthermore, Abercrombie & Longhurst (1998:17) in pursuing a continuum of the Dominant Code Paradigm propose an “Incorporation/Resistance Paradigm”, which defines the problem of audience research as whether audience members are incorporated into the dominant ideology by their participation in media activity or whether, to the contrary, they are resistant to that incorporation.”

In the context of this Paradigm, the authors see further dimensions to the Dominant Text Position, where the “audience is passive, the prisoner of the text and is bound, therefore, to be very heavily influenced by the preferred meaning.”, as contrasted to the “Dominant Audience” position, where there is “a contrary view of the relationship between text and audience.” (Ibid) This contrary activity, may, according to the authors (Ibid) “lead to oppositional readings”, to use Morley’s terminology, although it may also allow “neutral or playful readings.” (Ibid)

The above variations in the consumption of television meanings, have given rise to a lot of discussion around cultural studies and to warnings that it should not be considered as a
set of codes by which to approach media research and analysis. Morley (1995:2) will warn that:

"Cultural studies is not helpfully seen as 'a fixed body of thought' that can be transplanted from one place to another, and which operates in similar ways in diverse national or regional contexts."

And as pointed out in earlier years by Ang and Morley (1989:135-6), "it is the context-dependence of cultural studies which we need to keep in mind and indeed reinforce, if we are to resist tendencies towards the development of orthodoxies and the temptations of a codified vocabulary."

As models about Text and Audience relationships get superseded, however, it should be remembered that in essence, television and global cultural identity today, are, one could say, in a continuous mutual dialogue that calls for a continuous scrutiny and exploration. Because even though mass communication commodities like television sets, radios, cassette and CD players, computers and video-games lie at the heart of the global consumption patterns, it is television, the still primary mass medium that carries the burden of creating and projecting those images which can contribute decisively, perhaps, to the construction and maintenance of social, ethnic and cultural cohesion in any nation, country or community.

The balance, therefore, between "complicity and resistance" (Ang, 1996:171) in the process of maintaining cohesion is significant. This is the point at which the discourse between core and periphery, between the centers of the production of television products and the countries consuming these products assumes very significant dimensions. Globalisation, with its time-space compression, has created new realities in this core-periphery dialogue. The cultural interpenetration already discussed in the present chapter is a process that cannot be denied, as the attribution of meaning to media products can take different guises in different countries and cultures.

Readings and negotiations in culturalism and their polysemy and multiplicity, as well as the heterogeneity of meanings, have been stimulants that have led on to postmodernism and its particular perspective towards media analysis.

The theory of "postmodernism" began in the 70's with Baudrillard, Lyotard and others delineating a break with modernism as postmodernism ushers us into a more complex - but also confusing - age of social and cultural phenomena, artefacts or practices. (Kellner, 1995:47). Postmodernism emphasizes "the mixing of codes, pastiche, fragmentation, incoherence, disjunction and syncretism." (Featherstone, 1997:118) Interpretation, therefore, of television signs and media culture take on a different guise, as
postmodern society unfolds the rich tapestry of a buzzing information market before the eyes of most nations, worldwide:

"Baudrillard displays information as waste, serving to maintain injustices in society. This is not only information overload, but also what he calls, the creation of circular hyper-reality. The representation of an event becomes through the media, more real than the event itself."

(McCoy, 1992)

Kellner (1995:297) comments further:

"Baudrillard's world was one of dramatic implosion, in which classes, genders, political differences and once autonomous realms of society and culture imploded into each other, erasing boundaries and differences in a postmodern kaleidoscope."

So, any attempt at trying to construct a coherent, meaningful model of interpretation in the light of capitalist post-modernity and the entropy of its global diversification, would, according to the post-modern model of media interpretation, be condemned to failure.

Grossberg (1993:3 & 4) states that "this is the moment of the 'post' in cultural studies. I would rather not refer to it as "postmodern" - a moment which problematizes its place within broader discursive spaces, a moment which recognizes that its own conditions of possibilities also articulated both its limits and its complicitous silences." Grossberg, then in his very rejection of the term "postmodern", supports the essence of its relationship and potential applicability to contemporary media discourse in cultural studies. A discourse about which Laclau (1991:93), for one, is openly aphoristic: "Utopia", he says, "is the essence of any communication and social practice".

Perhaps, then this why at this moment Cultural Studies will have to combine its forces of cultural analysis, with those of postmodern theorists, for the creation of a new set of approaches that place media critique in a spatial context. The tensions between global and local social realities and value systems, are now called to work out a new tapestry of translations of media messages that take due respect of, not only, social realities and economic balances of power, but of the individual's circumstances, inclinations and particular semantic (televisual) analytical potential. Foucault (in Connor, 1997:250-251) in his later work, together with other theorists has also contributed to the development of postmodernism, by assuming that culture cannot:

"...be considered simply as the sphere of representations, hovering immaterially at a distance from the brute facts of 'real life', since discourse theory sees the forms and occasions of representations as in themselves power (rather than merely the reflection of power-relations that exist elsewhere.)"
Second, he also believes that power is connected to "particular forms of difference and struggle" existing in different networks of power-relations, everywhere in society.

It is also appropriate, perhaps at this point, to remind ourselves of the fact that Critical Discourse Analysis, a development of discursive approaches, has, according to Bell & Garrett (1998:6):

"An explicit socio-political agenda, a concern to discover and bear witness to unequal relations of power which underlie ways of talking in a society and in particular to reveal the role of discourse in reproducing or challenging sociopolitical dominance."

In fact, postmodernism has to challenge cultural studies, to think about texts in new ways – i.e., moving from analysing texts, to analyzing practices. (Turner, 1996:121) In other words, in the light of postmodernist orientations, study of the production of meaning has moved towards understanding "the social distribution of power." (Ibid: 120) And it is a historical fact that power dialectics always involve the expression of resistance.

"There are some important themes in theorising cultural resistance: There is, for example, the insistence on the right to see the community's history coherently and integrally. The role of the national language is central here, because it is through language that national culture organises and sustains communal memory." (Sarup, 1998:156).

The substantive significance of culture during the latter part of the 20th century, has marked what Thompson (1997:220) describes as "the cultural turn", which began with a revolution in attitudes towards language”. It was a turn which has attributed an altogether upgraded significance to language and the meanings it articulates:

"However, in recent years the relationship between language and the objects it describes has been the subject of a radical rethink. Language has been promoted to an altogether more important role. Theorists from many different fields – philosophy, literature, feminism, cultural anthropology, sociology – have declared language to bring facts into being and not simply to report on them." (Ibid: 221)
In the light of the significance, therefore of language as a source of power, special emphasis has been given in the present study to language issues, as they appear to bear significantly on the subject of identity, not only world-wide, but also particularly, in Cyprus.

II.5: Cyprus Today: Culture, Globalisation and the Media

Today, in Cyprus, as already indicated, pluralism in the media has fragmented an audience dispersed and traumatised by historical/political circumstances. Media research seeking to explore the relationship between television contents and audience attitudes has been very infrequent in the Island and has been using, so far, quantitative approaches. Television itself has, today, become a very complex and sophisticated medium of information and entertainment, local and at the same time global, fragmenting its audiences with an abundance of viewing opportunities, but at the same time maintaining a globalism and an ubiquity in thematic and aesthetic patterns that transects most channels and most programme productions.

As Robertson (1994:184) suggests:

"The expansion of the media of communication, not least the development of global TV and of other new technologies or rapid communication and travel, has made the world conscious of other places and of the world as a whole."

To this effect, the present trend in globalisation - i.e. "spreading of economic and cultural practices" (Ang, 1996:171) - could not possibly omit the process of exporting from the "core" - i.e. the more developed countries - to Cyprus, in the "periphery," social problems identified with younger generations. Furthermore as Cyprus prepares to enter the European community, these widespread social issues take on more significance, with the process of globalisation taking us closer to international trends and anxieties. Perhaps this "globalisation" may not be "determinist" as in the critical studies approach of the Media (the Frankfurt School) but it is still "determining". (Ang, 1996:170).

Cyprus, as established earlier is a nation in the state of modernity that has not foregone tradition. In fact it is a country with a place-bound identity, resting as Harvey (1997:303) says, "on the motivational power of tradition," arguing that:

"The irony is that tradition is now often preserved by being commodified and marketed as such. The search for roots ends up at worst being produced and marketed as an image, as a simulacrum or pastiche (imitation communities constructed to evoke images of some folksy
past, the fabric of traditional working-class communities being taken over by an urban gentry.)"

The commercialization of television in the Island with its inherent commodification is bestowing upon thirsty audiences all the boons of an imported, Western culture with its global simulacra and all the familiar representations of Greek and Greek-Cypriot culture in the two primary languages of the country - Standard Modern Greek and the Cyprus dialect. "Glocalization", a term initially used in marketing to roughly signify "global localization" (Robertson, 1994:174) and taken up in Media semantics, sometimes applies to Cyprus locally-made programmes that try to use global techniques or appeals. Some such programmes succeed, while others fail. During (1997) discusses this with specific examples:

"Some 'glocalized' cultural products appeal to mysteriously disjunct audiences worldwide; how do we account, for example, for the way that the world's largest producer of telenovelas, Protele, has been successful in the Swiss and French markets, as well as in Mexico, Turkey, South Korea and Russia) but a relative failure elsewhere in Europe?"

The “site-specific” histories of individual countries are a factor to account for, definitely. As Ferguson (1995) puts it:

"The multiple discourses initiated by globalisation in the areas of economy, politics, society, ecology and culture, must take into consideration not only the rhetorics and parameters of discourse, but also the complex realities operating in the local and national frameworks of individual countries."

The challenge, in the present study to investigate the power-relations between these representations and the interpretations by the audience lies open from the angles of the local, the glocal, as well as the global, the angle of culturalism and that of postmodernity.

Besides, elements of the postmodern, are, as discussed a part of modern communication in the island (Ch. 1:21) and Baudrillard's "creation of hyper-reality", is today with us, as the representation of an event is becoming, through the media, more real than the event itself" (Kellner, 1995:246). Many of the fictional programmes on television - imported and locally produced - and many of the characters featured, are daily themes of discussion and points of reference depending on television and audience gender/age relationships, thus confirming the view that reconstructed realities on television are claiming a part of the viewers' thoughts and real-life communications and that simulacra (of events and life actualities) are assuming more or equal, importance as life itself.
Furthermore, factual events repeatedly shown on television could also exact different interpretations among different audiences, within Cyprus or in other countries where these scenes were shown. This was characteristically exemplified in the shooting by Turks from Turkey of Solomos Solomou along the demarcation line in Dherynia, on the 14th of August, 1996, as already mentioned (Ch.1:18). After a live transmission of the event, the scene of the shooting was broadcast scores of times all over different channels, both in Cyprus and on foreign television stations, in the context of the total televised event - the shooting thus creating its own post-modern representation and consumption possibilities. This commercial multiplication of the event on a global scale, would definitely be enormously difficult to examine as to television readership and interpretation by such a variety of fragmented local or global audiences which is another indication of intercultural penetration: the periphery channelling its own televised images to the core – the North and the West.

One cannot help remembering the parallel of the Rodney King beating, in Los Angeles:

"In the infamous Rodney King beating, the home video camcorder footage of his body, beaten and bloodied by the police, had been repeatedly televised in slow motion and analysed with authoritative 'voice of God narration' by newscasters. TV producers everywhere, literally made this footage into a broadcast TV logo, shown over and over again during the local and national news programmes, as well as to international programmes." (d'Agostino & Tafler, 1995:272-3)

How was it received and interpreted by all these different audiences?

It is interesting to note that when Rodney King eventually addressed audiences in person, in a TV press conference, with the pacifying question "Can't we all get along", he came to personify 'society's others.' The "Others" in this case, symbolise a televisual stereotype of the victimised minorities - in the US. In Cyprus, the scene of Solomos being shot down dead while climbing the flagpole, has also become a logo of the Greeks victimised by the Turks (the "Others"). But do all audiences adopt this particular "reading" on its own merits? And are new international media undermining these "local and national coordinates of identification, with the result, some say, that a homogeneous global consumer culture is in the making?" (Gillespie, 1995:16) These postmodern aspects in a pluralistic model of media diffusion are normal to expect, as already established in the previous chapter.
Again on Cyprus television, scenes like the much-repeated shot of Titina Loizidou, waving her documents victoriously, on camera, after winning the case against Turkey in the European Court, for being forcefully kept away from her property in occupied Cyprus, may have further elements of the postmodern, but also serve as a reinforcement of ethnic feeling in a situation of crisis. The moral victory this time, of the Greeks over the Turks, has again become a logo, a powerful simulacrum, transcending the value of the event itself.

Hall (1992) suggests three possible consequences of globalisation in the dialectics between roots and cultural identities: erosion, strengthening and the emergence of new identities or "new ethnicities" (Gillespie, 1995:17). In a syncratic rendering of the postmodern approach and the concept of globalisation, Hall (in Gillespie, 1995:17) gives us a more realistic description of the two concepts and their connection to cultural identity. He has coined the term, 'global postmodernity' to refer to:

"...a perceived breakdown of all established cultural identities, the fragmentation of cultural codes, pluralisation of styles and emphasis on the ephemeral, fleeting aspects of contemporary culture, coupled with the global ubiquity of such features of youth culture as the jeans and trainer's uniform: the more life becomes mediated by the global marketing of styles, images and social classes, by globally networked Media, the more identities become detached - disembedded - from specific times, places, histories and traditions and appear free-floating."

Perhaps then, in a global youth (media) market, the slogan "I'd like to buy the world a coke" may be selling a soft drink, but as Ferguson (1995:441) says, also sells "a world view that seeks to construct a new universalism defined by a global bazaar of markets, media and consumers."

Globalised post-modernity, according to Ang (1996) when transferred to the commercialisation of the television experience, leads to chaos:

"An infinity of rewritings, an infinitude of social, infinite semiosis does not confer to 'resistance' but to uncertainty, ambiguity, the chaos that emanates from the institutionalization of infinite semiosis." (Ang, 1996:17 & 179.)

In another general sense of course and apart from the specific television experience,

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1 Cyprus refugee who won a suit, in the European court of Human Rights, against Turkey for the illegal occupation of northern Cyprus, in July 1998. The suit was for the plaintiff's lack of access and use to her home, in the occupied area, since 1974.
"...the intensification of global contacts and interchanges can heighten the attempts at resistance, for the protection of individual particularism. This precludes or disempowers ‘the Other’ and generates dynamics which assert national or local cultural identity."

Featherstone (1997:114) commenting on the effort of nations to reinforce their cultural boundaries in view of the spread of global practices, sees globalization as producing postmodernism. He sees these practices as provoking reactions that seek to rediscover particularity, localism and difference which generate a sense of the limits of the culturally unifying, ordering and integrating projects, associated with Western modernity. So in one sense, it can be argued that globalization produces postmodernism, in the sense of pluralism and fragmentation.

On another account however, the same author (Ibid) points out that:

"the cultural changes which are thematized under the banner of the postmodern seem to point in the opposite direction, by directing us to consider the local."

So even though it would not be accurate to conflate globalisation with postmodernity, the two processes have common elements, as far as fragmentalization and disjuncture are concerned. Appadurai (quoted in Featherstone, 1997:118), in rejecting attempts of integration of national cultures into one unified global context, argues that global order must be understood as “a complex, overlapping, disjunctive order.” An order in which incompatible processes and socio-cultural realities like universalism and particularism, homogenization and fragmentation, localism and globalism all find their place in different forms, analogies and combinations. This could be in the forms of contradiction, conflict or in complementarity with identity and its formation and articulation being caught in the middle of all these pluralistic processes. Writers like Robertson (1994:100) see in this, “a massive, twofold process involving the interpenetration of the universalization of particularism and the paricularization of universalism.”.

In Cyprus, moments of media postmodernism, as well as abundant examples of a global youth culture - dress, lifestyle and market consumption patterns - are a definite part of the Island's life and expression.

It is not surprising then in today's global-local dialectics, with values and concepts floating in a free media market of ideas, to conclude as Hall (1997:24) does, that "the snag is no longer to discover, invent, construct, assemble (even buy) an identity, but how to prevent it from sticking." Well-constructed and durable identity turns from an asset into a liability.
The hug of postmodern life strategy, is not "identity building, but avoidance of fixation". How else could this be in a fast-changing world, where, as Hall (1996:89) again puts it:

"Identity is a structured representation which only achieves its positive through the narrow eye of the negative. It has to go through the eye of the needle of the other before it can construct itself."

Television seems to be a continuing priority of popular culture for the majority of children and young people, the world over, including Cyprus. And if television "provides materials out of which we forge our very identities" Kellner, 1995:5), this relationship should be investigated empirically: if social and political ideologies enter into the ethnicity and lifestyle of Cyprus youth, the question is – does the broadcast ideology of class, gender, race and the social value system, over years of television viewing and through the cultivation analysis process become an in-built mechanism of the "cultural identity" of Cyprus - or any other nation's – youth?

Cultural identity and its connection to the ubiquitous television experience today is, as we have tried to indicate a rather complex phenomenon, in view of the many global changes in the processing of national culture, on one hand - localisation versus globalisation – but also in view of the many changes in the theoretical perspectives of the television-audience relationship already explored.

The difference in the articulation of cultural identity by public and private broadcast contents is well-delineated by Van den Bulck and Van Poecke (1996:223): In public broadcasting the viewer was addressed as "a citizen of a nation-state rather than as a consumer of a market that had to be won".

Television's role of contributing "to the creation and development of a national identity and culture" (Van den Bulck and Van Poecke, 1996:223) in Cyprus, is today enriched by private television programming, which offers Greek-language soap-operas, game-shows, reality and entertainment shows, dramatic or comic serials and Greek sitcoms.

Language is a crucial issue in Cyprus as there is a distinct difference between Standard Modern Greek and the Cyprus Dialect, with a wide distribution and use of the English language, parallel to these. Doyle's (1992:80) comment about the recent discovery that "although English is becoming a universal language, it is usually supplementing rather than replacing native languages," is also interestingly applied to Cyprus. Discourses of power also reflected in languages, are of course, a very potent source of dialectics, in a country split by political separation, national dichotomy and communal friction between the
Greek and Turkish communities. Bourdieu, (1991:60) offers some very enlightening insights into the use and power of language that can be paralleled to the language nexus observed in Cyprus realities:

"Language is a locus of struggle for power and authority in that some types of language (styles, accents, dialects, codes and so on) are presupposed to be 'correct', 'distinguished' or 'legitimate' in opposition to those which are 'incorrect' or 'vulgar.' Those who use (in speaking or writing) the varieties ranked as acceptable, exert a degree of control over those with the dominated linguistic habitus. This authority, however, can be reclaimed in the process of negotiation, according to the same author (Ibid:505), by a metadiscourse, concerning the conditions of use of discourse".

Thompson (1991:13) extends the observation to indicate that the “living practices can "orient" the actions and inclinations of the individual, without strictly determining them.”

Thealogies between the respect attributed to the Standard Greek Demotic and the inferior standing attributed to the Cyprus dialect – inspite of the complementarity of their relationship – as well as the significance of English in the linguistic picture of Cyprus, can easily be observed and will be an object to trace in the precincts of the present survey. The metadiscourse realities – conditions of the the use of discourse – in Cyprus are very sharply distinguished by fragmentalisation and political problematics. So the interviews and discussions that will end up the project, will be a good testing ground for exploring these meta-discourse realities, a part of the cultural realities of the Island today.

Besides, as pointed out earlier, the fragmentalisation and globalisation processes also a part of the Island’s socio-economic processes, are an overall indication that the relationship between television and culture, takes on complex dimensions that must draw not only from the area of cultural studies and culturalism in general – of which language power dialectics are a part - but also touch on the postmodern perspective and its pluralistic, at times localised dialectics to shed light on the subject under study. As Mercer (in Gillespie, 1995:13) says:

"Identity only becomes an issue when it is in crisis, when something assumed to be fixed, coherent and stable is displaced by the experience of doubt and uncertainty"

Post-colonial times in new nation states, are usually identified with the desire of these decolonized states for an identity. (During, 1987) He further clarifies:

"In both literature and politics, the post-colonial drive towards identity centers around language, partly because in postmodernity, identity is barely available elsewhere." (Ibid)
This provisionalism in global postmodernity, wherein “identities become detached – disembedded from specific times, places, histories and traditions and appear free floating” (Hall, in Gillespie, 1995:17) is, as we have seen, already present in the Cyprus society and its mediated realities. So is, however, the factor of language – Standard Modern Greek and the Cyprus Dialect - clearly a prime factor of the post-colonial, national identity of the Greek-Cypriots, a type of ethnic insignia of the Greekdom of the island. Naisbitt in “Megatrends 2000” quoted in Doyle (1993:82) states that “language is the frequency on which culture is transmitted.”

The very hyphenation in the ethnicity and nationhood of Greek-Cypriots (and the corresponding one among Turkish-Cypriots) is another interesting and diaphanous phenomenon of the two communities’ struggle to disidentify (Connor, 1996:268) with either a British colonial culture or (possibly) with the nation-state of Cyprus, not being self-described as “Cypriots”. The hyphenation further seeks to identify the citizens with Greek culture, Greek language and Greek norms (Turkish for the Turkish-Cypriots.)

Counter-identification may also be inferred, not as “open opposition” (Ibid), but again as disidentification of Greek-Cypriots with the “Others” - the Turkish-Cypriot community and vice-versa.

The truth, anyhow, about the formation of national identity in Cyprus, is that this formation was definitely not effected on the precincts of the common history of a nation-state. Besides, the transition, according to Raymond Williams (1983:180) from the nation to the “nation-state” is artificial.” We are born into relationships and the bonds built within a place-bound community - a nation - are of “quite fundamental human and natural importance.” A case in point is that in the development of Cyprus, where the majority feeling is that of Greek ethnicity, the transfer from “ethnos” (the people) to “kratos” (the state) did not integrate very effectively the two communities:

“The state which was exemplary for a common history was that of Greece, not of Cyprus.” (Sant Cassia, in Peristianis and Tsangaras, 1995:182).

The educational, political and cultural institutions of Greece have therefore been the examples towards which Greek-Cypriots looked, in order to model the new nation-state of Cyprus. Educational, Sports and Defence Institutions of Greece and Cyprus, to mention three important areas are fully identified as to policies and action principles. It is only natural that
the majority of television programmes would also come from Greece, in the Greek language, to further confirm that language is an expression of cultural identity.

Having set the premises of the Cypriot societal functions in a scene where nationalism, globalism and post-modernity, all seem to be present, it is now important to inspect another particular area, which concerns the relationship between television and young audiences first and television and youth culture, afterwards.

II.6: Television and Young Audiences: A Survey of the Relationship

Investigation of the relationship between television and young viewers dates back to the early days of television and runs parallel to the progress of the theories, some of which have already been presented earlier. A fact which seems to escape modern attention at times, however, is that early classic research like that of Himmelweit, Openheim & Vince (in Gauntlett, 1996:41) or by Schramm, Lyle & Parker (1961) (Ibid) were complex attempts to investigate this relationship, by examining children as "sentient individuals, able to process and reflect upon their viewing" not reducing everything to a "one-way poisoned arrow model" (of television effects, associated with the hypodermic model.) In the decades which followed, the relationship of television and children took on dimensions of social concern or even panic that sought to protect and shield the children from the evil effects of the television screen, as if children were passive absorbers of all that they viewed, mindless and uncritical, with their "brains installed complete at age 16" (Ibid). It is not surprising, in the light of public concern in the 90's and the anxiety and discussion about television effects on children and adolescents who were considered as rather passive viewers, that emphasis was placed, in both hemispheres, on violence questions, with a lot of research projects being conducted on the subject in both America and England.

Neil Postman, an American proponent of the negative, incendiary effects of television on young people, plugs in his personal estimations by proposing that:

"...the rebellion and firm (sometimes violent) statement of young people's individuality, from the sixties onwards, is not unconnected to television, as this is the generation that was the first to be brought up on television." (Postman, 1993).

On the other hand, Seiter (1995:141), in a description of ethnographic methods used by cultural studies, as referred to earlier in this chapter concludes that the relationship of children and television should be seen in a different light:
"Cultural Studies researchers have participated along with cognitive psychologists, social psychologists and mass communication researchers in upgrading the way we represent the television audiences. These are still pretty radical notions. The popular press and schools of education have not caught wind of them yet: they still worry over television as though it were the most important factor in children's lives."

An even more analytical view of television readings and the medium’s role seems to be taken up in Britain, among other countries:

Buckingham (1996:93) sums it up very succinctly when he comments that:

"The discourse of media effects is, as I have shown, intimately bound up with the construction of knowledge and with the operation of social power."

Or, as McCoy (1992: 4) suggests, meaning should be "examined within existence as experienced."

How do children develop - at which age do changes come about in their understanding of television contents - and how do they interpret the modality - relation to reality - of television contents at different stages of their developmental process, are all questions that we must address in an effort to establish a framework for the relationship between television and young audiences, if we are to specifically trace the relationship between television and the cultural identity of 13 - 18-year-olds, the sample of the present study.

Today we cannot forget that the idea of children, as passive viewers, is really out. Hodge & Tripp support their whole research on "Children and Television (1986:3) with the concept that "children are not solely passive and helpless in this transaction, but active at will, creating and using meanings in their own lives, for their own purposes."

Viewing rates seem to follow changing patterns in different countries. In England, it is reported by Gunter & McAleer (1997:5) that two trends can be highlighted in focusing on the 4 -to -15 years age-range: First, viewing levels rise through ages 4 to 11 and average between two and a half and three hours a day. During the 1980's, viewing for the early teenage group, exhibited signs of dropping off, but in the 1990's, this trend has shown signs of reversing. In the 1982 - 84 period, viewing sank to its lowest point during late teens and early twenties, but it remained largely unchanged for this age group during the 1992-94 period.
Children (9-15) according to the same authors (Ibid:19) view for a number of reasons:

"To pass time", "to forget and as a means of diversion", "learning about things", "learning about myself", "for arousal", "for relaxation", "for companionship", "as a habit".

So the total, varied experience of learning and socio-psychological development seems to be quite steadily connected to the viewing experience.

The further question of how much children comprehend out of what they view on television, seems to be central to many relevant studies. According to Berry and Asamen (1993:27):

"Patterns of retention and inferencing, change with development such that children up to age 7 or 8 retain relatively little central content, but improve between 8 and 14 years. Recall of incidental content increases, then decreases as an inverted U-shaped function of age, from preschool to late childhood, to early adolescence. Accurate sequencing and integration of content also improves with age."

Apart from comprehension improving with the development of children's cognitive and social skills, their reality judgments or interpretations of modality, also seem to improve with age. Dorr et al (1990: 377-397) conducting research to explore the realism judgments of children, came up with the following conclusions:

"Children from a wide range - 6-12 years - judged the realism of television families based on content variations of family structure (more or less traditional) and content domain (family feelings, actions, demographics and general realism). Also children from 6 to 16 felt that roughly half of all real-life US families are like those in the family series they watch most often."

This idea of reality or "children's modality systems" or grasp of reality is a concept which as Hodge and Tripp (1986:136) say, is developing throughout childhood: During this process of growth, children will often make modality mistakes but it seems that their concepts of reality must sometimes be put at risk if they are to develop a "complex and fruitful modality system."

The different features of television - production, editing, lighting and other TV conventions, are generic criteria, contributing to the formation and distinction of what Hawkins calls the "Magic Window" as distinguished from the "viewer's knowledge and experience of the world" or the "social expectations dimension". (Chandler, 1997:73)
Again it is proposed by research that those contents better understood or perceived as more real by children, may have more influence on them than fictional material. (Chandler, 997:77).

Beyond the simple developmental processes however, three other functions are often discussed, in connection to children's reaction to, or interpretation of televised contents. These are the processes of identification, recognition and building of para-social relationships. Noble (1975:36-64) cites research by Maccoby and Wilson who claim that "children do not identify with those characters most like themselves, but with those characters that they would most want to be like." But identification in cine-viewing only seems "to take place momentarily and many child viewers are far from immersed in the actions of the film characters." (Ibid:40). Tele-viewing, on the other hand, does not seem to incur any identity loss, even though it may stimulate para-social interactions (talking back to your television set) something which according to Noble (Ibid:45) provides "essential social learning", whereas "identification with characters is usually said to occur during dramatic presentations and para-social interaction is most likely during compere shows." (Ibid:48) Recognition, on the other hand, prompts children to "recognise film characters as people known to them". (Ibid) Recognisers, self-consciously interact with film characters and play opposite recognised characters by maintaining that the film characters spoke just to them and "correctly predict, while film viewing, what is likely to happen in the film, thereby reducing uncertainty concerning the film's outcome." (Ibid:57) It would not be unrealistic to propose that the same interaction takes place in television viewing.

The above concepts of modality rates, the construction of social realities, the processes of identification and recognition, all associated with television viewings and young audiences afford a rich framework for the present study. A framework which foregrounds the survey of TV viewing by the sample to be conducted in later chapters. Of course, all these are issues which will definitely be revisited in the interviews with the sample, so as to explore the possible relationships between television programmes in Cyprus and the responses and interpretations as to degrees of modality, identification and other relationships of the sample with Television programme contents and characters.

II.7: Television Programmes and Youth Culture: Readings and Effects

Worry about teenagers, a traditional area of concern and research, has led to the investigation of new relationships between television and cultural practices. Discussions
around American programmes like the "Cosby show" and "Murphy Brown" has taken up quite a few pages of recent television literature. The American nuclear family values as projected in the Cosby show have been juxtaposed to the more radical trespassing of social norms personified by Candice Bergen and her motherless child in "Murphy Brown", or to the "loud and obnoxious" voices of the protagonists in "Married with Children" (Fiske, 1994:116).

Fiske, commenting on teenagers and these programmes, comes up with some apt remarks, as to teenage target audiences:

"Since its origin in the 1950's, the category of the "teenager" has always been a source of anxiety for adult America, because within it, traditional family values have been most keenly tested and contested. Rupert Murdoch, Fox's owner, decided in the mid-80's that "this highly charged controversial terrain, was the best upon which to fight the dominance of the three national networks."

In the context of this contest over the teenage audience, some programmes like the traditionally-oriented "Cosby Show", upholding family values, lost ground, some like "Murphy Brown" won ground. Other programmes, like "Miami Vice" are also a target of discussion and criticism as to the youth culture they can potentially affect or propagate: Kellner, quoting Gitlin, Fiske and Grossberg, points out that "Miami Vice" along with MTV was many critics' favourite example of post-modern television. "Miami Vice", according to Kellner, is all on the surface, inviting the viewers to identify "with a fast, mobile lifestyle, focusing on exciting consumerist leisure: In a lengthy analysis of "Miami Vice", Kellner remarks that in the series, "image, look and style are key constituents of a postmodern image culture and key constituents of postmodern identity" (Kellner, 1995:246).

Ross quoted in Fiske (1995:261) "argues that the "vice" in Miami is "bad" consumerism. Drugs and pornography are the commodities of pleasure; they are "the most consummulate expression of exchange-value because they do not hide their lack of use-value". Flaunting the lack of use-value is "criminal" in capitalism. Commodities of pure pleasure, pure waste, question the norms of the commodity itself and crack the alibi that late capitalism tries to establish for itself in the ideology of consumerism."

Fiske himself, who discusses the problems of "Miami Vice" in the light of the post-modern theory, sums it up in the following statement:

"The boundaries are blurred between the good and the bad and the power of the dominant to control both behaviour and meanings is called into question, as pleasure and style produce a
multi-vocality in which commodities can be anybody's speech and not just the bearers of a capitalist economy. It is a world of fragments whose pleasure lies in their fragmentation" (Ibid)

Grossberg (in Harvey, 1997:190), uses the same example of “Miami Vice”, which, he says, “is all on the surface”, to epitomise contemporary TV by defining it “in terms of its deliberate superficiality, its multiplication of empty, merely interreferential images.”

MTV's success in commercial television has been another source of concern with regard to young people in the States. The use of advertising in both the video-clips and the music programmes has often been accused of matching "twentieth-century secular culture and industrial capitalism as a result of the "ethic of self-gratification and consumption." (Pettegrew, 1992:488). Its standards and contents have often been criticised for presenting no interest, even that minimum interest that should go with entertainment shows:

"Many of those who criticize the media's coverage of political issues, have a structure of taste that leads them to watch the network news rather than talk shows, nightline rather than Murphy Brown and to walk the dog rather than watch MTV." (Fiske, 1994:188-189)

As to its direct contribution to youth culture, it is interesting to note that again here, it has been criticized of contributing towards the cultivation of consumerism. (Pettegrew, 1992: 491)

The more subtle point of corporate hegemony was that MTV had become a perfectly integrated text for commercial appeals to consumers' senses. The station not only aired commercials that looked like the rest of its programming, but MTV had quickly developed into an important engine of the 1980's consumerism: its nexus to pop music and art put it into an ideal position to provide the styling changes necessary for a culture based on consumption. As video artist Rebecca Blake said in 1985:

"The most valuable aspect of MTV is the acculturation process that brings together youth, culture, street and fashion." (Pettegrew, 1992: 491)

MTV productions feature regularly on the CyBC TV channels, in Cyprus. "Beavis and Butt-Head", another programme developed for MTV, even though not featured on Cyprus television, was shown in October, 1997 in Cyprus cinema houses. This series has become a "cult favourite" with American youth, providing, as it does, a "critical vision of the current generation of youth raised primarily on media culture.” The characters find violence and sex “cool”. They are featured burning houses, torturing and killing animals, show no
taste, judgment or rationality, have no political or ethical values and have been under fire by many critics in the States, as well as by the US Senate.

The series, aside from the conventional "effects" connection, that critics would attach to it, in regard to youth, today is being analysed in a new "postmodern vein". Kellner, places it in the context of a comparison with other programmes:

"In a certain sense, Beavis and Butt-Head is "postmodern" in that it is purely a product of media culture, with its characters, style and content almost solely derivative from previews of TV shows. The two characters Beavis and Butt-Head are a spin-off of Wayne and Garth in "Wayne's World", a popular "Saturday Nite" live feature, spun off into popular movies. They also resemble the SCTV characters Bob and Doug McKenzie, who sit around on a couch and make lewd and crude remarks while they watch TV and drink beer." (Kellner, 1995:143,145)

"Beavis and Butt-Head" was highly popular in 1994 among young people in the States, who seemed to appreciate its ingenious understanding of "how it was for contemporary youth, with no prospects for a job or career and little prospect for even marriage and family and a meaningful life." (Kellner, 1995:147)

David Gauntlett (1996:30) proposes two readings of the series: An obvious "reactionary reading that the series depicts foul, moronic characters, highly dangerous and damaging models for youthful readers." The second, opposing, liberal view proposes that the programme is a satire that makes fun of the sexist and stupid ways of the characters. Neither approach, according to Gauntlet, accounts for the fact that the programme might reflect "the desires and frustrations of the youthful audience", these responses not being "of their making". (Ibid)

Gauntlet's (1996:30) comment is one more indication in the web of intricacies surrounding discussion of television and its connection to (young) audiences:

"For critics to deplore the content of the show - or excuse it purely as a joke - without comment on the actual social conditions in which it arises is (once again) to find problems in the media which have much more serious origins in the real world."

Discussion of television programmes does not, of course restrict itself to the American media scene. Programmes aired in Britain are objects of discussion, even though they do not seem to come under such heavy fire as some of the more successful American commercial programmes already reviewed.

"East Enders" are considered to be serials for working classes, offering hope and "Kung Fu" movies on television, popular among British urban working-class males, are described by
Morley (in Fiske, 1995:322) as convincing forms of oral traditions in culture, attracting young people:

"The oral traditions constitute forms of cultural competence available to these kids which make it possible for them to appropriate these movies. Without forms of competence, the popularity of these movies would be inexplicable."

II.8: Cyprus Television, Research, and Public Criticism

Again "East Enders" and "Kung Fu" movies are a part of the television repertoire in Cyprus, even though, as indicated in Chapter One, imported programmes come from America mostly, with Greece and Britain following.

Programmes from Greece are on the increase.

Many of these programmes (serials and films) have very low language standards, using obscene expressions and containing explicit sex scenes which have drawn a lot of criticism from both specialists and public. Sarantos I. Karghakos, a Greek writer, in an article entitled, "Television, Children and the Greek Language" ("Fileleftheros", Feb., 1997) made some interesting observations to the point:

"Television, with its fake jargon, not only increases the paucity of language, but also creates it. Only cheap shows can be supported by such language. Barbarian, poor, distorted words, senseless and empty of sequence, promote a linguistic dearth, with speech bacteria that contaminate the language criterion of young children."

Because of the use of the Greek language and the Greek social context, however, these programmes appear to be very popular, raising the audience shares of ANT.1, which mostly broadcasts Greek-language programmes, to a permanent first position in the island's television ratings.

The turn to Greek-language programmes by young people, is not surprising. In research conducted by Lydia Sciriha in 1996, on the subject of language and identity (Ch.1:21-22), the author comments that even though English is understood by 18.6% of the survey respondents and 61.2% have reported speaking the English language (as a supplement to the Cyprus native languages),

"...in truth, the only two varieties competing with one another are the Greek Cypriot dialect and Standard Modern Greek, which due to their diglossic relationship, are more in complementary distribution, than in competition with each other." (Sciriha, 1996:98-105).
Television programmes, therefore, which are locally produced in the Cyprus dialect are rather rare on Cyprus channels but quite crucial to identity issues and must be explored in connection to young people’s preferences. Not only the variable of language choice - Greek versus English should be investigated - but also, the variable of local (dialect) programmes’ choice versus programmes in Standard Modern Greek, since language values, as already discussed, are a most significant part of the culture of any nation. Again, if the turn to the Greek programmes is verified by the research, what would it further signify? A retrenchment or perhaps an entrenchment back to the (ethnic) cultural identity of Cyprus youth? Or again, can it be, as hinted earlier in the chapter, that Cyprus teenagers caught in the struggle between local and global dialectics, turn to their roots, for the continuous mouldering of their identity, in the context of a critical set of discourses on television and in social realities? This is an issue to be further researched in the one-to-one interviews and discussion groups that will clinch the present project.

During the first official meeting of the National Council of Radio and Television, in Athens, in 1997, the Prime Minister of Greece, Mr. Semites, placed some of the reality shows broadcast on Greek (and Cyprus) channels under fire and called for "The protection and respect of private life and the personal rights of the citizen" ("To Vima", June 29, 1997).

Stelios Papathanassopoulos (1993:258), Professor at Athens University, further points a finger at pluralism, by associating “television activity with the mercantile character of Greek economy and society.” The fact, he says, that big private channels emphasized local production only in the third year of their function, indicated a considerable distance between Greek television and local production.” What is strange, he says is that, whereas all channels consider themselves the keepers of public interest, there is a reduction of quality programmes in hours when the average television viewer watches."

Of course today, several years after Papathanassopoulos’s publication, there are many more Greek-produced serials and programmes, most of them also being channeled to Cyprus. How removed are they from "consumerist" values however? Or how highly do they regard quality versus commercialisation? That is another intertextual comparison to be made between programmes in the present study.

Re-regulation and quality issues in television, are not, of course restricted to Greece and Cyprus. They are part of the global scene, which has witnessed serious changes with the spread of private channels and the introduction of pluralism in the media:

It is undoubtedly the case that the practice of media cultures in the modern world is being rapidly transformed. These changes are being driven along by a multitude of social
forces which include "new ownership patterns, new technology, globalisation, state policy and audience practices to name but a few." (Stevenson, 1995:7).

One of the current national issues in Cyprus, is the official effort of the country to join the European community. Media problems in Europe are now in a sharp transitory stage: Eurocentrism, the attempt to form a "European cultural identity" is bound to come across many problems and many obstacles, because each nation-state in Europe does have its own cultural identity:

"The EC itself has recently been struggling to assert a cultural identity of its own in the face of fragmentation, the dominance of American culture and the persistence of national traditions." (Stevenson, 1995:206)

At the level of the European Community a policy of "Television Without Frontiers" has been adopted, along with certain minimal forms of regulation in respect of pornography, violence and racism. (Ibid:205). But problems as to the preservation of the balance between the national cultural identity of European countries and their general European identity still persist and are still an object of discussion, more especially in the light of Americanization and commercialization fears, as regards television. That is why, as Morley & Robins (1995:77) suggest, television itself “can actually be an instrument of integration.” The Commission of the European Communities will add on the role of television that:

"... it will play an important part in developing and nurturing awareness of the rich variety of Europe’s common cultural and historical heritage. The dissemination of information across national borders can do much to help the people of Europe to recognise the common destiny they share in many areas." (Ibid)

As we saw in chapter 1 (19-20), the majority of programmes on the CyBC, in Cyprus, come from America, the majority of ANT.1 programmes come from Greece, with programmes from the U.K. and other sources following. Globalisation may have interconnected cultures, but, perhaps, at the same time it could lead to, or encourage "the tendency to disintegrate the kinship and segmentary organization of the holistic social order." (Ang, 1996:39)

In Cyprus, apart from Audience Ratings Research which is conducted by the channels, either by themselves, or in the context of the Cyprus Committee for Radio/Television Ratings (KERTA) documented quantitative or qualitative research into the relationship of television and young audiences is almost non-existent. Two research projects
undertaken by the author, at different time-periods, can be mentioned here, as rare examples of such research: One was a research experiment conducted for a Master's thesis, by the author, in the United States, in 1972, and later translated into Greek and adjusted to Cyprus realities (Roussou, 1978: 37 &45). The subject was the (video-taped) reaction of four-year and seven-year-old girls and boys, to televised aggression in cartoons, the basic conclusions of which were as follows:

- Younger children - namely four-year-olds seemed to appreciate hostility in television cartoons more than the older - seven-year-old children - namely by smiling and/or nodding approvingly during portrayed acts of hostility.
- Girls of both age groups showed more negative reactions than boys - expressions of fear or disapproval - to both the hostile and the aggressive contents of the television cartoons.

The second survey was conducted by the author of the present study in 1995, in cooperation with the Intercollege Research and Development Centre. The study, strictly quantitative and statistical, under the title, “Factors of Humanitarian and Mass Culture and Aggressiveness in Children and Young People” used a stratified random sample of 400 children, 11-13 years of age, of both genders that were selected from elementary schools all over Cyprus. The main objective was to explore whether there were indications of relationships between the cultural factors chosen by children - television being another “mass culture” factor, and their self-confessed aggression or delinquency trends exhibited at home and in school. Intervening variables were: gender and age, their individual socio-economic background, the profession and education of parents and their geographic area.

Some of the results from this 1995 research presented selectively here, were as follows:

- 63% of the children watched television over two hours a day.
- The most popular channels watched by children of this age group, were commercial channels - ANTENNA, 77% - SIGMA, 13.5% - and the CyBC public TV Channel, 3.5%.
- 63.5% of the children viewed television between 8 and 11.00 p.m. and 11.8%, viewed after 11.00 p.m.
- The connection between “elite” factors of (high) culture and cultural agents - i.e., theatre, church-going, literature and the phenomenon of aggression brought out the following trends:
• Children, who go to the theatre over six times a year, did not apply themselves to “systematic aggression.”

• Children who “never” go to the theatre, scored high percentages of “systematic” aggressive, behaviour.

• Finally, a very large majority of children who go to church every Sunday - 62.3%, “never” curse and only 1.8% do so “systematically” at school. (Roussou, 1995:21-29)

A report that received a lot of publicity was about a content analysis performed in 1996, by the Larnaca Association of Mental Health (Fileleftheros, 1996), where 10,000 acts of violence were reported to be broadcast on Cyprus channels, within one year. The programmes, of course, included both local, Greek and English-language, imported productions.

In this chapter, Cyprus, a country with many political and national problems, has, in the light of the review of literature connected to identity, culture and television, emerged as a country in transition from tradition to modernity and even beyond that, to globalised postmodernity.

The study of the cultural identity of young Cypriots is essentially a very complex and challenging topic, involving as it does, a number of very intriguing factors – some indigenous and some global in nature:

Its pluralistic media model, its place-bound identity, its indigenous political problems, its struggling, threatened ethnicity, its binary communal realities involving the Turkish Cypriot “Others” - but also the connection of the “periphery” and the “core” (Western, or globalized culture), together with the global-local dialectics entering media discourses, are related to identity issues today.

The establishment of the above realities, with a review of relevant literature from the global and the Cyprus scene have informed the present study and foregrounded the stages which are to follow. The aims and objectives of this study as laid out in chapter one, call for a particular methodological approach which combines quantitative and qualitative techniques in the context of critical cultural theory.
II.9: Methodological Approaches

It has been established so far that theoretical approaches to Media Studies in the last few decades are witnessing a definite turn, readjusting and redefining their methods and approaches. (Ch.2:45-49). The late sixties were a period of unrest and redefinition of global youth culture. Lifestyles and subcultures of young people in the West (Ch. 1: 25-26) called for more sophisticated methods of research, beyond deductive approaches. It was at this time that anthropology, for example introduced Participant Observation methods to study youth subcultures.

Apart from Participant Observation, however, other paradigms of qualitative research became popular – i.e. the inductive method of reasoning – the exemplification of a hypothesis, through observed, or analysed events or communications - was gradually considered to be closer to a more complex, fragmentalised and heterogeneous social reality on global scales.

This turn to ethnographic methods more obviously served anthropology and cultural studies and can be explained by two sets of historical circumstances, according to Jensen and Jankowski: one set derives from factors within the scientific community, which has come to question conventional empirical approaches. The second set of factors has to do with broad changes in the socio-economic area, which have created new social realities. These are the realities of the post-industrial age, with its accompanying characteristics of social fragmentation, the onsetting information explosion and the new cultural critique that looks on mass media communication as an “interaction or exchange of meaning between the medium and audiences.” (Jensen & Jankowski, 1991: 26-29)

It is also true that the quantification approach that was traditionally used in “effects” research, did seem to ignore important differences in messages and meaning in audience reception. Differences introduced and underlined by phenomenology., As Jensen and Jankowski indicated: “Phenomenology has taken over from structuralism - the rigid social and political patterns determining man’s existence and behaviour. Now the study of events and phenomena, proposes that ‘meaning’ be examined, not only ‘within existence as experienced’, according to McCoy, but also ‘in the framework of the total human and media environment of the audience.’ (Jensen & Jankowski, 1991: 153)

It is also true that during the past decade and even today, research studies continue to place the issue of impact at the top of the agenda of research in Communications. However, it
is also clear that new and integrative approaches are needed if the impact of communication is to be assessed in relation to social structure. The mass media are above all else sources of social meanings and cultural forms for the audience, what Newcomb and Hirsh call a "cultural forum" (Jensen, 1987:22). Culturalism as a research approach, emphasizes that culture is not a secondary phenomenon but rather a social force in its own right (Jensen, 1987:22). Raymond Williams (1977, p.19, in Jensen 1987:22) defines culture as "a social practice that is made up of 'specific and different ways of life'. It is these ways of life that must be explored at the tangent of television broadcasts and audience reception.

So what goes on at the perception side cannot be exclusively researched by statistical social surveys that bracket viewers according to standardized, mainly closed-ended, demographic questions. As Jensen (1987:22) again puts it:

"In-depth interviewing and participant observation offer an explanatory value that, for a number of purposes, goes beyond the quantitative analyses of general interview statements concerning reception." Data originating from quantitative analysis, are "external", those from qualitative "internal". While the former aims for the product of meaning, the latter focuses on the process of their production". (Jensen: 1987:31).

This emphasis on the cultural approach in communication has been definitely furthered by Cultural Studies which, as we saw in this Chapter, together with the post-modern approach have been gaining ground in contemporary communication studies. Different audience groups have been an object of research in Cultural Studies, groups referred to as "subcultures" "interpretive communities" with common codes and reference points in media interpretation, "taste publics" with uniform taste expectations from media, etc. (Webster & Phalen, 1997:120). The research methods used to survey these groups, are, according to Livingstone (1993) quite different from mainstream audience research (ratings or quantitative surveys):

"Reception and ethnographic research have demonstrated that the mass audience is significantly heterogeneous, not only in relation to gender, class, culture and age, but also in relation to cognitions, involvement and styles of viewing. In short, the 'mass' of mass communications has been challenged, and theories and methods must adapt."

Cultural studies have come to establish as Lindlof (1995:51) puts it, that:

"It is the discourses in which an object is encoded and the social discourses surrounding the object that are important for explicating the myths and political consciousness of an epoch ...
a family television viewing is just as vital a site of meaning production if not more than any high-culture venue”.

The inductive approach of trying to understand how viewers interpret and integrate television messages in their life and experiences is becoming a wider research paradigm today. Hobson having conducted a series of in-depth interviews in the homes of viewers discovered that the soap opera characters were important points of reference in the maintenance of cultural identity, as well as "a primary source, sometimes the only source for the housewives she studied, to engage in the public discussion of social issues." (Jensen, 1987:29) Again, Lowe (in Jensen, 1987:29) emphasizes that images in the visual-electronic media, by convention refer to:

"...something in everyday reality as we know it and second, a specific context where the images acquire a new meaning or symbolic significance while retaining their 'original' reference as a trace". Messages, therefore, should be explained with reference to the recipients’ specific social and cultural background “as they have been formed, or formulated within communities of interpretation." (Ibid).

The openness in interpretation which can accompany polysemic television texts is essentially very different from the structured closeness of quantitative methods, as it involves the “social knowledge of the viewer.” The viewers, therefore, according to Livingstone (1998:43) can provide the messages with “interpretative frames independent of and possibly different from those offered by the text.”

Morley's study of television viewing in British families observed the difference between how men and women engage in home viewing to conclude that "these viewing practices derive from a general pattern of gender relations in British working class structure." (Lindloff, 1995:16). Morley as quoted in Newcomb (1984:36) in a discussion of his "Nationwide" work gives an indication of the complexity which accompanies discursive analysis:

"Thus we cannot deduce which discursive frameworks will be mobilised in particular reader-text encounters, from the level of the socio-economic position of the 'readers'. But position in the social structure may be seen to have a structuring and limiting effect on the repertoire of discursive or 'decoding' strategies available to different sectors of an audience."

So even though polysemic interpretations are a natural phenomenon, the range can be limited according to group homogeneity as to social, cultural, or economic/political factors. This gave rise to the concept of dominant or “preferred” readings already explained in this chapter. (48-49)
Newcomb (1984:36) taking up from the Morley experiments, will further the cause of qualitative research, by indicating more complexities:

"What Morley does not go on to say, is that even the influence of these powerful forces of discursive patterning of ideology formation, can be altered when subjects enter the active processes of making meaning, evaluating and creating personal and group perspectives. For this is exactly what qualitative studies seek to do."

Jensen (1987:33) will emphasize the significance of the role of qualitative studies even more:

"By positing the audience experience as an object of analysis for in-depth interviews and observations (analytical factors) qualitative studies begin to account for the elements that go into the reception process."

What is or what could, however, be the relationship between quantitative and qualitative studies? How effectively can the two be combined, in a single mixed model, an elaborated and composite paradigm, which could seek to explore both external - general - and internal – particular or personal - parameters of the viewing experience?

And what are some of the problems that have to be addressed?

Jensen and Rosengren (1990:231) concisely defined basic problematics about the combination of humanistic (qualitative) studies and social science research (quantitative statistical research):

"Humanistic researchers need to establish a terminology which will enable them to deal with issues of reliability, validity and generalizability(...) Social science research, equally, needs to recognize that non-quantitative procedures of analysis, as developed within linguistics and semiotics in the course of this century, may well have an explanatory value in their own right."

Quantitative research can be said to respond to issues of reliability and representativeness or generalizability, while Qualitative research can claim validity, as it usually uses the personal interview to bring out into the open the respondents' experiences and self-explanations. The question is how successfully can the two be combined, not to supplement each other, but in an integrated cross-paradigm, where the findings from the two (or more) methods can be cross-fertilized and to a certain extent, support, or complement each other?

Blumler et. Al. (1985:220) raised "the prospect of a meaningful cross-paradigm dialogue", while Lull (Ibid), from the qualitative camp, suggested that:
"... a convergence of quantitative and qualitative research offers the greatest potential for accurate description and explanation of the significance of communication in all contexts."

Alasuutari (1995:6-22), in an insightful analysis of the qualitative research, suggests two phases in the process of analysis: the "purification of observations" and "unriddling". Purification is taken to mean the formulation of a role that holds throughout the material, the researcher trying to grasp some of the rules that people follow or take into account in their speech or other behaviour.

"Unriddling", the second phase, according to Alasuutari, means that "on the basis of the clues produced and hints available, we give an interpretative explanation of the phenomenon being studied". Like solving riddles, we should be able to come up with an answer that should not be in contradiction with any of the observations about the case.

Further on, he will also add (Ibid: 19-20), "the social survey or quantitative content analysis can also be said to include two comparable phases: The first phase, starting partly already before the data collection, includes the definition of variables and codes, the coding of the data and statistical analysis. In the second phase, the findings are interpreted."

Alasuutari (Ibid: 21) further proposes that stages of the work in the two phases, differ in their approaches and he concludes that:

"Qualitative research may include quantitative analysis. There may be a separate survey data set designed for this. On the other hand, the qualitative material itself may, from the point of view of an observation unit occurring frequently in the text corpus, be coded and the variables cross-tabulated. Thus, the results of quantitative analysis may also be used as clues for unriddling. Yet an interpretative or 'social action type' explanation is the kernel of qualitative analysis."

Sonia Livingstone (1998:45) is another writer who regards the combination of the traditional with the cultural studies approach positively:

"The traditional approach can benefit from critical analysis of its scientific assumptions and conversely, it would be redundant for Cultural Studies to re-invent empirical methods and existing psychological findings about actual viewers, although Curran (1990) suggests that just such a re-invention is nonetheless what is happening in many of the 'new' audience studies"

Complementarity of the two research methods of course does not rule out their differences, as Jensen (1987:32) identifies:

"In general, quantitative analysis aims for the products of meaning, while qualitative analysis focuses on the process of their production."
And so, Lindlof (1995:164) will add,

"...even though the "survey and the qualitative interview may usefully complement each other in a study, only rarely can one substitute for the other."

Or, as Alasuutari (1995:6) again proposes:

"It is indeed possible to make a distinction between qualitative and quantitative analysis, but both can be quite well applied in the same study and in analysing the same data."

Stubbs (1998:234) summons further support for the combination of models, fully justifying it:

"An important part of the Glaser and Strauss (1967) argument is that any method may be good for generating ideas, and that a combination is probably best. Webb et al. (1966) similarly argue about the need for combining different methods of research in the social sciences, first since this provides a means of cross-validation and second since no measure ever taps a single, isolated, pure parameter."

Causal conclusions from statistical, quantitative research may be generalizable to many groups or communities, but in situations of a developing society, under different types of stress like those existing in Cyprus today, it is important that a deeper and more intense understanding of the participants in a research project be achieved, through qualitative research models. Lindlof (1995:9) sums it up effectively, when he states that when “an explanation of the constitutive meanings of a phenomenon is sought”, it must be established, “how an event occurs, how it functions in social contexts and what it means to participants.”

These issues must be addressed from a cultural and interpretive perspective. Patterns of values, lifestyles, social positions cannot be measured strictly or exclusively with statistical, quantitative methods, deriving from the causes and effects tradition. They must be investigated through a combination of methods, so that these methods can render insights into the human condition which can be interpreted in association with the particular (Cyprus) society from which the research group is derived.

What can be applied as a measure which can establish complementarity, however, in the use of an inter-paradigm, is the method of “triangulation”, which, Silverman (1993:156) says, is a term borrowed from navigation “where different bearings give the correct position
of an object". As used in media audience research, according to Schroeder in Alasuutari (1999:50), "it usually implies that the researcher seeks primary data about a research question in two (or more) different ways." Triangulation is, of course, used in a metaphorical sense, and aims at establishing points of contact or complementation between the findings from all three stages and the results from the different methods used in a mixed paradigm, like the present. Corroboration of the findings here from all three methods cannot be applied, as the findings cannot be demographically generalizable, and cannot claim reliability and representativeness, which latter can be so claimed only by the (statistical) research, while validity can be claimed by the qualitative interview method as in the present study. Again, of course corroboration of the findings from different paradigms, with different research perspectives and environments can be problematic, as the objectives, even though similar and seen from a similar angle, are, nevertheless seen through a different mirror and cannot, therefore, always coincide.

Schroeder (Ibid:54), in an effort to alleviate the differences between the findings - as triangulation is not a panacea - suggests the inclusion of charts or maps, or, perhaps, tables in the qualitative findings, with accompanying verbal excerpts from the interviews, to support the figures which can possibly render the qualitative findings (beyond their validity) also representative and reliable. Of course the other approach to be applied throughout the inter-paradigm processes, is the consistent cross-reference to goals, issues and findings throughout the different stages of the research platform - Alasuutari's "purification process." All of these approaches are being adopted to a certain extent in the present study.

A combination, therefore of theoretical approaches was considered appropriate for the present empirical model, involving a statistical survey report that sought to trace - in the context of the Cultural Studies perspective, the possible ideological correlations between television and audience, (as to lifestyle priorities, socio-cultural, national and ethnic values and attitudes) but also textual and discourse analysis of programmes and a series of personal interviews and group discussions aiming to explore audience readings and interpretations. The Cultural Studies approach is known to combine different disciplines in the study of audiences. Lindlof (1995:50) describes it as "transdisciplinary: a zone where kindred concepts and interests travel, meet and sometimes recombine." It is within this culturalist approach that this combination of methodologies was applied.

This mixed model of quantitative and qualitative methods paradigm chosen for the present study with the dimensions and issues related to the methodology selected, are being discussed in more detail, in the Chapter which follows.
CHAPTER THREE

THE PRESENT RESEARCH STUDY:

METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES

III.1.a: Introduction: Methodological Paradigm of Present Study.

Up until today media research in Cyprus has been using earlier methods of strictly quantitative approaches, an approach that has to be enriched as television itself has become more complex and sophisticated and as socio-cultural conditions in the Island have been going through sweeping changes because of political, historical and technological developments. Television today is local and at the same time global, fragmented, but also ubiquitous in nature and in context, pluralistic but also fragmenting its audiences with an abundance of viewing opportunities. The following phases used in the study, combine both quantitative and qualitative methods:

- A field questionnaire to be answered by a statistical sample from all over Cyprus.
- An analysis of five from among the top ten television programmes, preferred by the respondents to the Questionnaire.
- A series of one-to-one, in-depth interviews, again with respondents selected from among the questionnaire sample.
- And a group discussion with selected respondents from among those that participated in the field (questionnaire) survey.

Even though the above combination of objective (quantitative) methodology and interpretive approach (discourse analysis and interviews) is a rather recent trend in media
research, it is, nonetheless true that the guardians of strictly distinguished paradigms are
today facing an increasing tendency towards this combination of paradigms:
Blumler et al (1985:258), speaking from the side of social science did raise “the prospect of a
meaningful cross-paradigm dialogue” and Lull (1985:220) from the qualitative side suggested
that “a convergence of quantitative and qualitative research offers the greatest potential for
accurate description and explanation of the significance of communication in all contexts.” It
is therefore the hope of the author that the different approaches adopted in the present study
will supplement each other, integrating the information in a meaningful way, even though the
research environments in the two paradigms, quantitative and qualitative will definitely be
different. Even though one would not expect corroboration of data resulting from different
methods, if the findings support each other, consistency in the answers to the research goals
may be achieved. If the findings are different, however, this does not necessarily mean that
the data are questionable. The difference could be a result of the types of data that are
acquired through research that is different in nature - quantitative and qualitative. The
establishment in the present study of self-stated preferences, attitudes and social or ethnic
values, which will lead to the analysis of programmes, will be culminated with a series of
interviews and discussions to support and verify programme interpretations, in the social and
historical context of the respondents, by the establishment of meanings they derive from
their viewings. Morley (in Alasuutari, 2000:197) in trying to explain his position on the
relationship of different paradigms expresses his support to paradigm combinations:

“My own feeling is that rather than thinking in terms of a linear succession of truths,
paradigms, or models, each displacing the previous one, in some triumphal progress, we may
be better served by a multidimensional model”. Building new insights then from a non-linear
approach through the harmonized use of different models is one of the basic novelties of the
present study.

The composite, contemporary paradigm to be used, can be rendered by a variation of
the two-dimensional analytical model designed by Biltereyst (1995:254), presented further
below. This model illustrates the combination of the quantitative and qualitative approaches
to television interpretations by audiences that can today make more sense globally, as well as
locally - in the case of the present young Cyprus audiences. It is, further, a research platform
that affords opportunities and challenges for investigation in all three generations of research
as presented in Ch.2 (47-48). The quantitative model stemming from the social science
tradition can provide reliability and representativeness in the findings and can afford cues for
further qualitative research in the form of textual and discourse analysis of the preferred programmes as well as the interviews and discussions which can provide the interpretative plateau that can be said to combine elements from both the first and second generation research paradigms – dealing with issues of audience readings and identity, respectively. On the other hand, the experiences of the researcher, a native of the country of Cyprus and a Media Producer and lecturer for many years have afforded her with a rich background for conducting the personal, in-depth interviews. It remained to be seen whether polysemy and openness of interpretations and the significance of the production side in the construction of meanings – or the significance of “Otherness” – could also place the paradigm in the context of third generation research approaches as well – with elements of the Postmodern in the production/consumption nexus. So triangulation or cross-fertilization had to be made among all four phases of this research paradigm: the problematics on Cyprus and the Literature Review, the Statistical Survey, the textual and discourse analysis of the Programmes and the analysis of the Personal Interviews and Group Discussions.

**QUANTITATIVE PHASE**

a. Historical background of Cyprus Media and Youth issues  
b. Literature review on culture, identity, Cyprus local/global realities and television and children  
c. Review of methodological issues

da. Amount of consumption and other attitudes: (Quantitative figures and correlation analysis)

**QUALITATIVE PHASES**

Textual and Discourse analysis of five leading television programmes

Consumption:  
reception, perception/interpretation through Interviews and group discussions
III.1.b: Advantages and disadvantages of Methodological Model Used

Statistical sampling has a definite advantage - if the sample is big enough, it can render results that are both representative and generalizable and and as we shall see later, the sample drawn for the Statistical Field Survey was representative enough - 1% of the population, i.e. around 600 students - to vouchsafe for the representativeness of the population of 13-18-year-olds and the generalizability of the results. Of course there is no flexibility in the administration of the questionnaire, as it has to be fixed. Furthermore there is always the possibility that the sample may not be sincere in their answers and there is no chance of corroborating the answers in the context of personal contact with them, as in personal interviews. Respondents may exaggerate in answers to delicate or sensitive matters, just to join the mainstream, or they may misunderstand the question. Some of these dangers may, however be forestalled by pretesting and in the fourth Chapter on the Field Survey, explanations are given about the pilot survey conducted before the main research survey.

Additionally, the qualitative part of the Study, with the Personal Interviews and discussions was a good forum for threshing out doubts about answers received to the Field Questionnaire. The personal — or depth interview — is highly focused, as Asa Berger ('1991:57) states:

“It is conducted to get at matters such as hidden feelings or attitudes and beliefs that respondents may not be aware of or that are only dimly in their consciousness.”

Again respondents may need varied degrees of guidance to be steered from one area of discussion to another, as probing the feelings and readings of the sample, would definitely involve a combination of pre-determined and ad lib questioning. As often practised in personal interviews, audio-tapes were used in the present study to record the interviews which guaranteed the accuracy of reported conversations, a definite advantage, but on the other hand it was a time-consuming effort to decode 24 one-hour interviews and two discussions.

Pretesting was also conducted for the Interview and Discussion sections, the purpose being to explore the conversation ground with the sample representatives, as to the use of vocabulary, the clarity and directiveness of questions, as well as to decide on the combination of pre-determined and ad-lib questions to be made in both the Interviews and
Discussions. The agenda for these had to integrate a lot from the corpus of data of the Field Survey, and to anticipate and handle elements from Models of television readings (The Textual Dominant Code, as well as the Incorporation/Resistance Code) from character zones and socio-cultural discourses established in the Programme Analysis, together with adjusting to the Respondent each time, as to gender, age, geographical position, etc. Pre-testing also helped reveal practical problems that had to do with the recording and the use of a microphone, which had to be explained and justified to the respondents, in order to secure the highest degree of naturalness in their behaviour.

All different types of responses on behalf of the Candidate conducting the Interviews were used during the Interviews as suggested by Asa Berger (Ibid:63), as she had had a long service in media interviews in her professional capacity with the Cyprus Broadcasting Corporation:

- The understanding response
- the probing response
- the evaluative response
- the phatic response (feedback to keep the interview moving);

The Programme Analysis, using textual and discourse analysis does present dilemmas, as to the kind of meanings attributed to the Programme contents. In spite of the fact, however that we often speak of “representations” of reality in television contents, we must never forget that television, like any other form of semiotics, “signifies” reality. So as Barthes, (in Inglis, 1993:95) proposes, both semiology and ideology (or mythology) should be used with their different sets of parameters, in critical discourse analysis, if any meaningful relationships are to be uncovered between (popular) programme contents analyzed by the author and the socio-cultural realities and ensuing identity of the sample. This interplay between form (myth) and meaning (actuality) is the challenge discourse analysis faces. And even though Barthes states that “in general myth prefers to work with poor, incomplete images, where the meaning is already relieved of its fat, and ready for a signification”, there is, in essence no saying who should win, as myth and meaning are both dimensions that must be probed among the sample later to see how they integrate these in their “lived experience” (Ibid:100). After all, as Eco proposes the physical law of entropy, applied to information, can lead to meanings – old and new – fading and wasting away, instead of creating semantic spaces with particular identities. He is resolute (in Inglis, 1993:103) that “the magnetization of the marbles of meaning is a strictly cultural, transitory and therefore historical process.” It
is, therefore the meanings with the (dominant/negotiated or resistant) readings yielded by the discourse analysis in the second stage of the Research that will cross-fertilize the final stage in the Interviews and Discussions, in a meta-discourse process which will seek to relate these meanings and readings to the “lived experiences” of the respondents in the context of Cyprus culture and history.

**III.2.1: The Statistical Survey: The Sample**

The sample chosen was in the age group of 13-18. Thirteen is the time at which teenage begins, with all its accompanying worries, anxieties, revolts and re-adjustments to the adult world. It is also the age at which the vast majority of children enter high school in Cyprus, thus changing their status, orientation attitudes and value priorities. Changes and developments in the intellectual and emotional make up of the teenager (after 12) have been written about and explored extensively. The teenagers' relationship to their environment (television being part of it) cannot, therefore remain unaffected:

"Only after about age 12, are the powerful transformational possibilities available, that allow for critical, abstract consciousness, though not available to everyone." (Hodge & Tripp, 1986:85)

Television, therefore, being a necessary institution in young people's environment, must be examined as to its contribution to:

“...the formation of the ideological and behavioural (performing) roles young people in Cyprus assume in the process of developing their potentialities.” (Hodge & Tripp, 1986:99)

It is, therefore of interest to explore the characteristics of the age group of 13 - 18. Eighteen is, furthermore, the age at which high school ends and boys prepare to enlist in the army, while girls may continue their studies. Besides, both genders now have, at this age, the right to vote. As their level of social and political responsibility therefore increases, it is interesting to observe differentiations in their attitudes and their cultural value system, as expressed in the cultural identity parameters examined in the present study.
III.2.2.a: The Statistical Survey: The Questionnaire

The aims of the questionnaire were to investigate the lifestyle constituents of the sample’s social, national/ethnic attitude and value systems, and arrive at conclusions and data which could be of statistical significance as to emerging patterns in the cultural identity of Cyprus youth. Different factors were taken into consideration when constructing the questionnaire, as follows (Asa Berger, 1991:42-43):

- The order of the questions
- The logic of the question order (questions aiming at different sections of replies) being intermingled.
- The utility of the questions – to bring out the necessary, relevant information
- The number of the questions – not to tire the respondents
- The ability of the respondents to answer
- The content of the questions
- The language used
- The nature of the questions – Open-ended questions were avoided, as the Personal Interviews would use this methodological approach
- The purpose of the questions
- The clarity of the questions – as the sample’s ages varied from 13 to 18 and there were bound to be differences in the vocabulary and understanding potential of the respondents

The questionnaire constituted of multiple-choice questions that were mutually exclusive and sought out answers as to hours of watching, channel and programme preferences and also (questions 1-6), as to other media or entertainment genres - i.e., music, radio, books, theatre, and church-going, religion still being a strong feature of Cyprus national and cultural identity.

The set of demographic questions (60-69) was considered necessary, as a collection of normative factors or variables, which may indicate connections between viewing and gender, family condition, social class, educational background and geographical location.

Another set of questions however (21-59) sought to explore the attitudes and approaches of young people to matters related with expressions of political and cultural life, like language, national symbols – i.e. the flag, relations with the Turkish Cypriots, as well as lifestyle, expectations as to social advancement, gender issues and drugs. In short, questions
connected to factors considered to be involved with socio-cultural, ideological and political dimensions.

These are dimensions touched upon in the introductory chapter which tried to outline realities and social issues in Cyprus, today.

A further analysis and classification of the questions would give us a clearer perspective of how they were designed to serve the goals of the overall study.

There were initially five sets of questions, which tried to explore the following areas:

1. The Cultural Interests of Respondents, other than Television Programmes
2. Their Television Programme Preferences and Viewing Habits.
3. Social Attitudes and Cultural Values
4. Attitudes on national and political issues
5. Demographic factors – area of living, age, gender, occupation and education of parents.

III.2.2.b: Questions about Cultural Interests of Respondents, other than Television
(Questions 1-6)

Questions 1 - 6 seek to establish preferences and frequencies with regard to: cinema, theatre and church-going, reading of literature books, outside school-book contents, magazine preferences and singer preferences.

Cinema in Cyprus, like in many other countries is going through a period of revival, especially among young people. Apart from the fact that over 12 commercial cinema houses function in the whole of the island, there are two film clubs and one cine-studio (at Intercollege) showing either art or quality films.

Furthermore the last 15 years are witnessing a wave of Cyprus filmmakers, some of whom seem to be successful outside Cyprus. In the Cyprus festival “Ta Kypria”, held in 1997, there was a whole month of Cyprus-produced films being shown at the Cine-studio in Intercollege. One of the films, “The Slaughter of the Cock” received a number of awards in the annual Greek Salonika festival, in 1996. Other young film-makers include Irena Ioannides, a successful director of short-films, having received, among other awards a Silver Medal for the film “Her Violet Garden” (1997) at the “11th International Short Film Festival” (Hamburg) and “Best Film Award” for the short film “Island” (1999) at the “Festival Internacional de Cine de Cortometraj – Spain”. So interest in the cinema seems to be a rising trend in Cyprus youth culture. It is interesting to establish how high it stands in the
preferences of young people, how it rates in comparison to the popularity of television and what influences - if any - it seems to have on the research sample. Question 19 seeks to establish movie-star preferences and possible (conscious) modeling after stars or film characters.

The theatre, on the other hand, as a form of "high" culture, does not rank very high in cultural preferences among Cypriots, in general, or among young people in particular. The state theatre (THOK) established in 1970, at the end of the first decade of the independence of Cyprus, encourages youth fans by offering free tickets to schools and also subsidizes two or three private theatre-groups, functioning in the island. It would be interesting to find out if the theatre claims as much attention from the sample as television does.

The question about church going might seem strange in a research about cultural identity. Not so in Cyprus, where the church is a significant socio-cultural factor as already established. (Ch. 1: Endnote No. 3). The Church even today, plays a significant role in Cyprus culture, having its own Radio-TV station and organizing or supporting concerts quite often.

Magazines (Q. 5) are numerous in Cyprus. Twenty titles are listed in the question, in a deliberate combination of youth-oriented magazines, with Variety magazines for adults, so as to explore the preferences of the sample, in connection to current, light reading.

Finally, singers and pop music (Q. 6) are a definitely outstanding feature of Cyprus youth culture. Cyprus not only participates in the Eurovision Song Contest, every year, but the Popular Bank of Cyprus holds its own contest every year and there is a growing number of young composers and singers making a career in Cyprus and Greece. Besides, one cannot ignore the fact that television is a steady and suitable medium for the promotion of pop music; and the MTV clip tradition is today a phenomenon of global youth culture.

Questions 7 and 8 seek to establish the popularity of radio programmes in general, even though it was established by the 1995 survey that radio listening by young people was at very low levels, as compared to television.

III.2.2.c: Questions about Television Preferences and Viewing Habits
(Questions 9 - 19)

Questions 9 to 19 focus on television. Hours of television (Q. 9) and preferred time-zones (Q. 10) are necessary to establish the premises of television preferences. The time zones were classified under four headings, as follows:
1. Programmes for children are usually shown before 5.00p.m. Of course our age-sample begins at 13, but some of the programmes broadcast during these early hours do not necessarily limit their appeal to children (below the teen group).

2. Besides, 5.00 - 8.00 is considered to be the family programme zone, whereas adult viewing is considered (traditionally) to begin after 8.00 and after the evening news (8.00 or 8.30 p.m., as the case may be from different channels.)

3. It is of import here to remember that in the 1995 research, it was clearly established that even the younger age sample of that survey - 11-13 - had definitely shifted its viewing habits to later evening hours:

4. 63.5% of the children watched television between 8.00 and 11.00 and 16.4%, after 11.00 p.m.

So the time zone of 11.00 onwards was also considered necessary for the question.

The programmes listed in Q.11 were taken from the running Radio-TV Programme Magazine, (Volume 7, No.843, dates 29th March to 11th April, 1997) and TV - Mania, (Vol. 178, dates 19 - 25 April, 1997). Further guidance as to highly-rated programmes, was derived from two of the current, at the time, ratings surveys:

One was conducted by Research Office AMER (1997) on the 21st March 1996, among 21,443 13 - 18-year-old boys and girls from all over Cyprus; the other one by Research Centre KEMA (1997) among a sample of 41,980 13 - 18-year-old boys and girls, again on a Pancyprian scale.

The question about general channel preferences (Q.13) is complemented by the question about channel preferences by time zones (Q.16), as private channels usually broadcast programmes with unsuitable material after 11 o'clock. (Roussou, 1995:27)

Question No. 16 about how the sample watches television and with whom, was an attempt to establish television viewing habits in the home, as ethnographic methods of participant observation are difficult to apply on a world-wide scale. In Cyprus, where Media Research is quite limited, participant observation would be even more difficult, as people are not exposed to, or familiar with media research. But the conversations to be carried in the personal interviews would at least try to investigate the viewing contexts and habits of the respondents, during the interviews and the discussions, which are analyzed in Chapter six of the present study.

Besides, we cannot underestimate the significance of the context of viewing relationships, which form an intermediate variable in the message-reader continuum.
Hodge and Tripp (1986:137) summarise it very well, by referring the process to the issue of modality, in connection to conditions of reception.

"It makes a difference whether people view on their own or in company. The closer the social involvement in the viewing situation, the greater the modality gap that is tolerable. This fact is recognised by programme-makers who include audience responses on sound tracks, especially laughter, which helps to create the modality gap that is essential to make something funny."

A very good example of this attempt to relate TV contents to reality, is pointed out again in Chapter Six, in connection to recorded laughter in “Para Pente” which is one of the most popular entertainment programmes in Cyprus currently.

Four more questions about television contents were included in the questionnaire towards the end. They are Question 46, asking whether the respondents believe that the fictional programmes on the various channels - drama, action, and soap opera - are realistic and Question No. 48, about preferences of fictional programmes, which can be correlated, to Q. 46, in order to explore the possible modeling associations of young people with fictional programme characters and contents.

Also Q. 49 about preference of channel as to news programmes and Q. 50 about reasons for giving the answer they do to Q. 49 to establish the authority, quality and authenticity of the channel news they view. Questions 49 and 50 seek to corroborate previous audience ratings in which young people seem to prefer the news bulletins of private channel ANT.1. Characteristics of these bulletins differentiate them from other channel news: swift pace, big crews, exaggeration in the language used and in impressions created, as well as many human-interest stories, sometimes sensational, sometimes filtered through philanthropy projects – e.g. collecting money for the poor, bankrupt family-man.

Question 56 tried to establish whether the respondents believe there is more violence in English-language, than in Greek-language programmes, which latter have been on the ascent in transmission hours and gaining in popularity, more especially on private channels.

All of the above questions about programme preferences, will, in a subsequent stage of the study, be good background material from which to draw in the one-to-one interviews and group discussions.
III.2.2.d: Questions on Social Attitudes and Cultural Values
(Questions 21 - 37, 51 - 52 & 58)

All of these questions are considered suitable instruments to explore the dimensions of the socio-cultural features of the respondents.

Their attitudes towards the characteristics, equality and relationships of the genders and television modeling of genders would be explored through Questions 21 - 26, 34, 36, 41, 51 and 52. It is pertinent, here, perhaps, to remind ourselves of the scantiness of good female models on television, as van Zoonen (1991:42) points out:

"Many more women work than media output suggest, very few women are like the "femmes fatales" of soap operas and mini-series and women’s desires consist of a lot more than the hearth and home of traditional women's magazines."

Good female role models are much more scant in Cyprus and Greek productions than they are in English-language productions. It is, therefore an issue which calls for further research, as gender values are a significant constituent in the identity of young people.

The outcome of the investigated attitudes in the present study, would be revealing as to how girls see the depiction of women in television programmes and how boys view women in these roles, as revealed by the programme discourses.

The cultural identity of any gender in a country, of necessity relates to the other gender. So the question about pre-marital relationships between men and women (Q.51 &52) is interesting to investigate. Until recently and even today, in rural areas, pre-marital relationships were considered natural for men, but impermissible or inappropriate for women. Patriarchal attitudes and concepts of social function dominated power relations between the genders. Tourism, travelling and studies abroad are changing this very quickly in the cities, but in rural areas, sex for girls before marriage, is still taboo. Considering that the field survey was conducted in both urban and rural Cyprus, attitudes on the subject of pre-marital sex by young people who are today growing up in a more European climate, were interesting to investigate, and pick up later in the discourse analysis and the interviews.

Drugs, as indicated in the introductory chapter of this study are also today a part of Cyprus reality, as in many other countries - Europe, USA and elsewhere. What is more, drug-abuse has become an every-day subject on television news. The realism or attractiveness of drug abuse on television programmes can, perhaps, trigger positive or negative reactions to the habit. How conscious are the sample to these reactions is again a
matter for exploration, as drug taking is very frequent in all kinds of programmes – imported and locally-produced.

It is therefore considered of interest to see how young people view the way television channels present drugs and drug-use today (Q.47) and whether they consider this presentation as a factor contributing to drugs becoming more attractive for the youth of Cyprus.

Question No. 27, by placing a series of options and priorities to the respondent, as to what they consider important for their “personal happiness” - expensive houses and cars/ money/ far-away trips/ authority/ love/ social action/ friends/ peace and security in Cyprus, establishes a lifestyle frame for the sample. The goal of the question is quite obviously to explore the priorities of young people in a country that is economically well off, on its way to the EEC, but is still torn by internal division between its communities. Culture, we have seen, is both a process and an artefact. What kind of cultural priorities and value systems, does the new Cyprus generation hold? It is a generation which, like many others in different parts of the world, is growing up with consumerism, MTV, television zapping, the images of Madonna and Michael Jackson, the carefree glamorous climate of “Beverly Hills”, the glossy surfaces of “The Bold and the Beautiful”, “Melrose Place”, “Baywatch”. How does all this connect to their primary goals in life? Global or local standards and outlooks: Products or peace of mind? Their personal ambition, or their nation’s plight?

Question 58 runs along the same lines: “Which of the public issues Listed below is most important to you currently”:

Drug Abuse in Cyprus/Violence in Cyprus/The Cyprus Problem/Equality of Women/A possible War with Turkey/Cyprus Joining the EEC.

Another question, in other words, to establish their political parallel to their social orientations.

II.2.2.e: Questions about Political and National Issues:
(Questions 31, 32, 38 - 40, 42 - 45 & 53 - 55)

Since 1963 when Turkish-Cypriots withdrew from all areas of life and work common with Greek-Cypriots, a whole generation in both communities has grown apart, in segregation, without really ever meeting or knowing each other, apart from occasional efforts at rapprochement. The only image the Greek-Cypriot youth can have of Turkish Cypriots is through accounts at home, in school, in current media reports, or on television. What do they think of these “Others” with whom their government is trying to arrange a lasting solution for
peaceful co-existence? And what do they think of the Turks, from mainland Turkey, who have been imported in big numbers since 1974, by the Denktash regime?

The only channel that used to broadcast television programmes in Turkish, because of its constitutional obligations, as a public station, used to be the Cyprus Broadcasting Corporation. After 1974, it continued to transmit a short (half-hour) weekly programme (in Turkish), addressed to the Turks, as well as a brief, five-minute daily news-bulletin, in Turkish. But the transmission, in 1989, of a Turkish feature film, which had been a regular part of the CyBC programme, before 1974, provoked intense protest and was heavily criticized (attacked, one would say) by the Greek-Cypriot public. As a result, the enterprise was never repeated in the years that followed. The identity gap therefore between the Greek-Cypriots and the Turkish-Cypriots in the Island continued to grow, developing into a condition of alienation: Greek-Cypriot youth almost completely ignore those historical and cultural “Others” (Ch.2: 67) behind the barbed wire.

Nevertheless, the news bulletins of most channels lead their main news usually with events and developments about the Cyprus problem. And anything connected with Greek-Turkish relationships is always given top priority - national and political. It is relevant here, for example to again mark the dramatic events during August 1996, which occurred along the Dherynia demarcation line, in which Tassos Isaac and Solomos Solomou were killed by Turks from the mainland - a notorious group of assassins by the name of “grey wolves”. There was great emphasis in many Cyprus periodicals and press reports that the two boys were not killed by Turkish Cypriots, but by mainland Turks (Magazine “Selidhes”, 1996.) One was literally battered to death and the other shot down, in cold blood while he climbed the mast to bring down the Turkish flag along the demarcation line - a symbol of occupation for the Greek-Cypriots.

The ethnic and cultural identity of Greek-Cypriot youth is definitely not isolated, not a thing apart from the Turkish-Cypriot presence, across the borderline. The effort at rapprochement between the two communities and the confidence-building measures revived at times, definitely involve, in a study like the present, an exploration of how these “Others” are regarded by the younger generation of Greek-Cypriots. After all, it is expected that they will, in the future, be called on to live in the common, bi-ethnic state, with a socio-cultural context of Cyprus for the Cypriots - one country, for one people. Are young Greeks in Cyprus ready for this and what is the contribution of television to this effect?
Questions 39 and 40 are not unrelated to the above problematics on the Cyprus question, as they revolve around military service and also as to whether the research sample consider it a stepping-stone to a war with the Turks, or merely a civic duty.

Questions 31, 32 and 53 try to look into matters of language. After the end of British colonial rule, many government departments preserved the use of the English language receiving a lot of criticism from people who believed the change to the use of the Greek language should happen much more quickly and effectively. Some of these more nationally-oriented voices are, at times quite impassioned, as indicated by the following excerpt from an article by educationist Gabriel Minas (1996), under the title “The Greek Language and Who is Here in Cyprus to Defend It”:

“We demand, as Greek citizens of this country that all those who govern us, should protect the Greek language from the establishment of British colonialism and impose immediately its use in public service. This is, for Cyprus Hellenism, a matter of national dignity, national self-respect and credibility.”

The comment offers itself as an interesting piece of evidence as to the power that is attached to language. (Ch.2:66)

Most of the television programmes transmitted in Cyprus, as we saw in the introductory chapter of the present study, originate from either America or other English-speaking countries, or Greece, with a few local productions, mostly in the Cyprus dialect. It is of interest to find out the attitudes of the sample to language matters as related to the television programmes they watch.

In an article entitled, “The Use of the Greek Language by the Mass Media of Communication”, journalist Themis Polyviou (1994) remarks:

“The Panhellenic Demotiki (Standard Greek) is being tortured and vandalized. This hardship, through the Mass Media of Communication, is passed on through everybody’s oral or written expression, so long as he reads a newspaper, listens to the radio and watches television.”

However, Standard Modern Greek and the Cyprus dialect are really in direct competition, in the linguistic agenda of the Cypriots. So what are the choices of the sample and where do the scales tilt in different areas of language use – everyday communication, television programmes, social discourse, etc.

Questions about the Cyprus University (Q. 54) the flag (Q. 59)
and national identity (Q.55) are considered instrumental in denoting the profile of young people’s cultural identity.

Discussion about the character of the University in Cyprus has been going on throughout the years which followed the law, establishing it, in 1989. This law states that:

“The University serves the needs of all the citizens of the Cyprus Republic and accepts foreign students....

The languages of instruction of the University are Greek and Turkish.”.

Even so, after years of function, there are still voices calling for a finalisation of the “character” of the University, like that of Ouranios Ioannides (1997), a well-known government-party M.P., appointed Minister of Education in 1999:

“Labels have been used to the extreme and everyone gives the University his own semantic description. This is a mistake. This is not a matter of labels and signs. It is a matter of substance. We are speaking about a state university. It makes no sense to talk about a bi-communal or any other university. The law is clear. We speak about the autonomy of the institution. The term is definitive and clear in Europe for 800 years now.”

In Cyprus, however, public discussion about a Helleno-centric and Cypro-centric University, among both educationists and citizens, including discussions in the mass media, is a very frequent phenomenon. Helleno-centric citizens have often accused University authorities of trying to dehellenize University students. The fact remains that there are no “foreign” students at the University, apart from several mainland Greeks, inspite of its constitutionally professed “international” character and no Turkish-Cypriot students, perhaps, because partition in the island has led to the parallel establishment of Turkish universities in the occupied areas. The relevant questions were therefore considered appropriate, to establish how young people perceive the state university, an institution that definitely contributes to the cultural identity of the young Cypriot (or any country’s) citizen.

The question about the flag (Q.59) also sought to clarify the confusion which exists around the national standard. The Greek flag was used on all official national holiday occasions for the Greek-Cypriots, before Cyprus gained its independence. After 1960, an official Cyprus State flag was established for all Cypriots. The two flags are thus further confirmation of the status of Cyprus as a possible, but never realized nation-state, after 1960. However, after 1963 and the segregation of the two communities and more especially after 1974, with the invasion of the island by Turkey, the Greek flag is almost always used together with the Cyprus flag in rallies, demonstrations, protests, as well as on all (Greek)
national anniversaries and other occasions. The Turkish flag, on the other hand, has, since the invasion of 1974, been identified for Greek-Cypriots, with the invasion and the occupation. However, in gatherings where pure Helleno-centric drives predominate, only the Greek flag may be present, just as in predominantly Cypro-centric gatherings, only the Cyprus flag may be present. This essentially reflects the situation about identity, as described by Peristianis (1995) and referred to in the first chapter of this study - i.e. the identification symbols of the different identity groups existing in the island (flags, language, symbols) being radically different. (Ch.1:16)

The flag question is also connected, of course, to the more specific question about self-perceived national identity (Q.55), which seeks to trace how the majority of young people in Cyprus negotiate their ethnic/cultural identity – Greek/not Cypriot, Cypriot/not Greek, Greek-Cypriot/European/Citizen of the world.

The identity question can be correlated with popular programmes from all sources (Q.11), which ranking highest - as well as the language use in official documents (Q.53) and the character of the Cyprus university (Q.54).

The investigation will also try to establish what kind of cultural priorities the new Cyprus generation has.

Question 58 is an indication of this, running along parallel lines - “Which one of the public issues below is most important to you currently?” The listed answers include “Drugs in Cyprus/The Cyprus Problem/Women’s equality/A possible war with Turkey/Cyprus joining the EEC.

III.2.2.f: Demographic Questions.
(Questions 60 - 67)

These questions (60 - 69) intend to establish gender, age, school level or school type attended - Gymnasium, Lyceum or Technical School, place of residence (urban/rural) parents’ profession and education, as well as the socio-economic profile and marital status of parents. All the questions in the demographic section seek to draw a picture of the possible differentiations between the cultural identity characteristics, considering age, education and professional status of parents as well as living area of the sample, in association with the polysemic (different) reception of television messages, as expounded in the culturalist approach, developed in Ch. 2 (54). The author’s comments about Hall’s encoding-decoding continuum are in order here to remind us of the significance of polysemic interpretation:
“The encoding-decoding continuum as proposed in our times by Stuart Hall (Inglis, 1990:16) is by far a more than simple model of assessing the ways and means of interpreting television messages, as the structure of meaning is always intricately interwoven with our culture and our ideology; and our response to the television language can be be varied and complex, all depending on our individual personality in its particular social setting.”

In Cyprus, the buffer zone cutting through the Island has created new socio-political and cultural realities (Ch. 1: 17-18), which are more marked in certain areas, as in the District of Unoccupied Famagusta, where the events of Isaac and Solomou, widely transmitted by Cyprus and foreign media created a particular socio-cultural and political climate in the area. So, even though evidences of globalization trends in Cyprus television programming have been discussed in Ch. 2 (60-63), local realities cannot be said to be uniformly the same, as the political problem in Cyprus has created different environments in different areas. These realities must, therefore be explored in the course of examining polysemic interpretations, demographic and geographic factors also being taken into consideration.

III. 3: Television Programme Analysis

An analysis of five out of the top ten programmes preferred by the sample was planned to set the background of the socio-cultural concepts embraced by these programmes. It is in the context of the lines established by this analysis that both the group discussions and the one-to-one interviews were conducted. Much has been written in the direction of making meaning out of television programme material, with all its complicacies of sound and vision, lighting, movement and drama. This study area of "semiotics" in television becomes more complicated, therefore, but also more challenging. Fiske & Hartley (1978:37) will state that:

"Semiotics are simply defined, the science of signs; how they work and the ways in which we use them. Semiology is another word for the same science and currently each is used by different authorities with much the same meaning...The central concerns of semiotics are two: the relationship between a sign and its meaning and the way signs are combined into codes."

Television, a composite medium of sound, colour, picture and motion, is particularly suited for the generalization of an iconic sign like the photograph, into a broader sign, with a "new level of culturally determined meaning." (Fiske, 1978:52) This fact, however, has often been misunderstood to involve the text or message preceding the receiver or audience in
time, thereupon also commanding an "equivalent precedence in the process". (Fiske, 1988:246). This, Fiske claims, should be reversed: the audience should precede the text, in a historical moment at which the "cultural process" which has created a person with individual historical, social and discursive differences is faced with the TV screen. Then the social allegiances, forged through shared discourse, are brought to bear upon any moment of viewing and as Fiske (1988:247) again puts it:

"The pleasure is greatest and the attention given to the screen is greatest when the viewer is actively engaged in the production of socially pertinent meanings."

It is this interpretive activity of the viewer that the author of the present study proposes to use in the top ten programmes to be analyzed.

Media studies today look for new inroads into the role of the viewer himself:

"The study of media effects must, it is argued, take into account the interpretive activity of the viewer, as viewers do not simply receive programmes as they are presented, nor do they simply impose meanings on to the programmes, in accordance with their prior knowledge.” (Livingstone, 1990)

This individual cultural background of television viewers, has been the cornerstone of the culturalist approach to television readings, as developed earlier (Chapter 2:55-57) and of the postmodern approach again discussed in the same chapter. The former is tied to "power relations", the latter to an "infinity of rewritings conducive to ambiguity and uncertainty, even chaos.” (Ch.2: 63)

Whether we view television interpretations from the perspective of culturalism, or from that of postmodernity, there is always a search into how audiences construct meaning. This search, according to Newcomb (1984:3) is the site of "ideological struggle". A struggle which is conducted in dialogic form, the interpolent forces being the different "languages" (the heteroglossia of different genders, age-groups, religious groups, social circles, etc. and "words" themselves). (Ibid:39). This struggle for the "hegemony of intention" in television, is embodied in the characters of a programme, or as Bakhtin puts it, "the character zones" (in Newomb, 1984:41), a necessary analysis being called for, of camera patterns, editing and set designs, which create ultimately the final product. Television representations signify the reality of the producer. This is a reality that contains both the ideological substance (Barthes, 1957: 137) and all the signs of semiological value (the props, the actors, the music, the colours in Brechtian dramaturgy.) And even though Barthes doubts the possibility of the
combination of semiology and ideology, Inglis (1993:95) believes that Barthes does realize this combination. It would rather be strange, besides to hold that in such a strongly visual and composite medium as television, mythology or ideology can be distinctly treated as to the production of meaning.

The analysis, therefore of the top programmes preferred by the sample will try to identify both the social concepts and the television production methods used to support and signify the creation, as well as the reception and the possible interpretation by the audience, of the producer’s reality.

This dialectic repartee between medium and audience (who very naively have previously been thought of as not "talking back" to their television sets) is today becoming a systematized object of study:

"The few observational studies of television viewing available to use, are beginning to suggest something else, that viewers absorb television into other forms of dialogue, respond with parallel stories and comments that they block, mold and shape the 'words' of television in a range of ways."(Newcomb, 1984:47)

Morley’s pioneering term in the area - "the discourse analysis system" that "relates texts and audiences, texts and society" (Newcomb, 1984:47) and "provides the central content for the cultural study of mass media" is what we propose to use. This tracing of "discourse" in television text contents and audiences (in the one-to-one interviews and discussion groups) will be our analytical framework. As the chapter, however, on programme analysis will entail an information analysis of five programmes, in order to establish the points of contact between the statistical survey and the interviews and discussions, no detailed discourse analysis of television language will be attempted. But the concepts and principles of discourse analysis will be applied to the information analysis of the programmes, in an integral application of textual and discourse concepts in the television contents discussed.

It is well-established in the field of discourse analysis (Bell & Garrett, 1998:4) that “most of the work in media discourse has been on ‘factual’ genres and particularly news.” This does not mean that fictional genres, however, have not been the object of discourse analysis. And detailed discourse analysis usually involves short excerpts, like video-clips, taken from longer programmes, or news bulletins. This is not the aim in the adoption of discourse here, as the five programmes discussed in Chapter five, are quite lengthy and complex. The discussion and analysis of the programmes will use some of the concepts of
discourse analysis, together with text and character analysis, in order to bridge the quantitative (statistical survey) and qualitative (interview/discussions) parts of the study. Having emphasized the role of television in the building of collective memory banks and in the provision of material out of which, as Kellner (1995:5) says, “we forge our very identities” (Ch.2: 65) and having also established the power of language in the cultural character of a nation, the analysis of the programmes can render useful insights and guiding principles for building the interviews and group discussions with the sample. In the context of this research project, we propose to use the critical discourse approach that Fairclough (1995:54) uses. Fairclough (in Bell & Garrett, eds., 1998:144) himself maps three different kinds of analysis within the framework of Critical Discourse Analysis:

1. “analysis of texts (spoken, written or involving a combination of semiotic modalities, e.g. the generic features of television);
2. analysis of discourse practices in production, distribution and consumption
3. analysis of social and cultural practices which frame discourse practices and texts.”

In elaborating his critical approach, Fairclough (1995:55) explicaes the use of “orders of discourse” in the application of critical discourse practices, defining the order of discourse of a social institution or social domain, as being “constituted by all the discursive types which are used there”, the point being to “highlight the relationships between different types in such a set”.

In this discourse framework, language will be treated as Fairclough again suggests, both as an effect and as a cause, as shaped, by but also as constituting social practice.

The programmes to be analyzed will, therefore, be examined from the point of view of how language shapes:
◆ social identities
◆ social relations
◆ and systems of knowledge and belief (representations.)

In other words, the three areas of representations, relationships and identities, derived from Fairclough’s critical discourse approach were also a sphere for exploration, on the reception side. These three approaches are, according to Fairclough (1995:12) of major importance in the question of how “media language might work ideologically”:

“Representations, identities and relations are of relevance to answering this question: the ideological work of media language includes particular ways of representing the world (e.g. particular representations of Arabs, or of the economy) particular constructions of social identities (e.g. the construction in particular ways of the scientific experts who feature on
radio or television programmes) and particular constructions of social relations (e.g. the construction of relations between politicians and public as simulated relations between people in a shared lifeworld.)"

To put it differently again, the text - as produced and consumed - the discourse process and practice and the resulting socio-cultural precepts in their broad dimensions, as well as the general socio-cultural practices, analyzed first in the programmes and subsequently taken up for further investigation in the discussion groups and the interviews which follow, comprise the wide range of discourse practices to be used.

More specifically:

- **Text**, would involve language analysis. The meaning and form will be examined, where advisable or significant and the syntax of sentences, metaphors and metonymy, denotation and connotation, insinuations, innuendoes will be generally traced and placed in context. Camera angles, lighting, props and shooting will also be part of the textual analysis, as media language today has substituted aspects of prosody with the technology of production. (Ch.2:52)

- **Intertextual** analysis should proceed from text analysis: an analysis of genres and their inter-connection in the creation of the final result viewed, interpreted in the proper light, should bridge the gap between "society and culture" (Fairclough, 1995:62). This combination of text and intertextual analysis will also form a richer tapestry from which to draw, in framing the questions to be addressed subsequently to the interviewees and the discussion participants.

- **Discourse Practice** or the analysis of discourse can involve institutional routines (e.g. editorial and household consumption processes) or discourse processes, like transformations which texts undergo in production and consumption. (Fairclough, 1994:58,59) Discourse can also be analyzed as "conventional discourse practice" (relatively homogeneous in forms and meanings) or "creative discourse practice which is "relatively heterogeneous". (Fairclough, 1995:60) It is proposed that in the present study the “conventional” approach be used in the programme analysis.

- **Sociocultural practice** may involve the analysis of any one or all of the following three levels:
  - the more immediate situational context of the event
  - the wider context of institutional practices the event is embedded within
  - or the yet wider frame of society and its culture.
Three aspects of the latter "socio-cultural analysis" are most significant, according to Fairclough (1994:62): the economic, the political (concerned with issues of power and ideology) and cultural (concerned with questions of value and identity.)

For the purposes of the present study, ideological concepts, values and beliefs, already discussed in the Survey questionnaire, will also be an object of investigation throughout the programme analysis, and the critical discourse approach used will be conducted along the following lines:

Critical Discourse Analysis:

♦ Production/Consumption (Textual Analysis)
♦ Representations/Identities/Relationships
♦ Discourse Analysis and Socio-cultural Analysis
♦ Readings by the Sample (Exploration of possible associations and readings by respondents during the Interviews and Group Discussions.

In order to understand the interpretation of the preferred programmes by the research sample, there was an overall effort to investigate, through the discourse approach, how television itself first represents life's socio-cultural realities (local or global) in the top five programmes and how the sample subsequently reduce this reality into their own - either on a micro (personal) basis or on a macro (national) basis. This could indicate the degree of interpretative integration of projected norms and values by the respondents, their negotiation, or resistance. In the words of Fairclough it will indicate the “social distribution of power”, or the power relations resulting from media discourses in the context of socio-cultural practices.

Even though the application of the broad discourse concepts evades the orthodox application of detailed analysis of language in the Media, in this particular project it is useful to see how these discourse concepts can position the variances in the production/consumption continuum, more especially in the light of the complexity of the Cyprus media scene: as discussed in Ch. 1 (19-20) the majority of television programmes broadcast on Cyprus channels, are Greek, Cypriot and American productions. Production aesthetics, character delineation and representations of reality in these programmes, differing as they do, must be placed in relation to the reception side of the sample audience. The principles and concepts of Discourse Analysis already expounded, will afford a very good backdrop for establishing a coherent continuum in the encoding/decoding process. Discourse
analysis, as Jaworski & Coupland (1999:36) point out “is a committedly qualitative orientation to linguistic and social understanding.”

A parallel dimension introduced in the analysis of the programmes and later carried forward into the phase of the Interviews and Group Discussions, was the textual study of television programmes, as proposed by Fiske, integrated in the different sections of the Critical Discourse Analysis - Production/Consumption, Representations, Identities, Relationships and Discourse Analysis and Socio-Cultural Analysis. This approach also used three focuses: “the formal qualities of television programmes – the intertextual relations of television within itself, with other media, and with conversation; and the study of socially situated readers and the process of reading.” (Fiske, 1995:16)

Perhaps some additional problematics connected to textual and discourse analysis should be added here. The use of these terms may often be “ambiguous and confusing”, according to Stubbs (1998:9), who proceeds to clarify that “as they are used in the literature, they often simply imply slight differences in emphasis, on which one often talks of written text versus spoken discourse.” (Ibid) Another distinction that ought to be made is, to quote Stubbs (Ibid) again, “discourse often implies interactive discourse, whereas text implies non-interactive monologue.” Textual and discourse analysis as used in the Programme Analysis of this study, takes into consideration both of these distinctions, text here of course, meaning the totality of normative narrative elements used in television production – the dialogue, the camera shots, the lighting, the production techniques – while discourse essentially revolves around the embodiment, the reflection of, or the construction of social realities and textual interaction with them.

III.4: One-to-one Interviews

A limited number - twenty-three one-to-one interviews - was the subsequent dimension of the qualitative research. About half of the respondents – boys and girls – were selected from the cosmopolitan community of Nicosia and an equal number of respondents were chosen from among the participating schools of the more contrasting rural environment of Unoccupied Famagusta - Paralimni and Frenaros - as these areas presented some of the sharper contrasts during the Statistical Field Survey.

The interviewees - 13 from Nicosia District and ten from unoccupied Famagusta - were drawn from the three age groups - 13, 15 and 18 – with attention as to equal representation of the two genders. So demographically, the area, the age and the gender were represented, as
well as the three types of secondary school education – Gymnasium (13 year-olds), Lyceum (15 and 18), as well as respondents from Technical Education.

These interviews which lasted for about 45-60 minutes each, tried to analyse in-depth the views and feelings, the attitudes and reactions, the motivation in viewing and the conscious or habitual programme selection, the conscious or unconscious use of television programmes in the family and the cultural viewing context of the respondents. In other words, as already planned in this chapter (107), the social identity, the relationships and the representations were investigated among the sample participating in the interviews and discussions.

It is the author's view that 23 personal interviews would offer the material from which to draw for the qualitative interpretation. Alasuutari (1995:12) supportively stresses that:

"Since a single unstructured personal interview easily adds up to 30 pages of transcribed text, it is seldom sensible or possible in terms of research resources to conduct so many interviews that the differences between individuals would be statistically significant. In qualitative analysis a great number of observation units and statistical thinking are neither needed nor possible."

The selection of the students was made by the random method and the respondents were all very willing to participate in the research and share their views and assessment of the programmes they viewed vis-à-vis their lifestyle, socio-cultural and ethnic values.

These "conversations with a purpose" (Lindlof, 1995:164) sought readings and interpretations from a heterogeneous group of people whose socio-demographic characteristics in essence coincided with those of the statistical survey sample as to gender, age, geographical location – district area, and urban or rural region – as well as type of school (Gymnasium, Lyceum, Technical School).

Other than that, the responses would not be quantified, and they could not be generalizable but they would be interpreted on singular - personal - bases for inferences that would seek to integrate them with the results of the Field Survey. To quote Lindlof (1995:21) again on the subject:

"Qualitative research methods are distinguished from quantitative methods in that they do not rest their evidence on the logic of mathematics, the principle of numbers, or the methods of statistical analysis. They converge on issues of how humans articulate and interpret their social and personal interest."
The interviews would therefore seek to establish the negotiation or the understanding of television characters and programme contents and patterns of cultural/ideological meanings transmitted through self-contained episodes of programmes or serials. Furthermore, conscious or unconscious influences of programmes or characters on the interviewees, could be investigated.

In both the group discussions and the one-to-one interviews, the "meaning and pleasure" explored and decoded in the discourse analysis (Fiske, 1987) were continued into a metadiscourse discussion, meant to deconstruct the semiotics of the top popular programmes in the particular social conditions and the readings of the respondents. The negotiation of discourse, according to Bourdieu (1991) depends on the conditions of the use of discourse", this including the manipulation of expressions by individuals, depending on the freedom they feel they have and can use.

Behaviours possibly related to television character action and interaction, attitudes that could be deriving from characters or plots and inter-comparison of popular programmes, rendered questions that entered into the interviews, and formed first-hand conversation material.

As language in qualitative interviewing is both a tool and the subject of analysis, it is important to be aware and sensitive to the intricacies of language among the Greek population of Cyprus and the mixed use of the Cyprus dialect, as well as of the Standard Modern Greek, or the Panhellenic Demotiki, which we discussed earlier on. So an appropriate combination was used, both in the group discussion and the individual interviews. The agenda of questioning also included prepared and ad lib questions.

These twenty-three one-to-one interviews were conducted as planned, in order to complete the research design this being the second stage of the qualitative part of the research paradigm, following the Programmes Analysis. It was not considered necessary to show relevant excerpts from Programmes to the Interviewees, before the Interviews, as they had indicated sufficient familiarity with the programmes in the Field Interview, marking their preferences quite definitively.

The interviews as proposed by Fiske (1995:16) involved three foci:

1. "the formal qualities of television programmes and their flow
2. the intertextual relations within television programmes themselves and the relations of television with other media and with everyday conversation
3. the study of "socially situated readers and the process of reading".
The discussion of the interview contents would aim at referring to the themes emerging from the Field Research in the light of the textual and discourse analysis of programmes in chapter five. Consequently, the four main emerging patterns that emerged from the Field Survey set the climate for the Interview conversations which were also informed by the insights and conclusions derived from the textual and discourse analysis of the (top five) popular programmes.

III.5: Group Discussions

The group discussions were to be conducted like panel discussions, the writer being the moderator coordinating the discussion and leading it along the lines that interest the survey, the questions trying to establish a continuum between the data of the field questionnaire and the attitudes and cultural values articulated by the respondents during the interviews and continued in the discussions. Furthermore, points as to the ideological and cultural patterns – local or global – arising from the television programmes were worked into the subsequent group discussions, to establish relationships between discourses in the popular programmes and the readings of the sampled groups.

The aim of these discussions was not to "build consensus" as Berger (1991:91) points out, but just the opposite, i.e.:

"To find out what each member thinks about the topic under discussion to elicit from each person in the group his or her opinions and descriptions of behaviour of interest".

In other words, these group discussions are intended to become another level of dialogue with the sample, with good possibilities of cross-referencing points from the personal interviews. Furthermore, the support of the peer group could help the respondents contribute their views in an open, frank climate, even when they contrasted or clashed with each other, or with those of the moderator.

These discussion groups were run like a "collective depth interview" (Ibid:91), which integrated the textual and discourse analysis of the programmes and the expressed (meta-discourse) experiences of the responding sample.

Of course, a most appropriate method to throw light on the meaning of television, as negotiated by the young audiences of our survey, would certainly be the ethnographic approach that is gaining great popularity in contemporary media research. According to
Hammersley and Atkinson (in Jensen & Jankowski, 1991:153), ethnography, deriving mainly from anthropological approaches, can be understood as:

"...simply one social research method, albeit an unusual one, drawing on a wide range of sources of information. The ethnographer participates in people's lives for an extended period of time, watching what happens, listening to what is said, asking questions, collecting whatever data are available to throw light on the issues with which he or she is concerned."

This concrete experience of life in the context of actual daily happenings and family relationships is certainly a very practical tool with which to trace the genesis of a people's culture, in their ordinary setting. In the present survey, participant (unstructured) observation would definitely round off the qualitative approach and be a highly welcome method to further explore the issues arising from the survey project. However, media research, as already indicated in Ch.2 (77-79) is not really advanced in Cyprus, the present project being the first example in the area. It would therefore be definitely a very radical approach to try to apply participant observation in the home and would probably be considered a trespass on family privacy, with much spontaneity and unaffectedness of behaviour being lost in the process. As a result, in the one-to-one interviews, some ethnographic factors, like family viewing situations and power control over television programme selections were to a certain extent investigated in the discussions with the interviewees: Questions were asked as to how the seating pattern in television viewing is arranged, who watches what with whom, who selects programmes for viewing, who does the zapping - if any - and what kinds of talk are defined as appropriate during viewing.

In general, we can say that the objectives of qualitative interviewing as set out by Lindlof (1995:166) were guiding points for these interviews and discussions:

- "learning about things that could be observed directly by other means.
- understanding a social actor's perspective
- inferring the communicative properties and processes of interpersonal relationships
- verifying, validating, or commenting on data obtained from other sources (the quantitative research and the programme analysis in the present study.)
- recording and analysing the distinctive language - vocabularies, idioms, jargon, and forms of speech - as reportedly used by social actors in their natural settings.

The interviews and discussions were taped and analysed later as to programme contents and language used by the respondents in order to describe, discuss, or comment on the contents of the analysed programmes and in the light of the conclusions from the Field
It was not considered necessary to first show the programmes to the respondents, as their familiarity with television contents was established in the profile of Cyprus youth. (Ch.1:28)

It is therefore hoped that the above combination of quantitative (questionnaire) survey, with the Programme Analysis and the Group discussions plus the One-to-one Interviews will render the survey contemporary, well balanced and multi-faceted. Additionally and this is the more creative, original part of the survey, the qualitative research would enable the author to reach beyond numbers and frequencies into thoughts, feelings, attitudes and value-systems thus offering some worthwhile insights into television's role and relationship with the collective or individual cultural identity of Cyprus youth.

Finally, as methodology is never detached from theory, the combination of the different methods will provide the study with a rich theoretical spectrum from which to examine the subject. The Statistical Field Survey essentially brings to the surface the “Audience/Dominant” dimension, as the sample will be stating, without any comments their personal choices, preferences and attitudes. The Programme Analysis examines television from the “Text/Dominant” position, in a textual and discourse analysis of the five programmes ranked highly by the sample, while the Interviews and Discussions will integrate these two positions, in a fruitful discussion of production/consumption that embraces all three generations of theoretical approaches to media studies. (Ch.2:47-48):

- the Dominant – hegemonic, or preferred readings, the negotiated and the resistant ones, examined in the context of First Generation, “audience reception” approaches

- Second Generation identity politics will be examined through conversations with “interpretive communities” and

- the Third Generation postmodern approach, where “Otherness” is examined in the framework of local/global dialectics that consider the relationships of the particular and the universal in the television-identity relationships of the sample.

It is pertinent to remember that as explained in Ch.2 (79) the complexity of Cyprus realities today can be better enlightened through a combination of research methods, as the
theoretical premises which must be examined are varied and complex in nature – both as to media and as to the historical and socio-cultural conditions in the Island.
CHAPTER FOUR
THE FIELD RESEARCH

IV.1: Structure of the Present Chapter

In the context of the present Chapter, a section about the pilot research and the sampling method used for the Field Research, as well as the rationale behind the Questionnaire are presented. Main figures from the answers to the different sets of questions are then given, with a series of cross-tabulation of variables following. These are based on statistical correlations — both positive, that is both factors varying, in relation to each other, or negative — inverse variation of factors to each other - the goal being to establish conclusions that that could be integrated in the agenda of issues to be brought up later in the Interviews and Group Discussions. Correlations are good clues as relationships can be made between television semantics (discourses), and empirically researched lifestyle (social/cultural attitudes) or ethnicity (national/ethnic/language attitudes) of the sample. All the correlations presented are statistically significant at the confidence or reliability level of 95.0%, the Standard Error being established at .5 %, (p<0.05%) thus ensuring reliability - and generalizability - of results. A distinction is also made between correlation and dependency of the values correlated in the Findings and this is stated every time they both exist in the same correlation of the two factors. Types of correlation are also clarified in the Correlation sections. The correlation coefficient used is at +1.0, which is the magnitude of the perfect positive correlation and – 1.0 for the perfect negative correlation. The statistical figures rendered by the Statistical Field Survey were processed by the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) and analysed by the author for statistical significance, correlation and dependency. (Frey, L. et al., 1991)

In the final section of the Chapter, a discussion of the most significant findings summarizes and relates these findings to the overall aims and themes of the study and also points ahead to the further stages of the Research – Programme Analysis and Interviews. The statistical results, apart from being discussed in the present chapter, are also presented in tabulated form at the end of the present thesis. (Ch.4: Endnote No. 3, 345-348).
IV.2: The Pilot Sample

As pretesting prior to the field interviews, is usually the best way to discover the adequacy of a research survey instrument, , a pilot survey was considered useful to ensure that the research approach was correct and to help in corrections, adjustment or refinements in the questionnaire used. This pilot survey was conducted in three schools, in Nicosia: the Gymnasium of Archbishop Makarios, Nicosia, on April 14th, 1997, the Pallouriotissa Lyceum, on April 16th, 1997, and the Technical School, Nicosia, on the same date. A total number of 18 students in the form of a quasi-random sample were selected by the candidate - two from each of the three classes of each school, half boys and half girls, to answer the Questionnaire.

The questions and queries of the pilot sample, as well as their difficulties in understanding some of the questions prompted the following adjustments to the final questionnaire:

♦ Simplification of the language, where necessary
♦ Corrections in the spelling of names, or words in general, that had been typed wrongly.
♦ More ample allocation of space for the answers to the open-ended questions.
♦ In question No. 15 - "Whom do you usually watch television with" - there was doubt on behalf of the respondents, as to how they were to select the proposed time-zones, in connection to the options - alone, with all the family, with my parents, with my brothers/sisters, with others (friends). So the wording of the question was clarified as follows, to avoid possible confusion:

*With who do you usually watch television, at what times?*
*(You can fill in each column from each time zone written down)*

IV.3: The Research Sample

The actual Field Interviews were conducted between May 6-19 and the structure of the sample was designed to respond to the realities of high-school education in Cyprus:

High school education in Cyprus is divided into Gymnasiums (the first three classes, after elementary school) and Lyceums (the last three classes of high school education). Technical schools function in exactly the same way, along the lines of technical, mainly, education. A one-per-cent stratified random sample - 602 students - was derived from the overall student population of 13-18-year-olds in Cyprus - 52,900 - in order to safeguard
statistical reliability and to meet the purposes of the field research. The stages in the
development of the statistical sample and the names of the support faculty who assisted in the
Research are explained in full detail in Endnote No. 1 of Ch. 4 (328-332).

Any questions or queries the students had, during the completion of the Questionnaire,
were answered by the people supervising the process, on different occasions, but of course, no
talking or exchange of comments was allowed between the participating students.

IV.4.1: Structure of the Field Questionnaire

The groups of questions answered by the sample in the Field Survey, were those outlined
in Chapter three and aimed mainly at trying to map out the possible preferences of the
respondents to media of culture, other than television, thus also establishing possible
competition between them and television viewing, or a possibly stronger relationship between
these media of ("high") culture (Ch.2: 34) therefore, and the cultural identity of the study's
sample. In the set of questions which followed, television, already established by previous
Research reports (Ch.1: 28) as a popular and time-consuming medium of culture among young
age-groups, had to be primarily explored as to the sample's viewing preferences; their viewing
habits were also the factors that had to be defined before the contents of their programme
preferences were analysed (textually and discursively) to provide the framework for the
qualitative research Interviews and Discussions planned for the last stages of the Study. As also
discussed earlier in the study (Ch.2: 42) the cultural identity of the sample would be seen from
the angle, mostly of ethnicity and lifestyle, which would, therefore be emphasized in the present
study. So questions of ethnicity and of distinguishing “us” from “them”, as well as questions of
lifestyle, involving issues of localisation versus globalisation, language and culture in the
contextual parameters of society (Ch.2:60-68) were part of the questionnaire.

To remind the reader, in Ch.2 (39), Miegel’s view (in Rosengren, 1994:214) about
constituents of lifestyle and identity were in support of the relevant questions included in the
Questionnaire:

“I have argued that any lifestyle involves a meaningful pattern of relations between values,
attitudes and actions of all possible kinds. It is thus impossible to keep the different types of
value apart in discussing identity and lifestyle. The same is true for the relation between the
individual and society. In contemporary Western society the different types of value —
material, aesthetic, ethical and metaphysical — are mingled together in consumer goods and
the mass media.”
Some of the dimensions of these two sides therefore, the social attitudes and cultural value-systems of the study's population, as well as their national/political attitudes conferring to their overall self-perception and self-stated conception of ethnicity and national identity, were areas covered by two distinct sets of relevant questions. Finally the demographic differences, like their area of living, gender, age, education and occupation of parents, were a further variable that was investigated in a separate section of the Field Survey Questionnaire. It is important to remember that, as pointed out in the introduction to the present study (Ch.1:17-18) the changes brought about by the Turkish Invasion of the Island in 1974, created a new population dispersion. These new geographical realities with a demarcation line running across the Island could create different perceptions of socio-cultural, as well as political and national issues. In the context of the study’s theme, the data from the last three sets of questions could then be related to the data from television viewings, preferences, readings and interpretations, to establish the relationship between television and the cultural identity of Cyprus youth. The findings, therefore, are presented in five groupings, in consistency with the way they were originally structured and presented in Chapter 3, i.e.:

1. The Cultural Interests of Respondents, other than Television Programmes
2. Their Television Programme Preferences and Viewing Habits.
3. Social Attitudes and Cultural Values
4. Attitudes on national and political issues
5. Demographic factors – area of living, age, gender, occupation and education of parents.

The entire Questionnaire is attached as Endnote No. 2 (332-344) to the present Chapter.

**IV.4.2: Questions about Cultural Interests Other than Television**

It should be made clear at this point that the investigation of these questions was not central to the goals of the study which was about possible television-identity relationships. They are, however, part of the cultural identity of any group and therefore interesting to probe, in order to establish the range and intensity of the sample’s interest in these areas and also whether this could really compete with the time spent and their involvement with television programmes. These results did not come through in any impressive way, and apart from an overall presentation and occasional references to them, they are not therefore considered crucial to the study’s goals and aims.
Cinema-going and church-going seemed to be rather high - the high frequency values of the answers to those questions rising to well over 40%. Going to church on Most Sundays received 41.4% and going to the cinema more than 6 times a year, 49.9%. The respondents also seemed to prefer both variety magazines for adults - To Periodikon (39.5%) - as well as a youth magazine – Katerina (39.0%), these two percentages being the highest for magazines.

The most popular singers among the sample, were the following:

Greek singers, Giorgos Dalaras, Triantafyllos, Rakintzis, Anna Vissi (of Cypriot descent), Sakis Rouvas, Notis Sfakianakis and Peter Andre, of Cypriot descent.

Answers from boys to the question about which cinema or television characters they would like to resemble, indicated the "strong" "masculine" types, like Arnold Swatseneiger, and Sylvester Stallone. Tom Cruise was another choice. The actors preferred by the boys of the sample, supported the global trend existing among the sample, as to cinema (and television) preferences of actors, as all of these names are among the top favourites of cinema-goers, especially of young cinema fans.

Girls' answers pointed out Aliki Vougiouklaki (a very popular Greek actress who died in 1996), Sharon Stone and Pamela Anderson. These were indications of global trends in actor preferences, as well as examples of the popularity, among the sample, of Greek show people.

So it was established even through the answers about forms of culture other than television, popular among the sample, that there was a potent turn to religion and a preference for Greek entertainment, even though global cinema idols were not absent from the sample's agenda.

Their interest in theater-going and book-reading, overall did not indicate that these cultural media could seriously compete with television viewing.

More analytically:

♦ Cinema-going (Q. 1) did not seem to be very frequent, as 20.3% went to the cinema, 4-6 times a year and 5.6% stated they never went to the cinema, at all.

♦ Percentage responses were even rarer when it came to the theatre:
  • 48.6% never went to the theatre and 4.9% went 4-6 times a year
  • 3.3% going over six times a year.

♦ Church-going however, seemed to be high, as only .8% never went to church, with 41.4% going on most Sundays.
• A rather low interest was indicated in literary, non-school books, read by the sample, as the highest percentage - 38.9% - read only 2-3 such books a year, with only 16.5% reading 4 or more books yearly.

• The three most popular magazines among the sample were *To Periodiko* (The Magazine), which is a variety magazine, *Katerina* and *Selighes* (The Pages). The first and last are also the most popular magazines among adults as well, while *Katerina* is a youth magazine.

The lowest scores for magazines have been given to the three literary magazines of the Island - *Akti*, *Pnevmatiki Kypros* and *Nea Epohi*.

• Their preferences for singers have singled out a group of Greek singers, as already indicated in the general findings, with Giorgos Dalaras, heading the list.

• The radio programmes most popular among the sample (Questions 7 & 8) seemed to be musical and sports programmes, as well as news.

**IV. 4.4.3: Questions about Television Preferences and Viewing Habits**

It was important at the outset to map out the terrain, as to viewing patterns, so responses to Q. 9 about frequencies of viewing, indicated that the sample were frequent television viewers, as follows:

• 62.8% watched television from two to over four hours daily.

• 23.1% viewed two hours daily and only 13.8% view "less than one hour daily."

The most popular programmes among the sample, (Q. 11) according to the sum of the viewing percentages to the degrees of regularly and always, were the following: (Endnote 3, Table No.1:345)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>REGULARLY</th>
<th>ALWAYS</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. News at 8.30 – ANT.1</td>
<td>32.3</td>
<td>23.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. To Kafenion (The Coffee shop)</td>
<td>20.8</td>
<td>26.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Kalimera Zoi (Good morning life)</td>
<td>21.3</td>
<td>22.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Escharisto Savvatovradho</td>
<td>27.3</td>
<td>16.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Pater Imon (Our father)</td>
<td>27.5</td>
<td>15.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Beverly Hills</td>
<td>18.8</td>
<td>21.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Athlitikes Idhisis (Sports news)</td>
<td>14.2</td>
<td>25.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Epitelous Mazi (At last, together)</td>
<td>29.0</td>
<td>9.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Istories tou horiou (Stories from the village)</td>
<td>19.9</td>
<td>19.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Costas Costa stis Okto (Costas Costa at Eight)</td>
<td>24.4</td>
<td>13.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is obvious from the above top ten catalogue that the sample's most favourite programmes consisted of Greek-language programmes - some in the Panhellenic Greek and some in the Cyprus Dialect. Only one imported English-language programme - Beverly Hills - appeared in the top-ten programme list. This was an interesting but quite predictable development, as the greatest number of transmitted programmes discussed in Chapter 1 (p. 19) was shown to be from Greece, English-language programmes from America following. The surprising factor was perhaps the growing popularity of the Cyprus dialect productions, however, on all channels, since 1994, and the PIO Report discussed in Ch. 1 (Ibid).

* The answers to Question 13 - "Which of the following channels do you like watching best" - were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Channel</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ANT1</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E.T</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOGOS</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PIK1</td>
<td>8.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PIK2</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIGMA</td>
<td>14.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
What channel do you usually watch during the following hours? carried the following frequencies:

Before 5.00 p.m. the greatest numbers view ANT1, PIK1 followed between 5.00-8.00 p.m. and SIGMA between 8:00-11:00 as well as after 11:00 p.m.

Shifting from channel to channel during viewing hours can depend on different factors that may be connected with the family site of viewing or with situational factors, points which are raised more extensively in the discussion at the end of the present chapter.

What was definitely obvious, however, was the fact that ANT1 won the battle of the Ratings with two first positions – the News and the Greek serial “Kalimera Zoi” ranking after top programme “Kafenion”. But all of its programme time zones led the chart. ANT1, to remind the reader, is a channel which mostly imports programmes from Greece.

Analytically percentages were shared out as follows:

**CHANNEL PREFERENCES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Before 5.00</th>
<th>5.00 - 8.00</th>
<th>8.00 - 11.00</th>
<th>11+</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ANT.1</td>
<td>35.7</td>
<td>20.9</td>
<td>24.6</td>
<td>11.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ET.1</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOGOS</td>
<td>13.7</td>
<td>16.2</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PIK 1</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>21.0</td>
<td>14.8</td>
<td>13.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PIK. 2</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>17.2</td>
<td>13.7</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIGMA</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>14.7</td>
<td>28.9</td>
<td>43.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OTHER</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>15.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Questions about preference of programmes “containing violence and horror” (Q. 17 and 18) gave the following frequencies:

- A combined percentage of 36.6% of the sample liked watching programmes “with violence” "much" (21.1%)"very much" (15.5%)
• and a combined percentage of 42.12% liked watching "horror programmes" "much" (20.8%) and "very much (22.4%)".

But in answer to Question 56 as to whether English-language programmes contain more violence than Greek-language programmes, the sample seemed to believe that they do Sometimes (39.9%) and also Frequently (38.7%). These could be interesting premises for further discussion as to their programme preferences and the possibility of prejudice existing as to English-language programmes. So degrees of violence could be also discussed in the Programme Analysis, before integrating the argument in the final Interview stages.

♦ Answers to question 49 - Indicate which channel you prefer for news or information programmes gave the following percentages to channels:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Channel</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ANT1</td>
<td>59.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ET1</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOGOS</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PIK1</td>
<td>22.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PIK2</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIGMA</td>
<td>6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OTHERS</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

♦ Question 48 - Indicate which channel you prefer for fictional television gave the following frequencies:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Channel</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ANT1</td>
<td>53.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ET1</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOGOS</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PIK1</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PIK2</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIGMA</td>
<td>18.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OTHERS</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This information about their channel preferences in both genres of television programmes - factual and fictional - had to be integrated, of course, in the Interviews and Discussions sections.
Question 44 - *In which ways do you believe Cyprus television channels present Turkish-Cypriots in their news bulletins or other programmes?*, received answers that are generally quite approving of the channels' objectivity:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Channel</th>
<th>Fairly</th>
<th>Unfairly</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ANT1</td>
<td>43.2</td>
<td>6.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ET1</td>
<td>19.1</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOGOS</td>
<td>34.9</td>
<td>5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CYBC1</td>
<td>41.8</td>
<td>6.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CYBC2</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIGMA</td>
<td>31.5</td>
<td>8.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OTHER</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A similar picture resulted as to Question 45 about Cyprus channels and their depiction of Turks from the mainland.

The trust indicated above in the Channels' presentations of the image of Turkish Cypriots and their acceptance of the dominant readings of the channels' production forces, had to be carried forward, first to the discourse analysis of programmes, in order to establish the patterns of discourse orders adopted (in News) and later to the Interviews and Discussions, to probe the readings and interpretations of the television contents among the sample, in the Qualitative part of the Research.

**IV.4.4: Questions on Social Attitudes and Cultural Values**

Gender issues, rates of aggressiveness and prioritization of issues were the objects of investigation throughout this set of questions. Cyprus youth as seen in Research reviewed in Ch. 1(28) seem to have “continuing prejudices in connection to working women” even though things have improved, compared to past conditions. The answers to the questions of the present section can be integrated in the further stages of the Study: A discursive analysis of the position of women and of gender issues in imported and local programmes must be followed through in
the Interview stage, in order to examine the relationship between television contents and interpretations as identity is a process of discursive procedures. The same integration of the responses to the violence questions and prioritization values could render interesting relationships between television and identity as to lifestyle in general (local or global, or middle-ground) trends.

• As to their social attitudes and cultural values, some of the findings were as follows:

  • By a combined majority, the sample believed that sometimes, frequently and always they consider the two genders equal in intelligence.

  • The sample did not seem to believe in great numbers, that television ads present women unfairly, even though quite a percentage subscribe to the idea that television programmes do that.

  • They frequently and always believed that women can combine successfully home and career responsibilities.

  • The majority believed that pre-marital sex is appropriate for men, but opinions were split when it comes to women.

  • They frequently and always considered men as well as women, generally energetic and dynamic and by majority considered women as more capable than men sometimes.

  • By majority they never used physical force to assert themselves and did not believe that might is right.

  • By majority they sometimes swore in English and sometimes and frequently in Greek.

  • By a big, combined majority they sometimes, frequently and always helped people who are old, sick or disabled.
• The sample considered that values like love and friends and a quiet conscience were of greater significance than big houses, high incomes, luxury cars and luxury vacations.

• Another idealistic value was established as a trend - the sample believed by majority that in resolving human conflict goodwill seems to work best, compared to either negotiations or fighting. So this could be a topic of discussion in the Interviews as to the ongoing conflict with the Turkish Cypriots.

♦ Question 21 about the equality of genders - Do you believe men are generally more capable than women? gave the following frequencies:

• 42.7% believed that men are sometimes more capable than women are and 30.8% said no.
• Only 8.9% said that men are always more capable.

♦ The answers to Question 25, as to whether they consider men as generally energetic and dynamic, were close to those given for question 21:
• 22.6% considered men energetic and dynamic, always and 19.6% considered women as such.

♦ Answers to Question 27 about prioritization of different factors in the value system of the sample were quite interesting: (Endnote 3, Table No. 2)
• "Security for Cyprus" ranked highest (89.1%), love followed (85.5%) and "having friends" (83.0%), came after. The general picture was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Very Important</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Security in Cyprus</td>
<td>89.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Love</td>
<td>84.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Having friends</td>
<td>83.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Understanding</td>
<td>77.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Success in my job</td>
<td>74.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A steady job</td>
<td>73.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
• Material goods considered very important got rather low frequencies:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Very Important</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Expensive houses</td>
<td>6.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expensive cars</td>
<td>12.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A big income</td>
<td>17.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luxury vacations</td>
<td>16.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

• The research sample were self-stated to be very law-abiding, by a vast majority:

• Question 20 rendered the following frequencies:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>&quot;Convicted of trespassing the law in any way&quot;</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Never</td>
<td>96.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Once</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-4 times</td>
<td>.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over four times</td>
<td>.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above responses rendered several trends: a general ambivalent attitude towards gender equality, even though the biggest percentage – 42.7% did believe in masculine superiority. The prioritization of values came out very clearly in favour of ideological preferences like love of Cyprus and preference for better human relationships like affection and friendship, as contrasted to materialistic values which received low percentages. These figures, together with the cross-tabulation results, afforded good generalizable cues to be pursued throughout the remaining stages of the Research Model.

IV.4.5: Questions about National and Political Issues

Replies to questions about the Cyprus problem and identity symbols and perceptions were marked by the following values that seemed to emphasize greatly the sample’s Cypriotness:

• The sample – boys and girls - by majority considered army service as a necessary civic duty and about one third of them, during their army service, seemed to look forward to a peaceful solution of the Cyprus problem.
• A combined majority of the sample, as seen further below, believed that perhaps, very probably and certainly, Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots can live together peacefully in the future.

• There was an ambivalence of opinions as to whether Turkish-Cypriots are violent, backward, human, or no different from Greek-Cypriots. About one third of the sample classified them under each one of the last three descriptions, with only a minority percentage considering them violent. This is quite different from the sample's opinion of Turks from the mainland, who by a very big majority (over 70%) considered them violent.

• In language matters, the majority of the sample believed that the use of the English language in official Cyprus documents is not justified.

• Finally answers to four key questions connected to the sample's self-perceived identity, rendered the following picture:
  - By a big majority (64.7%) the sample believed the Cyprus University should be strictly Greek.
  - The greatest number (48.3%) believed themselves to be Greek-Cypriots while another percentage (18.8%) regarded themselves as Cypriots.

• As to the flag of the Republic of Cyprus, 44.6% believed it should be both the Greek and Cyprus flags together, depending on the occasion and 43.0% believed it should be the Cyprus flag.

• The issue of the Cyprus problem seemed to be most important to them currently (30%) followed by only 24%, who viewed a possible war with Turkey, as most important to them currently.

The strong trend towards the use of the Greek language (parallel to their television programme preferences) is reaffirmed in the responses to this section which seeks to investigate the ground as to the ethnicity factor. Parallelwise, the equal percentages given to the use of the Cyprus flag (alone) and the two flags together, provided good hint for further discussion with the sample. It also pointed back to the persistence of a "place-bound nationalism" introduced in Ch.1 (17) inspite of the featured global trends in Cypriot society. The same can be said about the
future of peaceful co-existence with Turkish Cypriots in the Island, after a solution, which seemed to draw undecided responses – 40.7% (the highest value in the responses) answering “Perhaps” – a pointer to the ignorance of the Turkish-Cypriot “Others” on behalf of the younger generation of Greek-Cypriots. Further pointers as to ethnicity were the replies about the self-stated identity of the sample, the greatest number of which (48.3%) perceive themselves as “Greek Cypriots”, disidentifying or perhaps counter-identifying (Ch.2:67) with the Turkish Cypriots, those “Others” missing from their actual or their television experiences. Generally the picture is one of a locally-oriented society, exhibiting a high sense of place-bound ethnicity, in an age where “time-space compression” is, according to Harvey (1997:296) a high feature of the globalising process. (Ch.2:41)

The percentages of the answer given below, illustrate statistically the points made above:

♦ Question 38 about whether they "believe that Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots can live together peacefully in the future after a solution?" received the following answers:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Answer</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Certainly</td>
<td>20.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very probably</td>
<td>25.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perhaps</td>
<td>40.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never</td>
<td>12.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

♦ Question 42 about whether they consider Turkish-Cypriots, "violent" "backward", "human" or “no different from Greek-Cypriots" obtained a majority percentage of 30.6%, who replied that they consider them "backward". The word: “backward” (in Greek "opisthodromiki") insinuates lack of modernism and a contemporary attitude in thinking, behaviour and living in general. Question 43, relating to Turks of Turkey, drew a much bigger negative majority description - 70.7% consider them “violent”.

Of course this attitude towards the mainland Turks drew from the invasion of the Island in 1974, but also from the more recent (1996) Dherynia incidents.

♦ Answers about the character of the Cyprus University (Q. 54) marked the following frequencies:
• 64.7% believed it should be "strictly Greek"
• 28.3% "international"
• 6.4%, "bi-communal and bi-lingual"

Question 53 sought answers to the question about whether they believed the use of the English language in official Cyprus documents is justified.
• 59.8% answered NO
• 39.5% answered YES

Again the above are further illustrations of the emphasis placed by the sample on Greek language as a factor of national culture.

Question 59 - Which flag do you consider characteristic of the Republic of Cyprus?
brought up the following preferences in order of percentages:

- Both the Greek and Cyprus flags together, depending on the occasion 44.6
- The Cyprus flag 43.0
- The Turkish and the Cyprus flag together, depending on the occasion 1.0

Question 55 about the self-perceived identity of the sample, gave the following self-description:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Self-perceived Identity</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A Greek-Cypriot</td>
<td>48.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Cypriot</td>
<td>18.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A citizen of the world</td>
<td>12.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Cypriot, not a Greek</td>
<td>9.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A European</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Greek, not a Cypriot</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Question 58 about the prioritization of current issues gave the following frequencies:
Priorities

• The Cyprus Problem 30.0
• A possible war with Turkey 24.9
• Drugs in Cyprus 17.0
• Cyprus joining the EEC 14.2
• Violence in Cyprus 7.4
• Equality of men and women 4.4

IV.4.6: Questions about Demographics

Responses to questions about demographics are given in the relevant series of Tables (Endnote No. 3)

It is worth noting though that quite a few striking frequency differences in response to different questions, were established between the Nicosia urban area and the unoccupied Famagusta area, as foreshadowed in the Project (Ch.1:18).

The sample percentages which presented the two extremes - lowest and highest responses – provided, as a result, the contrasting regions from which to draw participants in the Personal Interviews and the Group Discussions. These differences were as follows:

♦ Cinema-going to the highest value of the question (more than four times a year) occurred only by 23.1% in unoccupied Famagusta, as compared to 60% in Nicosia. There was both correlation and dependency in the cross-tabulation (Question 63 by Q. 001). A demographic difference in the cinema preferences, is therefore apparent here.

♦ The same was true in the frequency of viewing Beverly Hills, always:
  • Only 4.3% viewed it always in unoccupied Famagusta and 23.5% in Nicosia. (Q. 63 by Q. 11.1)
  • The programme about religion - Orthodoxy and Right Conduct - and correlation to the frequencies from these regions, as to viewing the programme always, were as follows:
  • 1.3% in Nicosia, 4.0% in unoccupied Famagusta (Q. 63 by Q. 27). The percentages indicate a stronger trend towards religion in Unoccupied Famagusta than in Nicosia, a fact which matches the overall conservative tendencies in the area.
• *Income* was by correlation considered to be *very important for personal happiness*, for 8% of the sample in unoccupied Famagusta, but was so for 22.7% in Nicosia. (Q. 63 by Q. 27.3)

The Nicosia respondents obviously share more intensely materialistic values than the sample of Famagusta.

• Answers to the question as to whether *premarital sex is considered appropriate for women* - were again at extreme ends, in the correlations of the Question with the two distinct areas:
  - 30.8% answered *yes* from unoccupied Famagusta and 59.5% answered *yes* from - this time suburban – Nicosia, the latter indicating more progressive attitudes towards gender equality. Again this could be a predictable phenomenon, Nicosia being the more cosmopolitan capital of the country.

• Finally, the self-perceived identity of a *Greek-Cypriot* (which received the highest percentages in the survey) and its correlation to the two areas (Q. 63 by Q. 55.1), again presented two extremes between the two areas:
  - 41.1% from urban Nicosia and 69.2% from unoccupied Famagusta believed that the identity of *Greek-Cypriot* describes them best. Perhaps the higher percentage in the Unoccupied Famagusta area, close to the buffer zone, is indication of a sharper feeling of disidentification or counter-identification with the Turkish Cypriots, bearing also in mind the 1996 Dherynia incidents with the murders of Isaac and Solomou. An indication that should be explored in the Interviews again, as the television transmissions – not just the events themselves – were repeated and could be further sources of alienation, or reinforement of counter-identification for the respondents living along the buffer zone.

• Q.64. *Father's occupation*: The three highest percentages were as follows: 25.0 % worked in a manual job, 21.4% were stated as unemployed and 16.6%, were reported to work in an *office job*.

• Q.65. *Mother's occupation*: The three highest percentages, were as follows: 37.4% were reported as unemployed, 12.3%, as working in a manual job and 11.5% as working in the management of a private company.

• Q. 66 as to father's *highest educational level*, rendered the following upper three percentages:
V.5.1: Cross-tabulations: Television viewing and other variables

All the cross-tabulations presented below, both as to dependency and as to correlation were statistically significant below the standard error percentage of 0.05%, as already explained in the Introduction of the present chapter.

- There was dependency between the variables of the sample viewing *Beverly Hills* (Q. 11. 1) and the belief about *woman’s place being in the home*, as 85.7% of those who believed woman's place is *not in the home* viewed *Beverly Hills*, “always”.
  - It is also of further interest that 75.4% of those viewing *Beverly Hills always*, were girls and only 24.6% were boys.
  - There further was both dependency and a correlation between the serial and gender.

- 58% of those viewing *Kalimera Zoi* (Good-morning life) believed that *pre-marital sex* is *not appropriate for women*.

The discourse analyses which followed this stage, would afford the opportunity of a cross-fertilization of the above conclusions with the gender attitudes projected in the two programmes, in order to pursue the relationship further in the Interviews and Discussions.

- 65.7% of those who viewed the *Kafenion* (Coffee-shop) *always*, swear in Greek *always* and 43.9% swear in Greek *frequently*, with both dependency and correlation existing to a statistically significant degree. So spontaneity of behaviour (swearing) was not just a cultural practice deriving from their native (Greek) language, but was related to their habitual viewing preferences - of a Greek-Cypriot (dialect) programme as well.

- The answers to Q. 56 if, in the sample’s opinion *English-language programmes contain more violence than Greek-language programmes*, were correlated to the viewing of *Kafenion*, which ranked as the most popular programme among the sample. This could be
an indication of general prejudice towards English programmes, another point to be taken up in the discourse analysis and the ensuing Interviews.

Percentages were as follows:

- 43% of the sample who viewed *To Kafenion* regularly, believed that *frequently* English-language programmes contain more violence than Greek-language programmes.

- 64.8% of the sample that *always* viewed *Kafenion* had the same opinion *always* about English-language programmes.

♦ Correlation between church-going and other variables also gave some data of statistical significance:

- 53.5% of the sample who went to church *only on important holidays* - Xmas or Easter - and 37% of those who went *most Sundays*, watched *Sports news, frequently* and 56% *always*.

- Also, 33% who went on *most Sundays*, watched *Sports News, always*. The variables were both interdependent and correlated. Church-goers seemed to be sports fans, a possible indication of an interest in viewing healthy (sports) activities, matching an active interest in practising religion.

♦ The same inter-dependency existed between *Sports news* and the programme *Efharisto Savvatovradho* (Pleasant Saturday Night):

- 50.0% of those who watched *Efharisto Savvatovradho, frequently* and 53.8% who watched it *always* went to church *only on important holidays* but also *on most Sundays*.

- The negative values were equally correlated: those who did not view the programme (*Efharisto Savvatovradho*) *frequently* did not go to church *frequently*.

- The same correlation seemed to exist between church going and the programme *Istories tou horiou* (Stories from the village).

Again, both of the above findings could be another hint that those viewing the programmes which are family entertainment - “Istories” also being traditional - were also inclined towards another traditional religious practice – church-going.
• Statistical significance was also indicated by the correlation between the hours of television viewing and preference of horror programmes (Questions 9 by 18), always at the confidence level of 95% with the Standard Error at 0.5%:
  - 23.4% of those watching television 2-3 hours daily and 32.6% of those who viewed more than 4 hours daily, preferred horror programmes much and very much respectively.

An explanation for this could be the fact that usually horror programmes are shown in the late evening hours. Those viewing therefore, would be also generally, heavy viewers, not bypassing, as a result, horror programmes. This correlation also applied in the negative direction: less viewing, less preference for horror programmes – a possible indication of a higher degree of selectivity.

• The same question about the extent of viewing rendered results of statistical significance in correlation to the question as to whether they swear in English (Qs 9 by 31):
  - There appeared further to be a correlation between the extent of viewing and the question as to whether the sample used "physical force to assert" themselves. (Qs. 9 by 28):
    - 25% of those, who viewed television two hours daily, and 37.5% who viewed over 4 hours daily, all used physical force always to assert themselves. On the other hand, those who never viewed or only viewed television less than one hour daily scored no percentage at all as to always using physical force to assert themselves.

It is not irrelevant to remind ourselves of the excess number of violent acts registered by the Association of Mental Health in the research they conducted in 1996 (Ch.2:79), where 10,000 acts of violence were recorded in Cyprus television programmes over a year. So longer viewing hours would naturally involve more exposure to violent acts.

• 50% of those who believed that ANT.1 presented Turkish-Cypriots fairly in its news or other programmes, also preferred ANT.1 for news or other information programmes, the two values being correlated. So trust in the overall objectivity of the Channel, seemed to be a trend among the sample.

• 28.7% of the sample whose fathers worked in a manual job, liked best to watch ANT.1, there being a statistically significant relation between the two values.
There was correlation and inter-dependency between the popularity of certain television programmes and the different areas of the sample:

- Beverly Hills was popular and was viewed regularly or always in the town and rural areas of Nicosia, Limassol, the rural areas of Paphos, but was viewed less frequently in unoccupied Famagusta. It was also viewed less frequently in the rural areas of Larnaca and in the urban area of Paphos, with figures for viewing Always, ranking as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Viewing Always</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Urban</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nicosia</td>
<td>23.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limassol</td>
<td>24.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Larnaca</td>
<td>21.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paphos</td>
<td>21.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unocc.Famagac.</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rural areas, in general, especially in the Famagusta area, do not seem to view the series widely, the possible explanation being that the social norms it depicts could be quite removed from the social norms of the Cyprus countryside. On the other hand, the exception of the Paphos rural preferences, could be explored, as they could signify an invitingly different social climate for young audiences.

In the cross-tabulation of the factors connected to Q. 63 by Q. 11.5 (percentages of area preferences of Manolis ke Katina (Cyprus-dialect sketch) the percentages rose systematically in the urban areas, with a statistically significant dependency of the variables:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Viewing Always</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Urban</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nicosia</td>
<td>7.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limassol</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Larnaca</td>
<td>9.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The same picture repeated itself in the case of another Cyprus dialect programme, *Istories tou horiou (Stories from the village)*. The figures here were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Viewing Always</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>Rural</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Urban</th>
<th>Rural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nicosia</td>
<td>12.4</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limassol</td>
<td>19.7</td>
<td>25.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Larnaca</td>
<td>14.1</td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paphos</td>
<td>22.5</td>
<td>18.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unoccupied Famagusta</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The only exception to the general trend above seemed to occur in Paphos, where the percentage of viewing *always* was higher in the Urban, rather than in the Rural area. An exception which confirmed the rule that the Cyprus productions in the Dialect, even though generally popular, were more so in the rural than the urban areas.

The responses to the question as to whether the sample believed that *Cyprus TV channels present drug-taking attractively for young people* (Q, 47), correlated to different Cyprus areas, were as follows:

- The added percentages of *frequently* and *always* answers to Q.47, as to different channels, were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>&quot;Frequently&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;Always&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANT1</td>
<td>12.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIGMA</td>
<td>11.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PIK1</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PIK2</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ET1</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOGOS</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OTHER</td>
<td>6.11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
• In their vast majority, the sample did not believe that television shows drugs attractively for young people. The highest percentages, which combine frequently and always - 18.8% - seemed to derive from the town of Larnaka and 15.1% from the rural area of Nicosia. As scenes about drugs or drug abuse are not infrequent on Cyprus channels today, it would be of interest to see the discourses in the Programmes, and the subsequent readings of the Interviewees.

• The lifestyle of young people as to drug abuse, in imported or local programmes, could be part of the Questionnaire agenda to be discussed with the respondents, in order to establish discourse parameters around this particular issue, which today forms an issue of public concern in Cyprus as well as in many other countries, as discussed in Ch.1 (31).

IV.5.2: Cross-tabulation of Social Attitudes and Cultural Values with Other Variables

• In question 27 about prioritizations of values, the variable of "A big income" when cross-tabulated with different sample areas, rendered both dependency and correlation between the income variable and the different geographical areas, income being highest in significance (Quite Important in Nicosia, the capital) than in other areas. The following frequencies indicate the percentage priorities of the different areas: (Endnote No. 3, Table No.2)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quite Important</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nicosia (Town/Suburbs)</td>
<td>27.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limassol (Town/Suburbs)</td>
<td>24.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Larnaka (Town/Suburbs)</td>
<td>24.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unoccupied Famagusta</td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paphos (Town)</td>
<td>20.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paphos (Rural)</td>
<td>21.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Very Important (Highest three)</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Limassol (Town/Rural)</td>
<td>22.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nicosia (Town/Suburbs)</td>
<td>22.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limassol (Town/Suburbs)</td>
<td>17.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Answers to Question 52 about whether the sample believed that *pre-marital sex is appropriate for women*, cross tabulated with areas of living, rendered the following results, in order of the highest three frequencies (positive and negative): (Endnote No.3, Table No.3)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Yes %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nicosia - Town/Suburbs</td>
<td>59.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limassol - Town/Suburbs</td>
<td>51.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Larnaka - Town/Suburbs</td>
<td>50.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unoccupied Famagusta</td>
<td>69.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paphos (Town)</td>
<td>65.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nicosia - (District/Rural)</td>
<td>64.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The very high percentage of negative attitudes towards gender equality in the Unoccupied Famagusta area once more underlines the traditional and conservative character of the area. The cross-validation to be established by the Interviews will probably bring out more substantial elements as to these traditional (patriarchal) trends and attitudes.

Q. 27, 18 and 27, 13 "Security in Cyprus" and "Success in my Job" rendered no data statistically significant.

On the other hand, in the percentages of the materialistic variables as correlated to gender indicated a stronger materialistic strain among boys: (Q. 27, 1, 2, 3, 4):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Very Important</th>
<th>Boys %</th>
<th>Girls %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Expensive Houses</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>4.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Expensive Cars</td>
<td>18.9</td>
<td>6.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. A big Income</td>
<td>23.6</td>
<td>11.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Luxury vacations</td>
<td>22.3</td>
<td>10.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
IV.5.3: Cross-tabulations of National/Political Issues with Other Variables

- Cross tabulations between the variable of the respondent's areas and identity rendered the following results: (Endnote No. 3: Table No. 4)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>&quot;Greek - Cypriots&quot;</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unoccupied Famagusta</td>
<td>69.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limassol (Town/Rural)</td>
<td>56.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paphos (Town/Rural)</td>
<td>52.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nicosia (Town/Rural)</td>
<td>50.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A high percentage - 28.0% of the sample, from the town and rural areas of Nicosia, considered themselves a *citizen of the world.*

Again there is further confirmation in the above percentages that the differences between the Nicosia and the Famagusta area were striking enough to warrant a demographic and geographical comparison between the two districts.

- Some further correlations of the following variables and national/political values of the sample could be of further interest in the subsequent discussion of the results:

  - There was positive correlation between the sample which considers Turkish Cypriots *violent* (25.0%) and those who considered themselves *Greek-Cypriots* (46.7%). So respondents stating a hyphenated ethnicity, believed that Turkish Cypriots were violent, an indication again to be pursued as to the disidentification being marked by possible prejudice, or simply lack of knowledge of the Turkish Others. Correlation and dependency also appeared to exist between the cultural identity of the sample and their belief about Turks from mainland Turkey:

    - 52.3% of the sample who considered themselves *Greek-Cypriots*, considered Turks *violent*, 50.5% considered them *backward* and only 20.0% considered them *human* (in the sense of having humanitarian feelings). On the other hand, 41.9% believed they were *no different from the Greek-Cypriots.*
Again the correlation of the variable of identity with matters of public interest like army service, rendered the following data:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Identity</th>
<th>Army Service as a necessary Civic duty (Q. 39, 4) %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Greek - Cypriot</td>
<td>66.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Greek, not Cypriot</td>
<td>60.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Citizen of the world</td>
<td>50.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. European</td>
<td>48.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Cypriot</td>
<td>47.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Cypriot, not Greek</td>
<td>47.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The more dutiful respondents (66.6%) appeared to be the self-stated Greek Cypriots, closely followed by those stating “Greek, not Cypriot”. Could this again indicate a feeling of more conscious ethnicity, Greekness being a strong part of the national identity that must be defended from the military threat in the areas occupied by Turkish troops?


Before we discuss in more detail the emerging patterns that arose from the findings, it would be interesting to mark several differences between the present findings and those of the research conducted in 1995, just as a matter of interest.

Church going was a variable, which rendered different findings in these years:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Church-going</th>
<th>1995</th>
<th>1997</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very rarely</td>
<td>32.6</td>
<td>11.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On big holidays</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Xmas or Easter)</td>
<td>24.9</td>
<td>45.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Every Sunday</td>
<td>41.2</td>
<td>41.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The percentage of those who never went to church or did so rarely, dropped significantly (1.2% vs. 8% and 32.6% vs. 11.9%) and there was a doubling of percentages among the older respondents who went on Christmas or Easter. So the turn to church going seemed to be generally on the increase. Religious freelings also seemed to be further confirmed as in research conducted in 1990 (Ch.1:27). A big majority - 80% of 15-29-year-olds - stated they “believed in God”. But in Research conducted in 1997, it appeared that “church-goers are few.” (Ch.1:28): It is also interesting to observe here that a correlation was established between programme preferences like *Sportsnews, Istories tou Horiou* and *Efharisto Savvatovradho* and church *Xmas/Easter* and Sundays. Some explanations one could forward could be as follows: *Istories tou Horiou* is a programme about traditional village life. So the respondents viewing it could be more conservative individuals living in a more religiously oriented environment. Again those respondents viewing the Saturday Night Programme (*Efharisto Savvatovradho*) might not be going out (late) to nightspots for entertainment, which could again mean that they could be Sunday (early) morning churchgoers.

Did they watch these programmes on Saturday and Sunday night, therefore not going out to discos or other night spots and therefore also going to church on Sundays, or did the statistically significant correlation not enter their private life and behaviour?

The sample's preferences of adult magazine *Selidhes* and *Periodiko* and of youth magazine *Katerina* did not rank high at all. Literature, another rich source of culture was obviously not competing with television either.

Their preference of Giorgos Dalaras as No. 1 singer, tied in with their view that the most important issue for them currently is *the Cyprus problem*. Dalaras has been identified with fund-raising concerts for the national defense of Cyprus and his songs are "resistance"-oriented. He has also been declared honourary citizen of Cyprus. On the other hand, their preferences for film stereotypes of masculine vigour, like Arnold Swatzeneiger and Sylvester Stallone, were the same as they were for the younger age-group of the 1995 research, as well as being in compliance with trends in global youth preferences. Perhaps, this is an indication that physical strength continues to be a desirable quality for young people, after 13, as some of the television programmes, following the top ten pop list as mentioned earlier, already indicates.

Tom Cruise - another global symbol standing for agility, good looks, and youthfulness - also seemed to be very popular with the boys of the sample, while girls seemed to identify or admire perhaps beauty and fame as their preferences turned to Aliki Vougiouklaki, - a Greek sex symbol - but also to global symbols like Sharon Stone and Pamela Anderson.
So local-global preferences seemed to make their appearance even in the standardized answers of the Field Research. But competition was indicated mainly between global and Greek idols, so programme productions depicting American, and Greek and Cyprus culture (English/Greek/Dialect language) should be objects of both the textual and discourse analysis of programmes and of the Interviews and Discussions.

Viewing hours of 1995 and 1997 were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1995</th>
<th>1997</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Never</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Only during vacation</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>Less than 1 hr. daily</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than 1 hr. daily</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2 hours daily</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 - 2 hours daily</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>2 - 3 hrs. Daily</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 2 hours daily</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>More than 4 hrs.daily</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

So the number of viewing hours seemed to be higher among 13-18-year-olds: 85.9% of the sample viewed from 2 hours to over four hours daily, as compared to 63% of 11-13-year-olds, viewing over 2 hrs. in 1995. On the other hand, non-viewers did not exist among the 1995 sample, whereas a small .3 percentage of non-viewers exists among the sample of the present study. This figure, should, of course, take into account that the 1997 sample included 18-year-olds and it has been known that television viewing decreases in the last grades of high school.

In the light of the above findings, it can be deduced that the first set of questions about cultural factors other than television viewing, did not render any important conclusions about competition between television and other media, of either “high” or popular culture – theatre and literature, or radio and cinema. Only 16.5% of the sample read over 4 literary books a year and again only 20.3% went to the cinema 6 times a year. Television, as a mass medium, with its long hours of viewing, remained, therefore, without any serious rivalry as to its possible role or relationship with the ongoing process of identity formation of the sample. It also remained, as a result, the main focus of interest in the present thesis, not having to face any serious competition from other sources of culture. Religion and the family also seemed to be a continuing vital factor in this process – church-going seemed to be on the increase and television viewing in the company of the family also seemed to be quite high in frequency, as 44.5% of the sample appeared to watch television with the whole family between the hours of 8 to 11.
The trend towards more traditionalism emerging thus, from the Field Survey, could be further explored in the Interviews and Discussions.

Channel preferences seemed to vary between the two age groups, as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Station</th>
<th>1995</th>
<th>1997</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ANT.1</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>52.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ET.1</td>
<td>.2</td>
<td>.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOGOS</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CyBC.1</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>8.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CyBC 2</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIGMA</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>14.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is obvious from the above figures that the popularity of ANT.1 among the older age-group, even though still dominant, seems to lose percentages to other stations - primarily CyBC1, LOGOS and SIGMA. This can, perhaps be explained by the fact that some of the highest frequency rates - on Fridays, Saturdays and Sundays - coincided with those programmes in the top-ten list, broadcast by the CyBC - To Kafenion (Friday), Manolis ke Katina (Saturday) and Istoryes tou horiou (Sunday), all Cyprus dialect productions.

The above findings led to some clear patterns emerging from the present study:

The vast majority of programmes popular with the sample were produced in the Greek-language, or in the Cyprus dialect - Beverly Hills being the only exception.

On the other hand, in 1995, the top five programmes among 11-13-year-olds viewing these programmes regularly, were the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1995: Top Five</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Beverly Hills</td>
<td>57.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married with Children</td>
<td>45.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knightrider</td>
<td>41.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miami Vice</td>
<td>22.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afetiries</td>
<td>19.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The only Greek-language programme was *Afetiries*, a competition programme for young performers, discontinued after 1996 and resumed again in 1998, after the Field Survey was conducted (May 1997). It is therefore quite obvious that the preferences of the sample lay towards Greek and Cyprus productions.

The global trends existing in 1995 seem to be still in existence, but definitely receding in the 1997 Research, with Greek and Cypriot productions coming into the spotlight. This seems to be further indication parallel to the increasing religiosity of young people, that there is a return to native language and tradition.

**IV.6.2: Discussion of the Findings: Programme Preferences**

It was interesting therefore to analyse the programmes preferred in 1997 and then discuss them afterwards in the Personal Interviews and Group Discussions, in order to establish the types of culture they project and how they are interpreted by the sample of the Study.

It is also pertinent here to quote the findings of a Ratings Research Report about adult viewership, conducted during the same time-period of the present study: AMER conducted the research for CyBC 1 among a Pancyprian sample of 1011 people, from 13 to 70 years old, between 25 - 31st May 1997. The method used was Day-After-Recall and two of the main findings, as to channel and programme popularity are interesting to discuss. (CyBC, June 12, 1997):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Channel</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ANT.1</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CyBC1</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOGOS</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIGMA</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CyBC2</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ET1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Programmes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Programme</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kalimera Zoi (ANT.1)</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Good-Morning Life)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ekines ki' ego (ANT.1)</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Them and Me)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I Lamps (ANT.1)</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Flash of Light)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sophia Orthi (ANT.1)</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Upright Sophie)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Football (CyBC 1)</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manolis ke Katina (CyBC 1)</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Epitelous Mazi (ANT.1)</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Together at last)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Efharisto Savvatovradho</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Pleasant Saturday Night)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viva ANT.1</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Look of the year (ANT.1)</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To Kafenion (CyBC.1)</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dimosia Katasthesi (ANT.1)</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Public Deposition)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Five programmes - *Kalimera Zoi, Manolis ke Katina, Epitelous Mazi, Efharisto Savvatovradho* and *To Kafenion* were also among the top list of the adult viewers and they are all Greek-language programmes. Perhaps this is an indication that ANT.1 - which is again the top channel for adult viewers, like it is for the teenagers of the present study - depends heavily for its high ratings on the Greek-language programmes and serials which form its staple programming. *Epiteleous Mazi*, is broadcast around 6.00 in the afternoon and *Kalimera Zoi* goes on the air at 9.00 in the evening. As these programmes also feature in the top list of the sample's preferences, further confirmation of family viewing, already emerging from the Field Survey, could be sought out again during the Interviews and Discussions. Again it is interesting to note that "Lamps" a Greek serial on ANT.1, is not only popular among adult viewers as already stated, but it is also viewed by 35.6% of the present survey sample. *Lamps* precedes the ANT.1 News Bulletin at 8.30. So, apparently the viewers stay tuned to the channel for the News, indicating proof of situational viewing. The Interviews and Discussions will afford the
opportunity for discussion of the family site of viewing, as “a family television viewing is just as vital a site of meaning production, if not more than any high-culture venue.” (Lindlof, 1995:51). This is also further support of the significance and value of the Inter-paradigm model chosen for this study, where the statistical findings can pave the way for more effective probing in the subsequent qualitative stages of the Research.

Of course it is worth noting here that 28.7% (a majority viewing) of those whose fathers work in manual jobs, prefer viewing ANT.1. And furthermore, as established earlier in the chapter (p.134) 25% of the sample’s fathers work in manual jobs – the highest percentage as to occupation. As most of the programmes are in Greek, the direct use of the Greek language and the projection of Greek culture, can, understandably be more popular among viewers with inadequate education or background to understand or enjoy programmes in a foreign language and a foreign culture. The finding is of statistical significance, whereas correlations of channel preferences with other parents' occupations, have not rendered any findings statistically significant.

IV.6.3: Discussion of the Findings: Socio-Cultural Values

Correlations between viewing and both social and religious attitudes also seem to have been established:

Regular viewers of Beverly Hills did not appear to consider woman's place is in the home and this probably came from the girls of the sample, as 75.4% of the programme's viewers were girls and the models and lifestyles projected in the series, shows girls in a very modern and democratic set of action and gender relationships. The contrary is true of those viewing Kalimera Zoi, the Greek serial presenting simultaneously conservative norms but also contemporary social problems in Greek society: 58% of the viewers believe that pre-marital sex is not appropriate for women. Samples of both series are analysed in the Chapter which follows, to provide the background for the value-system from which to draw for the Interviews.

The programme analysis of both “Beverly Hills” and “Kalimera” or other programmes should also render discursive conclusions about gender values in the imported and Cyprus/Greek productions, so that these can be integrated in the Personal Interviews and Discussions.

Other comparisons between men and women are interesting as they seem to bear traces of a traditional patriarchism, in spite of the modernity trends obvious in Cyprus today. A big percentage - 42.7% believed that men are sometimes more capable than women; but 22.6% consider men to be energetic and dynamic, always and 19.6% consider women as such, which
is an indication that there is not much difference in the assessment of the genders by the sample, as to these qualities.

The types of programmes preferred by the 1997 sample were considered by them not to contain as much violence as English-language programmes. Was violence then, perhaps, a factor in popular imported programmes that turned young people off? But then, Greek programme *Kalimera Zoi* is an example - and not the only one - with an abundance of violence. How would the individual interviewees view this violence? Again however, it should be noted that 36.6% of the sample liked watching programmes *with violence, much* and *very much* and 43.3% liked watching *horror programmes, much* and *very much*. This was supported by a category of programmes that had also received high percentages, even though not among the top ten, which were programmes that do contain violence - i.e. *New York Police* (watched by 11.7%, *Regularly* and 6.8%, *Always*), *Colombo* (12.4%, *Regularly* and 7.2%, *Always*), *X-files* (7.7% and 9.4%) and *RoboCop*, (12.2% and 12.2%). These programmes had total percentages ranging from 17.15 – 24.4% for combined viewing of *regularly* and *always*. The violence issue in imported and local programmes was, therefore, another subject to be carried over to the Programme Analysis and the Interview sections.

The value priorities of the sample, were also a subject of interest, as they again gave first priority to *Security for Cyprus with Love, Having friends, Understanding, Success in my job and a steady job*, following. If one looks at the standard of living and the rate of financial progress after 1974, in Cyprus, one cannot help concluding that materialistic values - houses, cars, a high income - have been top priorities for the older generation. So can one then conclude, that the new generation is developing a new value system? The Interviews and Discussions, with the development of an active dialogue can confirm or reverse these statements beyond figures on paper. Is the fact that they prefer their own language programmes, which are tailored to the socio-cultural values of Cyprus, connected to this more nationalistic value system? And could one assume there are emerging signs of a return to roots, perhaps in the face of a crisis, or a national threat, as discussed in the Chapter on “Literature Review” (2:63)? There were some first indications from the Field Survey that in the negotiation between selfhood and worldhood, there were trends of a neo-traditionalism among the study’s respondents, which could, perhaps be attributed to what Friedman describes as the “security and even isolation provided by traditionalist identity in times of crisis.” (Ibid).

Confessions about being convicted of trespassing the law, constituted very poor findings as the vast majority - 96.4% - stated they were *never* convicted. It is a fact, however, as we saw in chapter one, that juvenile delinquency has given reason for concern in Cyprus, during the last
few years. So perhaps it is difficult to obtain genuine answers as to negative - or embarrassing - factors in the respondents' life, even under the cover of the anonymity, afforded by a Statistical Survey. As this survey however, did not aim at establishing delinquency rates, this was not a matter of concern. It is also interesting to note that the sample did not believe the television channels present drugs attractively for young people, as drug addiction does seem to be on the rise, as we again saw in Chapter One (30) of the present study. Perhaps the question to be addressed in the qualitative part, is whether television presentation of drugs makes these substances an acceptable - i.e. normal - part of young people's lifestyle - rather than whether it can present drugs attractively for young people.

IV.6.4: Discussion of the Findings: National/Political Attitudes

The sample of the present study perceived themselves mostly as Greek-Cypriots. Is this correlated in any way with the types of programmes they view? No correlation or dependency values were established between Q. 55 (on identity) and the programmes preferred. How do these programmes contribute to the sample's cultural (ethnic and national) identity? It is only rational to hypothesize that watching Greek-language and Cyprus-dialect programmes by preference, can make them feel Greek-Cypriots, above any other identity schema. But perhaps they choose these programmes, because they feel that way initially. Of course Greek-language programmes were also aired in 1995 - Efharisto Savvatovradho, I Lampsi, Tmima Ithion (Vice Squad). They were not as popular among the younger age group. But the formation of identity is a constant process. So the marked turn from English-language to Greek and Cyprus productions, could be an indication of a return to tradition and roots - native language and national (or ethnic) culture. This seemed to come through in other ways: The sample believed that the Cyprus university should be Greek, they considered the Cyprus problem as the public issue most important to them currently and they believed that the Cyprus and Greek flags, together, depending on the occasion, are most characteristic of the Republic of Cyprus. Again, within these preferences further research must be made in the personal interviews, as to a possible encounter in the reception process, between Greek language (the demotic) and Cyprus (dialect) and (possibly) Greek and Greek-Cypriot cultures.

Furthermore, the question of the flag and the Interviewees' responses to the flag, a symbol of place-bound nationalism (Ch.1: 17) should be an item for further discussion in the qualitative stages of the Research.
The sample's perception of Turkish-Cypriots was also interesting, considering that there are, generally, no programmes with or about Turkish-Cypriots, apart from reports about them in the News. While it is true that there was no significant majority attached to the values, which describe the Turkish Cypriots in Q.42, percentages are split indicating that:

- 30.3% considered them as **no different from Greek-Cypriots**
- 27.5% considered them **human** - i.e. the word used in Greek - **anthropini** - implies their having kind, positive (human) qualities.
- 31.6% considered them **backward**. (**Opisthodromiki** in Greek indicates a backward mentality as to attitudes, lifestyles and education.)

This was very contrasting with what the sample believe about Turks from the mainland, where 70.7% considered them **violent**. This is only natural however, if we remember that it was the Turkish troops from the mainland of Turkey, who invaded Cyprus in 1974. Furthermore, as recently as August 1996, it was again Turks from the mainland that killed Isaac and Solomos at Dherynia. This can, perhaps explain the fact therefore, that a combined percentage of 45.0% essentially believed that **Greek-Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots can live together, very probably and certainly, peacefully in the future, after a solution**. But how much do they draw from the Media, in order to form the image of these Turkish Cypriot Others, so rarely featured on Cyprus TV transmissions?

The sample’s view that Turkish-Cypriots are represented **fairly** on TV channels was also an indication that usually the sample will trust channels in political, as well as any other matters. The hegemony therefore, of the media and the dominant readings of the sample had to be explored in the Programme Analysis and the Interviews. Or, in the context of the Incorporation/Resistance Model (Ch.2:56) there appeared to be conformity or consonance with the channels’ positions. This could also be further support of the fact that young people today accept the authority of the establishment (media, in this case). (Ch.1:27)

Of course these indications could only be pursued further in the qualitative parts of the study - the Programme analysis with its discourse analysis and the subsequent Interviews and Discussions, which could provide the opportunity for personal probing and an in-depth discussion of the relationship of television with the sample’s cultural modes of behaviour, lifestyle and ethnicity values. It was therefore anticipated that the Personal Interviews would provide the author the opportunity to go beyond stereotype, black-and-white, answers on paper,
into personal perceptions and interpretations of television readership - the Qualitative Aspects of the Study, as explained in Fields 3 and 4 of the Biltereyest Model (Chapter 3:89)

Generally, the conclusions from this Field Survey, even though a result of quantification, did form a good map for the Research itinerary, with basic patterns emerging clearly and with insights that had to be to be pursued and explored further in the qualitative parts of the Study. The ground was cleared for further investigation, as the programmes popular with the sample, together with many other details about their preferences were now defined. Their views and attitudes on social and cultural issues were also mapped out and so were their national and political attitudes. Finally demographic elements of relationships with television viewing and demographic contrasts were also established giving support for two sets of interviews and discussions – Nicosia and Unoccupied Famagusta. So, even though the quantitative method adopted to initiate the Research Study was very different as to research discipline and research environment, from the remaining two stages of the Programme Analysis and the Interviews, it was a foundational stage, foregrounding with indications, clues, hints and directives (Ch. 2:84) the areas to be further explored, for more detailed audience responses to television messages and for probing the relationship of television contents to the sample's cultural identity. The findings of the Survey also appeared to provide good, meaningful material and formed a reliable position in the triangulation process which position, together with the angles offered by the Programme Analysis and the Interviews (Ch.2: 90-91), would provide the mixed Research Paradigm with consistency and reliability. The Study now had to move to the next two stages of the Cross-Paradigm Model and explore discourse meanings and the process of the production of these meanings among the sample, through the Interviews and Group Discussions.
CHAPTER FIVE
AN ANALYSIS OF THE TOP FIVE PROGRAMMES

V. 1: Introduction

In the present chapter a continuum will be established between the quantitative research, which mapped the ground for the conversation with the sample, and the present textual and discourse analysis of the top five programmes, which will establish the premises for the interviews and group discussions with the interviewees. Moreover, the discourse analysis of the top five programmes, as already explained in Chapter two - Literature Review - and Chapter Three on Methodology - is considered necessary in order to provide guidelines and themes for the subsequent interviews and group discussions. The lines proposed by Norman Fairclough (1995) with regard to critical discourse analysis of television programmes is being adopted by the author. Use is also made of other studies about television readings, like Inglis (1990), Fiske and Hartley (1978) and Alasuutari (1995). As the span of programmes analyzed however, is quite extensive and as respondents may not have seen the particular programmes analysed in this study, the information load of the programmes will be surveyed through the general concepts of critical discourse, without, however, a detailed or exhaustive discourse analysis of language being made, either of entire programmes or of specific excerpts. Television is a multi-modal medium and any attempt at detailed discourse analysis would be too extensive for the purposes of the present study. But the functions of language — informational, relational and aesthetic (Jaworski & Coupland, 1999:8) will be broadly identified in the programmes analysed, by using discourse approaches and concepts as a backdrop. Discourse levels, i.e., “language used in matters of organisation and meaning” (Stubbs, 1998:5) will also be referred to, in the Programmes analysed. To remind ourselves of the outline to be applied, as explained in Chapter 3 (109) on Methodology, the following sections will be used for the discussion of the five programmes:

♦ Topics in the News Items or Description of programme contents
♦ Critical Discourse Analysis:
• Production/Consumption
• Representations/Identities/Relationships
• Discourse Analysis and Socio-cultural Analysis
• Readings by the Sample: Anticipation and exploration of possible associations and readings by respondents during the Interviews and Group Discussions.

This last section dealing with the readings by the sample, will essentially be an anticipation of an attempt at “metacommunication” (Stubbs, 1998:48) which will, in the Interviews, try to conduct a discussion about mediated communication, in order to establish an understanding of the sample’s readings. Discourse can, of course, according to Jaworski & Coupland (1999:7) range from the description and interpretation of the making of meaning to the understanding of meaning in specific situations, through the critical analysis of ideology and access to meaning systems and discourse networks. The relationships of these meaning systems within the “micro-level” and the “macro-level” social actions (Ibid:12) will therefore be another task in the present chapter, as the relationship of meanings and the construction of identity is a process which is always in the making. Again “lexical items and grammatical structures”, on one hand and macro structures, such as “topics or themes expressed in larger stretches of text or whole discourses” will be signalled when relevant or significant to the analysis.

The programmes chosen represent two different genres - news (1) and fiction (4) - a programme imported from Greece (No. 3) one from USA (No. 5) and two Cyprus-produced programmes (No. 2 and No. 7). ANT.1 News at 8.30 is the top favourite among all age groups in Cyprus; (sample of the present study included), To Kafenion (The Coffee shop), follows the News in popularity whereas Kalimera Zoi, the top fiction programme popular today among all age groups in Cyprus, comes from Greece and Istories tou Horiou is a Cyprus production. Beverly Hills is the only English-language programme in the top ten list, so it could not be left out. Five programmes ranking in the top ten choices of the sample have been chosen for analysis in the context of the present study:
News at 8.30 from private channel ANT.1 came off as the top popular programme in the survey, having received an overall percentage of 56% for being watched regularly and always (combined percentages) by the sample. This is a half-hour bulletin and it usually begins 2-4 minutes earlier than 8.30, obviously to attract the viewers away from the 8.30 bulletin of the Cyprus Broadcasting Corporation, which always begins at 8.30, sharp and also to maintain the viewers who are tuned to the channel, watching Lampsi a popular Greek serial – an example of situational viewing, perhaps.

The bulletin analysed here, began with a teaser in which human and social interest stories led the evening news.

A priest suffering from AIDS, another woman-patient with AIDS, sued for spreading the disease, a patricide murderer sentenced to eight years’ imprisonment, the builders' Union in conflict with the Employer's Association and results of AGB Television Ratings Research. On a second level, in the political field, the following items were broadcast: the visit of Ambassador Thomas Miller to Denktash, in view of Holbrook's forthcoming arrival, "Taurus", the military exercise of Turkey, with trespasses of Cyprus air space and Albright and White-House Representative McGerry on the S-300. The rest was International News, Sports News and Stock Exchange information.

The emphasis in this particular news bulletin was on local news items (13) than global (3), plus one item from Greek ANT.1.

The presentation formula standardised in all the news bulletins of ANT.1 consists of: two main anchor-persons - a man and a woman - who take turns at introducing the news items, one reporter on each item, doing the narrative, at least one stand-up on vision the male
presenter of the sports items, the weather-girl, introduced by the male presenter and a female presenter from Greece, introducing the Greek news report.

The Bank of Cyprus sponsored the international news items and the stock-exchange movement as well as foreign currency values. Generally, a great number of production staff members alternated roles, forming a rich news cast with a lot of variable approaches and diversification of styles and voices.

For the purposes of the present chapter, only the first six items in the headlines are analyzed, as they represent a good cross-section of themes – political and social, with human interest. Additionally, the item from Greece will also be discussed, as it is present in the ANT.1 News, regularly, every evening.

V.2.2: Topics of the news items

The topics of the news items, were as follows:

1. The leading story was about the priest who had been established, after the appropriate blood test, to be suffering from Aids. Even though his name was not divulged, he was almost photographed in the news item. The results of the test - supposed to be confidential - were given out by medical sources, to the Archbishop himself and actually the first blood test was run, without the priest himself knowing about it.

2. The second item was about another Aids patient - Chrystalla Zanzour, a Greek-Cypriot from South Africa, who was accused of transmitting the virus, knowingly, to different men with whom she had sexual intercourse. She had been convicted to a 6-month sentence in jail and the item in the news bulletin was about her treatment in the court and her asking the President of the Republic for pardon, so she could spend her remaining time, before she died, with her twin children that would be coming from Lebanon.

3. The third, fourth and fifth items were joined in a unified sequence: the threats against Greece by Turkish Prime Minister Mesut Yilmaz, who warned of the effects from the "hostility of Greece against Turkey" – Denktash's hostile reaction to journalists, in the presence of Thomas Miller, ambassador of American Presidential emissary, Richard Holbrook, arriving on the 1st of May, in the island. A statement by the American Minister of Foreign Affairs, from Beijing, criticising Moscow about her decision to sell the missiles to Cyprus, and a subsequent White House Representative's warning that some people affected by these purchases could react by taking measures.

4. The item which followed, gave an on-vision statement by the Minister of Defence of Cyprus, about the new Emergency Measures to be announced. Reference was made to the military exercises of Turkey over Cyprus and the trespasses of the Cyprus Republic air space. The former Commander-in-Chief of the Cyprus National Guard made a statement on these exercises.

5. Item 6 was about two Kurds jumping over the Rocas partition wall, in Nicosia, from the occupied part of Cyprus, into the unoccupied areas, to flee from the Denktash establishment.
6. The next item came from Athens and was a routine adjunct to the 8.30 news bulletin. The item for this evening covered the violent incidents created by the followers of "Panathinaikos", the football team that was defeated in the national cup finals of Greece, by "Panionios".

V. 2.3.a: Critical Discourse Analysis: Production/Consumption

In the discourse analysis, there must, of necessity, be a more extensive emphasis on the use of language, as this is important in the representation of news stories. It is important to remember that news is not telling us what happened, but presents us with fragmented information, from which, according to Bell (in Bell & Garrett, eds., 1998:66) "we must deduct conclusions from what the story says happened." In other words news stories are "replete with ambiguity, unclarity, discrepancy and cavity". (Ibid) So, attribution (news sources), selection of a particular, versus other stories and grouping of stories will be examined. Also, "congruent" and "metaphorical" language will be identified, explicit and implicit use of words and in the case of indirect reporting of statements, different forms will be examined - i.e., direct quotations, summaries and formulations (interpretations) of statements.

In the part which follows about the discourse and socio-cultural analysis, patterns of dominance and resistance will be traced and analysed. It is also important at this stage and point to explain that the discourse analysis presented by the author mainly adopts the dominant or preferred readings (Morley) as explained in Ch.2 (56) with possible polysemic interpretations also being identified. Finally, the possible readings by the sample, to be discussed in the Interviews and Discussions will be presented.

It is important to establish from the start that each programme, representing a part of social or other realities, according to Fairclough (adopted here) carries its own discourse order. Fairclough (1995:55) himself defines these "orders of discourse" as the "discursive practices of a community - its normal ways of using language". The news bulletins of ANT.1 set up their own orders of discourse, naturally based on their own use of generic techniques.

The production of the first item about the priest suffering from Aids was an interesting combination of intertextuality. While the narration of the report was relating how the blood-test was conducted and how the results were leaked to the Archbishop first and then to the media, the reference to the conflict in the Holy Synod, was supported visually by excerpts from a mass recorded earlier in the year, in which the Archbishop and the Holy
Synod, with an important guest-bishop were officiating in church. The sound of the videotaped mass was kept in the background as the report about their clash around the Aids patient was being described. It was also interesting that the Archbishop’s statement that the "priest should take off his priestly robe" was not heard on camera. It was the reporter who summed this up - Voice Over - for the viewer. The statement of the Bishop of Paphos, however, dissenting with the Archbishop’s opinion and proposing that the priest abstain from officiating while the Church would help him as much as possible, was shown lip-sync, on camera.

Again the telephone conversation between the ANT.1 reporter and the involved priest was shown with a visual of the recording reels and a distorted voice-over statement of the priest, with a further use of text - his words were superimposed on the screen, in order to safeguard his privacy. The distorted voice put the depicted individual in a defensive position. On the other hand, compassion was aroused for the powerless Aids victim, the priest who had been helping Aids victims, himself. The statement of the Minister of Health supported the priest's case further as he emphatically stressed confidentiality in health matters and promised to proceed to an investigation, if the leak had occurred from government health services. The Director of the Gregorion (Aids) Clinic, not only assured the public about the confidentiality and privacy of the patients in the clinic¹, but his comments that Aids was not transmissible through the Holy Communion, was another effort to support the priest, but also uphold the authority of the church.

Of course, it should here be mentioned that two years earlier, when this particular priest was involved in a confrontation with the Archbishop, ANT.1 had supported the priest in many different ways, giving him air-time, and extensively covering the demonstrations in his support outside the Palace of the Archbishop. So production-wise, ANT.1 continued its policy on the matter, apparently both because it had supported the same priest before, but also because it wanted to promote a policy of support towards Aids patients in general.

The same policy was apparent in the item that followed - again about an Aids patient, Chrystalla Zanzour - and the Channel’s position as regards the gloves which the police woman was wearing while touching the patient. The reporter - Demetris Mamas - who has a reputation for investigative reporting, especially in "human-interest" stories about marginalized individuals, was shown to approach Chrystalla - covered up and hiding her

¹ The clinic was established by the mother of an Aids patient who had died in England.
face from the cameras - asking her, for an interview on his personal radio show from ANT.1 - "A Night with Mamas". So another example of intertextuality was aired in the context of the same item - the voice of the patient in conversation with the reporter, on the radio. The intertextual approach, explicitly built up sympathy among the viewers for the Aids patient: she had regretted spreading Aids consciously and she wanted a pardon to spend what was left of her life with her children. In both the first and second items, as indeed in most of the items of the bulletin, the presence of the reporters was indicated by just one Stand-up shot, during the report, in order to establish the reporter on vision. But all else was pictures from the event/s and the people involved. The quick, excited, high-pitched tone of the reporters, the dense flow of the text, with the help of audio-visual elements, validated the message for the viewer in a very suggestive manner. So did some exaggerated phrases, like “The doctors were raving with anger on seeing the policewoman handling Chrystalla with gloves”. The viewer had no time to think through the items or to deduce his results through the syllogism of reason. A very typical effect of the function of television. (Fiske & Hartley, 1978: 117) The presentation of the two particular, controversial items included, on behalf of production, voices of dissent: dissent within the church, dissent on behalf of the collaborator, who advocated that the victim speak to “his spiritual father”, silent dissent and disapproval of Aids patients by the Police, illustrated by the gloves of the policewoman. Thus, the Channel’s hegemonic claim to objectivity and comprehensiveness, according to Allan (in Allan & Garrett, 1998:121) is effected by “absorbing and domesticating conflicting values”, “awkward facts”, “or even, under more exceptional circumstances, voices of dissent.”

The production of the item that followed - the visit of ambassador Thomas Miller to Turkish-Cypriot leader Raouf Denktash, one day before American Presidential emissary Richard Holbrook arrived - adopted rather standard production approaches. Denktash, Miller and the journalists, were shown in a group shot in the home of Denktash and the question of the ANT.1 journalist about the talks - on vision - was answered, by the Turkish-Cypriot leader, according to the news report, “with irony and arrogance.” The conversational style adopted by the channel regularly in this - as in many other items - makes the news informal and creates the immediacy necessary for the audience, to feel they are witnesses to the news events - a sense of “being present at, but not directly involved in” (Allan, in Bell & Garrett, eds., 1998:122). The phrase “Denktash demands, essentially, two states, here and now,” is a phrase to the point, expressed in very congruent language. Miller’s cutaway indicated no reaction which could signify approval by the American representative, of the intransigence of Denktash.
The American reactions shown subsequently, through the statements of both Albright and McGerry about the missiles, further pre-disposed the viewer about the current negative attitudes of America towards the progress of the Cyprus problem.

The "Taurus" exercise by the Turks, in the same sequence, was shown with a Turkish commander giving orders to Turkish troops, as well as with Turkish aeroplanes in flight.

In the item about the Kurds escaping from the occupied areas, the production attracted the viewers' sympathy to the two soldiers, one of whom was shown in a wheel-chair, having apparently suffered blows from falling off the Rocas wall. The hegemonic approach of "Us" and "Them", in this particular case, was expressed in a pitiful regard of the unhappy victims of the Denktash establishment who sought freedom and a decent life in the areas of the official Cyprus Republic areas.

The item from Greece, specially addressed to Cyprus, also always ended with "Ladies and Gentlemen in Cyprus, have a nice evening" - with a stereotype smile from the presenter, whether the broadcast item was pleasant or not. And the exit line from Cyprus ANT.1, was "We thank our colleagues from Greece" thus establishing a cultural connection through colleagueship and collaboration between the two channels.

The bulletin had elements of the new style of "infotainment" news. One such element was the use of background music, under the narrative of the "global" items, the stock-exchange item, plus a musical bridge as a background to the weather bulletin. All the background music used, had variations and overtones of the bulletin's signature tune and in one case, ended up with the final notes of the signature tune itself. This is a clever production technique of underlining the coherence and identity of the station, consistently reminding viewers and entertaining them at the same time. Other discourse production elements like headlines and computer graphics added to the macrostructure discourse of the bulletin throughout, thus establishing discourse beyond the vocabulary of language.

The production approach definitely placed the viewer in a "subordinate position" (Fiske & Hartley, 1978:106, 7) promoting clearly dominant, or preferred readings: the voices heard directly on camera, are largely those of people in authoritative positions, not of ordinary citizens, like the viewer himself: There was a narrative voice, on or off vision, either of the special reporter or of the anchor-man or anchor-woman, in all report descriptions. The "attribution" (sources) of the news items were ascribed to the news reporters of the channel, even when news items from abroad were broadcast.
The reporters had all the power to assert their stories on the viewers. The stereotype announcement of the two anchor people, testified to that, throughout the bulletin: "Our reporter Petros Melaisis, has all the details"

Or, "Let's listen to Demetris Mamas, who was there, in the court area".

Or, "Paris Potamitis was there, reporting". The reporters are the storytellers "restored to cultural visibility." (Fiske & Hartley, 1978: 125). The storytellers with the authority to pass on a message in a certain (dominant) manner, chosen by the producers and meant to obtain a corresponding preferred reading among the audience:

"TV news presenters and institutional voices like interviewers also function as mythic intermediaries representing the viewers' supposed interests and concerns." (Bignell, 1997:147)

These reporters therefore, in conjunction with the presenters and the protagonists from the establishment consolidated the authority of the Channel.

The only ordinary citizens seen to be speaking on camera, in the items analyzed here included the person who saw the two Kurds jump over the wall in Nicosia. The two Aids patients were heard in audio recordings only, with a background shot of the audiotapes themselves.

From a different point of view, most of the discourses were on the dominant, not the oppositional side, as the following (lengthy) list of people appeared in the analyzed item, on behalf of the civic and religious establishment.

- The Minister of Justice
- The Minister of Health
- The Minister of Defence
- The Government Spokesman
- The Archbishop
- The Bishop of Paphos
- The present and former commanders of the National Guard
- The Director of the Grigorion (Aids) clinic.
- The American Foreign Minister
- The Turkish-Cypriot leader, Rauf Denktash
- The Ambassadorial Representative of USA, Thomas Miller
References to the priest in the Aids item, represented him as a "beloved pastor" and a "popular priest", taking for granted the continuity of the story which had involved the relevant Archimandrite in the confrontation with the Archbishop about his suitability for Episcopal elections, two years earlier. The Archbishop and other church leaders had, at the time, argued that he was unsuitable as there were insinuations that he kept improper company and his overall conduct was not priestly. The people of his diocese supported him fiercely, with violent demonstrations outside the Archbishopric. Usually the historical context in a news item is absent (Fairclough, 1995:106), as news is about current events and developments, the news story being a perishable product, altogether. The fact however, that the item was not historically contextualized, did not prevent people from understanding the inferred events as related to the case.

In the present news item the Church was represented as consistently correct in their doubts about the ethos of the Archimandrite, while the latter was represented as being, essentially a weak person, but at the same time, an Aids victim, deserving of compassion. The Holy Synod was represented to be in conflict - as some members advocated a flexible stand by suggesting that he withdraw from officiating, while others - the Archbishop included - suggested that he be dethroned and derobed (of his clerical frock). In the previous conflict, publicised back in 1996, the Archbishop had again been depicted as not being very kind or forgiving. The repeated reference that the Synod was "split in two", in this item, was a clear semantic allusion to the controversy or dissent within the church. The priest himself made a very brief telephone statement (in a distorted voice) to the Channel, saying, "sometimes, escape is not the best solution." When asked if the whole thing was a well-set-up conspiracy, he persistently denied, by repeating "No." Another such statement by a close collaborator of the priest, said that the priest had been in touch with AIDS patients, looking after their needs; but of course, he didn't know about his personal relationships, so the best thing would be for the Archimandrite to confess to his spiritual father.

Further shadows on the professional ethos of medical or paramedical practitioners were also cast by this news item: One was the accusation that the first blood test of the patient, had been conducted by a private chemist, without the patient himself knowing about this and the chemist had subsequently informed the Archbishop about the results. Another was the statement of the Minister of Health, that if leakage of results, had really occurred on the side of official hospital sources - which had conducted a second blood-test of the patient -
the event would be investigated and appropriate measures would be taken against anybody who had broken the Hippocrates oath.

A further statement by Dr. Demetriades, Director of the "Gregorion Clinic", (for AIDS patients) assured the public about the confidentiality and privacy of the patients in the clinic, and also tried to lift the shadows cast over the public's relationships with medical practitioners. The same person - Dr. Demetriades - made a statement about AIDS not being transmitted through Holy Communion, so Greek Orthodox Christians did not have to worry about the priest suffering from AIDS. It should be noted here that Holy Communion in the Greek Orthodox Church is shared out among the believers, with the same spoon.

The statement by the Director of the clinic had of course, the intention of reinforcing, the trust of the Greek Orthodox Christians in divine protection from the dangers of germs being transmitted through holy communion - a paradigm of the power dialectics between rational thinking and religious (transcendental) faith.

So the item set up a climate of moral tension and power dialectics, between the religious establishment and the publics, in a social and religious climate.

The fact that the Archbishop and the Bishop of Paphos spoke on camera and also appeared officiating in church mass, whereas the (Aids) carrier's distorted voice was broadcast from an audio tape recorder, intertextually enhanced the power of the Institution of the church, versus the status of the "accused" (self-defending) individual. All in all, the personal and institutional mythologies were brought into conflict. (Fiske & Hartley, 1978:96), But the authority (and the balanced presentation) of the channel as well as the hegemony of the church were firmly established, inspite of the channel's effort at claiming objectivity by the broadcasting of different, conflicting voices of dissent, or oppositional discourse.

Conflict in the representation of identities and relationships was also created by the second item, which was again about AIDS patient, Chrystalla Zanzour. The emphasis here was twofold: first, on the fact that the policewoman accompanying Chrystalla was wearing gloves, to avoid touching Chrystalla, with bare hands. The reporter of the item emphasised the fact that the doctors treating Chrystalla were "raving with anger about the video, which had shown the police-woman, wearing gloves to touch Chrystalla and they protested to the police. The doctors, according to the reporter, were angry, as this would create "silly prejudices" among the public about the transmission of the disease. As a result, the policewoman took off the gloves, next day. Discourse of these TV contents was thus realistic and effective within a relevant set of immediate - micro-level - as well as wider -
macro-level - social realities: the gloves, a symbol of apprehension and prophylaxis, were rejected through immediate media reaction.

Further to this, the reporter himself - Mamas - was seen on camera, talking to Chrystalla (with hooded face) in a very confidential manner. In a radio interview she gave him, she answered affirmatively his (obviously leading) question: "Of course, you have regretted transmitting AIDS to your sexual partners, haven't you?"

So another AIDS patient was being represented, with a rich, intertextual approach by the Channel, as a victim of the illness, worthy of pardon and of understanding and compassion, more especially since she had realised her mistakes and admitted to them.

Both of the first two items were really trying to fight prejudice against AIDS sufferers and to establish compassion among the public towards the AIDS patients and build a positive kind of relationship between them and the viewers. As Fiske & Hartley note (1978:188), reporting here personalizes the social forces, which have produced the news items presented - i.e. the church, the medical authorities, and the AIDS victims. The position of the Channel itself voices the social reality (the dominant reading) which the producers tried to place opposite the social forces projected - i.e. the church, the medical authorities, or the police (in Zanzour's case.).

The third item, which was about the political problem of Cyprus focused on four relevant developments, joined in one. The sequence is interesting to analyse as far as representations, identities and relationships are concerned:

An "unheard-of outburst of threats by Prime Minister Mesut Yilmaz against Greece, was reported, 24 hours after the meeting of the Turkish National Security Council." This, Yilmaz explained, was because Greece wanted Turkey under-developed and therefore unprepared to join the European community.

In Cyprus, the news item continued, the matter was being addressed by the Turkish Cypriot leader, Rauf Denktash, who, in the presence of ambassador Thomas Miller, aggressively described inter-communal talks as a "dirty word" and said there should only be mention of "inter-state" or "inter-governmental" talks. "Inter-communal talks," he said, "were killed at the Clyon talks in Switzerland, by President Clerides and EU placed a tombstone on them." The Cyprus Government spokesman picks up, in the sequence, to say "we consider the visit by American Presidential envoy, Richard Holbrook very significant." Madeleine Albright followed with a statement from Beijing that the decision by Moscow to deliver S-300 missiles would make the situation in Cyprus worse; this was further reinforced by a relevant statement by White House representative, McGerry that people affected by the
missile decision might counteract. The Cyprus Minister of Defence with new Commander-in-chief of the Cyprus National Guard, made a statement about promoting the application of new Emergency measures and former Commander-in-Chief of the National Guard, made a statement about the military exercises of Turkey and Turkish aeroplanes trespassing the airspace of Cyprus.

The whole sequence, as seen above, actually represented in a nutshell all the different political realities of the Cyprus problem in its developments (at the time): the position of America - warning about the S-300 missiles, but also trying to intervene for promoting a solution - the persisting intransigence of Denktash, the animosity of Ankara and the open hostility of Turkey, throughout their military exercise. A complex set of relationships was shown through these news items – Greece and Turkey, Greece and Cyprus - the two Commanders-in-chief, the departing and the new one - the relationship of Denktash with the official Cyprus government and with the American representative/s, as Denktash did not hesitate to take up a stand on the talks and on the relationship of America to the Cyprus developments, in front of Ambassador Miller. One could say that this was a news sequence, which built up tension among the Cyprus viewers, in relation to the developments around the Cyprus problem. Turkey came out with cries of war, Denktash created a negative climate, around the visit of Holbrook and the Minister of Defence of Cyprus and the National Guard gave an indication of their determination to organise the military defence of Cyprus, in the best way possible. America was represented as doubting the official Cyprus Government by McGerry referring to “the Greek Cypriot leaders.” The Miniser of Defence, taking up the point, retorted in a Mid-Close-up, with a grave facial expression, that “Cyprus is an independent member-state of the United Nations.” American, Turkish and Turkish-Cypriot representatives came off aggressive, doubtful and subtly (or openly) threatening Cyprus, the permanent victim, on defense. The channel not only tried to win public confidence in the items about the social problems associated with Aids, but also built up a feeling of trust and confidence among the audience, concerning its stand on the Cyprus question.

The item which followed about the two Kurds jumping off the wall, from the Turkish-occupied area to the ground of unoccupied Cyprus, was a further dimension to the Cyprus situation, as it traced the resistant or even rebellious stand of Turkish-Cypriots (Kurds, in this case) to the Turkish-Cypriot establishment, whose oppression they could not stand and therefore escaped to the freedom of the official Cyprus Republic. The Minister of Justice and Public Order, in stating that “we” (the Cyprus authorities) “cannot survey the whole demarcation line”, was making a confession that other invaders might be coming in
from the North, to the safety of the Cyprus Republic, invaders that could not be stopped. So the immediate political context of the problem resounded the wider encounter between the legitimacy of the Cyprus Republic (the "status quo" and the unsafeness of the so-called Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus). And even without knowing the historical context, it was clear from the Minister's statement, that this was not an unusual phenomenon.

Another tie in the "Us" and "Them" relationship, only this time "they" were not hatefully, but pitifully represented — "us, strong, "them, weak." This is a usual phenomenon on television, according to Morley & Robins (1995:135):

"The screen is implicated in the construction of the fundamental antimonies of 'Self-us-good' versus 'Other-them-bad', the "Others" here being the Khurds, seeking refuge.

Additionally some points on the two remaining headline items, could be made:

The news item from Athens projected a very negative image for followers of "Panathinaikos", who lost the football cup final, to "Panionios". The pictures of destruction, vandalism and blind violence, together with the statements of affected citizens, dealt a bad blow to the team's profile. This again enhanced the informational capacity of ANT.1, as it was the only item directly transmitted from Greece, on any one Cyprus channel.

V.2.3.c: Discourse Analysis and Socio-Cultural Analysis

The main item about the priest suffering from Aids, offered a configuration of discourse levels:

The dialogue, for one, of the channel with the Church and the Church authorities and their conflicting views on the priest's case and how to deal with him, formed one level of discourse. The other discourse on the matter revolved around the channel's and the public's dialogue with the Health Authorities in the Island and with the confidentiality that should be preserved in health problems, as well as the dangers from contact with Aids patients. A third level of discourse was that of the channel's reporters with the patient himself, who said very little in audio-taped, telephone conversation and essentially boosted the hegemony of the church in Cyprus life. So was a further dialogue impregnated with meanings around the topic, with a collaborator of the patient, who was also out of vision and who essentially, took up no position: on one hand, he said that the priest had been attending to Aids patients,
but on the other hand, he said that he didn't know about his personal relationships and that the best thing for him (the Aids patient) would be to confess to his spiritual father.

The dialogues of the producers with the viewers, was finally, another angle - the dominant reading approach: The reporter used phrases like "the popular father" or "the beloved pastor" which were obviously meant to enhance the image of the patient, thus establishing a sympathetic (preferred) reading. On the other hand the language used to describe the position of the church indicated a divided attitude: The Bishop of Paphos stated that the church should treat him like an "affectionate mother", whereas the Archbishop is reported to have said that he should "take off his priestly robes". In both situations he was treated as a minor, not as an individual with human rights and personal dignity. Meanwhile the church service - vision and sound - which was used as a kind of visual backdrop for the whole event, created a dramatic atmosphere and was a visual metaphor of power in the relationship between the Holy Synod and the very human problem of the suffering priest.

The rich, luxurious and very impressive scene of the church mass, with all the members of the Synod officiating, created a very sharp contrast with the sad matter on hand. It also created an atmosphere of awe and church dominance, which was further supported by the (subjugated) patient himself admitting that "sometimes escape is not a solution". The Director of the Gregorion Aids clinic further supported the prestige of the church, with his reference to the safety of Holy Communion. This nicely packaged representation of reality and dissent, was furthered by the channel's alternation of the scenes from the mass, with comments and details about the priest suffering with Aids, but without any explanation as to the functionality of the church scenes in the item, at all. Essentially they were inserted as a symbol of the uncontested hegemony of the church, expressed in a discourse of status and power.

The same kind of sympathy was extended through the discourse, to Chrystalla Zanzour, subject of the next item,. The gloves of the police escort - in a white circle - became a symbol, congruent with social prejudice and fear on the part of the public - of even touching Aids patients. The ANT.1 reporter referred to the anger of the doctors treating Chrystalla and their intervention towards the police, for the escort to take off her gloves, which she so did in the next video shooting. Thus television does turn out to be "normative" - a causal part of everyday experience (Fiske & Hartley, 1978:19), its discourse in direct dialogue with social realities. The channel further sided with the patients by giving them both interview time. The social distribution of power is interesting here, as the news discourse supports the patients and compels the police to a certain mode of behaviour, in a
climate of power dialectics: prejudice versus acceptance and sympathy. Both of these items are very much in line with the policy of ANT.1 to take an active interest in the human side of events, by including follow-ups to the stories they present: follow-ups in the two stories of the Aids patients and a follow-up in the item on the Cyprus question, with the Government spokesman rounding up with his views on what Denktash had said. The appeal to the emotions and feelings of people, and the assertion of a powerful image for the Channel and the establishment, are strong, with language being frequently used as an "emotive function" to express feelings. Thus, the ultimate hegemony and the final word lie with the authorities in power – the hegemony of the channel’s production forces and that of the political and religious authorities.

The item on the Cyprus problem presented a congruent type of discourse, with occasional metaphors and with local-global discourse dialectics: The whole extensive item actually depicted the struggle going on between Greece-Turkey, the Greek-Cypriot and the Turkish-Cypriot side. It also worked up the Greek-Cypriot side to the point of anger, almost sinking the significance of the American envoy’s visit, in all other relevant developments. Denktash was exposed as trying to dominate the scene negatively through his statement that "inter-communal" is a dirty word.” The metaphors were strong and they were intended to create a shock. Perhaps they did. Nobody reacted - neither the reporters, nor Miller. The viewer may have probably reacted angrily for a moment. But this would be sinking in all the other developments presented - the Taurus exercise (a "message of tension") and the adverse, critical statements on S-300.

Actually, this political discourse and strife for domination on behalf of Turkey, Denktash and the American Government over the Cyprus Government, was packaged in a single news item - local and global at the same time - with strong, local coherences, and very congruent messages for the viewers. All the sides were useful to monitor, in view of the arrival of Holbrook and many of the points raised in this sequence, were taken up later in a final (official) comment by the Government spokesman.

In the item of the two Kurds jumping off the wall, onto the ground of unoccupied Cyprus, the metaphorical phrase "salto mortale" (jump of death) is used by the producers of the item to indicate the risk the Kurds were taking in jumping off and to underline the bad treatment by the Denktash establishment. This comprised a powerful semantic connotation contrasting life and death between the legitimate Republic and the illegally occupied North. In admitting this weakness, the Minister of Justice was, essentially, projecting the power of the promise of the Cyprus Republic, connotative of safety and prosperity. Again the
Minister of Justice, tried to face the possible criticism that renegades from Northern Cyprus manage to enter into the Republic's territory, by saying that it is impossible for the government to survey the whole extent of the demarcation line. His presence in two of the news items - this one and later on, the one in which he supported the decision of the police to share out the stadium seats between Omonia and Anorthosis followers (an item not analyzed here), was obviously an assertion of the domination of the Cyprus Police authority, perhaps in answer to recent frequent criticism.

Altogether, one can say that the bulletin was oriented towards establishing or supporting the domination of the government and church authorities in Cyprus, inspite of the contrary profile that the channel is creating among young people - one of youthfulness and expression of resistance as well as a profile of objectivity through the presentation of dissenting sides.

V.3.d: Readings by the sample

In the statistical research conducted among the sample several statistically significant correlations and/or dependencies were established between viewing the programme and other questions:

- In a cross-tabulation between the programme and the frequency with which the sample help the old, the sick and the disabled (Q. 11.9 by Q. 33), there was dependency between the two questions: 44.8% of those who always view the programme, always help the old, the sick and the disabled. So, the question could be investigated, as to whether the tone of the bulletin cultivates philanthropic (or emotional) sentiments in the sample, as illustrated in the first two news items about the Aids patients.

- There was a dependency between the sample's watching ANT.1 news and whether in their opinion, English-language programmes contain more violence than Greek-language programmes (Q. 11.9 by Q. 56): The more frequently they viewed ANT.1 programmes, the more they believed that English-language programmes contain more violence.
  - Did then, those viewing ANT.1 News reinforce their self-perceived identity of Greekness, or their feeling of "Us" being better than "Them"? This, of course
could also be connected to images of the Turkish Cypriots and of Denktash – a part of the ethnic issues in the sample’s identity.

• There was a correlation between the area of the sample and the frequency by which they watch ANT.1 (Q. 63 by 11.9): In Nicosia 29.9% view ANT.1 8.30 news, always, in Larnaca, 24.2% do so and only 5.7% in Famagusta.

• Could this be connected to the strong trend in unoccupied Famagusta, of the Greek-Cypriot identity, instead of the “Greek” identity which comes through stronger in the ANT.1 bulletins?

• Another correlation and dependency was established in Ch.4 (149) between the father’s occupation and those liking ANT.1 news best (Q. 67 by 11.9): Could it be that the preferred readings promoted by the production side were more readily accepted by audiences with lower education, whereas there was more negotiation or more resistance among more educated audiences? Did the powerful identity of the channel (attribution to reporters and channel sources) make the channel more popular and more convincing for both younger and older audiences, having a lower standard of education?

• More questions could be investigated during the discussions and the personal interviews:

  • In the light of the above analysis of a particular bulletin, did they find the channel news more objective, more comprehensive, or perhaps, more locally focused and more youth-oriented?
  
  • Did they get a higher sense of justice and balance, more levels of discourse out of watching these bulletins and did this come from the use of more authority (establishment) figures in the news and more voices of dissent?
  
  • Did they also have a feeling that a more human approach was usually taken to problems and issues?
  
  • On the political problem, did they feel that a more objective version of developments was presented that got Cyprus out of the restrictive, boundary limits of insularity - as in the relevant item on the Cyprus issue, where many sides and angles of the story were presented – local and global?
  
  • A connection could also be made with the submissiveness of Cyprus youth to the Establishment (Ch.1:27), as the ANT.1 News Bulletin, also
V. 3.1: “TO KAFENION” (“THE COFFEE-SHOP”): Introduction

The analysis of the four fictional programmes which follows, adopts a similar pattern to that of the News Bulletin, with only one variation – an addition of a discussion of Plot and Characters, the sections discussed being as follows:

♦ The Characters
♦ The Plot
♦ Critical Discourse Analysis:
  • Production/Consumption
  • Representations/Identities/Relationships
  • Discourse Analysis and Socio-cultural Analysis
♦ Readings by the Sample (Exploration of possible associations and readings by respondents during the Interviews and Group Discussions.)

Programme No. 2 in the top-ten list, after the News at 830 by ANT.1, was To Kafenion. The serial was broadcast every Friday at 20.00 hours. The episode analysed below, was videotaped on Friday, October 19, 1997. This programme received 46.8%, a percentage combination of regularly and always.

The programme unfolds in the modern setting of what traditionally used to be, both in rural and urban areas - a Cyprus coffee shop. The decore is sparse - as in old times - just tables and straw chairs. There are 2-3 tables covered with a checked table-cloth - traditional Cyprus cloth material used widely in coffee-shops - as well as one table with a green table-cloth, again traditionally used for gambling.

The sponsor of the programme is the Cyprus “Laikon Kafekoption” (“Popular Coffee-Brewing Company”) which is conventionally geared towards working-class values and working class consumers. The term “Laikon”, in Greek, even though translated in English as “popular” has the insinuation of “belonging to the people” (laos) which is the wider, working-class public.

The advertisement therefore with which the series begins and which is repeated halfway through the programme, tries to embrace a wide cross-section of different people
drinking coffee of “Laikon Kafekoption” and showing close-ups of the coffee-cups with the trade brand on them.

The signature tune of the programme, is a song by Cypriot composer Marios Tokas, living in Athens, and is sung by the actor playing Stavris - one of the main characters in the serial. The title song explicitly “narrating the scenario” (Bignell, 1997:145) a not infrequent practice in television semantics, expresses despair and disillusionment about the way life has cheated the characters of success and fortune. That is why, the song says, they are here in the coffee shop, looking for their future in the coffee-cup.

While the signature tune is on, the entrance of the coffee shop is shown in a freeze-frame, with single shots of the five main characters being successively super-imposed on the shot of the entrance. An open backgammon box with a moving dice, trying to settle into the box, is seen super-imposed on another shot, in the foreground. Semiotically, the opening sets the tone: a group of desperados in a recontextualized version of the Cyprus coffee shop.

The opening of the programmes brought to mind two points connected with historical developments in Cyprus. One is the fact that with the rise of modernity, as in any other country, the rise of the significance of the “people” (laos) gains ascendance (Friedman, 1995: 214) and the other is that modernity - a concept that began in the 19th century - witnessed the rise of “coffee-house” culture (Ibid: 26) with the convergence of different social classes in the space of the coffee house in Cyprus, as in other countries. The difference of course lies in the fact that the Kafenion is a simulacrum of the traditional coffee shop, simulacra of tradition not being unusual, in today’s postmodern rendering of social realities by the media. (Ch.2:60-61)

V.3.2. The Characters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Takis Svistos</th>
<th>the coffee-shop owner, with a typical white apron, protruding teeth, and a silly grin on his face, most of the time, was, or appeared to be stupid, merely to comply with the bids and the wishes of clients.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stavris</td>
<td>unemployed and spends his time, morning and afternoon in the coffee shop. He has no financial means - as he appears to owe money (some Cy£20) to Kokos, the driver. He is cunning, pretends to know a lot about the world, more than everybody else and makes fun of and patronizes essentially all the other characters.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Mikis, the only character in a suit and tie, was the character second in importance, and he was the only one appearing in two scenes, with Stavris. He came from a rich family - "half of Makedonitissa belongs to him" Stavris said. But he was attached to his mother's apron strings.

Kokos, the taxi driver, using corrupt English words and phrases that he had picked on the job, bragged about his charm with girls, more specifically, about a girl he picked up from the "Red Iron Curtain", whom he drove to her hotel in Limassol where they made love. She would now be coming to Nicosia - for "dinner-at-lunch".

Kristia, the plump hairdresser appeared most briefly of all in the episode. She was daringly dressed in a red-polka-dot dress and high white boots. She seemed to be an emancipated young woman as she entered a coffee shop to have a cup of coffee with men.

V. 2. 3: The Plot

The whole plot unfolds within one single day, in the single room-area of the coffee shop, where five characters come and go and act out the script.

In the first scene, the coffee-shop owner, Takis Svistos came out, mumbling a song and dusting the door and plant at the entrance. Stavris followed and ordered coffee, followed by Mikis. The latter carried one of his mother's watches, which needed repairing, but was in a hurry to go to a "rendezvous" with a "girl". Stavris undertook to get the watch repaired, to allow Mikis to go to his important rendezvous on time.

In the second scene, Kokos - a worldly driver - enters and also announces he had a rendezvous - a "dinner-at-lunch" - with a girl from the "Red Iron Curtain" now staying in Limassol and coming to Nicosia to meet him. He wanted to give her a gift, as this was their second intimate meeting. Stavris sold him the watch at a low price, at the same time settling a pending debt to him. Kokos also gave him his "best" rosary to clinch the transaction and left.

In scene No. 3, Kristia the neighbouring hairdresser came in for coffee and in conversation with Stavris, told him how Mikis had brought her a silk dress which belonged to his mother, asking her to have it mended to her own size. Obviously, she comments, he meant to give it to a girl friend. Kristia and Stavris talk of Mikis in sympathetic terms and the hairdresser leaves.

In scene No 4 which apparently takes place in the afternoon, Stavris entered the coffee shop, ordered coffee and started reading the newspaper. Mikis came in, sad and disillusioned because the girl had telephoned that she could not come to their rendezvous, as she had a professional "dinner-at-lunch".

He asked Stavris for his mother's watch. The latter, of course, didn't have it, as he had already sold it to Kokos, who intended to give it to the same girl. When Mikis got impatient, Stavris revealed to him that he knew about his mother's dress, which he gave to Kristia to mend, for a possible gift to a girl.

Mikis panicked as he dreaded his mother finding out about this and quit asking for the watch. Stavris gave him the good rosary Kokos had given him and the episode finished with a freeze-frame of Mikis and Stavris to the tune of a well-known popular Greek song about "selling the watch to buy a rosary, to count the pains and the sighs".

During the whole plot, Takis Svistos, the owner of the coffee-shop, played the role of either the buffoon, eavesdropped on their dialogues, was directly warned (by Stavris) to forget everything he saw or heard and was generally treated as a stupid subsidiary, whose presence was of no consequence and who was there just to serve them their coffee, even on his knees, like a stool.

3 Makedonitissa is a big suburb of Nicosia, with financially well-to-do residents, generally of middle-class standing. So it can be inferred that the televiusal coffee-shop was in this suburb.
The production of the episode, simply structured, followed a generic pattern well suited to the core character relationships of a coffeehouse culture. It should never escape our attention that these are places where the "haves" and the "have-nots" are thrown together, in the same location, a common melting pot. In the four scenes which make up the programme, Stavris met successively Mikis, Kokos, Kristia and then, again, Mikis. The lighting was uniform for all scenes, harsh and revealing, discourse was conducted on one level, the level of comradeship among the coffee-shop inmates, in the unchanging, homogeneous atmosphere in the coffee shop. The use of the camera in static single shots and three-shots, pointed back to rudimentary television production techniques in indoor locations.

In the first three scenes Stavris sat with each one of the two entrants, at the same table and cameras interchanged two-shots, of Stavris and the other character, with one-shots of each, of an almost equal duration. Of course Stavris was in all the scenes and he got the camera focused on him, versus each and everyone of the other characters, as he coordinated and handled all the characters, throughout the episode. So visual semiotics rendered the relationships very effectively. Appropriately, there was also synergy between the importance of the characters and the camera time given to them: Kristia appeared "en passant", in one scene, with alternating shots between her and Stavris. After Stavris joined Kristia at her table and their conversation became confiding and interesting enough for Stavris - who extracted information from her about Mikis - she and Stavris were matched in a two-shot. As to Svistos, he was seen in a three-shot with Mikis and Stavris, when he served them their coffee sitting, and was seen in several single shots, either holding the coffee tray up to them, while sitting down at the table, or sitting down subserviently on the floor from which eventually, the second entrant, Kokos, ordered him to get up.

In the last scene when Mikis entered and sat down, Stavris was sitting at another table and the first part of their conversation was conducted through alternating single shots. When Stavris wanted to threaten Mikis – that his mother “might learn” about his having stolen one of her silk dresses - Stavris was shown in a long shot, as a figure of quiet power, perhaps set apart from the rest. Then he walked from his table to Svistos, who stood behind the counter. He paused there in a two-shot, with Svistos, thus indirectly summoning the latter’s
testimony, as he phrased the threat at Mikis: to let his mother know about his pinching her silk dress.

Then he walked over to Mikis, dominantly stood above his table, in a two shot, and in a hypocritical show of concern and assurance, told Mikis he wouldn’t say anything about his mother’s dress and solacingly gave him the “good” rosary Kokos had given him, as a kind of consolation prize. The two-shot freeze-frame on which the end credits were superimposed, showed Stavris standing higher above Mikis who stayed in his seat, shrinking at the table. The camera shots were actually used “in a narrative progression with an implied rather than evident narrator”. (Bignell, 1997:145)

The “order of discourse” as defined already in the News discourse analysis, according to Fairclough, essentially followed a simulacrum of the coffee-house language. In the discourse order of an actual, traditional coffee-house, there would not have been such a close relationship between the clients and their personal lives would not have been aired openly like they are in the simulated coffee shop represented on television. But the order of discourse used by production, emphasizing as it does personal relations by appropriate production approaches – one-shots, two-shots, or three-shots – succeeded in creating a rather realistic representation of the traditional coffeeshop in which Cyprus socio-cultural realities were convincingly contextualized.

V.3.4.b: Representations, Identities and Relationships.

The episode projected to the viewer the representations of five different people. A coffee-shop owner, an unemployed petty crook, the son-of-a-rich mother, a shady taxi-driver and a piquant hairdresser. None of them was the best of the kind. All the representations accentuated the weak sides of the characters, in order to make the presented identities and their relationships, both amusing and entertaining, or perhaps to depict satirically, the downfall of standards and values in Cyprus society, a matter dealt with more extensively, in the discourse analysis.

It is important to note here that even though the characters came from different socio-cultural backgrounds, the coffee shop forms a kind of forum, which provides a paradigm of social coherence for them. Syntactically, the plot consists of the interaction among five people who are quite different from each other. The Kafenion however, forms an indoor location where all these characters meet and their stories unfold, parallel to each other,
forming a domestic setting (Fiske & Hartley, 1978: 181). In another reading, the Kafenion could be a kind of inner circle pointing back to Masonic solidarity and brotherhood, with its own cohesion affording the individual both an inner knowledge as well as a sense of fraternity, parallel to a feeling of security and coherence amidst the fragmentation and exile of contemporary life.

In this coffeehouse culture there exists an ideology of equality that implicitly takes for granted that those within the coffee-shop precincts are equal, without the actual use of explicit texts to denote this. (Fairclough, 1995:108).

The pictures on the walls are used as conventional decoration that mingles the old and the new in a Cyprus coffee-shop, the fact further contributing to the construction of a simulacrum with its own rules and norms of tradition and historical reality, on one hand and Westernisation or modernity, on the other: there are pictures of heroes from the Greek Revolution against the Ottoman Empire in 1821, as well as pictures from the anniversary of the 28th of October, 1940. There was a framed piece of handicraft embroidery consisting of butterfly cocoons – more usual in home decoration than in public places – an old-style crystal-set radio that today may still exist almost as a museum piece in coffee-shops, but also a Coca-cola poster, providing the contemporary (modernity) contrast and placing the television coffee-shop in Cyprus, today.

The above props, together with the otherwise unadorned environment and the existence only of the tables and straw chairs, emphasized the very idiomorphic type of exclusive environment that tries to redefine the social reality of the Cyprus Kafenion.

The rituality of the setting was enhanced additionally by the conventional boundary ritual signs that are used on television (Fiske & Hartley, 1978: 166-67) to emphasize consistency within the medium: the advertisements, the programme's signature tune repeated halfway through the programme, and the musical theme used by the CyBC, as one of its radio signature tunes, together with the sign - "CyBC, 40 years of service."

The latter was ever-present on the screen, and all these elements were used as ritual signs to remind us of the message from the medium, the sponsors and the advertisers, as well as the messages constructed by the socio-cultural reality of the scenario.

Coffee-shop owners have, through the course of time, been identified with professional detachment, as they know a lot but must keep their silence. A certain amount of

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4 The 1940 involvement of Greece in the Second World War and "Ohi Day" on Oct. 28 – are a source of national pride in both Greece and Cyprus: the Greek Government, said "no" to Mussolini's ultimatum that Greece should surrender to Italy.
cunning, combined with a subservient attitude has also been traditionally associated with the job. Svistos in Greek, means extinguished - as in a light. Used here, as an adjective (or surname) it connotes the character has a weak personality and is dull, lacking in spirit. So Svistos represented all these qualities to the extreme-as explained in the analysis of the plot and the characters. His identity is rendered in a way that brings out a type of condescending laughter from the viewer, as the coffee-shop owner tried too hard to be obliging and pleasant to clients. Svistos is actually carrying the negative points of a traditional coffeehouse owner to extremes, to conform to the genre of the Cyprus sketch which seeks to divert and entertain television audiences.

Stavris represented the unemployed lazy, easy-going character that killed time in the coffee shop and pinched money or objects of value from the other clients.

He presented the identity of a contemporary petty crook who knows enough about the world, enough English, enough Italian - no one else spoke Italian - and enough about human relationships, to constitute a pivotal identity in the whole setting. He related to all the other characters and cunningly manipulated them. He was also, on a paradigmatic level, the author - storyteller - moderator or narrator, who presented these stories. At one point, he read the newspaper and also commented on a football team's victory - "Olimpiakos - and further read that "Arafat will take us to Jerusalem." This scene, was not only an example of Press and television intertextuality, but also pointed back to older times in traditional Cyprus coffee-shops, when the priest or the village prelate, school-teacher, or learned man, being essentially the only literate persona in the village, would read the newspaper aloud in the coffee shop for others to listen. This simulacrum of a traditional social reality brought to mind the "metonymic contact" with others, through television, whereby "all Levi Strauss best storytellers, priests, wise men or elders are restored to cultural visibility and oral primacy." (Fiske & Hartley, 1978:125)

Of course, in the case of Stavris, we have the representation of a personality with a doubtful moral code, who pinched Mikis's watch to pay off his debt to Kokos and keep the rest. But on the other hand, he had enough social wisdom to handle everybody else - affectionately and condescendingly - like an elder brother in a secret brotherhood of suffering knights. A good example of this was when Mikis came in, disappointed by his rendezvous. And Stavris generously ordered Svistos to serve Mikis a coffee – "on him."
Kokos, the taxi-driver represented a class of people, with a sub-culture of their own. He wore bright shirts, had a bravado, "macho" style of pretending he was popular with women and boasted about his erotic achievements with the mixed elements of a crude don-Juan and the generosity of an ebullient native - he wanted to give the girl he met a nice gift - as she was “good” to him. His repetition of the term “dinner- at-lunch” which the girl from the Eastern countries (according to Mikis), or the “Iron Curtain” (according to himself), used initially, indicated that neither of them knew the meaning of the phrase - that dinner is not served at lunch, but in the evening. Actually, the repeated use of the phrase - it was also the title of the episode, tried to emphasise the adoption and use, by some people, of phrases from a foreign language - English here - without their knowing the significance of the words or the culture they are derived from. A post-colonial remnant of the colonized using the language of the colonizer, which in the course of identity search, indicates the desire to be the same as the rejected “Other”. In another sense, also a good reminder here of the claim of Prodromou (Ch.1:22) that English has been a language that has substituted the Cyprus dialect on occasion, as the latter was not considered appropriate for learned people. The identity of Kokos may have had an overdose of exaggeration, in order to amuse and entertain in the context of the sketch genre, in which it was placed. It was not, however void of realistic dimensions even though modality gaps could probably prevent persuasiveness.

Kristia, the hairdresser, was another almost unconvincing and exaggerated representation of the suburban hairdresser, familiar with men and daring to enter the coffee shop when other, decent women would not. The connotation clearly indicates loose morals. She represents a category of people, who in older times, more than today, could be considered, inspite of their "immoral" behaviour to be capable of kind feelings and an open heart towards others with problems. e.g. as with Milcis and his subservient relationship with his mother.

Both Kokos and Christia chewed gum in the episode, Kokos, very exhibitionally. This is a metonymic allusion to their low cultural background – as chewing gum in public, of course, is not associated with good manners.

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5 Cab drivers are considered a culturally marginal type of profession, in Cyprus. It is not unusual to associate them with deception and the word “taksitzis” (taxi-driver) is connotative of a marginal sub-culture. It is interesting that Kokos relates his conquest of the girl from the “Iron Curtain” who also seems to be culturally marginal in Cyprus: Stavris asks Kokos if she was “commercial” – metonymy for a prostitute – and Kokos replies she was “free for him”. Their diverse cultural identities are further indicated by the descriptions Kokos uses: She told him he has “nice dark skin” and he told her she had “nice blond hair”. Then, he said, metaphorically, “dark skin and blond hair got all tangled up.”
Inspite of the simulacrum nature of the programme and the exaggeration, created by the preferred or dominant reading, the overall modality in the episode, is, perhaps not too weak we could say. The identities structured in the programme were on the realistic side and close to the characters represented, with the exaggeration in text and acting that was considered necessary by the producer to compromise the tension between public, institutionalised social realities and the narrow range of television realities.

So personal gain, hypocrisy and pretext or at most, a forward naivete (as in the hairdresser) impregnates character relationships. The relationship of the characters with the viewers seems to aim at entertainment (as already indicated) but also at convincing viewers about a set of characters socially representing diverse walks of life.

V.3.4.c: Discourse Analysis and Socio-Cultural Analysis.

There was, essentially, as already pointed out, a one-level discourse, rendered in the vocabulary context of lexical items without any other supporting semantics – e.g. audio-visual (production) elements. Within this one-level, however, there were differentiations among the dialogues conducted between Stavris and each one of the characters in the programme. These differentiations arose, of course from their different socio-cultural backgrounds, to all of which Stavris seemed to adjust, accordingly, his personal semantics exhibiting the most flexible order of discourse, or system of meanings in the episode. Thus, the dialogue between Stavris with Mikis, Kokos, Christia or Takis took a different hue each time and adopted different tones and a different vocabulary depending on the character's background and Stavris's relationships with each one of them. The description Kokos gave of how he met the girl was quite revealing about some socio-cultural practices in Cyprus and how public and private aspects of these practices are representationally negotiated (in a television serial):

Kokos offered to take the girl by taxi. She wanted to go to Limassol - her hotel was there. Kokos told her, “I come from Limassol, nice city”. The girl answered “with nice men”. Then Kokos asked, if she wanted to go to “Heroes' square” in Limassol. This is clearly used as a metonymy to refer to the sub-culture, associated with "Heroes' Square”6

6 Heroes’ Square is an ill-reputed square in Limassol, a city strongly associated with illegal sex, drugs and violence. The dense presence of many foreigners - some indulging in illegal - is also associated with the Square.
An interesting metaphor comes up when Kokos relates about his initial meeting with the girl from the Iron Curtain: She asked him if he was "free" (his taxi was free). He said he answered her, "Freedom or death". This is an overt sarcasm or satire of the nationalistic slogans often used in the heritage of the Greek history and culture and an illusion perhaps, that material pleasure is substituting nationalistic ideology in Cyprus values. So the immediate social realities were interwined with historical realities to outline a condition of decadence, reproduced by entertaining characters on television.

Kokos described her as a very pretty young woman - nice legs - and narrated to Stavris and later Svistos, the whole incident of their meeting with a mixture of romantic and cynical elements: she asked me to go upstairs for coffee and they ended up, after making love, "taking a cold shower."

In the recorded episode Kokos was looking for a gift for their impending meeting – the “dinner at lunch”. Svistos sarcastically suggested to Kokos to give the girl his gold neck-chain, so his neck can “take a rest”. Kokos didn’t appreciate this very much, as he had been bragging about both his neck chain and his gold bracelet to Stavris earlier. Besides, he also bragged about having 50 pounds all ready to pay for the watch Stavris had offered to sell him. He pulled the folded money-notes proudly from his pocket, using Cyprus slang dialect - What d’ye think, eh? What d’ye think?” He slurred his consonants to connote toughness, and abruptness. Stavris, of course, retorted, in exactly the same manner.

The programme’s discourse and the socio-cultural practices, economic, political and cultural - do have strong modalities. Cyprus is, today, a place where many women from formerly East European Countries have come, quite a few living off the gains of prostitution in different forms. The media carry reports about them almost daily. The discourse in the programme was a depiction of the social values as created and as reflected in different types of people in the Island today. One can almost identify the hegemonic forces of a materialistic culture and the elements of a cynical ideology, being essentially projected to the viewers, inspite of the subtle criticism that comes through as an irony of the characters who illustrate this degenerate ideology – Kokos, Stavris, Mikis.

The language used, brings up several points of interest:

The text of the incident, apart from including phrases from English and Italian also combined Standard Modern Greek and the Cyprus dialect: Kokos referred to his new lady acquaintance in two extremely different languages “girl-friend” and “kafkoua” which in Cyprus slang dialect is the diminutive for “mistress”. The reminder that English is substituting the dialect is again in order here.
The only character using the Panhellenic Greek was Mikis. He was also the only person referred to, and addressed by all other characters as Mr. Mikis. This is an indication that anyone speaking Standard Modern Greek (not the Cyprus Dialect) is considered more learned and commands more respect. Another indication that the Demotic is the legitimate language, the Dialect being the vulgar one. All the rest spoke the Cyprus dialect and threw in phrases in English and Italian (Stavris). Again, as indicated before, this could be an indication of the substitution of the Cyprus Dialect with foreign languages – English, mostly and (here) Italian, or other languages, perhaps. But apart from the fact that the words (les paroles) are different, the language itself (la langue) according to Saussure (Inglis, 1990:94) is common. The semiotics articulate a consistent, coherent framework (the simulacrum coffee shop) and encoding and decoding procedures follow a pattern and flow that empowers the characters to communicate meaningfully, inspite of their socio-economic and cultural differences. A fine example in point, are the characters of Kokos and Mikis. They have never met. They do not know each other, their socio-cultural and economic backgrounds are completely diverse. Yet, their interest has focused on the same girl. They intended to - and finally did give her - the same present - a “Poulex” watch (apparently a pun for “Rolex”). So it's not words that matter or the style of enunciation - Kokos with his show-off mAcho style, chewing his gum in a vulgar fashion, Mikis more restrained, romantic, gentle and impotent. They transmit their messages using entirely different semantics. Stavris also knows this. He uses the word "kori" for Christia. This, in the Greek language, means "maiden". But in the Cyprus dialect "kori" is an expression of popular and affectionate familiarity used among lower social classes. So is the word "re" with which usually men are addressed and which Christia uses for Stavris, adept at adjusting his vocabulary to the other three characters, as necessary.

The overall language with its semiotic shifting from the Cyprus dialect to the Panhellenic Demotic, spoken by the social class of Mikis and to English or even Italian, succeeded to establish the social realities of the coffee shop inmates: a one-level comradeship discourse, in the setting of the coffee-shop which affords a kind of cocooning against the cold wasteland extending out there in the outside world.

On another account it could also be suggested that apart from the programme being a simulacrum of tradition, it is also a Cyprus-made version of “Cheers.” Perhaps a glocalized version – the local popular – of the camaraderie created in one location – the café of Western societies where young people spend their time. Or in Cyprus, the traditional coffee shop of
the developing countries, which is still a meeting place for the rough villager — or the urban folk — after a hard day’s work.

Language in the programme is used both in a referential capacity, to make the connections between the sign and the encoder (the "watch", the "dress", the "rosary") but also in a "phatic function", as when the message concerns itself - the songs by Mikis about his disappointment with his rendezvous, or Svistos becoming, what he called a "stool" - i.e. sitting on his legs, in subservience, to serve his customers.

One cannot support that all the characters are stereotypes - the driver, the son, the unemployed loiterer Stavris, the hairdresser, and the coffee-shop owner. But they are overblown types one could, at times, come across in life, or in any other programme on Cyprus television. Actually the very manner of acting and impersonation of the actors in this programme brings to mind, other such characters they may personify in other locally-produced programmes, on Cyprus television.

The dialogue of Stavris with Mikis, the other main character, was again pregnant with socio-cultural allusions. Milcis is the only son of rich Mrs Theocharides. Her possessiveness was indicated by what Mikis himself said: “She is jealous of me. I am her only son. I found a pretext to go out - to take her watch to the repairer; and she said “wear a coat, it is getting cold”. All of these connote protectiveness, possessiveness of the mother, but also thrift: Mikis did not have enough money to go out with girls. He pinched mother’s jewellery and dresses to give as presents.

The way Mikis drew out his voice, the way he pulled up his shoulders and the way he bragged about the fact that he had a “rendezvous with a girl” - a very rare phenomenon - could create suspicions he might be homosexually inclined. This was reinforced by Svistos’s ironic question to him, if the rendezvous girl is “retired”, (i.e. old) which angered Mikis very much.

The mixture of the Cyprus dialect with English, Italian and Standard Modern Greek (on behalf of Mikis) was intertextually woven in the episode, with music and songs from the Greek repertoire. One could also almost detect a subvert tie in the juxtaposition of the demotic - represented by Mikis - and the dialect - by all the others: Mikis comes off as the educated but naive figure, essentially a misfit, the others come off as pragmatists, tuned to Cyprus social realities and openly enjoying life’s pleasures and opportunities.

Svistos began the episode by singing, repeatedly a couplet from a song “I am not a god I’m just a mortal who suffers”. This could, metaphorically be a comment on the fact that human pain and suffering do parade in the coffee shop, as in the person of certain inmates,
like Mikis: when he first entered, he got irritated by Svistos’ song and forced him to quit singing.

When Kokos however, entered for the first time, with a macho-guy step, his entrance was accompanied by a traditional tune that CyBC uses as a bridge in its programmes – “Tyllirkotissa” - composed about women, proud and hard-working, in the central mountains of Cyprus. Perhaps a reminder that these down-to-earth Cypriots are essentially connected to tradition? A sign in the corner of the screen, about CyBC’s 40 years of service, tied in with the musical bridge.

When Mikis entered after his disappointing rendezvous - the girl went with Kokos, not himself - he sung two oldies from the Standard Modern Greek repertoire: “Smile Captain, love is a tempest that passes away” and also “Woman’s heart is an abyss”. They are both aural metonymies assigning women to the conventional mythology of a patriarchal paradigm. They are also expressions of Mikis’s lack of trust in and lack of success with women. His Oedipus complex came up very strongly in the episode. Of course the same social ideology of women as sex-objects (“she had nice long legs”) is again exhibited by the incident described by Kokos with the foreign girl he had met in Limassol.

Finally, the episode finished with another Greek song that combined the “watch” and the “rosary”, both of which were part of the episode’s plot conceptually and textually - “I will sell the watch and buy myself a rosary, to count the pains and the sighs” the verses said. The rosary was shown visually throughout the episode, but was also used metaphorically, as a symbol of patience, faith and self-control: Kokos used one; he gave a "good" rosary (meaning his best rosary) to Stavris and the latter successively passed it on to Mikis. It was almost a metonymy for coherence among a lot of people cast in the coffee shop, a sign to remind them that their plight was common and they must all face it patiently and keep their cool, like real men. One should not forget, also that the rosary is a sign of masculinity in Greek culture – of the people (laos), of whom the episode consists. On another account, it is also a symbol of religious faith and godly patience, as nuns, or monks may use it.

V.3.5: Readings by the Sample

Some of the lines of questioning in personal interviews and group discussions, aimed at establishing the following possible connections, arising from this highly popular series:
48.3% of the sample feel Greek-Cypriots.

- Is this feeling associated with viewing "Kafenion" and in what ways?
- Do the sample recognize, or identify with the language, the local character of the production, the institution of the "coffee-shop" and the Cyprus realities depicted in the series?

83% feel it is very important for personal happiness to "have friends" (Q. 27).

- Is the "Kafenion" considered an example of the clients being connected by friendship?
- What does the sample think of the values and standards exhibited in this style of Kafenion friendship?
- Is it the unavoidable reality of life (strong modality), or is it just one particular example of "friendship" or "association" that is regarded rather as an element of entertainment, than as a desirable or realistic paradigm?

48.6% believe that television programmes are unfair in their portrayal of women. (Q.22)

What do they think of Christia?

- Is she a socially acceptable feminine model of a hairdresser, or of working women, in general?
- To what degree does she break tradition by entering a (television) coffeeshop and how justified or acceptable is this unorthodox practice”?
- Do they accept the dominant approach of the producer, i.e. that she is a neighbour and comes for a drink of coffee? Or does she really undermine the patriarchal model of women’s position in social realities?

48.6% of the sample believe that television programmes are sometimes unfair in their portrayal of women.

- Was this programme unfair? Why and how?

64% of those who view “Kafenion” always believe that English-language programmes contain more violence than Greek-language programmes.

- Does this mean they do not like, or do not view English-language programmes? Or do they still like and view them, parallel to “Kafenion” - if they viewed it when it was on - and to which extent?

37% of the sample that always helping people, who are old, or sick or disabled, also always view Kafenion. (Q.11.19 by Q. 33).
• Is it a matter of values — solidarity or sympathy coming out stronger in the programme? Or, in reverse, is it their actual thirst for a return to traditional values, which drives them to view programmes like Kafenion?

• Other questions investigated in the discussions and the interviews were the following:

  • Did the sample react as a "subordinate" class, accepting the dominant or preferred reading, or did they adjust their readings, according to Stuart Hall's model of dominant (hegemonic), negotiated or oppositional readings? (Inglis, 1993:148)

  • How strong did the sample consider the overall modality of the programme, inspite of its strong social reverberations, knowing that the coffee shop was a rural institution and this was a simulacrum reproduction of a coffee-shop site in a Nicosia suburb?

  • Did they incorporate these “folk-loving” values in their lives, the element of the “people” (laos) which is strongly represented in the programme?

  • Additionally, what did they think of the language used — the dialect, versus the Demotic? Would, perhaps Kokos and Stavris be more popular with them because they used the dialect, versus Mikis, who used the Demotic, thus establishing a “reverse identification” result, according to Fairclough? (1995: 225)

  • In a meta-discourse survey of the conditions of the respondents, would demographic, gender and socio-cultural elements make a difference to the “distribution of power” (the preferred readings of coffeehouse realism in a changing Cyprus culture) that accompanies discourse?

  • Additionally, could power and authority of the legitimate Demotic be undermined by the vulgar Dialect and power be “reclaimed” according to Bourdieu (1991:595) “in the process of negotiation by a metadiscourse concerning the conditions of the use of discourse?” It is also important to keep in mind that the use of the dialect here, is inherent to the genre of the Cyprus sketch. So this could explain the popularity of the programme as an indication that the distribution of cultural capital is appropriated by the respondents to their need for a possible “return to roots” or reinforcement of their local identity, versus programmes in English or in the Greek Demotic. Again the “magnetization of the marbles of meaning” — the generation and the interpretation of meanings, being a historical and socio-cultural process as Eco points out (Ch.3:91) these meanings would have to be examined in the meta-communication with the sample, not only as to Kafenion, but also all their favourite programmes.
V.3.1: “KALIMERA ZOI” (“GOOD-MORNING LIFE”). Introduction:

This half-hour programme, which ranked third in the preferences of the sample, was shown every night, at 21.00 hours, from private channel ANT.1. The episode analyzed which was recorded on October 10, 1997, was the 879th in the series. It had a combined 44.2% of preferences for regularly and always.

The signature tune was a melody with dramatic overtones matching various scenes from the series. The principal characters were shown in single CU's, in cameo style, through a big O of the Greek word Life (ZOI). Thus, the focal letter of life (Omega) was semantically used as a main focal letter to frame all the characters of the programme. The connotation could be that their actions and plights are the constituents of life, an attempt to augment the persuasiveness and degree of the modality of the serial.

V.4.2.1: The Characters

Stathis Theocharis, the police major, who is the protagonist in the present series, is represented as a very tense, duty-bound man of integrity, extremely conscientious and extremely aware of the ills of society around him.

Marianna, wife of Stathis, was a very sensitive and dedicated wife, desperate in her attentions to her husband, realising that he was in a continuously tortured state of mind. She fully identified with all the problems in the family and was in a heart-to-heart dialogue with her husband's sisters, Electra and Savvina.

Electra, the elder sister of Stathis, was a comparatively more restrained person. The Mafia had abducted her daughter, Tonia, and of course, she, too, was desperate. It was not, therefore, surprising, that she tried to persuade Stathis to give in to the demand of "the shadow-man" not to meet the informant.

Savvina, the younger unmarried sister of Stathis, also very sensitive was very scared about what was happening to their family and had the feeling and voiced it too, that worse evils were going to happen to their family.

Nakos Stephanides, younger brother of Stathis, police captain in the same branch with Stathis, appeared to be committed to his brother's cause and identified very much with what was happening to their family.

Police captain Leventagas, appeared to be a typically moral policeman, ready to support law and order and ready to lend full police support and assistance to Stathis Theocharis.

Haris - his second name was not mentioned - was another police officer participating in the scene at police Headquarters.
A fourth police captain in the office of Stathis, whose name was not revealed, was again the brother of Stathis and supported him on two occasions in the course of the episode.

Olga, Stathis's secretary, kept a low profile. When the others pledged vociferously their staunch support to Stathis, she kept quiet and told Nakos, who commented on her behaviour, that she felt it was only her duty to stand by Stathis.

V. 4. 3: The Plot:

The plot of the episode unfolded in eight scenes. It revolved around police officer - Major Stathis Theocharis – who was fighting crime and more specifically, in this episode, was conducting a search about the Mafia members who abducted young people and sold them to European networks of child prostitution. Tonia, the little girl of his sister, Electra had been abducted, Electra's life had been threatened twice and in a third attempt, her arm had been broken; his own life had been threatened twice by the Mafia members. The episode scenes all occurred indoors, in the living room of Stathis and Marianna and also in his office at police headquarters, in a continuous parallel action.

In the first scene, Stathis was hurriedly tying his tie, while his wife was holding a cup of coffee, trying to persuade him to drink, before he took off for his office. He was under a lot of tension and thought he was very late, whereas, his wife reminded him, it was only seven o'clock. When he realized that, he sat down for coffee and a chat with his wife, but the doorbell rung and his sister Electra – with a bandaged hand - came in. She was in a state of panic, as she related how the "shadow-man" had called her again the previous night, on the telephone, not concerning her daughter Tonia, whom he had abducted, but to threaten her and her brother Stathis. She said the "shadow-man" was cruel and threatening, and this time she was not sure what he was up to.

In Scene No. 2, which was taking place while the first scene was unfolding, four police officers were in the office of Major Theocharis, at police headquarters - Major Vassilis Leventagas, Haris, Olga and the fourth (unnamed) policeman. They had searched in the office of Stathis and found a thick envelope with all the names and details of those who had been arrested in connection to the Mafia abductors. Leventagas assigned the file to Haris to study and draw as much information from it as possible.

They all joked about the intensity and anger with which Theocharis was handling the matter, as if, they said, he was the only one who could deal with it and everybody else was useless. Policeman Nakos Stephanides, brother of Stathis came in, while they were joking about his brother and told them about the telephone call made by the "shadow-man" last night to his sister Electra and his threats to her and their brother Stathis. He also told them about the shadow-man's demand that Stathis quit his search and cease trying to meet the informant, who would give him details about the shadow-man.

The police officers present got very angry and Leventagas announced he was going to assign bodyguards to watch over Stathis. The other two policemen also pledged to stand by and help Stathis, but Nakos, did not seem to believe in all this heroism and indirectly but clearly accused Hans of being bribed and therefore of possibly giving to outsiders inside information; there were police-men, he said, who had a current price.

In Scene No. 3, back in Stathis's home, Stathis got mad, asking his sister Electra if she hadn't sent the shadow-man who had telephoned her, to the devil. But Electra was very scared - this man had her daughter in his hold - and instead she begged Stathis to quit his efforts to meet the informant. The shadow man would be talking to Stathis about the Mafia network with which he was working, in order to supply the slave-bazaars of Europe with new children.

Stathis angrily refused and left for his office.

In Scene No. 4, back in the Police Headquarters, the story picked up from the point it stopped - the accusation of Nakos about policemen, having a current price - an accusation aimed directly at Haris. The latter responded furiously and asked for explanations. Nakos persisted on his point that there was corruption in the police force. Leventagas, got angered with Nakos's accusations and announced he would give bodyguards to Stathis, even though the latter was selfish and hardheaded. Both Haris and the other officer announced their decision to stand by Stathis; Nakos made fun of all this "heroism", as he described it, when he turned to talk to Olga, Stathis's secretary, whom he considered more honest than...
the other police officers present. It is interesting to note that before he came in, Olga had joined the
others in criticizing and deriding Stathis.

In scene No. 5, the episode picked up again in the residence of Stathis, where his wife was trying
to feed their little son, while he was playing with a toy train. Savvina, younger sister of Stathis came in
and told Marianna about the telephone-call of the "shadow-man" to her sister Electra and how upset
she was, as she felt that new ills were forthcoming.

Back to Police H.Q., in scene No 6 while the police officers in Stathis's office were wondering
why he was late, Stathis came in, full of tension, as in all scenes.

When he realised that his brother, Nakos, had already informed the force about the threatening
call of the shadow-man, he got furious and called his brother "a chatter-box". He got even more furious
when Leventagas informed him of his decision to give him bodyguards. He reacted very furiously to the
idea, as he believed that the shadow-man was among those present and that all protection, was
therefore useless. Stathis wondered, sarcastically, what kind of protection he could therefore expect and
he very violently attacked the police force, saying that whoever they had offered to protect so far, had met
with his death. He was therefore sure, that their protection would also simply afford the "shadow-man",
the opportunity to kill him easier.

The plot picked up in scene No. 7, in the living room of Stathis, with his sister Savvina and his
wife Marianna, discussing about the next step of the "shadow-man", when the doorbell rung - the
postman - a voice answered Marianna, who left the room to put the child to sleep. When Savvina opened
the door, four men in black masks rushed into the house, seized and violently immobilised her. She
called for Marianna to help her, but when the latter came in, she was also grabbed; she was tied up and
taken away, while the masked men beat up and left Savvina knocked to the ground, her face covered with
blood.

Finally in scene no. 8, back to police H.Q., Olga rushed in to tell them about the incident of
Marianna's abduction by four masked men. Stathis got really furious, cursed and called the "shadow-
man" all sorts of names; he violently overturned the table in the room and announced he would not
interrupt his search, and would find no rest until he unmasked the buffoon.

V.4. 4.a: Critical Discourse Analysis: Production/Consumption.

The production of the episode followed a very explicit counterpoint or dialectical line
of development, installing a kind of binary interchange, between the pure, sanctified home
area and its homologous, clean characters on one hand and on the other, the shady police
officers digging into the files in Stathis's office and discussing him and his attitudes, in his
absence.

There were two areas of shooting - the living room of Stathis and his Office at Police
Headquarters. The scenes alternated, without any sequence really being completed, but with
a shot ending up with a question of agony, or a loud statement about the theme of the
episode - Mafia and child abduction. No answers were given, the thread of the plot
continuing from exactly the same point - the last look or the last words of the actors in the
preceding scenes. This, of course, created a climate of urgency, pressure and suspense,
about developments and relationships, as well as vital questions and issues of truth. Again,
as in Kafenion the shots semiotically marked "the narrative progression" (Bignell, 1997:148),
without any actual narration being necessary to establish plot coherence.
Raymond Williams (Inglis, 1990:166), points to the convention of television speech patterns, as follows:

"The voices were no longer speaking to or at each other; they were speaking with each other perhaps, themselves being in the presence of others. But there was a new composition, in which a group was speaking - a strange, negative group: no individual ever quite finishing what he had begun to say, but still interesting. A weaving of voices in which though still negatively, the group was speaking and yet no single person was ever completely articulate."

Specific examples occurred continuously in the episode. To illustrate the point, we refer to the first scene: Electra visited the home of Stathis and told him and Marianna about the shadow-man's telephone call, ending up with an agonising question:

"What does he want now? What? What?"

No answer was of course given, but the director next cut to the office of Stathis and to Leventagas, who slowly and deliberately, ordered that "the reports of all arrested suspects which are in the envelopes being handled, be investigated thoroughly."

Even though the television production moved between two locations, instead of one, as in Kafenion, and even though it was still quite rudimentary, in many ways, dialogues were conducted on many levels:

There was, of course, the main dialogue, between Stathis and his colleagues - comprising a comprehensive metonymy as already pointed out - and embodying the communication between the honest citizen (and police force member) and the corrupt or suspect police officers, with characteristic semantic expressions used by the police. There was the dialogue of Stathis with the criminal circles - the shadow-man and the informant. His family dialogues with his wife and his sister Electra - embodying the discourse of the strong (authoritative) man with the weak (subservient) women. Then there was the discourse of the women - his wife and his two sisters, as well as Olga, the police secretary, all full of agony about himself and his involvement with the Mafia, but also subdued to men's authority. The discourse of violence - the Mafia's and his own were further discourse levels in the programme.

In the police force itself, there was the juxtaposition of the semantics of trust and doubt among the members of the force and the dialogue between them and Nakos, Stathis's brother. The systems of meaning from these different dialogues, created, as a result, different levels of discourse in constant interaction, with resulting "power relationships" (Jaworski & Coupland, 1997:6), as almost all the discourses behind the conversations revolved around
power and consisted, in essence, of the effort of one party to impose its will-power and principles on the other — i.e. it was all a power game, a game for the establishment of hegemony: Stathis versus the Mafia, and versus the police officers, as well as the members of his family. Nakos versus the police officers, the masked men versus Savvina. The power game used both moral and physical force.

The camera work confirmed these dialectics of power: The shooting in the living-room consisted mostly of a dialogue of single shots — intercutting between Stathis and his wife, Marianna and Electra, Marianna and Savvina — or, Stathis and Electra, as the latter came in to request her brother for a softer approach to the shadow-man, for the sake of her little girl.

The scene in which the four masked men entered and tied up Marianna, while they hit Savvina, was produced with two-shots and three-shots mostly - a continuous intercutting between the two masked men tying up Marianna, one man beating up Savvina and a single shot (underlining authority) of one masked man, who seemed to be giving the orders, standing at the entrance of the house, supervising the whole attack. The masked men were also placed in dialectic opposition with the blood-covered face of Savvina, which ended the scene — symbolically, the victory of physical violence, over the powerless victim.

Group-shots were used in the police office of Stathis, interspersed with single shots and two-shots. A three-shot of Leventagas, Haris and the second brother of Stathis, standing one behind the other, indicated a kind of military syntax or alliance on their part, versus Stathis; or perhaps pointed to the fact that they were all hiding behind each other. A further shot of the three again in a row, also revealed their array of solidarity against Stathis's accusations.

When Nakos accused Haris directly of being a paid traitor in the ranks of the police, a very big close-up of Haris, looking very angry and aggressive, filled the screen. Stathis was also shown in a single shot when he overturned the office, furious at his wife's abduction — the strength of righteous anger in contradiction to the laxity of the immediate environment. Nakos and Olga were shown in a tender two-shot, isolated from the rest, when he placed his trust in her, concerning her genuine support of his brother: "I'm glad you are here", he told her, touching her lightly on the cheek. This scene and the scene of Marianna feeding the child, are the only two tender instances in the whole programme, where generally, the actors are loud, contradictory and overflowing with conflict. When Stathis also denounced their help vehemently, as he believed that the "shadow-man" was one of them, they were shown
in two shots - an insinuation at possible alliances - while Nakos went up to his brother and sided up with him in a counter two-shot – another family alliance. Overall, it can be said that the production techniques incorporated discourses in the programme in a rather foundational manner, transmitting the messages with basic visuals, with very little movement of the camera, but with constant intercutting between shots – a battle of power on many discourse levels, embodied in the prosody of the camera shots and the ever full, equal lighting.

The props were very sparse with the use of only the necessary furniture in both locations. There was nothing to detract from the intensity of the characters and their intense behaviour.

The shooting and the acting both created a very violent, disturbing climate. The actors shouted at the top of their voices. The characters they depicted were nervous and tense and Stathis, who dominated the episode was really a personality under a lot of stress and strain, which he took no pains to hide. The scenic locations were also very rudimentary – home and police – more emphasis being given, as a result, to the characters’ action and interaction. This is, perhaps, one significant difference between Western (American) action programmes, and Greek ones. The technological and aesthetic sophistication in American productions intended for global consumption are not present in the Greek serials. The latter - Kalimera more specifically - are much simpler, almost elementary, thus shifting the emphasis to role-acting and thus introducing or provoking a climate of over-acting, which can undermine the modality of the programme. On the other hand, the Mediterranean temperament may come in as a justification for this overacting and for this exaggeration in character representations.

V.4.4.b: Representations, Identities, and Relationships

The episode juxtaposed three types of groups or character zones. One is the family, representing society in general, the other is the police body, of which the protagonist - Stathis Theocharis - was a leading member and the third was the world of crime. The representation of the family was effected through the depiction of its leader, Stathis, as well as members of both the family of orientation - two sisters and a brother - and the family of procreation - his wife and child. This family seemed to be marked by high moral principles, strong bonds of solidarity and affection. They all felt for the plight of Electra and the abduction of her little girl. Savvina suffered and was deeply concerned. Nakos was so concerned, he became
aggressive with his colleagues and Marianna was desperately concerned as the whole problem involved her husband both psychologically and professionally.

Stathis Theocharis himself was completely enmeshed in the events and had taken up the cause of dissolving the Mafia as a personal crusade. One can also almost say that as Fiske & Hartley (1978:162) say, no alternative versions to the reality presented in this programme was allowed. It was the reality defined by Stathis and it was his beliefs and character that dominate the serial in general – again the dominant (production) meanings coming out strong and loud.

It was almost difficult for the viewer, to discriminate between Stathis's professional and his family codes. He was therefore called upon, because of his professional status, to protect and safeguard both. His oversentimental reactions in the episode however, tended to create the impression that he was not guided by the cool and calculated reason of a Police Major, but by the feelings and emotions of a family man, who witnessed the blows to his loved ones, unable to hit back. His representation as a member of society, angry at the corruption, the incompetence and failure of the police force to clear up the mess, dominated the programme. His identity was lost in this game with crime and his personality became a metonymy for all angered righteous citizens, who wanted to clear up the dirt and scum in society. In his pursuits, he was typically representative of the television treatment of violence: the lust to violate the violator goes very deep and "vengeance is blameless." (Inglis, 1990:153) His verbal threats against the shadow-man left no doubt that he would be as violent and more so, than the Mafia criminals. Perhaps another indication that hatred of the "Other" can lead to adoption or - or to non-exclusion – of the "Same". (Ch. 1: 35-36)

The behaviour of Stathis Theocharis could almost be described as iconoclastic, as he speaks the same (violent) language - literally and metaphorically - with the Mafia underworld.

The representation of the remaining members of the family of Theocharis, was that of figures merely supportive, one could say, of the hero's image. Conventional as they come, his wife, holding up the coffee-cup for her husband to drink, is a reminder of the patriarchal structure of Greek society and the unequal status of women versus men - her identity lost in her husband's. His sister Electra, begging him to give in to the shadowman's demands, was another conventional representation of a long-suffering mother, who only cares for her children. Savvina, helpless and loving, sharing in the joys and wiles of her family's plight, is another conventionally conservative figure of an unmarried sister, who, in the absence of a personal life, identifies, in Greek society, with the family life of her brothers and sisters.
Nakos, also traditionally represents the brother who must ally with Stathis, in all ways: when Stathis is threatened, Nakos gets furious. He sides with Stathis in his accusations of the police force. He becomes condemning when the police officers decide to lend protection to Stathis, showing a sarcastic lack of trust in them. And when Stathis comes in, he stands by him, in all he says and does.

On the other hand, the representation of the police force, was also an interesting, metonymic slice of life: Two character zones are represented: the "honest cop" who exerts all effort to resolve a problem and break up an illegal, criminal activity in the personality of Leventagas. The name itself is semantically loaded and interesting to comment on: the word "leventis" in Greek, denotes qualities of uprightness, braveness and a handsome appearance to go with these features. "Agas" comes from the Turkish language - a remnant of the Ottoman occupation of Greece - and means "master". The combination of the two names is, perhaps intended to connote an authoritative police figure that stands for morality and a high sense of professional and social integrity.

The police officer, whose name was not announced in this episode, appeared, as a brother should, to be on the side of Stathis and of justice and a staunch pursuer of the Mafia. He also indicated streaks of integrity - the representation of the policeman who realises there is corruption in the police and is willing to admit it.

The other two police officers were represented as belonging to a different character zone: Haris, is, at times, dark and unfathomable, as in the instance when Nakos accuses him almost directly that he will give confidential information or other services to illegal nets, for money. He responded angrily, but then, so would anybody accused of similar behaviour. Furthermore, his announcement that he would even be willing to die for Stathis, after the attack and accusations of Nakos, also seemed strange and rather unexpected by the viewer.

Finally, Olga, secretary of Stathis, completes this mini-representation of a police-force department. Discreet and feminine, quiet, willing to serve, but also willing to side with whoever has the current upper hand: when the three police officers, make fun of Stathis in his absence, she joins in the fun. Another production approach to women’s identity shaped by the men in authority - this time in a professional setting. In any case, the identities of the men in the episode - all policemen - came off generally as much stronger than the identities of any of the women, apart from Electra. She was the only one that dared raise her voice to advise Stathis to change his plans and not meet the informant. But when Stathis reacted to this violently, she did not repeat her advice. Marianna's identity of the dedicated wife and mother, who spoon-feeds the child and holds the coffee-cup for her husband to drink, are
interesting representations of Greek women's identities, caring, even subservient, in the modern urban home of Greece or Cyprus. Finally, the zone of the criminal characters was represented by the masked men, ruthless, violent and unhesitating, raiding the home of Stathis to abduct his wife.

In the light of the dominant or preferred readings created by the programme, the identities in the family and the home on one hand and the Greek police force, on the other, represent two microcosms for the construction of relationships with the viewers. Also the world of men's identities and that of women, and on another level, the world of morality and order and that of crime. The modalities were not very strong. It would rather be too exaggerated to believe that personalities like that of Stathis, with his constant battle-in-arms mood and behaviour, at home, or at the office, really exist. Furthermore, his relationship with his colleagues, was also rather unrealistic. When he vehemently stated that one of them - even his brother could be the shadow-man, the viewer either gets the feeling that he is almost paranoid, or perhaps can identify with the character's earnest doubts about the members of the entire police force.

V.4.4.c: Discourse Analysis and Socio-cultural analysis.

Essentially, the micro-level of the episode's plot consisted of the police force the Greek family and the world of crime, on one hand, and the macro-level of Greek (Cyprus for the study) social realities, as contextualized in police action and corruption. These also rendered the two clear levels of discourse in the programme.

In the framework of the discourse order established by production, the language used by Stathis was very rough, even foul at times, containing a lot of derogatory phrases, which he used when talking about the "shadow-man". An indication that the protagonist is fighting trespassers on their own terms. On another account, however, it could also be a reminder perhaps of the criticism by Sarantos Karghakos (1995) (Ch.1:75) about the "paucity of language" on Greek television. Stathis called the shadow man a bum, a scum, a pisshead, trash, a buffoon. When Olga came into his office to announce the abduction of his wife, he used the phrases - fuck and fuck my horns - and he asked her, urgently and impatiently for more information apart from her introductory remarks that Savvina had telephoned from a neighbouring house. He also acted very aggressively, when Leventagas announced that they were going to give him bodyguards. He retorted very sarcastically - Up
to now I didn't worry, it's now that I will start worrying. The earth has, so far, swallowed anyone you tried to help. (Greek jargon word used for the earth - *marmanga*.)

Stathis's vocabulary was generally contextualized on one level: it was the terse and at times foul, language, which is used in the world of crime. This was definitely part of his character and personality, as intended by the script. There is no doubt that the "social distribution of power" in the present discourse order, aimed at establishing the belief that police members can, or should use such language, to show their earnestness and to be systematically effective in fighting crime. The general use of language in the programme served an "emotive function" (Fiske & Hartley, 1978:83) to (intensely) express the feelings and emotions of the characters.

Other discourse levels and linguistic/cultural contexts as well, were brought to the surface. The language culture of the urban middle class (legitimate) and that of the crime world (the vulgar). The vocabulary of the Mafia members is adopted by Stathis, the Police Officer fighting them, this being another situation of becoming the "Same" while denying the "Other". So, interpenetration of cultures through language shows up more concretely through the alluded corruption of the Police. The discourse in the Police was ambivalent, two-edged, declaring professional integrity, but leaving space for doubt.

The other characters, both in his family and in his office, behaved normally, using conventional, middle-class language and did not share in his frantic behaviour or expressions, thus creating their own peaceful home atmosphere, except for the foul vocabulary used by the four masked men (coming from the Mafia circles) who came into Stathis's house to abduct Marianna. The leader of the raid ordered one of the men to tell Savvina to *shut up* and he threatened to blow up her brains, while they kept shouting, during the whole operation. When they violently tied up Marianna, they metaphorically shouted out, *the parcel is ready*, and carried her out of the house. An instance of the cynical subculture language of crime, callously equating the human being with an inanimate product (parcel), the connotation obviously being that to these people human life is completely meaningless.

**V.4.5: Readings by the Sample**

The field research had not established many relations between *Kalimera Zoi* and the attitudes of the sample, or their social, cultural and national values. But one of the statistical correlations established, however, was that:

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58% of those viewing the programme, believed that *premarital sex is not appropriate for women*. This gave food for questioning during the interviews and the discussions:

- Would the sample agree that women are pictured as traditional and submissive to men and would they agree with this approach to women?
- Did they identify Electra, as a possible exception, or was her distinctiveness lost on the sample?

The dominant, negotiated or oppositional interpretations by the sample of the programme's messages, were also investigated in the light of some other developments in Cyprus: The rise in crime-rates and drug traffic in Cyprus in the last few years has put the police in a very awkward position. Accusations against the Cyprus police for corruption have been on the rise and the Cyprus police force have tried very hard to reinstate their image among the public. A new Minister of Justice and Public Order was appointed in 1997 - Nicos Koshis, a former EOKA fighter - who tries to cleanse crime and fight drug dealers and prostitution.

The question in regard to the episode and the series as a whole, is what do the viewers make of it, in connection to the actual state of the police in either Greece, or, more significantly, Cyprus: do they associate Stathis, fighting the Mafia, with the state of things in the Cyprus police?

Do they believe there is corruption in the Cyprus police force with a flank of corrupt, versus a flank of honest policemen?

Do they consider Stathis a genuine example of an incorruptible policeman and do they justify his vocabulary and behaviour? This again calls for a certain amount of analysis:

- do all policemen speak this language in real life, just to give expression to their suppressed anger and their resentment of trespassers?
- Furthermore, as instruments of law and order, and as a matter of keeping their moral standards, policemen should not really be using the same kind of vocabulary with trespassers of the law merely in order to show that they are going to fight the latter on their own terms. But they do so in the serial. Stathis, at one point, said he would not rest unless he *buried the shadow-man with his own hands*. Meta discourse could be applied here, to find out whether the responses of the sample as to the readings were subject to their particular conditions - socio-cultural and demographic.
• Did they, for instance, in identifying with Stathis, not only justify, but also adopt his language (the vulgar language of crime) and to what extent?

• How did they interpret his total personality and his relationship with his colleagues? Did they approve of his explicit accusations and his aggressive behaviour? Did the sample approve of policemen using physical force to assert themselves?

♦ It is in order to remind ourselves of the fact that 31.3% of the surveyed sample believe that might is right, sometimes, 15.7% that it is so frequently, and 6.3%, always. (Q. 29). This could be considered a dominant reading of the behaviour of Stathis and of the “lust to violate the violator”, wherein, according to Inglis (1990:153) “vengeance is blameless”, as already pointed out (Ch.5:193).

♦ Also, in a negative correlation, the greater the degree of viewing, the less they seem to believe that premarital sex is appropriate for women (Q. 11.3 by Q. 52).

♦ And in a further positive correlation, the higher the degree of viewing, the more they believe woman’s place is in the home. (Q. 11.3 by Q. 36)

Relationships of social realities therefore, on the micro and macro-level could be explored. In Cyprus women are still placed on a lower level of authority (professionally and socially) than men. How much does the sample adopt the relevant dominant readings of the serial and relate them to wider Cyprus social realities and what is their own position on the matter, culturally?

♦ Other questions to be investigated were the following:

♦ How did the sample assess the overall modality of the programme and how would they regard Stathis Theocharis as a man and a policeman? Unreal and overblown, real and pragmatic, justified in his angry and violent outbursts? Did they admire and support his stand and behaviour, or were they critical about him?

♦ To what extent did they believe the corruption in the police force was reflected in Cyprus realities? Or, perhaps, did they feel that the television values projected were an international phenomenon and had no exclusive connection to Greece and Cyprus and thus had no reflection on their self-perceived identity as citizens of a country with lawful and also unlawful citizens?

♦ It would be also interesting to probe what the sample's self-perceived socio-cultural identity was, in connection to values and themes in this particular programme – i.e., fighting crime, police corruption, betrayal of colleagues or friends and the exertion of
violence. The battle of discourses - the conventionally urban versus the criminal and 
violent ones – would also be another area to probe, in a meta-discourse discussion.

In brief, the readings – dominant, oppositional, negotiated or aberrant – of the 
protagonist, of the image of Greek police and the image of women, as well as the overall 
Greek culture and use of language, were investigated during the interviews and discussions 
that followed the programme analysis.

V.5.1: “BEVERLY HILLS”: Introduction.

This programme ranked fifth in the preferences of the sample, having received a total 
combined percentage of 39.9% for being viewed regularly and always. The series, featuring 
45-minute episodes, was broadcast on CyBC, every Sunday at 18.10 and the episode which 
is analysed in the context of the present study, was videotaped on the 26th of November, 
1996. PC Smart, a computer Company in Cyprus, sponsored Beverly Hills, at the time. 
The ad of the sponsor showed different shots of young people, in association with the 
computers’ trademark. Slogan words were used throughout the ad, like smart, control, 
cool, option, eh?. So, instead of the title song, the sponsor’s ad, was used as the Signature 
Tune was used in Kafenion to “narrate the scenario” (Bignell, 1997:145) in a more 
postmodern (disjunctive) vein.

The signature tune itself, music and pictures, set the scene and the pace for the 
programme: the characters were shown in snappy single shots, two-shots and three-shots, 
laughing, joking, gesticulating, in action, in movement. There was visually nothing static 
about the characters in the signature tune which opened the episodes, the semantics perhaps 
being that there is nothing dull, but everything is in the process of variable change and 
fragmentation.
V.5.2: The Characters

Donna, who was the protagonist in this particular episode, was socially concerned and had an open-minded attitude towards black people, going out of her way to help the family of little black boy Isaiah.

Jo, her boy-friend was a more conventional, conservative, lower middle-class white young man, coming from a rather poor background, constantly wanting to protect her.

Valerie, flirtatious and light-hearted, was the owner of the nightspot "After Dark" and was willing to help out in the "Kid Kare" effort, offering the nightspot for the charity evening.

Brandon seemed to be in trouble with a gambling problem and essentially he fell out of control while Susan and Nat offered to help him.

Steve, the organiser of the benefit event, seemed like a strong, solid character in the episode. He was doing his internship under Tammy.

Kelly knew her mind. She moved with ease — among all the characters in the setting. She threw in the idea about auctioning a portrait-sitting for Colin, in order to contribute financially to the charity event.

Tammy went by her looks, not by her talent or knowledge. She was also the type who wouldn't hesitate to use anybody on her way up.

Nat, the bartender, was kind-hearted and helpful. He guided and tried to keep young people in the series away from trouble, like he did with Brandon.

Susan, Brandon's girl-friend was reasonable and restrained and had a high sense of self-respect: she felt embarrassed by his persistent gambling.

Claire, daughter of the University Chancellor, was rather spoiled, hastening to draw conclusions - about Steve and Tammy.

Lisa, the only black girl in the group, was down-to-earth and tried to bring Donna, down-to-earth also and away from what she considered lofty ideas about helping black families.

Isaiah, the black boy who was an outsider to the episode's student community, was an interesting combination of maturity and childishness.

Mrs. Holcom, Isaiah's mother was a proud, poor, independent woman, struggling for her family and for the improvement of their lot.
This particular episode of Beverly Hills focused on Donna and her interest in the family of Isaiah, a black boy she met in the Supermarket where she stood in for Lisa, very busy with the benefit event. Different other lines of action ran parallel to the story of Donna, and in connection to the other main characters of the series.

The episode opens in the evening spot "After Dark" which was run by Valerie and which she had given to be used for "Kid Kare", to raise money through auction and roulette games. In the opening scene, the "Kid Kare" sign was being put up, the roulette table pushed in and Brandon, Steve, Claire and Susan were playing cards. Nat served at the bar. He asked Brandon if he was going to play. Brandon was involved in some heavy betting in the past and had even been threatened by his bookie. Nat knew this and was trying to stop him from gambling in the benefit event.

Kelly was sketching the portrait of Colin Davis - her painter boyfriend - as she explained to him about her idea to place on auction a portrait-sitting with him. Kelly and Davis were obviously having an affair and Valerie was looking on jealously.

In the next scene Steve, who was responsible, on behalf of his sorority - "K" - to organise the benefit event, was doing his internship in a news talent agency, under Tammy Sanders, for whose talent and knowledge he didn't have much respect - as indicated earlier on, in scene one. She didn't seem to be treating him too well, either. Her boss, Scott Colby, however tilted the scales: He came in and talked to Steve in a very friendly manner - he played golf with his father. He also asked Steve to lunch. This changed Tammy's approach to Steve, as she realised that he could be of use to her. She accordingly asked Scott to let her keep Steve throughout his internship and Scott agreed.

The scene which followed, unfolded in the Supermarket of the black neighbourhood where Donna was replacing Lisa for the day. A black boy, Isaiah, stole a teddy bear, after he asked Donna for the price, which, as it turned out, he could not afford to pay. Donna paid for the teddy with her own money, lying to the store manager that Isaiah had already paid for it. When Jo came to get her, Isaiah was waiting for them outside the store and offered her all the money he had - three dollars, telling her he was not a thief; Donna didn't take the money but advised him not to pinch things if he could not pay for them. They drove away in Jo's pick-up van.

Back at the Agency, the mail came in and Steve opened a letter addressed to Tammy, as told by her to find out she had been fired. He closed the envelope again quickly and handed it to her. Then he said goodbye, leaving her very unhappy.

In the next scene, Jo and Donna drove through the dangerous neighbourhood, which they didn't know well, going around in circles, until they ran out of gas. They got out of the car and walked around, trying to find either a telephone or a gas station.

Brandon is next seen in "After Dark", trying to fiddle with the cards - and win in roulette. Valerie came in and reminded him that the goal of the night, was exactly the opposite - to loose - in order to raise money for the cause. He got angry and she walked away.

Meanwhile, Donna and Jo, nervous by now, were still stranded in the black neighbourhood. By chance they walked outside the house of Isaiah and he came out, just in time to rescue them from a gang that was pestering them. He invited them in, telling them he had been waiting for them for dinner. Once inside the house, they found out he was taking care of Tonia and Benjamin, his little sister and brother, as his mother was working in the morning, going to nursing school in the evening. Donna realising how poor their dinner was, ordered pizza for them.

At the charity event, Kelly talked to Lisa, wondering why Donna was so late. And Brandon was out of roulette chips and went to buy some.

Back again to Isaiah's home, where Mrs. Holcom, their mother had baked a birthday cake for little Benjamin's birthday. Meanwhile she came in and was very surprised and angry to find visitors in
her home. She was also scared they would tell Welfare Services that the children were left on their own and so forcefully asked Donna to stay out of their lives.

Back to "After Dark" Brandon bought more chips, while Nat reprimanded him and tried to prevent him from going back to gambling. Brandon, however, went on betting with bigger sums of money, until Nat played against him and won him out; when he was completely out of money and neither Susan, nor Nat's employee would lend any to him, he walked away, unhappy and frustrated.

Tammy came in, looking for Steve, in order to ask for his intervention to Scott, about her dismissal. His girl-friend, Claire, got jealous, when she saw them together, but Steve still listened to Tammy and eventually was persuaded to go back to the office, even though it was Saturday night, in order to talk to Scott about Tammy and try and convince him to get her back to work. The benefit event continued with Kelly coming up to the microphone to announce the auction to be conducted by Nat. Brandon and Susan had an argument, as Brandon wanted to continue gambling and wanted more chips on credit while Susan, embarrassed, left the place.

Nat began the auction by inviting bidders for a day with the University Chancellor, Milton Arnold, father of Claire. After that, he called for bidders for a portrait by Colin Davis. Kelly and Valerie fought it out and Valerie outbid Kelly by 600 dollars.

Meanwhile, in the talent agency offices, Steve "walked into" Scott and tried to put in a good word for Tammy. Scott told him she is not very good at her job and cost them clients and he better be objective and stay away from all this.

Donna and Jo, in the twelfth scene, walked into the parking lot of "After Dark" while Donná counted aloud the luxury trade marks of parked cars - BMW's, Porsches, etc. She was still bothered and kept thinking about Isaiah and his poor family, inspite of Jo trying to make her stay detached and cool. Inside the building, Lisa also told her as much, in different words, teasing her as "Saint Donna".

Valerie, while signing the cheque for the portrait she had won in the auction, almost had a fight with her boyfriend who got jealous of Colin Davis, the painter; he felt that Valerie liked him and really outbid Kelly to buy time with Colin. Brandon apologised to Nat, for being "out of line" and Steve came in and delivered, in as nice a way as possible, the news to Tammy, about her being definitely canned. She thanked and kissed him goodbye and he subsequently tried to explain the whole story to Claire.

Valerie went to the "Royal Court" and announced to Kelly that the event raised $11,000. They apologized to each other and made up about the portrait, as Valerie eventually told Kelly that she intended her portrait to be a Christmas present for David, her boyfriend. Donna still plugged in her sad line about the family of Isaiah who did not want to be helped.

In the scene taking place afterwards in Susan's residence, Brandon called on her to explain about his addiction to gambling and the problem he had been facing. She offered to help him and he gratefully accepted.

In the final scene of the programme, which took place in the playground of Isaiah's neighbourhood, Donna and Mrs. Holcom talked about the day-care centre and Donna offered to help her place the children there, not for charity, but out of "friendship". Mrs. Holcom eventually swallowed her pride and accepted. The episode ended with Donna and Isaiah hugging each other affectionately, glad they had met.

V.5.4.a: Critical Discourse Analysis: Production/Consumption.

The teaser of the programme, with Donna announcing to Jo that she'll be standing in for her black friend Lisa at the store, so Lisa would have time for the "Kid Kare" event, set the tone of the relationships between black and white on the micro-level social reality of the episode. The slight controversy between Donna and her boyfriend Jo was a meaningful, but abortive attempt towards a possible controversial pattern of plot development: Jo came from
a poor family, was realistic in his thinking and very much down-to-earth. In his dialogue with Donna, he warned her not to go to the store, as it was situated in a black neighbourhood and therefore, dangerous. Donna rejected this, saying that "if it's all right for Lisa, it's all right for me". Jo merely answered that "it's all right for Lisa, because she is local. Of course, the word is here used to connote black, as Jo apparently did not want to offend Donna's sensibilities concerning her friend.

Actually, in the light of the dominant (production) reading, discourse of the students' relationship with the outside world, revolved around two major events: Steve's internship and his resulting involvement with Kate's professional problems, and Donna's encounter with Isaiah and his family's problems. These provide very superficial experiences of the world "out there", or of the "others" – a world supposed to be harsh and different from the students' world. Of course these could again be considered as real problems in the "mythical community" (Bignell, 1997:154) of the Beverly Hills students, with its plush and sophisticated lifestyle.

The production of this episode again, like in Kalimera Zoi run in counterpoint style, in a dialectic mode, with continuous intercutting between short scenes unfolding in "After Dark" and in the black neighbourhood, as we already saw in the plot outline. Seven out of a total of 15 scenes in the episode were taken up by Donna's involvement with the poor black family, in contrast with the remaining scenes, focussed on other events: some were produced in the dorms or apartments, of "Royal Court", while others took place in Susan's apartment (with Brandon), in the talent agency where Steve does his internship, and in the nightspot "After Dark". This is quite contrasting with the production of Kalimera Zoi, where, the shots also depicted the progression of the plot, but there are only two locations – the home of Stathis and the Police Headquarters. The production technique is therefore, more sophisticated and diversified, meant to appeal to global audiences. Of course, the motto of help-giving runs through the episode on many other levels: Suzan and Nat helping Brandon, Steve helping Kate and Donna helping Isaiah's family. They all encounter each other with different philosophies initially, only to come to terms and understand each other, in the finale. The overall approach to a global production like Beverly Hills is generally different from the very simplistic production of a Greek serial like Kalimera Zoi or the even more unsophisticated, pastiche or simulacrum Cypriot production of Kafenion. The comparison definitely brings up substantial differences in discourse levels, as well as in the generic production techniques used for the televised (aesthetic) result.
There is a basic difference between the way these scenes are shot: In all the scenes shot in the black neighbourhood, the emphasis of the camera is on the protagonists. Apart from Donna and Jo and Isaiah and his family, we scarcely see anyone else in the picture. It's only the manager of the supermarket and the gang of black boys, who feature transiently, not saying much. Their presence is almost symbolic, to underline the threat of black man to white man, stressing the stereotype models of American social/racial problems. Even here, however, one could say, realism is glamorised. Donna appears like the rich, shining visitor, to get pizza for the poor children and get the celebration going. Actually "pizza" is connotative of a special treat for the (poor) black kids and the very word (suggested by Donna), acts as a metonymy for joy, triggering a dance around the room. Isaiah appears in the nick of time, like a knight-in-armour, disproving the myth that all black people are violent, to save kind Donna and Jo, from the black gang that could abduct and rape her and beat up or rob, or maybe even kill Jo. Donna of course, sets the mood of help, even in the harsh climate of a ghetto, by paying for the teddy Isaiah stole. The final (sentimental) scene, where Donna and Mrs. Holcom become friends and get to accept each other as human beings, epitomises the theme of help-giving.

The production does not try to penetrate the surfaces of the characters' relationships, even though external props set up a diversity of situations. The barbed wire fence over which the camera reveals the facade of the supermarket in the black neighbourhood, acts as a visual metonymy to warn of danger and so does the distant horn of a police-car. They both predispose the viewer with audio-visual semantics for the incident which follows. The empty streets, the deserted, dilapidated buildings which are revealed by a travelling pan from the pick-up van of Jo as he drives with Donna through the ghetto, are eloquent visual semiotics of the safety problems in the area, placing the actors in their particular socio-cultural micro-level setting. The long shot of Isaiah descending the stairs of his poor home, alone, sure of himself and master of the vicinity, welcoming Donna and Jo, is a shot to the point, putting him in perspective. The single shots of little Benjamin and Tonia - as part of their surroundings, not just in big CUP's - are again a production technique to keep reminding the viewer where these children live - the contextuality of their social environment. So are the shots of the students in "After Dark", which are always, or most of the time, busy, crowded shots, with other people around. Even when the action focuses on just one person - as on Brandon when he is seized by his gambling urge at the roulette table and when he goes to ask persistently for more chips - there are, almost always, other people as well in the picture, thus defining, on the part of production, the importance of group life.
in this particular representation of social realities. It is a community that is strongly united and socially homogeneous. There is, further, a parallel action between the different characters, with the camera moving from scene to scene, within the same setting - from Kelly and Valerie to Nat Busichio, from Claire to Steve and Tammy going off together to the next room to have some privacy for their conversation and from this scene to the sale of Colin's portrait, at the auction. The production emphasises the fact that the little stories in this episode, like the relevant characters in them, are all inter-connected and are all happening at the same time. So are the scenes taking place in the talent agency, where Steve was doing his internship. This image of a collective identity is crafted very effectively by production.

V.5.4.b: Representations, Identities, Relationships

All the main characters essentially represent the middle to upper class youths of America, with global features of Western - American - youth culture.

The whole series of Beverly Hills, the present episode not excluded, are essentially, representation of the life of American University students, in the rich residential area of Beverly Hills, where people in the show business live. Of course, the glamorous and seemingly carefree life of the young people shown in the programme, cannot be taken to represent the average college or university student in the States. The life of these students does not appear to be associated much with lessons or with academic life and activities. It is mainly their social and love life that are featured in the series.

In this particular episode, a slice of life "out there" in the "real world" with its problems, is interwoven with the main theme of the programme, which is the organising of a benefit event for needy children in the area. Poverty is thus glossed over by the philanthropic sentiments and expressions of the rich young kids who are happy collecting money for others. Actually the whole motto of the episode creates a paradigm about human help: Donna helps Isaiah's family, Nat and Susan try to help Brandon, Steve tries to help Kate and the "Royal Court" inmates organize "Kid Dare" in "After Dark", which Valerie offers, in order to help poor families with the money. And of course, Isaiah helps out Donna and Jo, when they run the danger of being mugged by a black gang.

The family of Isaiah is very poor, fatherless and with a mother who represents poor honest widows, devoted to her children and working hard to improve her education and professional training by studying to be a regular nurse. Isaiah represents a very wise child,
growing and maturing in the poor, difficult circumstances of his family knowing how to handle his responsibilities.

Donna appears as the shining angel, a person of deep kindness, going out of her way to help these people, feeling for their poverty, and she finally manages to convince them to accept her help, as if this is the end of all social problems in society, or in an American black neighbourhood. The final words of Donna to Isaiah underline the episode's motto of "help others": Isaiah asks how he is ever going ever to pay her kindness off and she answers, "By doing the same thing to somebody else, when you grow up."

The benefit event organised by the students of Royal Court, is yet again another beautified occasion showing the students’ pre-occupations. This event is actually the focal point in their identity expression, as it focuses around their relationships. Their flirtations, jealousies, gambling problems, or their generosities (Donna, Nat, Steve, Susan) are very obviously in search of themselves in “Others”, whom they try to help most of the time). The “Other” here plays a very active role, as people moulder their identity not in isolation, but as living cells of a student community. The production techniques seen in the previous section, with the group shots prevalent in the discourse order, confirm this community or group identity: Brandon seeks help eventually for his gambling problem from girl-friend Susan, Kelly is caught up in a jealousy scramble with Valerie, with a lot of insincerity and half-truths coming up in their relationship, Claire is not sure of Steve's feelings and doesn't trust him and Steve tries to show his better self by being as nice as possible to Tammy when she gets canned. And Donna, of course, identifies with the “Other” part of American life - black poverty. The characters, however, lack depth and one feels that their identities do not come out real, human and down-to-earth, but they are placed in a collective climate of superficiality and glamour, normal in soap operas with their “beautiful people, always cool and smooth” - a reminder again of the signature tune by the Computer sponsors of the series. These young people are almost cardboard (or electronic) characters never loosing their temper, or raising their voices and never going through any painful, down-to-earth conflicts.

The modality is weak - their identities are transparent. Their emotions and reactions are so much under control and their relationships are essentially so smooth, they are almost ideal, forming a mythical community, to be craved after by kids, globally. Also, they always win in the end, no matter what. Even when they have problems, they always end up reasonable, self-fullfilled and justified. An example of this is Brandon and his relationship to Nat who runs "After Dark" for Valerie. Brandon clashes with him about his gambling and at
one point accuses Nat of too much patronising - you played father, accountant to me. Are you going to play my priest next? (Again an “Other” featured in this relationships). The use of the language is both “emotive” and “relational” (Jaworski & Coupland, 1999: 45 & 8). But in the end, Brandon gets reasonable and admits his problem to Nat, which is, in a way, an apology to him.

The characters appear to be shallow, dress glamorously and behave as if they are in an entertaining beauty contest. Even the parallel story with Donna and Isaiah, comes off, not as a very genuinely human, but as a beautified event, well-structured, predictable and rewarding all along, pacifying and reassuring about the order of things and the kindness in the human soul. A happy-end type of programme with very weak modalities, but very entertaining for young people, judging by its popularity, as it is a colourful piece of placebo escape.

V.5.4.d: Discourse Analysis and Socio-Cultural Analysis

The episode essentially sets up many particular discourses, but also a main discourse on the glamour and unreality of American life for the show-business kids and that of the prosaic, everyday life of ordinary people, in any part of the world. The “core” and the “periphery” are also put in touch, essentially, the society of the developed and that of the developing, the multi-cultural and the local/cultural, like Cyprus. The whole programme is almost symbolic of the “American Dream” embodied in these affluent, untroubled young people who park their BMW’s and Porsche’s outside the charity event, evidently enjoying the whole thing on a group, as well as on a personal level. Viewers probably get the intention of the production very clearly and perhaps one of the reasons the series is so popular with young people is exactly, this gliding, glamorous, superficial representation of the characters of the series. Neither the camera, nor the story or action concentrate for long on one individual to present his or her feelings to any depth or breadth. It is the life of a peer group, with quick and dense action and interaction, going on between them, in a way that does not exact too much attention or exertion on the part of the viewer. It is easy viewing, diverting and entertaining, non-involving sentimentally, or intellectually. Even the plot of Donna and Isaiah, has a happy end, very characteristically, on the site of a playground, with Mrs. Holcom, making a very sudden (almost unnatural) turn from being cold, dignified and aloof, to becoming condescending and friendly, accepting Donna’s help. The production must end happily and set the viewer's mind at rest, whatever the action and the orders of discourse used. A dominant reading that is perfectly manufactured and effectively produced.
This is a further projection of the commercial by the sponsoring Computer Company - PC Smart. The words on the screen - cool, smart, and esc. (CU of the computer button) and control, are definitely applicable to the very programme itself and can be applied as relevant to the series and the characters themselves – a part of the peer group discourse. The young (anonymous) people taking part in the promo have a style of dressing, smiling and behaving which is quite similar to that of the characters in the series - almost homologues. Perhaps the implication is that young viewers or young protagonists of the promo, or the series - are or can all be the same, everywhere. A metaphor behind the production approach that cannot be really missed. The group’s affairs present a micro-level of American youth experiences, aiming at correspondences to the social macro realities among global viewers.

The discourse order in the overall series revolves around peer group interconnectdeness, solidarity and a consistently supportive attitude towards “Others” in the group. The visual and the language semantics testify to this, with a very strong, loudly democratic approach to racial differences. The acceptance of “Otherness” is emphasized in a way that publicizes emphatically the American lack of discrimination, as well as openness to difference, exemplified in Donna’s behaviour towards Lisa and Isaiah and his family. The language used in the episode is civilized and restrained, without elements which shock or disturb the viewer at all. Language never becomes controversial or conflicting – as it does in Kafenion or Kalimera Zoi. Even with the three or four most serious social problems in the episode, the conversations keep a proper civilized tenor and the discourse - sometimes referential, sometimes emotive - moves in very unprovoking tones: When Isaiah steals the teddy-bear, the incident is resolved very quietly and without any repercussions at all, by Donna telling him, not to buy anything, he cannot pay for, in the future. The sparse supper of the children is not allowed to become a melodramatic event. It is appropriately enriched by pizza, which the delighted children welcome.

Tammy gets canned, but Steve makes her feel - or tries to make her feel - pretty good about herself and she kisses him good-bye, thankful for his efforts. Brandon is caught up again in the web of gambling, but there is always a ray of light in his character (preferred, producer’s reading) so he goes to Susan for help and she, of course does not refuse, their meeting ending with a romantic, thankful hand-kiss for Susan, by Brandon - little boy lost, finding a mothering girl-friend to reinstate the balances. Earlier in the episode, Brandon has some recollections - given through flashbacks - of how he got involved with a bookie, during his rough betting period. The bookie, stood by the door of his car, in a poorly-lit scene – an allusion to the dark shadows of bookie subculture threatening Brandon: if he didn’t pay his
debts someone would be dealing with him - a semi-explicit threat of violence. But this is done so very discreetly again, it could almost pass unnoticed.

A comparison with the violent and aggressive dialect as discussed in the analysis of the Greek series *Kalimera Zoi*, which is dealing with crime in very loud, violent terms, reveals the striking difference in the discourses of urban life and crime (the world of Stathis/and/that of the Mafia) versus (the world of Brandon's/and/that of the/bookies). Of course the genres are different – an American youthful soap opera and a Greek melodramatic one. But temperaments and production approaches do heighten discourse differences further.

The discourse on socio-cultural gender attitudes is also well contrasted to the one in Greek productions seen so far: The girls in *Beverly Hills* are free to enjoy life and relationships, just like boys are, without any discrimination – expressed in language or visual terms. In *Kalimera Zoi* this was not the case, as we saw. The subservience of the wife of Stathis, Savvina’s clinging to her brother’s family, not having one of her own, Olga’s willingness to compromise her positions with her men-colleagues, to get along, constitute a discourse of tradition, which contrasts with the independent, free young women who enjoy life and relationships as the equals of boys, in *Beverly Hills*.

The socio-cultural values of American society are thus rendered in the most cool, reassuring and comforting way possible. The preferred readings are smooth and well organized technically and aesthetically, so as to be accepted and integrated into the micro – and macro-level social realities and the lifestyle of the viewer.

**V.5.5: Readings by the Sample**

Some of the statistically significant results with regard to the programme that have already been noted in Chapter four, are worth picking up as leads to be pursued during the interviews and discussions:

♦ The more frequently the sample viewed, the less they seemed to believe that woman’s place is in the home. Was this an ongoing discourse, deriving from the modern gender values projected in the series as contrasted to *Kalimera Zoi*?

♦ The programme was viewed less in unoccupied Famagusta, than in any other area of Cyprus - only 4% of the sample viewed it always. Was it perhaps the use of the English language undermining the popularity of the programme in this area, or was it the
type of programme (soap, global and beautiful and distant from the more traditional Cyprus periphery?)

- The vast majority of the viewers who saw it always, were girls and only 24.6% boys. Why did the girls, in particular find it more appealing? Is it perhaps, because the girls in the programme set values and behaviour models which the Cyprus girls saw as a model and a challenge, wanting to integrate in their own lifestyle, these feminine “Others” socially emancipated, still a condition inaccessible to Cyprus girls? This would be a good example where polysemic readings could be probed, all in connection to the personal socio-cultural conditions, gender, demographics and idiosyncracies of the audience members. The reverberations of the social and economic climate of America in this particular series would be interesting to follow up among the interviewed sample, as the contrasts of modernity and tradition in the concepts respectively projected in the American and the Greek and Cyprus series should really be tested in the light of the “multitude of competing ideologies” brought about by globalization with:

“...its unification versus fragmentation, powerlessness versus appropriation, authority versus uncertainty, personalised versus commodified experience.” (Giddens, 1991: 224)

- The level of education of both the father and mother of those who viewed the programme more frequently, seemed to be higher than high-school education. Respondents with parents of a lower or higher educational standard did not seem to prefer the programme that much. A cross-reference in the interviews with whether their parents viewed the programme with them, or whether they discussed it with their parents, would be interesting, as to family viewing situations.

- Finally, the values of the programme - positive/negative - group solidarity, helping others, on one hand, but on the other hand, gambling, an easy, superficial and irresponsible lifestyle away from lessons, a rich, glamorous carefree mode of living, formed topics in the interview agenda with the sample.

The priorities of the sample – as defined in the Statistical Survey conclusions (Ch.4:128-29 ) versus other priorities of the peer group in the series - fun, philanthropy, and a “good-time attitude”, could also be examined.
V. 6.1: "ISTORIES TOU HORKOU" ("STORIES FROM THE VILLAGE"):  
Introduction

The programme "Istories tou Horkou" belongs to what we call, in Cyprus media language, the genre of "the Cyprus sketch". This denotes a short - 20-minute, or half-hour programme - in the Cyprus idiomatic dialect, with characters and plots deriving from traditional - mainly rural - areas of Cyprus. The themes are derived from either contemporary or old problems and issues. Women in the series are dressed in traditional (mainly rural) costumes and men in contemporary clothes. The programmes are shot in authentic villages, with a rural background and lifestyle.

The programme was in the top ten preferences of the sample and it earned the eighth position in the top-ten list, by a combined percentage of 39.2% for regularly and always. It was aired on CyBC.1 every Sunday at 19.50 and the episode analyzed here was videotaped on Sunday, November 3, 1997.

The signature tune of the programme is a traditional-sounding melody, played on the flute. The Cooperative Council of Limassol sponsors the programme and the design of a cow underneath the title of the programme, semiotically identifies it with rural and agricultural life.

Cooperatives in Cyprus, as we saw earlier - in Chapter one (Endnote No.3, 328) originated in the countryside and they are the institutions, which supported and encouraged financially, the development and progress of the rural population. Of course, the Cyprus sketch today is not only popular among rural, but also among urban viewers.

It is, above all, interesting to look at the programme from the point of view of cultural norms and values, as urbanisation, modernity and increased literacy have augmented the contact points or congruencies between rural and urban lifestyles in contemporary Cyprus.

V.6.2: The Characters

Markoullis, one of the main characters in the episode was described by the other characters, as “stingy” and “a coward”. The actor playing the role also played that of the poor old woman who had found refuge in some abandoned village-houses and was suspected of witchcraft.

Yiannis, another villager, opened, together with Markoullis the episode of the programme as the two of them were walking along the streets of the village, talking about Vassilou.
Vassilou, the pivotal character in the episode, was a poor old woman, who had come into the village and taken refuge in the old, deserted house that formerly belonged to Markoullis's family. She was, essentially a saintly person, read the bible all the time and always had a huge kettle with boiling water on the fire, apparently to keep warm.

The mukhtar of the village in all this farcical witch-hunt was a very excitable, suspicious and cowardly person, prejudiced and intolerant. The only modern thing he did was riding a motorcycle and running about on his motorcycle to spy on Vassilou and carry messages about her to the other villagers.

Paraskevou, the mukhtar's wife, was, like all the women in the village, a plain gossip, engaging in absolute grapevine rumor.

Pezouna, the wife of the coffee shop owner, was as bad as her friend Paraskevou. She passed on the information she got from the latter, adding her own spicy details.

Maritsa, wife of Markoullis, was more cool-headed than her husband. But she was an equally bad gossip as Pezouna and a very superstitious person, as well.

Pezounos, a great and willing listener, kept his distance, like a typical coffee shop owner. But he still went along with what others said generally, in order to do his public relations right.

Nekatostras, the old father of Maritsa, was father-in-law of Pezounos (the coffee-shop owner). He was hard of hearing and distorted almost everything he heard.

The Policeman was called in by the villagers to verify the general opinion existing in the village, that Vassilou was really a witch. He was a cool, good-natured, absent-minded man, always forgetting his measuring "meter" around.

The Priest was equally realistic with the policeman, enjoyed good food, wherever it was offered to him, but was also frank and fair with Vassilou and the villagers.

Zinonis was a young, simple-minded and illiterate villager who visited Vassilou and listened to her Bible teaching.
The plot of this rural comedy, unfolded in a Cyprus village, in both the village streets, and also with domestic, indoor scenes in the coffee shop, in the houses of the Mukhtar, of Zononis and in Vassilou's house. Vassilou, a poor old woman who took refuge in the abandoned family-house of Markoullis, one of the villagers, really disturbed the peace of the village and became the focal point of interest, around which all the villagers' discussions revolved. She lived alone, read from a book, all the time, she boiled water in a huge kettle, all the time - apparently to keep warm and she had a cat and baked pies (pittes) all the time. Her parents must have lived and died in the village, as she visited their graves. The only company she kept, was with Zononis, the young man who brought her materials for making pies and whom she catechized in the teachings of Christ and a Christian way of living.

The whole episode developed at a rather fast production pace, with 28 scenes, in a climate of suspense.

The episode opens with Markoullis and Yiannis walking along the village street, with Yiannis expressing wonder that Markoullis had brought his mother to their old family home, without letting anyone know. He even remembered that Markoullis had once told them that when he would bring his mother to the village, he would not inform them. But Markoullis forcefully denied that the woman who had established herself in their old, abandoned family house, was his mother. His father, he explained, had always been telling him that his mother had died thirty years ago, in a monastery, so Markoullis became angry with Yiannis.

In the scene that followed, Vassilou - an old woman with long white hair, was seen in an old house, stirring something in a huge, steaming kettle. She called her cat, Victoris and chattingly promised to take him, next day, to her parents' graves. The mukhtar of the village, spying on her through the trees, mumbled to himself that she was a witch.

In the third scene, Pezouna and Maritsa, wife of Markoullis were cleaning vegetables and talking about Markoullis and the old woman living in his family house. Pezouna asked Maritsa, if Markoullis was a little bit of a coward. Maritsa said he was a "shit of a coward" - because he wouldn't go to the old woman and throw her out. But, she said, the explanation Markoullis had given, was that the old woman "was a witch", so what do you actually expect? And so Maritsa justified his rationalisations.

Next to that, the Mukhtar himself arrived to tell his wife Paraskevou, about what he had witnessed at Vassilou's. She was frying pies and feeding the cats with them. So, in the fifth scene that followed, Paraskevou was seen talking with Pezouna, in the street and telling her about how Vassilou first fed the cats and then boiled them. Pezouna, relating next the scene to her husband, excitedly told him how Vassilou fed the black cats, the boiled and then fried them. Nekatostras, her father, half-deaf, added his own version - didn't Vassilou have any dogs around, also? Of course Pezouna obliged - there must have been "ten-to-twenty dogs, also".

The Mukhtar in the sixth scene climbed on a tree and was again spying on Vassilou, who was in the cemetery, visiting her parents' graves. He considered this as another indication of her witchcraft activities and mumbled again, that no, he wouldn't have this.

The next scene followed with Pezouna reading the coffee-cup of Markoullis, warning him that he would go through fear. The mukhtar arrived and told Markoullis that they must both go together to Vassilou to deal with her. They tiptoed into the yard of Vassilou, very scared, ready to take to their heels, which they did eventually, in panic, simply because Vassilou turned and looked at them.

After this close encounter with the "witch", the Mukhtar sleeping with his wife, was startled by a noise, woke up, and grabbed his gun, rushing out to find out what was going on. His wife woke up and rushed after him, giving him his trousers to wear. In the scene that followed, the same sequence was repeated with Markoullis and his wife Maritsa, sleeping. They were awakened by a noise and Markoullis was scared that Vassilou had come out to get him. He even believed she had disguised herself as the Mukhtar and was imitating his voice. Maritsa, his wife, who was much cooler, tried to bring him to reason, brought him out of the house and whispered to the Mukhtar that she must take him to have his fear cast out.

Back to the coffee shop, where Yiannis announced to Pezounos that the donkey of Trahanas - a co-villager - had died. Pezounos was surprised as the donkey seemed to be in perfect health. So Yiannis, attributed this to the "magic" Vassilou had done.

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6 This was a process adopted in older times, in Cyprus, by which a person supposed to have been the victim of black magic, was taken to an expert who could exorcise evil from him. A fire of burning coals was prepared and the victim had to jump over the burning fire, several times, while the exorcist chanted mantrams.
The mukhtar had, meanwhile, taken measures, as in the next scene he was seen talking with his wife to a policeman they had asked to go and visit Vassilou and accuse her of witchcraft. Paraskevou, the mukhtar's wife, offered the policeman, a traditional fruit-in-syrup. Back next, to the house of Vassilou, where she was reading aloud excerpts from the Bible, in the light of burning candles.

The policeman in the next scene was seen with the other two characters, the Mukhtar and Markoullis going into the yard of Vassilou. They were in a hurry to leave the policeman alone, as they themselves, did not really care much to meet Vassilou in person. They quit the minute they felt they could do so, warning the policeman not to eat of her pittes.

Vassilou was again shown reading aloud from the Bible, in the next scene. The policeman entered and grabbed the book from her hand, accusing her of reading satanic books; she was shocked, and told him it was the Bible; he verified it by looking at the Bible and wondered "What are these 'others' (the villagers) saying?"

Back in the coffee-shop, the Mukhtar, Markoullis and Pezounos were wondering why the policeman was so late and what he was really doing, at Vassilou's. They were afraid she had charmed him, and that is why he was so late.

The policeman, in the 17th scene, was shown calmly sitting with Vassilou, drinking his zivania; he left after he made sure Vassilou would continue living in the village, so he could visit her again, for a drink.

The CU of the Mukhtar telephoning, ushered the viewer to the 18th scene: he was probably calling the village police station, but "nobody answers", he said, which signified that the policeman hadn't gone back to his post yet. The policeman meanwhile walked in and when they tried to ask him what he was going to do about Vassilou, he told them that he would arrest them, not Vassilou, for disseminating false information.

Following this, Pezouna and Paraskevou were commenting on the fact that Vassilou had charmed the policeman, which meant that the whole village was now convinced about the magic practices of the old woman.

A new decision was being taken in the next scene, meanwhile: the mukhtar was asking the villagers in the coffee shop whether they would agree to call in a priest to exorcise Vassilou. The villagers at the coffee shop did not indicate any positive concern about the matter. They just shrugged the mukhtar's suggestion away indifferently, but he interpreted this, as an affirmation, so he went on ahead with his new plan.

Back to Vassilou's house again, in the next scene, where Zinonis, a young villager was her guest. She offered him pittes and talked to him about Christ's parables, reading to him excerpts from the Bible.

The priest was now ready, with cross and incense-burner in hand, to exorcise Vassilou. The mukhtar ordered Paraskevou to kill a chicken and cook it for the priest, so he wouldn't go to Vassilou's, hungry and be tempted to eat of her pittes and thus be charmed by her. This Paraskevou went out and did, half-heartedly, under pressure by the mukhtar.

In the 23rd scene, the priest went on to Vassilou's house and presented the cross before her abruptly, without warning. She immediately paid reverence - kissed the cross - and when he asked her to burn the book she was reading, she asked him, shocked, if she should burn the Bible thereupon giving it to him, for verification. He sat down and ate his pittes, of course, like the policeman had done before him, drunk his zivania and then left.

Yiannis and Markoullis, were anxiously waiting for the return of the priest while playing backgammon. They bet about his possibly having been charmed by Vassilou - Yiannis said yes, Markoullis, no, and Pezounos was called on to bear witness to the bet.

Paraskevou and Pezouna were waiting for the priest and he eventually came in and announced to them that Vassilou is a saintly person. They believed that he, too, had been charmed by Vassilou and Paraskevou was angry that, after eating a whole chicken, he couldn't refrain from eating Vassilou's pittes, and expose himself to her magic doings.

The effects of the priest's visit to Vassilou had not as yet worn off. In the next scene, Pezounos and Markoullis were talking in the coffee-shop, when the Mukhtar came in, to announce to them that Vassilou had a collaborator, who was taking flour and oil to her. They looked around the coffee shop and because Yiannis was not there, the Mukhtar said it was Yiannis. Then their attention was turned to Nekatostras and they decided it was Nekatostras. The Mukhtar ordered Pezounos to take his father-in-law home and tie him up, so he wouldn't go away to Vassilou's again. In the meantime, in the scene, which followed, Yiannis was spying on Vassilou's house, where Zinonis was receiving more catechism and more... pittes from the old woman.

Back in the coffee-shop, Yiannis arrived, while they were in the process of violently leading away Nekatostras and told them that it was Zinonis who was the collaborator of Vassilou and who took flour
and oil to her, to make the pies. He saw him at the witch's place, with his own eyes. They let go of Nekatostras and rushed off to the house of Zinonis.

In the final scene, they were all around Zinonis, pressuring him to answer why he had been collaborating with Vassilou and chastising him about his connection to the old woman. He confessed very innocently that yes, he had been taking flour, oil and honey to her for her pittes. When they struck him on the cheek, he turned his other cheek to them, like Christ said we should do - according to Vassilou's catechism. Upon which the episode ended, by their considering him, not only under Vassilou's spell, but as completely stupefied by her.

V.6.4.a: Critical Discourse Analysis: Production/Consumption

The production was simple in structure, with brief, dense and almost abrupt cuts in the change of scenes, with a kind of suspense note ending each scene as it led on to the next, so as to make the unfoldment of the plot interesting. As Paraskevou and her husband, for example, sent off the priest to Vassilou's, the latter closed the scene by saying, "all right, I am going". The next cut took the viewer direct to Vassilou, reading from her open Bible, "And there will be signs on the sun, the moon and the stars"... and the priest suddenly popped the cross before her eyes to startle and confuse her. Some of the shootings were done at night - in the houses of the Mukhtar and of Markoullis - while they slept, and in the house of Vassilou, when the Mukhtar and Markoullis decided to go and talk to her. This perhaps added, semiotically, through contrasting the lighting, a tone of mystery to the episode, which revolved around the "magic", "satanic" activities of Vassilou. Other nocturnal scenes included the spying of the mukhtar on Vassilou through the trees, and again their attempt, together with Markoullis to confront her, was made at night. The visits of the priest and the policeman to Vassilou's place, also took place at night. Perhaps this was a conscious attempt on the part of the producer to juxtapose the events at Vassilou's or events connected with her, under the dark cover of night, as opposed to the remaining scenes shot in the daytime, in order to suggest the "dark doings" of the old woman (according to the villagers). It was also true that when Vassilou was shown - either through the eyes of the villagers spying on her - or straightforward, in the presence of the policeman, the priest or Zinonis, there was always an air of strange mystery about her. This was created semiotically by the huge steaming kettle, her long white hair and her long, traditional black clothes, the austere poverty of the room with a loom-woven bedspread, the overall simplicity conferring to a discourse order of bizarre mystery and farcical intrigue. This strangeness and the role of Vassilou as a bothersome intruder, were emphasized by the fact that the scenes depicting her, were
essentially much briefer and more transient than the rest, acting almost like promos or spots in the more analytical narratives depicting the villagers. The episode moved in a type of mystical, paradigmatic atmosphere, where the objects at Vassilou's took on the metonymic character of a mythical reality, with mysterious doings and magical operations. The simulacrum of a whole village—a traditional mythical community—being implicated in this plot does not work very well in the shootings, since the viewer only sees three couples and Yiannis, Zinonis and Nekatostras, taking part with the priest and the policeman being representatives of the official religious and civic establishment. The men in the coffee shop, when asked for their opinion, essentially shrug their shoulders, not caring very much about what is to be done. This is, perhaps, an indication, by the director of the programme, that really the gossips are few and the rest of the villagers, do not care and do not participate in what is going on. Furthermore the fact that the leader of this whole charade is the Mukhtár himself, who is supposed to be the leader of the village, is also further proof that the whole piece is a satire of rural norms and community practices, almost a situation comedy with rural stylistics:

“The situation comedies” Bignell (1997:155) remarks “exaggerate characters’ social codes of behaviour so that they become excessive, inappropriate and therefore comic”. The ideological dialectics between the group and the individual—the villagers and the “Other”, (Vassilou)—or the dominant/oppositional discourses, are emphasized through the constant shifting of the visual focus, in search of a meaning, in this exaggerated and unnatural constant interaction of lifestyles and mentalities. It is a satire which leads to no conclusions at all, no moral lessons, as it really ends, with the villagers chastising Zenonis for subscribing to Vassilou's lifestyle and activities—according to them “witchcraft”. But it also ends, without the villagers realising or accepting that they have been wrong in their assumptions about Vassilou, in spite of three other people telling them so. The disjuncture in the construction of meanings, failing to arrive at any kind of functional conclusions, creates a rather postmodern, fragmented climate of communication.

V.6.4.b: Representations, Identities, and Relationships

Vassilou, the main character of the story is an interesting case of an (apparently) controversial personality. She turned to Bible reading and praying, boiling water on an open fire to keep warm and limiting herself to the company of her cat, or of Zenonis, another
marginal personality like herself. Of course this is not very usual: an old woman who is literate enough to read and understand the Bible and to teach Christ's proverbs to others (Zinonis) in a traditional Cyprus village marked by so much superstition, was a bizarre presence, almost mythical. So a climate of mystery developed around her, which was intensified actually by what Markoullis said at the beginning of the episode. The monastery and Vassilou's reading of the bible did carry a connecting link, but these were only clues and nothing was essentially verified or established about this connection. Also, the fact that she visited the cemetery, where her parents were buried, showed she was no stranger to the village. Essentially the outlandish presence of Vassilou was a test of integrity for the villagers, and of their ability to transact social relationships with their environment. The majority of the villagers presented in this humorous episode of "Stories from the village" were represented as ignorant, superstitious gossips, without intelligence or integrity, totally scared of facing the facts in the face. The Mukhtar, was actually a satirical version of what the typical village mukhtar — a leader — should be like. He lacked seriousness and authority and reacted in a very silly fashion, the way completely illiterate people would act, even in a Cyprus village, today. Markoullis and Yiannis were depicted along the same characteristic lines: they were, all three, the characters who set the tone of this funny story of witch-hunting that blended old times of superstition and fear with a humorous, even comic approach to someone they considered to be the village witch - a formerly conventional institution in a Cyprus village - as Nekatostras said.7

The episode did not try to revive this institution of village witchcraft. It treated the subject in a light vein, by showing how some people, not only ignorantly continue to believe in witchcraft, but also twist facts around – as in Vassilou’s case. This indicated in a way, their xenophobia, social isolation and narrow-mindedness, as well as fear of the unknown “Other”. It was the different “Other” suspected and pursued by the homologous, allied establishment: they feared and suspected Vassilou, they rejected Zinonis, they disapproved of the Policeman and the Priest.

Their wives - Paraskevou and Maritsa, together with Pezouna, wife of Pezounos, the coffee-shop owner, were equally bad: They were typical village gossips going around, spreading false and ill-willed information, to defame Vassilou and keep up the interest of

7 It is widely known even today that the (female) witch of Kythrea, the (male) witch of Paphos, or the (female) witch of Lapithos, were all famed for their metaphysical faculties, back in the 40's and 50's. People went to them to have their fortune told, to have the evil eye cast out, their fear taken out, etc.
the village in her witchcraft. For them, not having much else to talk about, this was the hot
topic of the day, around which their social relations and social interactions focused.

Pezounos, the coffee-shop owner - cool and professional - created the traditional
identity of the wise coffee-shop owner, the man of the world, who saw and knew a lot but
wisely held his tongue. He was not ready and quick to subscribe to any story they came up
with - that Vassilou had cast a spell on the donkey of Trahanas, killing him, that Nekatostras,
his father-in-law, was Vassilou's collaborator - and other rumours. He heard everybody but
was slow to believe and did not act on the other characters' beliefs and attitudes.

Nekatostras was the typical old villager, hard-of-hearing, spending most of his hours
in the village coffee shop, still in his mind living in older times and plugging in his own
comments when he caught on to what was happening around him. He would definitely not
like to be left out, as this was a story where the common bonds and interests gave the
villagers' relationships a meaningful feeling of community cohesion.

Zenonis, the young villager who was befriended by Vassilou, was on the innocent
side. He was represented as somebody uncouth and illiterate, not knowing about the Bible
and about Christian teachings, but good-willed and sly enough to take advantage of both the
teachings and of Vassilou's pittes. He was innocent enough to adopt Christ's teachings
literally, and that was why he turned his other cheek to his co-villagers, when they accused
him of complicity in black magic. He was essentially marginal, or as marginal to the village
community, as Vassilou was. They were both outsiders, the cultural "Others" and this was
how the village community regarded and treated them.

The policeman was typically representative of village policemen: usually not the
brightest or most active members of the police force were posted in the countryside. He was
easy-going, good-willed and forgetful. He liked being treated by the villagers - he relished
the syruped fruit served to him by Paraskevou and he enjoyed the zivania, served to him by
Vassilou. This again, was the typical personality of a rural policeman who felt his ego
flattered when others treated him and gladly accepted, or even asked for these treats and favours.8

The priest was another such - religious - personality. The clergy here, were
represented as people who love good food, no matter whether they were fasting or not. "He
who travels or is ill, commits no sin through consumption of food", is a common

8 In traditional Cyprus - especially the rural areas, the priest, the policeman, the teacher, the mukhtar, all the
public figures in the village, were always well-treated and given gifts by the villagers who wanted to oblige the
representatives of the establishment.
rationalization for abstaining from fasting, among clergymen. The mukhtar told this to his wife, ordering her to cook a chicken for the priest. Of course, the mukhtar was also indirectly bribing the priest, to obtain support for his views about Vassilou and so help the village get rid of her. The priest, however, like the policeman was good-willed enough, objective and fair enough to assess Vassilou correctly — i.e. as a saintly person, not a witch. Both the policeman and the priest were, apart from Zenonis, the only two characters who stood up to the almost (paranoid) moral panics of the villagers. They represented two solid institutions — the religious and the civic, which are both depicted in the policeman and the priest, (both progressive and open-minded individuals), thus supporting the hegemony of state and church, over the people (laos). Of course, the villagers, who continued their hilarious witch-hunting, looking for collaborators, did not accept the conclusions of priest and policeman. This was natural in small communities or closed societies which preoccupy themselves with other peoples' lives, and seek scapegoats in order to rationalise their own existence, lifestyle and attitudes: they will, in this pursuit, chase those who are different and distinct from the group - people like Zenonis and Vassilou. This becomes their source of entertainment, or self-verification, or, perhaps, even their particular escape from a dull, monotonous and unexciting routine.

The type of relationships these characters have among them, were also quite simple, in fact:

The three couples seemed to have a common mentality: they closely monitored what was going on in the village and they wanted to impose their views, by multiplying the lies and distortions into their own fabricated version of reality — a representation within a representation of reality — even after it was disproved by the representatives of the church and of the state, the two most powerful institutions in Cyprus.

Their relationships are shallow and superficial, being limited to the common point of interest in the episode - Vassilou - around whose pivotal personality all relationships in the particular episode revolved. The preferred readings of these characters would set them in a very unpleasant light, making them objects of ridicule, or obstinate backwardness.

The representation of women's identities did not differ much from that of men. In a really traditional representation of village life, it was women who would be represented as superstitious gossips, occupying themselves with village events and activities. Men are usually shown to be more cool, objective and rational, pre-occupied with their work and their fields. In this episode, however, men and women were depicted as equally bad. The
men here were even worse: the mukhtar, a real caricature, while Markoullis was terrorized to the point of mental disturbance.

The policeman and the priest maintained professional relationships with the villagers and compared to them, really came off with high marks, as to truth and integrity. Zenonis, something of the village idiot, was actually removed from the wiles and intricacies of the villagers' thoughts and acts and had as marginal an identity as Vassilou did, in the cultural context of the community. The identities presented, were well-scripted and conventional and so were their relationships, except for Vassilou, who, in spite of the fact that she was undeniably not a witch, still presented dark spots and contradictions in her fortunes, her identity and behaviour. Of course this generally made the whole episode, much more intriguing and that probably was the dominant (production) set of meanings. This shifting of meanings and identities and the relations between characters is one of the basic elements of comedy. The audience is called on to identify and disidentify with comedy situations continually and this programme was no exception. So audience readings would be interesting to configure:

"The audience must identify with itself in the role of audience for the programme. Comedy relies on this shifting of the viewer's subject-position, and a rhythm of identification and disavowal of identification." (Bignell, 1997:155)

V.6.4.c: Discourse Analysis and Socio-Cultural Analysis

A multi-level discourse was conducted in the episode. This was realized with the use of not just different vocabularies – that of the villagers, Vassilou's, the Policeman's and the priest's – but also with the aid of visuals, as in Vassilou's place, or the priest's visit, thus creating different discourses - village life, witchcraft, exorcism, etc.: on one hand, the villagers' discourse around Vassilou and her witchcraft - the common topic, close to their hearts. Their collective thought and expression is never expressed verbally to Vassilou, but it is shown visually in the scenes which depict them spying on her. Vassilou's response, consists of her total absorption in her Bible readings as well as her domestic pre-occupations - her cat and her "pittes".

On the other hand, the villagers talk with, or about the priest and the policeman are conducted on another discourse level: they exhibited willingness to use the instruments of
religion and the government authorities, but they are not willing to accept or be convinced by their conclusions.

Discourse revolving around Zenonis is as bad: they chastised him, even though he incarnates the parables of Christ about tolerance, indicating that this is obviously a very closed community. The closure of the villagers will not accept any intrusion on their backward, prejudiced views, which they share in all the phases of their village life.

The dialogues of Vassilou with the policeman, the priest and Zenonis, are different. She calmly convinces the first two immediately, of her innocence, as she presents them with the Bible. The Bible here is a symbol of truth and sanctity. She is sociable and hospitable and treats them to zivania and pittes. This discourse level, overthrows for the audience, the image of Vassilou, created throughout the episode by the suspecting villagers, the audience being thus called upon to disidentify and identify continually throughout with the different mythical realities represented in the programme. So does her knowledge of Christ's parables and their interpretation. She explains two such "teachings of the Lord" to Zenonis: "He who has two robes, should give one to his brother" and "if your brother strikes you once, turn the other cheek to him, also."

Zenonis is uneducated and poor. When she tells him, "let's sit and talk about the parables of the Lord", he replies, "Which lord?" He is also naively cunning, however, as he will retort to her parable about the robes, by helping himself to another pie, with the comment: "He who has two pies, should give one to his brother".

However in the end scene, when the villagers strike him on the cheek, he shows he has actually assimilated the parables, as he will turn his other cheek for the villagers to strike.

Another level of discourse revolves around the individual and the group, on two levels: On one hand, it is the villagers with the policeman, the priest and Zenonis, and on the other it is the villagers with Vassilou: dialogues here are impregnated, with the prejudice and inflexibility of the villagers (as a community group) towards the different or (differing) individual.

In a way, it is the clash between the social institution of the village and the independent entity. The clash between "them" and the "other" (social norms and self-identity) - or the right to be different.

The signs, or symbols used in the visual language of the programme are all integrated into a common code, which actually describes a community that is backward and superstitious. In the night scene taking place in the house of Markoullis, a pan of the camera
revealed a long string of garlic hanging on the wall, which acts both as a village house characteristic, but also as a metonymy: people in rural Cyprus not only hang garlic as part of their household order, but sometimes also to stop the evil eye from affecting the residents of the house. And the wife of Markoullis would be superstitious enough to want to do this, as she also wanted to "cast the fear out of him".

All the other symbols, the cross, the incense-burner, the candles, the steam from the boiling, rusty cauldron, the white long hair of Vassilou, are also used as visual symbols to create the mythology necessary for the witchcraft, of which the poor old woman is accused and to formulate her ideology of religious (or metaphysical) pre-occupations, versus the prosaic realities of the villagers.

The text used is the original Cyprus dialect with words that one comes across only in rural areas, removed from the cities. "Pitharkou" - day after tomorrow, "paourkes" - criés - and other expressions, are quite "heavy" Cyprus dialect, one would never find among educated people. The only Panhellenic Greek heard in the programme, are the excerpts from the Bible, which Vassilou reads aloud. These excerpts in the "legitimate" language are not really ever completed, adding their own note to the postmodern disjuncture, disunity and lack of coherence that are part of the programme. Her voice just trails off in poetic mood, the words and the messages - Bible excerpts - being used to underline her own mythical identity. This single example of this Demotic language is again an indication that Vassilou is a more educated person than the villagers, whose everyday dialogue is always dominated by the very heavy type of Cyprus dialect. In another sense, the discontinued phrases in the Greek demotic, could be considered as a language and cultural constraint on the old woman, an outsider to the villagers and their dialect. So power discourses in the language cultures are again present in this Cyprus production (as in Kafenion), pointing to the comment in Ch. 1 (21) about the complementarity - or the possible competition between the two languages. The correct or distinguished language and the vulgar, dominated one.

A final discourse contrasts the expressions of hatred and ill-will on behalf of the villagers and the goodwill and love exhibited by Vassilou. She actually begins to symbolically read, in one of the scenes, excerpts from Corinthians Chapter 13, about love. It is not completed - the constraint on the discourse represented by the demotic again intervenes. Her words are merely treated as hints that reflect on "them" who are prying on her, ready to attack her. Only in her two meetings with Zenonis (speaking the heavy Greek-Cypriot dialect), does she finally complete her quotations from the Bible and then renders the parables of Christ in the Cyprus dialect, thus achieving a final integration of the cultural
elements in the two languages, both represented by two social outcasts – Zenonis, using the Dialect and herself, using the Demotic.

V.6.5: Readings by the Sample

The statistically significant data connected with this particular programme were the following:

♦ Those who view the series always seem to help people who are old, or sick or disabled, always.

♦ There is both a dependency and a negative correlation between the variable of programme viewing and the variable of whether the sample believe that **pre-marital sex is appropriate for men**:
  - 47.9% - of those who always view it, responded negatively to pre-marital sex for men.
  - In the case of the question about **pre-marital sex being appropriate for women** - 37.0% - of those who saw the programme always, answered in the affirmative.

It is worth investigating, therefore, whether the programme undermined traditional (patriarchal) socio-cultural values among the sample. In other words did men’s dynamism come through, mitigated and that of women augmented? Gender, social and geographical differences were also interesting to investigate.

♦ Percentages of popularity rendered by the Statistical Field Survey (139) gave an indication that the programme was not only popular in rural areas, but also in urban, as 12.4% viewed it in the Nicosia urban, with only 4.4% viewing in the Nicosia rural areas. The same pattern repeated itself in the Paphos district – with 22.5% in the urban area, and 18.2% in the rural. So it would be interesting to find out how the sample – urban and rural actually interpreted or reacted to the programme.

♦ It was, again good to investigate how they felt about the villagers' views and behaviour in the episodes - more especially in this one: would those who happened to have seen it agree with the dominant readings as discussed in the sections above, or would they attach any other interpretation to it and negotiate or even resist the messages coming through? Would they subscribe to the villagers' belief in witchcraft? Would they support the behaviour of the villagers towards the “Otherness” of Vassilou and Zenonis? Would they
accept the preferred reading of the Establishment representatives — policeman and priest — coming through as firm and just instruments of authority?

♦ How would they comment on the discourses of power between the Demotic and the Dialect?

V.6.6: Epilogue

In the light of the cultural premises initially established in the present study, the findings through the statistical survey and the textual analysis were further developed and enriched by the analysis of the interviews and discussions. This was, besides, the crucial stage in which the readings of the programmes and character clusters by the sample, could lead the study beyond numbers and statistics, and provide new dimensions to character representations and possible identification of the sample with them. Furthermore, the assessment of the modality of the programmes by the sample, could render a more complete picture of how they relate to television, in the process of their cultural identity formation.

Further confirmation of the theoretical spectrum as discussed in Chapter 2 on Literature Review was also procured in this chapter. This reinforced the Statistical findings and adding further objective dimensions (derived from the programme contents) to the goals and aims of the Study, as to the national/cultural identity of the sample - ethnicity and lifestyle - in relation to television, in a global/local nexus. Some of the theoretical concepts discussed in Ch.2 (34-74) and therefore confirmed in this chapter were the following:

♦ The complexities in language issues, language being a “locus for the struggle of power” were traced and pointed out in programmes like *The Coffee-shop* and *Stories of the Village*, where the Demotic and the Dialect were juxtaposed. English, the Demotic and the Dialect were all present in this “social distribution of power”, as discussed in Chapter 2 on Literature Review and as indicated by the Statistical preferences of the programmes in the Statistical Survey.

♦ Micro-level discourses were identified in almost all the programmes, as to the programmes’ individual plots, character zones and character relationships, and their counterpart macro-level social realities, whether in a global nexus (*Beverly Hills*) or the national/ethnic/local (Greek and Cyprus nexus in the Greek and Cyprus programmes).
This was the stepping stone for further discussing these levels with the sample in the Interviews/discussions in the meta-communication stage which followed.

- Character zones, both as to gender (men and women in *Istories*) and as to general clusters (the police vs. Stathis and family, or Stathis vs. the Mafia) were established in almost all the series, in encounters, that could be discussed, to investigate possible identifications or para-social relationships of the sample with the characters of these programmes. This was again, a further complementary dimension to the correlations established in the Field Survey between viewership of *Beverly Hills* and equality attitudes to gender relations correlations of inequality attitudes resulting from the viewership of *Kalimera Zoi* (Ch.4:135).

- The theoretical concept of “Otherness” was also a theme established in the Programme Analysis, as it run through almost all the programmes analysed, whether in “Beverly Hills”, with the black “Others”, or in *Stories of the Village*, with Vassilou, as the unwanted, suspected, or even alien presence in the village. The “Otherness” of the global youth models in *Beverly Hills* is also a further dimension in the complexity of the theoretical approaches existing around the global/local dialectics.

- The order of discourse in the news bulletin of ANT.1, with its “voices of dissent”, together with its sole attribution of news to its own reporters and correspondents, supported its powerful (objective) image and further enhanced the strong representations of Establishment figures. This authoritative, popular status of the channel was further accentuated by the (regular) news item from Greece, which completes the picture of close collaboration with Greek ANT.1 (most of the channel’s productions come from Greece). Another example of discourse contributing to the “social distribution of power,” as ANT.1 has been leading the charts, ever since its establishment in 1995, as already indicated in the Statistical Field Survey. (146)

- The absence of Turkish-Cypriots from all programmes, including the News Bulletin, was conducive to the ignorance of this “Other” community, its presence being televisually ignored in the construction of the national or cultural identity of the sample. (Chs. 1: 10 &21 & 2: 62)
Finally the cultural climate of the local (and Greek) programmes analysed, versus that of
the English-language programmes, is a definite expression of localism, versus
globalisation, in the theoretical discussion about global/local dialectics, as the
fragmentation of postmodernity, Ch.2 (41-42) cultivates particularism and indigenous
roots, versus universalism.

The presentation of the socio-historical issues in Cyprus (Ch.1:13-18) preceding the
Statistical Survey (Ch.4:117-153) and the Programme Analysis (Ch.5:154-227) had to be
taken into account in the analysis of the sample’s responses, as meanings from texts can
never be divorced from their social context. Rommetweit (cited in Livingstone 1998:43)
summarizes the argument very succinctly:

"...vagueness, ambiguity and incompleteness - and hence also: versatility, flexibility and
negotiability - are inherent and essential characteristics of any natural language. The
consequences of the attempt to avoid such multiple and negotiable nature of meanings is that the
stimuli or texts studied are divorced from their social context, the very context from which they
gain their meaning and become worthy of study."

The programme analysis presented in this chapter, has provided the detailed indications
that the meanings of television programme contents can never be reduced to a mere list of
features or characteristics, but each one possesses its own characteristics deriving from
generic conventions, plot structure, character zones and socio-historical background.
Television programme contents are not, therefore static texts, but dynamic and polysemic as
to interpretation, depending on the reader and his/her personal intellectual equipment and
circumstances. A basic dominant description of the five programmes chosen by the author
was offered in this chapter, rendering many insights into production and consumption, as well
as discourse processes, this description preparing the ground, but not exhausting possible
readings.

The role of the reader in reception analysis is a much-discussed issue. Does the reader, as
Livingstone says, mainly “fill in the gaps of the text”, or does s/he “contribute to the frames
which structure the emergent meanings?” (1998:43) If this is the case, the means whereby the
reader contributes towards establishing the meanings of the text – as well as what the reader
himself brings to the text - were key questions addressed in the analysis of the interviews and
discussions, in the present study.

Morley and Robins (1995:135) maintain that:

“Everything seen on the screen says something about ourselves. It challenges us to respond, to
relate what we see to what we are. It compels us to validate our own identity.”
Thomas (1997:4&5, in Ch.2:36) further proposes that:

“In our media-saturated environment, the mass media are a primary source for meanings, understandings and interpretations on a host of issues, including those related to the question of national identity.”

What connection do the programmes analyzed above have to the cultural identity of the study’s sample in its initially defined components – i.e. ethnicity and lifestyle?

What kind of connections do they make to gender relationships – as expounded in the local and imported programmes, their priority issues in the Field Survey – and those represented in the Headline stories of the News Bulletin - ethnic issues that relate to Turkish-Cypriots - in the occupied areas, those “Others”, almost completely absent from the reviewed programmes, apart from the item with the Khurds?

What conceptions of socio-cultural and national “otherness” does the sample have, in the light of programmes like Istories/Kafenion (Cyprus “Others”) and “Beverly Hills” (American “Others”) and what concepts of Cyprus social realities versus traditional heritage institutions do they have – stemming from Kafenion?” Young people, still going through the process of building their memory banks do have to rely heavily for these memory banks on television: “Film and television media play a powerful role in the construction of collective memories and identities”, according to Morley and Robins, again. (Ibid:91) What are the components of these memories, as regards the features of cultural identity, that concern us here and how variable can they be in the light of the textual openness and polysemy discussed earlier in the present study? (Ch. 2: 50)

Textual openness can be taken for granted and is to be expected in the responses of the interviewees as they can relate to television contents, from different cultural forums, from multiple perspectives and boundaries. (Newcomb and Hirsch cited in Livingstone, 1998:82-83). The local-global tensions in the two geographical areas chosen, in the context of Cyprus national and political realities and in connection to the individual inclinations of the respondents, constitute the precincts to be explored in the last qualitative phase of the interviews and group discussions. But on the other hand, it must not be forgotten that the preferred or dominant readings as analyzed in the programmes reviewed above, can also be a testing ground, or a starting point for the respondents’ interaction with television, inspite of the openness and polysemic nature of televisual texts.
CHAPTER SIX

INTERPRETATIONS OF INTERVIEWS AND GROUP DISCUSSIONS

VI.1: Introduction

The qualitative part of the present dissertation comprised, as already analyzed in Chapter three on Methodology, a series of 23 interviews and two group discussions. The investigation at the reception side of the television-audience discourse, was considered a crucial part of the research, a stage which could procure “explanatory value” (Jensen, 1987:22, in Ch.2:81) to the quantitative research and the television programme analysis.

The present chapter first gives the Agenda for the Interviews and Discussions, subsequently discussing the Themes arising from the Field Survey and the Programme Analysis. The sections discussing the Interpretations of the Interviews and Discussions, are then grouped in correspondence with the respective sections adopted in the Field Survey, thus securing more coherence and consistency between the different stages of the Research, through the Cross-fertilization of the different approaches.

Twenty-three interviews were conducted altogether, in the Nicosia and Unoccupied Famagusta District. The interviews are grouped separately, in order to underline the different dimensions established in the Unoccupied Famagusta area.

The adoption of Lindlof’s (1995:51) precept that “a family television viewing is just as vital a site of meaning production if not more than any high-culture venue” (Ch. 2:82) was a substantial factor for the conclusion of the present project. So the observations and insights provided by the answers to the structured questionnaire in combination with the discourse analysis of the programmes preferred by this sample, had to be put to the test of the sample’s own interpretation. This, through the direct reports of the sample (in the absence of direct observation on the viewing site), would help in the unriddling or explanation of the

The interviews as proposed by Fiske (1995:16) and as already explained (Ch.3: 112) involved three foci:

1. the formal qualities of television programmes and their flow
2. the intertextual relations within television programmes themselves and the relations of television with other media and with everyday conversation
3. the study of “socially situated readers and the process of reading”.

It was with these intentions in mind that the agenda of themes to be discussed in the interviews was organized, in order to investigate the process of the production of meaning in the different socio-cultural contexts of the respondents.

VI.2.a: The Agenda of Themes for the Interviews and Discussions - Introduction

To achieve coherence and consistency in the overall paradigm, in spite of the mixed research traditions from which it drew – quantitative and qualitative – the agenda had to point back to the results of both the quantitative field research (Chapter 4) and to the conclusions of the Programme analysis (Chapter 5). These results were placed in the context of the three foci mentioned above, thus forming the new map for responses and interpretations. Unlike the structured questionnaire, however, used in the Field Survey, there now had to be a flowing guide of conversation, giving the author enough flexibility for readjustments to the order of the contents and the wording of the questions, in the light of the sample’s responsiveness and communicative abilities, as well as their degree of involvement during the interview. A combination therefore of pre-planned with ad-lib questions (Ch.3:112) was used to cross-fertilize the different stages of the Research. Pre-planned questions had to take into consideration the themes and issues explored in the Statistical Field Survey and the problematics arising from the textual and discourse analysis effected in the Programme Analysis. But of course, depending on the interviewee’s responses which could vary with age, level of intelligence, socio-cultural background and conversational dynamics, unprepared, ad-lib questions had to be used in order to maximize the usefulness and also to maintain the flow of the conversation.
To refresh the memory of the reader, it is appropriate to point back, first to the aims of
the Study and then to the main themes explored and the subsequent issues emerging from
both the Field Survey and the Programme Analysis:

The main aims of the Study, as defined in Chapter One, were as follows:

♦ To investigate the cultural/national identities of 13-18 year-old Greek-Cypriots in
Cyprus, in relation to globalising tendencies, as mediated by television. In
particular:

   To identify and explore:

1. socio-cultural themes and themes associated with
   national/political issues, e.g. representations of sex, women, violence
   and drugs, as well as politics and problems of nationhood and ethnicity
   as manifested in locally-produced and imported television programmes
   (from USA, UK, Greece).

2. attitudes and beliefs of the sample on the above socio-cultural
   themes and on national/political problems and issues - the Cyprus
   problem, relations with Turkish-Cypriots and language issues.

3. To identify and analyse responses and television readings of
   interviewed teenagers to TV program contents, especially in
   relationship to the themes specified in 1, above.

The background context of the Study was also summarised very effectively in Chapter
2 (79) in the following paragraph:

"The study of the cultural identity of young Cypriots is essentially a very complex and
challenging topic, involving as it does, a number of very intriguing factors – some indigenous
and some global in nature: Its pluralistic media model, its place-bound identity, its
indigenous political problems, its struggling, threatened ethnicity, its binary communal
realities involving the Turkish Cypriot “Others” - but also the connection of the
“periphery” and the “core” of Western, or globalized culture (with another set of “Others”),
together with the global-local dialectics entering media discourse, are related to identity
issues today."

VI.2.b: Issues Arising from the Field Survey and the Programme Analysis

♦ The high frequency of viewing television and the medium’s top position in popularity,
   versus sources of “high” culture like the theatre and literary reading or other forms of
mass culture, listening to the radio and cinema-going - like church-going, came through indisputably, just as it had in the 1995 Research study conducted by the author. The preferred programmes, however, indicated that there was a definite turn from English-language — i.e. international or global programmes — to Greek and Cyprus productions. This, of course was directly related to the main aims of the Study, about global-local dialectics and identity, as television, according to Kellner (1995:5) “provides materials out of which we forge our very identities.”

• The leading programme in the Top Ten Chart of the Survey was ANT.1 News at 8.30. The leading channel in general preferences, as well as fictional programmes, again was ANT.1. The analysis of the leading items in one ANT.1 bulletin, in Ch.5:156-172) depicted a channel that strongly constructed its image of objectivity through a systematic depiction of dissenting voices and very efficiently used attribution sources mostly of the channel itself, to reinforce its authority and status among viewers, as pointed out in Ch.5 (161-2):

“Thus, the Channel’s hegemonic claim to objectivity and comprehensiveness, according to Allan (in Allan & Garrett, 1998:121) is effected by ‘absorbing and domesticating conflicting values’, ‘awkward facts’, ‘or even, under more exceptional circumstances, voices of dissent.’”

Furthermore inspite of the apparent objectivity and spherical representation of different layers of the population, the Establishment held the lead in most of the items of the Bulletin, while the discourse order of the News, as discussed in Ch. 5 (161) definitely placed the viewer in a “subordinate position” (Fiske & Hartley, 1978:106).
Could this be a confirmation of a previous Research quoted in Ch. 1(27), according to which young people “seem to be easily integrated in society with a tendency towards the support of the establishment”? In other words, how much would the Interview and Discussion participants respond positively to dominant meanings in the production, or provide, instead, negotiated or resistant responses to either the News Bulletin, or the remaining programmes analysed?

• The only English-language programme in the top ten list of the Survey respondents, was Beverly Hills, the other nine programmes, being the 8.30 News from private Channel ANT.1, as well as Greek and Cyprus fictional programmes.
This automatically established the ground for the pursuit of more exploration in language issues, as the Survey results automatically established a triple direction in the use of language: English, the Greek Demotic and the Cyprus Dialect. Language in Cyprus was discussed at the very beginning of the present Study (Ch.1: 21-2), as, in 1995, research ratings by Lydia Sciriha (1996:86) indicated “that the Greek Cypriot dialect should not be used in Television as a language medium.” A year later, the present study established that English-language programmes were displaced in popularity by productions, not only from Greece, in the Demotic, but also by Cyprus, dialect productions.

- A closer look through Textual and Discourse Analysis in Chapter 5, revealed that the use of language — English, Demotic or Dialect — presented other levels of contrast or competition: In the Cypriot productions, a combination of the Demotic and the Dialect was used, through an encounter of the programme characters, that could, at times, be defined by competition, not just complementarity, as indicated by Sciriha's research (1996:104-5).

- It was also established through correlations in Chapter Four, that matters of gender equality were related to the programmes viewed — i.e. more frequent viewers of Beverly Hills believed in more equality of women in gender issues, than more frequent viewers of Kalimera Zoi. (Ch.4:135) A follow-up of this in the textual and discourse analysis rendered results that coincided with these correlations, as socio-cultural realities in Beverly Hills through the gender relations projected, did more justice to equality of girls with boys, than the treatment of the genders in the Greek production Kalimera Zoi, where women were presented in a less dynamic light than men.

- It also transpired, from the Field Survey that there was a stronger inclination on the part of the respondents to attribute more violent contents to English-language than to Greek-language programmes, (Ch.4:135). Beverly Hills, the only English-language programme in their top-ten list, had no violence, or only indirect hints of violence that could not disturb the placebo nature of its youthful soap opera character (Ch.5: 207). But in Kalimera Zoi – a Greek production - there was violence and it would be interesting to find out in the Interviews and Discussions, how the respondents would confirm, or reverse the conclusion of the Field Survey.
• No significant findings transpired, either from the Field Survey, or from the Programme Analysis, about drug issues. In the Survey the majority did not believe that television projected drugs attractively for young people and no drug problems were present in any of the analyzed top programmes. But of course, the relationship of drugs on television to the respondents’ readings, could be explored, in relationship to other programmes they viewed on television, apart from the ones analysed.

• In the area of ideological issues, the respondents to the Field Survey displayed a highly patriotic sense of priorities, with material concerns appearing last on their list (Ch.4: 129), a result which had to be connected with the style of contents shown in the Programmes subsequently analysed. The lifestyle of the characters as projected in Beverly Hills indicated a carefree and self-centered society, that was taken up in its own personal problems, while the motto of help was introduced as a counter-proposal by the producers of the programme, to counter-balance the fun-loving, fun-pursuing nature of the student Istories tou Horiou were unrelated to modern realities and to the life of the Study’s sample, as the programmes were samples of tradition encapsuled in television simulacra the popularity of which could be further confirmation of Harvey’s (1997:303) proposition that:

“The irony is that tradition is now often preserved by being commodified and marketed as such. The search for roots ends up at worst being produced and marketed as an image, as a simulacrum or pastiche (imitation communities constructed to evoke images of some folksy past, the fabric of traditional working-class communities being taken over by an urban gentry.)” (Ch.2:60-61)

Both Kafenion and Istories popular in the Field Survey, proved to be so, both in the rural and the urban areas – imitation communities appealing to an “imagined community” that essentially embraced the entire range of the Cyprus sample. On the other hand, Kalimera Zoi, the Greek production that was highly popular in the top ten chart of the Survey, proposed a lifestyle of conflict between integrity and corruption, in a climate of uncertainty, suspicion and social crime. How would these depicted lifestyles tie up during the Interviews and Discussions with the Respondents, caught between global lifestyles, local representations of tradition, and imported lifestyles from Greece?

• National/ethnic issues about language, the flag and attitudes towards the Turks and Turkish-Cypriots were a further area for exploration in the Interviews: The Field
Survey rendered high percentages opting for the Cyprus University being “strictly Greek” and for the avoidance of English in official documents, thus indicating a strong trend towards protecting the culture and meta-colonial sovereignty, safeguarded by the Greek language in several writings, as mentioned earlier in the Study (Ch.3:101):

“We demand, as Greek citizens of this country that all those who govern us, should protect the Greek language from the establishment of British colonialism and impose immediately its use in public service. This is, for Cyprus Hellenism, a matter of national dignity, national self-respect and credibility.” (Minas:1996)

The strong preference of Greek and Dialect programmes, therefore, had to be pursued further, in the last Qualitative part of the Research.

- The Turks or Turkish-Cypriots - apart from Denktash - were present only referentially in the News Bulletin analyzed, and the Field Survey had rendered thin percentages as to trust in future co-habitation with the Turkish-Cypriots (only 20% believed in this development certainly.) So there was a good opportunity to explore the relationship of the absence of these neighbouring “Others” from television with the political concepts of the Sample. The flag, as a symbol of national identity was completely absent from the analysed programmes, but again in the Field Survey, the greatest percentage (44.6%) preferred the use of the Greek and Cyprus flags together and an almost equal number (43.0%), preferred the Cyprus flag, as characteristic of the Republic. These were closely connected with the self-stated identity of the Sample – 48.3% stated that they perceived themselves as Greek-Cypriots. The Interviews and Discussions should probe therefore, the respondents’ position as to their self-stated identity, in connection to factors and symbols of ethnicity and nationalism, like language, the flag and “disidentification”, or “counter-identification” with Turkish-Cypriots an issue presented earlier by the author in the following words(Ch.2:67):

“The very hyphenation in the ethnicity and nationhood of Greek-Cypriots (and the corresponding one among Turkish-Cypriots) is another interesting and diaphanous phenomenon of the two communities’ struggle to disidentify (Connor, 1996:268) with either a British colonial culture or (possibly) with the nation-state of Cyprus, not being self-described as Cypriots. The hyphenation further seeks to identify the citizens with Greek culture, Greek language and Greek norms (Turkish for the Turkish-Cypriots.) Counter-identification may also be inferred, not as ‘open opposition’ (Ibid), but again as disidentification of Greek-Cypriots with the Turkish-Cypriot community and vice-versa.”
VI.3.a: Interpretations of Interviews: Television Preferences and Readings: ANT.1 and other News Bulletins

News and programmes preferences of the Nicosia sample were shared out among different channels – public and private. So even though, as mentioned in Ch. 2 (65),

"...in public broadcasting the viewer was addressed as a citizen of a nation-state rather than as a consumer of a market that had to be won", Van den Bulck & Van Poecke, 1996:223),

objectivity was ascribed, by the sample, to both public and private channels, indicating, that the latter are managing to persuade as well as win over, the audience. This was an issue discussed in Ch. 5 – i.e. about ANT.1's creation of an image of objectivity through its discourse order which included, among others, "voices of dissent." (Ch.5:160). So some of the comments were as follows:

"I have remarked that channels say things differently from each other. SIGMA and RIK (CyBC) are the most objective". ¹

Other interviewees, however, emphasized the attractiveness of channels like ANT.1, which was proven to be the most popular channel among the sample in the statistical survey of 1997:

"I watch news bulletins frequently, including ANT.1 and RIK. RIK is more objective, ANT.1 is more 'theatrical'...The presenters of ANT.1 are more pleasant, but their news is not so objective."²

The tendency of exaggeration on ANT.1 was clearly made in the chapter on the programme analysis (Ch.5: 160), where phrases like “The doctors were raving with anger on seeing the policewoman handling Chrystalla (Aids patient) with gloves”, were cited. Some of the views were even more detailed about reasons of preference:

"I usually view the news from ANT.1, because I believe it offers more and better contents than other channels. The presenters are different and the contents are more specialized. The presenters approach people better and look more comfortable in what they are doing."³

¹ Thomas Anastassiades, 15, in an interview to author, Nov. 5, 1998
² Mihalis Mihail, 17, in an interview to author, Nov.5, 1998
³ Evi Ioannidou, 16, in an interview to author, Nov. 13, 1998
The reference was a personal assessment of what in Ch. 5 (158) was referred to as Fairclough's (1995:55) "discourse orders" – the "discursive practices of a community" – i.e. the ways of using television language by the channel, in this case.

The response of the interviewees as to the objectivity of the news was again supportive of a research report presented in the introductory chapter entitled "Free Time of Young People in Cyprus" (1997:11) which claimed that young people "seem to be easily integrated in society with a tendency towards the support of the establishment." (Ch.1:27). Again in the programme analysis (Ch.5: 162) it was established that the people seen and heard in the analyzed bulletin, were mostly figures in authority.

Marina Polyviou, extended full support to the entire news presentations of channels in general, thus rendering dominant readings of ANT.1's news:

"I don't think any of the channels can go against the government; when it does something wrong, they simply point out what is wrong, both ANT.1 and all the other channels. I don't think these channels have the guts to go against the government. They simply point this out. I believe that they are mostly objective."4

It should, perhaps be clarified at this point that the use of the terms “dominant, negotiated and oppositional” readings is always used in the context of the initial discussion presented in Ch. 2 (50), wherein dominant value systems, as represented on the production side are either accepted by the viewers of television, or else they procure an accommodated (negotiated) response and, alternatively are radically rejected with oppositional interpretations.

Other responses therefore, described ANT.1 news as "distorted", or "more hostile to 'left-wing' than 'right-wing' parties". (Mihail, Nov.5, 1998) In the programme analysis (Ch.5: 161) it was established that the bulletin had elements of the new style of "infotainment news" – infotainment thus possibly, (and distortingly) detracting from objectivity and adding to the entertainment angle.

Some respondents again, had stated that they viewed ANT.1 news because they (as a family) view the programme which precedes the News - Lampsi and the one which follows - Kalimera Zoi. A reminder of Hall's proposition (Ch.2:55) that:

4 Marina Polyviou, 16, in an interview to author, Nov. 5, 1998
"...there is nothing natural about any kind of communication; messages have to be constructed before they can be sent. And just as the construction of a message is an active, interpretive and social event, so is the moment of its reception."

Parental example was also admitted by Constantinos Germanos 13, 5 who preferred ANT.1, as his father “has always watched ANT.1” and it became a habit with him – a matter of situational viewing also broached in Ch.5:155.

VI.3.b: Television Preferences and Readings: “Kafenion” and “Istories tou Horiou”

Most of the programmes popular among the interviewed sample were Greek or Cyprus productions. Again, *Istories tou horiou, Kafenion, Manolis ke Katina, Kalimera Zoi*, featured strongly in their preferences. “Beverly Hills” was also an object of discussion, eliciting different views. Some new programmes were added to the list of preferences however, both local and imported. These included: *Para Pente* a programme which is a combination of *Cheers* and *Kafenion, Akti Oniron*, a dramatic series on Cyprus realities, which combines the use of Standard Modern Greek with the Cyprus dialect, *X-files* and action programmes like *Nikita*, or serials like *Sunset Beach* and *Baywatch*. It is worth noting that in all Cyprus productions both the Cyprus dialect and Standard Modern Greek are used in different analogies.

The readings and interpretations of the sample offered in the interviews about the different programmes they watched, indicated quite good knowledge and familiarity with these programmes and the characters they depicted. This supported the view which did not necessitate a viewing of the programmes before the interviews. (Ch.3: 115): the readings varied and the interviews recorded all the range of dominant, negotiated or oppositional readings of the very same programmes, the trend being in full support of the concept by Hodge and Tripp (Ch.2: 69) that in interpreting television:

“...children are not solely passive and helpless in this transaction, but active at will, creating and using meanings in their own lives, for their own purposes”.

Here is an attempt to identify the major lines of response to some of the analysed programmes:

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5 In an interview to author, Nov.27, 1998
Most readings of *Kafenion*, ranking second to *ANT.1 News* and *Istories tou horiou*, both of them Cyprus productions in the dialect, were along the preferred lines. That is, the respondents saw both series as the depiction of a traditional Cyprus village in rather recent decades, with a funny almost satirical streak in almost all episodes. *Kafenion* was seen as a depiction of the traditional Cyprus coffee shop mostly.

Thomas Anastassiadis from the village of Paliometoho, phrases it in his own particular terms:

“I don’t usually watch Greek serials. I don’t like them; they are heavy – always the same subject - treachery, deception, love triangles. But the Cyprus serials – e.g. *Kafenion* or *Istories* have something special, based on everyday life, the life of the simple country-life, they appeal to citizens, they relax you; you feel you are viewing something familiar and these serials are something special for us.”

This brings to mind, as stated in Ch.5 (178), “the metonymic contact” with others, that TV communicates - according to Fiske & Hartley (1978:125) - in which contact, all Levis Strauss best storytellers, priests, wise men or elders are restored to cultural visibility and oral primacy. In *Kafenion* this oral primacy is rendered by the redefinition of reality on television.

Anastassiades is equally critical however, of *Beverly Hills*, as of Greek serials (of which latter, he speaks negatively, again introducing an element of tension between Greek and Cypriot culture.) On English-language programmes he stated:

“*Beverly Hills* is a serial where the same things are repeated – love, passion, nothing interesting about the life of the teenagers – their difficulties, but only the fun they have, going out. Yes it is realistic for the American youth, as society has fallen to this level and there are many programmes which show this.”

His feeling of Cypriotness – i.e. his feeling of cultural and ethnic identity – are in full accord with the types of programmes he watches, and he will state of the Cyprus flag:

“The Cyprus flag symbolizes a lot. Cyprus is a state that has gone through many hardships and I will always respect this flag as it symbolizes a great people with a strong soul and a lot of patience.”

And of his identity:

“There is a Greek element in me, but I will always remain a Cypriot, a citizen of the Cyprus state and will support Cyprus matters.”
This is a very clear indication of the strong direction of localism in the local-global dialectics around which a lot of television public discourse is conducted (Ch.2:41-3). This negotiation of selfhood or nationhood with worldhood, here evidently leads to a traditionalist outlook (Friedman, 1995:243) that is in resistance to the hegemonic models imported from either the English-speaking world or, perhaps, the Greek metropolis.

Respondents from Nicosia like Phanourios Tamanis, with a higher degree of cosmopolitanism in their discourse patterns also responded positively to the programme serials in the Cyprus dialect:

“I prefer Cyprus serials, not because of the language so much, as we don’t have a problem with Greek-language serials, but the Cyprus serials surely remind us of what our grandparents did.”

The above, is, perhaps, an indication that the Cyprus dialect is not really considered a living language, but a language of heritage and tradition and that is why on other occasions respondents do not seem to accept the use of foreign words in the dialect.

And Evi Ioannidou comments as follows on Kafenion:

“Kafenion is a beautiful series. Again – like in Istories tou Horiou – this programme shows the life of the residents of a particular area. It relaxes you and you learn different things about these people and their customs and norms – they are different from what we live in the city. Yes, it is the traditional coffee shop of Cyprus. There, people think differently from us. They see things more optimistically and joyfully.”

Again, perhaps an illustration of a return to traditionalism provided by the security of roots and origins.

Of course, oppositional readings were also forthcoming in the interviews, even among countryside interviewees, like Marina Polyviou from Paliometo ho, who had the following comments:

“Kafenion is not realistic. The events and discourses in real-life Kafenion are not like the ones in the television programme. In the real Kafenion, “people go for a break and five people wouldn’t enter and begin talking about their personal problems.”

Here is another reading that indicates a modality gap in the programme, a point discussed in the programme analysis (Ch.5:186). So the “distribution of power” among the

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6 Phanourios Tamanis, 16, in an interview to author, Nov. 13, 1998
audience indicates that readings are not always the dominant or preferred meanings that production, opts for, since some viewers, like Marina have different interpretations of the series.

Marina is equally oppositional to Istories describing the episode with the witch as "unreal": "I believe the villagers should have spoken to her, about what they think, ask her questions and get the answers they were after." Generally, she rated the Greek (and Cypriot) programmes as inferior to imported programmes, thus giving another indication of the tension existing in the local-global television preferences and the ideologies they stand for:

"The Greek programmes are inferior. The Greeks look in one direction, whereas in Beverly Hills both friendship and animosities are shown. Greek programmes show that which sells to people - i.e. violence, love scenes, stealing the other man's wife. Beverly Hills comes from America, which is a country fully developed. Our programmes derive from our realities and ourselves. But as stories and as serials they are equally interesting."

Perhaps the difference in the readings is natural: Evi Ioannidou comes from Nicosia. She has no experience of the original country-life Kafenion or of village life, as Marina Polyviou has, living in a village, on the outskirts of Nicosia.

"The polysemy and multiplicity of readings, as well as the heterogeneity of meanings" pointed out in the section of current Cyprus realities connected to "Culture, Globalisation and the Media" (Ch.2:60-68), is apparent in the respondents' readings. On a different level, for a very different programme we can record the same heterogeneity in readings that David Gauntlett (Ch.2:74) will propose of the American series, "Beavis and Butthead" - i.e. a reactionary reading that the series depicts foul, moronic characters, highly dangerous and damaging models for youthful readers, with a second, opposing, liberal view that the programme is a satire that makes fun of the sexist and stupid ways of the characters.

Different readings were, parallelwise given by other respondents to the episode analysed in Chapter five about the witch hunting in Istories tou horiou, in evidence of the polysemy that describes television readings and in answer to the dilemma that Schroeder (1987:19) phrases, "Do people who watch the same programme actually see the same programme?". Apparently they do not:

Most of the respondents did not confess to believing in witchcraft. Some believed it existed in older times, according to what their parents had told them. Some believed that mediums have substituted for witches in our days. But the question which sought out
responses as to the way the villagers treated the old woman whom they suspected of witchcraft, in the analysed episode (Ch.5:219-220), received answers which were supportive of the programme’s script of action, but also interpreted the readings, in their own accommodated way, as Andreas Savvides did:

“I saw the episode about the witch. This would not happen in a village, as there are no witches; I would take it as a joke. I believe it was not correct on their part to bring the policeman and the priest, it may have been a coincidence and not their intention.”

It is interesting that the same respondent had his own negotiated reading of the same series as a whole, taking place as it does in a traditional rural (village) setting — *Stories tou Horiou*. When asked by the author whether “it really depicts today’s Cyprus villages”, his reply was:

“Almost yes, because there is gossip today among the villagers. Today, however, there may not be so much humour, as there is a financial problem; perhaps children cannot go to school. I believe that it is the old village, as some villages are beginning to develop and become like the towns.”

This switch from the particular episode analysed in Chapter five to the entirety of the series was a good method, to sample the general familiarity of the respondents with the series discussed, as no viewing of the episodes was realized prior to the Interviews and Discussions. It was a method that was fruitful, as it generally indicated that the Interviewees were usually familiar with the entire series, the characters and the general plots.

It is interesting that quite a few of the characters with whom the interviewees seemed to identify and to speak warmly about, were protagonists of other Cyprus productions, in the Cyprus dialect.

They named actors like Dora Kakouratou and Stavros Loukas for their long-term contribution to Cyprus theatre and television, and funny characters like Takis and Pezouna (from *Stories tou Horiou*) and Kokos (from *Kafenion*) familiarly using the latter’s diminutive name, as used in the programme — “Kokoudi” (little Kokos), because of his small stature. Actually they fully justified the latter’s boasting about his conquests of the Rumanian girls, classifying the programme “a satire” which depicts Cyprus realities.

Christina Aletrari had the following views about the programme:

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7 Andreas Savvides, 13, in an interview to author, Nov. 12, 1998
8 Ibid
“Kokos reflects Cyprus realities. He stands for a lot of Cypriots, the way he brags about his conquests.”

Antonia Makariou, had other views:

“Kokos relates stories about Rumanian girls to show that he is better than others – they don’t have a job and cannot go with foreigners. Yes, I believe this happens in Cyprus today. Cypriots take advantage of foreign women when they look for work”

There is, however, no clear indication in the above two statements whether the two respondents accept or reject the character of Kokos. The readings are dominant of course, but there is no expressed adjustment of these dominant readings to other areas of social realities. The sample’s appreciation rather indicates a type of para-social interaction with these characters, as they transfer their expressions in everyday life. This is also further support that identification of the viewer usually occurs in dramatic programmes, whereas para-social relationships are more usual in compere shows. (Ch.2:71)

Or, as Mihail says, “In the Coffee-shop they mingle and they all become equal. In school we discuss Mikis and Takis. Mikis is a mamma’s boy (mammothreftos).”

Still, depending on the personality of the respondents, some would speak to their favourite actors if they saw them on the street: Eleni Efthymiou, (because her father is an actor, she said) some would be shy, some couldn’t predict how they would react.

VI.3.c: Television Preferences and Readings: “Kalimera Zoi”

Kalimera Zoi which was No. 2 in the list of the sample’s programme preferences, received very different readings. Dominant readings included an exact reproduction of the summary of the series, almost as given in publicity releases:

Kalimera Zoi is realistic generally, both in the society of Greece and in that of Cyprus. The police here are shown to be strict, trying to catch the trespassers, to wipe out some crimes and to help helpless people. There is some corruption in the police – there is

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9 In an interview to author, Nov.9, 1998
10 Popular, derogatory expression in the Greek Demotiki, literally meaning “nurtured by his mother”.
11 In an interview to author, Nov.12, 1998.
12 Charalambos Ioannou, 18, in an interview to author, Nov.9, 1998
conflict among the policemen and they accuse each other of being lawless. Theocharis, I would describe as strict, daring and sacrificing himself for his duty.”

The respondent’s reading of women’s representations in the programme is again dominant (as resulting from the analysis of the field survey (Ch.4: 135) where it turned out that the higher the degree of viewing of the programme, the more they believed that premarital sex is not considered appropriate for women.

“We women in Greek programmes are more shy. In the foreign programmes they are free and alone to do what they can, like men.”

And this was also pointed out in the analysis of the programme (Ch. 5:193). This was subsequently projected in his views of the social position of women in Cyprus:

“We women should be at home, take care of the children and the house chores, take the children to a nursery, if they work.”

The same (dominant readings) inspite of gender, run through the interviews:

“It touches on crime and deception between husbands and wives and other protagonists, problems in society, drugs, rapes. The police react positively in the interests of society and try to uncover all crimes, so that they win the trust of other people. Yes, there is corruption in the police.” (Antonia Makariou)

These dominant readings are reflected in the attitudes the respondents had towards the police in Cyprus, as in the case of Antonia Makariou, who, in looking at the social realities around her, accepted the realities of the Cyprus police, as a variation of the dominant readings of Kalimera Zoi:

“The Cyprus Police is in order; it is well organised and effective. Stathis tries to prevent, either alone or with the help of other policemen man-slaughter attempts.”

This implied that she accepted that no corruption had been established in the Greek police. Parallelwise, in her own micro-environment - Cyprus - and the micro-level of her realities, things were also in order, with the Cyprus police. It is also interesting to observe how she combined, in one and the very same sentence, the contents of the Greek serial with the actual situation (discourse with social realities) in the Cyprus police. Antonia, like other

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13 Ibid
14 Ibid
respondents thus gave further evidence about the ingredients of the “active audience” interpreting television meanings, by incorporating them in the framework of their own socio-cultural realities, using the model of both the Dominant/Negotiated/Oppositional Code proposed by Parkin and Morley and also taking into consideration the “Incorporation/Resistance Paradigm” by Abercrombie & Longhurst, discussed in Ch.2 (56).

Charalambos Ioannou projected the dominant readings of the programme into Cyprus social realities, in a different context:

“I don’t think the degree of crime in Cyprus – drugs, etc. – is as high as it is in Greece. In Cyprus the police is better, the population is smaller and they can catch the trespassers more easily.”

Younger respondents of the sample, however, only remembered after the author’s prompting that there did exist police corruption in the series, this being further confirmation of the selectivity in readings and interpretations and of the fact that both pre-determined and ad-lib questioning did have to be used, eventually, in the interviews, to adapt to the interviewees’ (heterogeneous) degree of perceptiveness, special personality, lifestyle, age and other socio-cultural factors. (Ch.3: 111-2). Asa Berger (1991:57) states the following about personal interviews:

“The personal — or depth interview — is highly focused. It is conducted to get at matters such as hidden feelings or attitudes and beliefs that respondents may not be aware of or that are only dimly in their consciousness. Again respondents may need varied degrees of guidance to be steered from one area of discussion to another, as probing the feelings and readings of the sample, would definitely involve a combination of pre-determined and ad lib questioning.”

Anna Zamba, 15, came up with another appreciation, after being prompted by the author:

“Yes, they may have been influenced and they may have been given a lot of money and cooperated with criminals.”

Of course another reason for the delayed response above, about police corruption in the series, can be explained in the light of the fact that the respondent’s (Anna’s) father is a policeman.

Anna Zamba, 13, in an interview to author, Nov. 12, 1998
Another angle, again dominant, emphasizing the counterpoint movement and contrast between the poor, honest cop (Stathis) and the rich criminals (Arhos), was offered by another young male respondent – Savvides, 13 - who described the protagonists as follows:

“Stathis gives the impression of being a poor man earning only a little money. On the other hand, the rich ones give a bad impression about themselves – Arhos, who is a rich man, together with his wife take advantage of the poor people.”

In a subsequent stage within the interview, when he stated he wouldn’t want to study in a foreign country – other than Greece or Cyprus because there is violence abroad depicted in imported television programmes, the interviewer forwarded the question – “How about Kalimera Zoi, isn’t there violence there?”

The conversation which followed, rendered a negotiated reading to accommodate the respondent’s (Savvides’s) views:

“Yes, there is, but it is only between families; in foreign films this happens outside, in society. People may place bombs, and commit violent crimes, chasing and murdering women.”

It should be mentioned, of course that as stated earlier, violence in Kalimera Zoi was not between families, but the Greek police fighting the Mafia networks. In a further probe of crime in Cyprus, another negotiated reading developed:

Author: Aren’t there explosions and violence in Cyprus?

Savvides: “There are, but on a limited scale, it’s not like it is abroad.”

Oppositional readings however, were sometimes thoroughly critical and negative, as in the case of Phanourios Tamanis:

“Kalimera Zoi and Lampsi, I believe underestimate our intelligence. A housewife can see these, or a person who is of advanced age, like my grandmother who tells me all about Lampsi and Kalimera Zoi. We are not interested in them, as we know they are fairy stories, they are just made up and affected – both of them.”

This was not surprising, as the tension in the cultures of Greece and Cyprus was also obvious in the views of Phanourios:
“There are differences between our culture and the culture of Greece. Not because the spirit is different, but because the economy in Greece is declining and is not as healthy as the Cyprus economy. So they don’t have the same opportunities like we have. They try to safeguard what they have. We, in Cyprus, don’t hesitate to give what we have, to help others.”

Another instance that carries further the theory of encounter, not only of the two languages, but also of the two cultures.

It is interesting to note that the respondent’s parents are both philologists, as stated above, he himself only watches sports and news and is generally highly critical of most programmes which are popular among the 13-18-year-olds of the research project. As pointed in the programme analysis (Ch.5:193) the personality of Stathis

“..becomes a metonymy for all angered, righteous citizens who want to clear up the scum and dirt in society”.

Phanourios is generally oppositional to most of the things young people seem to like. He had the tendency throughout the interview to speak in the third person, as for example:

“Young People do not like..” It was only with the author’s repeated prompts and interventions that he eventually spoke about his own reactions, in the first person.

He criticized the police, the institutions and the economy in Greece, he criticised too much dedication to national symbols:

“The Greek flag is a symbol of the nation; it is a holy symbol in which we must believe and our spirit and roots are Greek, but we shouldn’t be chauvinists.”

On another account, discourse with television values and their analogies with social realities in Cyprus, indicated an interesting continuum:

In October, 1998, a group of illegal immigrants who were temporarily accommodated in Cyprus, revolted violently against the Cyprus police, the latter using violence to put them down, outside the prison cells in Larnaka, where they had been restricted. The violence of the police was shown widely on television news and there were many critical and contradictory comments about them. So in the interviews, the violence of the police against criminals depicted in the Greek serial *Kalimera Zoi* was taken up, to investigate possible associations or relationships with the Cyprus police. The respondents’ views were split all through the range of dominant, resistant and negotiated readings, but generally there was a
feeling that, yes, if the trespassers asked for it, the police could use violence. (Dominant readings).

Here are some of the responses:

Marina Polyviou, was very discriminating and highly critical of both the protagonist of *Kalimera* (Stathis, using violence) and the use of excessive police violence, in general:

"I don’t think Stathis is a good or exemplary cop. He hits the prisoners and swears at them. But as a character and an actor he is good in the programme. Sure, policemen must defend the law, but in “Kalimera” the beating and the maltreatment of the prisoners is excessive and unrealistic."

Even though she did not associate this bad treatment with the incident of the Cyprus police and the immigrants, she believed, “there is more crime in Greece”, but even so, she considered the rough treatment of the criminals in *Kalimera* excessive. Here resistance to the particular programme is extended to all Greek programmes, which she described as “inferior”, stating she preferred to view imported programmes – meaning English-language programmes. Another instance of identifying with global “Otherness” as mediated by television programmes.

On the other hand, Christina Aletrari, 16 agrees thoroughly with the behaviour of Stathis, rendering a preferred reading of the serial and its protagonist:

"The police are justified to treat the trespassers with the same violence the latter use, as they have to use the same language."

The above interpretation seems to adopt a completely dominant reading, foreshadowed in Ch.5 (193), where it is pointed out that Stathis is typically representative of the television treatment of violence where “vengeance is blameless” (Inglis, 1990:153).

Christina’s conformant attitudes and her acknowledgement of the hegemony of the establishment extend to other areas, like the place of women in Cyprus society:

"Women do not go to the coffee-shop. It is not a discrimination, it is a habit, the custom."

Or, another respondent saying that:

16 Christina Aletrari, 17, in an interview to author, Nov. 9, 1998.
“Regularly, police should use the same kind of violence that trespassers use, so that the latter conform and do not repeat lawlessness.” (Charalambos Ioannou)

A completely oppositional reading came from the daughter of a policeman and one reason could be the rough criticism that the Cyprus police had received after the aired violence against the immigrants was shown on television:

“I don’t find it correct that the Police should use the same violence that criminals use. As criminals do use violence, the Police should not use it to suppress them, but should debate matters with them.” (Anna Zamba)

In a negotiated reading of the police violence in both “Kalimera” and the news in Cyprus, Phanourios Tamanis offered an aberrant interpretation adjusted to his personal views. This was not strange as he had already shown how individualistic he was in his thinking:

“The police in Cyprus have recently become effective. We hear shocking things often about foreigners and how they beat or cause harm to a policeman. This is unacceptable for me and for young people who identify with policemen – nobody should fight those who want to enforce order. The police however, need to be stricter with criminals and be more flexible with us students. They should not come after us for riding motorcycles and breaking traffic rules. The real trespassers are, for example, the night-life people in Limassol, and their vendettas in which they kill each other.”


The only English-language programme that was listed in the top ten favourites of the field research, was Beverly Hills. The discussion with the respondents elicited a number of different responses, which were not all positive, even though almost all of the respondents were aware of the series.

Marina Polyviou considered that:

“It shows all the problems of society – drugs, shootings – a woman was shot and the police were trying to find the assassin. It reflects reality in American society and shows the real friends in life.”

Charalambos Ioannou considered that:

“It is just a “peer group in America. I don’t think youth in Cyprus is like this. Young people in Cyprus are not very cooperative - as friends are in Beverly Hills.”
Phanourios Tamanis, who, as seen earlier does not view television programmes very much, apart from sports and news, did, nevertheless have a view on Beverly Hills:

“It is less pretended than Greek serials and it shows us how young people think and how we can help young people.”

The main thrust of the programme was the lifestyle of young Beverly Hills college students. A preferred reading was one in which some respondents related American realities to their own micro-environmental issues, like studies abroad, as in the case of Phanourios:

“I wouldn’t be afraid to study in America, as I am learning the English language well – I’m taking private lessons – and I like the American culture and wouldn’t mind living in America, even though I love Greece and Cyprus very much. My father is a teacher of English. What I want is in America.”

A clear example of the wish to identify with these “Others” mediated in the Beverly Hills series, with the respondent consciously and explicitly identifying language and culture.

Some other views were diversified, in support of the different readings rendered by an active audience, with differing characteristics. (Ch.2:82-3)

This is how Antonia Makariou saw the series:

“It shows drugs attractively for young people. It tries to convince people to try drugs and this practice is proliferated. The young people get hooked on drugs very easily; they try to attract us, but we are firm, we stay away from drugs as they will lead us to the doorstep of death. Yes, I believe in Beverly Hills, their lifestyle is very different from that of young people in Cyprus. They go wherever they want…. I like the series but their promotion of drugs, I don’t like it.”

Drugs here attract resistance to both television drug discourse and also to real-life attitudes in the context of local-global dialectics.

References to the drug problem as depicted in Beverly Hills came up more than once. Antonia Makariou came from the Technical School, Nicosia, but Christina Aletrari was a Lyceum student in the village of Evrychou. Yet their views seem to coincide:

“Beverly Hills is not realistic. There is exaggeration and this is negative for Cyprus society, not positive. They show scenes with situations, which we do not come across in Cyprus. Socially speaking they show drug taking by the kids, some are hooked and this does not happen in the Cyprus peer groups. Our drug problem is much smaller than in other countries.”
It is again interesting that most of the viewers, with some exceptions, considered the programme realistic (for America) while a lot of criticism describes it as a "soap opera" and the dominant interpretations in the present dissertation (Ch.5:206-7) also identified it as a beautified version of American realities, picturing pleasant characters.

These characters were established as a source of pleasant remembrances and associations in the minds of the sample, after the viewing. So was Brandon, for Eleni Efthymiou:

"From Beverly Hills I remember with pleasure Brandon; he is serious, self-restrained, even though he jokes, he advises others, avoids dangers and loves his friends."

The above is further support to the analysis in Ch.5 (208), about a "ray of light" always being present in his character.

But within the same function of (dis)identification with rejected "Others", the same interviewee, confirming the active audience model of television-audience relationships in the context of the third generation of research studies. (Ch.2: 48) will say of Valerie:

"Valerie is a self-centred person, vindictive; she is not a good character, so I don't remember her with pleasure."

Even though the existing views about the only English-language American programme in the top ten list were quite contrasting, it was still obvious that the study's age group did view the series. And the fact supports the claim that the media "have disrupted the traditional link between culture and geography" in the globalising process of constructing a world culture and a global cultural identity. (Gillespie, 1995:16). It is relevant to also remind our readers of the tensions in the process of globalisation as developed in Chapter 2 (41-42). Harvey (1997:286) believes that codes being "firmly rooted in the values and forms of economy have given rise to whole new distinctive systems of interpretation and representation." And Friedman (1995:198) is not far from this concept when he suggests that globalization is about "processes of attributions of meaning that are of a global nature."

Lifestyle, relationships, socio-economic discourse, and drugs are issues involved in these local-global dialectics where a balance between complicity and resistance" (Ch. 2:57), according to Ang (1996:17 &179), in the process of maintaining cohesion, is significant. This, one could say is apparent in the different readings of Beverly Hills a series viewed on an international level.
VI.3.e: Television Preferences and Readings; Some Other Programmes

Two new programmes seem to have entered the top list of the present project’s age group – 13-18-year-olds - since 1997, when the field research was conducted. They are both Cyprus productions – Akti Oniron (Beach of dreams) and Para Pente (To five – as in “five to nine”.)

Akti Oniron is a soap opera about Cyprus families and Cyprus realities, with references to illegal drug-traffic and illegal love affairs, as well as complicated family and other relationships. The language used is a combination of Standard Modern Greek and the Cyprus dialect. “Para Pente” is a funny series featuring both well-known Cyprus actors – and some not so well known, or even completely unknown, but made popular by the series.

Sophocles Kaskaounias, playing the fool of the bar, as well as Elena Savva are such examples of newly-emergent actors in the Cyprus scene. They all keep their real names in the series and the set-up is that of a modern bar which reminds the viewer both of Kafenion and could also be considered the “glocal” version of “Cheers” in the context of Cyprus “glocalized” productions mentioned earlier(Ch.2:41). The language used is the Cyprus dialect and at times the very rough vocabulary that is used in the villages, alongside Standard Modern Greek. Two of the characters who are often in conflict – again embodying, perhaps a cultural encounter, are Sophocles (a Cypriot, using the Cypriot dialect and Ntinos, the barman from Greece, using Standard Modern Greek.)

The respondents made a few references to Akti, but the almost unanimous response to Para Pente was that they liked it and watched it, either regularly or on occasion, because it is funny and relaxing and it is in the Cyprus dialect. Inter-textual references also came up in the interview conversations, as in the response of Marina Polyviou:

“Their jokes and their expressions are a depiction of Cyprus reality. They mirror reality. It is similar to Kafenion. It resembles it and it is a variation…. I remember Sophocles being slapped by Mr. Costas, or when Mr.Costas painted himself black and some phrases have stuck with all of us and we use them: `manno-manni’17 and ‘ppoulle’18.”

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17 Idiot. The same word is used as an adjective twice – “manno” - to qualify “manni”, which again means idiot.
18 Stupid fool. The in its original dialect context means an ornament, but in Cyprus jargon, it signifies somebody who is an absolute fool that anyone can manipulate.
It is important to underline that the Cyprus dialect used in “Para Pente” is really heavy, bordering on the vulgar. The presence of Ntinos, a Greek barman and of an outlandish lady using the Demotic, create a subterranean but also surfacing linguistic and cultural tension in the programme. The two characters mentioned, consider many dialect expressions bizarre and incomprehensible and frequently (and ironically) ask for clarifications of idiomatic expressions. As a result, the tie between the two languages is probably an extra attraction for young people, as this is really what happens in real society: they are called upon to switch back and forth between the two languages, the struggle for dominance creating a continuous, but unidentified struggle for power – perhaps the “social distribution of power”. (Ch.2:59) The same applies Akti Oniron which combines the two languages in a dramatic, instead of a comic setting.

Other programmes the interviewees mentioned, without going into detail, were Melrose Place, The Bold and the Beautiful, Baywatch, Sunset Beach and X-Files. Thomas Anastassiades who was a regular viewer of X-files, spoke in flattering terms about the series, in what constituted a dominant reading; in spite of this he still gave a highly critical, oppositional, or even aberrant reading of one of the characters, the “Cancer-man”, whose smoking on the screen, he did not associate with modernism or with illness, but with power:

“In some series, showing a ‘cool’ type taking drugs, or smoking, creates wrong models, e.g. the ‘Cancer-man’ in ‘X-Files’ smokes and this is associated with the power he has, not the fact that he has cancer. I view ‘X-Files’, because they show problems that we also have, they incite our imagination. The values are relevant to Cyprus – the struggle for the revelation of truth, that there should be no corruption in the system, are relevant to Cyprus...we too have a lot of material for ‘X-Files’.”

This really sounded like an unexpected adjustment of the “X-File” problems, mostly outlandish, extra-terrestrial and metaphysical as they are very different from Cyprus issues, which are tangibly political. Perhaps another case of a negotiated reading that adjusts the viewing contents to the respondent’s own outlook and self-perceived culture – a Cypriot through and through, as self-stated in the interview, relating everything to the Cyprus problem.

The interpretations of the television contents as discussed in the interviews, revealed quite a few other dimensions of the sample’s para-social associations - identification and recognition mostly with the characters they viewed, as Noble (1975:40) states in Ch.2 (71).
Both genders indicated an almost uniform appreciation of Sophocles (around 25), who acts in ‘Para Pente’, as already mentioned. It would probably be enough to give one explanation of this liking, by Anna Zamba, as it was repeated almost all throughout the 23 interviews, both in Nicosia and the Unoccupied Famagusta District:

“I like and remember Sophocles, for his humour. He is a little stupid.”

After Kafenion became a success, the popular coffee-shop owner, Takis Svistos (a “fool” in his 40’s), was replaced in Para Pente by a younger, even more foolish and innocent stooge, Sophocles.

The very extensive (reverse) identification with Sophocles and his representation of the young, innocent fool, hit, slapped and pushed around, was a clear indication of sympathy with the anti-hero figure, a victim of domination, the underdog of the establishment. His youth and his use of the Cyprus dialect are added dimensions to his popularity. It is significant to observe here, that Sophocles (this is the real name of the actor) does not appear in any other programme, except Para Pente. So there is no inter-textual claim to the loyalty or affection of the viewers. The frequent reprimands and sarcastic comments he gets in the series, come from both the owner of the bar and the bar-tender (from Greece) because Sophocles’s use of dialect expressions, is incomprehensible to the bar-tender. One wonders whether Sophocles could, in the minds of the sample, be a kind of a symbol for the authentic, genuine, but weak, Cypriot, victim of power and hegemonic forces (political and cultural) that can shape the fate of the Island, a symbol of post-colonial suppression entering the lives of the people.

VI.4: Television Preferences and Readings: Socio-Cultural Values

A number of findings in the area of socio-cultural values having statistical reliability in the field research of 1997, and relating to issues of gender equality, social priorities and lifestyle trends, were taken up in the Interviews and Discussions, using the backdrop of gender issues and lifestyles projected in the programmes analysed. Discourse analysis of these programmes, in relation to social realities in Cyprus, indicated that women were not shown as equal to men, socially or professionally in the Greek production Kalimera Zoi or they were modeled as gossiping, busybodies in Istories. (Ch. 5: 217) It was also established through the Field Survey, in statistically significant correlations (Ch.4:135) that a large
number – 58% - of those viewing Kalimera Zoi believed that pre-marital sex is not appropriate for women. Contrariwise, another large number - 75.4% - of those viewing Beverly Hills always, believed that woman's place is not in the home, a conclusion which indicated that feminine models in the American series were shown in an equal light with male models.

The socio-economic priorities of the sample deriving from the Field Survey indicated a population that is ideologically steered to idealistic issues, like the national issue – Security in Cyprus, Love, Having Friends, Understanding, while materialistic values like Expensive Houses, Expensive cars, A Big Income and Luxury Vacations, receiving much lower percentages. (Ch.4:140-141)

The above conclusions, were appropriately contextualized in the Agenda for the Interviews and Discussions and related by the author to different television programmes viewed by the sample. Here are some of the conclusions that were drawn from the interview conversations:

Most of the opinions expressed with regard to gender equality and equal chances for women admitted that in Cyprus we still have ground to cover in the area. There was consensus, one can say about Greek and Cyprus productions still showing women as subservient to men, in contrast to imported productions which usually place women on an equal footing with men. (Chapter 5: 209).

"Women in Greek programmes are more shy. In foreign programmes they are free to do as they want, like men." (Charalambos Ioannou)

The respondent was familiar with Greek and Cyprus productions, and he disapproved of the villagers’ conduct in the witchcraft episode, by describing it as “not normal”. When the author asked him, however, about gender equality and tried to probe associations in the readings of the reproductions and life in general in Cyprus and Greece and whether life should, perhaps change for women, the interviewee replied very conservatively:

"It is better if things stay as they are".

So it was obvious that he did not disapprove of the way women were modeled in the Greek and Cyprus Productions, and rather preferred the status quo in gender matters. Meta-
discourse discussion established that macro-environment traditional values were obviously related to the values of the micro-environment projected in these programmes.

At some other point in the interview, the respondent acknowledged in so many words, the full hegemony of the masculine establishment in Cyprus:

“As far as I know, women are equal to men in Cyprus. Sometimes men beat up and swear at women and they are not happy. It happens everywhere – towns and villages.”

Charalambos never traveled abroad; he watched *Lampsi* with his mother and envied the “Beverly Hills” group (para-social relationships) who could live away from their parents, on their own. All clear indications that he conforms to the establishment but does, nevertheless, feel its suppression.

Of course girl respondents had a different opinion: Anna Zamba, speaking of Greek serials, said:

“I believe that women in these serials are not as independent or generally equal to men. Even though women might also be independent, sometimes men are more so. In life, in Cyprus, women are not, as in old times staying in the house. They work, they go out, they have the same rights as men...Yes, like every woman, I would like to be independent when I get married.”

It is good at this point to be reminded that results from Chapter Four presented earlier in the present chapter were being verified further, through the interviews: the respondents viewing *Kalimera* did not believe in pre-marital sex for women, the latter also being shown earlier in the programme analysis, as subordinate to men. (Ch. 5:209).

Another conclusion, which came up in, the Field Research in Chapter four in connection to viewers of *Beverly Hills* was that the sample largely believed that woman’s place is not in the home, a fact which was discussed in the Programme Analysis showing American women in the series as being modeled on an equal footing with men. The responses in the interviews again constituted further verification:

“Today young people have their freedom and they do what they want. In *Beverly Hills*, this is true, in Cyprus it’s not exactly like this. Our country is small. In Cyprus serials, women are inferior to men, as these serials may be depicting times before gender equality was established. In *Akti Oniron* women are equal. In everyday life, women have the same opportunities as men but they cannot do the same jobs as men – e.g. on construction-sites, where they work rarely.” (Antonia Makariou)
This “social expectations dimension” described by Chandler (1997) (Ch. 2:70) was actually worked into the active decoding of the television contents watched by the respondents, in the light of the “viewer’s knowledge and experience of the world.” (Ibid) Antonia, for example wants to work on construction sites, with her father. This was her ultimate goal and desire, as she explained in the interview. She therefore considered this an achievement that would raise her above the average standards of women’s professional status, usually existing in her micro-environmental social-realities, which she could directly relate to the Programme contents (Cyprus & Greek productions) she viewed. She was also sensitive to changes in the modeling of women’s status on television, so she observed an advancement in this area in Akti Oniron, a more recent Cyprus serial.

Manolis and Katina was one of the top ten programmes preferred by the sample. The husband (Manolis, the butcher) is rough and tough with his wife and treats her as a rather silly, stupid woman. Every incident in the series finishes with:

“Have you understood Katina? ‘I have understood’, that is how you should answer.”

Even though the respondents who watched the series realized the subservient relationship, they rendered a varied number of readings and interpretations of the relationship between the couple, endorsing the conceptual framework proposed in Ch.2 (44-48) about not only the Dominant Code, but also the Abercrombie & Longhurst (1998:17) “Incorporation/Resistance Paradigm”, which defines the problem of audience research as a question of:

“...whether audience members are incorporated into the dominant ideology by their participation in media activity or whether, to the contrary, they are resistant to that incorporation.” (Ch.2:56)

So a variety of interpretations rendered different readings and interpretations. Some were playful:

“Women are more equal than men. Men may appear to be the ruling class but it is women who control. In the funny series, this is what usually happens. Manolis and Katina are an exception. Women are shown a little weak and a little light-minded, while man shows he is ready to forget his wife. But deep down he loves her.” (Mihalis Mihail)
Evi Ioannidou, on the other hand, describes things in an almost neutral way, accepting the socio-cultural realities depicted in the series:

“No matter how much we may want to believe that women are equal with men, they are shown a little inferior to man – he has the upper hand and everything he says must be done. E.g. Manolis was saying something and he told Katina, ‘I am the man of the house and it is my opinion that counts.’”

Another issue of women’s equality was taken up in the chapter on Programme Analysis with regard to Kristia’s frequenting the coffee shop, something highly unconventional for women. Here are some of the reactions to the relevant question:

“Kristia goes to the coffee-shop.... It is not natural, as the coffee shop was a place exclusively for men. Maybe she goes there just to show up - she belongs to the new generation and wants to change things; she is modern and this is in contrast with older times, when women did not dare leave their homes. I have been to a coffee shop in the city, with my parents. We went and sat there. I see that even today in many coffee shops there are many men, or exclusively men – as in the old tradition. But sometimes there are women also, which shows that things are changing.” (Evi Ioannidou)

But Christina Aletrari, from the village of Evrychou – father clerk, mother housewife – gives a negotiated interpretation of Kristia’s visit:

“She goes there during her breaks to pass her time.” Andreas Savvides (13), on the other hand, has not given any thought at all as to why Kristia goes to the coffee-shop.

The fact that women are rising in position, this being reflected in the television programmes the sample viewed, came up repeatedly, just as more expectations also came up:

“Women are equal with men, holding the same posts, but there should be a woman in the cabinet.” 19

The question in the Field Research that sought to investigate the priorities and value systems of the sample received strong percentages for “security in Cyprus”, “love” and “having friends”, as indicated in the fourth chapter, whereas the importance attached to material goods was rated quite poorly. (Ch.4:140-141). The conversations during the personal interviews were rather different: personal priorities and pursuits of personal goals and dreams seemed to be uppermost in their minds, with very few exceptions. But the

19 Socrates Philippides, 19, in an interview to author, Nov. 13, 1998
conclusions of the field interviews, as to the sample's idealistic tendencies, were indirectly verified: their choices were for personal satisfaction, not for material gain. At most it was a combination of the two. The patriotic element which had surfaced strongly in the Field Survey, about Security for Cyprus, was not present in the Interviews. But in the context of culturalism the Interviews rendered responses which were both polysemic and pluralistic:

"Class, gender, race, colour and spatial modifications all become normative factors in the praxis of transmission/reception, production/consumption, domination/subordination, or subordination/resistance." (Ch.2:49)

The interviewees seemed to believe that Cypriots are generally materialists, loving big houses, luxury cars and big incomes, but they themselves looked forward to a conventionally good life, a good job, a happy family. Furthermore they would choose their job, not because of the money it could bring them, but because of the satisfaction it could really afford them.

Here are some of the answers that indicate the mentality of the sample as to material goods and affluence:

"I will choose a job that gives me satisfaction, not much money, or, at most, a combination of the two. I want to become a general, as my grandfather and father fought together in the Second World War and I want to make a career in the army." (Andreas Violaris, 14)20

Antonia Makariou:

"In Cyprus we are very materialistic, we want the biggest car, the biggest house; there is a competition among neighbours. This is not what should matter to us. What should matter is to have a good family and to help people as much as we can...My greatest dream is to have a good family, have a good life and be a good person in society."

Eleni Efthymiou:

"Yes, Cypriots are materialists. Many people go to study something which does not please them, but will bring them a lot of money. Also Cypriots look forward to material, not spiritual goods. Maybe the reason is that they became refugees after the war of 74 and then they made a lot of money and this changed them. Television programmes also may be contributing – e.g. in "Beverly Hills" we see some things and we want to imitate them.... I will study philology and music, not for the income they can bring me but because I love both."

20 In an interview to author, Nov.5, 1998
Socrates Philippides:

“Most people in Cyprus are materialists.... We are over-consumers. As a nation we have lived through difficult times, but we have not been through stark poverty and most citizens are quite well off financially, and that is why they are led to more consumerism.... I believe my greatest dream is to have a good career as an educationist and have a good family.”

Marina Polyviou had similar views:

“Yes, in Cyprus we have a megalomania and a xenomania — e.g. buying foreign products for the trademark - e.g. on slacks or other clothes we buy and we shouldn’t be doing that. Television contributes to this: they do not show Cyprus-made products so much, as they do foreign products with beautiful models; the ads prompt, stimulate or condition us to buy a product, even though we do not need it.”

And Christina Aletrari agreed:

“I think we Cypriots are materialists and try to reach the standards of other countries — through television, through the imitation of relatives, through ads in magazines. Naturally television programmes play a role. There are many countries that have a higher standard of living.... My greatest dream is to become a teacher.”

Some of the respondents were frank about their desire to join the mainstream of a materialistic lifestyle prevalent in Cyprus, thus making their statements much more authentic or valid, than the formal answers given to the homogeneous (impersonal) questions of the Statistical Survey:

“I would personally like a big house, but by working on a job I like.” (Andreas Savvides)

And Evi Ioannidou:

“Yes, believe that in Cyprus we are materialists, especially when we see beautiful series, we want to know new places and possess what we see, beautiful cars, we want to live in beautiful homes and have nice jobs, like in ’Melrose Place and ‘Sunset Beach’ and we want all these things for ourselves.... Yes, I would personally like this lifestyle, along with my own generation, because this lifestyle offers us more and we then want still more.”

An unabashed confession of the desire to identify with televisual “Otherness” and to taylor identity on the patterns of electronic representation. It is appropriate to point out that Evi watches Beverly Hills, Melrose Place and Sunset Beach, which are all series typically representing the affluent lifestyle of American society. This could be another indication of
the fragmentalisation of globalism in the local-global discourse tensions between the local and the global. Tensions which are constituted, "according to some thinkers," (Foucault in Grossberg, 1993:8) by "specific spaces, configurations and circulations of power". (Ch. 2:54)

The specific choice of a subject for study or of a country for studies, were also quite revealing, sometimes in association with the respondent's television experiences:

"I will study in Cyprus to be near my family, so I do not go to foreign countries. I will have my own people supporting me. I wouldn't like to go abroad...I remember from Kalimera Zoi, when a man with a mask raped women in the streets and this caused fear in me. I don't believe there is such violence in Cyprus. But there is abroad and there are more dangers and I wouldn't like to leave my country. We can say the same about Greece." (Anna Zamba)

The above respondent obviously classifies Greece under "countries abroad".

Anna confessed that she was scared very much when she saw a masked man raping women in the streets, in the Greek serial, Kalimera Zoi. So in the discourse process, her perception of social realities was directly and expressly influenced here by a television scene she had watched.

Some expressed a preference for studies in Greece, either because of the language, or because the fees are free, but some stressed again the issue of safety:

Socrates Philippides, was one respondent whose television preferences were almost exclusively extended to Greek and Cyprus productions. "He didn't see Beverly Hills at all and he only saw some episodes from Baywatch, because it featured pretty girls. He did not seem interested in studying anywhere else outside Greece.

"I would like to stay in Cyprus or Greece. I may travel to foreign lands, admire them, but when I have no Cypriots in my company while abroad, I don't enjoy myself. I have been to Austria, Switzerland, Hungary and many times to Greece. Both language and culture play their part. In Austria, people are 'Germanarades' (big fat Germans, in Greek jargon). If you talk to them in English, they wouldn't answer you. I would never want to live in this country."

One cannot exclude, the fact that his knowledge of the cultural realities of other countries was not enriched by relevant televised representations, as he had stated he didn't watch imported (English-language) programmes. His unease with Germans and his need for Cypriot company on travels, could be indications of the lack of a spirit of globalism, his consciousness being exclusive of "Others." It is obvious that "time and space compression" (Harvey, 1997: 296) apparently do not enter his experiences very much, as this would refer
both to “the compression of the world and the intensification of the consciousness of the world as a whole.”

The single choice of America, as a country of studies came from Phanourios Tamanis, who displayed sophistication in his views throughout the interview. Perhaps the uniqueness of some of his experiences, also explains why he wanted to consider himself a representative of Cyprus youth, instead of an individual giving an interview. He had been to Washington, America, on a Fulbright programme, along with a group of Greek and Turkish-Cypriots. Here is his response with reference to studies:

“I would study anywhere, depending on the University. If I were to become a pilot, I would go to Greece. Again if I would study physics, I would go to the University of Athens, as it is much better for Physics than the Cyprus University. Also, I think we can easily study in America, so I would like perhaps to study at Harvard, or UCLA, or Pennsylvania, which are good in sciences. I wouldn’t be afraid to study in America, I know English well and I like the American culture and wouldn’t mind living in America.”

A comparison of the above two respondents’ cultural knowledge and experience points back to the discussion in the very first chapter of the thesis (Ch.1: 17), where elements of a place-bound nationalism and traditional outlook, as well as global trends were established within the very same cultural context of the Island:

“In literary terms, modernism is about the discovery of a tradition or of a national voice which one can claim as one’s own; in the postmodern condition, one speaks always with the tongues of others in one’s ear/throat.” (Docherty, 1996, 205)

Another general trend among the respondents as to studies was quite common: they wanted to chose a job like their father’s, or something like what their parents did. Perhaps this was the continuing tradition of small communities, or the safety of a tested job, with a promising, or assured income.

Andreas Violaris wanted to join the military, like his father and grandfather had done, Andreas Savvides thought of owning a gas station, like his father did, Antonia Makariou, wanted to join her father in the construction business and Marina Polyviou’s biggest dream was to become a heart-surgeon, as her father had a heart operation and came back home, afterwards, a total wreck.
VI.5.a: Television Preferences and Readings: National/ethnic issues - Use of Language

One of the conclusions of the field research already presented in this chapter was the fact that the majority of programmes preferred by the sample were Greek or Cyprus productions. This was further verification of the language trend established by Lidia Sciriha (1995:98-105) that:

"..in truth, the only two varieties competing with one another are the Greek Cypriot dialect and Standard Modern Greek, which, due to their diglossic relationship, are more in complementary distribution, than in competition with each other."

Competition, however, was not only exemplified in the split preferences between the programmes – Greek and Cyprus productions. It was also illustrated within specific Cyprus productions, like in Para Pente which uses the Cyprus dialect – the heavy version at times – or Istories tou horiou which describes life in a Cyprus village. Istories is in the pure dialect and is a funny series. Para Pente is funny but it is not in dialect only. Part of it is in the panhellenic Greek and two of the characters speak it, presenting a striking lack of knowledge of the Cyprus dialect and also making fun of it. This does not seem to present the two languages in “complementarity” according to Sciriha, but actually in what is almost an encounter, or competition. Bourdieu’s pointer about language being the locus of the battle for power of the legitimate language over the less refined one, is appropriate here. Of course his point about meta-discourses and the social distribution of this power, in the context of the viewer’s conditions is also a factor for analysis. The popularity of Sophocles (dialect) versus Ntinos (demotic) or of the characters of Kafenion (dialect) over Mikis (demotic) are appropriate indications to the point:

In the case of Sophocles using the dialect, versus Ntinos, Sophocles, being young and victimised, seemed to earn the sympathy of the young viewers who identified with him, versus Ntinos, or, in fact any of the other characters, as well, whether they speak the Demotic or the Dialect. But in the case of Mikis speaking the Demotic, versus the other Kafenion characters speaking the dialect, the situation is reversed: Even though Mikis is a victim of motherly oppression and inspite of his kindly feelings, versus the more exploitive nature of the other characters, he does not seem to be the top character in the sample’s preferences. Generally it was Stavris and Kokos and even Svistos – the coffee shop owner they remembered most.
The discussion of the two languages brought out some very enlightening remarks from the respondents, as to their views of the Cyprus dialect and its suitability for television programmes. They generally supported very warmly the continued use of the Cyprus dialect, as it is "very special, many words come from the ancient Greek and we must preserve it". A reminder of the fact that as culture is tied to power relations and language is really a vital factor of culture, the use of the dialect gives the sample a sense of cultural power - or perhaps identity - which they aspire to maintain and cultivate.

This appeared to co-exist with the awareness that more and more programmes were being produced in Cyprus, using the Cyprus dialect. One of the younger interviewees, Andreas Savvides, 13, indicated full consciousness of the fact:

"The programmes we view in the Cyprus dialect are becoming more usual, like the Greek serials we view. Yes, I think we should maintain the Cyprus dialect, as it is tradition and we must preserve it."

Other respondents on the other hand, whose parents had a higher level of education, discriminated between the heavy village type of Cyprus dialect and the one spoken in the cities. Phanourios Tamanis, whose parents are philologists, was an example:

"At home we speak the Cyprus dialect, but not the old type, as my parents are philologists and they try to improve our vocabulary. In school, we also speak the Cyprus dialect, but not the very old, heavy type of the village kind. We speak the dialect used in the town". This sounded like a direct under-estimation of the heavier dialect, spoken in the countryside.

This "gap", then, between the Standard Modern Greek spoken by the literate, educated Greek-Cypriots and the dialect spoken by the illiterate, rural countryside, was, according to Prodromou (1995:87), "filled by a foreign, international language (English in this case.)" This has survived colonialism and the "pseudo-dilemma" as he terms it, is whether Standard Modern Greek or English will be the languages of contemporization in Cyprus." (Ch.1:22)

Another respondent, Anastassiades, spoke directly of words that must be taken out of the Cyprus dialect, in an effort to clean it up of foreign words, like, for example, "tsaera" for chair, which comes from English (he said) or "tzisves", the coffee-pot, which comes from Turkish. It is, of course true, that there are many foreign influences in the Cyprus dialect, resulting from different foreign occupations, even though "tzisves" doesn't come from English. The
respondent’s concern, however, sounded strange, as it indicated that the sample were not aware that all living languages contain foreign words in their vocabularies. On the other hand, though, it seemed to point back to the fears discussed in Ch.2 (65), that there is an influx of English words, supplementing Modern Greek or the Dialect. A fact which has been described as a colonial type of language dominance that threatens the “Helleno-patriotic feelings” of the Greek-Cypriot society with “erosion and eradication of its national identity”. (Papapavlou, 1997)

Helleno-patriotic feelings, expressing concern about this colonial domination of language and voicing cultural resistance through the use of the Greek language, were discussed earlier again in this thesis. (Ch. 2:59):

“There are some important themes in theorising cultural resistance: There is, for example, the insistence on the right to see the community’s history coherently and integrally. The role of the national language is central here, because it is through language that national culture organises and sustains communal memory.” (Sarup, 1998: 156).

This issue of language points back to various concepts introduced in earlier chapters. Saussure’s theory of language (Ch.2:51), a starting point for cultural studies, maintains that “the relation between a word and its meaning is constructed, not given” thus directing us definitely to the cultural and social dimensions of language. Furthermore in the same chapter (2: 60) it was also established that the “cultural turn” which marked different social disciplines in the last fifty years, has been connected to language and identity issues. But Van den Bulck and Van Poecke (Ibid) are again more specific when they maintain that “language often constitutes the most important embodiment of ethnicity and the means for distinguishing ‘us’ from ‘them’.” (Ibid) The complication that occurs in the case of the sample of the present study is the fact that even though they do seem aware of the “Others” (the Turks, or characters in the English-language programmes), versus themselves, their personal feelings about Cypriot language and identity, sounded ambivalent: the dialect could be used in television programmes, but not in serious or dramatic ones. This again is, of course a debatable point, as Cyprus productions are becoming more frequent and as we saw earlier in this chapter, Akti Oniron is a dramatic series using mainly the Cyprus dialect interspersed, or complemented by the Greek demotic.

So the triglossic encounter on television is taking on new dimensions, as English, the Demotic and the Dialect seem to be in direct competition on Cyprus television channels, the Demotic and the Dialect frequently being in the same programme. The struggle for the
“social distribution of power” through the use of language as an expression of ethnicity seems, as a result, to be rising in importance in this struggle of cultures in Cyprus.

VI.5.b: Television Preferences and Readings: Other National/Ethnic Issues

Another important set of issues that were touched upon in the interviews, eliciting meaningful comments and responses from the interviewees, included the following questions:

♦ the possibility of Greek-Cypriots living together with Turkish-Cypriots after a solution to the Cyprus problem
♦ general attitudes towards the Turkish-Cypriots and the Turks, in association with television programmes
♦ the Cyprus culture versus the Greek culture
♦ national symbols like the Greek and Cyprus flag and the meaning and associations of these symbols, for the respondents
♦ and questions as to the self-stated identity of the interviewed sample.

The above issues, all related to ethnic and political issues, were tackled in the Field Survey (Ch.4) and the results as summarised again in this chapter indicated that the majority of the sample were not very positive as to living with the Turkish-Cypriots after a solution to the Cyprus problem - 40% answered “perhaps”. The Turkish-Cypriots were viewed in a better light than the Turks from Turkey, the Greek flag and the Cyprus flag both featured highly in the respect and affections of the sample and the self-perceived and self-stated identity of the sample was mainly “Greek-Cypriot”, “Cypriot” following.

From the conclusions of the personal interviews, it was obvious that the major source of information about the Turkish-Cypriots consisted almost exclusively of the News Bulletins on Greek-Cypriot television. Most interviewees were not aware of any other programmes about Turks on Cyprus television – and indeed the only relevant programme is a television magazine programme broadcast by CyBC.1 on Tuesdays and Fridays. Some of the interviewees mentioned this, but most of their information about the Turkish-Cypriots came from their parents or grandparents and even though this information was generally positive as to the character of the Turkish-Cypriots, the general attitude was that Greek-Cypriots cannot live peacefully in the future with Turkish-Cypriots. The information about the Turks was
strongly coloured by the events along the Dherynia demarcation line in 1996, when two Greek-Cypriots were killed by Turks from Turkey. The references to the televised events shed light on the way these broadcast scenes created indelible images in the minds of the respondents about Turks and their character and culture.

The respondents indicated familiarity with the plot and characters of the programmes they watched. They could identify character zones (good or bad) like Stathis (good) and Arhos (bad), Brandon (good) and Vanessa (bad). So these “Others” as personified in their television preferences were known to them, but the “Others” living across the barbed wire, seemed to be unknown to them, and they had no frames of reference on television for Turkish-Cypriots, even though quite well aware of their “Otherness.”. They expressed an interest for more programmes about them. But most of the representations they actually get on television are of the Turks from Turkey and their reactionary attitudes to the Greek-Cypriots and the Cyprus problem. This trend of information, mainly from the news, reinforced by the 1996 Dherynia incidents, created a definitely negative relationship and a bellicose attitude towards the Turks. Attitudes towards the Turkish-Cypriots were lukewarm to moderate, with occasional strong doubts about living together, after a solution. The political “Other” was either unknown, feared or hated. They did, however, generally believe there could be more programmes about Turkish-Cypriots. And even though they gave different reasons for this, it was an indirect confession that they did derive from television ideas conducive to the articulation of their political and national attitudes. Some of the reasons they gave for the existence of these programmes were the following:

“So we would see how they live in occupied Cyprus.” (Andreas Violaris)

Or Mihalis Mihail:

“I would like to see programmes that would inform us about their culture and civilisation so we learn more about them. Now there are programmes in Turkish addressed to the Turkish-Cypriots. They are not addressed to us. But there could be programmes to make Greek Cypriots know more about Turkish-Cypriots – where they come from. Many people do not know that most of them were Greeks, who, history books say, were forced to become Turks.”

And Anna Zamba:

“I haven’t seen any programmes about Turkish-Cypriots on television.
Author:

“If you would depend on television to be informed about Turkish-Cypriots, what sort of an idea would you have about Turkish-Cypriots, or about Turks?”

Anna:

“The Turks are shown as suppressing our rights and that is why we turn against them. So do Turkish-Cypriots.”

And Eleni Efthymiou:

“I would like to see more programmes about Turkish-Cypriots on television and learn more about these people. Many fanatics who are all fire and thunder against Turkish-Cypriots, should meet them and realize they are not zero, they also have a history and they were living in this place, before we came along.... They have their own history, their roots; we should know what we have in common with them and what are our traditions and our differences. There is nothing on television about them, apart from discussions among us.”

“Programmes about the Turks shown on Tuesdays and Fridays, are I believe, enough. There are not very many Turkish-Cypriots in unoccupied Cyprus but we should show even to these few that they are members of the Cyprus State and of our society.”

Perhaps this was one of the exceptional responses, as the student, on one hand, did not consider the existing television programmes enough, but on the other, he did believe in getting to know them better. It could, of course indirectly be concluded that he did not believe television could do much to familiarise the two communities with each other.

On the other hand Charalambos Ioannou confessed to getting his information from his parents:

“I don't know if there are any programmes about the Turkish-Cypriots on television. The references I have, are derived from the news. My parents told me that when in summer they went through Pyrgos (the occupied areas) the driver and passengers were looking for someone to talk to and the Turkish-Cypriots were giving carnations to the Greek-Cypriots who were visiting the occupied areas.”

So did Antonia Makariou:

“I get my views about Turkish-Cypriots and Greek-Cypriots, from my parents and grandparents. They say they were quiet people and did not wish Cyprus ill and could live well with the Greek-Cypriots.”

There was also the view that too much propaganda was conducted by the Turkish mass media, according to Phanourios Tamanis:
"I know there are news bulletins in Turkish and this is very useful, as Bayrak has news in Greek. You might consider this useless, but it isn't. The two news bulletins make different statements — e.g. we say that the air space of the Greek side has been violated. This is the correct version, as the computers also support it. In their news bulletins, they claim that Greek planes violated the air space of Ankara. So we see that it is the military and Denktash who fanaticise them. They don't become fanatics of their own."

The above statement leaves no doubt that this particular respondent at least, considers that the Turkish media are fully controlled by the hegemonic forces of the establishment and his oppositional interpretations are quite natural, in spite of the "rapprochement" experience he had in the Fulbright programme.

The above section brought out quite different responses to television programmes existing — or not existing — in reference to the Turkish-Cypriots and the Turks. A very apt confirmation of the polysemy in the readings of TV contents and of the active audience that is really making its own meanings in its own particular conditions, thus placing the study in the Second as well as the Third Generations of Media Research (Identity questions and Otherness respectively), as already discussed in Chapter 2.

The investigation during the interviews of how the respondents felt about living together with the Turkish-Cypriots after a solution to the Cyprus problem, brought out an almost repetitive pattern of negative attitudes, with a few exceptions. A reminder again, as pointed out in Chapter 1 (17) that "a nation-state involves 'coherence and integrity of identity' " according to Morley & Robins (1995:24), elements which have been lacking in the newly established state of Cyprus, as the differences between the two communities did not allow them to respond to the requirements for the construction of a nation-state:

"I used to believe we can live peacefully with the Turks. No, I do not believe this now. After the murder of Tassos Isaac by the Turkish-Cypriots and the "grey wolves" from Turkey, who hit him with so much cruelty, even after he died, I no longer believe this. I think this thorn, this hatred on their part will never be eradicated." (Marina Polyviou)

Or, according to Christina Aletrari:

"I don't think we can live peacefully with the Turks in the future, because of the conditions in the Island. During these 24 years there is an aversion towards the Turkish-Cypriots and the Turks and there can never be perfect co-existence. I have never spoken to a Turkish-Cypriot. I would like to talk with one to find out what they know about the Cyprus problem and how they could face it."
Emphasis on the separative factor of hatred came up repeatedly among the interviewees:

"I don’t believe that we can live peacefully with the Turks. The hatred separating us is very deep." (Mihalis Mihail)

And Evi Ioannidou:

It would be impossible to live with the Turkish-Cypriots, because both sides feel a great hatred. We cannot forget what the Turks have done to us.”

A few of the responses were positive:

“We can live peacefully with Turkish-Cypriots in the future. I have, on the occasion of the UN Day met Turkish-Cypriots and I believe they are like us. They are ill informed and the young Turks are told that we are responsible for the invasion. The Turkish-Cypriot government suppresses them. When they claim their human rights they are imprisoned and human rights do not exist in Turkey. I believe they would like to live with us.” (Thomas Anastassiades)

Antonia Makariou discriminated between the Turks and the Turkish-Cypriots:

“We can live peacefully with Turkish-Cypriots, but not with Turks, we’ll have conflict. If the Cyprus problem gets solved, the Turks from Turkey should go home.”

Eleni Efthymiou:

“Yes, I personally believe we can live peacefully with the Turks, after a solution. Yes, I have met a Turkish-Cypriot. I see them like us).

And Anna Zamba:

“I believe that when the Cyprus problem is solved, Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots can live together and we’ll forget our differences. No, I have never met or spoken to a Turkish-Cypriot.”

A more analytical approach came from Phanourios Tamanis again, in the light of his Fulbright experience:

“I cannot say we can live together, some days they were OK, some, no. Both communities must try and face the problems and the prejudices against each other. We must try not to see each other as enemies, because as time goes by, the borders are closing. And by ‘borders’ I do not mean a door, but a frame of mind among nations which tells them ‘I am a Greek’ or ‘I am a Turk’ and I prefer to stick to my own faith.”
Phanourios’s rendering of the concept of “Otherness” of “them and us” deserves appropriate comment here, inspite of the fact that he is confusing religious faith with ethnicity.

It is not strange, perhaps that a conflation of ethnicity and religious faith is made by the respondent. Jaworski & Coupland (1999:408-9) try to encapsulate the different versions of the self that modernisation has generated - these “tribulations of the self” as Giddens (1991: 5) describes them - in the following words:

“Traditional systems of belief based on faith have given way to secularisation and the emergence of a multitude of competing ideologies (of which religious faith is only one)”.

An indication of this, as already pointed out in Ch.1 (Endnote No.3) is the fact that the Cyprus church plays an important role in the life of the people.

A question about whether they would save the life of a Turkish-Cypriot or a Turk aimed at investigating the feelings of the sample towards Turkish-Cypriots and Turks, in moments of crisis. With very rare exceptions, they all replied they would save the lives of both, as they are “human beings”. Some replies were very emphatic:

“Yes, I would save the life of a Turkish-Cypriot. His views may be different from mine, but I am nothing before God and it’s not up to me to take away his life, but if I can help him, I will do it. The same applies to the life of a Turk from Turkey.” (Marina Polyviou).

The reference to God, may again, be an indication of religious faith, this being one of the emerging ideologies in the midst of the dense secularisation process going on in Cyprus during the last few decades.

There was stronger deviance, however, when it came to saving the life of a Turk from Turkey:

“I would save the life of a Turkish-Cypriot, because when I am in danger if he is around, he might also save my life. I wouldn’t save the life of a Turk from Turkey, because they are barbarians.” (Charalambos Ioannou)

In spite of his basically utilitarian ideology and his self-interest, the respondent’s attitudes to Turks still remained bellicose.

Or, as in the case of Antonia Makariou:
“Yes, I would save the life of a Turkish-Cypriot. Not, not of a Turk. I would kill him on the spot.”

This was the most aggressive statement during the entire series of interviews and discussions.

Author: Even without a war?
Antonia: Perhaps I would save his life, eventually, he is also a human being.”

But of course, this came after the prompting question, and it was, essentially, an afterthought which she articulated in order to bridge the conversation with the Interviewer.

Or again as in the case of Andreas Savvides:

“Yes, I would save the life of a Turkish-Cypriot; he is one of us, a Cypriot, our citizen. I wouldn’t save the life of a Turk from Turkey. I feel hatred for him, because of what we see; they are evil, we are told they kill people, television tells us and shows us how they killed Tassos and the motorcyclists. Our parents tell us they are very evil people, very cruel – these created a hatred in me for the Turks.”

The above attitudes form a clear case of television renderings of “Otherness” in the discourse relationships with the realities of the social environment: the episodes of 1996, were still, apparently resounding in the attitudes of quite a few respondents.

In the responses to the question as to whether the Greek-Cypriot army could save Cyprus in the case of war, there was hatred mixed with an admitted fear towards Turkey. The general feeling was no, it couldn’t, as Turkey is “armed like a lobster” (Marina Polyviou) or because “Turkey has a big army and better armaments.” (Antonia Makariou).

Socrates Philippides was more optimistic and even quoted the source that shaped his opinion:

“I believe that the Cyprus army, when necessary, will help to a great degree the security of our country. Maybe I am influenced by the parades and the different bits of information I gather.”

Inspite of the fact that Philippides may have seen the parades live in the streets, we should note here that Cyprus television channels regularly broadcast the military and school parades (with a show of arms and military forces) on national days, live, with patriotic narratives and comments, in a contextualization of military power. The television
transmissions could, therefore be an additional source of influence. Reference is, perhaps due here, to Brass (in Gillespie, 1995:9) about ethnicity, as discussed in Ch.2 (37):

"Ethnicity or ethnic identity (...) involves in addition to subjective self-consciousness, a claim to status and recognition, either as a superior group or as a group at least equal to other groups."

It is not surprising, as a result, that parallel to these nationally assertive views, Philippides also exhibited a very negative assessment of Turkish-Cypriots and Turks — against whom, of course the banner of Greek-Cypriot military readiness was being waved:

"No, I haven’t met a Turkish-Cypriot and I wouldn’t like to meet one. I believe they are very hypocritical, they oppress others and their culture and standard of living is not that well developed...This is my idea of a Turk."

Meyoritz in “No Sense of Place” (1985) suggests that “physically bounded space is becoming less important in the age of electronic information. Television has eroded traditional boundaries, both social and physical, so that many social spheres, which were once distinct, now overlap with each other.” (In Billig, 1995:144) This is one of the building blocks in the construction of the post-modern approach to culture and the media. Still, modern nationalism with its emphasis on borders and national symbols is again a part of today’s reality, more especially in the case of states still struggling to guard their borders and to reinforce their national security. It is in situations of crisis therefore, that this turn to national symbols, like the flag, the landscape and the language, the value of the borderline affords a sense of national security and trust in the strength and solidarity of national identity — a sense of space-bound nationalism. (Ch.2:17) And even though as suggested in Chapter 2, on Literature Review (62) “elements of the post-modern are, really a part of modern communication in the island”, and “banal flagging of nationhood is not,” according to Billig, “something that is to be expected in this postmodern world” (Ibid) it is still a fact that “place-bound nationalism” is in some ways, definitely present in Cyprus society and symbols like the flag in Cyprus have, today, become major issues in the history of the Island. This further confirms further the dialectics between the global and the local, or the universal and the particular, in Cyprus realities. Immanuel Wallerstein (1984a:166-7) describes this discourse in his own terms:
"The nationalisms of the modern world are not the triumphant civilizations of yore. They are the ambiguous expression of the demand both for assimilation into the universal and simultaneously for adhering to the particular, the reinvention of differences. Indeed, it is universalism through particularism and particularism through universalism."

The concept proposed by Robertson (1994:100) to describe globalization and localisation, as a "twofold process involving the interpenetration of the universalization of particularism and the particularization of universalism" can, perhaps be exemplified – in its latter dimension - in the sequence where Solomos is being shot on the mast of the Turkish flag, in his effort to bring it down, the televised version making the rounds of international channels, in 1996. Or again, the particularization of universalism in the use of English language as bearer of Anglo-Saxon culture, on Cyprus television, or its inclusion in the everyday use of the Cypriot dialect, as seen earlier in Chapter 2 (66).

The flag, as a symbol of affiliation respectively, with Greece and Turkey, was included in the Constitutional rights of the Cypriots with the establishment of Independence in 1960:

"The institutionalization of the affiliation with Greekness and Turkness respectively, was already clear in the general terms of the Constitution. It penetrated the three State authorities and went through to the regulation of detailed items, where a number of petty rules revealed a deep distrust. Certain regulations (e.g. the right to hoist the Greek and respectively the Turkish flag) were devised as a substitute for the unrealized national postulates (Enosis and Taksim). (Tzermias, 1994)

The questions, therefore, to the interviewees, about the significance of the flag did not only serve to bring out their views with regard to a symbol of the national identity of Cyprus, but also brought to the surface different attitudes variously connected to their identity:

"Sure, the Greek flag is a holy symbol for me. Many people lost their lives for this flag – starting from the Greek Revolution and the liberation struggle of 55-59; we defend this flag with our teeth and nails and it owes its recognition today to the fact that it was dipped in the blood of many heroes. The same goes for the Cyprus flag. It is more recent – going back to the 1960 independence of Cyprus and the heroes of 55-59 who died for this. It is worth honoring, respecting and treasuring as something that nobody can violate." (Marina Polyviou)

"The Greek flag is motherland on a flag. I feel joy and pride when I see it. Our motherland is Greece and Cyprus. Greece and we, are one. The Cyprus flag is what I live, it is Cyprus. I have never been to Greece but the Cyprus flag is more important." (Andreas Savvides)

And the views of Phanourios Tamanis:
"The Greek flag is a symbol of the nation, it is a holy symbol in which we must believe, our spirit and roots being Greek, but we shouldn’t be chauvinists...The Cyprus flag is the flag of the motherland. It symbolizes the Cyprus Republic, in which we must believe. Both are symbols of faith and love, one of the nation (ethnos) the other, the motherland."

Obviously, the Respondent here is referring to Greece, as “ethnos” in order to articulate the national descent of the Greek-Cypriots, while his reference to Cyprus as “motherland” is an intension of codifying the values and associations with one’s country of descent. Another indication of the spirit of particularism and a “place-bound nationalism”, inspite of the configurations of post-modern globalism in the life of the Island.

"The Cyprus flag is a symbol for us Cypriots and Cyprus is an island occupied by the Turks, but the Greek flag is a symbol for all the Greeks.” (Evi Ioannidou)

A different (political) approach is adopted by Socrates Philippides:

"Seeing the Greek flag flying, I remember mother Greece, I feel security. I feel proud. But on the other hand, I don’t like the fact that we relate it to the political party of the right wing, who use it. I don’t believe it should be used by one party exclusively, as its own...The same goes for the Cyprus flag, but I don’t view it with as much sentiment as I do the Greek flag.”

On a contrary account, the Turkish flag becomes a symbol that attracts sentiments of intense counter-identification, as seen in Ch. 1(17-18) and the flag incident in Dherynia:

“I feel some fear when I see Turkish military posts, but also indignation, when I look at the Turkish flag, from afar, flying in the occupied areas” (space configurations). (Anna Zamba)

So, the flag, the landscape, the borderline, become definitive components in the ideologies and lifestyle of young citizens of the traumatized state of Cyprus, inspite of a parallel globalisation process that is unfolding through the media. This process of counter-identification was continued in the self-stated identities of the respondents, a fact already discussed in Ch.2 (66-67):

They mostly stated “Greek-Cypriots”, looking to Greece, as the metropolis of their ethnicity, and believing that the cultures of Greece and Cyprus are very similar, with only a few differences:

“I don’t think the word Greek-Cypriot differs from Greek. We, here in Cyprus, are more Greek than the Greeks living in mainland Greece, because we know what it means to face a conqueror like the Turks and what it means to know you want to fight and defend your motherland.” (Marina Polyviou)
But, at the same time, differences between the two cultures are pointed out. So the same person, will also comment as follows on the two cultures:

“Our culture differs from that of Greece. I don’t think people care much for each other. I haven’t been to Greece, but my father has and he tells me that people walk down the street, angry and thoughtful, or not having this gentle, hospitable disposition, that we in Cyprus have.”

And at some other point in the interview, she will say:

“I feel I am a Cypriot, as I was born in Cyprus, but Greek also. We have differences from Greece in language, also the way of life in Greece. Sometimes we copy them, their way of dressing, their habits, their entertainment styles, etc.” (Anna Zamba)

Phanourios Tamanis, as always has a more sophisticated attitude:

“I would say I am a Greek-Cypriot. There are differences between our culture and that of Greece. Not because the spirit is different, but because the economy in Greece is declining, it is not as healthy as the Cyprus economy. So they don’t have the same opportunities like we have. They try to safeguard what they have. We – in Cyprus, don’t hesitate to give what we have, to help others.”

Other views about the two countries, however stressed differences even more:

“In Cyprus we are a little oriental. The Greeks are more European in mentality. We are more passive than Greeks. We do not fight for our rights, we accept situations more easily.” (Eleni Efthymiou)

Thomas Anastassiades who mostly views Cyprus productions will further state:

“There is a Greek element in me, but I will always remain a Cypriot, a citizen of the Cyprus state and will support Cyprus matters.”

This is a very clear indication of the strong direction of localism, or particularism versus universalism, in the local-global dialectics around which many television discourses are conducted. (Ch.2: 64-65)

These strong and repeated reverberations about differences between the cultures of Cyprus and Greece, seem to be in support of views already presented (Ch.1:13&14) by Markides (1977:78):
“Although mainland Greeks and Greek Cypriots shared the same culture, the structure of their societies and their political and economic institutions were diametrically different and often contradictory.”

Tzermias (1994) will agree with Markides, in describing the complexity of the Cypriot identity:

“It is true, the Greek Cypriots are Greeks. But they have their own peculiarities, in the same way as, for instance, the Cretans have their own features in comparison to the continental Greeks. The same goes for the Turkish Cypriots.”

So not only was there an encounter of Greek Cypriot versus Turkish Cypriot identity, through political expression, like living as one community for some respondents, or on the level of national symbols - like the flag - but there was also an encounter, on the level of language or culture, as a way of life: Modern Greek and the Cyprus Dialect, set out the ground for a “Greece/versus/Cyprus culture” a tie that perhaps is not obvious, but did, nevertheless surface in the respondents’ conversations.

VI. 6: Television Preferences and Readings: Interview Interpretations in Unoccupied Famagusta

The respondents in the interviews and groups discussions verified the conclusions of the Field Survey which differentiated the responses of the unoccupied Famagusta area from those of the Nicosia area. Not all of these differences were demographic in nature, as such - i.e. based on area, gender, age or socio-economic context. But the differences established in the Field Survey were sustained in certain ways which created a further continuum between the field survey, the programme analysis and the interview contexts, inspite of the complexity of the paradigm, thus supporting the idea of applying triangulation of the methods used. (Ch.3:85-6):

In the Unoccupied Famagusta area:

♦ There was lower viewership of foreign programmes and more especially of Beverly Hills, as already established in the Field Survey. (Ch.4:136-38)

♦ A stronger conservatism as to women’s equality with men was also revealed and it is also appropriate to refer to correlation between such conservatism and the viewing of Beverly Hills as shown again by the Field Survey. (Ch.4:149)

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A much stronger Greek-Cypriot identity was established in this area than in the Nicosia area, but with more acute under-estimations of the Cyprus dialect.

There was strong concern about political matters, with a lot of emphasis on the 1996 events and an almost homogeneously stronger prejudice against future living with the Turkish-Cypriots.

National symbols - e.g. the flag - were held in very high regard with a stronger feeling of spacial ethnicity than in the Nicosia area.

Some quotations of the interviewees in support of the above conclusions will establish a more detailed picture of the interpretations offered by this particular demographic community of unoccupied Famagusta, along the buffer zone:

Elena Andreou, 17, described Beverly Hills as something outside our own society...their life is beautiful but in Cyprus it cannot be like that.” Instead she spoke warmly of Akti Oniron and while in Greece met and spoke to one of the protagonists, Yiannis Voglis, whom, she said she felt “she knew before”. This further reinforces the theory of para-social relationships, by which, according to Noble, children “recognise film characters as people known to them.” (Ch.2: 71)

The case of Elena Andreou a young athlete on an international scale, strongly believing in the equality of women, is very interesting: she renders negotiated readings of Beverly Hills, because, even though girls in the series are equal to boys, she apparently does not accept its standards for Cyprus society. She does however accept those of Akti Oniron, a local production, in which serial she believes “women are equal to men”. A strong feeling of localism one could say. Perhaps the fact that Akti Oniron is essentially a glocal adaptation of imported soap operas, makes women’s independence in the Cyprus context, more credible and hence more acceptable.

On the other hand, even Paraskevi Kara, 16, who does see Beverly Hills and likes it, identifies with Donna for reasons of tradition: “Donna preserved her traditions like us and stayed under the protection of her parents, becoming independent only when she grew up.” Of course Donna displayed many other positive aspects, like being socially oriented, as in the analysed episode in Chapter 5 (205-206), but Paraskevi adopted this particular reading.

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21 In an interview to author, Nov.20, 1998
22 In an interview to author, Nov. 27, 1998
The above readings of Beverly Hills, were, again another instance where the construction of a global cultural identity essentially renders different discourses among different viewers with a wide range of heterogeneous readings. (Ch.2:231-2)

This attitude was conspicuously projected into Paraskevi’s personal opinions about gender equalities:

“No, I will not claim the same rights with men, as some of their rights do not become us. I would like the man to be the leader of the family. I would like to have an equal job with him. I don’t think I can have the same rights in my job, or in entertainment. I cannot go out alone, like men do.”

The post-colonial syndrome of masculine hegemony is unquestioningly admitted here. However she did not only state that she liked “Baywatch” but admitted that she “had been influenced by ‘Baywatch’” and would like to become a rescuer. Paraskevi’s father is in sea sports and this is apparently her own answer to the domination of masculine power in her society - a personal adjustment to share in this hegemony - in direct discourse with (American) television culture as mediated in a globally distributed programmes like Baywatch.

Another respondent, Constantinos Germanos, 13, also confessed he wanted to become a rescuer, having been influenced by the serial, Baywatch.

So the influence of these programmes had a direct effect owing to spatial discourse – the presence of the sea and the possibility of sea sports.

Andreas Christofi, 15\textsuperscript{23}, did not see Beverly Hills as he “didn’t like these programmes with rich people”. Instead he liked programmes in the Cyprus dialect, he believed that “yes, there was black magic”, even though he rendered a negotiated reading of the witchcraft episode in Istories, saying that the villagers should have acted in a “more civilized manner”. He also believed that women should be equal but he wouldn’t like his future wife to leave the family and children and go “on a trip to Paphos, for example.” (Again, an illustration of negotiated attitudes). This is supported by the findings in Ch.4 (134), where the percentage of those believing “pre-marital sex” is not appropriate for women, was highest in Unoccupied Famagusta. His strong association with local tradition and customs comes through in another way: when talking about Christia’s visits to the television Coffee-shop, he quoted a folk song which is sung by a local (Paralimni) singer about Androniki. This was - in local and Pancyprian tradition - a very forward woman dressed in European clothes

\textsuperscript{23} In an interview to author, Nov. 20, 1998
going to the coffee-shop and smoking a nargile, thus shaming her family and being eventually killed in the coffee-shop by her father and brothers – the hegemony of masculine power in all its patriarchal glory. Inspite of these strong traditional associations, however, he said he also watched “Friends” and the “Sentinel” – a further addition to the local-global dialogue.

Younger girls, like Georgia Theodorou, 13, expressed an unconditional liking for Beverly Hills:

“The girls in the programme are equal to men. In Cyprus women are a little inferior and men consider themselves superior.”

Both Paralimni and Frenaros from which the respondents were selected, are villages of tradition, inspite of tourism in the area. The Cyprus dialect is therefore spoken much more widely than it is in the urban part of Nicosia. And the programmes ranking higher in popularity were the Cyprus and Greek productions. Still, it was interesting to observe an even stronger feeling of ambivalence than in Nicosia, towards the linguistic equality of the Dialect and the Greek Demotic.

Andreas Christofi stated that “the Cyprus dialect is suitable for rendering funny discourses. If you say something dramatic in the dialect, people may not understand it.”

Georgia Theodorou held that even though we love the Cyprus dialect, “it is not suitable for television programmes, but in ‘Akti’, there is a mixture which is good.” It is clear that Sciriha’s conclusion in Ch.1 (22) about the Cyprus dialect not being considered as fit for television programmes, is being refuted, or adjusted to ongoing developments in Cypus television production/consumption processes.

Margarita Efstathiou (father, a farmer) stated that:

“They understand the Cyprus Dialect better. In the Greek demotiki, they may say things we do not understand.” And Kyriaki Adoni, 14 (father, a cow-breeder) felt we should use the Demotic as a sign of respect, for older people. The Cyprus dialect cannot be used for dramatic programmes, but mainly for entertainment programmes.”

In the area of national/ethnic values some responses strongly differentiated the two interpretive communities in Nicosia and Unoccupied Famagusta:

\[24\] In an interview to author, Nov. 27, 1998
\[25\] In an interview to author, Nov. 27, 1998
Elena Andreou, who participated in world sports outside Cyprus, emphasized her deep respect for the Greek flag by describing an incident in Portugal as follows: the national flags fell to the ground and she rushed to pick it up and carry the Greek flag, whereas her Portuguese friend stated very dispassionately about the Portuguese flag, that:

"It is a piece of cloth, it's not my flag. It was cloth before they made it a flag".

So Elena, impressed, concluded pensively:

“She didn’t care and she was also impressed with what I did.”

One cannot forget, of course the countless times that the scene of Solomos’s shooting on the flagpole - to bring down the Turkish flag - was shown on television, thus debasing the Turkish flag to a unique symbol of hated ethnicity – the despised “others” versus whom the respondents positioned their own flag, a (respected) symbol of their own national (ethnic) identity.

Again in the context of space configurations, Afxentiou, 16,26 exhibiting an emphatic streak of Cypriotness, associated himself with localized, not national (state) ethnicity:

“The Greek flag is the second flag of our state, the Cyprus flag being the first.”

Paraskevi Kara, talked along the same lines:

“In Cyprus the Greek flag is used more than the Cyprus flag and I cannot understand why.”

All the respondents stated they are “Cypriots” and successively, almost in the same breath, “Greek-Cypriots.”.

The interviewees in the area showed a very high awareness and sensitivity to the events of 1996 with the double murders of Isaac and Solomos. The innumerable times these events were shown on television created very strong feelings in them against the Turks, with whom they did not believe they could live together after a solution to the Cyprus problem:

26 In an interview to author, Nov. 20, 1998.
“I don’t think we should show programmes for them. Later on, after a solution to the Cyprus problem, I don’t think we will refuse to live with them and we will not reach the point of saying, ‘We hate them. Now we reach the point of hatred’.(Elena Andreou)

Afxentis Afxentiou:

“I don’t think we can live peacefully with the Turkish-Cypriots... I don’t think there should be more programmes about the Turkish-Cypriots, as I don’t think people will respond.”

And Georgia Theodorou:

“I think we cannot live peacefully with the Turkish-Cypriots, as there are many Cypriots who hate the Turkish-Cypriots for what they did to us – take half of our country.”

Some views were negotiated — living together with the Turks on conditions — but there was only one positive answer, from Constantinos Germanos, whose father was a farmer and who believed that:

“Before and after the war, we were brothers with the Turkish-Cypriots. But not with the Turks, we fought they did not want us, so they killed Tassos and Isaac.”

Additionally, the events of 1996 elicited very emotional comments, whether the respondents had seen them live on the spot, or on television. The repeated broadcasts of the same scenes of Isaac’s shooting while he climbed up the mast to bring down the Turkish flag created a range of different reactions among the respondents, in support of the postmodern perspective described by Ang (1996:17&179) in Ch.2 (64):

“An infinity of rewritings, an infinitude of social, infinite semiosis does not confer to ‘resistance’ but to uncertainty, ambiguity, the chaos that emanates from the institutionalization of infinite semiosis.”

Perhaps the responses did not add up to anything like an infinity — institutionalized or not - but there was a variety of responses, calling to mind - to a certain extent - Lindlof’s (1995:54) description of postmodernity:

“Postmodern life is seen as situational, fragmented, fluid, style-centred, participatory and reflective”.

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In answer to the question whether “television had shaped public opinion in any way with these broadcasts”, Elena Andreou responded with a rich range of reactions:

“Yes, definitely. All the channels showed them repeatedly. Of course, perhaps they shouldn’t have shown them so many times, because they should respect their relatives and how they felt. After these events I realized that Greeks have more humanity in them than the Turks. I did not expect them to be like that. For example, if Denktash has problems with his health, I will say, ‘So what, what do I care? I was not like that when younger. These events really disturbed me.’ ”

Afxentiou stated that:

“.they created animosity and indignation in me. I wanted to go to the occupied areas more than ever, as I believe that one day we will go back... Yes, I believe the broadcast of these events worked positively for us (Greek-Cypriots), for only a very brief time – three or four months. Now who remembers that they were murdered?”

A different note comes from Stavros Neou,17 who saw the events both on the spot and on television:

“When I saw the events on television I felt a stronger hatred and indignation, as the climate was more intense. When on the spot I felt I just wanted to get away. But when seeing them on television I felt more determined to do something.”

Kyriaki Adoni was equally intense in describing the events as she saw them on television:

“My feelings were of great sorrow, a great disturbance, I wanted to shout, I couldn’t stand seeing the Turks hitting Isaac...I saw them innumerable times on television and I have the same feelings every time I see them.”

VI.7.a: Group Discussions: Introduction

Two group discussions were conducted with six students of both genders in Nicosia and another seven in unoccupied Famagusta, between students from Paralimni (Lyceum) and Frenaros (Gymnasium.) These discussions (organised after an investigative pilot discussion was first conducted) lasted about one-and-a-half hours each, and tried to analyse in-depth the range of possible readings already established among the interviewees. In other words, they were treated as a crosscheck with the interview responses, but also as an additional dimension or

27 In an interview to author, Nov.20, 1998.
level, because the peer support helped the respondents express their views more openly and unhesitatingly, even when these views differed. The author was the moderator, leading the discussion along the lines that interested the survey: the agenda of conversation tried to establish a continuum between the data of the field questionnaire, the patterns of the analyzed top programmes and the attitudes and cultural values of the sample, as tracked down in the Interviews: points of ideology and culture - local or global - arising from the television programmes analysed, and projected into the interviews, were raised in the discussion, in order to establish relationships between TV contents and discourses, on one hand and on the other, the lifestyles, attitudes and direct feedback of the group respondents.

The discussions were run like a "collective depth interview" (Lindloff, 1995:54) so that insightful interpretations of the top five popular programmes were obtained and the television experience was supplemented, extended, supported or contrasted with material obtained from the personal interviews.

In general, we can say that the objectives of qualitative interviewing as set out by Lindlof (Ibid:166) were guiding points for these interviews:

• Learning about things that could be observed directly by other means - e.g. ethnographic observation, but not feasible in the present study.
• Understanding a social actor's perspective
• Inferring the communicative properties and processes of interpersonal relationships
• Verifying, validating, or commenting on data obtained from other sources" (the quantitative research, the qualitative programme analysis and the personal interviews in the present study.)
• Editing the distinctive language - vocabularies, jargon, forms of speech – used by social actors in their natural settings (the interviews in the present study).

The interviews and discussions were taped, after an explanation was, of course given to the respondents that the author did not represent any particular channel but was conducting an independent academic research, in which their frank personal views were requested.

As language in qualitative interviewing is both a tool and a subject for analysis, it was important to be aware and sensitive to the intricacies of language among the Greek population of Cyprus: the pure panhellenic demotiki, the Cyprus dialect, or a mixed use of
both are all a part of everyday communication. So an appropriate combination was used, where necessary, in the way it had also been used in the individual interviews. The hyphenated identity of the Greek-Cypriot, versus the mainland metropolitan Greek, was interesting to probe further, to establish any direct or indirect associations with the programme preferences of the sample.

VI.8.b: Group Discussion in the Nicosia District: Views and Interpretations

The students taking part in the group discussion, recorded on Nov. 12, 1998 were chosen from: the village of Akaki (Christina Gavriel, 14), and from Nicosia - the Gymnasium of Pallouriotissa - (Theodossis Theodossiou, 17 and Andreas Eleftheriou, 15), the Technical School (Spyros Theodossiou, 17) and the Lyceum of Acropolis (Jenny Dragatsi, 17, Fotini Keravnou, 17 and Stella Demetriadou, 17).

The rural and urban, population, as well as the general and technical high school education, and the two genders were represented, even though there could be more variation in the age groups: 13, 16 and 18 were missing, owing to difficulties faced by the school management in obtaining students of these ages, for the discussion.

The overall patterns that emerged from the discussion as to the three areas of values and issues - television readings, socio-cultural values and national/ethnic issues, were very similar to those of the 13 interviews presented and discussed in the previous sections.

Some responses however, are worth recording as they were more analytically presented, perhaps owing to the research environment created by the peer group. The other thing to be noted is the fact that the members of the discussion group did not hesitate, on different occasions to disagree among themselves on different issues and to try and support their views with specific arguments. This actually both reinforced and enriched the variety of views expressed earlier in the personal interviews, even though some basic conclusions were more or less homogeneous.

Here are some of the participants’ responses that were differentiated from the responses of the single interviewees:

The “anti-establishment” style or “discourse order” (counter-hegemonic) of one of the channels – ANT.1 was commented on, by one of the girls in the discussion, in the following words:
“Just as newspapers support different political parties, so do channels. I remember some days ago, when there were two news items, one was about the church and the other was about the beatings of the unlawful immigrants by the Cyprus police. In the first item, the presenter said that even though the Bishop had telephoned with the request that certain photographs should not be shown on the air, until more information could be obtained, ANT.1 went ahead and showed the pictures. This showed they do not support the establishment and are not afraid.”

Obviously, the above is a further confirmation of ANT1s’s use of “voices of dissent” to reinforce the channel’s objectivity and authority.

The use of language was discussed with frankness and sophistication, with comparisons between the Panhellenic Greek and the Cyprus dialect, confirming the competing views expressed in the interviews:

Christina (from the village of Akaki) commented that language plays a role in attracting them to the Cyprus productions, as the Cyprus dialect cannot be forgotten. But Stella (Nicosia) had more negative details:

“The Cyprus dialect is part of the Greek language, but it has something barbaric, I think. It has something unrefined. If we don’t think it is a gentle language and if we want to speak politely, we must speak Greek (i.e., the Demotic), which is more acceptable. No news, or other information programmes use the Cyprus dialect. The Cyprus productions show the life of the Cypriots in the village or in the towns, but the information programmes addressed to the Cypriots, or the Greeks, anywhere, must use the Greek language.”

This is not surprising, perhaps, coming from an urban interviewee, who is a student in one of the top Lyceums in Cyprus as to educational standards and as to the social background of the students. It was, besides, further indication of the language encounter or even confrontation of the Demotic and the Dialect on Cyprus channels.

Naturally not all readings were dominant. One of the participants found Manolis and Katina not funny at all, but “silly, making fun of people” and therefore never saw it. Another participant stated that:

“I do not watch Cyprus productions, as they underestimate the intelligence of the viewer. Their jokes are pathetic. I prefer Beverly Hills as it contains jokes and also touches on problems of young people after they leave high school and go to the University. They are things we will be facing in the near future.”

Other participants continued this trend towards global perspectives:
A series of different views on “Beverly Hills” brought the series closer to Cyprus realities:

“I think we have the same problems as they do. We have the same products, problems, etc.”

Or:

“Some kids are good, some have been badly influenced and have been led to ruin. The kids in ‘Beverly Hills’ are good kids, they don’t misbehave, they study in school and will continue their studies, to have a better life.”

Or:

“Kids of 17 have the same needs, no matter where they live.”

And:

“It shows some problems which are more serious than those we have. But these problems might come to Cyprus, so it is good to see them. We’ll know how to face them.”

On matters of gender equality their views about the equal rights and opportunities for women, generally coincided with the views of most interviewees in the personal interviews. Some views on the projection of gender issues in foreign or Cypriot productions were more discriminating, however:

“I believe that women are shown as equal, independent and dynamic, but their weaknesses are also shown. If women have an inferiority complex, they try to show their independence by exaggerating and foreign series show this – actually all series show it.”

Or:

“I think women are done an injustice. Men support men and women support women, in both imported and locally-produced programmes.”

The discourse on gender values as projected on television gave signs again of a more reasonable approach:

“When the time comes for me to marry somebody, we would share our problems and I wouldn’t place her on an inferior level, she would have the same liberties with me, within reason.” (Andreas Eleftheriou)

Spyros Theodossiou, whose father is a policeman, gave an oppositional reading as to the beating of the immigrants by policemen, the reading being based on the semiotics of television:

“My father and many of my friends are policemen and the channels only showed those moments when the policemen were hitting the illegal immigrants; they didn’t show the shots where the immigrants hit the police and burnt their glasses. The policemen did not hit them
without reason. They asked for it, coming out of their cells naked, shouting slogans and cursing in their language, starting fires. The police were forced to respond like they did."

Meta-discourse here appropriated television semiotics to the respondent’s particular (family), attitudes possibly influenced by family members.

Their response as to the values in Cyprus society was threshed out in an argument among themselves:

Jenny Dragatsi whose father is a businessman (from Greece) pointed an accusing finger at the previous generation:

"I believe that the previous generation, were more materialistic. I see many friends of my mother’s — a little younger — who are interested in the trademarks of slacks, of the car, the size of the house, the decorator, etc. But my generation, is not interested, I believe in these things, but care more for what will make us happy in the long run."

All the others disagreed with Jenny. Perhaps it was the reaction of Cypriots versus a peer member of mixed descent (Greek and Greek-Cypriot).

Or another impersonated confrontation of language and culture, between Greek-Cypriots and a Greek of Cyprus-Greek mixed descent.

Photini Keravnou (father again a businessman), responded with the following comments:

"I don’t believe there is any individual who wouldn’t be interested in having all the things mentioned above, if somebody would give them to him — a big house with a swimming pool and a tennis court and a nice car and nice clothes. I believe material goods help in our society."

This was almost the only time that interviewees came up in open solidarity and support of materialistic values, perhaps to respond to an accusing finger. This was also, to a certain extent different from the priorities established by the Sample of the Field Survey, where the Cyprus Problem and Love and Having Friends, were given much higher percentages than other materialistic priorities like having a big income and a big house and luxury vacations. (Ch.4:128-29) But again it could be the difference between writing down a formal answer, to a live group discussion about preferred lifestyles.

Stella Demetriadou (father a college lecturer and businessman):

"I disagree with Jenny, because most people would really like all the nice things they could get."
Spyros Theodossiou proposed a more negotiative approach:

“There are people today who rely on money. For me, human beings are correct when they do not underrate others and are really human. We all like money, but a reasonably big house and car are good enough.”

Most of them wanted to study in a foreign country – the cosmopolitan streak was quite strong and perhaps this was rather natural, as only one student was from the rural area – Akaki – the rest coming from the Nicosia urban area.

Their responses to ethnic issues varied only slightly from those of the single interviewees. Hatred and possible future conflict because of fanaticism on the part of the Turks was brought up as a reason for not trusting in future relations with the Turkish-Cypriots:

Jenny:

“I disagree that things will be OK in the beginning. Maybe they will in the very long run – then there may be a chance for peaceful co-existence. But right now, after a solution, where will the refugees go? There will be a huge conflict. They have brought in so many Turks from Turkey; they have occupied our houses in Kyrenia and Morphou, they and their children and their children’s children. How shall we drive them out and how shall we separate what belongs to whom? And how shall we get back what belongs to us?”

They saw no programmes about the Turks on television and knew nothing about such programmes. Yes, they would save the life of a Turkish-Cypriot, or a Turk in danger, except perhaps for Andreas Eleftheriou, who would “walk out” on a Turk from Turkey.

The sentiments inspired by the Greek and Cyprus flags, as national symbols were pretty similar to those of the single interviewees, but on occasion, new values were added, like religion and the family, in association to these symbols:

Photini:

“The Greek flag is the same as the Cyprus flag, because I feel both Greece and Cyprus close to me – it is religion, the family and the flag that matter.”

By now, this began to sound like the pattern of a movement, or the repetition of a community credo. Almost unanimously their self-stated identity was “Greek-Cypriot” and they saw no differences between the cultures of Greece and Cyprus, in contrast to the single interviewees who pointed out quite a few differences. Perhaps the peer (mixed) character of
the group inhibited any attempt at cultural or language contrasts or encounters between Greece and Cyprus.

VI. 7.c: Group Discussion in Unoccupied Famagusta: Views and Interpretations

Not much that was new or radically different from the Nicosia group discussion was recorded in the Group Discussion of Unoccupied Famagusta, conducted on Nov. 27, 1998. The students taking part in this discussion were the following:

Frenaros: Florentia Stavrou (15), Andreas Andreou (14), Giorgos Zakou (13).
Paralimni: Andri Koullapi (16), Popi Fidhia (16), Evi Karamanta (17), George Moustakidhis (16).

Here is a selection of some main points raised:

Evi Karamanta gave a synoptic answer to the questions about why young people, prefer ANT.1:

“For me, ANT.1 shows more programmes which interest young people, not in contents or quality, but as to subjects.”

The answers about violence by the police in real life, rendered a uniformly dominant reading of police violence in Kalimera:

“Sometimes they overdo it but there are those assholes who need this.” (Andreas Andreou)

Or:

“Sometimes they behave brutally, but I think it is necessary. (Florentia Stavrou)

Further comments were added to the language discourse:

“The Cyprus dialect is more suitable for funny programmes, because there are more suitable words to create laughter, than in the Greek demotiki. Whenever I see a dramatic programme in the Cyprus dialect, I laugh.”

Two confessions of direct television influence were given by respondents in the area:

Mihalis Georghiou, 14, in his interview, confessed to remembering some of the vulgar expressions used by Stathis in Kalimera (Ch.5: 195) having said:

“I may use these expressions when I fight with a friend. My friends also use these expressions.”
An indication of identification with the protagonist in a dramatic programme.

In the discussion group, one of the girls gave another direct imitation of a scene in *Kalimera*:

"I see young boys watching the series, act like the dragon with the mask. The son of a neighbour went around the neighbourhood and acted like the dragon. He was in the fourth grade" – i.e. about 11, in Elementary school.

Materialistic priorities were stronger in the Nicosia area (as in Ch.4:140) and this came through in the two group discussions:

- In the Nicosia discussion the general trend was to talk about the job they would each choose and there was a strong argument about the materialistic boundaries of the younger and older generations.

- In the discussion with Unoccupied Famagusta respondents, the question about their future plans and priorities elicited different answers, with more emphasis on ideological priorities:

  "I would like to solve the problems of other people - mine included. Sometimes I get angry at the injustices I see. I swear at them and I would like the world to be perfect."

  Or:

  "The freedom of Cyprus as a start. Second, injustice among us should stop and there should be equality."

  And:

  "Peace in the world, no fighting, as in Iraq, Turkey, etc., as we hear on the news. And freedom for Cyprus."

Of course again, we must not forget that during the personal interviews in both areas, expressed priorities were personally motivated and self-centred. But apparently, the peer factor, reinforced by the 1996 events in this region prompted a more intensely localised and a more sharply ideological approach in the group discussion.
VI.8: Epilogue

The Interviews and Discussions did render a complexity of readings which complemented and tied in with the results of the Statistical Survey and the conclusions from the textual and discourse analysis of the programmes, also confirming quite a few of the theoretical concepts introduced in the Literature Review which set the scene for the pursuit of the goals and aims of the present study. Some of these concepts, evidently present in the Interview stage were the following:

- The polysemy and multiplicity of readings as discussed in Ch.2 (57) was present throughout the Interviews and Discussions, in relation to almost all the programmes, even though the Dominant/Text with its variations of Preferred, Negotiated and Resistant Readings (Ch.2:49) was also present throughout: Examples were the rejection of Greek programmes (e.g. Phanourios and Savvides, rejecting Kalimera Zoi) or Kyriaki from Frenaros accepting Donna in Beverly Hills, but Anastassiades rejecting Beverly Hills completely ("American society having fallen to this level").
  - Generally, however, the readings were dominant, tying in with the preferences of news and programmes in the Statistical Survey broadcast by ANT.1, which channel as indicated by the Programme Analysis was establishment-oriented with techniques that aimed at boosting its objectivity and impartiality – e.g. channel's attribution of news and use of "voices of dissent."

- Harvey's proposition of a time/space compression in the globalisation processes today, was evident in the sample's responses about identification or dis-identification with characters in Beverly Hills (Brandon and Valerie, respectively) or identification with rescuers in Baywatch, or a desire for the lifestyle projected in Beverly Hills, Melrose Place and other programmes.

- Identification with local Cyprus productions was strong, as initially shown by numbers in the Statistical Survey. The discourse analysis of the local programmes, however did bring to the surface both traditional, but also postmodern readings of pastiche or simulacrum representations, as in Kafenion- thus supporting the view that there was
"commodification of tradition" as pointed out in Ch.2 (60-61), which is the reply of localism to the homogenisation of globality, an expression of postmodernity functioning at the level of particularism to counter universalism.

- Post-modern interpretations were also present in the multiple readings of the flag incident in the 1996 Dherynia incidents, with the sample also attaching individual meaning to the television representation of the event, thus establishing a "relation of power" (Ch.2:40-41): the respondent felt moved (empowered) to go to the occupied areas, on seeing the shooting on the flagpole on television.

- The national identity of the respondents came through almost uniformly (Greek-Cypriots) as the integrated national/ethnic identity, unified by the territorial consolidation of the Greek-Cypriots, versus that of the Turkish-Cypriots, as discussed in Ch.2 (38). Strong feelings about the flag (Elena Andreou, from Paralimni) came through, more especially in the areas where the flag incident had occurred and was repeatedly shown on television. But other feelings characteristic of ethnic identity, like religion and the family were also mentioned by the respondents, all being pronounced features of ethnic identity or ethnicity.

- The absence of programmes on Cyprus television, with or about Turkish-Cypriots, which did not seem to bother the sample from the Statistical Survey, the very first stage of and was again virtually also established in the Programme Analysis. In the Interviews, it was complemented to a great extent by strong negative feelings on behalf of the sample: they generally did not believe in living peacefully with the Turkish-Cypriots in the future, and some even hated them – or could walk out on them, dying. "Otherness" therefore, in this case, being completely absent from the home screen, took on a cold, or even threatening face, reminding us of Kellner's view (1995:5) that television "provides materials out of which we forge our very identities." (Ch.2:65)

- Finally the ratings competition between Greek and Cyprus productions which was established in the Statistical Survey arithmetically only, was also further identified as an encounter of both languages and cultures in the discourse analysis of Chapter five. The
readings of the sample, in the Interviews also verified the tie between the Demotic and the Dialect:

- Even though the most popular actor (and character) among them proved to be Sophocles, a character speaking the Dialect in a glocal Cheers version - Para Pente, which was broadcast after the Statistical Research in 1997 - they still generally under-estimated the use of the Dialect, considering it suitable only for funny, entertaining programmes. So language as indicated in Ch.2 (66) proved to be a "locus for the struggle of power" (Bourdieu (1991:60), this struggle extending into the further juxtapposition, by the sample, of Greek and Greek-Cypriot culture and lifestyle.
CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSIONS

VII.1: Introduction

It is proposed that in this final chapter of the present Dissertation the following outline be adopted, in order to recapitulate, critically discuss and present some final conclusions and future orientations deriving from the Project:

♦ A summary of the aims and goals with which the Study began
♦ The Methodological Paradigm: Problems and Challenges
♦ The Practical Limitations of this Mixed Research Model
♦ Conclusions derived respectively from:
  - The Field Survey
  - The Programme Analysis
  - Discussion of the Conclusions: An Integrated Approach
♦ Future Research and its possibilities.

VII.2: Aims of the Study

The present study on “Television and the Cultural Identity of Cyprus Youth”, set out, in 1997, with the following aims in mind:

♦ To investigate the cultural/national identities of 13-18 year-old Greek-Cypriots in Cyprus, in relation to globalising tendencies, as mediated by television. In particular:
  - To identify and explore:
    1. socio-cultural themes and themes associated with national/political issues, e.g. representations of sex, women, violence and drugs, as well as politics and problems of nationhood and ethnicity
as manifested in locally-produced and imported television programmes (from USA, UK, Greece).

2. attitudes and beliefs of the sample on the above socio-cultural themes and on national/political problems and issues – the Cyprus problem, relations with Turkish-Cypriots and language issues.

3. To identify and analyse responses and television readings of interviewed teenagers to TV program contents, especially in relationship to the themes specified in 1, above.

The two aspects of the cultural identity of Cyprus youth to be investigated more closely were the ethnicity and lifestyle of the sample in the light of local Cyprus realities and developments in the Media, the national, ethnic realities and the cultural processes affecting the identity of the present study’s sample. Cyprus, as analysed in Chapters One and Two, a post-colonial state established in 1960, has been going through the processes of modernity and the ongoing processes of the information society in almost all ways that countries of the Third World have been doing for the last forty years. The Cyprus problem, created political questions of national coherence with the Turkish Cypriots - estrangement from the Turkish-Cypriots since 1963, with the demarcation line running across the Island since 1974, strengthening the ethnic identity of the two communities, as a result of cultural and territorial consolidation. As a result of this territorial conflation of ethnicity and nationhood, affiliations with Greece and Greek nationality and culture, (and respectively Turkey and Turkish nationality) stopped the ultimate development of the country into a unified nation-state, the two communities being kept apart. Additionally, the onset of Media Pluralism in the 90’s, completed the formidable background that gave rise to many questions concerning the relationship of television programmes – mostly imported from the USA, Greece and the UK – and the continuous process of the formation of the collective cultural identity of Cyprus youth.

The goals initially established for the Project were essentially accomplished and in the present conclusions the extent of the discourses established through the Project, in connection to these goals and aims will be discussed in summary. The cultural identity as to lifestyle and ethnicity, involving as it did socio-cultural issues on gender, violence, drugs and socio-economic priorities, which constitute a great part of the lifestyle of a society were explored through the Statistical Field Survey, analysed in five of the top ten programmes.
preferred by the Sample and then formed part of the personal interviews and discussions that concluded the project.

The exploration of the ethnicity issues containing as it did, national but also political issues and having to do with the views and attitudes of the sample in matters of language, national symbols like the flag and matters of peaceful co-existence and attitudes towards the Turkish-Cypriots, were also consistently pursued throughout the Quantitative and Qualitative stages of the Study, yielding interesting conclusions that do outline the relationship of television programmes with the cultural identity of the sample, not only through numbers, but through the discourse analysis of viewed programmes and through the conversations with the sample — meta-discourse and meta-communication.

In brief, the programmes preferred on Cyprus television at different research periods after 1995 - 1997 and 2000 - indicated an explicit turn from English-language to Greek and Greek-Cypriot productions, even though global trends are still present in the global-local dialectics. Lifestyle and equality in gender issues were established to be different in the Greek and Cyprus productions than those in the imported programmes and the relationship between these approaches and the attitudes of the sample preferring the respective programmes seemed to coincide. Violence and drug issues did not seem to feature strongly in the investigation of the television-identity relationship. In ethnicity matters related to the Turkish-Cypriot community however, the territorial and cultural consolidation and distanciation created between the Greek and Turkish-Cypriot communities more especially after 1974, followed by an absence of the Turkish-Cypriot “others” on Greek-Cypriot channels, was paralleled by ignorance or even animosity towards Turkish-Cypriots and by explicit aggressiveness towards the Turks — strongly featured in violent TV representations on Greek-Cypriot channels.

VII.3.a: The Methodological Paradigm: Problems and Challenges

In the first chapter of the dissertation a review of the socio-historical realities in Cyprus, more especially after the Island gained its Independence in 1960, and a summary of the Cyprus problem, as well as developments in the Media scene, formed a backdrop for the study of the Profile of Cyprus student youth — 13-18 — which was the population of the present study.

The review in the first two chapters of the political and historical developments in the Island, as well as the continuous unfoldment of the Mass Media of communication, together with the ethnic and national realities and the problems and significance of such components of culture, as language, the territory, the history and mythology, pointed to the necessity of
adopting a composite methodological paradigm for the research. Statistical research could render clues, but the programmes rated highly by the sample, had to be analyzed, as Cyprus television offers a span of local-global productions, with Greek productions increasingly taking over a leading role. Besides, the responses of the sample on a personal basis (qualitative interview research) was considered necessary, as the feeling of ethnic (national) identity and in projection, cultural identity discussed in Chs. 1 & 2, indicated a complexity that called for further personal responses.

The mixed paradigm of quantitative and qualitative research, chosen for the present study, far from being iconoclastic, was well justified in Chapter Two (86) on Literature Review by Researchers like Alasuutari, Livingstone and Lindlof, who saw nothing strange in the combination of the two methodologies. Lindlof (1995:7) supports this combination very effectively:

“Communication research now accommodates many different styles of inquiry, living side by side. Some accept this situation reluctantly, some welcome it, and some resist it.”

Stubbs (1998:234) invoking other authors, also summons further support for the combination of models, fully justifying it:

“An important part of Glaser and Strauss (1967) argument is that any method may be good for generating ideas, and that a combination is probably best. Webb et al. (1966) similarly argue the need for combining different methods of research in the social sciences, first since this provides a means of cross-validation and second since no measure ever taps a single, isolated, pure parameter.”

It is, of course difficult to corroborate findings from different research stages of the Paradigm, as corroborations would imply that the findings can be demographically generalizable, a principle that cannot be applied when using a mixed Quantitative Survey (with 600 students) and a preset Questionnaire, as compared to taking 23 personal interviews with an agenda that includes prepared and ad lib questioning. There is no congruency between percentages and conclusions reached by inductive processes and this was one of the weaknesses in the methodology used. So instead of speaking about resulting evidence, which could not possibly be obtained from more uniform or homogeneous methodological approaches, one can speak of complementary findings, points of touch that metaphorically close the gaps between the different angles of approach. Besides, the method of cross-fertilization and cross-validation, adopted in the case of the use of a Mixed Paradigm – triangulation, as discussed in Ch. 2 (86) - is, today internationally accepted as it offers
the possibility of the results complementing each other and therefore acquiring more
substance, if they do coincide, even though investigated from different angles. Of course, the
mixed model adopted in the present study, presented its own intricacies as it combines
entirely different traditions of research theory and research methodology. On the one hand,
the conclusions arrived at through the qualitative analysis were not expected to supply
evidence that would directly support the conclusions of the statistical survey. So we definitely
cannot speak of a hypothesis or a series of hypotheses which could be verified through the
project’s developing phases. This could be done, if there was a unitary method of research.
No congruent evidence as such was therefore consistently provided by all three methods of
research, in the results or findings about the Aims and Goals of the Study. One inconsistent
result, for example, was that which was related to the use of the Cyprus Dialect:

It was evident from the Statistical Survey that the highest ratings were claimed by the
Cyprus and the Greek productions, a result which superseded Sciriha’s (1996) finding that the
Dialect is not considered appropriate for television programmes. But the respondents
rendered a polysemic response to this result: On one hand they believed that the Dialect
should not be abandoned and it should be used in Cyprus productions, but on the other hand,
some of them believed it was only suitable for comic, entertainment programmes.

This is also, however an indication about the advantages of the Mixed Paradigm, as it
showed the ongoing developments from the dry deductive findings of statistical research, to
the inductive investigation of the interviews and discussions.

Another such incongruency was the result about priorities in the Statistical Survey,
which indicated high ideological goals, with “Security for Cyprus” ranking top of the list. In
the Interviews the highest concern was about a good job and family.

Of course, again, some of the questions in the Statistical Field Questionnaire could
have been more refined and adjusted to the rich collection of information resulting from the
discourse analysis of the Programmes. The juxtaposition of the Demotic and the Dialect or
of the Greek and Cyprus cultures, were never mentioned in the Statistical Questionnaire;
neither was the possible postmodern interpretation of programmes (like Kafenion) or events
like the Dherynia incident, as the nuances and refinements in the analysis of these points were
developed later on, in the subsequent research stages of the Programme Analysis and the
Interviews/Discussions.

But the theoretical groundwork expounded in Chapter 2 was widely supported by the
findings and conclusions after every stage of the Research Paradigm – Statistical Field
Survey, Programme Analysis and Interviews/Discussions. This created a harmonized three-
fold tapestry or backdrop which could provide the empirical elements required by such research – generalizability and representativeness offered by the Statistical Survey and validity by the Interviews and Discussions. The discourse analysis in the interim Programme analysis stage, mediated as a body of meanings bridging the other two stages.

The aims of the project were, as a result, given two platforms for investigation - one touching on the numbers and statistics, analysed in the narrative of the statistical survey, the other being involved with the self-stated reactions and readings of the interviewees themselves, the focus this time being on the audience response. Thus it was a combined attempt, in one and the same study to answer the question of what television does for us (statistical data and cross-relations) and what we do with television (interpersonal dialogues with respondents). Moreover, the cross-over stage of the programme analysis bridged the two phases in an original and integrating way, as the programmes analysed were derived from the results of the Statistical Survey and could subsequently be constructively integrated in the interviews and discussions. The difficulties, therefore, also provided an opportunity and challenge for originality.

It has been the view and experience of the author that even though laborious and time-consuming, the combination of the three techniques of inquiry, has been fruitful and rich in results. The responses afforded by the statistical survey, outlined a pattern of emergent trends among the respondents that mapped the ground and rendered insights which provided the topic areas for further investigation in the textual analysis of the programmes that followed, where semiotic and discourse analysis were used. The two stages together, further formed useful instruments for bringing to the surface empirical (discovered) knowledge which was cross-checked in an integrated dialogue in the ensuing one-to-one interviews and group discussions. This part of the qualitative research thus formed an extra level of cross-reference, another tier or dimension for the discourse which the author sought to investigate among the respondents.

The hours of television consumption (Ch.4: 122) established solid premises of information as to the sample’s familiarity with television programmes and characters, on which to build an interview or discussion, without the necessity of showing the interviewees any of their favourite programmes immediately before the conversations. The fact that the respondents were not viewing the programmes before discussing them with the Interviewer, could, under different circumstances have been a disadvantage, but in the context of the present project did not prove an obstacle in any way.
So this movement from external data to internal processes, from deduction to induction, in the production of meaning “examined within existence as experienced” (Ch.2:80) was conducted effectively, rendering conclusions which are relevant to the aims of the study. Additionally we could say that the disadvantages associated with three different methods of research temporally applied at different time-periods, had its advantages, as developments showed, because some of the discourses analyzed in the programmes developed in Cyprus society in later stages, thus enriching Interview conversations: Three such examples were the following:

- The incident with the Cyprus police using violence to suppress the insurgent immigrants, an incident which could be paralleled to the police using the violence of the violator as Stathis had been doing in “Kalimera Zoi”.
- The airing of the *Para Pente* production, where Sophocles, one of the protagonists speaking the Dialect was in direct encounter (also about language matters) with two other characters speaking the Demotic. Furthermore the same production was an apt illustration of glocalism (reproducing the American series, *Cheers*.)
- The additional Research by AMER (25th-31st May, 1997) indicating that *The Coffee-shop* still continued to be one of the top favourite programmes among the sample’s age-group too and that ANT.1 was leading the charts for all age groups. (Ch.4:146)

All the above developing information provided material for the conversation agenda in the Interviews and Discussions, which added an advantage to the longitudinal character of the Research.

The significance and originality of the present Research, does not lie in the combination of the Research Paradigm used only, but also in the fact that the research combination generated ideas deriving from the different stages. These ideas were marked by consistency, outlining, as a result an identity profile of the Cyprus youth in a theoretical and cultural context that has global implications. The different perspectives, therefore collected by the triangulation of the methods used, are just different aspects (derived from different angles) of the same conclusions. Glaser and Strauss, as far back as 1967 proposed that “any method may be good for generating ideas and that a combination is probably best.”

The trends and positions that have resulted from the present dissertation, have verified many of the theoretical approaches used in research about the cultural perspective in communication studies today. The crossover stage from modern into postmodern areas of
discourse has also been evident in the present research as seen in earlier discussions of theoretical concepts (the Epilogue in Chapter 6). At the same time these trends also seem to support the propositions about particularism existing parallel to universalism and the parallel movement of fragmentalisation and localism, as an answer to the homogenisation of globalism, pointed out in the introductory stages of the thesis. (Chs.2:64)

VII.3.b: Practical Limitations of the Project

One cannot say there were no other practical limitations, aside from those mentioned above, to be overcome in the study. The differences in the age-groups of the sample, ranging from 13-18 was a factor to be considered, both in the field questionnaire and in designing the interviews and discussions. The ability of all age groups to understand and interpret the questions could be variable and marked by a different interpretational potential. So in the field questionnaire, care was taken to simplify the questions, so that younger respondents - 13- and 14-year-olds - would not have problems answering them. In the personal interviews, additional, prompting questions were used to clarify the issues raised, if necessary, for these younger respondents.

Another issue arose from language: the language used in the field questionnaire was Standard Modern Greek (the Panhellenic Demotic), which is the language used in education and in all written documents in Cyprus. The author’s questionnaire for the personal interviews and the discussions was planned in Standard Modern Greek. But, on the other hand, the Cyprus Dialect was also used to facilitate or prompt more natural responses, so as to bridge gaps and also to clear up misunderstandings. The use of the Cyprus Dialect was necessary because some of the programmes discussed were themselves in the Cyprus dialect, so the terminology and references sometimes had to use Dialect terminology. Of course, again, the translation from the Greek language and the Cyprus Dialect into English for this dissertation also required some clarifications, as to the semantic allusions, the possible metaphors or other dimensions of particular words used in these two language mediums. So even though the detailed nuances of the language used originally, could not be directly translated into English, at least the problematics existing around crucial words or phrases, should be explained, together with background cultural information, as in Chapter 6, where dialect phrases were explained by the author – e.g. the words “ppoulli” – idiot – and “mannomanni” – silly fool.
During the personal interviews and the discussions, other methodological issues arose from the neutral space in which the interviews were conducted, away from the site of the sample's viewing and with a time lapse between their viewings and their articulated responses. So again prompts and reminders about the contents of the programmes had to be used on occasion, during the conversation. The fact is, however, that the respondents were in reality so familiar with the programmes discussed, that these prompts were scarcely called for.

The analysis of the results of the quantitative survey and the textual analysis of the top five programmes took a whole academic year to develop to a point where they could fully inform the interviews and discussions. It was therefore important to avoid any further delay as the age-groups were, in the meantime, differentiated, as 13-year-olds (in 1997) in a year's time when the interviews were conducted (1998) were over 14 and so on, down the line. So questions in the interviews also tried to back-track their viewing habits, in order to see if there was consistency between what the age groups of 1997 had reported as having watched and preferred then, and what the 1998 corresponding age-group of respondents were reporting in their own interviews and discussions. In other words did 13-year-olds in 1997 have the same preferences with 13-year-olds in 1998 – the latter being 12-year-olds a year ago? Furthermore, new programmes were introduced by the channels, both English-language and Greek-language productions from Greece and Cyprus. So, whereas the popular programmes in the 1997 survey, were still being broadcast at the time of the Interviews and Group Discussions, the candidate's knowledge of and familiarity with the contents and orientations of the new programmes was necessary to facilitate conversation around them, the cultural norms and value-systems they conveyed to the sample, as well as to address the sample's own television interpretations.

All of these considerations, plus the cultural climate which keeps changing with continuing political changes in Cyprus, had led the candidate to conduct the interviews and discussions in November 1998 and generally work hard, in order to avoid a greater time-lapse in between the Research stages.

VII. 4.a: Discussion of the Conclusions: The Field Survey

As foreseen earlier in Ch. 2 (84-86) the results from the Statistical Survey, the Programme Analysis and the Personal Interviews did not only cross-fertilize each other but furthermore some of the findings which ensued from the Field Survey were cross-validated from different angles in the Personal Interviews and Group Discussions.
We would be defeating the nature of the inter-paradigm Research approach chosen for this Study, with its different angles of research, if we were to claim that all the issues established by the Field Survey were complemented by the Interview results. But, on the other hand, inspite of the polysemic, multiple readings in the Interviews and Discussions (Ch.6) quite a few of the main points or issues connected to the objectives of the present study, held their consistency throughout the three phases of the Research Platform, thus safeguarding the characteristics of epistemological research – reliability, generalizability and validity.

The meanings and ideas generated by the application of the three different research perspectives - Statistical Field Survey, textual and discourse Programme analysis and Interviews/Discussions, will be discussed in this section, in a summary comparison of the perspectives - “triangulation” according to Stubbs (1998:234). The conclusions, therefore, arising from the three Research stages, will be integrated in response to the overall aims of the study, as set out introductorily, even though quite a few conclusions have already been presented at different stages of the Research Project.

♦ The exploration, in the Field Survey of television preferences, gender issues and priorities established statistically significant results – and therefore representative and generalizable – providing the premises on which the further analysis of the programmes and the Interviews could be structured.

♦ Programme preferences stated in the Survey, gave priority to Cyprus and Greek productions and only one English-language programme in the top ten list - Beverly Hills - seemed to be popular among the sample.

♦ This was also the general picture emerging from the Interviews and Discussions, but with further references to other English-language programmes, like Baywatch, Melrose Place or X-Files.

♦ The sample’s value-system as to gender equality, in association to preferred programmes rendered statistically significant correlations in the Survey and similar conclusions from the Interviews: Those viewing Beverly Hills expressed more modern approaches
towards gender equality in the Interviews, than those viewing Greek or Cyprus programmes.

- It is also characteristic that demographic differences indicated, in the Survey, that Beverly Hills was less popular in the (rural) area of Unoccupied Famagusta.

- Priorities again in the Field Survey depicted a population who are ideologically oriented, with very sharp characteristics of patriotic devotion to the problems of Cyprus and thirsty for meaningful relationships with their human environment.

- In the area of "National Ethnic Issues", the respondents sketched the self-portrait of a community of self-stated "Greek-Cypriots" who, by majority insist on the Greek language and resist the use of English (in official documents), support the Greek and the Cyprus flag and are very hesitant to believe in peaceful co-existence with the Turkish Cypriots, but are much more prejudiced against Turks from mainland Turkey, than against Turkish-Cypriots.

The above clues and cues paved the way for the textual and programme analysis which aimed to discuss identity representations and discourses as related to social realities.

**VII.4.b: Discussion of the Conclusions: The Programme Analysis**

The textual and discourse analysis of the Programmes rendered a rich contextuality of concepts as to identity representations and social realities. One cannot forget the Third Generation of Studies, which, as discussed in Ch. 2 (48) emphasized the relationship between discursive practices and interpretation by the audiences. This involved actually a direct linkage between the conclusions derived from the Programme Analysis and the Interviews and Discussions, so as to bring to the surface the complexity of interpretation that Alasuutari (1999:2-13) proposes in today’s research. (Ibid)

"A psychological interest in viewers’ mental processing and interpretation of media messages has given way to a more sociological perspective, within which one studies the range of frames and discourses on the media and their contents as a topic in its own right, not as a lens through which to peek into individual acts of reception."

The textual and discourse analysis of the selected programmes brought to the surface cultural realities, tradition versus modernity and language encounters (the Demotic and the
Dialect) in the very same programme. Furthermore, the discourses around the micro-level realities of the programme representations established a big range of connections to the macro-level realities of Cypriot, Greek or American society. A rich range of meanings was discussed during this stage of the Research, thus providing the agenda for further dialogues in the Interviews. Barker (2000:34), speaking of these meanings, as hinted in Ch. 2 (53), points out that it is uncertain which of the meanings identified in the Media “will be activated by actual readers/audiences/consumers.”

The analysis also rendered a complexity of identity representations in the different character zones which were outlined in the programme plots.

Sadan (1998:40) sees identity representation, as a very fluid evolution, always in the making:

“The representation of identity is an ongoing process, undertaken on many levels, in different practices and sites of experience. Identity is articulated in multiple modalities – the moment of experience, the mode of writing or representation (for example, in fiction or film) and the theoretical modality.”

II.4.c: Conclusions from the Statistical Survey, the Programme Analysis and the Interviews: An Integrated Approach

All the above rich narrative resulting from the Programme Analysis formed excellent background material for the last stage of the Project. As seen in the discussion presented in Chapter 6, experience, representation and modality discussed in the Programme Analyses (Ch.5) outlined identity discourses that were in essence cross-linked with the sample’s television readings and socio-cultural experiences. Some of the theoretical themes picked up during the Interviews and Discussions included the following conclusions:

♦ The diversity and openness in the readings recorded in the Personal Interviews and the Group Discussions were a very strong indication of the complexity and polysemy of television readings.

♦ The socio-economic affluence of imported (American) programmes, were, for some respondents a challenge and a standard to be pursued, while for others they were a Cyprus social reality. For some again, it was unrealistic or true only of America, being completely unrelated to Cyprus realities or possibilities. So many
readings were either completely oppositional or - negotiated. One respondent, Thomas Anastassiades, describes the American society as “having fallen to this level” - the level of Beverly Hills. Another one describes the programme as “not realistic. They show scenes with situations which we do not come across in Cyprus”. (Ibid). Andreas Christofi from Unoccupied Famagusta (Ch.6:278) does not see Beverly Hills as “he doesn’t like these programmes with rich people” and Paraskevi Kara from the same area (Ch.6:277), negotiates her interpretations by identifying with Donna in “Beverly Hills”, because:

"Donna preserved her traditions like us and stayed under the protection of her parents, becoming independent when she grew up."

♦ There was a thirst for tradition - “Kafenion” - and “Istories”, but also an estimation of weak modalities in the two serials - essentially considered as “simulacrum” by some of the interviewees.

♦ There was a desire for that close “Other” in the Greek serials, but there also was an underground or surfacing competition of languages - Demotic/Dialect and competing cultures - Greek and Cypriot. Also a parallel modality gap seemed to exist in popular Greek serials - Kalimera, Lampsí, etc. - “fit for grandmothers”, according to some interviewees. This thirst for tradition looks back to the comment in Ch.2 (60) that:

“.Cyprus has a place-bound identity, resting on the “motivational power of tradition.” (Harvey, 1997:303)

♦ There was a fear or apprehension of the unknown “Other” Turkish Cypriot, either entirely absent in the Programmes analyzed, or only present in the News, in the person of Denktash - a hated leader - or a pitiful Khurd trying to escape to the liberty and safety of the Cyprus Republic.

♦ The global hits - Beverly Hills, X-Files, Melrose Place, Baywatch - relating partly to the local experience with ambivalent modalities, verified the floating character of the identity of Cyprus youth caught between global and local television preferences. There were also continuous adjustments to the
television interpretations as to lifestyle (luxury, fun, gender issues and gender attitudes as such).

A characteristic adjustment or negotiation deriving from local exigencies was given by Thomas Anastassiades (Ch.6:252) as to *X-Files*:

"I view *X-Files*, because they incite our imagination. The values are relevant to Cyprus — the struggle for the revelation of truth, that there should be no corruption in the system, are relevant to Cyprus...We too have a lot of material for *X-Files*.

The same polysemic pattern of responses held true of the Greek productions, as they carried different meanings for different viewers: Some saw *Kalimera Zoi* and the protagonists, as real examples of life and behaviour in Greece, some considered it stuff fit for grandmothers to watch and enjoy. Even factual news like the shooting of Isaac on the flagpole in 1996, along the Dherynia demarcation line, signified different messages for different readers. Not merely dominant, negotiated or oppositional, as the cultural perspective would have us adopt, and not incorporating or resisting these meanings as the "Incorporation/Resistance" Model by Abercombie and Longhurstst would propose, but simply different, appropriated by the viewers to their own state of thought and feeling, perceptions, outlook and sense of representation. One associated the scene with the relatives of the victim, another with international audiences and enlightenment on the Cyprus problem, another felt it incited him to enter the occupied areas (audience empowerment) and still others had their feelings for the Turks - or Denktash expressively - intensified to a state of permanent hatred.

Again rudimentary television representations of life as in *Kafenion* received different and quite oppositional readings by the sample. Some viewed it as unlike the real traditional coffeeshops in Cyprus, some considered it very representative. Is tradition then used as a simulacrum to maintain coherence and continue the myth of the local culture through a postmodernist angle, as Harvey (1997:303) again proposes and as discussed in Ch.2 (60-61)?

"The irony is that tradition is now often preserved by being commodified and marketed as such. The search for roots ends up at worst being produced and marketed as an image, as a simulacrum or pastiche (imitation communities constructed to evoke images of some folksy past, the fabric of traditional working-class communities being taken over by an urban gentry.)"

The above description is not very far from the analysis of the televised coffee-shop, situated in the affluent Nicosia suburb of Makedonitissa, with a group of clients that only
vaguely resemble or reproduce the traditional “Kafenion” of the rural Cyprus village. A postmodern simulacrum discussed in both Chapter 2 and Chapt. 5 and also pointed out by some of the respondents in Chapter 6 (239).

It is of course appropriately important to also bear in mind that the coffee shop – a simulacrum of a lifepiece - is running its fourth year of transmission and has made the rounds of three Cyprus channels so far, with only slight adjustments.

Inspect of the open, polysemic interpretations of both imported (English-language) and of Greek or local productions however, Turner’s (1996:84) remark is in place here:

“A television message is composed through a set of highly conventionalized codes that we apprehend as natural and that we are therefore unlikely to decode in ways that differ markedly from the intentions of the encoder.”

Or, as Hall (Ibid) also supports:

“The television message may be polysemic, but it is not totally pluralistic: that is, while there is a degree of openness about its meanings, there are also limits.”

These limits are defined by the dominant cultural order, which can thus determine the dominant or preferred readings. It is not surprising therefore that most of the readings of the programmes analysed and discussed were the preferred or dominant ones, converging on dominant cultural readings and interpretations, as discussed in Chapter 6. Apart from the Interview excerpts, the further provision of tables (Ch.7:Endnote No. 1), for further cross-validation, as Schroeder suggests (in Alasuutari, 1995:50) gives an idea about the nature of the readings: There are 22 dominant readings in all, versus 11 negotiated and 11 oppositional, as indicated below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GENERAL READINGS</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>READINGS:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KAFENION</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KALIMERA ZOI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BEV. HILLS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The readings deriving from the Interviews, as delineated in the tables attached in Endnote (Ch.7:Endnote No.1) of the present chapter, are also clear indication that generally it is the
local production *Kafenion* (13 readings in all) which concentrates the greatest number of dominant readings – 8 – with only 2 negotiational and 3 oppositional. The Greek production - *Kalimera Zoi* (18 readings) however, while claiming 7 dominant readings, has also received 7 negotiational and 4 oppositional. *Beverly Hills* (13 readings), however displayed 7 dominant readings, two negotiational and 4 oppositional. The great number of negotiated and oppositional readings of *Kalimera Zoi* could be further indication of the underground – or explicit – encounter between Greek and Greek-Cypriot cultures, a fact which came up again and again in the Interviews, as we saw in Chapter 6.

The interviews, affording the author the chance to discuss in more depth and at more length the respondents’ preferences, brought to the surface, a third dimension, the “glocal” preferences of the interviewees. Such glocalised programmes in Cyprus, introduced after the 1997 Research, were *Para Pente*, which was a combination of *Cheers* and *Kafenion*, as well as *Akti Oniron*, which is patterned along the lines of American soap operas, embracing Cyprus (local) realities.

The tensions in the preferences of English-language programmes on one hand and Greek or Cyprus productions, on the other, were paralleled by another level of tensions, as to acceptance of or interest in the respective cultures. Some respondents who preferred Cyprus and American productions were also interested in studying in America – like Phanourios Tamanis (Ch.6:261), while others like Anna Zamba, did not like Greek productions and was fearful of violence in “countries abroad”, including Greece and America. Others, like Philippides, who preferred Greek and Cyprus productions, also preferred the security of Cyprus or Greece for studies and he would not even want to travel – i.e. to Germany or other countries, towards which he exhibited prejudice.

Morley & Robins (1995) suggest that “The screen is implicated in the construction of the fundamental antimonies of ‘self-us-good’ versus ‘Other-them-bad.’ ”

Cyprus youth seem to be viewing local and global programmes and are, today, aware of a multiple number of world cultures. The negotiation with these cultures is a process which can define their sense of Self and their sense of “Otherness”, as established in the very first pages of this Project Ch. 1 (10):

“When we discover that there are several cultures, instead of just one, and consequently, at the time we acknowledge the end of a sort of cultural monopoly, be it illusory or real, we are threatened by our own discovery. Suddenly, it becomes possible that there are just *Others*, that we ourselves are an ‘other’ among Others.”
It is not therefore, surprising that the tensions of local and global dialectics were obvious in the results of the thesis. Cyprus, having come out of British colonization, with a turn to modernity and an ongoing development of media diffusion in the 70's and 80's, gave reason for the examination of the perspective of cultural imperialism. The post-colonial concept of globalisation identified with Westernization however, is being refuted by different authors like Robins (in Mackay and O'Sullivan, 1999:170) who:

"...draws the implication that the self-confident stable cultural identity of the West, is being threatened. The cultural interpenetration that globalisation brings, implies a collapse of both the physical and cultural 'distance' necessary to sustain the myth of Western identity (and superiority) established via the binary oppositions and imaginary geographies (Said, 1978) of the high colonial era."

The meta-discourse interviews with the respondents gave, on several occasions, clear indications of this inter-cultural discourse, or the use of local tradition and realities as a filter through which to read or at other times, to resist imported modes of televised culture:

Responses to imported programmes like Beverly Hills and X-Files or Baywatch, were quite diversified, as established in Chapter 6. Quite a few of the readings were dominant. Part of the sample liked these series, considering them realistic and more sophisticated than some of the Greek or Greek-Cypriot productions, considering, as in the Beverly Hills series, where they regarded young people to be much better than young Cypriots. They approved of the freedom in gender relations represented in the programmes their group spirit, as well as their free lifestyle.

Attitudes to gender relations generally, constituted another (social) issue related to the sample’s television viewings. The statistical findings correlating more liberal gender attitudes with imported programmes, than with Greek or local programmes, were also sustained by the interviews, this being additionally furthered by the discussions and also being another indication of tradition existing in the centre of modernity processes. All we have to remember is the song about “Androniki” cited by the young respondent in the Unoccupied Famagusta area, with regard to women visiting the coffee-shop, like men did. The reference in Chapter 6 to the more recent Cyprus productions, however, e.g. Akti Oniron, as an example of a programme where women have equal rights of expression and behaviour as men, may be marking a new counter-direction, towards a more modernised attitude in gender relations, such as to comply with standards used in imported (Western) productions. So tradition and modernity seem to be encountering each other in one more sphere.
In this era of globalized cultural identities, therefore, one cannot doubt that Westernization is a reality but so is the fact that some cultural goods, values and attitudes may not always be accepted. One can, therefore, speak today of a globalized or a universalized modernity in culture, this however, being an area of tensions and contradictory positions:

"Modernity, once deemed itself universal. Now it thinks of itself instead as global. Behind the change of term hides a watershed in the history of modern self-awareness and self-confidence. Universal was to be the rule of reason – the order of things that would replace the slavery to passions with the autonomy of rational beings, superstition and ignorance with truth, tribulations of the drifting plankton with self-made and thoroughly monitored history-by-design. ‘Globality’, in contrast, means merely that everyone everywhere may feed on McDonald’s hamburgers and watch the latest made-for-TV docudrama. Universality was a proud project, a Heraclean mission to perform. Globality in contrast, is a meek acquiescence to what is happening ‘out there’...." (Bauman, 1995:24).

In Cyprus, one could say, the concept or perspective of media globalism, in contrast to universality, comes through quite visibly: Cultural practices spreading through the media – soap operas, for young or adult audiences, seem to be predominant among the interviewed sample. The social realities in the programmes discussed - Beverly Hills, X-Files, Baywatch, Melrose Place and others, do find positive responses and have elicited corresponding sanction among young Cyprus audiences (Chapter 6), inspite of parallel negotiational or oppositional discourses, deriving from local cultural beliefs and practices, as seen earlier. So does the Coca-colonization and Macdonaldization, the love for MTV clips and disco fun, the trainers' uniform and the spread of drugs, (“Fileleftheros”, June 27, 1997) subjects which were all broached in Chapter One of the present thesis.

Nestor Garcia Canchini (in Mackay and O'Sullivan, 1999:175), speaking of the displacement of culture, used the term “deterioralisation” to refer to the “loss of the natural relation of culture to geographical and social territories”.

These cultural border zones, where access to “Others” has elaborated or projected local identities to dimensions of ubiquitous models of lifestyle, human and gender relations, aspirational visions and outlooks, have made their presence visible in the interviews and discussions of the present study, reminding us again that the study was conducted in the combined three generations of research approaches, the third generation touching on “Otherness” and complex polysemy. (Ch.2:49) So we have come across identification, among the sample, with characters and lifestyles projected in imported programmes – from USA,
and Greece - an identification which sometimes surmounts the differences in culture, or at times does not even diagnose them:

“It is less pretended than Greek serials and it shows us how young people think and how we can help young people.” (Phanourios Tamanis, on Beverly Hills. (Ch.6:249)

On the other hand the high popularity of both the Greek and the local productions, is veritably an answer to the “myth of Western identity (and superiority) and the spread of Western cultural practices has to compete with local televised products of culture.

So one can say that trends of globalization, but also localism are elements in the Cypriot media-audience relationship today, the particular – in the production/consumption discourse existing side by side with the global.

Cyprus is therefore quick in passing from Modernity to Westernisation and globalisation in regard to the local identity of young people in the Island, and even though this identity is steadily merging with global perspectives, in many ways, with television programmes and the representation of lifestyles being quite instrumental in the process, the local proposal seems to be equally strong, for now - if not more so than the global.

This becomes clearer when we view relationships of Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots: Inspite of these globalising tendencies, there are other cultural border zones – like the Turkish Cypriot national (ethnic) culture right across the demarcation line - which is completely absent from the Cypriot scene, as the two cultures of the Cyprus major communities are developing entirely apart, without any contributions by television representations to this cultural integration process.

It is not, therefore, surprising that parallel to the globalising perspectives, there are simultaneous counter-indications which, in spite of the application of Meyoritz’s view about a ‘new, placeless configuration of social order’, the view that the national state is passing away, is, as Anthony D. Smith (quoted in Mackay & Sullivan, eds., 1999:96) supports, premature, as:

“The depth and weight of national cultures, symbols and ideas of national cultures, cannot measure up to those which purport to be global”...but the latter “...tend to lack history and depth and are not anchored or shared in everyday life and experience”.

And the everyday life and experience in Cyprus, is for young (and old) still marked with national and ethnic problems, resulting from the cultural and territorial consolidation of

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1 The fact was emphasized by Minister of Justice, Mr. Koshis, in a press conference, in June, 1997.
the two communities discussed in Chs. 1 & 2, which never did allow them to develop into an integrated nation-state. (Ch.1: 17 & Ch.2: 67).

Modernism has been a necessary stage for the structuring and fortification of nationalism. The socio-political and economic power relations demanded a territorialised configuration of national forces for the assertion of newly-constructed national entities after the 60's. This territorial configuration has been part of the ongoing process in the development of Cyprus history after its independence. Not only that. The socio-political value of territory in the Island, before, but more especially after the Turkish invasion of 1974, has definitely connected identity politics in Cyprus with the land and the boundaries that have defined both identity and alterity – Greek-Cypriots, Turkish-Cypriots. Consequently, territorialization as a defining factor of nationalism (coincidental with ethnicity) has been an obvious trait of place politics, with boundaries and territorial symbols affording, for Cypriots, points of stability and security in a changing but also threatened world.

The exploration of the ethnic aspects of the identity of Cyprus youth, supports the above position quite extensively, as seen in Chapter six on the analysis of the interviews. The sample showed unanimous deep respect for symbols like the flag, the land and territorial borders; they also showed love of the language (Greek and Cyprus dialect), and of the respective cultures, inspite of their underground, but also surfacing conflict. Many of the expressed positions and inclinations are both natural and perhaps, non-expendible in the light of the ongoing Cyprus problem and the national-political repercussions this problem still has on the life of the country. It is tragic, for example, that these two trends of globalisation and territorialization, not only co-exist in the very same small island state of Cyprus, but that they also delineate a sharp identity issue among the younger population of the Island: The sample can identify with Donna, with the X-File plots and characters; they measure up to “Others’ in Baywatch and aspire to become rescuers, or to live in similar luxury comforts as Melrose characters do. But the Turkish-Cypriots who are only 15 minutes or even five minutes away from them, remain the big unknowns, a closed chapter, the “Others” missing from their cultural experiences and they learn about them from hearsay, or from negative political reports on television news programmes. This again, is further confirmation of the position taken by Markides, as quoted in Chapter One (17) that Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot cultures have developed along parallel lines that never meet, but is also additional confirmation of the counter-identification with the “Others” across the demarcation line on both sides, as discussed in Ch.2 (67-68). Television has led today to a “new reconfigured
social order” (Meyoritz in Mackay & O’Sullivan, 1999:94). This is, perhaps another explicit indication of the relationship between television and the cultural identity of the investigated sample. Television has managed to merge different international cultural discourses, but has not managed to merge the Island’s two communities into any kind of unitary cultural discourse, because, among other factors the explicit absence of television programmes could not offer access to the cultural border zone of the “Others” in each community - these “Others” being forgotten behind the barbed wires of political and power exigencies.

In June 1999 – an announcement was made in the Press that efforts will be made in the near future to set up a bi-communal radio channel along the buffer zone in Nicosia. Perhaps this – or a probable bi-communal television station in the future – will also provide new mediated identity discourses for the two communities, identity-formation and evolution being a discursive process.

If this eventually becomes a reality, a new kind of specified audience could be the result, consisting either of Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots, respectively, with a heightened awareness of their Cypriot identity, or of a unified audience with a singularly heightened feeling of Cypriot identity. The station itself and its programmes could also reinforce and crystallise this identity. Which would be further proof that identities are never really static, but are in development, unfolding as they do in the overall social context and its socialising agencies, the media being one of these agencies.

The above is not the only kind of fragmentation or tension established by the present study, parallel to the homogenising elements afforded by the process of televiual globalisation.

It would, besides be a sad anachronism for Cyprus, an Island historically positioned at the crossroads of so many different cultures, to seek unmoving, unshifting, “secure moorings in a shifting world” (Harvey, 1997:304) through its territorial roots and the place-bound environment, in an age of post-modern pluralism (and fragmentation) the signs of which are already obvious in the information technology of the Island as mentioned in Chapter Two (67).

One can conclude, after a complex research report like the present, where we proceeded from the external deductive statements of a standardized questionnaire, to the internal person-to-person, inductive dialogue about feelings, attitudes, responses and interpretations of the audience, that Cyprus youth is at this moment of history caught between a tapering moment of nationalistic and place-bound identity and an ongoing global process of post-modernism. Nonetheless, we must not forget that the autocracy of the image
is, today, taking over, spinning yarns of new communication theories and new approaches to
the relationship of television and the audience. Steven Connor (1997:195) proposes
“simulation” or “satellization” of social and cultural life in postmodernism, versus a more
radical strain in postmodernity as proposed by Stratton (1990:287) i.e. - that “there is no
absolute presence, there are just multiple representations,” or an “infinite number of
rewritings” according to Ang. (1996:17&179) These again are to be found in Cyprus media
discourse realities asserting “difference, multiplicity and centrelessness”. Cyprus obviously
complies at this point in time, with Ang’s assertion, even though elements of simulation as
already discussed (Ch.2:60-61) are not absent either (Kafenion, Istories, etc.).

Kroker and Cook believe that the postmodern represents the following:

"...neither the subversive dissolution of cultural and aesthetic norms, nor the progressive
rewriting of the classic-realist Hollywood text, but rather the last moment before our culture
vanishes into the absolute and total dominion of the image. This moment is simultaneously
one of ‘ecstasy’ and ‘decay’, because it involves a feverish intensification of differences and
intensities, in an attempt to compensate for the slipping away of the real, which nevertheless
always ends up consolidating the power of the spectacle."

The ever-penetrating trends of globalisation in the modernized and modernizing
Island, with its cling to a shifting tradition, are being compensated for, by the intensification
of the local, even though in the form of a pastiche or a simulacrum like some of the Cyprus
productions which are highly rated by members of the sample.

Other internal tensions that have been traced in the identity of Cyprus youth, in
relation to their television viewings, are those connected with language and culture.

The analysis in Chapter 6 has, on many occasions brought to the surface diversified
approaches to Standard Modern Greek and the Cyprus dialect. The former is the official
language of the Cyprus Republic and the language used in the Cyprus University. The
Cyprus dialect is widely used in everyday speech, in both towns and villages, in diversified
lighter, or heavier versions. Similarly it is being used more increasingly, during the last five
to seven years in local television productions. This is not unrelated to power discourses of
production, as this phenomenon has been occurring after re-regulation in the Media and the
increasing arrival of Greek television productions, which have been attracting high ratings
from Cyprus viewers - as in Kalimera Zoi analyzed in Chapter 5 and others not analyzed but
high in popularity, like Lampsi, Pater Imon, Epitelous Mazi, etc.

So, more programmes in the Cyprus dialect or in the mixed use of Standard Modern
Greek and the Cyprus dialect have been appearing on different channels, the two types of
productions, Greek and Cypriot, standing generally high in the viewers’ ratings. Such examples analysed in Chapter 5, were *Kafenion* (with a mixed language use), *Istories tou Horiou* (mostly in the Cyprus dialect) and *Kalimera Zoi* (in Standard Modern Greek).

This was established in the Statistical Survey but also in the Qualitative Research during the interviews. Most interviewees viewed and appreciated both Greek and Greek-Cypriot productions, like the ones mentioned above. The readings of course, again as discussed in Chapter 6 were at times dominant, but also at other times, resistant or negotiated, which is not surprising in the context of the polysemic interpretation existing within the culturalist approach. Furthermore, the sample’s approach to the issue of language on one hand indicated love of the dialect, but with an accompanying under-estimation of its suitability for dramatic programmes, as well as a dubious evaluation of its linguistic value. (Ch.6:264-7). An issue that was introduced in the early stages of the thesis. (Ch.1:22)

Even though the above tension verifies Sciriha’s position (Ch.2: 66) about the two languages (not Greek versus English), being in competition - or complementarity - a second parallel phenomenon, that of Greek culture, versus Greek-Cypriot culture, entering the Interviews, makes the different issues of language and culture a challenge for further research.

What is apparent as far as use of language is concerned, however, is the fact that there is a marked majority turn to Greek-language and dialect-programmes, something which signifies another national defense mechanism or cultural resistance mechanism (Ch.2:59), in the face of political problems, occupation and an uncertain, threatened future:

“There are some important themes in theorising cultural resistance. There is, for example, the insistence on the right to see the community’s history coherently and integrally. The role of the national language is central here, because it is through language that national culture organises and sustains communal memory.” (Sarup, 1998:156).

David Harvey (1997:86) is equally emphatic:

“The impulse to preserve the past is part of the impulse to preserve the self. Without knowing where we have been, it is difficult to know where we are going.”

Language offers itself as a steady and safe compass in this historical and cultural course.

Consistency patterns in the national identity of young Cypriots were also established both in the Statistical Survey and the next two stages of the Research - the Programme Analysis and the Interviews and Group Discussions. This, in the Interviews and Group
Discussions, took the form of a self-stated (hyphenated Greek-Cypriot) identity, and of a Greek and a Cypriot identity. The Greek-Cypriot identity however, also loomed strongest (percentage-wise) in the statistical survey, with a high 48.3%. The respondents, with very few exceptions who stated they felt Cypriots in identity, considered themselves, above all, Greek-Cypriots and this was supported throughout the survey’s different research stages. Again, however, a certain degree of tension presented itself with regard to the cultures of the two countries - Greece and Cyprus:

Within the audiences’ positive response to the programmes from Greece, different evaluations resulted from the cultural discourses of these programmes. Some compared Greek culture favourably with Greek-Cypriot culture, some, unfavourably. Some - like Eleni Efthymiou - considered it more European and Western than our culture in Cyprus (Ch.6:275) and others - like Phanourios Tamanis - attributed more distinct humanitarian traits, or a healthier economy to the Cyprus society. (Ibid) It is therefore much more natural that a combination of complicity and resistance was traced in the readings of the sample’s favoured viewings (Greek and Greek-Cypriot, mostly).

Perhaps the definition of E.P. Thompson of a “culture as a struggle between ways of life” instead of Raymond Williams rendering of culture as “a whole way of life” (Turner, 1996:63) is more to the point in the present study, as stated in Ch.2 (40). The competition between English, the Greek Demotic and the Cyprus Dialect, on one hand was, on the other, matched by the competition between Greek and Cyprus productions, as well as that between the cultural norms and concepts transmitted by the programmes in these respective languages. At this point, we should point back to the introductory pages of the thesis again (Ch.1:13-4), where it was established that even though Greek Cypriots share the same culture, language, religion and ethnic descent with Greeks of the mainland, differences do exist:

“Although mainland Greeks and Greek Cypriots shared the same culture, the structure of their societies and their political and economic institutions were diametrically different and often contradictory.” (Markides, 1977-78)

And culture, language and identity are three concepts sharply inter-connected whether at the transmission or the receiving end. And even though Cyprus has been established to be a state between modernity and postmodernity in technology, cultural development and communication, it is still a country which came out of colonialism only 40 years ago. As During (1987) will point out:
“In both literature and politics, the post-colonial drive towards identity centers around language, partly because in postmodernity, identity is barely available elsewhere.”

The encounter of modernity and postmodernity in Cyprus, as pointed out throughout the present thesis is an additional strong reason for the emphasis given to language issues in the Media. Postmodern approaches in media production emphasize the icon, the image and not the verbal semantics in all their rich cultural diversification provided by individual languages. Identification with language affords assurance and self-defence, a kind of cultural shield or cocooning shelter, for the Greek-Cypriots, threatened by occupying forces, military power, intricate international politics and an advancing technology that offers the pluralistic apotheosis of global icons of entertainment. It is not surprising, therefore that there is a turn to Modern Greek and Dialect programmes on Cyprus television. On the other hand, technology and the wave of post-modern fragmentalisation cannot be stopped in a country like Cyprus which claims a position in the contemporary map of global technological and aesthetic media trends.

So elements of the postmodern - the simulacrum and the multiplicity of interpretations - have been identified even in the local Cyprus productions, inspite of the use of the Dialect. The encounter therefore of the modern and the postmodern in the media scene is both a raison d’etre and a parallel phenomenon, to language developments in the mediascape of the Island.

Language problems as such were discussed in both the first second Chapters of the Study, and there were relevant questions in the Statistical Field Survey as well as a detection of language encouters (English versus Greek and the Demotic versus the Dialect) in the Programme Analysis. These problematics were complemented by the Interviews and Discussions all stages giving indications that the struggle for cultural and political power through language is not conducted outside the Media.

Bourdieu’s description of this struggle for power through language as discussed in Ch.2 (66) is also very appropriately related to this concluding discussion:

"Language is a locus of struggle for power and authority in that some types of language (styles, accents, dialects, codes and so on) are presupposed to be ‘correct’, ‘distinguished’ or ‘legitimate’ in opposition to those which are ‘incorrect’ or ‘vulgar.’ Those who use (in speaking or writing) the varieties ranked as acceptable, exert a degree of control over those with the dominated linguistic habitus."
This authority, however, can be reclaimed in the process of negotiation, according to the same author (Ibid:505), by a “metadiscourse, concerning the conditions of use of discourse”. Thompson (in Jaworski, A. & Coupland, N., 1999:498), extends the observation to indicate that the “living practices can ‘orient’ the actions and inclinations of the individual, without strictly determining them.” The orientation among Cyprus youth as to programme preferences, in the light of this present study, is marked by a turn from English-language to Greek and Dialect programmes.

Of course the respect attributed to the Standard Greek Demotic and the inferior status attributed to the Cyprus dialect – inspite of the complementarity of their relationship – as well as the significance of English in the linguistic picture of Cyprus, were all issues that were investigated and analyzed in the present thesis. And the competitive (ratings and discourse) encounter between Demotic and Dialect on the Cyprus TV screens, through Cyprus and Greek productions, as well as within the very same programmes, with the unfailing (sometimes reverse) identification of the sample with characters using the dialect (as in Para Pente or in Kafenion) is further verification of the meta-discourse going on as to the Dialect. Television audiences are in the process of empowering the Dialect today versus the Demotic and the English language, this being a significant development in the overall television role in identity formation processes. Perhaps language is one of the few remaining strongholds before the ultimate decay and engulfment of meanings in the all-powerful ecstasy of the analog or the imminent digital image. To remind us of Bignell’s (1997:161) argument (Ch.1:20):

“Postmodernist thought claims that all ‘real meaning’ is vanishing because experience and reality are now shaped or ‘simulated’ by the discourses of the media.”

As mentioned in Ch.2 (63), according to Hall, the argument seems to flow into a very natural conclusion:

“Hall suggests three possible consequences of globalisation on cultural identities: erosion, strengthening and the emergence of new identities or ‘new ethnicities.’”

In the relevant discussion about globalisation and localisation in Ch.2 (Ibid) the following comments by Featherstone (1997:114) were recorded:
"...the intensification of global contacts and interchanges can heighten the attempts at resistance, for the protection of individual particularism. This precludes or disempowers "the Other" and generates dynamics which assert national or local cultural identity."

So, in their effort to reinforce their cultural boundaries in view of the spread of global practices, nations can find themselves in a globalising process that can be conducive to postmodernism. These global practices, in other words, may provoke reactions that seek to rediscover particularity, localism and difference which generate:

"a sense of the limits of the culturally unifying, ordering and integrating projects, associated with Western modernity."

And in the same chapter (2:67), Mercer (in Gillespie, 1995:13) says:

"Identity only becomes an issue when it is in crisis, when something assumed to be fixed, coherent and stable is displaced by the experience of doubt and uncertainty."

Making a culture and a cultural identity, embraces, as pointed out in Ch.2 (39) human and social benefits like "identity, membership, mutuality, patriotism, loyalty," (Geertz in Inglis, 1993:175), but that these values also involve "exclusion, enemies, rejection, quarrels, betrayal, warfare." (Inglis, 1993:175)

In tracing the depositions of the respondent audiences about their self-stated identities, these values were also drawn to the surface, placing the overall self-perceived identity of young Cypriots in its current historical framework, with both — mutuality and exclusion (of Turkish Cypriots), being present in current identity discourses. As a result, and in the light of the threat of modern technology, political instability and the new reality configurations of contemporary globalised television, the cultural identity of Cyprus youth, emerged from the investigation of the present study, as a coherent, place-bound cultural identity founded on tradition and the cultural resistance of language and local heritage, all related to many of the parameters of the televised programmes they view.

The relevant multiplicity, however, of an active television readership, the different nuances and inclinations recorded in their interpretations have also given rise to suppositions about not only the presence of a global perspective, but also of a post-modern strain, with multiple readings, the global drawing forth the counter-statement of the local. These readings marked by "alterity and heterogeneity" (Docherty, 1996: 260) can stand for the simulacrum, the all-powerful image substituting the coherence and cohesion of meaning, or for "radical
indeterminacy of meaning where the sender’s power to control is referred to the realm of uncertainty. (Ang, in Mackay & O’Sullivan, 1999:371)

Taken to its extreme, a postmodern perspective like the above can lead to “chaos theory” the realm of uncertainty, where there is a “continuing cultural deconstruction and reconstruction” (Ibid:378) and where, as pointed out earlier in the present study (Ch.2:59) “utopia”, as Laclau (1991:93) proposes, “is the essence of any communication and social practice.”

Even though the media scene and the relationship between television and the identity of the young Cypriots, cannot be placed in an entirely postmodern (utopian) communication perspective today, elements of the postmodern are not outside the sphere of the present study’s conclusions. Identity is not a given, unshifting evidence of collective characteristics. It is constructed, influenced and patterned by socio-economic and cultural realities in a world of changing communication and information realities that are fast reaching the far ends of the globe.

It is the belief of the candidate that the present study, unique and path-breaking in the history of Cyprus media studies, and original in its combination of contrasting methodological approaches, which have rendered rich, complementary conclusions, opens up an extensive range of paramount challenges for future research. At this moment and time of the geo-political and historical realities in Cyprus, with changes lying ahead as to the solution of its political problem and its resulting status as a multi-cultural state unifying different ethnic communities, as well as its membership in the European community, the present study acquires a significance which does not only pertain to Cyprus, but to many other countries, as well - in Europe and elsewhere - facing the same media predicament of local and global dialecticsts. This could not have been otherwise, if we consider the rich variety of theoretical concepts applied in the progress of the present study. The facts that surfaced in the statistical survey, impregnated with meanings and values, as they were (and always can be, in research) (Inglis, 1993:179), are an original contribution to empirical knowledge and have paved the way to the investigation of television/audience relationships in the future, through a multi-focal lens and a combination of different paradigms. The semiotics of social realities television representations, as well as their degrees of modality developed in the analysed programmes, constitute fruitful ground for further investigation. Finally, the theoretical concept of the audience’s critical response which was examined in the interviews and discussions, gave us a rich, multi-tier narrative analysis of the question posed in the study – the cultural identity of Cyprus youth, in relationship to their television
experience, in a local-global context. A relationship which combined theories of reception, identity and postmodern Otherness and was investigated with a mixed model of methodologies the apparatuses of which were effectively cross-fertilized in the Mixed Research Paradigm used.

**VII.4: Future Research**

The author's attempt to trace the identity of the 13-18-year-old Cypriot population sampled in the present study is definitely an open-ended project that must be revisited. It opens up questions that have to do with balances between global and local dialectics and power tensions in the (ongoing) processes of identity formation. The project tried to identify and investigate "socio-cultural themes i.e. representations of sex, women, violence and drugs – associated with national/political issues", in summary, the "lifestyle and ethnicity" of the sample, as well as the latter's attitudes to the themes explored. The result was a rich complexity of conclusions that must not be treated as a steady and unaltering given. As the present dissertation is being rounded up, new changes have already been made in the Cyprus media scene: the church channel LOGOS has been rented to MEGA Channel of Greece. The new Programme Season already begun in September 2000, consists by majority percentage, of Greek productions. The other channels have also revised their television menu, to include more productions from Greece, as well as more local productions.

Furthermore, themes which are complementary to the major issues of the thesis, offer wide possibilities for future cultural research in Cyprus. Such themes briefly touched on, in the present project, referred to the choice of places for further studies, family attachments, ways of popular entertainment, as well as to the interest in cultural forms of expression other than televised mass culture - theatre, literature, music - or other forms of mass communication, like the Internet. All of these can be explored more fully in the future, for points of contact and comparison with television programmes and preferences.

Changes are therefore to be expected as a natural development in the years to come and the conclusions from the major issues of the present study should be further investigated in connection to several areas:

a. Lifestyle issues as examined, presented a sample which indulges much more in television viewership, than theatre, literature, religion or listening to radio programmes. Western modes of lifestyle in product consumption, entertainment (MTV), and drug abuse or violence, in
relation to television consumption, did not come up too emphatically in the research. But other matters that had to do with socio-political priorities, gender issues and the place of women did emerge from the association of attitudes and TV contents – both in the Statistical Survey and the Interviews and Discussions. Most of the Programmes they view are Greek and Cypriot productions which do not match Western productions in the rich lifestyle they project to global viewers. So an area to be monitored for changes as to preferences by the particular age group of the study would certainly be the television programmes aired on Cyprus channels in the future. This could establish ongoing information about the popularity of Greek, Cyprus or English-language productions and render more information on local-global dialectics. The sample’s priorities, as expressed in the Statistical Survey were idealistically-oriented – with top priority to Cyprus issues. In the Interviews however, the patriotic ideology shrunk into the more individualistic goals of a good job and a happy family, with occasional resonances of aspirations towards a more luxurious lifestyle – as in imported, American productions. The issue could be further explored, to trace new changes in their preferred repertoires.

b. The competition between the English-language (global) programmes and the Greek and Cyprus productions brought to the surface several other issues, of which language encounters and cultural differences are also a very important area to be investigated again in the future. If the trend of combining Standard Modern Greek and the Cyprus Dialect in Cyprus productions, extends beyond comedy programmes to dramatic serials – as in Akti Oniron, this could signify a gradual increase in the empowerment of the Cyprus dialect as compared to Standard Modern Greek. So far it was considered good enough for the sketch genre of local sitcoms, like Para Pente, Istories tou Horiou, Kafenion and others. Can the competition between the two languages tilt even more to the side of the Dialect? Or will the Greek-language programmes win the battle and face up to direct competition from the English-language programmes imported from America and Europe? And are the latter going to get scantier with time, as preferences turn to the Greek and Cyprus productions, thus tilting the scales towards the local in the local-global dialectics established by the present research? Will the dialect substitute the English (colonial) language, as an answer to the "pseudo-dilemma" posed by Prodromou (1995:87) in Ch.1(22)?
c. The importance of ethnicity or nationality, more especially in association with the territorial realities - Greek-Cypriots in the Cyprus Republic, in the southern part of the Island and Turkish-Cypriots in the occupied north - was not only sanctioned by the languages preferred by Greek-Cypriots - the Demotic and the Dialect. It also came up strongly, both in the Statistical Survey and the Interviews, in association with the (hated or feared) alterity or "Otherness" of the Turkish-Cypriots, an area that must definitely be re-investigated, in relation to television. The continuing absence of information about the Turkish-Cypriots on Greek-Cypriot channels, plus the broadcasting only of negative events between the two communities has created a critical absence of mutual familiarity, trust and acknowledgement. If television programmes are revised, or if new media are formulated - intercommunal radio or television, perhaps - to include more information and references to the Turkish-Cypriot community and thus construct more bridges of communication, understanding, or familiarity, between the two communities - perhaps one can expect a change to more positive trends, in the perception and acceptance of the Turkish-Cypriots by Greek-Cypriot youth.

d. This is, perhaps an area where the Cyprus Broadcasting Corporation, being a public station can respond more positively as to its public role. Van den Bulck and Van Poecke, as quoted earlier in Ch.2 (65), signify this role as follows:

"In public broadcasting the viewer is addressed as 'a citizen of a nation-state rather than as a consumer of a market that had to be won'".

Murdock (in Aldridge & Hewitt, 1994:7 & 8), again as quoted earlier in the present thesis (Ch.1:22-23), in debating public and private broadcasting makes the following point, in regard to BBC and ITV:

"Where the BBC's sense of itself was built around notions of national unity and cultural inheritance, ITV enlarged the spaces, for voices to speak with the accents of region, class and generation and to speak to the contemporary experience of dislocation and change."

Cyprus never did manage to merge its major Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot communities into a nation-state, with any measure of national unity or shared culture. It is, perhaps one of the challenges facing all media - public and private - as broadcasting institutions: to contribute to the unification of the Island, both in paving the way to a political solution of the Cyprus problem and in building cultural bridges through the media, in a new multi-cultural community, once this solution is adopted. The media - more
especially public television - can then address all citizens beyond the territorialized concepts of a place-bound nationalism, where ethnicity and national (cultural identity) act as means of survival and self-defence, imposing closures on knowledge and familiarity with the Turkish-Cypriot “Others.” The CyBC can then contribute to the construction of a unified state, in the wider context of a European community, in its turn, a part of a global world.

e. Finally, another sphere in which little to nothing has been done in Cyprus media, is the influence of media figures in the construction of identity. As Joke Hermes says in Alasuutari: (1999: 71)

“The availability of cultural sources of meaning is structured by societal power relations, as are the rules for using them. There exists as it were a discursive layer between individuals and media culture, referred to as ‘cultural capital’. (Bourdieu, 1980), vocabularies or ‘interpretive repertoires’ (Potter and Wetherell, 1987.) Vocabularies or repertoires partly overlap with and partly are independent from media discourse. These discursive layers will be central to my discussion of the uses and functions of media heroes in contemporary culture.”

This cultural capital, presented in Chapter Five on Programme Analyses and Chapter Six on Interview Analysis, gave an indication of this overlap between discourse and audience vocabularies or repertoires. Respondents repeatedly referred to Media heroes in Greek and Cyprus-produced serials, sometimes, as we saw earlier on (Ch.6:253) in reverse identification. What is the role of these heroes, or media figures who link ideology and reality, in the process of the construction of cultural identity? An interesting sphere for future research.

Both the individual identity and the collective identity of a people is fluid and changeable, but the pressures on young people, more especially, who are more critically exposed to new impulses of action and who have before them a very extensive vista of development and choices of behaviour, is a matter to be constantly monitored and analyzed.

On another account, the theoretical apparatus applied in this study should also definitely present different developments in the future. The local/global context of production and consumption cannot possibly remain static with the intense processes going on in all relevant areas. Theoretical concepts therefore that have to do with the universal and the particular, the development of postmodern simulacra and the fragmentation of the television experience, or again, the answer of localism and territorial nationalism - as
established in this research to a certain extent - to the widespread embrace of Westernisation are not themes that will fade away during the next few years. The resistance of topicality in view of the global impetus, in commerce, business, technology and media systems of information, will definitely offer themselves for new theoretical channels through which research goals must be pursued.

Cyprus, aspiring as it does to join the European Union in the very near future, is a country that is continually developing and adjusting to new, sundry realities. The Internet may have established new information realities of instant communication but television is still one of the institutions that can shape our social and cultural environment, as well as our collective identities. Research in this area awaits the navigator, beyond any multiplicity of inanimate web-sites, among a world of responsive individuals, who are not just the citizens of a country and its historical and political heritage, but active decoders, deconstructors and re-constructors of messages which they invest with their own personal, individual interpretations and their own vibrant, pulsating meanings.
ENDNOTES

CHAPTER 1
ENDNOTE NO. 1.

The Constitution of the 1960 independence institutionalised communal dualism in government activities and in the judicial system. Moreover, it also provided for the establishment of separate municipalities in which the members would be elected by each ethnic group. It is hardly surprising that this constitution proved, in practice, unworkable, since it had been drawn by three foreign countries (Britain, Greece and Turkey) and not by the Cypriots themselves. In 1963, the amendments to this constitution, as proposed by President Makarios sparked off a rebellion by the Turkish Cypriots who decided to withdraw from the government and who, from then on, pressed for the physical partitioning of the island into two. Following a coup d'état by the Greek military junta in 1974, Turkey seized the golden opportunity to invade Cyprus and annex the northern part (38% of the island). According to Iannides (1993) a Turkish army of 35,000 soldiers occupy the north and a further estimate of 74,000 Turks from Anatolia have migrated to the newly conquered area and together with 98,000 Turkish Cypriots, live on what had been (and still is) property owned by the 200,000 Greek Cypriots, who had no alternative but to flee and start anew in the unoccupied areas, as refugees in their own country! In 1983, the occupied area was declared the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, a republic which no country, except Turkey has recognised. (Sciriha, 1996:3)

ENDNOTE NO. 2.
Enosis: Union of Cyprus with Greece. This movement dates back to a revolt against the British colonial government on October 21, 1931. In 1950, a plebiscite on Enosis, rendered an almost 100% vote for union with Greece, on behalf of the Greek-Cypriots. The same goal initially was present in the EOKA liberation struggle of 1955-59. But the problems faced with the Turkish minority during this struggle, made Archbishop Makarios adjust the original goal, to one of independence for Cyprus.

Kyriacos Markides (1977:76) gives a fuller picture of the developments after Independence:
That the appeal of Enosis declined during independence is a fact that not even its most committed believers would dispute. The self-sacrificial nationalism of the 1950s was markedly absent in post-colonial Cyprus even among the members of EOKA B, the new terrorist organisation that helped topple Makarios. Makarios's continued popularity and power and the failure of the enosist opposition to capture a single seat in Parliament at the 1970 Parliamentary Elections proved that the majority of Greek Cypriots had lost their enthusiasm for union with Mother Greece. As early as 1965 a public opinion poll showed that most Cypriots opted for continued independence. Of the 500 respondents only 18 percent considered Enosis a practical solution.

ENDNOTE NO. 3.
The church in Cyprus had always played a significant role, more especially during the Ottoman rule (1571 - 1878) as it had become the central institution that exercised a deep influence on the intellectual and cultural life of the Greek-Cypriots. Choisi (1995:35) explains this phenomenon which appears rather contradictory, in the following terms:
"This seemingly paradoxical, dual social role of the Greek-Orthodox Church can be explained through the overlap of cultural and personal identities. That is to say, that especially in times of foreign political domination, in which the cultural norms and values of a society are more or less deliberately suppressed, the adherence of the suppressed society or each member of this society to cultural norms, offers the only possibility to maintain one's self-consciousness. as in, one would say, Friedman's neo-traditionalism. The adherence to these cultural values provides a way to develop a resistance mechanism against foreign domination or a way to survive this foreign domination without losing individual cultural identity." (Choisi, 1995:35).

A mere reminder of the role played by the Church and the late president of Cyprus, Archbishop Makarios in the island's historical and political course of development, takes the argument quite far. Today church leadership and religious opinion leaders are still a reality of Cyprus life. We only have to remember that one of the private television channels in Cyprus, is the church channel LOGOS, whose programmes can be definitely described as having more of a cultural density and tone, than the programmes of other private stations.
As to education, the power of educators was soon felt by the British government in the island. As early as the 1920’s, the British government tried to gain control over the recruiting of teachers to prevent the spreading of hellenistic (pro-enosis) and anti-British sentiments in the schools. The Governor at the time, Ronald Storrs, writes in his memoirs:

"The teacher was usually the only educated man in the village; as a political agent he was therefore almost indispensable to the politicians (...) Being dependent upon the politicians for advancement in his profession he had to serve the political purposes of his masters. This system was bad, but had been tolerated, partly because the Government had lacked the financial means to pay the teachers itself." (Choisi, 1995:55).

The teachers still occupy a vital social and cultural role in the Island. They often lead educational and cultural seminars today and they are effectively organised into professional associations and even have their own cooperative movements.

Which brings us to the cooperative movement and its beginnings and power structure in the island of Cyprus. The movement itself dates back to the early years of British rule and it was a meeting-ground for cooperation in the agricultural communities initially, between the Greek and Turkish community. After inter-communal strife set in and after Cyprus gained its independence in 1959, the two communities established their own cooperative movements and the institution became a part of both rural and urban areas. Together with other community leaders, like the mukhtar (community leader) and the local town council - a more modern institution - these functions provide opinion leaders in financial, social and cultural areas.

CHAPTER FOUR
ENDNOTE NO. 1

The statistical adviser for the project was Dr. Gregoris Makrides, Associate Professor at Intercollege. He assisted in the formation of the sample for the Statistical Research and also supervised the processing of the data by the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS).

The candidate was assisted in the supervision of the sample during the completion of the Statistical Field Questionnaire, by Mrs. Eleni Zambela, Research Officer at the Intercollege Research and Development Centre and Mrs. Christa Brooks, lecturer at the Limassol Intercollege Campus.

The first stratification (Lyceums/Gymnasiums/Technical schools) was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total population in Lyceums and Gymnasiums</th>
<th>Total population in Technical schools</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>48,855 (Sample, 555)</td>
<td>4,125 (Sample, 47)</td>
<td>52,900 (Sample, 602)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Night classes are not included in the population of the present study.

Second stratification (Lyceums and Gymnasiums - urban and rural)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Urban</th>
<th>Rural</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lyceums</td>
<td>Gymnasiums</td>
<td>Lyceums</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nicosia</td>
<td>6,673(76)</td>
<td>9,313(106)</td>
<td>136(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limassol</td>
<td>5,981(68)</td>
<td>8,483(96)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Larnaka</td>
<td>3,144(36)</td>
<td>3,423(39)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paphos</td>
<td>1,973(22)</td>
<td>2,537(29)</td>
<td>61(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Famagusta</td>
<td>964(11)</td>
<td>1,015(12)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Random Selection of Lyceums and Gymnasiums – urban and rural (the effort was to have at least 10 from each gymnasium and 10 from each lyceum). Table of Lyceums and Gymnasiums – Urban and Rural.
The number of subjects for every school unit, as well as the number of subjects by class, in the school unit was estimated by analogy of the population in the school and in each classroom. Numbers were estimated by the closest unit.

The choice of subjects in a pre-established school and grade was done systematically after the section is altered randomly. For example, in the lyceum of the Pancyprian Gymnasium, we had to select seven students from the 1st class or grade. If there were more than one sections in this class, we randomly choose one (normally by lot). Subsequently we examined the number of the students in the section. We asked or drew up a list of the section, numbering the students: the list might not be in alphabetical order, but the names of ***** boys should never alternate.

If the section had 30 students, then, we estimated the number nearest to the smallest unit.

---

1 As only one student is available, we have added one to a Paphos lyceum, without changing the stratification significantly.
Number 4 indicates the first of seven students on the list and after we added same (4) we found the remaining ****. That is to say, the seven students from the section of 30, would be numbers 4,8,12,16,20,24,28.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LIMASSOL</th>
<th>URBAN</th>
<th>RURAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(2981)</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lanition B</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agios Ioannis</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agios Nicolaos</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polemidia</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3503)</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lanition</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Katholiki</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsirion</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agios Antonios</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lmopetra</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Omodos</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District</td>
<td>Urban LYCEUMS</td>
<td>Rural LYCEUMS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LARNACA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2031) A B C</td>
<td>TOTAL A B C</td>
<td>TOTAL A B C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGHIOS GEORGIOS</td>
<td>7 7 7</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ARCH. MAKARIOS III</td>
<td>6 5 4</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1189) A B C</td>
<td>TOTAL A B C</td>
<td>TOTAL A B C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EVRIVIADHION</td>
<td>7 7 6</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DROSIA</td>
<td>6 7 6</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1264) KITIUM</td>
<td>4 5 4</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XYLOTUMPLOU</td>
<td>3 3 3</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAPHOS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1038) A B C</td>
<td>TOTAL A B C</td>
<td>TOTAL A B C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KYKKOS</td>
<td>4 4 4</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGHIOS NEOPHYTOS</td>
<td>3 3 4</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(993) A B C</td>
<td>TOTAL A B C</td>
<td>TOTAL A B C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APOSTLE PAUL’S</td>
<td>6 5 3</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEROSSKIPLOU</td>
<td>5 5 5</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POLEMI</td>
<td>2 2 2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*One questionnaire was handed out to the Lyceum of Agbios Neophytos</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FAMAGUSTA</th>
<th>Urban LYCEUMS</th>
<th>Rural LYCEUMS</th>
<th>GYMNASIUMS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(2550) A B C</td>
<td>TOTAL A B C</td>
<td>TOTAL A B C</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Technical Schools – Pancyprian**

The stratification was made by population analogy in every technical school and by population analogy of each class in the school.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School Type</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Technical School, N/SIA</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Technical School, LIMASSOL</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIANELLOS, LARNACA</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAPHOS</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ENDNOTE NO. 2.

TELEVISION CULTURAL IDENTITY OF CYPRUS YOUTH

QUESTIONNAIRE
Please answer the following questions:

1. How often do you normally go to the cinema? (Choose one answer)

1. Never
2. 1 - 3 times a year
3. 4 - 6 times a year
4. More than 6 times a year

2. How often do you go to the theatre during the year?

1. Never
2. 1 - 3 times a year
3. 4 - 6 times
4. More than 6 times

3. How often do you go to church during the year?

1. Never
2. Very Rarely
3. Only on important holidays - Xmas or Easter
4. Most Sundays

4. How many literature books (outside school-text material) do you read during the year?

1. None
2. One
3. 2 - 3
4. 4 or more

5. Which magazines do you like to read? (YOU MAY GIVE MORE THAN ONE ANSWER USING NUMBERS TO DENOTE PRIORITY)

1. Akti
2. Archie
3. Asterix
4. Avgérinos
   Elle
   Katerina
   Klik
   Looky-Look
   Mickey-Mouse
   Monika

332
11. Nea Epohi 
12. Ikogenia Ke Sholio 
13. Omikron 
14. Periodiko 
15. Pnevmatiki Kypros 
16. Playboy 
17. Popcorn 
18. Selides 
19. Super-Flash 
20. Vogue 
21. Others 
(Name them) 

6. Write down three singers (male, female, or group - Greek or foreign) you like best, in order of priority - 1, 2, 3

7. Which of the following statements about radio applies to you? (Choose one)
   1. I listen to specific radio programmes which I like
   2. Nothing specific, anything that comes up
   3. I don't listen to the radio

8. If you do listen to the radio, name the programs you like best:
(Answer in order of preference - 1,2,3).

9. How often do you watch television?
   1. Never
   2. Less than 1 hour daily
   3. 2 hours daily
   4. 2 - 3 hours daily
   5. More than 4 hours daily
   6. I have no television at home

10. Note the time-periods of the day you usually watch television. Please tick for each time-period listed - Never, Sometimes, Often, Always.

11. Note whether you watch the following programmes Always, Regularly, Sometimes, or Never

Never | Sometimes | Often | Always
---|---|---|---
Before 5.00 p.m.     |     |     |     
5.00 - 8.00 p.m.     |     |     |     
8.00 - 11.00 p.m.    |     |     |     
After 11.00 p.m.     |     |     |     

1. Beverley Hills 

333
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Programme</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4.30-5.00</td>
<td>Kalimera Zoi (Good-morning, Life)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.30-5.00</td>
<td>To Kentri (The Sting)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.30-5.00</td>
<td>Manolis ke Katina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.30-5.00</td>
<td>I Lampsi (The Flash)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.30-5.00</td>
<td>News at eight (LOGOS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.30-5.00</td>
<td>News at eight-thirty (CyBC 1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.30-5.00</td>
<td>News at 8.30 (ANT.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.30-6.00</td>
<td>Tomes sta gegonota (SIGMA NEWS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.30-7.00</td>
<td>11. Mazi tin Kiriaki (Together on Sunday)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.30-7.00</td>
<td>12. Power Rangers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.30-7.00</td>
<td>13. Batman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.30-7.00</td>
<td>Rodamnes (Cyprus dialect programme)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.30-7.00</td>
<td>15. Pater Imon (Our father)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.30-7.00</td>
<td>16. I Tris Harites (The Three Graces)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.30-7.00</td>
<td>17. Athlitikes Idhisis (Sports News)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.30-7.00</td>
<td>18. Aithassa Niata (Rebellious Youth)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.30-7.00</td>
<td>19. To Kafeneio (The Coffee-shop)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.30-7.00</td>
<td>20. Ekines ki' ego (Them - the girls - and I)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.30-7.00</td>
<td>21. The Brave and the Beautiful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.30-7.00</td>
<td>22. Good-evening Cyprus (Magazine Programme)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.30-7.00</td>
<td>23. Kopiaste (Magazine Programme)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.30-7.00</td>
<td>24. Efharisto Savvatovradho (Pleasant Saturday Night)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.30-7.00</td>
<td>25. Alen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.30-7.00</td>
<td>26. Persona and Persona non grata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.30-7.00</td>
<td>27. Orthodoxy and Proper Conduct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.30-7.00</td>
<td>28. Epitelous Mazi (At last together)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.30-7.00</td>
<td>29. Istories tou horiou mou (Stories from my village)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.30-7.00</td>
<td>30. New York Police</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.30-7.00</td>
<td>31. Hunter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.30-7.00</td>
<td>32. X-Files</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.30-7.00</td>
<td>33. Acapulco Hits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.30-7.00</td>
<td>34. Colombo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.30-7.00</td>
<td>35. I Dromi tis Polis (City Streets)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.30-7.00</td>
<td>36. Robocop</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

334
37. Others (Please name them below, marking degree of viewership) __   __   __   __   __   __

12. Note all the days you usually watch television (you can give more than one answer)
1. Monday __
2. Tuesday __
3. Wednesday __
4. Thursday __
5. Friday __
6. Saturday __
7. Sunday __

13. Which of the following channels do you like watching best?
   a. Ant.1     b. ET.1 (Greek TV) LOGOS CyBC 1 CyBC 2 SIGMA OTHER

14. What kind of sport would you most like to watch on television? (Give just one answer)
   1. Football __
   2. Basket-ball __
   3. Volley-ball __
   4. Bicycling __
   5. Tennis __
   6. Swimming __
   7. Athletics __
   8. Wrestling __
   9. Boxing __
   Motor Cross __
   Speed boats __
   None __
   Other (Name it) __

15. With whom do you usually watch television, at what times?
   (You can fill in each column from each time-zone written down)

   Alone   With the whole family   With my parents brothers or sisters   With my (Friends, etc.)   With others

   1. Before 5.00 p.m. __   __   __   __   __
   2. 5.00 - 8.00 p.m. __   __   __   __   __
   3. 8.00 - 11.00 p.m. __   __   __   __   __
   4. After 11.00 p.m. __   __   __   __   __
16. What channel do you usually watch during the following hours?
(Please fill in all the zones you watch for every channel).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Channel</th>
<th>Before 5.00 p.m.</th>
<th>5.00-8.00 p.m.</th>
<th>8.00-11.00 p.m.</th>
<th>After 11.00 p.m.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ANT. 1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ET 1 (Greek TV)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOGOS</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CyBC1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CyBC 2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIGMA</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OTHER</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NONE</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

17. How much do you like to watch programmes which contain violence?


18. Do you enjoy horror programmes?


19. What Television or Cinema characters would you mostly want to be like?
(You can give more than one name - of the actor or character they play - in order of preference - 1, 2, 3.)

20. Have you ever been convicted of trespassing the law in any way?

1. Never _  2. Once _  3. 2 - 4 times _  4. Over four times _

Below are some statements on beliefs people may have on a number of issues. There are no correct/wrong answers. Please indicate your own beliefs:
21. Do you believe men are generally more capable than women?

1. No _ 2. Sometimes _ 3. Frequently _ 4. Always _

22. Do you believe television programmes are unfair in their portrayal of women?

1. No _ 2. Sometimes _ 3. Frequently _ 4. Always _

23. Do you believe television advertisements present women in an unfair manner, compared to the way they present men?

1. No _ 2. Sometimes _ 3. Frequently _ 4. Always _

24. Do you believe women can combine successfully home and career responsibilities?

1. No _ 2. Sometimes _ 3. Frequently _ 4. Always _

25. Do you consider men as generally energetic and dynamic?

1. No _ 2. Sometimes _ 3. Frequently _ 4. Always _

26. Do you consider women as generally energetic and dynamic?

1. No _ 2. Sometimes _ 3. Frequently _ 4. Always _

27. How important are the following to you, for personal happiness?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Important</th>
<th>Not important at all</th>
<th>Of some importance</th>
<th>Quite important</th>
<th>Very important</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Expensive houses</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expensive cars</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A big income</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luxury vacations</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travelling to far-away places</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leadership in my community</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Love</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Understanding</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Helping others</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Involvement</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Quiet conscience</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Effective Communication</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Success in my job</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Living with my parents</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Having friends</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Having a steady job</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peace in Cyprus</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Security in Cyprus</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

28. Do you use physical force to assert yourself?


29. Do you believe that “might is right”?


30. In your opinion are women more capable than men?

31. Do you swear in English?
32. Do you swear in Greek?
33. Do you help people, who are old, or sick or disabled?
34. In your opinion are the two genders equal in intelligence?
35. Do you consider murder is an event that is far removed from everyday life?
1. Yes   2. No
36. Do you believe woman's place is in the home?
1. Yes   2. No
37. Which of the following works best, in your opinion, in resolving human conflict?
1. Goodwill   2. Negotiations   3. Fighting (e.g. war)
38. Do you believe that Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots can live together peacefully in the future, after a solution?
39. Do you consider army service above all, as:
1. Unnecessary
2. A necessary evil
3. A national command or necessity
4. A necessary civic duty
5. Question does not apply to me
(THE FOLLOWING QUESTION SHOULD BE ANSWERED ONLY BY BOYS)

40. During your army service, do you, above all:

1. Look forward to a peaceful, uneventful service?
2. Look forward to fighting the Turks?
3. Look forward to a peaceful solution of the Cyprus problem?
4. Question does not apply to me

THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS SHOULD BE ANSWERED BY EVERYBODY

41. Do you believe military service must apply to women also?

1. Yes  2. No

42. Do you believe Turkish Cypriots are: (You can give any number of answers)


43. Do you believe the Turks from mainland Turkey are:


44. In which ways do you believe Cyprus television channels present Turkish-Cypriots in their news bulletins, or other programmes?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fairly</th>
<th>Unfairly</th>
<th>No programme contents are relevant</th>
<th>I don’t know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ANT.1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ET.1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOGOS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CYBC 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CYBC 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIGMA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OTHER</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Mark the name of the channel)

45. In which ways do you believe Cyprus television channels present mainland Turks in their news bulletins, or other programmes?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fairly</th>
<th>Unfairly</th>
<th>No programme contents are relevant</th>
<th>I don’t know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ANT.1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ET.1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOGOS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CYBC 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CYBC 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIGMA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OTHER</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Mark the name of the channel)

46. Do you believe fictional television (drama, action, soap operas, etc.) is realistic?

47. Do you believe Cyprus TV channels present taking drugs attractively, for young people?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Channel</th>
<th>Never</th>
<th>Sometimes</th>
<th>Frequently</th>
<th>Always</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.ANT.1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.ET.1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.LOGOS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.CyBC 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.CyBC 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.SIGMA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.OTHER</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Mark the name of the channel) 

48. Indicate which channel you prefer for fictional television:

1. ANT.1       
ET.1           
LOGOS         
CyBC 1         
CyBC. 2        
6.SIGMA        
OTHER          

(Mark the name of the channel) 

49. Indicate which channel you prefer for news or information programmes:

1. ANT.1       
ET.1           
LOGOS         
CyBC 1         
CyBC. 2        
SIGMA         
OTHER          

(Mark the name of the channel) 

50. Indicate the reason or reasons for choosing the channel you marked in Question 49.

1. Gives objective information  
2. Has good presenters  
3. Has variety in its news bulletins  
4. Other reasons (Name them)  

51. Do you believe pre-marital sex is appropriate for men?

1. Yes _ 2. No _

52. Do you believe pre-marital sex is appropriate for women?

1. Yes _ 2. No _

53. Do you believe the use of the English language in official Cyprus documents is justified?

1. Yes _ 2. No _
54. Do you believe the Cyprus State University should be:

International ______
(The lessons being taught in English)

2. Strictly Greek ______

3. Bi-communal and bi-lingual
   (Representing the Greek and Turkish
   communities, the lessons being taught
   in Greek and English) ______

55. Which of the identities listed below best describes you, in your opinion?

1. A Greek, not a Cypriot ______

2. A Cypriot, not a Greek ______

3. A Greek-Cypriot ______

4. A Cypriot ______

5. A European ______

6. A citizen of the world ______

56. In your opinion, do English-language programmes contain more violence than Greek-language programmes?

1. Never ______

2. Sometimes ______

3. Frequently ______

4. Always ______

57. In your opinion, does television violence mirror everyday violence without exaggeration?

1. Never ______

2. Sometimes ______

3. Frequently ______

4. Always ______

58. Which one of the public issues below is most important to you currently?

1. Drug abuse in Cyprus ______

2. Violence in Cyprus ______

3. The Cyprus problem ______

4. Equality of Women ______

5. A possible war with Turkey ______

6. Cyprus joining the EEC ______
59. Which flag do you consider characteristic of the Republic of Cyprus?

1. The Greek flag
2. The Cyprus flag
3. Both the Greek and Cyprus flags together, depending on the occasion
4. The Turkish and the Cyprus flag together, depending on the occasion

DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

60. You are:
1. A boy  
2. A girl

61. How old are you?
1. 13
2. 14
3. 15
4. 16
5. 17
6. 18

62. I am a student:
1. In the Gymnasium
2. In the Lyceum
3. In Technical school

63. Where do you live?
1. Nicosia
   a. Town/suburbs
   b. District (Rural)
2. Limassol
   a. Town/suburbs
   b. District (rural)
3. Larnaca
   a. Town/suburbs
   b. District (rural)
4. Famagusta District (unoccupied area)
5. Paphos
   a. Town/suburbs
   b. District (rural)

64. Father’s Occupation:
1. Works for a private company
   a. In a manual job
   b. In an office job
   c. In management
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2. Civil servant</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. In a manual job</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. In an office job</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. In management</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Private business of his own</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Unemployed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Is Retired</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Is not alive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. I don't know</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65. Mother's occupation:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Works for a private company</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. In a manual job</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. In an office job</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. In management</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Civil servant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. In a manual job</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. In an office job</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. In management</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Private business of her own</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Housewife</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Is Unemployed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Is Retired</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Is not alive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. I don't know</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66. Father's highest educational level:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. No education whatsoever</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Elementary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. High school - Gymnasium</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. High school - Lyceum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. College</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I don't know

67. Mother's highest educational level

1. No education whatsoever
2. Elementary
3. High school - Gymnasium
High school - Lyceum
College
University
don't know
68. Marital status of parents:
1. Married
2. Divorced
3. Living apart (not divorced)
4. Widower (mother is dead)
5. Widow (father is dead)
6. None of my parents is alive

69. If your parents are not living together, with whom, would you like to be living?
1. With father
2. With mother
3. With none of them

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION
### TABLE No.1

**TOP TEN PROGRAMMES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>REGULAR</th>
<th>ALWAYS</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ANT.1 News at 8.30</td>
<td>32.3</td>
<td>23.7</td>
<td>55.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PIK 1 To Kafenion (The Coffee-Shop)</td>
<td>20.8</td>
<td>26.0</td>
<td>46.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANT 1 Kalimera Zoi (Good-morning Life)</td>
<td>21.3</td>
<td>22.9</td>
<td>44.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANT 1 Pater Imon (Our Father)</td>
<td>27.5</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td>43.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PIK 1 Beverly Hills</td>
<td>18.8</td>
<td>21.1</td>
<td>39.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANT 1 Epitelo Mazi (At last together)</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>9.9</td>
<td>39.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PIK 1 Sports News</td>
<td>14.2</td>
<td>25.2</td>
<td>39.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PIK 1 Efharisto Savvatovrado (Pleasant Saturday Night)</td>
<td>27.3</td>
<td>16.9</td>
<td>39.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PIK 1 Istories tou Horiou (Stories from my Village)</td>
<td>19.9</td>
<td>19.3</td>
<td>39.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIGMA Costas Costas at Eight</td>
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**Question No. 11:** *Note whether you watch the following programmes Never, Sometimes, Regularly, Always*
**TABLE No.2**  
*Question 27.3 A BIG INCOME*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
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<th>Quite important</th>
<th>Very important</th>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>27.6</td>
<td>22.7</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Nicosia</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District/Rural</td>
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<td>17.2</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td>10.9</td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unoccupied</td>
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<td>36.0</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Paphos</strong></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td>21.7</td>
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Question No. 27: *How important are the following to you, for personal happiness?*
### TABLE No.3
#### Question No. 52

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
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<tr>
<td>Nicosia</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>51.5%</td>
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</tr>
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<td>61.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
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<td>Famagusta Unoccupied</td>
<td>30.8%</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Paphos</td>
<td>35.0%</td>
<td>65.0%</td>
</tr>
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<td>District/Rural</td>
<td>47.6%</td>
<td>52.4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Question No. 52:** Do you believe pre-marital sex is appropriate for women?
## Table No. 4

**Question No. 55**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Greek, not Cypriot</th>
<th>Cypriot, not Greek</th>
<th>Greek – Cypriot</th>
<th>Cypriot</th>
<th>European</th>
<th>Citizen of the World</th>
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<td>17.2</td>
<td>6.7</td>
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<tr>
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<td>5.2</td>
<td>13.8</td>
</tr>
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<tr>
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<td>Lamaka Town/Suburbs</td>
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<td>47.1</td>
<td>14.7</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>13.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lamaka District/Rural</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>48.9</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>17.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Famagusta Unoccupied</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>69.2</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>11.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paphos Town/Suburbs</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>52.5</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>15.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paphos District/Rural</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>39.1</td>
<td>30.4</td>
<td>21.7</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Question No. 55: *Which of the identities listed below best describes you, in your opinion?*
CHAPTER 6: INTERPRETATIONS OF INTERVIEWS & DISCUSSIONS

ENDNOTE NO. 1

LYKEION ACROPOLIS, NICOSIA: INTERVIEW WITH PHANOURIOS TAMANIS, Age 16

- A record of the replies translated by the author from Greek -

- Viewing news bulletins, is the most important thing a young person can do. At 15 and (now 16) I have become interested in what goes around me, in the small state of Cyprus and in the world. Of course, the news is not always constructive, as the channels try to attract people by showing subjects that create gossip and this is a mistake. But the news bulletins are the most important national problem that somebody should address.

I don't see any special channel, we change channels to see a news item from different angles. We try to see the international events and the sports programmes - these are aired at the same time.

The news on ANT.1: some are objective, some not. Depends on the channels' interests. This is bad, but this is what happens. They try to get private moments from the life of people and show them, thus creating interest.

About the Channel's possible support of the Establishment:

Yes, there are such things - LOGOS supports the Archbishopric, does not offend it. But this is not absolute. We sometimes see SIGMA and ANT.1 which take one or the other side. Frequently the channels are neutral, as in elections when all politicians go to all the channels to support their positions. Yes I watch the news from Greece. Sometimes they are to the point, sometimes not - as when they may show the fires in Greece, or the Greek warships in a way that creates prejudice against Greece, as Greek-Cypriots wouldn't show these news items like this. Sometimes they show scenes with somebody suffering, this is no news, but it is something ordinary and when ANT.1 shows this, they are trying to show that the Government is indifferent and neglects these cases.

About news from Greece:

The news from Greece is more serious and objective. They put the news in an order - they don't always begin with our internal problem, but with foreign subjects as well, which interest all the world. They also have representatives all the over the world; they don't act like the channels do in Cyprus, where they take scenes from the satellite - CNN and EURONEWS - and show them like they are their own. Their journalists have their own voice and they realize which news is in support, or against Greece. In Cyprus, because we do not have representatives abroad, we cannot understand this. In Cyprus we have representatives, only on rare occasions - when we are having talks with the Turkish-Cypriot side, or when we are having matters at the United Nations.

About viewing serials:

I don't usually see serials, as I have no time and I don't like them. They are not realistic, they express things in a theatrical way which young people do not like. Young people like basketball and sports programmes which may entertain and relax us. No, they are not realistic and they are made by the actors pretending before a camera. Young people do not like this, they want to see things realistically, even though older "maturer" in quotes, people may be saying that young people are dreamers and they are not down-to-earth, this is a mistake, as young people try, with their dreams and ambitions to conquer and correct the world created by older people, so that we shall create the foundations for a better world, for the coming generation.

Author: I would prefer, as this is a personal interview, that you talk about yourself, as some young people may like some serials - like "Kafenion", or "Istories tou horiou."

Phanourios: Some of the programmes like the ones you just mentioned, may be interesting as they show Cyprus traditional life and customs, they show how our grandparents lived in older times. But even these sometimes become irritating because they overstate the point and this is no good.
Personally, I sometimes see them, sometimes not, because I don’t have time, even though we must see them sometimes, to learn what was happening in older times.

I prefer Cyprus serials... not because of the language so much, as we don’t have a problem with Greek-language serials. Of course English-language programmes present a problem as we direct our eyes to the sub-titles and we miss what is going on on the main screen. But the Cyprus serials surely remind us what our grandparents did.

Sometimes my grandparents tell me what they did at Easter time or harvest time. At home we speak the Cyprus dialect, but not the old type, as my parents are philologists and they try to improve our vocabulary. In school we also speak the Cyprus dialect, but not the very old, heavy type of the village. We talk the dialect spoken in the town.

Kafenion: It is not realistic, neither of today, or of old times. If we go to the Kafenion today, we see 45-year-olds. They go to play cards or backgammon and to enjoy themselves. They don’t go to see what is the matter with the others.

Young people do not like....

Author: Tell me about Phanourios, not young people.

I do not like actors who are affected and what is happening today is that actors do not act before the camera, as they would behave in life; they are not convincing and genuine. What we consider funny, is not funny, I laugh not because of the programme, but at the actors – making fun of them. What they consider beautiful, we young people do not like. We do not consider them realistic.

With my friends we discuss money, our conquests of girls, lessons. We mainly speak about the news and about sports programmes.

I see “Para Pente” about once a week. I do not like to learn the names of the actors and directors, I have better things to learn. They are replaced by other better ones. I may watch them, but I do not remember their names. I do not remember what they say, as we have other things to remember.

- From among the Greek series, I recollect “Kalimera” and “Lampsi”, which I believe under-estimate our intelligence. A housewife can see these, or a person who is of advanced age, like my grandmother who summarizes for me “Lampsi” and “Kalimera Zoi”. We are not interested in them as we know they are fairy stories, they are made up and affected – both of these.

In “Kalimera Zoi”: Everything is happening to one family. One week, the child gets sick, the mother goes abroad the next week, the next week the father gets lost - these are outside reality.

I somehow know and have lived the realities in Greece concerning the Police. Apart from those who really want to really help the police, nobody is interested in the work they should be doing, to catch criminals. They only care to sit in their office armchair.

I know about these because my cousins who try to find out about the results of entrance exams in Greece face different problems: one official sends them off to the next official for information. Or if you go to a shop in Greece, if they have something to gain, they will all be willing to serve you. There is bureaucracy in the government, it is not like in Cyprus.

- The police in Cyprus have recently become effective. We can hear shocking things often about foreigners, usually, beating or causing harm to a policeman. This is unacceptable for me and for young people, who identify with policemen – nobody can do anything with those who want to preserve order. The police should, however, be stricter with criminals and be more flexible with us students. They should not hunt us for riding motorcycles because we break rules. The real trespassers are the people of the night-life, as in Limassol, and the vendettas, revenge, where one can kill the other.

Author: Refers to policemen beating the unlawful immigrants.

We can protect immigrants, but at a certain point they drink our blood. In time they will claim the same rights as the legal citizens of the Republic. We can try and send them to their country or take measures so that we do not have systematic entrance in our country.
We can close some of them in prison, if they have broken the law.

The same violence on behalf of the policeman is not justified. But when the wrong-doer reaches the point of threatening the policeman, then the latter must do everything he can not to suffer consequences. If he can face him without violence, or arrest him, he should do it. It's the same with young people riding motor cycles. The policemen should not treat them with violence, unless the offenders threaten to kill, or harm them.

Author: How about equality of women in television programmes more recent s?
It depends. In old programmes they were not equal, but in programmes they are equal with men. In Akti Oniron, there is an effort to show women as equal with men. In past programmes women were not equal, they considered man the master and they needed man, to become fulfilled.
Yes women are as free and dynamic as men. They go to school, like boys do and societal culture does not depend on muscular strength but on the strength of the mind, the thoughts, logic, language.

I would like my wife to be equal with me and both man and woman should be able to control each other when something is done that affects family bonds.

- On B.Hills: It is less pretentious than Greek serials and it shows us how young people think and how we can help young people.

- Yes, I know Cyprus villages and can say that “Istories” is not realistic.
I can say that B. Hills shows young people who, by majority – except for a very small percentage – 5% who may be modern (wear earrings, etc.) - all the others are normal and regular.

Drugs in B.Hills: I don’t think they are shown attractively for young people. In the end they cause users and smokers damage to their health and their family and lessons and in the end it is something unbecoming for society.

- I cannot remember anything specific I learned recently from television, but we learn what is necessary for us to become good citizens.

- Profession? I am attending the branch of postive sciences and my choices are the following: I would like to enter the “Flyers’ school” to become a pilot. This is a little dangerous, but it is worthwhile. My second choice would be to study Physics and then medicine. Physics is more of science that medicine. A scientist for me is not somebody who can learn 5 books but somebody who can learn five and come up with 15 more. My choice of professions aims primarily at personal satisfaction and then at the income, which is usually pretty much the same in government employment. In private employment it varies.

Author: How about living with the Turks after a solution?

I think I am the suitable person to answer this subject. Two years ago I was chosen by the Fulbright Commission to go to USA with the Turks. We were the first team to do this thing. The picture I got from the Turkish-Cypriots, is that that they were among the smartest of the community. Out of the twenty who were there, two or three were very phanatic and we could not face up to them. The rest were about the same, but theya turkish believed in the values of Turkey. In the beginning , I can say we did not like this and we fought them, but after about a week’s time, when they began opening up their minds and saw how we lived – and we live better than they do - they began moving away from the principles of Turkey and the principles and directives of Denktash (“this you will do, and this you can’t do”). The conclusion is that if they decide to live like us – and we live better than they do, we will only have to face the phanatics. Usually it is the phanatics on each side who fight. In the beginning I also felt I had in me the spirit of phanaticism – a Greek against Turks – but now I see them as Turkish-Cypriots. I cannot say we can live together, some days they were OK., some not. Both communities must try and face the prob lems of and the prejudices of the opposite side. We must try not to see each other as enemies, because as time goes by, the borders are closing. And by “borders” I am not talking about a door, but about a frame of mind in nations which tells them, “I am a Greek” or “I am a Turk” and I prefer to stick in my own faith.

The Turkish-Cypriots differ from the Turks of Turkey. The latter are barbarians, they kill. The Turkish-Cypriots try to show the Cyprus spirit, that they are not absolutely Turks but their norms are almost the same as in Turkey.
About saving the life of a Turkish-Cypriot or a Turk:

Christ said we should love our enemies. If it were a Turkish-Cypriot whom I met in America and became connected to him, I would surely save his life. But if it were somebody who hated me, who is cruel, I wouldn’t save his life, because I know that in case of a war, he could take my life.

As to saving the life of a Turk from Turkey, I would have to think about it. (Repeats the sentence). I would save the life of a Turkish-Cypriot. Turkish-Cypriots are not phanatics. It is the Turks who phanaticize them.

I know there are news bulletins in Turkish and this is very useful, as Bayrak has news in Greek. You might consider this useless, but it isn’t. The two news bulletins make different statements – e.g. we say that the air space of the Greek side has been trespassed. This is the correct version, as it is also supported by computers. On their news bulletins they claim that the air space of Ankara was trespassed by Greek planes. So we see that it is the military and Denktash who phanaticize them. They don’t become phanatics of their own. The previous generation were not such phanatics. It is the present generation which is stating, “We are Turks.”

I don’t think any more programmes on our channels about Turks would make any difference. The Turks wouldn’t see them and we wouldn’t see them – we scarcely have time for the news. But listening to the Greek news on their channels, is something that helps us understand why they turn them into such phanatics.

About the flag:

- The Greek flag is a symbol of the nation, it is a holy symbol in which we must believe and our spirit and roots are Greek, but we shouldn’t be chauvinists. We must try to see why Turks, why the French, why the Americans think as they do. We must open up our spirit, not forget our roots, as they support us and enable us to create. We must not be passive receivers. We must stop to think what our descendants will think about us after a thousand years. They will say, “They too, believed in their forefathers.”

The Cyprus flag is the flag of the motherland, it symbolizes the entity of the Cyprus Republic, in which we must believe. If you understand me, I am not absolute either about the one or the other, both are symbols of faith and love, one is the nation, the other, the motherland.

Studies: I would study anywhere, depending on the University. If I would study to be a pilot, I would go to Greece. Again if I would study physics, I would go to the University in Athens, as it is much better for Physics than the Cyprus University. Also, I think we can easily study in America, so I would like perhaps to study at Harvard, or UCLA, or Pennsylvania, which are good in sciences.

- I wouldn’t be afraid to study in America, as I am learning the English language well – receiving private lessons – and I like the American culture and wouldn’t mind living in America, even though I love Greece and Cyprus very much. My father is a teacher of English. What I want is in America.

- Safety in USA: We stayed in Washington, it was guarded by policemen, their monuments are there, there is no crime. But I wouldn’t like to live in a city of 15 million.

- Identity: I would say I am a Greek-Cypriot. There are differences between our culture and the culture of Greece. Not because the spirit is different, because the economy in Greece is declining, it is not as healthy as the Cyprus economy. So they don’t have the same opportunities like we have. They try to safeguard what they have. We (in Cyprus) don’t hesitate to give what we have, to help others.

CHAPTER 6: ENDNOTE NO. 2

LYKEION IN PARALIMNI, UNOCCUPIED FAMAGUSTA: INTERVIEW WITH ELENA ANDREOU, AGED 17

- A record of the replies, translated by the author from Greek -

About television viewing:
- I mostly watch news bulletins. I have no special channel preferences, but I watch the lunchtime bulletin on ANT.1. But in the evening I have a lot of private lessons. I believe their news is objective and serious and the presentation is friendly, the language is good. The scope of the ANT.1 subjects is wide and they do not limit themselves to political subjects.

Very often I disagree with both ANT.1 and other stations, as I believe they do not respect the state and they try to show confidential subjects, which call for secrecy and the way they present them, I disagree with them. They support the establishment but they also intervene in their work. An example is the Missile subject. Every station has its own scenario. They try to inform us through the views of politicians. But there should be more confidentiality, than publicity. In their effort to impress, they misinform us. When I feel misinformed, I try to ignore this. I discuss with grown-ups and they try to explain to me better. Because they are older, they look at things a little more loosely. My father, for example often tells me, “When I was young, I used to think like that, too. But now I think differently.”

N: Do you, in other words believe that older people adopt the version as presented on television more willingly or do they rather reject it?

- Both are true, at different times. My father believes that the Mass Media do their job properly but is not influenced very much by the Media. We may have different views. We must not be ignorant about things happening, we must be informed.

I mostly prefer self-contained programmes, as I can’t watch serials with many episodes. It’s not within my interests. I prefer documentaries from RIK, about nature and information programmes about psychology or medicine, sometimes in the afternoon a TV game, but Cyprus television is not satisfactory. They have a couple of youthful programmes – e.g. Beverly Hills. A grown-up cannot watch it and cannot understand the protagonists. But it is something outside our own society and I’m not very pleased with Cyprus television as they do not show things that will interest or please young people.

- B. Hills is realistic as to American life. This series takes place in a high-school. They have a different education from Cyprus – not only quality, our level is good – but the way they conduct their lessons. We in Cyprus are jealous of their way of life. Of course we cannot have this way of life. I used to see it when I was in Gymnasium classes (first three grades of high school). Now I sometimes see it on Sundays, their life is beautiful, but in Cyprus it cannot be like that. For example the way they handle children. I think they are models. But I understand my parents, they cannot behave like that in Cyprus.

The girls in B. Hills are equal with boys, but not in Cyprus. For example in the serial, a group who finished high school and are in the University, are living together. We cannot do this in Cyprus. They would be misunderstood. Even young people misunderstand this when you tell them.

- I do not watch Greek or Cyprus programmes...nothing. Perhaps it is the hours, I haven’t had the chance to see them. I hear they are the same. Perhaps they show social problems, but...

“Para Pente”, I may have seen it, but...I think it is our society. However, I hear young people commenting on Sophocles, I do not believe there are such naïve people today. I think it is simply entertaining, a break from routine.

- I like the Cyprus dialect, but the last five years I spend May to August, abroad. I am in sports and we travel around continuously and my friends are from different European countries and I am influenced by them. I differ from my other classmates, when I hear them talk.

Author: How about other foreign programmes, like “Sunset Beach” or “Baywatch”?

I think they must be better than the Greek or Cyprus programmes.

Is it the Cyprus dialect or the Greek language, or the aesthetic contents?

Not, I speak the Cyprus dialect, it is not the language, or the actors, I think we have worthwhile actors. I am simply not interested to view beyond 2 or 3 programmes, and to continue to see a series for years.

Author: Do your friends comment on what they see?

Yes, they do comment, about “Sunset Beach”, “Beverly Hills”, and “Friends” which seems to be popular in our school.

Author: Do you see “Friends”?
- No, I do not see it, even though I would like to, unfortunately I can't.

Yes, I would speak to the actors taking part in these programmes. I like talking and discussing with these people and when I know I would profit, I would talk with them. In Greece I talked with Mr. Voglis (from “AktiOniron”) and he is a man from whom you can learn a lot. I thought there was a great distance between us, but he is a very accessible man, he understood me and somehow I felt I knew him before. I also watched him teach in the School of Drama, where one of our sports teachers took us.

Author: Do you believe a relationship is created between the viewers and the actors that has the nature of a social relationship, even before you meet them?

Yes, that's how I feel. Somebody going up to an actor to talk to him, feels he has known him for years. This is very frequent in Cyprus. I don't know about other countries. I have spoken abroad to people in music, but my interests focus on sports.

- I am interested in programmes showing social problems, as well as dramatic programmes — e.g. Kevin Kostner in “Pressure at Work”. I saw it twice and then again on television. It was within my interests. I also saw “City of Angels”. One would think it is a phantasy, having to do with angels. But it presents another side of our world and I saw it three times. They are both cinema films. I see social or dramatic films, I like psychology. The actors do not matter.

In “Akti Oniron” - I saw the first three episodes — women are equal with men (even though it has foreign elements.) In life, I think we are O.K. For example, my grandfather used to say, “The sportsground is no place for a woman. And I used to tell him that in his times, a woman on the sportsground, away from her family, was considered unethical. But today, our young people do not face young women as inferiors. In politics there are very few women. I believe in the Ministry of Education, there should be a woman-Minister. Our present Minister is good, but I would prefer a woman Minister.

When I get married I will expect my husband to treat me as his equal. I wouldn't accept to be treated as his inferior. I will not state my terms when I get married, but will do so before, when I get to know him. Because I could never live like that.

- Author: Do you know life in a Cyprus village?

Yes, we have relatives in Lemona (a very small village) and I used to like going there. Their life is traditional. Today we have moved away from traditional life. We do have a couple of series that show the traditional way of life (you have mentioned them) also “Inta Tziérous Eftasamen” (Take a look at our times). I think they should show such programmes – like the documentary about the production of soutzioukkos (Cyprus grape juice delicacy). Also last year a friend of mine had a traditional marriage and I liked it.

About her future studies:

I will study to become an educator in sports law, sports psychology and I will study at the Gymnastic Academy. I like these subjects and I would never imagine myself behind an office, or working in a bank. I like sports and the people I know in sports. I'll never be bored.

My greatest dream is to participate in the Olympic games. Now I run the 100 and 200 meters. I have participated in games, in Greece and elsewhere, and it was good for me. I have been encouraged to dream.

- Yes, I believe Cypriots struggle for material possessions. Maybe spiritual also, but sure in a house you would find two or three cars. It is part of our society, our needs. Television, telephones, a contemporary family cannot live without these.

Author: Could you comment on consumerism.

People continuously want new things. They can't stop. Equipment, computers make our lives easier. Men need these (big houses, luxury vacations, travelling, etc.) But it shouldn’t be overdone. Take mobile phones. Very few houses do not have them. Maybe it's not always necessary and if you don't need them, it's a luxury.

Author: How about living with with the Turkish Cypriots after a solution to the Cyprus problem?
I have been asked this question before. If the Cyprus problem gets solved, we can communicate with them, but when we hear the word "Turk", it will not be like hearing the name of any other nationality. Something keeps us from opening up to the Turks. There is a special programme with Sports Games in which Turks take part. I participated along with some Turks who were living on our floor, abroad. We fought every time we tried to talk. With both Turks and Turkish Cypriots. Yes, they differ. In those games I met a young man who lived in Kyrenia. His views differed very much from those of the Turks of Ankara. With him, we could discuss. He believed they were wrong somewhere. Living in Cyprus, he had a first-hand experience of things. The others (the Turks) wouldn’t discuss with us, even though our arguments were reasonable.

I don’t know if the culture of Turks and Turkish Cypriots is the same. They live their own life, like we do. They try to become independent and live their own life and culture.

Yes, I would save the life of both, if I had the chance. They are human beings. They are not to blame for what happened to us. Our relationships have always been like that. At that moment I wouldn’t stop to think that he is a Turk, or a Turkish Cypriot, but I would face him as a human being.

- Author: How do you remember the events with Isaac and Solomos?

I was very scared that day. I didn’t expect that the Turks would go that far. And when I saw the events, I was disturbed. In 1994 we went to Dherynia on the occasion of the declaration of independence of the Turkish-occupied area, I felt indignation. So did I in 1996. I was too weak to do anything, but I really got scared.

Author: Did Television shape public opinion in a certain way?

Yes, definitely. All the channels showed the events repeatedly. Of course, perhaps they shouldn’t have shown them so many times, because they should consider their relatives and how they felt. But they showed them. I remember CNN showing them with a warning that the scenes which followed might be disturbing.

Author: Were your feelings and views about the Turks differentiated after these events?

After these events I realized that Greeks have more humanity in them than the Turks. I did not expect them to be like that. For example, if Denktash has problems with his health, I will say, “So what? What do I care?” I was not like that when younger. These events really disturbed me.

I witnessed the murder of Solomos, passing by, with a friend of mine. I saw stones, etc. but it was on television that I saw the details

Author: How about television and the life of Turkish-Cypriots?

I think RIK2 had a programme formerly. I used to get angry at the very idea – I get angry at the channel’s showing news in Turkish. OK, Turkish-Cypriots have their own channels. I don’t think we should show programmes for them. We must know them better, but not as conditions are. Later on, after a solution to the Cyprus problem. I don’t think we will refuse to live with them, and we will not reach the point of saying “We hate them”. Now we reach the point of hatred. We will face them differently after a solution, we will re-consider our feelings and our relations.

About the flag:

The Greek flag is our symbol, it characterizes us. It is our symbol. I respect it. A girl from Portugal, during the games, when the flag of Portugal fell and the Greek flag fell, I picked the Greek flag to take it over and I asked her, whether she, too, was going to do the same. “It is a piece of cloth”, she said indifferently, it’s not my flag. It was cloth before they made it a flag.” I was impressed. She didn’t care. She was also impressed with what I did.

The Cyprus flag is the symbol of Cyprus, it characterises Cyprus. The Greek flag has a wider meaning. It is not the flag of Greece only, but of all Greekdom. Some relatives of mine in Australia, sent me a photograph of their house and they had both the Greek and the Cyprus flag outside, together. I liked that.
Both flags together illustrate the fact that Cyprus is Greek, we Cypriots are Greeks even though we are an independent nation.
- My cultural identity - I am a Greek-Cypriot.

CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSIONS

ENDNOTE NO. 1

TABLE 1. GENERAL READINGS

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