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BRITISH COLONIAL INFLUENCE ON TURKISH AND GREEK CYPRIOT EDUCATION (1878-1960): CURRICULUM AND IDENTITY

PHD IN EDUCATION MANAGEMENT AND HISTORY

DISSERTATION

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Eğitim Bilimleri Enstitüsü Müdürlüğü'ne,

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ABSTRACT

The influence of British colonial policy on the Cyprus education system is the central concern of the current study with particular reference to the effects and changes it had on curriculum development in both Primary and Secondary education. The construction of ethnic, religious and national identities that were continuously exploited, repressed and redefined is examined within a colonial and postcolonial discourse. The effects of British colonialism on the education systems of India, Ireland and Cyprus are compared followed by a detailed analysis of the elementary, secondary curricula of Greek and Turkish Cypriots. The qualitative research into the effect the British administration actually had on the Turkish and Greek Cypriot students attempts to provide a voice to the people of Cyprus that has historically been absent for too long. As the numbers of generations that can recall British colonial influence gradually declines, such studies play a vital role in assessing colonial influence on Cypriot life in real terms rather than merely providing extensions of a colonial discourse presented only through a Western, dominant and imperial perspective. Furthermore, this study aims to conclude with the implications that Cyprus can perhaps learn from to take education and the Cypriot people into a new future of peace, hope and possible solution.

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SUMMARY

BRITISH COLONIAL INFLUENCE ON TURKISH AND GREEK CYPRIOT EDUCATION (1878-1960): CURRICULUM AND IDENTITY

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The central aim of the study is to analyze the influence of British colonial policy on the Cyprus education system with particular reference to the effects and changes it had on curriculum development in both Elementary and Secondary schools. Furthermore, the concept of identity is examined within a colonial and postcolonial framework and in particular how national identities were perpetually restricted and manipulated. Comparisons are made between the colonial education systems of India and Ireland followed by the investigation into the elementary and secondary curricula of Greek and Turkish Cypriots.

Besides obtaining data from original texts and primary sources, a qualitative research approach using interpretive and critical theory paradigms is implemented to investigate the influence the British colonizers actually had on the Turkish and Greek Cypriot students. The interviews are carried out using an oral history perspective. The interview findings revealed that while the majority of Cypriot students found the colonial education system effective in as far as receiving a good education, the sense of identity installed in these schools was continually reconstructed within the limited religious and ethnic boundaries of the motherlands and constantly repressed by the domineering cloak of imperial superiority and underlying political agenda of the British administration.

Finally, the study aims to recommend educational developments that can take Cyprus and future generations into a period of peace and cooperation, providing a new discourse in which a Cypriot identity can be defined, developed and indeed celebrated.

ÖZET

İNGİLİZ SÖMÜRGESİ'NİN KIBRIS TÜRK VE RUM EĞİTİMİ (1878-1960) ÜZERİNDEKİ ETKİSİ: EĞİTİM PROGRAMI VE KİMLİK

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Bu araştırmanın esas amacı İngiliz sömürge politikalarının Kıbrıs'taki ilkokul ve ortaokul eğitim sistemine ve özellikle eğitim programına ve program geliştirme sürecine olan etkilerini incelemektir. Ayrıca kimlik kavramı, sömürge ve sömürge sonrası çerçevede ele alınarak özellikle milli kimliklerin İngilizler tarafından nasıl ustaca idare edilip engellendiği açıklanmaya çalışılmıştır. İngiltere'nin Hindistan ve İrlanda'da uyguladığı sömürge eğitim sistemleri incelenerek, Kıbrıs'taki benzerlik ve farklılıkları ortaya koymak için karşılaştırmalar yapılmıştır. Kıbrıslı Türklerin ve Kıbrıslı Rumların ilkokul ve ortaokullarında uygulanan eğitim programları irdelenmiştir.

Orijinal metinler ve birincil kaynakların yanı sıra, Nitel araştırma teknikleri olan yorumlayıcı ve eleştirel teori paradigmaları kullanılarak, İngiliz sömürge yönetiminin Kıbrıslı Türk ve Rum öğrenciler üzerindeki etkileri yapılan görüşmelerle (sözlü tarih çalışmasıyla) ortaya çıkarılmaya çalışılmıştır. Söz konusu görüşmelerde varılan sonuçlar özetle şunları içermektedir: Verilen eğitim açısından bakıldığında Kıbrıslıların (Türk-Rum) çoğunun aldıkları eğitimi etkili buldukları anlaşılmaktadır. Olay kimlik açısından irdelendiğinde ise kimliklerin kısıtlı dini ve anavatanların etnik sınırlılıkları içinde olduğu görülmektedir. Bu açıdan kimlik emperyalist üstünlüğün baskıcı pelerini ile İngiliz yönetiminin önceden mevcut politik gündemleri altında sürekli olarak yeniden inşa edilmekteydi.

Son olarak, bu çalışmanın amacı eğitimde gelişme ve tarihi bakış açısı olarak tavsiyelerde bulunmaktır. Kıbrıs'ta gelecek kuşaklar için barış ve

işbirliği ortamı yaratılarak Kıbrıslı kimliğinin tekrardan tanımlanıp, geliştirilip kutlanabileceği bir ortam yaratılmasına katkıda bulunmaktır.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The history of Cyprus is one of foreign rule and occupation. Throughout the centuries regional, European and Eastern powers dominated the island one after the other. The first impressions of modern political life developed after the Ottoman Empire ceded Cyprus to Britain in 1878. The colonial rulers established political institutions and introduced legislation that endorsed political impetus and allowed political activity to grow. In the eighty two years that Britain occupied Cyprus, such endeavors were subject to continual restrictions and impediments as government policy was enforced that supported underlying strategic agendas that only served to benefit colonial concerns with little or no real objective that would help, advance or unite the Cypriot people.

Cyprus' swift amalgamation into British administrative and secular structures produced an integral confrontation to the religious and political leaders of one of the most neglected provinces of the Ottoman Empire. The disempowering depiction of Cyprus and its people is reflected in the cultural imperialistic policies of a colonial discourse of 'divide and rule.'

The government policies of 1882 ended the political domination of the Turkish Muslims in Cyprus and the exploitation of ethnic and religious differences between the Greek and Turkish Cypriots was the fundamental foundation of British rule in Cyprus. It was the exploitation of this "racial cleavage" (Kizilyurek in Faustmann & Peristianis, 2006, 316) between the Greek and Turkish Cypriots that lay at the heart of colonial education policy throughout the occupation and whose colonial legacy bore deep divisions for Cypriot people and their sense of identity which is still relevant today.

This study therefore attempts to answer the following research questions:

1. What curricula were in place for the Greek and Turkish Cypriot educational systems during the British Period in Cyprus?

    a. What was the primary curriculum like for the Greek and Turkish Cypriots?
    b. What was the secondary curriculum like for the Greek and Turkish Cypriots?
2. What were the aims of the curricula?
3. Were there any differences between the Greek and Turkish Cypriot curricula and if so why?
4. Did the curricula show difference or parallelism in British colonies in terms of educational aims?
5. How was the real aim of the British achieved in the case of the Greek and Turkish Cypriot curricula?
    a. What were the reactions from the Greek Cypriot community?
    b. What were the reactions from the Turkish Cypriot community?
6. What, if any, were the effects of the curriculum on student identities?

In order to find possible answers to the research questions above, this study is organized according to the following chapters:

Chapter I introduces the aims and objectives of colonial education and Chapter 2 (literature review) explores the implications of constructing identities within these frameworks. Chapter III focuses on the methodology of the research. Chapter IV provides an analysis of Cyprus prior to British colonial influence, its general history and the education under Ottoman rule. Colonial education is examined in Chapter V as well as the effect this had on other British colonies of Ireland and India, comparisons of which are made with Cyprus. Chapter VI investigates the elementary and secondary curricula for the Turkish and Greek Cypriot education systems. A comparison of the elementary and secondary curricula is discussed in Chapter VII and the findings obtained from comparison of the interviews of the two research groups are presented and discussed in Chapter VIII with the conclusions and the future implications reviewed and considered in the final Chapter IX.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction to Colonialism

"The argument, when reduced to its simplest form, was clear, it was precise, it was easy to grasp. There are Westerners, and there are Orientals. The former dominate; the latter must be dominated [...]" (Balfour, 1910, addressing the House of Commons, in Said, 1978, 36). This was the general application in the West's global advance and expansion of European power. From 1815 to 1914, European colonies grew from approximately 35% of the earth's surface to 85% (Said, 1978, 51). By the time of the British occupation in Cyprus in 1878, European control had extended over almost all of Africa, cemented control in the subcontinent and elsewhere in Asia and by the early 20th century dominated nearly the whole of the Middle East, except for Turkey, to direct or indirect Western influence (Huntington, 1996, 51). With this global encounter of non-Western cultures, the "Orient" was created for imperial extension and Western supposed "civilized" thought: the east and west were fundamentally and explicitly divided.

With the arrival of the British in Cyprus in 1878, the relatively poor and neglected dominion of the Ottoman Empire was promptly assimilated into British administrative structures; systems were overturned and constitutive challenges were introduced to the political and religious authorities and the process of colonization began, a process that would deeply imprint on the diverse and multifarious tapestry of Cypriot life to the present day. Certainly, the Cyprus conflict is bound up in fractious socio-political issues of ethnic conflict, religious and national identities, Western dominance as well as modern processes of secularization and modernization, all of which will now be examined.

2.2 Constructing Identities

Categorically, the West defines itself in opposition to all that is non-western. Asad (1993, 18) attributes this definition to its unique and unparalleled position in its modern historicity ranging from the Greeks and Romans to the "universal civilization" of modern Europeans. In other words, while there is no set or individual western identity, it stands as a collective identity that defines itself in contrast to all others. Thus, for any non-westerners who want to understand their histories, they must also examine Europe's past as it is through this that universal history has been constructed. Furthermore, the empirical prejudice that European identity is superior in comparison with all non-European peoples and cultures, and indeed in the very nature of European colonial expansion itself, reveals that the formation of strong state powers in the east, and particularly in the Middle East, have very different histories. It is this relationship of power and domination between what Said terms the "Orient" and "Occident" that plays an important role in the colonial and post colonial discourse of Cyprus' history. The east and west binary has - and veritably continues to a certain extent- play a vital role in the methods and decisions about how to administer Cyprus.

The West's unchallenged advancement and domination of the East throughout the late 18th and early 19th centuries ensured a severe lack of voice or representation of the "other". Said (1978, 204) claims this formidable western strength lies in the absence of any comparisons that can be made with eastern advancement on the west. For instance, comparatively speaking, travelers from the Islamic east to Europe in the 19th century were rare. It is this increased systematic knowledge in Europe about the "Orient" at this time, reinforced and exploited by colonial domination and experience that supports and defines the absolute divide between east and west. The constraints and limitations of this boundary concept of eastern or "oriental" inferiority and western superiority can be seen in no better example than in India. Asad (1993, 8) provides an insightful representation of this

demarcation: immigrants from South Asia who settle in Britain are described as uprooted; English officials who lived in "British" India were not, with the fundamental difference between them being power, with the former as subjects, the latter as representatives.

Cyprus was initially colonized by the ancient Greeks and subsequently conquered by every ruling empire in the surrounding area up to 1571, when the Ottoman Turks gained control. Since then, the Cypriot conflict has been an identity based conflict that sits in the heart of the binary divide between east and west. To understand the complex nature of this conflict within Cyprus, it is necessary to examine how individual identities are created and reinforced internally. Berger (1969, 15) refers to a process called 'socialization' which involves the individuals' participation in a culture. This continuing cultural existence depends on the maintenance of specific social arrangements and institutional programs and roles that need to be transmitted from one generation to the next. Thus, individuals are initiated into the meanings of the culture, learn to participate in and accept the roles and identities that make up its social structure. Herein lies the crucial role of religion, which ultimately serves to maintain the reality of that socially constructed world within which individuals exist in their everyday lives (Ibid, 42).

During the Ottoman rule, the two communities – Greek Christians and Turkish Muslims- operated relatively separately under the millet system by which the Orthodox church of Cyprus was given considerable control over the affairs of the identity groups separately in terms of education, religion and cultural aspects. In fact, the British endeavored to remodel the millet system, thus retaining the religious divisions and recharging them as ethnic. The longer the British remained in Cyprus, the stronger the two groups attached to their ethnic identities, thus establishing the crux of an identity based conflict that remains today. Furthermore, this attachment ultimately meant the Cypriots had an extremely limited sense of being truly "Cypriot" (Fisher, 2001, 309).

There is no doubt that on arrival in Cyprus, the British saw Cypriot people as 'oriental' and therefore in need of British rule (Varnava, 2006 in Philippou, 2009, 202). However, unlike any other colonies, in Cyprus, the majority of the people was Christian and so therefore regarded as imperialistically European. Historically, Christianity and Islam have always been opposed (Said, 1978, 260). The British sought to redefine not only the structures of traditional authority but to create a new "public" for this process (Byrant, 2001, 318). The fact that in 1878, the language of administration was Ottoman; the language of the Cypriot people were Cypriot versions of Greek and Turkish; and the historical fact that Cyprus had been under Islamic control for three centuries, was of no consequence to the British colonizers. Put simplistically, Cyprus was a unity and the inhabitants, who had no real classification of identity, were subjects, not citizens (Byrant, 2004, 21). The gradual restructuring of a system that had previously meant religion and politics were intertwined had significant implications for the problem of education, which will be examined fully later. The central issue here is that the ethnic division and system of governance created by the British colonial administration ultimately coerced individuals to choose between certain aspects of their identity in order to adhere to the 'official' definition of their prescribed ethnicity, whether they truly identified with it or not.

2.2.1 Religious Identities

As these constructed identities were religiously divided, it is important to be aware that religion as a category of analysis is highly variable. Beckford (2003, 7) maintains religion is a "social construct that varies in meaning across time and place". Religion is not universal and to understand religious identity or religious values, it is vital to be aware that it varies from situation to situation (Ibid, 25). Indeed, as Asad (1993, 1) succinctly highlights, religion is vital to modern western history, however, there are problems in employing it as a normalizing concept when translating Islamic traditions. The British "orientalist" in 1878 Cyprus of course did exactly that

and thus, by attempting to understand Muslim traditions through a modern western norm, the British provided a limited sense of real religious discourse for the ethnic groups of Cyprus. Instead, they encouraged a dubious place in the political domain which was merely a façade for British political power.

2.2.2 Educational Objectives

One field in which the British government would never entirely control was education. Opposition was strong, especially because education in both communities was a sacred rather than a secular practice (Byrant, 2004, 124). Indeed, initially the British could do very little in terms of education without consulting the archbishop and the mufti who were in charge of the priests and imams who were also teachers of Cypriot village schools, at least in the first few years of British administration. While British policy maintained and undoubtedly encouraged the religious division within education, the divide became increasingly linked to ethnic nationalism. As will be examined, the British continually attempted to gain more control of education through the gradual process of centralization in the hope to quash any national sentiment already growing in the Cypriot schools. Furthermore, the discourse of colonial Britain in dividing, ordering and classifying the schools actually helped in creating ethno-religious boundaries that "assisted and in turn was supported by the emerging Greek and Turkish ethno-nationalisms and their reifications and violence on the ground" (Constantinou, 2007, 250). In other words, the British occupation and the educational policies implemented actually served to empower means of resistance from both the bi-ethnic groups.

In an educational context, the role of policy and curricula in Cyprus and particularly towards the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries fuelled both groups' nationalistic desires (Philippou, 2009, 202). While the British continually attempted to quell national feeling through limiting national symbols and celebrations, particularly during the 1930s, the curriculum became "a key forum wherein all parties (the colonial administration, Greek

Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot educational authorities) sought to construct national identities" (Ibid, 203).

2.2.3 Modernization and Secularization

Another important category of analysis essential to this study as well as religious and national identity is that of modernization. According to Huntington (1996, 68), "modernization involves industrialization, urbanization, increasing levels of literacy, education and wealth and social mobilization and more complex and diversified occupational structures". He argues that as the first civilization to modernize, the west leads in the attainment of the culture of modernity, which ultimately has led to an Islamic resurgence which he claims to be both a product of and an effort to come to grips with modernization and the underlying trends of what that implies.

Early signs of this trend can be seen in 1923 with the Turkish revolutionary Mustafa Kemal Ataturk and his reformation of the "Turkish nation, out of the ruins of the Ottoman Empire" (Byrant, 2004, 148). Within a few years of his consolidated power in the new capital of Turkey, Ankara, Muslim Cypriots became Turkish Cypriots, "taking upon themselves an identity forged in the crucible of nationalism" (Ibid, 149). This form of nationalism aimed at modernization brought with it an anti-Ottoman, anti-traditional stance, accentuated through processes of secularization and educational renovation (Ibid, 233), the implications of which will be examined later. What is interesting and particularly applicable to the Cypriot situation in the context of societies encountering modernization is the intensifying gap between religious and secular arenas. Indeed, Berger (1969, 107) defines secularization as the "process by which sectors of society and culture are removed from the domination of religious institutions and symbols". While boundaries between the religious and the secular are penetrable, secularization is a highly controvertible social construction.

The expansion of the west has inevitably resulted in the modernization of non-western societies but what is more important is the reaction of leaders of these societies, in particular the Islamic east. When Ataturk inaugurated his revolutionary efforts to modernize the new Turkey, he created a society that was "Muslim in its religion, heritage and customs [...] but with a ruling elite determined to make it modern, western and at one with the west" (Huntington, 1996, 74). Such division in identity was a continual process and problem in Cyprus. According to Berger (1969, 130), when secularizing mechanisms take hold, there tends to be an institutional separation of church and state. By instigating this crisis of modernity and identity in Cyprus, the British occupation helped create deeper divisions and educational segregation not only within the Greek and Turkish Cypriot ethnic groups but within factions of each community too.

2.2.4 Educational Implications

While it is clear to see that education in general was highly regarded by Cypriots, Byrant (2004, 127) claims that the ethnic experience of education was directly linked to ethnic identity. More specifically, "becoming a 'true' Greek or a 'true' Ottoman (and later a 'true' Turk) was something achieved through education". Thus, while education was seen as important and vital to one's growth and development, it was limited only to the extent this growth was understood in terms of being specifically Greek or Turkish.

Certainly, until the end of the 19th century, elementary education was a necessary part of becoming fully integrated into the religious community. Literacy and education was essential to each tradition in so far as school masters received prestige and status not only by being literate but by being literate in a language connected to long histories of which each community was proud (Byrant, 2004, 126). For instance, the Muslim Ottoman not only learned Turkish but also Arabic and Persian; the Greek Orthodox Cypriot became fluent in the language of Socrates and the Bible. The fact that these languages bore little or no significance to the native languages used by the

Turkish and Greek Cypriots was of little consequence to the British administration and language remained an educational issue throughout the British occupation.

In accordance with national identity, books and teachers were often imported from what came to be referred to as the "motherlands" of Greece and Turkey. However, Klerides (2009, 435) highlights an important argument regarding the identities created through education of the motherlands which were first articulated in empirical Britain and then Greece, and transformed to schooling in the "daughter lands". British colonial education in the late 19th century mirrored that taught in English schools with the emphasis being in "the great British empire" where imperial superiority was vital to the global expansion of the "civilized" world. Modern Greeks wanted to recover historical lands and free their "co-nationals" from foreign rule. Such ideologies were reproduced in history and geography books and maps and expatriate teachers were employed. Through education, national identities were continually re-applied or repressed, often resulting in confutations and inconsistencies in official definitions of what being a Cypriot Greek or Turk actually meant (Constantinou, 2007, 260).

It has been argued that the "official" historical accounts of the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities are also present in history textbooks today but depict each other in ways that construct mutual blame while de-legitimizing the other's historical presence (Papadakis in Philippou, 2009, 205). Education keeps identities separate with a severe lack of a united Cypriot identity present in any historical or even current educational syllabi (Ibid, 206).

Before we look at this lack of Cypriot identity further, let us first return to Said's (1978, 322) point regarding the problems of studying "orientalism", in that there is a complete historical lack of resources from east to west historiographies. Indeed, he highlights the worrying influence it has had on eastern discourse, claiming that there are journals in Arabic that are full of second order analysis by Arabs that empirically discuss the "Arab mind". But

despite the downfalls and limitations of distinctions between the "orientalist" and the "orient", it is impossible to avoid dealing with east and west distinctions which have framed powerful political and ideological realities. Said (1978, 327) maintains the best modern scholarship can do is to be aware of this discourse. What is perhaps more interesting today is the current change in international power relations. Huntington (1996, 94) discusses how the age of western dominance will come to an end promoting a "resurgence of non-western cultures", a process he claims has already started. In fact, Said (1978, 205) identified this shift of power which has returned towards the east again in the late 20th century. As Islamic societies attempt to expand their own power against the west (Lewis, 1990, 3), global politics is becoming multipolar in its interaction with western culture and the trappings of modernity and secularization that goes with it. Educationally, this can only be a positive aspect to global changes and shifts in power. For instance, in the early 1990s, in every region except Africa, nearly the entire elementary school age group was enrolled in primary education (Huntington,1996, 85).

2.2.5 Cypriot Identity

As briefly observed, a noticeable lack of Cypriot identity is historically absent. However, as non-western cultures and societies develop economically and politically, they are more likely to assert their own cultural values and indeed reject those cultural and social constructs previously imposed on them by the west. Certainly, Huntington (1996, 101) goes so far to argue that with the "emerging Asian universalism comparable to that which has been characteristic of the west," it may bring with it a "reversed Occidentalism whereby the west is portrayed by the east in a uniform and negative way which western orientalism once portrayed the east". This would have extremely interesting implications for modernizing societies and cultures, as well as global interpretation of international power struggles. In fact, modernization strengthens cultures at the same time as reducing the power of the west (Ibid, 78). This is a provocative concept and could be an

analytical consideration in its own right. In the case of Cyprus however, it is perhaps a little premature as we look at the educational context of cultural identities today, whereby Greek and Turkish Cypriot identities are maintained separately. Furthermore, in her analysis of civic and citizenship education, Philippou (2009, 206) argues that Cypriot citizenship as a social-cultural identity is non-existent in school textbooks and other official documents. In fact, in a government document for educational reform entitled "Strategic Planning for Education" (MoEC2008 in Ibid, 216), she highlights that there is no mention of the Turkish language despite the proposal that Cypriot students should learn two foreign languages other than Greek. Local context appears to be completely absent: as was with the case of strategic interests of the colonial power during the British occupation, the rights and opportunities of the Cypriot people appear to have been administered and relegated to the limiting scope of international and regional politics (Mallinson, 2005, 3).

The fact that even today Cypriot identity continues to be inextricably entwined with being either a Greek or Turkish Cypriot is not encouraging in the sense of any development towards facilitating communication between and also the unification of the two groups. Learning the others language in schools would be a good start. In fact, education generally is a good starting point for providing the foundations for "creating citizens for the new nation state" (Byrant, 2001, 335). Furthermore, Fisher (2001, 320) makes a valid and extremely progressive suggestion in using educational workshops and dialogue among educators as a means of developing methods for peace keeping and building projects in the educational sphere.

As the world enters the second decade of the 21st century, the face of global politics and identity are changing with new participants and new roles. As the balance of power changes, America is becoming a dominant player as is the UN and NATO. Within the European context, despite its peace keeping efforts, controversy remains over the membership of Islamic states, namely Turkey, which perhaps hinders any form of resolution to the Cyprus problem further. Moreover, the resurgence of Islam both globally and within

Turkey has recently activated anti-western sentiments, making it difficult for peace between these civilizations (Huntington,1996, 149). What is interesting about Huntington's analysis is the idea introduced by Turkish leaders suggesting Turkey could be a "bridge between cultures" (Ibid, 151). This opens up positive future implications for Cyprus and would perhaps help relations between the two communities as Turkey took a more active role in European politics as the Islamic representative to the Middle East (Ibid, 178).

What is fundamentally needed is the very element that has been severely absent since the British occupation of Cyprus: the Cypriot voice. Philippou (2009, 217) argues that the curricula could be used to really examine not only what it means to be European but what it means to be Cypriot. Furthermore, she would like to see the ambiguities and complexities of the Cyprus conflict be used as a didactic tool to promote discussion in the classroom and to even envision solutions.

As we have seen, Cypriot identity is not only absent but inextricably and abstrusely entwined with national, religious and global identities. As Fisher (2001, 320) correctly points out, the Cyprus conflict continues to be on the schedule of the international community but still with no resolution. What is required is for the field of education to examine new, progressive forms of identities that have or still are developing in post-colonial and post-modern Cyprus.

CHAPTER 3
METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

The research questions mentioned in Chapter 1 and the purpose of this study determine the methodology of this research. Therefore, it is important to focus on the problem statement, aim, significance and limitations of this research before presenting detailed information on the research methodology.

3.1.1 The Problem Statement

The influence of British colonial policy on the Cyprus education system is the central concern of the current study with particular reference to the effects and changes it had on curriculum development in both Primary and Secondary education of Turkish and Greek Cypriots. The construction of ethnic, religious and national identities that were continuously exploited, repressed and redefined is examined within a colonial and postcolonial discourse.

3.1.2 The Aim of the Research

Broadly speaking, the purpose of the present study is to explore the construction of national and religious identities in relation to the primary and secondary curriculum followed by the Turkish and Greek Cypriots between 1878 and 1960. The concept of identity is examined within colonial and post colonial framework, focusing on the influence of British colonial policy on curriculum development.

3.1.3 The Importance of the Research

The Cypriot conflict has always been an identity based conflict that sits in the heart of the binary divide between East and West. It therefore provides

a unique challenge for for the world; more specifically for Turkish and Greek Cypriots, "motherlands" Turkey and Greece, Britain and the United Nations. To understand the complex nature of this conflict within Cyprus, it is necessary to examine how individual identities are created and reinforced internally, providing an extremely limited sense of being truly Cypriot. It is also significant to explore how the lives of Cypriots were affected by their education within a historical context as curriculum is a key factor in influencing attitudes. Furthermore, it is the aim of this research to present the viewpoints of the Turkish and Greek Cypriot participants to provide a unified voice to be heard that has been absent for so long and may be to conceptualise solutions to the Cyprus problem.

3.1.4 The Limitations of the Research

The research conducted took a year of intense research including the interview process. The research is limited to the influence of the British colonial rule on Turkish and Greek Cypriot education regarding curriculum and identity between 1878 and 1960. In addition to the use of primary sources, interviews of oral history nature were carried out with the Turkish and Greek Cypriot recipients of the education between the ages of 64 and 93, focusing on the curriculum followed in the 20th Century as the number of the people who were educated during the British colonial times are rapidly decreasing.

In this research, primary sources from both the British, Greek and Turkish Cypriot Archives and libraries such as education and colonial reports, government letters as well as a qualitative approach are used. Contemporary qualitative research has been the result of over more than a century of continuous development that has embodied, used, borrowed and expanded nearly all the disciplines not only in the field of social science but from almost everywhere, including arts and humanities (Willis, 2007, 181). In the context of the current study, interpretive and critical theory paradigms were used in order to attempt to present a broad and meaningful perspective of the effects

colonial Britain had on Cypriot education. Semi-structured interviews (See Appendix 1 for the interview questions) from an oral history perspective are carried out with a sample of individuals who had received their education during the British occupation. The sample of twenty interviewees (See Appendices 2 and 3) were divided between ten Turkish Cypriot and ten Greek Cypriot, varied ages between 64 and 93 years old, a mixture of male and female and were from urban and village areas around Cyprus. The researcher used the maximum variation as a sampling strategy, which helped select a small sample with great diversity (Patton, 1987, 113). All interviewees attended local elementary schools in their area and continued their secondary education elsewhere attending a variety of post primary institutions including the Gymnasia, English Schools and commercial college.

Rather than emphasizing one particular method of research, the qualitative approach incorporates all fields of study with many forms and a diverse range of methods. Indeed the interpretivist model highlights the desire for multifarious and diversified approaches and perspectives. According to Ezzy (2002, 64), the central aim of qualitative research is to allow the voice of the people being researched, of the "other" to inform the researcher. In an attempt to do this efficiently, fairly and genuinely, interpretivists employ qualitative methods such as case studies, interviews and observation as these methods are considered by many to be more proficient at finding out how individuals interpret the world around them. Indeed, Willis (2007, 11) emphasizes the importance of the interpretive and critical theory paradigms in the qualitative traditions and their role as the dominant paradigms in social science research. However, he also highlights the importance of being aware that no one paradigm is absolutely correct as others are not, and that researchers should not limit their perspective nor undermine the choice and practice of others (Ibid, 21).

Denzin and Lincoln (2005 in Willis, 2007, 161) emphasize the importance of the participants in the process of research as it is ultimately their meaning, their individualized constructed reality that we are trying to understand. Indeed, interpretative research ascertains that there is no

single, observable reality but there are multifarious realities or perceptions of a single event (Merriam, 2009, 9). With this in mind, qualitative researchers are interested in comprehending meaning that people have constructed, that is, how people make sense of their world and the experiences they have (Ibid, 13).

Furthermore, Merriam (2009, 34) contends that the central aim in critical inquiry is to "critique and challenge, to transform and power". It is not enough to merely study and understand a society, but also to review, analyze and develop that society. Applicable to the current study topic, such an approach is vital not only within an educational context but for the wider perspective of finding a future solution to the Cyprus problem. What lies at the centre of critical research is the question of power play, for instance, "who has power, how it's registered, what structures in society reinforce the current distribution of power." Interestingly for the context of this study, it is also presumed that people unconsciously accept things the way they are, and in doing so, actually fortify and strengthen the existing situation (Ibid, 35).

It is vital when carrying out any form of qualitative research that the researchers' role is not only acknowledged but is a primary instrument for data collection and analysis. Semi-structured interviews allows the researcher to be directly responsive and so is able to clarify, adapt, refine, expand and summarize interviewees responses and explore any avenues not previously assumed in other stages of the research. Merriam (2009, 15), highlighting the significance of the researcher's role, claims that any biases and predispositions should be identified and in fact monitored in the context of how they might be influencing the collection and interpretation of data. Phenomenology, most associated with Husserl (1970 in Merriam, 2009, 8), is a process that has influenced all of qualitative research in that now it is common for researchers to examine their biases and assumptions about the topic of study before embarking on research. It is also a branch of qualitative research that has its own methodological tools and focus, though holds important implications and elements for all qualitative researchers when trying to provide impartial, unbiased conclusions (Merriam, 2009, 27).

3.2 Semi-Structured Interviews

The choice of employing semi-structured interviews for the qualitative part of the present study is justified in that this method enables the researcher to continually respond to the current situation and new direction or divergence that may occur during the interview process that may not have been previously considered. Interviewers can encourage perpetual discourse on the topic by diverting and veering an interviewee's attention to the subject being explored and by using astute conversational tactics designed to keep the interviewee on track (Luttrell, 2010, 244). It is essential to be impartial and I have attempted to remain as neutral as possible with regard to respondents' comments, knowledge and ideas. As a researcher in social sciences and in particular in education, it is always important to be continually aware of the interviewer-respondent interaction, which is a complex intercommunication whereby "both parties bring biases, predispositions, attitudes and physical characteristics that effect the interaction and data elicited" (Merriam 2009, 109). Merriam highlights possible factors that may influence interview responses but that the researcher may be completely unaware of, for instance, the interviewees' mood, health or underlying reasons for taking part in the study. Bernard and Ryan (2010, 34) develop this awareness to allow us to view the interview process as a social event in which respondents will be influenced by other factors such as trying to either please or at least not offend the interviewer; the presence of a third party may also affect the outcome as well as the techniques employed by the researcher such as open or closed ended questions. In the context of the current study, the participants were all of an elderly age, which often perturbed vague or absent responses as memories faltered.

It is integral to continually be aware that what information is given during the interview is basically what the individual thinks of the interest of study, at that particular point in time and that many interviewees often infer what they *think* they *usually* do (Ibid, 37). Merriam (2009, 114) contends while this is the personal perspective that is pursued during the investigative

process, any single interview requires consideration in relation and in consideration of other interviews and other data resources such as other interviews, documents and archival material. Furthermore, the goals of qualitative analysis reflect the complex and multiple dynamics of human interaction. It is essential that analysis of the interview discourse involves systematic coding and that the researcher is continually open to new concepts and ideas as the research process evolves as opposed to using the analysis to merely confirm the researchers' initial idea (Rubin & Rubin, 2005, 202).

3.3 Oral History

In this research, the qualitative data obtained from the semi-structured interviews are of oral history nature. "History becomes much more real when it is more than a recitation of events. Oral history is a life, a set of experiences, a piece of what has been, an example of what might occur again. It is fascinating, intriguing, exciting; it is...history!" (Butler, 2008).

Oral histories are considered primary sources. However, since the memories provided by individuals can be coloured by any number of influences such as the age of interviewee, the type of environment in which the interview takes place, the number of years since the memory occurred, other circumstances that were occurring at the same time and so on, oral histories are sometimes considered less reliable than other primary sources (Vansina, 1985; Moss in Dunaway & Baum, 1996). This does not mean that oral histories are not important. The "dialectic between the telling of the story and the inquisitive and critical mind [...] gives oral history its real dimension" (Grele, 1985, vii). As Paul Thompson (in Perks & Thomson, 1998, 28) writes, "oral history offers a challenge to the accepted myths of history, to the authoritarian judgment inherent in its tradition. It provides a means for radical transformation of the social meaning of history".

Although the public is more familiar with the type of oral history as narrated by famous people such as politicians, actors and other prominent figures in the forms of televised interviews, documentaries and exposes on their lives, oral histories are not always of well-known people, but also of individuals "in the trenches"; those who lived, worked, experienced those times and aspects of life under investigation in all levels of society.

There are different kinds of oral histories. Three of the more prominent approaches are structured, semi-structured, and a combination approach (Morrison, 1992). With the structured approach, the interviewer prepares a list of questions to ask the interviewee. While the number of questions may vary, ten or more are recommended. This way, the interviewer is ready should some of the questions not work with the interviewee.

In the semi-structured approach, a shorter list of "leading" questions is written before the interview by the interviewer. In this case, the interviewer is more prepared to wait through silences and let the interviewee go "off track" as s/he remembers things. The idea here is that the interviewee is in allowed to lead the interview while the interviewer "goes with the flow" and is not focused on the task that the interview does not deviate from its originally defined direction (Butler, 2008).

In addition, many oral history interviewers employ what is called the "combination" approach. With this method, the interviewer comes to the interview supplied with a rather long list of questions, but may not use all of them. Instead, the interviewer initiates the process with a comment or starting question developed to lead the interviewee in the direction of the information needed. Thus, the interviewee speaks freely until/ unless the path of conversation veers away from the desired. In this third type of interviewing, the questions are there in order to put the interviewee back on track, if need be.

Normally, oral histories are recorded because the interviewer cannot remember every word if s/he is just listening. In most cases, an audio tape recorder or digital or video recorder is used. Thus, at the end of the interview there is a record of what was said. The interviewer having created a list of questions to ask the interviewee records the interview for posterity, and transcribes the interview into a print format for easy access (Baum, 1991). Or s/he may obtain another person to help in the various steps of the interview process. Thus, an oral history is a type of discourse in which "history evokes a narrative of the past, and oral indicates a medium of expression" (Portelli in Chamberlain & Thompson, 1998, 23).

Time and timing can play a critical role in the oral history process. New events occur, perspectives may change, and new information may surface. Therefore, no two life story interviews with the same person will ever be the same. The stories would also change with a different interviewer. In other words, positionality is a key determinant in storytelling; time, place, and relationships all have an impact on one's subjectivity and, hence, how one sees the world (Wong, 2009).

3.4 Data Mining from Documents

As well as semi-structured interviews, the study also has drawn widely from extensive primary documents including Colonial Reports, Education Reports and government evaluations. However, it is vital that care is taken in assessing authenticity and accuracy as even public records that assume to be objective and accurate can hold deep rooted and presupposed biases that the researcher may not be aware of (Merriam, 2009, 154). While the data in official documents can help inform and develop early hypotheses and provide detailed, historical understanding, it is important to acknowledge certain limitations to this data. For example, most primary documented material is produced for official reasons other than research so may be incomplete, partial or disjointed and not entirely suited to the purposes of the research.

Indeed, one of the problems and disadvantages of using archival data and secondary data is that they may lack authenticity, particularly when the data examined has been collected with another purpose in mind than to the present study. Furthermore, missing data is a common problem in all research, with analysis being restricted only to what has been historically preserved and available. There is also the problem of lack of representativeness in that every individual section of analysis has an equal chance of being chosen for study and some of course, not. Although this does not discredit or undermine resources or study, it implies that caution is needed when considering results (Bernard and Ryan, 2010, 21).

3.5 Reliability and Validity

When considering the reliability and validity of a research, certain strategies are used to establish authenticity and dependability. Many writers argue that qualitative research, which is based on different assumptions about reality and a different world view, should consider validity and reliability from a perspective consistent with the philosophical assumptions underlying the paradigm as previously discussed (Merriam, 2009, 211). Denzin and Lincoln (2000, 17 in Merriam, 2009, 212) refer to the legitimization crisis whereby we should rethink such terms as validity, generalizability and reliability. Furthermore, with the wide variety of different types of qualitative research today, it is inevitable that scholars now offer a range of alternative options that critique validity and reliability. What is fundamentally important in understanding and maintaining is the fact that qualitative researchers can never really capture an objective "truth" or "reality." Probably the most well known strategy to measure the internal validity of a study is known as "triangulation" whereby three methods of data collection are used – interviews, documents and observations. While postmodern perspectives discredit this process by claiming that there are more than three sides from which to approach the world (Richardson 2000, 934 in Merriam, 2009, 216), the interpretivist and critical perspective from which this study has been conducted, triangulation remains a principal strategy to ensure for validity and reliability. To a large extent, the validity and reliability of a study depend

upon the ethics of the investigator (Merriam, 2009, 228) and the best a researcher can do is to be conscious of the ethical issues that pervade the research process and to examine his/her own philosophical orientation regarding these issues (Ibid, 235).

Auerbach and Silverstein (2003, 78) recommend standards for evaluating research that are consistent with the qualitative research paradigm, and therefore take into account subjectivity, interpretation and context. In place of what they deem to be the quantitative concepts of reliability and validity, they suggest the qualitative concepts of justifiability of interpretation. In place of the quantitative concept of generalizability, they introduce the qualitative concept of transferability of theoretical constructs. Although Auerbach and Silverstein highlight there are many different approaches to these issues, they claim that in order for a researcher's data collection and analysis to be justifiable, it must be transparent in the sense that it enables other researchers to comprehend the steps in which you arrived at your interpretation as well as being completely transmittable and comprehensible.

In order to begin to understand the research context, it is important to be aware that identity and self are not only multiple but are constantly "remade, reconstructed, reconstituted and renewed in each new context and situation" (Stone,1992 in Lutrell, 2010, 357). In light of the present study where primary data from various archives are used, it is important to continue theorizing on the both participants and researchers' variety and diversity of identities and the implications this has for the qualitative part of the research and research in education in general. The educational socio-economic structure has shifted as throughout the world over, previously marginalized and colonized people are now finding their own voice to represent themselves as opposed to being continually represented. Further studies are now needed that capture the complexities and difficulties teachers and scholars who are teaching and researching their own communities (Villenas in Lutrell, 2010, 359).

"Analysis involves interpretation" (Blumer, 1969 in Corbin and Strauss 2008, 48). Furthermore, analysis is never completely finished, as researchers continually extend, amend and reinterpret interpretations, contemporary perceptions emerge and situations constantly change. Such revisions are part of the qualitative process as "they are always ongoing, emergent, unpredictable and unfinished" (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998, 275-276 in Corbin and Strauss, 2008, 50).

CHAPTER 4

CYPRUS BEFORE BRITISH COLONIALISM

4.1 Introduction – General History of Cyprus

Perhaps owed the interesting geographical seat between the east and west, the history of Cyprus has been blighted with violent conquests, oppression and religious divisions through out, and that indeed, remain today. Initially colonized by the ancient Greeks, Cyprus has been fortuitously defeated by every governing authority in and around the area up until 1571, when the Ottoman Turks acquired and maintained control for over 3 centuries before the British colonized the island in 1878.

Newman divides Cypriot history into 6 central phases beginning before the Christian era whereby civilizations were divided more by racial and political attachments rather than religious classifications of the Christian faith, the Orthodox belief ultimately domineered and prevails today. Cyprus became a "battleground of both" Christians of Europeans and Muslims of Asia between the 6th and 12th centuries as the growth of Islam fought with Christianity for international recognition and dominance. As a result of the crusades that followed the 13th to 15th centuries saw Cyprus ruled by Lusignan and the Venetian dynasties until Christian dominance was overturned by the arrival of Muslim rule under the Ottoman Turks from the 16th to 19th centuries. During this period, Orthodox Church leaders acquired substantial political power despite – or arguably because of – the tolerance of the Turkish Muslims (Newham, 1940, 222).

Finally the late 19th century saw the arrival of the colonial British who followed policies that drove a deep political, ethnic and religious cleave into the already existing divisions on the island.

4.1.1 Lusignan and Venetian Dynasties

The Lusignan dynasty began in 1192 with the conquest of Cyprus by the English King, Richard the Lionheart, who then sold it to Guy de Lusignan, the deposed King of Jerusalem. This conquest and subsequent Frankish rule of the next three centuries ensured Cyprus a position in the Western political domain, while new Europeans came from Italy, Spain and Catalan regions, using interchangeably Frankish terms of assimilation with Latin. The Lusignan dynasty came to a peaceful end with the amicable transfer of power to the Venetian citizens, whose political and economic links had increased substantially in the 15th century. However, the Venetian position was precarious and comparatively curtailed (1489-1571) when the Ottoman Turks conquered the island in 1571 and maintained their rule for the next three centuries (Demetriou, 2008, 1480).

While the peaceful transfer of power between the Lusignans and Venetians did not disturb the general prospects of the domain, the conquest and subsequent rule by the Ottoman Turks brought with it a severe disruption whereby social positions and limitations in Ottoman Cyprus were inextricably tied to both linguistic and especially religious identities (Ibid, 1485)

4.1.2 The Ottoman Turks

The Turkish Ottomans had completely defeated the Venetians and the island's Latin ruling class, and with it, took hold of the unquestionable domination of the Orthodox Church, and so was able to establish their own forms of social origin (Newman, 1940, 171). The effect on Cyprus was immense: rather than being a kingdom known for its abundance and strength, it became an indistinct part of the Ottoman Empire, blighted by oppression, corrosion and the struggles of the Cypriot people by three centuries of Ottoman rule. With the arrival and settlement of the Muslim population on the island, the Turkish conquest turned the traditional society

of Cyprus into a multi- religious, multi-ethnic one (Lewis, 1952, 28-34; Kizilyurek in Faustmann & Peristianis, 2006, 315).

The typical social formation of the Ottoman Empire was organized under the Ottoman "millet system" whereby the various communities were organized on a basis of religious liberty and were considered according to their religious identity (Kizilyurek in Faustmann & Peristianis, 2006, 315). During the Ottoman rule, both the Orthodox Christian and Muslim communities functioned more or less individually under this system for the most part of three centuries. Interestingly, both communities lined side by side under this pluralist millet system which imposed order on different religious communities on the island as each faith held relative control over their own affairs. This was particularly true of the Greek Orthodox Cypriots who had suffered oppressive restrictions under the Lusignan and Venetian rulers. Beckford (2003, 84) highlights an interesting similarity in the way in which the Ottomans maintained control under the millet system to how the British Raj also kept the peace generally between innumerable religious factions in India. However, as we shall examine in more detail later, such methods were futile and held little success in the British treatment of the two communities during the occupation.

However, although able to live in a relative peace, the arrival of the Ottoman Turks did establish a fixed and consequential boundary between Muslims and non-Muslims. This division was to deepen as the ruling Ottoman Turks granted religious freedom to the Greek Cypriot community, allowing them to re-open churches that had been closed during the previous rulers reign. Within the framework of the millet system, the Orthodox church also acquired the status of "Ethnarchs" (Milletbazi) which was a legacy that was to play an important factor in Cypriot life ever since as it established the situation whereby the head of the church was also the leader of the Greek Cypriot community (Gazioğlu, 1990, xii). This not only accentuated the Muslim – Non-Muslim divide but strengthened the potential power of the Greek Cypriot community (Kyrris, 1976, 148-149). Indeed, Demetriou (2008, 1495) emphasizes how the differences between the non-Muslim groups were

being diminished under the growing dominance of the Greek language and the Orthodox Church, "thus allowing the advent of a collective form of public identity for them."

It is this unique position that led to the Orthodox Church becoming a dominant institution in Cyprus, even to the point where some Archbishops declared it to be above the state. Priests became highly influential and tolerance shown by the Turkish Ottomans was beginning to be abused (Gazioğlu, 1990, xv). Archbishops and bishops were becoming rich and their superior and elevated status was blurring religious and political power boundaries. As the only province in the Ottoman Empire whereby the bishops were considered as "virtual rulers" of the people (Newman, 1940, 188), resentment began to stir amongst the Turkish leaders by the early 19th century as their position as conquerors of Cyprus appeared to be a precarious. This discontentment eventually led to an uprising in 1804 in Nicosia whereby the Turkish opposed the Archbishops and re-established themselves as leaders of the town. The turbulent years that followed saw an uneasy political battle between Orthodox Christians and the Ottoman Turks which eventually let to a Greek revolt against Ottoman rule in 1821. To no avail however: the Turks reacted harshly and with the hanging of the revolting Christians that followed, the authority and control of the bishops was dissolved (Ibid, 188).

By the end of the Ottoman reign, the Orthodox Cypriots found themselves in a capacious position, with many fleeing to newly independent Greece to acquire Greek citizenship. Furthermore, with the arrival of the British and the subsequent displacement of the millet system, the Turkish Cypriots found their own position to be undermined (Kizilyurek in Faustmann and Peristianis, 2006, 316). Indeed, the arrival of the British in 1878 ended the political power of the Turkish Muslims in Cyprus and the Turkish Cypriots were forced to submit their sovereignty to the new colonial administration.

4.1.3 British Occupation

The onset of British occupation completely altered the identity politics play. Rather than dissolve the Ottoman millet system altogether, the British colonial office aimed at "modernizing" it (Constantinou, 2007, 256). In doing so, they could maintain and indeed build on the religious divisions already established by the millet system, and gradually regenerated them as ethnic divisions essentially imposing colonial Britain's policy of divide and rule from the beginning of Cypriot occupation.

Indeed, the British were angered by the unique situation in Cyprus that had seen the Greek Orthodox clergy exercise so much power under Turkish Ottoman rule and made every effort to reduce and restrict these powers of the church (Gazioğlu, 1990, xv). It is the exploration of the ethnic and religious differences between the Greek and Turkish Cypriot that lay at the foundation of British rule in Cyprus, with both groups suffering disadvantages at the hands of the colonial authorities. With the ever growing strength of Greek nationalism and the threat of Enosis, the Muslim population of the island as a minority, had little choice but to support the new administration for its own perseverance, protection and ultimate survival as a consequence of the Ottoman disintegration of the island.

Colonial Britain's arrival brought with it a huge expansion in education, something that the Greek Christian Cypriots devoured. For instance, the number of Christian schools increased from 99 schools to 273 in the years from 1881 to 1901 (Kizilyurek in Faustmann & Peristiannis, 2006, 318). And with this surge in Greek Christian education came with it the fuel that fed the rise of Greek nationalism. In this context, it is different to see what choice the Turkish Cypriots of the island had when they turned to their motherland Turkey for guidance, support and protection as these vital aspects of survival were lacking within the British colonial framework of divide and rule to which Cypriots would now be controlled by over the next 72 years.

4.2 Education during the Ottoman Empire

4.2.1 Introduction

When the Ottoman Turks defeated Cyprus in 1571, they brought with them their own legislation which was based on the traditional organizations of Turkish Muslim society. While the Ottoman Empire was founded on a consolidated and religious governing framework that adhered to the Muslim population on the island, the Turks did not intervene with the already established traditions of the abiding citizens. In fact, Gazioğlu (1990, 195) argues the opposite was true: the Ottoman Turks gave non-Muslim groups substantial freedom to run their religious and educational affairs autonomously. This resulted in the position whereby Turkish Cypriot education assimilated that of the Ottoman Empire. Greek Cypriot education on the other hand, was under the direct jurisdiction of the Orthodox Church, which enjoyed and indeed exercised privileges beyond anything they had experienced under the tyranny and oppression of the Lusignan and Venetian dynasties. According to Feridun (1969, 6), this educational policy on the island led to serious problems for the Ottoman Empire in the future. Moreover, it could be argued that this policy of autonomy for non-Muslim groups played a detrimental role in maintaining ethnic divisions on the island for nearly four centuries thereafter, and indeed, divisions that remain today.

4.2.2 Religious Divisions

During Ottoman rule, the two predominant communities operated relatively independently under the Turkish millet system (Fisher, 2001, 309). Such a system divided Ottoman subjects on religious lines which manifested into Muslim and non-Muslim identities. Although Demetriou (2008, 1491) highlights that within Europe at the time, this divide held little significance domestically, within Cyprus the Muslim – Christian boundary was established as a demographic actuality, a division that was to have considerable results

for Cyprus's tumultuous future. However, as will be examined further, it is in this context that the supremacy of non-Muslims increased through the strength and preeminence of the Greek Orthodox Church, fostering and feeding not a unified, Cypriot sense of identity but a very public, religious and separatist one. Although perhaps not intended at the time of the Ottoman invasion, the central means of growing, fostering and spreading these identities was through the separate education systems established on the island, a practice that was to be reiterated and reverberated during the years of British occupation centuries later.

4.2.3 Greek Cypriot Education

The Ottoman Turkish policy of non-interference rendered the Greek Cypriots ruling elite – the Orthodox Church – free to establish their own public education system from the outset of the Turkish arrival. The Greek Ottoman seized this opportunity and set about establishing new Greek schools, as well as importing teachers from mainland Greece so as to advance the standard of Greek language used in schools and the general level of Greek education. All levels of Christian schools had total freedom to teach any subject and language they wanted. Schools welcomed finances from anyone willing to donate money for the payment of teachers, for the development of new schools or for any cost needed to be met. Such freedom under the Turkish millet system led to the immense and rapid expansion of Greek Cypriot education from the late 16th century onwards (Hill, 1952, 311).

4.2.4 Turkish Cypriot Education

All educational organisations were under the control of Vakıf. The schools were set up by benefactors and then supported by Vakıf. Based on the religious foundations of the Ottoman Turks, the early Turkish Cypriot schools opened in 1573 and were divided into the *Sibyan* (pre-school), *Iptidai*

(primary) and *Medrese* (secondary) (Feridun, 1969, 5). There were two kinds of elementary schools; the ones supported by Vakıf and private schools. The first elementary school in Cyprus was founded soon after the conquest and was called Ayasofya Sibyan Okulu and by the end of the 16th century, there were six Vakıf Sibyan schools in Cyprus (Behçet, 1969, 43)

Sibyan schools were generally mixed and catered to students aged from four years old. All elementary education was provided for freely for all students, though it was not made compulsory until the reign of Sultan Mahmut II in 1824. These schools were usually established in or near mosques, and the central aim was to teach children to read the Koran and provide them with religious knowledge. The curriculum included the Koran alphabet, reading and writing, orthography and the four basic skills of arithmetic (Feridun, 1969, 6; Aytekin, 1993, 7)

Generally however, education was crude and did not provide children with any form of preparation for life: even learning the basics of reading and writing were difficult as often schools and discipline were very basic (Feridun, 1969, 6; Behçet, 1969, 23). Furthermore, these rudimentary schools did not follow a set program or followed regulations and few teachers were actually qualified, most of them also fulfilling duties as imams or muezzins in running the mosque and its general affairs (Aytekin, 1993, 7). The language used was not always consistent with both Arabic and Turkish being used which increased the gap between the languages used by the public and by the Cypriot intellectuals (Akyüz, 2005, 354). Generally, all reading and writing subjects had a religious character and students had to recite and memorize long passages from the Koran, since the central aim of education was fundamentally to become a good Muslim (Behçet, 1969, 43).

By 1871, new methods of instruction were being introduced into elementary schools as well as with the addition of broader school subjects such as geography and history to the curriculum (Ibid, 44). For those students who wanted to and for the families that could afford further education, there was the Medrese or secondary school, usually supported by

the Vakıf. Again, the education was based on religious grounds and initially the Medreses only taught religious knowledge and later philosophy, mathematics, logic, divine wisdom and history (Aytekin, 1993, 7). The first Medrese school in Cyprus started just 2 years after the Turkish conquest and was called Buyuk Medrese of Sultan Selim (Ibid, 198).

Medreses were divided into four grades: preparatory, secondary education (1st three years), further secondary education (Lycee grade, 2nd and 3rd years) and Higher or advanced level education (Ibid, 199). Medrese education was primarily based on theology with the Koran and its interpretation being the most important subjects taught. Additionally, other subjects on the curriculum included Turkish, Arabic, Persian and cosmology (Feridun, 1969, 7; Behçet, 1969, 28). Generally the Medrese schools educated the intellectuals of Cyprus including civil servants, elementary school teachers and religious men. The heavy religious nature of the curriculum can be seen in the different levels of knowledge deemed important. For instance, classes were taken in *Tefsir* (the explanation of the Koran), *Hadis* (the words of Muhammed), *Fıkıh* (the laws of Islam) and *Kelam* (the philosophy of Islam). While producing pious individuals who were well versed in religious understanding and ritual of the Muslim faith, teaching methods, discipline and organization were of a rudimentary nature and did not provide much more of a wider contextual education (Akyüz, 2005, 356).

Following reforms in the education system of mainland Turkey in 1839 and 1856, Turkish Cypriot education went through a transformation period of modernization with the result of *Rüştiye* (Rustie) schools being established in 1864 (Samani, 2006, 303), the first one in Cyprus in 1860 in Nicosia under the name *mekteb-i ilmiye* (Behcet, 1969, 52-53). The number of the Rustie schools increased up to twenty-two later on. Subjects in the curriculum included religious studies, chemistry, physics, *cebir* (maths), *hendese* (geometry), art, music, accounting, Arabic, Persian and Turkish (Feridun, 1969, 8). This school was to be the foundation of the Lycee which later developed into a centre for modern secondary education and paralleled the modern education system in the Turkish Republic (Gazioğlu, 1990, 199).

During this period of reformation, known as the Tanzimat Period, positive science lessons were put in the syllabus for the first time as well as the introduction of modern books. A complete review of methods and educational equipment was implemented and discipline methods were also addressed. This was a period of educational development within Cyprus with a lot of new schools opening that are still established today. Teaching schools for both men and women were opened during this time in 1848 and 1870 respectively (Akyüz, 2005, 361).

4.2.5 British Occupation

When the British took over the Cypriot administration in 1878, there were 29 Sibyan elementary schools on the island as well as another 42 elementary schools that were not run by Vakıf. There were also private schools where the wealthy elite had their children educated in private school rooms as opposed to Sibyan schools that were generally attached to a mosque or mescid. The total number of Muslim schools in Cyprus at the time of the British occupation was 65 and 83 Greek Christian schools (Luke and Jardine, 1913, 133). Although there had been a substantial increase and advancement in the numbers and subjects taught in Cypriot elementary and secondary syllabus, both the Greek and Turkish Cypriot had developed their education systems separately and in relative peace for nearly 300 years. The arrival of the British colonial powers changed these dynamics, completely altering the way both systems functioned by attempting to centralize both systems, giving complete power and authority in all decisions regarding education to the British Governor of the island, thus eradicating all elements of the autonomous administration set up originally by the Turkish Ottomans in Cyprus.

According to Gazioğlu (1990, 257), the Turkish Ottoman rule in Cyprus should be appreciated in the wider context of relative peace between the two ethnic groups and that, despite functioning separately, "it established and maintained friendly relations and solidarity among Muslims and Christians,

Turkish and Greeks of the island for three centuries". To a certain extent, and definitely in relation to the British occupation and subsequent centralization of the Cypriot education system, this is a valid point. However, looking at the broad, historic context of Cyprus' religious and then ethnic divide, educational advancement and development for both groups, it could be argued, came at the cost of a true sense of any kind of united Cypriot identity.

CHAPTER 5

COLONIAL EDUCATION

5.1 Introduction

To fully appreciate the influence the British had on the Indian and Irish education systems, it is important to examine the education system in Britain in the early 19th century, which marks the beginning of the immense advancement of British colonial expansion and domination. By ingraining a very western education on the colonies, Britain managed not only to create extremely separatist nations but inadvertently foster deep resentment and a sense of patriotism in the cultures they ruled. It is interesting and perhaps noteworthy to future studies of post-colonial theory to recognize similarities between the British treatment of India, Ireland and Cyprus and indeed their approach to the educational 'advancement' of each nation.

5.1.1 Colonialism

Howe (2000, 12) defines colonialism as "a set of political systems involving conquest and rule by a state over the other previously independent and usually distinct territories." Said (1978, 100) maintains that "to colonize meant at first the identification – indeed the creation – of interests; these could be commercial, communicational, religious, military, cultural". It was with this "interest" that the European colonizers and in particular, Britain, claimed "to protect and represent" (Howe, 2000, 191) many countries and indeed people that found themselves absorbed into the wave of empirical expansion in the 19th and 20th centuries. It was assumed that what worked in the West would work elsewhere and so Britain set forth to impose rigid colonial structures and Western ideologies onto colonized territories that had "already previously been rejected as 'uncivilized' and economically unproductive" with "little thought [...] given to the cultural, historical, religious, economic, ethnic and political cartographies of these formerly colonized

territories before they had been taken over by colonial powers" (Richmond in Faustmann & Peristianis, 2006, 538).

On the contrary, early British colonizers not only assumed a sense of European superiority but also constructed the identities of the colonized. Said (1978, 35) argues this point thoroughly in his study of Orientalism citing Britain's treatment and indeed representation of Egypt in the early 20th century: "They are a subject race, dominated by a race that knows them and what is good for them, better than they would themselves. [...] they are useful in the modern world only because the powerful and up to date empires have effectively brought them out of the wretchedness of their decline and turned them into rehabilitated residents of productive colonies." It is with this basic assumption of European dominance and the construction of the colonized subject race that paved Britain's way through the colonial territories throughout history. The absolute egocentricity of the European imperialist was further strengthened by the appropriation that Western Christianity was not only superior but that other worldly religions were in fact "pseudo-incarnations of some great original (Christ, Europe, the West)" (Said, 1978, 62). Native histories, cultures and indigenous identities were not only radically undermined, misunderstood and misrepresented but entirely constructed by European, and in the context of this study, British ethnocentric ideas.

5.1.2 Colonial Education

To return to Howe's definition of colonialism, foreign domination was achieved through the use of force or by acquisition. To help consolidate foreign rule following this acquisition, education was used as an implicit method by which the colonizers could maintain Western dominance and exploit the colonized. Kelly and Altbach (1984, 3) contend that "education in [...] colonies seems directed at absorption into the metropole and not the separate development of the colonized in their own society and culture." Viswanathan (1998, 87) identifies the importance of assimilation when

dealing with colonial education whereby the colonized are forced to conform to the cultures and traditions of the colonizers. Indeed, colonizing governments were keen to implement colonial school systems not only as a form of intellectual and mental control but also to "strip the colonized people away from their indigenous learning structures and draw them towards the structures of the colonizers" (Kelly & Altbach, 1984, 4). Facilitating the assimilation process through education, the colonized were left with a very limited sense of their past. Not only does colonial education eventually create a sense of desire to disassociate with the native heritage but also the individual's sense of identity, whereby they are immobilized between two vastly different cultural systems (Ibid, 1984, 7).

5.2 British Education System

The 1800's witnessed the rapid growth and territorial expansion of British colonial rule. To examine how Britain influenced the colonies within an educational context, the education system in Britain at the time will be explored and in particular, the heavy influence of the Church in educational affairs.

This was evident within primary education as early as 1814 whereby the British and Foreign School Society, commonly known as the National Society, helped to promote the education for the poor in the principles of the Church of England. Maintained out of charitable subscriptions and fees, British schools and National Schools were established through out the country. In 1833, Parliament made its first grant for education divided between these two societies which set the course for other bodies to start schools, receiving aid and thus a regular grant system for elementary education was established (Central Office of Information, 1959, 4). However, such payment of grants was inextricably bound to certain forms of educational control. Indeed, the earliest stage of the British primary school system and inspection procedures to determine school grants was denominational. For instance, clergymen who were appointed with the

approval of archbishops, inspected Church of England schools and Roman Catholic clergymen inspected Catholic schools. Schools that were not connected with these two churches, mainly British and Wesleyan schools, were inspected by a lay inspector who had a profound influence not only on these schools, but on the education system as a whole: Matthew Arnold, Inspector of Schools from 1851 to 1888.

The Arnold Reports on Elementary Schools, 1852-1882 (1910, xvi) were considered the first literary document of English Primary education, written at a time when the whole staff of inspectors was approximately 20 staff for 4000 schools. His service was marked significantly by the educational crisis of 1861 which instigated the introduction of the Revised Code with grants being based on an annual examination of individual students in set standards of reading, writing and arithmetic. Arnold completely disapproved of this system throughout his appointment. His central grievance with the Revised Code system was the misrepresentations of student's success in exams. In the General Report for 1869, Arnold (1910, 125) argues that while the teaching of reading, writing and arithmetic is integral to the school curriculum, the Code encourages "teaching by rote"; this and the plan of "payment by results" culminate in a vast distortion of success and failure rates. For example, in order for the school to receive funds, students need to pass certain criteria. It is possible for the teacher to prime the student in focusing entirely on the recitation of one book so as to satisfy the inspection requirements, yet have no knowledge of any broader texts. Therefore, the repertoire of a student's reading has been radically narrowed for the sake of a result. Arnold (1910, 125) abhorred this approach as it utterly impoverished the children's scope for learning as well as sacrificing good teaching for government funding.

Due to this detrimental flaw of the system, the inspector continually emphasized the need for better correlation between schools, the teachers and inspectors, something that was developed better in other schools, namely the Voluntary schools. Differing from the religiously segregated schools, taxes and teachers' salaries were generally lower. However, Arnold

(1910, 22) praised these schools in his General Report for 1882 and in particular the close - and what he deemed to be, natural – affiliation between the schools and the managers. He (1910, 222) continued to value this important relationship and saw it as playing a vital role in delaying the school leaving age which at the time, was on average, only 10 years old. Indeed, it was Arnold, in the General Report for 1874, who identified the necessity for and general reinforcement of school attendance which previously had been a problem of both schools and teachers. It wasn't until the Education Act of 1876 that reforms were proposed to give power to school authorities to "impose a penalty on parents withholding their children for school without good cause on the day of examination" (Arnold, 1910, 174) and hereby lay the foundations for the introduction and implementation of compulsory education in elementary schools.

Regarding methods of instruction, recitation was the general form used in classrooms. Although praised by the Report, Arnold was astute enough to identify certain limits to this approach, arguing that while it gives the students "mechanical possession of knowledge [...] it does nothing to form him, to put him in a way of making the best possible use of them" (1910, 147). Fundamentally, students could be sufficient enough in reading, writing and arithmetic, and could even pass exams in these subjects, yet were not given the tools to encourage "the animation of mind, the multiplying of ideas, the promptness to connect [...] and illustrate one thing by another" (Ibid, 156). Simplistically put, students were not encouraged to "think". In fact, Arnold goes so far to say that the education received in most schools gives students little more than the ability to read the newspapers (Ibid, 143).

What appears to be lacking with regards to these limitations is inadequate textbooks of which have been deemed worthless (Ibid, 142) and a severe lack of a teaching plan, developed and co-coordinated into a proficient schedule and syllabus. The desire for extra subjects was needed, particularly in giving the students encouragement to cultivate ideas and perceptions of the world around them. Arnold favoured Latin as a second language and emphasized the importance of grammar lessons to "re-awaken

and re-invigorate our schools" (Ibid, 168) as well as giving the children the opportunity to open their minds and their understanding. In doing so, English literature was seen as vital and in particular, English poetry, to increase vocabulary and thus extending new ideas.

In his deep disparagement of the Revised Code, Arnold (1910, 144) highlighted that an aided school is only obliged to teach the three basic subjects of reading, writing and arithmetic with more government grants provided for the teaching of extra subjects such as grammar, geography, Latin and music. However, the limitations of the "pay by results" approach let to great difficulties in forming a proper program of elementary school instruction. This was exacerbated furthermore by the need for better bureaucratic communication between senior inspectors of training schools, the school boards of each division or representative of the Education Department of which there was, at best, very little.

Secondary education in the early 19th century was limited to say the least. In fact, there was no publicly provided system of secondary education and the demand for it grew as the century proceeded. The early 1800's saw the established grammar and public schools struggling towards a wider curriculum and general reform. Arnold, again, was responsible for broadening the curriculum to extra subjects previously discussed as well as botany, physical training and domestic science. He also established responsibility for the "prefect" in schools and made the chapel the centre of the attraction to schools, something previously unheard of within the secular framework of non-denominational elementary schools. This pioneering work paved the way for the development of the old public schools which gradually improved their standards (Central Office of Information, 1959, 5). However, it was not until the Education of Act of 1899 (and the subsequent Act of 1902) that the foundations of the state educational system in England and Wales were passed. School boards were abolished; Boards of Education and Local Education Authorities were created; financial help was given to Voluntary schools; and power was given to councils to assist education other than elementary, i.e. secondary and technical schools. By 1902, there were three

strands of publicly aided secondary education in England; endowed schools, Higher grade elementary and science classes (Ibid, 6).

Other 19th century developments witnessed the Education Acts of 1918 (also known as the Fisher Act) which raised the age of compulsory attendance to 14 years old; the Hadow Report, 1931 which proposed a complete educational break for all students over 11 years old and the transfer to separate schools for older students as well as increasing the school leaving age to 15 years (Central Office of Information, 1959, 7). While these changes helped develop the secondary education systems throughout the first half of the 20th century until the Education Act of 1944 that the entire public system of education was revised and reformed with the introduction of the 3 fold classification into primary, secondary and further education. For the first time in history, the educational system was seen as a continuous process through which all young people would pass. In particular, all children were to be given a full time secondary education (Ibid, 8)

From this brief analysis of educational development, it could be argued that the British education system by the mid 20th century had progressed substantially and that the Central Office of Information was successful in its aim to "ensure a fuller measure of educational opportunity for young people" (Central Office of Information, 1959, 1) to some degree. However, it is important to keep in mind, and particularly for the context of this study, the somewhat restrictive and chaotic state of the education system throughout the 19th century as suggested in the early reports on elementary schools. As it is this era in which the British Empire began to really expand, conquer and rule other countries, boldly executing and implementing government policies on nations deemed by the British as "weaker". To examine not only how, but to what extent the British were successful in their attempts, raises questions already considering the relatively poor state of British education at this time. Furthermore, these implications lead us into a colonial and post-colonial discourse as we explore the detrimental effects of British occupation and the influence they had on the educational policies and administration of those they ruled.

5.3 The effect of British Colonialism on the education of its colonized countries – Ireland (1801 – 1921)

5.3.1 Historical Background

From the mid 16th century, the British were a continual presence in what was then known as Gaelic Ireland. As the military and political defeat of Gaelic Ireland became more apparent in the 17th century, the role of religion as a new division in Ireland was made more pronounced (Tanner, 2001, 172). Sectarian conflict between Catholic and Protestants became a recurrent theme that would shape Ireland's history to the present day. As early as 1613, Protestants had overthrown the Catholic majority in the Irish Parliament and by the end of the 17th century; all Catholics (85% of the population) were banned from parliament. Political power rested entirely in the hands of the Anglo settler and more particularly with the Irish Anglican minority. Certainly, as we shall see, colonialism and imperialism, in several of the definitions and connotations of these complicated and contested words, have been crucial developing forces in Irish history.

The English Crown had a long established presence in and claim to Ireland though it was in the late 17th century that this advancement escalated and became really intertwined with religious conflict. Described as a "pioneer testing ground for other colonies" (Howe, 2000, xv), it was not until the later 18th century with a new usage of the term "Empire" to describe the United Kingdom's overseas possessions, that Ireland was deemed to be part of colonial Britain in 1801. There arose extreme uncertainty and ambivalence in Ireland's constitutional position as it was not only indirectly ruled from London but also because it was a territory that was integrated into England through Union, as opposed to having been "conquered" by British force (Howe, 2000, 13).

Yet despite the proximity of Ireland to Britain and the Anglo-Norman history of settlers there, it did not prevent colonial assumptions being made by the British onto the Irish people as "rough and barbarous in their ways"

(Ibid, 16). This was to become a recurring theme for all consequential British imperial approaches and views on the peoples they colonized: the civilized British and the barbarians. The colonial "interest" (Said, 1978, 100) had been established: it was now up to the British to set forth in its quest to divide and rule as they (the "educated") thought best.

5.3.2 Irish Education

Prior to British occupation educational practices in 18th century Ireland included Hedge schools, so named due to their rural nature. Usually held in houses or barns, subjects taught included primarily basic grammar, English and maths. In some schools Latin, history and basic domestic science were also taught with payment generally made per subject (Fernandez-Suarez, 2006, 1).

Despite Catholics making up a substantial 85% majority of the Irish population, Catholic schools were completely forbidden under the Penal Laws through out most of the 18th century. The aims of the laws were to force the Catholics to convert to Anglicanism if they wanted a good education. The divisions of religious preference were already marked in Ireland's history; Britain's official arrival only deepened these cracks.

5.3.3 British Rule

The British government in 1831 established what is still known as National schools which were originally multi-denominational with a 6 member board of 2 Catholics, 2 Church of Ireland representatives and 2 Presbyterians. There was strict delimitation between religious and non-religious education which schools had to adhere to or face the withdrawal of state funding (Coolahan, 1981, 11). During the 19th century, the animosity between the Churches meant the denominational system was strongly opposed. Although both the ruling minority Protestant Church of Ireland and

the Roman Catholics had accepted the state's legal position of "all religions together," the result by the end of the 19th century was that parents tended to send their children to the schools that catered to the majority of their respective religions. Thus, Britain's "divide and rule" policy was firmly entrenched into the education system with the British administration ceasing to encourage any real efforts to promote "mixed" instruction and allowing both the Protestant and Catholics to create their own segregated system within the national system (Howe, 2000, 29). In fact, it had become so apparent that nonsecretarianism had failed in the National school system that measures were taken to prevent the same happening in secondary education in the Intermediate Education Act of 1878. Denominationalism within schools was recognized and the state actually encouraged students with prizes for high results in nationwide exams and result fees to the teachers of the schools they were from (Miller, 1973, 30). However, the social realities of 19th century educational life was that only a small amount of Catholics could afford to send their children to secondary schools and thus the system in general, while clearly encouraging divergence and mostly, it could be argued, benefiting the Protestant elite, instigated less controversy than the National system for elementary education (Ibid, 30).

From 1845, Model schools were established and managed by local inspectors with their teachers being directly appointed by the Board and based on the English models of education. Although efforts were made to use these schools as training schools for teachers, this practice ceased from 1883 as it was found to be too an expensive method (Coolahan, 1981, 12). Furthermore, because these schools were mixed and out of clerical control, they were frequently opposed and challenged by the church. Interestingly, it is perhaps significant to note that many of the 20th century leaders of national political movements like Sinn Fein were strongly influenced by these English models of education (Howe, 2000, 231).

As can be seen by the segregation of education, religion was absolutely intrinsic to Irish life and what followed from the Union with Britain was not integration but an increasing division. In the north east of Ireland

were the Protestant minority, whose religious identity was linked historically and culturally to England and in the south lay the Catholic majority who were regarded as the true "natives" of Ireland (Miller, 1973, 1). Indeed, during the 18th century, Protestants continued to call themselves "Englishmen" while the use of the term "Irish" was becoming synonymous with "Catholic" (Conelly, 1995, 197). Within these distinct divisions, the Church sought to increase its power and to become inextricably linked with Irish nationalism. Indeed, within the public domain of education, it came into constant conflict with the state as well as the Protestant minority in the north.

One of the most interesting issues to arise relating to Irish nationalism in schools was the decline of the Irish language. To a certain extent, a large proportion of the population welcomed the expansion of English as a means to progress economically. This was however, at the expense of the Irish language which had been made only an optional subject in the curriculum within the National and Intermediate school systems in 1878 (Miller, 1978, 34). Certainly at odds with the theory of the Hedge schools in pre-colonial Ireland, Irish children were required to attend National schools by law and had no choice but to speak in English. However, a decade later witnessed a revival of the mother tongue with the establishment of the Gaelic League which instigated the organization of Irish classes outside schools and into local villages. What is intriguing is that the League did not have the full support of the Catholic Church and there were rumours that the League was actually "secretly anti-clerical" (Ibid, 37). Indeed, efforts by the Protestant hierarchy in 1900 pressed down on the school managers in Irish speaking districts and petitioned against the National Board to introduce bilingual instruction into those schools. However, practical issues over-rode success as not enough qualified teachers could be found to instruct such classes. What is apparent in efforts such as these is the complex interplay of relationships between school managers and church hierarchy as well as divisions and fractions within each religious group. Furthermore, divisions were apparent between Catholic Irish and Catholic English hierarchy in Britain's political sphere. If Ireland indeed was a pioneer for British

colonialism, never was it felt so strongly the implementation and encouragement of the strong hand of Britain's divide and rule policy.

5.3.4 Problems with Irish Education

One of the central problems with the education system, and certainly not surprisingly, was the "payment by results" method established into the national system of elementary education. Similarly to British dissatisfaction, it was generally felt that the method restricted the student learning to "senseless cramming" as well as incurring "needless rigidity in the curriculum and the stifling of originality and creativity in teachers" in the hope to increase his income to the bare level (Miller, 1978, 31). It is interesting to note the significant difference in teachers annual salaries between a male headmaster in England and Wales (£147 10*s* 2*d*) and in Ireland (£99 9*s* 3*d*) at the turn of the 20th century. What is even more incredible is the less than rare instances when school teachers were forced to pay out for basic supplies out of their own money (Ibid, 32).

An English inspector, F.H. Dale was commissioned to investigate the National school system in Ireland to recommend reforms in the Dale Report of 1904. While poor and general lack of facilities was common, he did seem genuinely pleased with areas of instruction. However, detrimental to his report and damning to the reputation of the Catholic church, was his findings on the strange practices of system funding and in particular, the strain on financing segregated facilities for Catholic/Protestants, girl/boys and students of different ages. He recommended the elimination of unnecessary 'wasteful' schools which angered the Church even more (Ibid, 118).

Another aspect of his report that upset the Church was the lack of local interest in the conduct of and facilities for schools. It is evident that Dale's report was heading for the British desire of centralization of the education system whereby financial responsibility for maintaining certain structures like heating, could be placed in local hands (ibid, 120). With Irish

education being discussed in the British parliament, the church began a full blown attack on elementary and secondary educational reforms in response to what they deemed to be an outright crusade against the clergy. Cracks were deepening in the already tumultuous relationship between the Church and the state, subsequently intensifying the alliance between the Catholic Church and the Irish Nation. It was this historically strong bond that encouraged the Irish Parliament Party to endeavor towards Home Rule self-government which was eventually granted with the Home Rule Act, though suspended on the outbreak of World War One. However, in 1922, following the Irish War of Independence, the Anglo-Irish Treaty proclaimed the larger part of Ireland to become the Irish Free State – and after 1948, the Republic of Ireland – while the six north eastern countries (Northern Ireland) remained British.

Since the establishment of the Republic of Ireland, the north has been dominated with sectarian conflict between (mainly Catholic) Nationalists and (mainly Protestant) Unionists. Although an "uneasy peace" settlement was agreed in the 1990s, Ireland remains largely segregated. In an educational context, bitter divisions stemming from colonial British occupation remain: even today there is consistent pressure extended by the Catholic Church to drop the mutli-denominational legal position of National Schools, something which was never been conceded by the state (Coolahan, 1981, 14). It is difficult not to acknowledge that Britain's colonial policy of divide and rule has left a lasting legacy still relevant 100 years later.

5.4 The effect of British Colonialism on the education of its colonized countries – India (1858 – 1947)

This study will now examine Britain's treatment of India, whereby colonial rule began in 1858 and lasted for 89 years, when India was finally granted independence. India, like Ireland, divided British opinion but in a different way. Whereas Britain originally sought to take Ireland as an integrated extension of the United Kingdom, at the beginning of colonial rule

in India Britain's role was viewed there as transitory (Beloff, 1969, 31); the justification of Britain's continued presence became cloaked in the empirical and imperialist disguise of "liberating" and "educating" (Dirks, 2006, 139) the Indians who were generally regarded as "an inferior race" (Beloff, 1969, 32).

5.4.1 Colonial Education Policy in India

India's education at the hands of colonial administration saw the establishment of institutions for western learning, based upon the British curriculum with English as the medium of instruction. Western education became ingrained into Indian society with the establishment of the British Raj. At the cost of elementary education, Britain focused on supplying a western educational system in order to provide occupational training for young Indian men to take jobs predominantly in the lower tiers of the government and in western style legal and medical positions. In other words, the strategy of divide and rule was used effectively to indoctrinate an elite layer of Indian society to become perfect British subjects, to encourage them to absorb British values at the expense of their own Indian identities (McEldowney, 1980, 106)

A key figure in the shaping of colonial Britain's Educational Policy in India was Thomas Macaulay: a racist who did not hide his antipathy for Indian history and culture. Indeed, it was Macaulay who set the tone for what educated Indians would learn not only with regards to an English curriculum, but also what they would learn about themselves, their civilization and their views of Britain and the world around them. He ensured that most, if not all policies and programs for education were copied from rigid British school models, based on English language, culture and ideas (McEldowney, 1980, 114) whether these were relevant to Indian society or not, for instance, the use of English literature. It became an accepted element of the curriculum that Indian students read and studied works by Jane Austen and Milton. Behind this policy lay the misconception that these literary works represented "English civil society and its supposed Christian virtues" (Bellenoit, 2007,

141). However, not only was an extremely high standard of English required to read and understand these texts – a standard which was not being met by educational structures of the time – but held absolutely no relevance to Indian learning or culture whatsoever.

While education seemed to emphasise the humanities, what is evident in the slow progress of Indian education is the absence of science subjects in the curriculum as well as the shortage of technical and agricultural training. Although certain individuals did make small steps towards making education accessible to rural children, the British central influence on the development in Indian education was at the Intermediate level in government which served to reinforce the colonial structure imposed by the British.

The fact that the British understood so little of the Indian people was a frequent theme throughout colonial rule. Very few bothered to learn the local language and were distinctly ignorant of indigenous life, social conventions and traditions (Bellenoit, 2007, 293). Certainly no effort was made to "bridge the cultural and linguistic divides that kept them from developing sympathetic relations with Indians" (Dirks, 2006, 294). In fact, the British did not seem satisfied with just influencing Indian thought through English literature. Of the small numbers of British who did take the time to learn the medium of Sanskrit – mostly Christian missionaries – it was for reasons that buttressed British colonial control, foreseeing the need to learn in order to "transcribe and interpret Sanskrit texts in a manner compatible with colonial aims" (Carey,1822, 13). From this practice, British imperialism is seen at its worst: colonial education was integral in the British efforts to control and re-write Indian history, supporting the colonial infrastructure that controlled the Indian people in a condescending, ideological and radically Orientalist framework. This manipulation of Indian rich cultural heritage created a deep sense of loss of identity as naturally the British educated Indians assimilated and incorporated such characterizations of themselves and their past.

While education was politically and imperially vital for British dominance and control, the impact on an educational context was relatively

poor. During most of the 19th century, educational progress was extremely slow, "affecting very little of the mass population" (McEldowney, 1980, 120). British 'success' could be acclaimed for the huge increase in student enrollment, however, more often than not, schools were found to be overflowing with institutions unable to meet the demands of education but "barely able to afford to pay for basic repairs and upkeep". Furthermore, school supplies were sparse and textbooks often outdated with government funding favouring the training of government officials at the expense of elementary and secondary education (Bellenoit, 2007, 47). Although missionary schools were common and in particular, focused on secondary and higher education, fundamentally being reliant on any form of government aid meant a certain degree of conforming to the state curriculum. Legislation was implemented to ensure that ultimately educational influence came from the British Raj. (Bellenoit, 2007, 54).

Generally, colonial education in India developed slowly and tended to be sporadic. McEldowney divides this pattern into three distinct parts. The first fifteen years of British rule saw a spell of exceptional growth. However, this was due to the British need for trained and educated Indians to be placed in government administrative positions in order to establish and maintain British rule rather than any real advancement of structured elementary and secondary education. The middle years, from 1870s to 1905, was a period of "stagnation" with education for the masses having barely begun. As with Ireland and what was to become a pattern in British colonial rule, Britain became disillusioned and disinterested as efforts really concentrated on economic exploitation of India's wealth and resources for its own gain (Science Encyclopedia, 2009). The last fifteen years of Indian rule saw a huge increase in demand for education by the Indian people. Yet while government funding did increase slightly, by and large, educational facilities and institutions were severely lacking and unable to keep up with demand. Furthermore, when analyzing the British efforts and commitment to Indian education, the historian Sir William Lee-Warner makes an exceptionally valid point: "if education truly cemented Indians to the Raj, then the British would have lavished unlimited amounts of money on schools and colleges across

India." Interestingly, education only amounted to 4% of the Raj's annual budget (Bellenoit, 2007, 40). This clearly demonstrates Britain's lack of commitment to any real form of educational development for the majority of Indian children. Britain's true failure within an educational context can be seen in the simple fact that by 1921 (63 years after British occupation) only 10% of the population over 10 years old and only 5% over 5 years old were literate (McEldowney, 1980, 123). Such abysmal statistics present the reality and perhaps the true imperialistic nature of colonial education in India at the cost of not only the majority of the population's educational opportunities but at the definition and construction of the Indian's identity.

Perhaps as a by product of this assertion of colonial power and indeed the repression of Indian culture and heritage, the British actually fostered a deep sense of Indian nationalism. In particular, it could be argued that the western curriculum provided the tools by which to regain their sense of identity. Bellenoit (2007, 194) maintains that what Britain did not count on was the way in which (educated and intellectual) Indians reacted and responded to their education, in some cases contesting colonial knowledge with regards to such areas as religion and the colonial position of religious Christian authority. Consequently, such knowledge developed into wider contexts of a social, political nature thus undermining the British justification of colonial occupation.

5.5 Ireland, India and Cyprus: Similarities and Differences

By looking at British colonial advancement of Ireland, India and Cyprus, certain similarities can be identified. Firstly and perhaps the most detrimental for setting concurring patterns is the British ignorance and absolute lack of understanding the colonized cultures they ruled. The implementation of western ideologies through educational structures following English models were put in to place with the premise that what worked in Britain would work elsewhere. Incidentally, as we have seen, the fact that English models of education were not particularly effective in 19th

century Britain seemed irrelevant to the colonizers. Irish, Indian and Cypriot histories and cultures were of no interest to an empire focused entirely on territorial expansion, power and world wide dominance.

Britain's divide and rule colonial policy was implemented in every colony and certainly in Ireland and Cyprus; similarities in the already established divisions of the countries were completely exploited: for instance, in Ireland between Protestants and Catholics, the north and the south and in Cyprus between the Greek Christians and Turkish Muslims, and similarly in the north and south. Within India, divisions were complex: while to a certain extent religious divisions between Christianity and Hinduism, Buddhism and Islam were apparent, the British appeared to create further divisions between the Indian castes, the Indian people and the elite educated 'British' Indian.

It was this colonial desire to create British subjects through western education systems and the forcible suppression of nationalism that this entailed which actually resulted in fuelling feelings of patriotism in all three colonies. In the very process of controlling and indeed enforcing a British framework of administration and thought into these colonies, the British appeared to be "educating" the colonized towards self-government, however this was severely limited. For instance, educating Indians to work only within the confines of the British Raj, and only ever at a level subservient to British officials (Bellenoit, 2007, 134). The British clearly needed to educate the colonized yet only so far and certainly not to the extent that would enable them to turn against the empire. This was perhaps the real reason behind the failures of colonial education in the colonies and the means by which the British retained control for so long.

Perhaps the central difference between Britain's influence on Cyprus, India and Ireland can be seen in the infiltration of the English language. In both Ireland and India, the British were successful in implementing English as methods of instruction in schools as well as in government offices. Cyprus, however, resisted and it was a principle issue for both the Greeks and Turks to "protect their ethnic mother tongue" (Karoulla-Vrikki in Faustmann &

Peristiannis, 2006, 345). For the Greek and Turkish Cypriots, maintaining their native languages was integral to their cultural identity. In this respect, it could be argued that Ireland and India both became inextricably entwined in the British bureaucratic system of colonial control: to survive in it, they had to learn English, in doing so, they were forced to sacrifice the cultural ties to their identity. Similarly, the Irish League and Ataturk's alphabet reform can both be seen as comparable attempts to retain such ethnic identity. Similarly, Mahatma Gandhi's efforts for Indian independence placed particular emphasis on the re-instatement of the Indian language in schools and all government offices (Burke, 2000, 3).

In the case of Ireland and Cyprus, divisions still remain today: both countries are geographically, religiously and ethnically separated. In Cyprus, the Turkish Muslims preside in the northern territory, independent of the majority Greek Christians in the south, officially recognized as the Republic of Cyprus. Similarly, the Protestant minority reside in the still British governed north east (Northern Ireland) while the Catholic majority predominate in the Republic south. Conflicts have littered their subsequent histories with no completely affable resolution for either.

One of the central legacies of British colonial rule was that of educational segregation. In Cyprus, the curricula and textbooks used in Cypriot schools were mainly from the "motherlands". After independence in 1960, ethnic ties and loyalties to Greece and Turkey were maintained and reinforced (Joseph in Faustmann & Peristiannis, 2006, 466). Similarly, the Republic of Ireland today holds its cultural heritage dear, with Catholic and Protestant schools still deeply divided not only by religion but by historical and cultural allegiance with Ireland and Britain respectively. With such compliance concurrent today, Britain's lack of interest is apparent. It is evident that Britain, quite literally, divided, ruled and deserted with little or no concern of the colonial and post-colonial legacy it left behind.

5.6 Conclusion

From examining British colonial influence on the educational systems of India and Ireland, it is clear to see the detrimental colonial legacies it had left behind. The strong British colonial policy of divide and rule is visible throughout these respective histories. In the lack of understanding of both former colonies, Britain's colonial aim is an ambiguous one: to educate or control? Whatever the intentions potentially were, either way, it would appear that the British used education as a means to control the colonized people, as well as to maintain and further British power within each state. Interestingly, what British colonizers actually end up fostering is the very thing they initially set out to suppress: Indian and Irish nationalism. Furthermore, it could be argued that through the very limited and slow educational advancement of colonial education, they provided the very tools with which the Irish and Indians could retaliate.

CHAPTER 6

BRITISH COLONIAL PRIMARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION CURRICULA FOR TURKISH AND GREEK CYPRIOTS

6.1 Introduction

By the end of the Ottoman rule of Cyprus, the Ottoman Empire lay in dismantled, degenerated decay. When Britain took over the supposedly temporary occupation of Cyprus in 1878, both elementary and secondary education on the island was somewhat limited. Official government reports stated that there were 83 functioning elementary Christian schools and 65 *iptidai* Muslim schools, extending over the most significant towns of Nicosia, Limassol and Larnaca (Feridun, 1969, 12; Spyridakis, 1954, 3). The colonial authorities' educational policy initially sought to set up local administrations for Greek Christian schools, supported and maintained by the Church, and for Turkish community schools, which were administered by Evkaf. Maintaining the already religious divisions between the Greek Christians and Turkish Muslims, the central aim of British colonial policy was to gradually centralize both systems to adhere to a European, Western and, what they considered to be, a rational teaching system. Early colonial education reports were limited and often repetitive. They held little information on the details of school curriculum and aims at the time with most reports reiterating the denominational nature of Cypriot schools and the policy of establishing separate legislative bodies for the Greek Orthodox Christian and the Turkish Muslim groups. (High Commissioner Report, 1879; Report of Education1887, 1898-1899) Furthermore, regarding educational reports throughout the entire British occupation, heavy emphasis was always placed on the increase in the number of schools and the student enrollment, as if the gradual–and arguably natural–increase was a measure of the Empire's colonial success.

6.2 Turkish and Greek Elementary Education

As already examined, Turkish Muslim schools replicated those of the Ottoman Empire, which were directly connected to the Muslim faith and the community mosques. In the late 19th century the curriculum was heavily embedded with religious teachings and the general aims of elementary education was to prepare students to learn their faith and become good Muslims. In 1884, the British set up two *Maarif encümens* (Governor of schools), one for Turkish and one for Greek. The central aims of these administrations were to organize school regulations; to follow processes that enabled the Head of British Inspectors to write educational reports; to solve problems in villages and towns; and to examine complaints regarding school taxes (Feridun, 1969,12) The membership of those *Maarif encümens* initially were through free elections though gradually, the British educational policy of centralization reduced these freedoms and regulations which became stricter and more controlled through the Education Acts of 1905 and later 1920. A British Inspector was always appointed as head of the *Maarif encümens* and while Village and District Commissions could choose their own members, the 1905 Education Law enabled the colonial administration to execute more control over the education system which was increased in the 1920 Maarif law. This law reduced the power of *Maarif encümens* and placed more power in decisions to the viceroy, such as the appointment of teachers, collection of taxes and teacher salary scales. Furthermore, some private village schools that continued to follow a Koran based curriculum were closed down (Feridun, 1969, 18).

Due to the power attributed to the Greek Orthodox church under the Ottoman Turkish rule and the freedoms exercised regarding the financial donations to schools, Greek elementary education was generally better funded, though attendance at elementary schools during the first years of British occupation was somewhat limited (Spyridakis, 1954, 4). The Greek elementary curriculum, drafted in 1898 by a committee under the presidency of the headmaster of the Pan-Cyprian Gymnasium, generally followed and was amended to the education of schools in Greece (Spyridakis, 1954, 6).

This committee had the power to impose the "analytical programme" used in Greece and contained very specific instructions based on the "new method" of teaching that was being followed in teachers' classes at the University of Athens recommending in detail the lessons to be taught, the hours that should be applied to each subject and the teaching methods that should be employed (Weir, 1952, 120). The entire curriculum was divided into two parts that was taught in alternate years. The first part laid emphasis on religious studies and included Catechism; prayers; religious poetry; history of the Old and New Testaments; and general geography of the holy land. The second part emphasized the Greek language which included reading, grammar, dictation and writing. Other subjects included in this classical curriculum, though with less emphasis were mathematics (arithmetic and geometry), natural history and philosophy, history, geography, singing, calligraphy and gymnastics. With only very few minor adjustments, this programme was followed in Cyprus and as Weir points out, this stayed relatively unchanged for nearly 35 years under the British authorities (Ibid, 121) An analysis of the curriculum in 1933 reveals that the only real changes or additions widened only to include scientific subjects physics and chemistry in the last two classes of elementary schools as well as the addition of drawing and handwork, giving a more practical element to the otherwise very classical nature of the school subjects (Wilcox, 1933, 41) With such little change in so many years and the almost direct transfer of the Greek curriculum to that of Cyprus, it can be argued that little or no consideration was given with any real commitment to Cyprus' educational needs and those of the local people. Furthermore, included in this curriculum and supported by local government grants, were religious and national celebrations that served to strengthen connections between Cyprus and Greece. There was no concealing the underlying aim of elementary education in Greek Christian schools: to maintain Greek national feeling. Second to this aim was the strong aspiration to develop a powerful loyalty to the Christian Orthodox church. By increasing government funding and supporting Greek Christian education throughout the late 19th century, Britain gradually tightened its control of elementary education. The 1895 Act and subsequent 1905 Law saw the establishment of the Greek Board of

Education as being the central authority in all Greek Christian educational matters administering all factors of elementary education, in particular, the curriculum, text books used, classification of schools and grants provided (Spyridakis, 1954, 7). However, despite Britain's interference with educational matters, the fundamental aim of the Greek Cypriot leaders continued unchanged, and in fact continued to grow in strength and determination. Britain's presence on the island only served to emphasize the Greek Cypriot's national and religious allegiance, with its fundamental foundations placed firmly in the past (Weir, 1952, 89).

A report by Talbot and Cape in 1913 recommended that each Board of Education retain their control of the curriculum and school time tables. Comparing the two religious groups, the report emphasized the heavy religious content of the Turkish Muslim schools, indicating that most of the Muslim elementary schools barely taught the rudiments of reading, writing and arithmetic and a little geography and formal grammar in the higher classes. Ottoman history, hygiene and a little composition writing were also subjects of the higher classes. The lack of certain subjects like drawing, singing, physical training as well as the limitations of the nature of the history and geography classes were highlighted (Report of Education, 1913, 29). In contrast the more "progressive" curriculum of the Greek Christian schools were praised for their wide range of subjects offered which included history, geography, drawing, needlework (for girls), singing and physical training. This was credited to the Analytical Programme the Cypriot schools adopted directly from Greece (Ibid, 31). It is perhaps no surprise that the Greek classical curriculum was seen in such a light considering the classical emphasis that was concurrent in the English education system at the time (Weir, 1952, 149). Indeed, while the English curriculum did include a broader choice of subjects such as music and physical science, it was classical in its content with high regard placed on grammar, Latin and Greek (Roach, 1991, 33; Aldrich, 1982, 82; Barnard, 1961, 142). From an imperialistic standpoint, the Greek curriculum would have appeared extremely acceptable, especially when contrasted with the unfamiliar and therefore "exotic" nature of the Muslim religion. It could be argued that Britain's imperial and orientalist

perspective blinkered its educational aims which ultimately and ironically led to Greek nationalist feeling being nurtured in the very schools they were trying to control.

Despite the grievances and recommendations of the 1913 Report, progress was extremely slow. There was a period of relative disruption to educational development on the island during and in the wake of the First World War. Cyprus was annexed to Britain in 1914 as Turkey and Britain stood on opposing sides. The implications and excessive costs of war put a huge financial strain on government aid to the island, and as a result, education stagnated somewhat until the Education Act of 1923. Again, the Muslim elementary curriculum was criticized for its heavily religious content and the strong Turkish influence. Subjects included reading and chanting of the Koran; the repetition of the religious code *ilmihal*; reading and writing of the Turkish language; general Ottoman history and geography; arithmetic (usually confined to the basic four rules); and elementary Arabic and Persian in the higher classes of a few schools (Luke & Jardine, 1920, 141). Additionally, fearing the Greek Cypriot national movement towards Enosis, the colonial government took advantage of the island's financial problems by introducing the first real Education Act that directly interfered with Greek and Muslim elementary education. This was stipulated further by the 1929 Law which introduced changes to the Boards of Education, teacher salaries, the appointment and dismissal of teachers, placing everything under more government centralized control while reducing the power of the clergy (Spyridakis, 1954, 12).

The new law came into force in 1930, instigating protests and petitions from the Christian church and Muslim groups. Fuelled with this agitation and a growing sense of national consciousness, Cyprus erupted in the riots and civil disruption of 1931, culminating in the arson attack on the Governor's house. The unrest that prevailed in Cyprus at this time meant even stricter controls from the colonial government and indeed, paved the way for the increased centralization of the Cypriot education system seen throughout the 1930s (Kyrris, 1985, 347).

Changes in education were tediously slow. Old loyalties remained to the traditional emphasis of classical and religious teaching within schools which often meant Cyprus lagged behind in modern developments. Heavy emphasis was put on the "bookish character" (Weir, 1952, 172) of Greek and Turkish education with the method of memorization often being favoured over creative thinking. However, the Education Act of 1933 did start to acknowledge change was needed and a more practical curriculum was required. Prior to this, in regards to curriculum, with the Greek Christian Cypriots basing theirs on that taught in Greece, and the Turkish Muslim Cypriots basing theirs on that of Turkey, there were very few variations made to meet local needs. For example, between 1930 and 1932, subjects containing a Greek or Turkish religious historical context were of prime importance with the secular subjects often being rather sketchily taught (Report of Education, 1930-31, 12). In terms of the student reaching universal norms, the education system was very limited and did not really encourage students to think independently outside a Greek or Turkish context. Furthermore, the curriculum was often very elaborate and theoretical with the methods of teaching being highly old fashioned, for example, the emphasis on the memorization of books, and the extremely limited use of English language.

Prior to the new change in direction introduced with the 1933 Act, the separate Boards of Education had always retained their control of the school curriculum. It was often argued that the curriculum in the majority of Muslim schools was still heavily influenced by religious instruction with only a little secular education taking place, usually the basics of reading and writing. Although the Greek elementary schools were generally viewed as having a more "progressive" curriculum (Report of Education, 1913) providing a wider range of secular subjects like history, geography, drawing and physical exercise, the context of the subjects had a limited outlook and background reaching no further than both Greek and Turkish borders. The old curriculum had not kept pace with developments in other countries and little account was taken of the unique and special conditions of Cyprus (Report of Education, 1934-35, 34). By the beginning of the school year 1935-36, a

new curriculum was ready for introduction into all elementary schools, both Greek and Turkish, to replace those nationalistically copied from Greece and Turkey respectively.

For the first time, all students, whether taught in Greek or Turkish, will follow the same lessons in all subjects, with the exception of their own language and religions. Secondly, it was stated that history and geography would be taught in parallel course and no longer be dominated by Greece and Turkey. Instead these subjects were to be taught outwards from Cyprus through to the Near East and Mediterranean area and so to the rest of the world. As each country is reached in the curriculum, the outlines of its history will be studied. Thirdly, English was to be introduced as an integral part of the curriculum. In fact, by 1936, English was included in the curriculum of 114 of the larger elementary schools (Colonial Report, 1936, 33). Additionally, a less rigid approach to the time table was adopted to allow more scope for any variations accorded to local needs. These were generally under the control of the head teachers and school inspectors.

The effect of the 1933 Law and subsequent changes which came into effect in 1935 was detrimental to school curriculum. Spyridakis (1954, 17) argues that the government provided no specific objectives or justifications for curriculum changes which reveals the attempt to conceal the underlying political aims of the colonial authorities at the time. For example, firstly and perhaps the most significant change was the same school curriculum for both ethnic and religious groups. Greek Christians were now termed as Orthodox Christian in an attempt to reduce identity connections with "motherland" Greece. Secondly, the teaching of Greek history was severely restricted: no longer was the subject dealt with as an individual lesson but was confined to a limited history and only within a world history context, ignoring any links with the Greek Cypriot people and Greece (Report of Education, 1935-6, 8). The new 1935 curriculum radically altered the elementary schools organization and attracted strong protests from all corners of Greek Cypriot life including the church, the press and the teachers, but to no avail. The Greek Christian – now Orthodox Christian- elementary schools of Cyprus were now forbidden to celebrate in any way Greek nationalism, including

playing the Greek anthem, flying the Greek flag or hanging pictures of Greek revolution heroes from 1821 (Spyridakis, 1954, 18). Instead, schools were obligated to express their reliance and dependence on the British government by celebrating English holidays and Empire day.

The latter years of the 1930s and indeed throughout the early 1940s, Britain's education policy in Cyprus moved on very little as the British Empires priorities focused on maintaining her stronghold as a dominant world power in the Second World War. However, as Cypriot life continued and developed, new protests against elementary education policies emerged with demands being made for more freedom in education. And so, after 14 years came the revision of the 1935 Education Act in the form of the 1949 Law. Contrary to the ambiguous objectives of 1935, the 1949 curriculum differed in that it provided the objects of teaching which emphasized "moral education and the building of character" though still taking care as to withholding any reference to a national education. Changes included the extension of the teaching of a still limited history and the teaching of English given the same position as mathematics (Ibid, 22). The 1949 modifications stipulated that the elementary curriculum now included arithmetic, history, geography, physical training, music, art, science, hygiene, nature study, Greek or Turkish and English and were taught in both Greek and Turkish elementary schools (Report of Education, 1949-50). While it can definitely be argued that subject choice had expanded, the reality revealed a less progressive picture. For instance, the Colonial Annual Report (1949, 27) stated that a substantial 50.4% of students enrolled in secondary education in Cyprus in 1949, were following a classical curriculum. Cyprus had moved little in the 61 years of educational reforms under the British government.

Generally, the 1950s witnessed the development of more practical subjects in the elementary education curriculum including nature study (and the provision where possible of school gardens), physical education, art and hygiene classes as well as the teaching of the students' own language, arithmetic, geography, history and music. English was taught in the two upper classes of Greek schools with three or more teachers and similarly in Turkish schools of two or more teachers in an attempt to maintain

proportionally equal as possible (Report of Education, 1953-54, 9). In handiwork and art classes, students received instruction and practice in practical activities such as weaving, fabric painting, book binding, dress making and embroidery. Domestic science was also introduced for girls in the top classes of elementary schools in towns and larger villages. By 1953, there were domestic science centres functioning in Cyprus: a Greek and Turkish one in Larnaca and another Turkish one in Lefka, taking students from all schools in the town (Ibid, 12).

Spyridakis (1954, 23) argues that the aims of the new 1949 curriculum mirrored the hidden political agenda of the colonial government in 1935, ensuring that the Greek Cypriot student's development of a national consciousness was set against their own Greek consciousness by the omission of citizenship subjects in the syllabus. Indeed, the analysis of British policy in 1956 regarding Greek Language Readers in Greek elementary schools re-iterate Britain's government policy of de-hellenization in Greek Cypriot schools. For example, the suggestion of replacing particular books that glorified the symbolism of the Greek flag or any form of religious patriotism (Colonial Report, 1956). The Director of Education aimed at replacing such readers with books printed in English, however, the level of general protest was deemed too high to continue this endeavor (Spyridakis, 1954, 24).

As late as 1956, the British administration continued to blame the "nationalistic character" of the Greek and Turkish schools, claiming that the content of lessons and books used were inevitably making "an impressive impact on the immature minds of the generations of children who have been brought up on such material" (Report 1954-56, 1). It appears remarkable, after nearly 78 years of colonial rule and the complete centralization of elementary education under British administration, the government remained free from responsibility regarding the general state of public education on the island. Indeed, while acknowledging the urgent need of more teachers, accommodation, textbooks and other equipment, by 1956, little progress appeared to have been made. For instance, in the Five Year Development Plan put forward for the years 1955-1960, while achievement appeared to

have been made regarding the achievement of producing young children who were literate on leaving elementary education, reports were still claiming the need to "bring the syllabus in village schools more into line with the needs of the people of the village, and particularly so far as the girls were concerned" (CO 926/168). Again, as had been reiterated throughout the colonial administration, the elementary curriculum remained too academic and lacked in adequate subjects like domestic science for girls and subjects with a more agricultural bias for boys in the village schools.

6.2.1 Conclusion

As has been suggested, Britain's educational aims and objectives did not always meet expectations and like so many colonial policies, were more often obscuring the real political agenda of the colonial government. With the gradual increase in government funds towards elementary education in Cyprus, the colonial government managed to secure the complete management of the elementary school curriculum through the series of educational acts throughout the late 19th and particularly in the early 20th century, limiting a sense of Cypriot national consciousness, any connections to the "motherlands" and introducing English in the later classes of elementary schools. Such measures were fundamental for government control over the Cypriot people and the possibility of revolt. Ironically, it could be argued, and indeed will be examined in the next chapter on secondary education, that in doing so, the British educational policy in Cyprus actually fostered such an uprising and instigated the events that led to Cyprus' independence in 1960.

6.3 The Case for Curriculum for the Turkish and Greek Cypriot Secondary Education

6.3.1 Introduction

Britain's educational policy towards secondary education and curriculum in Cyprus received comparatively little attention as it did for elementary schools, at least until the mid 1930s. Furthermore, the direct impact of the changes and reforms the colonial government gradually introduced progressed at a much slower rate and had considerable less influence. In terms of the number of schools and student enrollment, secondary schools developed at a satisfactory pace and statistically, British authority appeared to have had a positive affect on secondary education. However, with regard to educational aims, objectives and curriculum, the colonial authorities fell short: although constant reference was given to the importance of awareness and acknowledgement of "local needs" (Report, 1903-04, 1912-13, 1913, 1913-14, 1930-31, 1931-32, 1933, 1934, 1935, 1936-40), rarely was enough attention brought to even discovering what these indeed were, not to mention the actual implantation to curriculum that these should incur.

When the British occupied Cyprus in 1878, secondary education was extremely limited and administered on the same religious segregational lines as elementary education. There were Greek Christian secondary schools in the main towns of Nicosia, Larnaca and Limassol which were run exclusively by the Christian Orthodox Church (High Commissioner Report, 1879, 80). The first and most significant of these schools was the "Hellenic School" in Nicosia which was founded by the National martyr, Archbishop Kyprianos in 1812 (Spyridakis, 1954, 3) and was hailed as the real pioneer of Greek Cypriot secondary education (Weir, 1952, 23). The first and only Turkish Muslim secondary school on the island at the time was the old Rushdie School in Nicosia, later known as the *Idadi* in 1897, supported by both the new British government and the Turkish community, having taken over the

administration and management from the previous Turkish government. When it became a Lycee in 1925, it paralleled the modern educational system in the Turkish Republic and was deemed the centre for modern Muslim secondary education (Gazioğlu, 1990, 199). Until 1893, this was the only secondary on the island that received government aid; the Greek secondary schools being supported by the Church and voluntary contributions.

Generally the aims and curriculum in the early years of British occupation held strong religious links to each groups' "motherland". The aims of Muslim secondary education as laid out by the Maarif committee in 1896, included plans to develop the *Idadi* school by increasing the course by two years; to bring text books from the *Idadi* schools in Istanbul to Cyprus: to bring a Headmaster from Istanbul to teach foreign languages; and to establish a special commission in order to organize the *Idadi* program (Feridun, 1969, 16). The aims of the Greek Christian secondary schools were to maintain and sustain the religious and deep national connection with Greece. In fact, in 1893, the Archbishop of Cyprus, Sophronios, founded a full Gymnasium in Nicosia that was comparable to the Gymnasium in Greece. This reconstitution of the Hellenic School into what became known as the Pan-Cypian Gymnasium was the religious and national nucleus of Greek Cypriot education (Gazioğlu, 1990, 204) and generally followed the classical nature of the Greek curriculum as taught in Athens.

The colonial government really had very little influence over Cypriot secondary education at the turn of the century. In reality, school inspections of the Muslim secondary school was rare and the Inspector of schools only visited the Greek secondary schools when invited by the Greek Christian committee (Report,1902, 23). Furthermore, attendance in secondary schools in Cyprus was low: during the school year of 1901-02, there were only 539 students attending secondary education in Cyprus (Newham, 1902, 421). The reality of life at this time placed importance on children working for their families, once reaching a suitable age, particularly in villages, and especially

for girls. Additionally, only a few educated elites could afford to put their children through secondary school.

While the Turkish Muslim curriculum still held a marked influence from Turkey, following the appointment of F.D. Newham as the English Inspector of Schools in 1902, in subjects like the Turkish language, Arabic and Persian, the curriculum started to take on a slightly more English character. Subjects included were "taught on a modern and Western system" as well as history and geography (Newham, 1902, 423). However, it is important to understand the limitations of Turkish Muslim secondary education at this time: there were no provisions for girls' education in this sphere of education until the opening of the Victoria Girls School in Nicosia in 1902 and religion still played an integral role in the syllabus.

In 1913, the "educational experts" from England, Talbot and Cape, carried out an extensive report on the condition of education in Cyprus and made what they thought to be essential recommendations to general management, funding and curriculum issues. There was a common criticism for both Greek and Turkish secondary curriculum which was deemed to be too theoretical, ambitious and lacking in any practical subjects. Firstly, the classical curriculum of the Greek schools was thought to be "too full and advanced for Cyprus schools and beyond the powers of the teachers or students". The Analytical Program in Cyprus was almost identical to that of Greece which did not allow for any observance or relevance to the students own surroundings and their specific needs (Report, 1913, 32). Similarly, the curriculum followed in the Turkish secondary school was again too ambitious for Cypriots. Talbot and Cape criticized the linguistic programs for being too much. Rather than including French, English, Modern Greek, Arabic and Persian, it was suggested that all languages dropped except for one and that the time be utilized to improve students' command of Turkish. Recommendations for both Greek and Turkish schools were made in regard to a more practical curriculum with the introduction of subjects like carpentry, gardening, bee-keeping and other rural subjects and training (Ibid, 30). While the report sounds commendable in the sense that it held a strong

desire for the local needs of the Cypriots to be taken into account, it has been criticized as being nothing more than an "educational cloak" to conceal the political nature of Britain's colonial policy towards Cyprus (Spyridakis, 1954, 16).

It could be argued that Britain's strategic offer to give Cyprus to Greece in 1915 so as to ensure Greece's loyalty to the allies, does insinuate Cyprus' position as a mere pawn in the bigger political picture of Britain's colonial policy. Greece declined and Britain withdrew her offer. However, at the end of the First World War in 1919, the Archbishop and Greek members of the Legislative Council ambitiously exerted themselves to deploy Britain to reinstate their offer (Spyridakis, 1954, 10). Indeed, for the Hellenist faction of the Greek Cypriot church who wanted *Enosis*, this cause was to govern the their leaders' anti-colonial policy for most of the century thereafter and set to fuel the national fight for identification with Greece.

There was little change to secondary education in the early 1920s: as already discussed, the Acts of 1920 and 1923 were directly for elementary schools. Although a big change in the dynamics for Turkish Cypriot education was on the horizon, in terms of curriculum in the 1920s, adjustments were very small. In his analysis of the secondary curriculum of the *Idadi* School, Weir found little difference between that of 1924 to what was prescribed in 1910. Subjects included in both the three higher classes of the Lycee were Turkish, history, geography, natural science, geology, physics, algebra, geometry, Arabic, Persian, mechanics, cosmology, trigonometry and chemistry. The only additional four subjects included in the 1924 syllabus that were absent in 1910 were foreign language, laboratory, philosophy and sociology (Weir, 1952, 81). The introduction of laboratory subjects suggests the increase in the importance placed on scientific knowledge in schools, just as the introduction of philosophy and sociology suggests the student is required to think more creatively and become more aware of his/her place in the world rather than be confined to monotonous recitation and repetition. In this context, it could be argued that progress was

being made, however, the changes and implementation of new modern elements to the curriculum were slow and arduous.

While secondary education stagnated somewhat, Greek Cypriot nationalism festered and grew under Britain's refusal to cede Cyprus to Greece, as did the Turkish revolution of 1922 provide a new nationalism for Turks which spread a new Turkish Cypriot patriotism and identification with the motherlands, a political problem that had been relatively absent previously. The effect on education was detrimental to Turkish Cypriot education in the late 1920s.

Secondary education was not under control of the Education Department in 1928 except for those who received government grants pertaining to the teaching of English. In fact, secondary education was severely lacking in opportunity for Cypriot students. The Muslim secondary schools were the Boys Lycee and the Victoria School for Girls in Nicosia. Both of these institutions followed programs that prepared students for Higher education in Istanbul, though the in reality, very few students would go on to University education there. Generally, the Victoria Lycee followed the same curricula programme as the *Rüştiye* (secondary high school for boys). Lessons included reading and agriculture, Arabic, Persian, grammar and syntax, hygiene, history, geography, English, and additionally, sewing and embroidery. Those who graduated received the Cyprus Certificate and became a teacher directly on completing the Lycee course, before the establishment of the Teachers' Training College at Morphou (Behcet, 1969, 226).

The most significant change in educational policy in 1928 can be seen in the alphabet reform adopted after the Turkish leader, Ataturk, led Turkey to freedom in 1923. He envisioned education as more than a religious and therefore political tool and identified a need for the addition of a secular area of focus to enable young people to think and develop in relation to their countries needs. The Turkish Cypriot press, in particular the "Söz Gazetesi", followed Atatürk's revolution closely and was encouraged by the Turkish

consul in Cyprus, Mr Asaf Guvenir. Turkish Cypriot national feeling was strongly affiliated with keeping traditions strong and in accordance with what was happening in Turkey. When the Atatürk's declaration of the new Turkish alphabet was accepted in Turkey on the 1st of November 1928, the Language Committee in Cyprus declared at the same Latin letters were to be used in Cyprus (Özkul and Akcansoy, 2008, 3).This new nationalism in Turkey provided the new dynamic in education: the alphabet changed from Arabic to the one in use today. With this change came new aims in education: that of developing strong patriotism and a social aim of creating national unity; the acquisition of knowledge for practical use. As the reform was accepted, reading books printed in the new alphabet were brought over to the island and proved to be overwhelmingly popular; courses were held by teachers in villages and districts to spread this new Turkish reform; as well as the "Söz Gazetesi" other newspapers were printed in the new alphabet. Indeed, the reform was viewed by the nationalists as a way to help future generations to follow developments in Turkey and therefore help in creating a common ideal for Turkish Cypriots to follow.

The reform was quickly adopted into two schools in Nicosia. Notably the school Principal of the Victoria Lycee for Girls, Suet Seyil was integral to pushing the new alphabet reform within Cyprus education. Even prior to the Ministry of Education introducing it into the school curriculum, Miss Seyil was integrating it into her schools lessons with the help of other teachers who were also faithful to the national cause and great supporters of Ataturk. In 1929, the *Idadi* Turkish School for Boys introduced the new alphabet under the British Headmaster, Mr Henry. From 1929 onwards, the reform spread and was gradually used in all Turkish schools and public departments in Cyprus (Özkul and Akcansoy, 2008, 7). It is notable that the Turkish Cypriots, with the help of the press, Ataturk reformers and supporters, managed to carry the alphabet reforms into Cyprus, despite resistance and pressure from the British Administration.

Furthermore, under Mr Henry, the organization of the Lycee curriculum meant that it was in direct correlation with the provisions ascribed

by Istanbul University. He also introduced a "college" section in the higher classes with a special curriculum in commercial subjects that were taught generally in English and aimed at passing students for the London Matriculation Examination and to prepare them for government service and commerce (Georghallides, 1985, 470). While progress appeared promising with the increase of government and especially for the teaching of English and for secondary education in general, Mr Henry had even managed to maintain the equilibrium between Turkish Cypriots by representing and adhering to Turkish education and the Muslim religion. However, Mr Henry left in 1929 at a time when strained relations between Britain and a Turkish Cypriot minority became to appear. Governor Storrs insisted that the Lycee should continue to have an English Headmaster. He wanted an increase to the teaching of English which angered the Turkish Committee members (Ibid, 471). Disputes disrupted and Storrs became inflexible on issues relating to the Lycee. Just as the 1929 Elementary Law had reduced the power of the Greek Orthodox clergy members of the Board of Education, it would seem Storrs was attempting to do the same for secondary education and the Muslim members of the Board.

While deep divides and social unrest prevailed at this time, both Greek and Turkish nationalistic feeling increased which eventually led to riots and civil disruption of 1931 following the burning of the governor's house. To curb such events, freedom previously enjoyed by both groups was restricted. The Legislative Council was abolished and some members of the opposition were exiled. Furthermore, an Advisory council was set up composed of members chosen by the Government. It is this gradual increase of Government control that made way for the development towards the centralization of the Cypriot education system seen throughout the 1930's.

Perhaps the most significant change to the Cypriot education system was the Elementary Education Law of 1933, whereby the process of centralization was nearly complete with the Government assuming final responsibility in educational matters. The Board of Education was retained but its functions were now advisory, making recommendations to the

Governor regarding amending and approving estimates for school maintenance made by local committees. This transference of authority and the final step towards centralization meant that the Government prescribed textbooks, equipment and the curriculum in schools; ultimate control of Education Funds lay in the Government's hands; and members of the Board of Education and Town Committees were appointed by the Government. It was believed that by assuming complete control of Elementary schools, the Law would do much to improve teaching conditions by giving teachers security of tenure, giving them freedom from local authorities (Report, 1932-33). It is worth noting here that Government interest lay within elementary education at this time; it wasn't until 1935 that real attention to the administration of secondary schools took place.

Initiated by the Law of 1933, Cyprus began to move away from the more rigorous control of the past into an era of experimentation and new developments throughout the mid 1930's. The law did start to acknowledge change was needed and a more practical curriculum was required. During the year, an attempt was made to introduce a more practical side to the curriculum to secondary schools with subjects like handiwork, carpentry and poultry keeping being given allocated afternoon times in schools in addition to an increase in the teaching and the use of English. It was noted that Cyprus was indeed one of the colonies that drastically needed a more practical curriculum and the Orthodox Christian Board of Education recommended proposals of this nature in the Report of Education 1933-34. In this case, the establishment of a 2 year course in Agricultural methods with a background of general education in 16 higher rural schools in villages dependant on different forms of agriculture. However, progress was still slow: it had been recommended though was yet to be put into practice until the Report had been received.

Another big change brought about in 1934 was the appointment of a Chief Inspector for schools by the Government. This continued the gradual development of centralization whereby Government control was extended to secondary schools and for the first time, serious attention was given to

secondary education. Soon after the Chief Inspector was appointed, the Secondary Education Law of 1935 was passed which came into form in March, 1936. Fundamentally, this put all responsibility of registration and the inspection of secondary schools to the Government. However, as with elementary education, the administration of secondary education has been complicated by the conflict of national loyalties. Although financial aid has been a strong weapon for the Government, some schools have remained completely independent from Government control, loyal, as they feel to the Greek Orthodox tradition, for example, the Pan-Cyprian Gymnasium in Nicosia. While centralization of power had been more complete with elementary education, the trend in the same direction for secondary education was somewhat lagging behind. Interestingly, it is questionable if foreign policy of the British Government would indeed allow complete control in the field of secondary education as it would be contrary to the English tradition at home.

1935 was really a turning point in educational history regarding secondary education in Cyprus. Up until this time, secondary schools were not under control of the Education Department; only a few schools received grants from the Government which were always conditional and usually for the teaching of English. However, with the newly appointed Chief Inspector concerning himself for the most part with the teaching of English, this became a priority and was indeed where most of the Government money was being spent (Kyrris, 1985, 350). This brought about a marked change and the application of the new Law gave power to the Government to provide the registration and inspection of all secondary schools; to provide all licensing of all teachers along with the power to refuse or cancel registration. This really indicated a decisive move for all schools away from private and religious management to that of Government control.

Significant changes were introduced with the reorganization and inspection of all secondary schools which now qualified for government grants complying with the new requirements set out by the Law. These included substantial changes to the curriculum, the one deemed perhaps the

most radical for Cyprus at the time as already discussed in the elementary education chapter, was that the curriculum taught was now to be common for all religious groups (Report, 1935-36, 8). An attempt to unite the people of Cyprus for the first time, terminology was changed and the teaching of Greek or Turkish became known simply as the teaching of a language. These changes brought out a plethora of protest from each ethnic group, and particularly the Greek Orthodox Church. Spyridakis (1954, 17) argues that the absence of educational aims or objectives in government reports reveals the efforts of the Education Department to conceal the real political objectives of the colonial government: to radically reduce Cyprus' connection and identification with the motherlands of Turkey and Greece. Specifically, he attacks the changes to the history curriculum which was restricted to fewer lessons and covered general history rather than emphasizing the role of Greece as, what he deemed to be, the national homeland of the Cypriots. Geography was also restricted and given a more global rather than local element. Maps were confiscated that showed any connection between Cyprus and other Greek islands. Curriculum and text books had to be approved. Similarly to elementary education, secondary schools were required to display allegiance to Empire rather than be dominated by Greece and Turkey. As well as the replacement of Greek flags with that of British ones, schools had to declare that they would ensure their students became "good citizens of the British Empire" (Spyridakis, 1954, 27). English classes also increased in the secondary schools and introduced into the top two classes of the larger elementary schools, and government funding was given to schools that complied with this. Spyridakis had a valid argument. In a letter from Mr A. Dawe in 1933 regarding the subject of the school inspector vacancy on the island, he clearly states that the central objective towards secondary education is "as I understand, a political one. We wish to set up an educational system which will have a definite pro-British bias" (CO 67/249/14). Interestingly, later on in the same memo, Dawe admits that to surrender such an objective would mean once again to merely exercise "the wholly half – measures which have been the curse of British rule in Cyprus" (Ibid). This can definitely be seen in Britain's strategic and uncommitted policies towards Cypriot education. It was no secret that secondary

education, or at least lack of British control within this sphere of education, was a problem for Britain, exemplified in their continual attempts to increase administrative domination and finally in the latter years of colonial rule where Britain were essentially were inevitably compelled to bow out of the Cyprus situation.

More demands were made for practical subjects in the curriculum such as music, art and physical training with reorganization of the Gymnasium curriculum in Limassol and Famagusta (Report, 1936, 11). Despite constant references to the importance of addressing the "local needs" of the Cypriot people in order to provide a suitable practical program in school curricula (Report 1930-1, 1931-2, 1933, 1934), Spyridakis (1954, 29) maintains no such studies were ever convincingly made. Indeed, Weir (1952, 60) highlights that while the continual request for a more practical curriculum were made and thought of as progressive, changes were extremely slow and few significant alterations were actually ever made.

It can be said that more attention was being paid to the Agricultural needs of the Cypriot schools in terms of providing more adequate facilities in which to learn vital local knowledge and experience in agricultural practices. A great deal of co-operation between the Department of Agriculture and the Department of Education enabled agricultural instruction to be given in schools by school masters and agricultural officers (Report 1936, 33) Furthermore, the development and encouragement of agriculture in schools was made viable in the improvement of school gardens whereby students could receive first hand experience in theories and methods they may come to rely on when leaving school to work. In looking at the situation within the village schools, attempts were made through the establishment of Agricultural training for teachers in 1930 in line with the understanding of the importance of agriculture in village areas. However, despite efforts recommended by the Report of Education to adopt such measures on a larger scale, the financial situation of the time made it impossible to pursue, particularly in the provision of improving school gardens for agricultural education. It wasn't until 1940 that the first Rural Central School was

established in Morphou which was a progressive step by the Government not only in understanding the local needs of Cypriots but also to train the agricultural farmer through school.

Other types of schools were becoming more common that were of a more practical nature with less emphasis on academic, bookish subjects found in the Gymnasiums and Lycees and instead offered a more practical element to post-primary education. For instance, the general curriculum in the Vocational School in Lefke followed a more practical nature and included mathematics (six lessons per week), four lessons of physics and mechanics a week, three lessons of technical art and three of Turkish and included one and a half days of woodwork. English was still a prominent subject taking up eight lessons of the week (Behcet, 1969, 133).

In a similar vein, the weekly curriculum in the Commercial Schools aimed at preparing students for more commercial sectors of employment. For instance, four lessons were allocated to commercial accounts and another four to method account book keeping; six lessons were given to typing; four to the teaching of Greek and three to geography. Similar to the Turkish vocational schools, English was prioritized with eight lessons being taught per week (Behcet, 1969, 135). On a more rural level, the Practical School in Pedhoulas served the Marathasa hill area and was well known for the commercial enterprise of its people. The school had always been devoted to commercial studies and its students did well. Since 1937, it had an English master, the government grant having been considerably increased to make this possible (Report 1936-40, 23).

Again, liberties within schools, whether practical or academic were restricted to colonial methods, policies and ultimately purse strings. Certain proposals of the 1935 Law do appear to be unrealistic, for example, the medium of English to be used in instruction for subjects like history and geography (Report, 1936, 33). Spyridakis (1954, 30-32) highlights the reality of Cypriot schools at the time and claims that teachers and students were often compelled to return to their spoken tongue due to the inadequacy of

school textbooks (most of which came from Greece) and the number of unqualified and poorly trained teachers. This can also be said for Muslim secondary education, with most elementary teachers only completing the full *Idadi* course at most (Talbot & Cape, 1913, 25).

According to the Cyprus Sub-Committee of Education for the Colonies in 1934, Commercial schools, theoretically provided experience in subjects like business correspondence; commercial geography and law; book-keeping, type writing; as well as teaching more science and French. However, not many students progress very far in these subjects and most programs are too dense, providing students with the rudiments of meaningless theory which bare no relevance to practical reality. Furthermore, courses such as these were deemed too advanced for Cypriot student who had not benefited from a comprehensive secondary education as in England, on which these schools were being based (CO67/249/14). The Cypriot secondary school Sub-Committee (1934) made a proposal for courses to follow a combined Junior Tech and secondary school curriculum with emphasis on the needs of local industries that would encourage students to move into suitable employment. While the specific local industries appear to be noticeably absent in the colonial reports, it was suggested that the teaching of mathematical and scientific principles be priority in these curriculums where students could learn methods in how machinery works or become familiar with tools and other ideas of craftsmanship and mechanics. Industrial applications of science were also recommended, for example, how heat and electricity work. These recommendations are commendable and even appear to be aware of the commercial "local needs" of Cyprus, however, in the same memorandum, the shortcomings are highlighted in that firstly, there is a complete lack of qualified staff to teach such subjects and secondly, it is most unlikely that students would have mastered a sufficient level of English to follow the instruction given (CO67/249/14).

One of the central problems briefly touched on in this chapter to implementing any of the recommended changes to curriculum was a

shortage of qualified teachers. Ironically, the teachers of Cyprus could only be as proficient as their schooling and training would allow. The training of teachers in the beginning of the 20th century was limited. The Report of Talbot and Cape, 1913, highlighted that "there is, in Cyprus, no independent provision for the training of teachers" (Talbot and Cape, 1913, 25). Indeed, teachers were "trained" in the higher classes of the two Greek secondary schools in Nicosia. Similarly the completion of an ordinary course of schooling was deemed as sufficient for the appointment as a teacher in elementary schools in the early 1930s. Methods of training teachers were often extremely theoretical with little or no opportunities for practice. Although Talbot and Cape recommended as early as 1913 that the training of elementary school teachers should be removed from the responsibility of secondary schools and put in a separate training schools supplemented and provided by the Government, it wasn't really until 1936 that important steps were taken to improve the situation, primarily with the establishment of the Teachers Training College in Morphou. The training college was residential and offered both Muslim and Orthodox Christian students a two year course of training where there was a range of opportunities for teaching practice in surrounding village schools. However, no sooner was it started, inadequacies began to appear. Although the College was originally designed to accommodate 48 students, the reality was that it had been cramming more than double that amount into a small, poorly ventilated room with little resources (Weir, 1952, 271). Furthermore, while the demand for school mistresses increased, the Phaneromeni School Mistresses Training School (which was part of the Pancyprian Gymnasium) was closed in 1937 (Report 1942-45, 19). At the same time as accepting responsibility for the training of Greek Christian school mistresses, the Government discontinued employing Muslim girls as mistresses when they had completed their training at the Victoria Girls school in Nicosia. Before the Government was able to replace this gap with a properly staffed Training College, the war broke out in 1939 and thus the College had not yet materialized. It would seem world affairs and the influence of other countries would once again affect Cyprus' development within education. Although concrete proposals were made for the establishment of the Girls Training College in 1939, and these plans were

approved in 1940, the Report of Education 1942-45 claimed that there was no hope of it opening before September, 1948 (Report 1942-45, 20). It was in this context that it was often felt that while taking one step forward in progress, Cyprus took a further two steps back.

It is significant here to explore other private educational institutions that were also prevalent in Cyprus and to see to what extent they also were restricted by, perhaps not the colonial administration, but certainly restrained in terms of curriculum by the organizations that controlled them.

6.3.2 The English School

Founded by Canon Newham in 1900, the English school functioned as a private school until 1935 when it became the property of the government by the English School (Management and Control) Law 1935 and was frequently described as "almost certainly the best secondary school in the island from almost every point of view" (Report 1954-56, 3). Under the new arrangements the school obtained new buildings on new grounds, boarding houses and large playing fields. Ninety children who had graduated from elementary school and passed an entrance examination in their native language (Turkish or Greek), arithmetic, history and geography, were accepted every school year (60 Greek Cypriot and 30 Turkish Cypriot as representing the ratio of the general population). The medium of instruction in the first year was Greek or Turkish with English taught as secondary language. From second year onwards English was the medium of instruction with Greek or Turkish taking the place of the second language. Greek and Turkish Cypriot students were kept separate in the first two years for language reasons, but were mixed and grouped according to ability in third year (Feridun, 1969, 67). In fourth year, a third language had to be taken by students; the languages offered were Greek, Turkish and Latin; the last one taken by British and Armenians in place of Greek and Turkish. After four years of general education successful candidates enter one of the three senior sections provided by the school: arts, science and Cyprus certificate.

Generally, all classroom teaching was completed in the morning with the afternoons dedicated to societies, games, athletics and scouting (Report, 1936-40, 49). Non-denominational Christian religious instruction was given: Muslim students attended the mosque on Fridays and the chief Orthodox Christian, Protestant, Armenian and Muslim religious holidays were observed by the whole school (Report, 1936-40, 49).

The central aim of this school was attainment in the Cyprus Certificate and the General Certificate of English (Ibid, 68). The object of curriculum was to prepare boys for government and commercial employment in Cyprus. Few students were likely to go to university but if they should reach a British Matriculation standard by 1942, when boys who entered the first year under the new regime would have reached the top of the school (Report, 1939-40, 48).

The English School for Girls was not established until nearly sixty years later in 1957. The school provided a five year course of general education followed by one or two year specialist courses. Girls had to be at least twelve years old, completed their elementary education and passed the entrance examination. The five year course led to examinations of Cyprus Certificate of Education and Ordinary level of General Certificate of Education. Specialist courses led to examinations of Advanced level of General Certificate or for entry to British Universities. Senior courses in domestic science and science were also available for girls who had completed their secondary education elsewhere who wanted to continue their education by specializing in domestic science or one of scientific subjects. The medium of instruction in the first two years were Greek and Turkish except in certain special subjects such as music, art and physical education. From the third year onward English was used as the medium of instruction for all subjects. Special arrangements were made for English speaking and Armenian pupils.

Generally, the English Schools did well with new additions of buildings, the provision of school libraries along with good quality books,

apparatus and equipment brought to Cyprus from Britain. Since 1936, the principal and all other masters recruited in England were government officers and members of the colonial education service. The Board on which the founder's views carried great weight and it appointed all locally recruited staff and was responsible for its own finances.

6.3.3 The English School, Famagusta

According to the Report of Education 1936-1940, the proprietor often inflated his profits and had a reputation for touting for students as well as paying staff poorly. Also his claim that all his teachers teach all subjects in English is untrue (1936-40, 19).

6.3.4 American Academies

Founded by the Covenanter (Reformed Presbytarian) Mission in Larnaca in 1900, the American Academy provided elementary education to Greek Cypriot boys. Eight years later an under the direction of Rev. Walter McCarrol, a secondary section was established after permission was secured from the Mission Board of the Covenanter Church of North America. The school was first housed in the Mission chapel but in 1912 moved into its own building. The school was extended in 1925, 1936, 1948 and 1954 with funds raised by friends and "old boys" of school (Kouros, 1959, 222). In 1939-40, an annual government grant of £200 was given, subject to conditions as regarding curriculum: its compliance with the general conditions attached to grants had never been in doubt regarding the teaching of English (Report, 1935-40, 61). The Covenanter Mission also founded the American Academy for girls in Nicosia in 1922. A government grant was given to schools which were mostly sustained by students' fees. The medium of instruction was English. French was taken by the higher classes as a secondary language. Greeks, Turkish and Armenians were also given instruction in their own language. In addition to those languages, the curriculum included such

subjects as religious instruction and ethics, history, geography, mathematics, science, domestic science, music, physical education and games and penmanship. The final two classes divided into a University Preparatory Stream and Commercial Stream. Streams were combined for some subjects, a few subjects being common or optional to both. In the University Preparatory Section, students prepared for London University General Certificate of Education. Students of the Commercial stream studied for the London Chamber of Commercial Exams. Additionally, the American Academy at Larnaca prepared students for the American University of Beruit. (CO 67/249/14). Of the 104 who graduated from the American Academy in Larnaca in five years between 1952 and 1957, 31 (about 30%) went abroad for higher education (Kouros, 1959, 223).

6.3.5 Shakespeare School

A private Muslim institution for boys and girls, the Shakespeare School had a wide variety of students that ranged from infants through to Elementary and some Lycee school teachers taking summer courses in English. It was staffed by the proprietor and a number of unqualified and underpaid girls. It tended to rely on old fashioned English text books, whose language and subject matter are largely unsuitable. School grants came from Evkaf and in 1939 and 1940 the school was given a grant by the British Council, a donation that was never repeated (Report, 1936-40, 35).

6.3.6 Mitsis Commercial School, Lemithou

A school for boys, the Mitsis Commercial School was well endowed with trust funds and required no government support. The method of teaching was in English under an English headmaster and the students generally had little difficulty in finding good employment. A number of students were sent to the teaching training college between 1936 and 1940 and had apparently been very successful there (Report, 1936-40, 28). The

Mitsis school was reported to be quite notable in that students held a good reputation and frequently found employment in agriculture, forestry, police and other rural occupations (Report, 1948, 27).

While the English School and American Academies were centrally academic focused with a natural emphasis on the teaching of English, some of the private initiatives did offer students an alternative to this offering more practical courses that led to employment. It could be argued that this gave the students of Cyprus more freedom and opportunity, particularly for those who were less academically minded. However, the general policy of grants and financial aid from the British administration continued to come at the price of the increase in a more Anglicized curriculum, no matter what the nature of the school.

The Second World War had a profound effect on educational policy during the early 1940s. In 1941, due to large evacuations, many schools were partially disorganized for quite a few months with restrictions in staffing and school buildings. Indeed by 1942-43, certain buildings were being used for military purposes and would continue to do so up until 1946 (Report 1942-45, 10). In many cases this occupation of school buildings impaired the efficient organization of elementary education.

The number of elementary schools and new school buildings continued to be provided in all but the smallest villages. Whenever practical, small neighbouring village schools continued to be grouped together. Within secondary education, the most significant feature was the rate of the increase in enrollment at a time when development was very difficult for both the Education Department and Committees of Management for each religious denomination. Again, during 1942-43, there was a problem of accommodation arising out of the evacuation of ten schools from towns. As before, some schools were amalgamated and the number of schools registered was lower than in 1938-39 (Report 1942-45, 14)

Furthermore, although there was a steady increase in enrollment for both boys and girls, this could be mainly due to the increase in the general population. In 1941, large sums of money were put into Cyprus for war bonuses and the preparation of defense: jobs were provided and with money, parents could send their children to school (Report, 1942-45, 295). World War II did produce a big change in Cyprus with regard to the enrollment of girls. In the Report of Education 1942-45, the Director of Education reported a 48% increase in boys attendance since 1938-9, eclipsed by a 116% increased in girls enrollment. He stated that this increase "indicates a profound social revolution accelerated during the war years and emphasizes a new appreciation of a cultural and liberal education" (Report, 1942-45, 14). Despite this progressive move and improvement, such success brought with it, its own problems. Although the number of school mistresses was increased by 18% in the same period, the shortage of teachers for girls remained a problem. Girls continued to follow the same curriculum as boys and were often taught by school masters rather than mistresses, a situation favourable to neither the education department nor students' parents.

To argue that educational changes made under the British colonial government in secondary schools was slow is somewhat of an understatement when regarding the school curriculum of the mid 1940s and subsequent Education Acts that followed. For example, the central school for Greek Orthodox Cypriots (as now termed since the 1935 Law), the Pan-Cyprian Gymnasium in Nicosia followed a curriculum in 1945-46 that was not only still patterned after the Gymnasiums of Greece and approved by the Ministry of Education for Greece (Weir, 1952, 123) but can be seen as an almost direct replica. Both secondary schools taught the following subjects: religion (or Scripture), ancient and modern Greek, Latin, French, mathematics, sciences (physics and chemistry in Cyprus), history, geography, philosophy, gymnastics, singing (music in Cyprus), drawing and penmanship (Weir, 1952, 24). The only additional subjects included in the Cypriot Gymnasium are history of Cyprus, which is only given one lesson a week in the 6th year; cosmology, hygiene and English, which is given four times a week from the 2nd year onwards (three classes of English are given

in the 1st year). Although the number of lessons do differ between the schools of Cyprus and of Greece, fundamentally the school's curriculum is the same, after 57 years of British colonial rule and so called educational reforms. As Weir (1952, 125) points out, furthermore, the arts and crafts subjects are given little time-tabled attention and the emphasis remains on "text-book learning" where students are required to learn material by rote. This is the curriculum followed by each of the Gymnasiums in the large towns of Cyprus at the time, with the exception of the one in Larnaca, which changed into a Commercial School in 1911 (Ibid, 125).

As stipulated in the 1935 Law, more aid was given to schools that cooperated with the colonial government. In 1939, the Gymnasium in Limassol and Famagusta adjusted their curriculum to suit the requirements of the colonial authorities in exchange for funding. Less attention was given to religion or scripture with only one class a week prescribed for every year (Ibid, 126). Similarly, compared to the Pan-Cyprian Gymnasiums, the curriculum at Famagusta scheduled more classes for mathematics and English and less time on ancient and Modern Greek and Latin, highlighting the differences in loyalties of both schools. However, a substantial number of schools refrained from exchanging their classical heavy curriculum for the modifications required from the British government. In fact, despite demands for a more practical curriculum, in the Colonial Reports for education throughout the years under British occupation (for example, 1908, 1917, 1934), little had been done by the mid 20th century.

The futility of these recommendations as well as the painstakingly slow development of educational reforms can be seen in the 1949 Education Law which, 14 years later, revised the conditions laid out in the 1935 Law. This was perhaps to appease the general outcry the original Act had stirred among the Greek Orthodox church, who continued to demand freedom of education from colonial control. While still maintaining significant control of the elementary and secondary schools, the new 1949 curriculum did expand on certain specific issues connected to identity. The revised law did make its objectives clearer than in 1935, highlighting the importance of "moral

education and the building up of character" (Spyridakis, 1954, 22). Although the British government is careful not to mention any national consciousness of Greece or Turkey, its aims appear to look forward to a more united sense of a Cypriot identity. For instance, it was proposed in a report on General Certificate Examinations in 1950 that the geography syllabus started to include details of Cyprus and its position in relation to the Mediterranean and surrounding countries as well as include map reading exercises based on Cyprus (CO 67/365/9, 50). Again, Spyridakis (1954, 22) views this as detracting from the importance of the motherlands and the sense of a Greek national consciousness that is, by right, an integral part of Greek Cypriot history. He also attacks changes to history subject that, under the 1949 Law expanded a little to include details of Greek history, but by no means to the extent of providing information that would "promote the national consciousness of the pupils" but instead merely served to "create colourless cosmopolitans" (Ibid, 23). Spyridakis's dissatisfaction is penetrable and perhaps gives a good indication of the anti-colonial feeling and discontent certain factions in the Greek Cypriot community felt, as well as within the Turkish community in the early 1950s.

However, educationally it is important to grasp the reality of Britain's reforms within schools in Cyprus and the actual consequence that such Laws had on the students attending these schools. For example, with regard to the continual demand for a more practical curriculum: it was in 1893 that the first Gymnasium in Nicosia was established. The curriculum adopted was deeply classical and founded on the same lines as the Gymnasiums in Greece. This curriculum was followed for the next 56 years until, in 1949, a commercial branch was added, offering subjects that were more vocational in their content. Similarly, as we have explored, the secondary curriculum followed by the Turkish Lycee introduced little change from the early 20th century to the mid 1920s. Furthermore, Weir (1952, 82) highlights that this general direction continued throughout the mid 20th century with the curriculum of the Turkish Muslim Lycee of Cyprus adhering to the program followed in the secondary schools of Turkey.

Moreover, while school enrollment and the number of secondary schools radically increased over the years – there were 48 secondary schools by 1951 (Report,1951, 34) – only 16% of the population of secondary school age were registered in schools (Cyprus Census, 1946 in Weir, 1952, 61). Such a significantly small percentage reflects negatively on the colonial government's aims and objectives regarding secondary schooling in Cyprus.

It is important to state that all was not lost however, and by the time Sleight published the Report of Education for 1953, although the classical curriculum still dominated the secondary schools of Turkish and Greek schools, most secondary curriculums included some, however small, element of commercial subjects (Report, 1953-54, 14). This was mainly attributed to the Secondary Education (Amendment) law of 1952 and saw a gradual increase over the early 1950s (Ibid, 15). Different forms of commercial education were in use in different schools, for example, sometimes a general education was provided with a bias towards commercial subjects; some schools had separate commercial sections; and some included a few subjects within another general curriculum (Ibid, 14). These commercial subjects included classes in type-writing, shorthand and book-keeping and generally prepared students for the London Chamber of Commerce (Report, 1951-52, 16), of which, a relatively small number of students passed (Report, 1953-54, 15). Bearing this in mind, it can be seen that the curriculum, whilst improving on the range and number of schools that included some kind of commercial training, was still heavily influenced by British attainments in examinations that again ignored Cypriot local needs. Progress had been made, but again the development was marginal when considering the 66 years it had been under the influence of colonial control. Furthermore, the Colonial Reports, while partly blaming the lack of funds available for the slow rate of progress of secondary education on the island, also were quick to blame the Greek nationalists for their role in restricting educational development "as a result of the unwillingness of the Greeks to jeopardize the independence of their schools" (Colonial Report, 1954-56, 2). Again, divisions were deepened and responsibility placed on the lack of cooperation from the Cypriots' themselves.

The latter half of the 1950s witnessed civil unrest that was to be the forerunner to events that led to independence in 1960 and the end to colonial rule in Cyprus. Educationally, although schools outwardly functioned more or less on the same lines, there were often political disruptions and no real development of the curriculum was made. Schools were often closed and re-opened, classes were often disrupted by the issue of leaflets by illegal organizations and students were often expelled or withdrew (Report 1957-58, 7). Indeed, according the details of the Five Year Development Plan, 1955-1960, the administration appeared to be back tracking on its policy to attempt to influence secondary education. In a paper discussing the current influence of Greece and Turkey, the British administration stated that "it is not practical [...] or desirable to try to introduce any change of curriculum. It is possible to give a sound education within the framework of the present curriculum in spite of its obvious defects" (CO 926/168, 7). Britain was aware their strong hold over education was no longer functional and all but given up on attempting to influence secondary curriculum.

The proposals for the development of Technical Education during the years 1955-1960 were a little more promising and appeared finally to be addressing an issue that had long been desired within Cyprus. In the Five Year Development Plan Proposal the government blamed the lack of progress in the technical field of education on "public apathy [...] there was more prestige in commerce" (CO 926/168, 24). It seems highly contradictory that colonial reports throughout the British administration repeatedly claimed that subjects were required to address the "local needs" yet at the same time the government continually did nothing to provide for this gap in Cypriot life and industry. Instead it appeared to encourage the classical, heavily academic syllabus which, at the very most for the small number of students that were successful in graduating from these schools, served to produce a workforce for the bureaucratic, white collar colonial administration. Once again, the Cypriot voice was not heard, and not only that, was actually blamed for lack of progress in the technical sphere. The 1955-60 Development Plan aimed "towards a vocational objective which is not too narrow to reconcile with the broader purposes of secondary education" (Ibid,

24) and in doing so proposed a three phase division of education for post elementary boys. This included a Preparatory Technical School which would serve as a secondary school as well as a two year preparatory course for those students who wanted to continue with this kind of education. Secondly, there would be a Technical Trade School offering a three year course which would include more emphasis on specific trades as well as science and mathematics if desired. Thirdly would be the post-secondary school known as the Technical Institute which would offer courses for engineering and craftsmen employed the industry (CO 926/168, 305; MED 81/1/03). Theoretically, these proposals are promising and would have served Britain in Cyprus well during war times. However, like most of the policies and proposals of the final era of British occupation, it could be argued these proposals came too late, not perhaps as legacies to the future of Cyprus and further education, but for the respect, appraisal and esteem that Britain so often held itself in within its colonial rule of the island.

By 1958, a separate Office of Turkish-Cypriot Education was established with its own Chief Education Officer and general reorganization began to make for the transference of power. Similarly, a Greek Cypriot Education (Transitional Arrangements) Law was passed in 1959 which looked to reorganizing staff of all educational committees (Report, 1959, 47). Britain's job was over.

6.4 Conclusion

Examining the history of colonial influence on the curriculum development of the Cypriot educational system through out the British occupation, it can be seen that change has been arduously slow. Britain's political interests cannot be ignored: her pre-occupation with the strategic position of Cyprus in the early 1800s appears to take precedence over any real objective to provide any real effort into Cyprus' education system and that the islands' needs were neglected as a result. The latter years of the 19th century witnessed little progress as Cyprus' educational reforms became

swamped in British bureaucracy and strategic politics, where educational reports merely repeated the Island's problems annually without any real application or commitment to solve these issues. Such imperialism often presented the very image of momentary achievements of hope over the actual reality.

While developments took on a more definitive direction for elementary education, secondary education was somewhat stagnant and was left largely to the two dominant religious groups. The real change came in the 1930s with new controls and steps taken towards centralization that aimed at bringing the two groups under a more central, and indeed English, control. In doing so, the colonial government hoped to disconnect or at least reduce the strong ties each ethnic group fell so strongly towards their motherlands.

The slow progress of the early years of this decade can be partly attributed to the political conflict prevalent in Cyprus at the time of British occupation. The fact that religious leaders in Cyprus were previously looked at as political leaders too, despite tolerance being a strict policy of the British Government, opposition to change has been strong in the context of the deep rooted traditions of the Greek and Turkish background. The political situation has prevented progress of the movement within education in Cyprus as the British Government were met with a feeling of suspicion regarding intentions to cut links between the Greeks and Turks and their respective heritages.

The irony is not lost: although little was achieved in real terms of change in a curriculum context, the secondary education system did feed the minds of the young revolutionists who waged war against the colonial rulers in the riots of 1931 and the civil unrest between 1955 and 1959 that eventually led to Cyprus' independence in 1960. It could be argued that despite the changes being implemented painfully slowly, by the time the British left the Island, more secondary schools with a commercial and practical curriculum were beginning to open, setting the trend for development and progress in this area for future generations. It was time for

the people of Cyprus to take control, to examine, explore, recommend and actually execute at last local, and indeed their own, educational needs.

CHAPTER 7

COMPARISON OF ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION

7.1 Comparison

As has been examined, when Britain occupied Cyprus in 1878, both elementary and secondary education was of a very limited standard. The administration of both the Turkish Muslim and Greek Christian schools were under the jurisdiction of respective religious leaders, who were, at the time, often seen by the people as the political leaders as well. Preserving this religious and ethnic divide, the central aim of the colonial government in Cyprus was to gradually centralize both administrations and to a certain extent Anglicized the curricula of both elementary and secondary education. While successfully centralizing the elementary system of both Turkish and Greek schools through a series of education acts, the colonial authorities were relatively successful in influencing elementary education on the island. Comparatively, partly due to the lack of British effort and partly due to the nationalistic patriotism towards Greece and Turkey felt by the Cypriot leaders and people, the British were unable to penetrate the secondary school system in quite the same way. As has been discussed, the administration did not hold a great interest in secondary education until the civil disruptions of 1931. Indeed, a succinct summary of education made by a British headmistress, Miss G Williams, on a visit to the island in 1953 perhaps summarizes the differences between elementary and secondary education at the time:

> *"After six years of what can be, and mostly are, the green pastures of Primary education, the boys and girls go into an intellectual desert for six years." (CO 926/55)*

In terms of administrative policy, the comparisons are substantial. In elementary schools the government was responsible for selecting, training, appointing and dismissing, paying, transferring and allocating pensions to all elementary teachers; it prescribed the curriculum and the text books to be

used; it gave grants towards the payment of other charges in all schools; and it had the authority to examine, amend and approve of estimates of expenditure for Town School Committees and Village Commissions. On the other hand, within secondary schools, the government had no absolute control over any of these matters (CO926/168, 9). The Secondary Education Law of 1923 never provided for the constitution of a governing body over secondary education. For the Greek Cypriot schools, governing bodies for the town schools (for example, Gymnasiums of Nicosia, Larnaca, Famagusta, Limassol, Paphos and Kyrenia and the Commercial Lyceum of Larnaca) seemed to assume office, some were elected by an undefined electorate and most largely depended upon the appointment of the Bishop. In 1952, the government introduced the Public-Aided secondary schools which provided an inter-connected approach for the appointment of governing bodies by the Governor, however, there was only one Greek Public-Aided school, the others remaining loyal and steadfast to Greek autonomy (CO 926/168, 10). The only other schools outside the 1952 Education Law that the British government had secured control of was the English Schools by the purchase from the school proprietor and the Mitsis School, by an exact stipulation in the Trust Deed under which the school was founded (Ibid, 10). In 1956 there were forty four Greek secondary schools and the government controlled the governing bodies of nine of them including six town schools, Polemi High School (Public-Aided), the English School and the Mitsis (CO 926/157, 2). However, while the government controlled the appointment of governing bodies, it had little influence on their actual activities. This is obvious not only in the rejection by all bodies of the government's Public-Aided scheme but also the active role the schools took in the support of Enosis (CO 926/ 168, 10). It is interesting to see how much more actively the Turkish governing bodies co-operated with the government. Following the 1952 Education Law when separate governing bodies were appointed for the schools of each town, the government retained the power of appointment. In 1956 there were twelve secondary schools managed by eight governing bodies of which seven were appointed by government and only one of these refuted the Public-Aided scheme (CO 926/168, 11). This cooperation between the British administration and the Turkish Cypriots, as

has been explored, stemmed from and indeed increased through the late 1950s from a fear of a Greek Cypriot uprising and inevitable Enosis that would ensue. By and large, while the government continually strived to increase its administrative control over secondary schooling throughout the island, the method of control through grants-in-aid was ineffective.

Regarding both elementary and secondary education, as has been explored, little was done in terms of curriculum development in the late 1800s. Both the Turkish Muslims and Greek Christians had relative freedom in deciding what was taught in their schools which was fundamentally of a religious and classical nature respectively with heavy influence from the curricula followed in Turkey and Greece. By the 1905 Act, the British began to really reduce the powers of the clergy and the Maarif encumens which meant that important aspects regarding elementary education like the appointment of teachers, teachers' salaries and the collection of taxes were under the control of the colonial authorities. These were increased under the Education Laws of 1920 and 1923. While increasing the British powers over administerial matters regarding elementary education, the curriculum continued to be founded on the principles of the schools in Greece with emphasis on Scripture and classical education for the Greek Christian Cypriots and subjects heavily tied to the Koran with only the basics of reading, writing and arithmetic being taught in the Turkish Muslim schools.

The Greek Christian schools were often praised by the British for the comparatively varied curriculum of the classical schools which included subjects like history, geography, drawing, needlework (for girls) and physical training. Although interference into secondary education on the island was still minimal at this time, there was still an identifiable gap in both elementary and secondary curricula for more practical subjects. Both curricula were seen as theoretically based and did not allow for the development of any other educational or vocational options other than completing courses for either Athens or Istanbul further education establishments.

The riots of 1931 were the catalyst for serious educational reform, initially for elementary education and subsequently for secondary in 1935. In an effort to curb national feelings towards Turkey and Greece, Britain began to restrict the context of learning in schools introducing the importance of Empire to the curriculum and rituals rather than the identities to the motherlands. As already discussed, national flags and celebrations were restricted or forbidden; history subjects were confined and geography lessons omitted certain maps or geographical ties with other islands. English was a priority and increased lessons were rewarded with more funding, something all schools of Cyprus continually needed. Changes to the curriculum also meant that for the first time, Greek and Turkish Cypriot students would be taught the same curriculum which detracted the nationalistic ties with those of Greece and Turkey.

In regards to girls' education, progress was slow. By 1940, the education of elementary level boys and girls could hardly be differentiated. Except for the large elementary schools in the towns, almost all schools were mixed. As a result, boys and girls curricula were more or less the same with a few exceptions including needlework, embroidery and knitting for the girls in place of other types of handwork in school gardens for boys. Similar organization was made in the larger mixed schools, often with hygiene and, in Muslim schools, religious instruction being taught separately. With these small divisions, there was little differentiation in the timetable for girls and boys. Unlike in the secondary schools, domestic science was absent from elementary schools mostly due to lack of suitably qualified female teachers available. However, in most high schools in the big towns, distinction between girls and boys curriculum was limited (Report, 1936-40, 76). The Victoria School for Girls, Nicosia was the only secondary school for Muslim girls and was run by the same governing body as the Muslim Lycee, which had undergone a thorough re-organization in the late 1930s. The school was elevated to a six class secondary school with eight mistresses and ninety-four students, concentrating on domestic science subjects and physical education under Miss B.A. Bullen. She died in 1939 however, and was replaced by a new English headmistress who tended to favour academic

subjects. Unfortunately, most of the local mistresses in the school were inadequately trained (Report, 1936-40, 77). More optimistically, the Commercial Lyceum at Larnaca had a "flourishing" girls department with its curriculum having been readdressed at the same time as the boys. It reduced the number of classes of subjects like English, mathematics and science and tended to focus on other languages such as French, the arts and domestic science, which was taught by a mistress trained in English (Ibid, 78). By and large, in all other towns and villages, no special provisions were made to curriculum for girls specifically and many girls had to attend and indeed follow that of a very male-dominated syllabus in both elementary and secondary spheres.

The 1949 Law amended that of 1935 and a visible re-direction from the religious nature of both elementary and secondary schools could be seen. Less time was given to religious classes and subjects like science, nature study and hygiene were given regular fixtures on the school timetables. This pattern developed throughout the 1950s with more emphasis on subjects like domestic science and commercial training. The curriculum in commercial schools was widely verbal in content and included subjects like shorthand and typing; more arithmetic in mathematics; it was proposed that history would be centred around industrial development; and art would include commercial art. The aim of these schools was not entirely vocational but instead more cultural (CO 67/365/9, 58). Finally, after over 62 years of colonial rule, the curriculum appeared to be making tentative changes for both school systems. No longer were students restricted to learning the classical and religious curricula of Greece and Turkey that bore little relevance to their own Cypriot-specific history, geographical position, language and local needs. Furthermore, more options were emerging for students going on to post-primary education. No longer were students restricted to secondary grammar schools with emphasis only on heavy academic subjects of English, modern languages and classics where the style of teaching relied on the verbal approach with a lot of book work. A variety of schools were gradually becoming available: Technical secondary schools offered subjects like applied mathematics, science, mechanical

drawing, practical work in wood or metal or domestic science; methods of teaching would be of a more practical and participant nature. Commercial schools would include English, modern languages, commercial arithmetic, science as well book keeping. Junior Technical schools provide a more practical education for boys and girls including applied mathematics and science, mechanical drawing, hygiene, housewifery, practical work in wood or metal, cookery or laundry and other craft work like music and art. The methods used in these schools would be at a slower pace than in the bookish character of the grammar schools with more time spent on practical activities.

Moreover, there were finally distinctions between the needs of girls and boys, particularly in the senior schools. These schools would offer a different syllabus to cater for each sex separately. For instance, English, music and physical training were taught to both boys and girls with the addition of practical arithmetic (graphical methods and use mechanical aids), practical science (for example, in relation to practice in industry), practical work in wood and metal, general craft, art (design and poster work) for boys. Girls were offered domestic arithmetic, science (biology, domestic electricity and chemistry), domestic science (cooking and laundry), housewifery or nursing or mother-craft, and art (applied to domestic spheres). The methods used in both the boys and girls schools were designed to involve practice in the home and had a much more practical nature. (CO 67/365/9, 63)

Educational advancement and development for both Turkish and Greek Cypriots came at a cost of a true sense of a united Cypriot identity. Since the Ottoman rule of 1571, the Cyprus conflict had always been identity based between East and West with both groups embedded in a religious identity of either Muslim or Christian. However, analysis of the Cyprus problem is limited when looked at through this restrictive religious discourse as the East/Muslim ethnicity and religion is so often analyzed through Western European constructs and was used within the political domain, which served Britain's façade for power and global control only too well. Within both communities, education was sacred rather than secular (with the Archbishop and Mufti being in control), a common denominator that could

have served Cyprus well in creating a united identity while celebrating cultural differences. However, as British colonialism spread its influence within the education system and structure of Cyprus, the religious divisions within education became increasingly linked to ethnic nationalism. While motherland imports such as teachers, books and maps were used to maintain the separatist policies of the British, national identities were constantly being repressed, reapplied and generally inconsistent with an official definition of what being Cypriot (Turkish or Greek) actually meant.

7. 2 Language

Historically, the Greek and Turkish Cypriots have been distinguished by religion and language. Both communities were autocephalous: the Greek Archbishop and the Muslim Mufti held religious power as well as incredibly political influence. This relationship between religion and politics has been examined in detail. The question of language however, is yet another complex layer of the Cypriot problem that should be addressed. The spoken language of the Greek Cypriots was officially Katharevousa, an artificial and archaic language which was a mixture of gospel, ancient and Modern Greek but which Cypriot children or the general population neither understood nor spoke. The local Greek Cypriots spoke in a corrupted version known as "dhimotiki" (Byrant in Faustmann & Peristianis, 2006, 83). Under the 1935 Education Law, the language syllabus for Greek elementary schools included these two forms of Greek and which was still used in secondary schools, universities and employed in newspaper writing. Prior to 1923 when the Latin alphabet was introduced by Ataturk, the Turkish language also had a different alphabet consisting of thirty three letters and had a large number of Arabic and Persian words that similarly were not understood by the Cypriot children. In fact, Turkish Cypriots had very limited access to Ottoman Turkish, which was often employed for the bureaucratic functions of the state. However, the reality of the Cypriot situation whereby both communities had lived side by side for centuries before the arrival of the British was that the Turkish and Greek Cypriots spoke in a vernacular dialect with very distinctive

pronounciation that was a distorted version of dhimotiki. As the languages of Katharevousa Greek and Ottoman Turkish were frequently used in newspapers and articles, further divisions within Cypriot society were created, for example, Byrant highlights the partition of the educated elite and the villager, the latter representing the Cypriot public, yet paradoxically and simultaneously having no voice in which to be heard (Ibid, 81). From this complex mixture and amalgamations of language, it could be argued that Britain's policy of divide and rule within education was made easier as the medium of instruction would only serve to divide the two groups even further. Furthermore, educational progress was slow as many of the early years of elementary education, particularly for young Turkish Cypriots in villages, was confined to the repetition of the teachers or textbooks' unfathomable and rather meaningless complicated words. It could be argued that by restricting such access to language to both Greek and Turkish Cypriots, the British restricted the people of Cyprus to only ever being educated far enough to merely work for the British administration, thus successfully implementing a colonial discourse that allowed very few gain control. As British administrative control increased, the more language and education became politically entwined.

7.3 Conclusion

Although it can be seen that the British government managed to infiltrate Cypriot elementary education with substantial success in the gradual but complete centralization of the administration, it was not so successful in its endevours towards secondary education. In fact, until 1935, little had been done within the secondary curriculum of both ethnic groups. Rather ironically, while it was secondary education that required the most attention and development when the British arrived on the island, it was the sphere of education that received the least. It is perhaps of no surprise then that it was in these secondary institutions where both Turkish and Greek nationalism really bore fruit, which inevitably led to the political disruptions that plagued

the colonial government throughout its reign and would ultimately end in the severing of British control.

The British policy of continual educational division actually helped create ethno-nationalisms and helped fuel the subsequent empowerment of resistance for both groups. Although it is apparent that Cypriots placed a high value on education, this development was confined only within the context of being Greek or Turkish. Indeed, it would appear that within a curricula context, for the most part, this served as a forum in which all parties (the British administration, the Greek and Turkish Committees and educational authorities, and the Church and Mosque) all sought to construct national identities. At what cost remains to be seen. What is apparent is the extent to which Cyprus is an example of just how inextricably linked and entwined education systems, both at elementary and secondary level, are to politics on a local, regional and indeed international degree.

CHAPTER 8

INTERVIEWS

This part of the research attempts to reveal the influence and consequences of the British Colonial Policies on Education, focussing on the Curriculum and its aims in the 20th Century. The emphasis is more on the opinion the recipients of Education have concerning the Education system they went through and its success or failure as seen by them rather than the aims and goals as set by the Administrators and Educators.

8. 1 Methodology

8.1.1 Sample

The participants in the study comprised 10 Turkish Cypriots and 10 Greek Cypriots. The researcher used the maximum variation as a sampling strategy. Patton (1987) highlighted that the maximum variation sampling helps researchers in selecting a small sample with great diversity. The maximum variation sampling strategy enabled the researcher to work with Greek and Turkish Cypriot participants with different demographic characteristics such as gender, village they lived in and schools they attended during their primary and secondary education.

The Turkish Cypriot sample interviewed for the purpose of this article ranged between the ages of 71 and 93 years. Slightly over half of them (60%) were born in villages and 40% were born in the urban areas of the time. The overwhelming majority attended their local primary school but they continued on

to attend the Victoria Girls' School in Larnaca, The American Academy for Boys in Iskele (Larnaca) and The English School.

The Greek Cypriot sample interviewed for the purpose of this article ranged between the ages of 64 and 83 years. The vast majority of them (80%) were born in villages and only 20% were born in the urban areas of the time. Half of the interviewees who went on to the secondary school attended the Greek Gymnasia, 40% attended either the English School or the American Academy whereas 10% attended a private Commercial-Vocational College.

8.1.2 Data collection and analysis procedures

In this study, two types of human sources were used, namely the Turkish and Greek-Cypriots as participants, who were randomly chosen depending on their willingness to be interviewed. The researcher primarily collected data through semi-structured interviews to allow the interviewees to focus on the issues under investigation. The semi-structured interviews took ranging from 20 minutes to 1 hour and 8 minutes depending on how much each participant remembered. The researcher tried to elicit information about the participants' experiences and perspectives on their primary and secondary education by asking open-ended questions without imposing certain framework and thus threatening validity.

In this study, the qualitative method was used. The researcher used interviews and written sources to collect data, which served to increase reliability. The greatest emphasis for data collection was placed in the interview data, information collected through 10 interview questions such as "What were your schools' main subjects in the primary and secondary education during the

British Education? Was English taught in your school? How much emphasis was put on this as a subject? Did your school celebrate national days of the "motherland" countries?". The data obtained was thematically coded. The researcher recorded the interviews and quoted ideas verbatim where relevant to highlight the nature of the participants' primary and secondary education. Primary and secondary written documentation such as education materials from British, Greek and Turkish Cypriot national archives are used to facilitate the understanding of the participants' perspectives. After the interviews, the researcher also had the chance to carry out observations in the villages where the participants' school still exist with the participants.

8.2 Results

8.2.1 Turkish Cypriots

As far as nationalism in school is concerned, only 10% of the interviewees said that their primary school was nationalistic since it was located in a Turkish-only area. The remaining 90% stated that there was no nationalism in their primary school, more particularly, they mentioned that there were not nationalistic feelings; they were just children doing their studies. In the secondary school, all interviewees stated that they were not allowed to display any national or nationalistic tendencies, especially in the 1930s. The English or American Head Teachers did not allow any national emblems such as flags, pictures or maps of the "motherlands", i.e. Greece and Turkey and if such were discovered in the possession of the students or the teachers, they would be expelled or dismissed from the school, respectively. Also, the British administration had forbidden school textbooks to be imported from the motherlands in an effort to curb nationalistic feelings in the student population. Finally, students were not allowed to sing the national anthems of the

motherlands. On the contrary, they were encouraged to sing the British National Anthem, *"God Save the King/Queen"*, and all the lessons were conducted in English. However, during the last years of British Colonial times in Cyprus, the nationalistic feelings between the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots began to manifest in tension within the school environment usually through nasty teasing.

When asked about the main subjects at primary and secondary school, slightly different responses from the interviewees were elicited, mainly due to the fact that they are of advanced age and their memories are hazy due to the passage of time. However, it is the view of this article that if one collects all these fragments of memory, one may be able to form some kind of picture of what the curriculum of that time was. The vast majority of the interviewees when asked about their Primary education, mentioned Turkish lessons, that is, reading, writing, grammar and calligraphy, mathematics, history and geography of Cyprus, and religious studies. Some also mentioned PE, science and English. The secondary education of all the interviewees included all the subjects found in Primary education and it was along similar lines. Since the interviewees all attended English-speaking secondary schools, they received some lessons in their mother tongue but the language medium for all the other subjects was English. All subjects were compulsory both in Primary and Secondary schools with the exception of music and art in the Lycee level (15-18 year-olds). Also, girls were instructed in sewing and Home Economics, subjects usually favoured by the weaker students. In the same vein, boys were instructed in book keeping and commerce in preparation for their future professional life. Finally, in the first year of the Lycee, the students of one community were obligated to learn the basics of the language of the other community.

English was greatly emphasised in the Cypriot educational system under the British administration. The language was not generally taught in the primary level with the exception of the 5th and 6th Year classes in large schools in the urban areas. However, in the secondary level, the lessons ranged from 2 hours per week to daily periods of instruction. Half of the sample population responded that the emphasis was justified because "*the young students wanted to secure a well-paid job after their graduation and more specifically to enter the civil sector of the British administration*". To achieve that, they had to pass the Cyprus Certificate exams which included the English Language. Furthermore, 20% of the interviewees mentioned that the instruction of the English language also benefitted the agenda the British had to make the Cypriot population adapt to British culture and nationalistic ideas. Finally, the remaining 30% of the respondents did not mention reasons behind the instruction of the language; they just mentioned the hours of instruction.

All the interviewees agree on the fact that their Primary level schools did not have mixed nationality teachers. Schools of the Greek Cypriot community had Greek Cypriot teachers whereas the Turkish Cypriot schools had Turkish Cypriot teachers. In the secondary education level, the schools maintained teachers according to their ties to a specific community, however, the administration, that is, the Head Teachers were of English or American origin. Furthermore, an overwhelming majority claims that the teachers had a rather old-fashioned teacher-centred approach to instructing students. Most teachers stood at the front of the classroom from where they lectured the students who were listening passively. Only a modest 10% of the sample population mentioned the rather innovative for its time biology lesson where the teacher used a mannequin whose organs could be removed and the students could see inside a human body. Another 10% claimed that the main mission of the teachers was not only to impart facts and figures but also to teach ethics and build character. Finally, a 20% of the interviewees justified the stilted teaching approaches of the teachers by mentioning the fact that *"the educators of that*

time did not have proper training and they lacked the pedagogical and psychological knowledge that would enable them to enrich their lessons and fulfill the students' educational need". However, the teachers were willing to work hard and this work was what made the difference in the eyes of their students.

The gender of the students was not so important when the children were in the Primary school level. Therefore, the overwhelming majority of the village schools and the schools in most urban areas were co-educational for boys and girls. However, the secondary education was divided into the Victoria Girls' School and the American Academy and the English School for Boys. The vast majority of the students mentioned that such a separation did not influence their studies or their lives. However, some male participants mentioned that as young students they passed by the Girls' school to see the female students.

Overall, as far as the central aim of the curriculum is concerned in the social and professional circumstances of the time, the majority of Cypriots wanted to have a good education to be prepared for their future life. That is, they were aiming to acquire the knowledge that would lead to a well-paid job, ideally in the British Administration sector. This is what 70% of the participants recognised as the central aim of the curriculum they followed in their school years. A further 20% stated that the aim of the curriculum was actually to *"divide the Cypriots and they succeeded as they had done in other countries they had conquered. You learnt to look upon the British as rulers and you believed that they were smarter and stronger than you."* However, a very modest 10% stated that the curriculum was not at all politically influenced by the Administration, and *"it was not designed to make you British."* Finally, a 60% of the sample population claimed that the aim of the curriculum was successful in what it set out to do, even in its nationalistic direction.

Cyprus, as an island, has received the influence of many other nations but the ones that left the deepest marks are the Greeks, Turkish and British who were the last to hold the island. As a result, each community had different roots and sought to maintain ties with their motherland culture. As previously mentioned, the British administration did not allow any manifestations of nationalistic feelings in the schools. Therefore, the response of 70% of the participants that "*there were no celebrations connected with Turkey*" is not at all surprising. A 30% of the respondents, however, mentioned that there were some holidays from Turkey which they were allowed to celebrate at their schools. These were the Children's Day on 23rd April, the Youth and Sports Day on the 19th May and, of course, the religious Bayram Days. Half of the sample population stated that the school children would celebrate British national days, such as the Sovereign's birthday and Victoria Day, and they would sing the British National Anthem. As one participant said *"We didn't mind, it was something we took for granted. We were children and we liked the celebrations because that way we would miss lessons."* Finally, 10% of the respondents mentioned that there was punishment if they failed to observe the rules regarding abstinence from Turkish celebrations and participation in the British ones.

On the question on how important the Muslim religion was in the household, the Turkish Cypriot respondents were divided into three categories. The first category, which claimed that religion did not have a lot of importance in their home, reached 50%. The second category, which claimed that religion had some importance but not very much, reached 30%. These people maintained that they were respectful of the rituals of their faith and they occasionally attended Friday prayers at the mosque. What is surprising, though, is that in that category we find a participant whose father was an Imam, a priest of the Muslim faith, who, however, was a Kemalist and a follower of the secular practices of Kemal Atatürk. The third category, at 20%, was that of the people who had an upbringing heavily influenced by religion at home. For instance, we

find a participant whose grandmother worshipped five times a day according to the religious tenets and read the Koran. We also find a person whose father had employed a special teacher to instruct his children on their religion at home.

The presence of religion in the Primary education was through the subject of Religious Studies which was in the curriculum. Half of the respondents in the interview mentioned this particular subject but they also added that its instruction was not heavily religious. More particularly, they stated that they felt free to practise their religion while they felt no pressure to conform to others' ideas. At Primary school, the students were taught the basic principles of the Muslim faith and some prayers. In their words, *"there was no conservatism, no pressure."* However, religion in the secondary school was differentiated. In some schools, the subject of Religious studies was stopped but it was substituted with weekly visits to the mosque every Friday for prayers. Some of these schools made this weekly attendance obligatory, failure to be present punishable with detention. Others were more relaxed and they did not instruct their students to attend every Friday but rather some Fridays. 20% of the respondents mentioned that they had Religious Studies lessons at secondary level as well. Some of them mentioned that the lessons were not so much religious but rather they aimed to make the students good citizens with ethics and principles. However, some others were more religious in their outlook and they mentioned both lessons at school with an end-of-the-year exam on which a student's promotion to the next class depended, and obligatory attendance for Friday prayers at the mosque.

Regarding their identity, half of the participants stated that they feel Turkish Cypriots whereas 20% claim that they are Cypriots. Only 10% emphatically stated that they are Turkish and they consider Turkey their motherland and that they feel nostalgic towards it. 10% did not respond to this part of the questions while a further 10% discounted the identity label "Cypriot",

maintaining that *"it is your background which influences who you are and how you see life".*

Having shared living space for hundreds of years, the two communities had formed ties and had learnt to live together harmoniously as is evidenced by the overwhelming majority of positive responses to the question about the participants' feelings towards Greek Cypriots regarding the period during the British Administration. 80% of the participants stated that they had friendly relations with the Greek-Cypriot community both as children and as young adults. For instance, male participants mentioned the football matches in the streets which both Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot children enjoyed and female participants mentioned visits to homes and invitations to weddings. Only 20% of the respondents claimed that they did not have close relations with the Greek Cypriot community either because they had grown up in a Turkish-only village or *"for no reason at all, it just happened."*

The period after the British Administration appears to be greatly changed. Only 20% of the interviewees maintained good relations with the Greek Cypriot community either because they emigrated to other countries and they were not influenced by the changes in the political climate or due to personal choice. A further 50% of the participants express bitter feelings towards the Greek Cypriot community as they blame them for the friction and the violent episodes towards the Turkish Cypriot community since they were seeking Union with Mainland Greece. Among these, there are some respondents who also blame the British claiming that it was them *"that poisoned the relations between the two communities and achieved the division".* Finally, a 30% either lost contact with the Greek Cypriots due to the movement of populations to the north or to the south of the island or they did not provide an answer to this part of the question.

Upon reflection, 60% of the respondents stated that the education system during the British Administration was good and that they were happy with it and

its results. In their own words, *"we were happy with the system the way it was,"* and *"it was a perfect system [...] the British education system is the best in the world."* Several of these participants mentioned that there was discipline in the school and respect towards the teachers. 20% stated that the system was *"OK"* since there is no such thing as a perfect one and it was adequate for the needs of the students preparing for employment in the British Administration. However, a further 20% stated that the British education system was a bad one for various reasons. Firstly, certain respondents believed that there were hidden agendas in the curriculum since the British Administration prevented the local population from importing books from Turkey or having lessons in their mother tongue. Also, other respondents mentioned that the British did not give enough importance to the education system in Cyprus and the "*Cypriots started learning when the British left.*"

Unanimously, the sample population of this survey responded negatively when asked about the solution to the Cypriot problem. Replies such as *"no light at the end of the tunnel"*, *"not confident"*, *"not optimistic"*, *"nobody can answer"* and *"don't know, only God knows"* were the norm. The reasons behind these answers varied greatly. 40% of the respondents blamed the Greek Cypriot community and their desire to achieve Union with Mainland Greece which would minimize the importance of the Turkish Cypriot community since it reduces them to a very small minority in a predominantly Greek Christian nation. A further 30% accused the foreign powers of Greece, the EU or USA which manipulated the creation of this difficult situation and they are willing to perpetuate it for their own vested interests. Finally, 40% put forward the negative emotions which currently exist between the two communities. More specifically, the respondents state that due to the past bitter experiences and violence which erupted on the island, the two communities feel fear and mistrust towards each other. Having been kept apart for more than three decades and having received nationalistic messages from extremist members of their societies, they have forgotten how to live together as the previous generations were able to do. They no longer have

respect for each other and several participants stated that if the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot were put together into one country again, they would begin fighting because they did not respect each other. Finally, 20% maintained that only by creating two separate states with good relations and close co-operation would Cyprus be able to solve this thorny issue.

8.2.2 Greek Cypriots

The vast majority (82%) of the participants said that there were no nationalistic feelings in school with 45.5% of them emphasizing this lack especially in the Primary level. The reason the respondents mentioned was that at that age, the students were very young and they did not understand if there were political games being played. They were only interested in learning their "*letters and doing well at school*". These same participants, though, mentioned that there were some nationalistic tendencies in the Secondary level with the majority of them stating that it was due to those politically difficult times. The Troubles in the 1950s influenced the education system greatly since the British shut down the schools as many students participated in the fights against the Colonial powers. Also, some respondents mentioned the appearance of the Union with Greece Movement which gave schools a nationalistic feeling. A minority among them claimed that there was nationalism but on the part of the British who did not allow any Greek identity emblems or activities. There was also mention of passive nationalism where an English-speaking school emphasized the preparation for studies in the UK or the USA and in that way directing the students towards the Western culture and viewpoint. Finally, 30% stated that *"there was a certain nationalistic feeling mainly against the British since the Colonial regime did not allow national identity emblems either through rules or by force"*.

Similarly to the Turkish Cypriot interviewees, the Greek-Cypriot respondents gave various answers to the question about the main subjects at school as they are of advanced age and their memories of that time cannot furnish great detail. Having collected, though, these pieces of memory, we were able to reconstruct the curriculum of the Greek Cypriot schools of that time. In the primary schools, the participants' first mention was for the Greek language lessons which comprised of reading, writing, grammar and calligraphy perhaps due to the fact that it was the subject that occupied most of their timetable. They also mentioned History and Geography both of Cyprus, Greece and the East Mediterranean region and Mathematics. A smaller number mentioned Religious Studies and Phytology (study of the flora) as well as English in the Fifth and Sixth Year of Primary for two to three hours per week. An even smaller number mentioned the subject of music. According to the interviewees, all the subjects were set by the Teachers' Association and they were compulsory.

The Secondary level of education in the Greek Cypriot community was divided into two categories. Students could choose to attend the Greek Gymnasium where the medium of instruction was the Greek language and the subjects included Greek – Modern and Ancient – Mathematics, Sciences – Physics and Chemistry – History, Geography and English for four hours per week. Fewer mentioned Religious Studies, Home Economics, Psychology, Latin, French and Political Economics. The respondents also stated that the subjects were compulsory but the students were able to choose the direction they would take in their studies. That is, the Greek Gymnasia were either Practical or Classical. The former, while having all the subjects as set by the curriculum, gave more emphasis to the Sciences and Mathematics and their graduates were able to attend Polytechnic Universities or follow careers in Engineering. The latter emphasised Classical Studies and their graduates could attend Literature and Language courses if they wished to continue their education. The second category is that of the English-speaking schools, the English School in Nicosia and the American Academy. The students who

attended those schools state that the subjects they took were set by the curriculum and very similar to the ones offered by the Greek Gymnasia but the language medium was English while the native languages were taught only for a few hours per week. Also, another difference was that the students were able to choose certain subjects such as music and art while they were much freer in the selection of their GCE subjects.

English was an important addition to the curriculum of schools in Cyprus. Although small primary schools in rural areas did not offer instruction in the language, their larger counterparts – those with more than three teachers in their staff – included English language lessons in the final two years of Primary Education. In the Fifth and Sixth Year, students were obliged to attend lessons in English for two to three hours per week in order to prepare for the Secondary Education curriculum demands. The Secondary level, though, was divided into two categories. The Greek Gymnasia offered between three and five hours of instruction in the language whereas the English School and the American Academy utilized a basic form of Content Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) where the students were taught various subjects with English as the language medium. As a result, not only did the students learn the subject but also improved their English language skills to a great extent. Considering that the students came from primary schools which had offered little to none instruction, the English-speaking schools had a great gap to fill. To achieve that, they obliged their students to go through a very intensive English language programme during their first year of studies so that they would be able to attend the subjects taught in English in the following five years. The reasons given by the respondents behind such emphatic instruction are varied. Slightly more than half (55%) claimed that *"it was necessary for those who wanted to secure a job by entering the civil service immediately after graduating Secondary Education*". A further 35% were more abstract in their viewpoint by saying *that "English was an international language that was used by many people around the world and it would be useful to learn it so that you could communicate and not be isolated".*

Only a 10% mentioned that learning English was useful for those who wanted to study abroad only.

The Greek Cypriot community schools of both levels had Greek or Greek Cypriot teachers in their entirety. In the Primary level, the schools had mostly mixed gender students with the exception of primary schools in areas with larger population where they were able to establish Boys and Girls Schools. If that was the case, then the teachers' gender was according to the students' gender, that is, Boys Schools had male teachers and Girls schools had female teachers. In the Greek Gymnasia, the teachers were a mix of Greek or Greek Cypriot origin whereas in the English-speaking schools, there was a mix of Greek, Greek Cypriots, Turkish, Turkish Cypriots, Armenian, English and American students. Since in those schools the language of instruction was English, the nationality did not affect which teacher would teach which subject. Students in the Secondary Education were separated according to gender and the majority of the respondents claimed they were not affected by this event. Actually, 10% stated that it was better in those days because *"boys are boys"* and if they were far away from girls, they were able to concentrate on their studies better. On the other hand, another 10% stated that they thought this practice had influenced their behaviour towards women and they preferred mixed gender schools. Regarding the teaching methodology, the interviewees were unanimous in their replies. Their teachers favoured the traditional lecturing method where the teacher stands at the front of the classroom and lectures while students listen or make notes of what s/he says. In fact, certain participants stated that some of these teachers were also of the opinion that the teacher should speak only once and if the student did not understand then they had no obligation to repeat themselves and it was the students fault for not understanding in the first place. Generally speaking, the interviewees claimed that they respected their teachers but there were some educators who inspired fear in the children due to their strict rules, their *"sulky faces"* and the punishments they meted out.

Overall as far as the central aim of the curriculum is concerned, the participants' answers varied greatly. The largest percentage of the respondents (30%) replied that the central aim of the curriculum and their schooling was simply to *"learn their letters"* and become educated people in which it was largely successful. Another 25% stated that since they were a British Colony, they were taught in such a way that it would help them *"later to get a job in the British Administration or learn how to communicate and co-operate with the British Authorities"*. They also mentioned that the curriculum and the schooling aimed to make them good, conscientious citizens. A further 20% stated that the aim was to prepare the students to study in universities abroad which was also a success. Moreover, 10% claimed that due to the ban enforced by the British Authorities immediately after the Mutiny of 1931 on books imported from the "motherland countries", the students were obliged to study from copied short passages in their notebooks and as a result the schooling was not particularly successful. What is more, 10% stated that the emphasis of the curriculum in the Secondary level was on Greek and especially Ancient Greek but it did not have a specific agenda, it was more along the lines of emphasizing the Greek identity. Finally, 5% mentioned that they had very good impressions of their English-speaking schools which enabled them to be successful later in life.

As mentioned before, the island of Cyprus has very strong ties with the two "motherland countries", Greece and Turkey, which influenced its population and its culture. As a result, a strong majority of respondents (70%) replied that their schools, both primary and secondary level, celebrated the National Holidays of Greece, that is the 28th October – dedicated to the resistance against the Axis – and the 25th March – the beginning of the Revolution against the Ottoman Empire. Only 20% mentioned the permission to celebrate such days was split. That is, 10% of the interviewees stated that they were allowed to celebrate National Days in the local Primary school but not at the English School they attended later. Also, another 10% mentioned that the British Administration did not allow Greek National Days celebrations before 1940 but changed their

policies during the Second World War and afterwards to appease the Greek Cypriot population who had joined its forces in the war. Finally, a further 10% mentioned that they do not remember that far back and they only remember the celebration that took place during the coronation of Queen Elizabeth II in 1953 as it was something out of the ordinary and due to the fact that there were presents given to the students in the schools, such as cups and plates with Her Majesty's face on them.

Religion is a very powerful influence in a society and in both the Greek and the Greek Cypriot educational systems, Religious Studies is a compulsory subject taught both in the Primary and the Secondary levels. The respondents stated that Religious Studies and any form of religious practice in the educational system was not influenced by the British Administration but it was actually at the discretion of the Head Teacher of each school. It is for this reason that we see 20% claiming that religion in the Primary school was not important, a further 40% stating that its importance was medium with mostly the subject being taught in class and a few visits to the church on holy days and a final 40% mentioning that religion was very important in the primary school and any absence from the church services would be punished severely – one interviewee mentioned that the Head Teacher would bring the *"truant"* student to the front and instruct the other students to spit on him. In the secondary level, the situation was more relaxed. The 50% of the respondents who specifically mentioned their secondary education religious practices said that it was not important and they were not forced to attend church and they were not punished if they decided not to attend. At home, half of the participants (50%) claimed that religion was very important in their families some citing the fact that family members were priests – a father or an uncle – or that their parents who were older and less educated were more attached to their religion. A further 25% stated that their families were religious but they were not *"fanatical about it"* and they were not obliged by their parents to attend church regularly or fast during

holy days. Finally, another 25% claimed that while they believed in God, religion was not important in their household.

Regarding their identity, the majority of the respondents (50%) stated that they were Cypriots, with 10% of them clarifying that they were Greek-speaking Cypriots. A further 25% stated that they felt Greek Cypriots, having been influenced by the "motherland country" at some point in their lives while another 25% emphasised their religion in their identity by stating that they were Christian Orthodox Greek Cypriots.

A vast majority of 90% stated that the relations between the two communities during the British Colonial times were very good. Most lived in mixed villages or attended mixed schools and there were many friendships formed between individuals of different ethnic backgrounds. The interviewees stated that they attended weddings, bayrams or religious celebrations, family dinners or barbecues at Turkish Cypriot homes. Out of these respondents, 33% maintained that their opinion of the Turkish Cypriot community had not changed and that still some of them got together regularly with their families *"to catch up on each other's news"*. However, another 33% stated that their relationships changed since there had been so many violent events and the island had been divided into two sectors closed off to each other, thus limiting their access of one community to the other. The remaining 22% did not make any mention of change or not in the relationship between the Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots after the British had left the island. Finally, only 11% mentioned that due to living in a Greek-only village, they had had no contact with the Turkish Cypriots until they had to participate in some scholastic events open to both communities and that was the first time they had met Turkish Cypriots.

Regarding their overall opinion on the education system, the responses were equally divided. Half of the respondents replied that the education system

of their time was good and they did not mention any improvements they would have liked to see. Their answers ranged from *"excellent"*, *"very good overall, just some teachers I did not care for"*, *"I was happy with it and I have some good memories from those times"* and *"better than it is today"*. On the other hand, the other half of the interviewees stated that the education system of their time could have been improved and again they revealed several weak points. For instance, the best school at the time, the English School, although academically sound, was reported to be very strict in its regime. 10% of the participants who had been students there mentioned that the teachers were aloof and distant and rules and regulations were very rigid. A further 10% reported that their education system actually had needed more instruction in English and more textbooks for the successful instruction of the remaining subjects as well as the implementation of modern teaching methods. Another 10% complained about the fact that the Greek Gymnasia and the schooling they offered was much more inferior to that offered by their English-speaking counterparts. Finally, another 10% stated that the schooling offered by that education system had as ultimate goal to direct the students to Greece if they wanted to do something better in their lives and it did not encourage them to stay in Cyprus.

Similarly to the Turkish Cypriots, the Greek Cypriots were unanimous in their responses concerning the solution to the Cypriot problem: they do not see a solution to the Cypriot problem. They all believe that the outside powers – Greece, Turkey, Britain and America – were the ones which created this problem and which continue to support this division of the island. They especially lay the blame with the British who enforced a *"Divide and Rule"* policy on the island to keep the population under control by turning one community against the other and with the Greeks who betrayed them politically in the early 1970s. Also, they believe that Turkey influences the Turkish Cypriot population in a negative way during the peace talks and that is an extra factor why a solution has not been achieved before and may not be achieved in the future either. A minority of the respondents (20%) mentioned that they had been more

hopeful during the Annan 2004 proposal but when it did not succeed, they lost hope again. They all maintain that the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots can find a solution if they are left alone to work together without outside influences. As people they are the same, they like each other and they can get along so they could *"arrive to a solution in two weeks"*.

8.3 Comparison of the Findings

During the interview process, the researcher was able to have access to willing individuals from both communities of the island of Cyprus, however, the Turkish Cypriot sample was of a more advanced age compared to the sample of Greek Cypriot population. Furthermore, while almost half of the Turkish Cypriots were raised in villages and the remaining in the urban areas of the time, the Greek Cypriots were mostly born and raised in village settings. Finally, the Turkish Cypriots were almost exclusively students in English-speaking schools during their secondary education whereas the Greek Cypriots were divided between Greek Gymnasia, English-speaking schools and Commercial-Technical schools. On the other hand, both samples were populated by individuals who had attended their local primary schools and who all continued to attend secondary level education which was not a usual practice of the time in the region.

All the participants did not recall any nationalistic feelings during their primary level education which they all attributed to their young age that excluded preoccupation with matters outside their immediate environment of family, village and school. However, in the secondary level, the respondents identified several nuances of nationalism either on the side of the Greek Cypriots, the Turkish Cypriots or the British Administration. Both Greek Cypriot and Turkish

Cypriot interviewees pointed out the nationalistic tendencies of the British who imposed a ban on the import of textbooks from the "motherland" countries thus controlling the formation of a national identity in the populations of the island. Added to this, the British had forbidden the use of "motherland" national emblems in the schools and they instructed the students to sing the British National Anthem and observe British holidays. On the other hand, the Greek-Cypriot secondary schools exhibited nationalistic tendencies due to the Movement of Union with Greece that manifested in the 1950s. As a result, an atmosphere of tension was created between the young people of the two communities.

All the participants are senior citizens which explains the fact that their memories of their primary education mostly and their secondary education to a lesser degree were fragmented. Both communities mentioned the following among others:

a. Lessons on their own language for several hours a week including reading, writing, grammar and calligraphy.

b. History and Geography lessons centering on the island of Cyprus, East Mediterranean region, Europe and the World.

c. Mathematics

d. Religious studies

e. English for the Year 5 and Year 6 students of urban area schools with larger populations and a larger staff.

f. All subjects were compulsory in the primary education level.

In the secondary education level, the subjects were approximately the same as those of the primary education level, however, some differences are apparent. The Turkish Cypriot sample consisted of individuals who attended

English-speaking schools where, though the subjects were compulsory, the students had the freedom to choose their GCSEs. The Greek-Cypriot students had the freedom to choose the direction their studies would take by opting for a Classical secondary education or a Practical secondary school if they continued in a Greek Gymnasium. If not, they could attend one of the English-speaking schools of the island.

Both the Turkish Cypriot and the Greek Cypriot interviewees recalled that rural primary schools did not offer instruction in the English language whereas their urban counterparts did so in the fifth and sixth year for two to three hours a week. In the secondary education, the Greek Cypriots who continued in the Greek Gymnasia attended English language lessons for three to five hours per week. On the other hand, the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot students who continued to the English-speaking schools were at first instructed in the language intensively so that they would be able to achieve the level required to attend other lessons instructed in English in the following years. Both communities pointed out the fact that knowledge of the English language was imperative if they wanted to obtain a post in the British Administration which guaranteed a good salary, therefore, a comfortable living and a certain status in the community. Some individuals of the Greek Cypriot sample also mentioned that instruction of the English language was justified since it was, and is, an international language and necessary for those who wanted to study abroad. However, some individuals of the Turkish Cypriot sample mentioned that teaching English to the Cypriots was actually part of the British political colonial agenda.

In the primary level of education, each community employed teachers of their own nationality and the Greek Cypriots also stated that the teacher gender was according to the student gender in the areas where the students were separated into Boys and Girls schools. In most cases, however, the primary

schools were mixed gender. In the secondary level, the Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot students who attended English-speaking schools were instructed by teachers from a variety of nationalities. The Greek Cypriot students who attended the Greek Gymnasia were instructed by Greek Cypriot or Greek teachers. Both Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot students were separated into Boys or Girls schools according to their gender.

Despite the separation due to ethnicity or choice of education, the methodology described by both samples was teacher-centered and in the style of a lecture where innovations were rare, a method usual at the time. The interviewees did not notice any influence this gender separation had on their relationships later in life and some believed that separating students into single-gender schools was actually good since they could concentrate on their studies better. Finally, they mostly had respect for their teachers with only a few admitting to some degree of fear.

Overall, the majority of the Turkish Cypriot sample stated that the curriculum was designed to prepare the students to find a well-paid job as opposed to the 30% of the Greek-Cypriot who identified this as the central aim. The majority of the Greek-Cypriot stated that the main aim of the curriculum was to "teach children their letters" and "to make them good citizens" and they found it to be partly successful in that endeavour. On the other hand, the Turkish Cypriot identified the division of the two communities as another aim of the curriculum and they considered it successful in this.

Neither the Turkish Cypriots nor the Greek Cypriots were allowed by the British Administration to celebrate national days of the "motherland" countries. However, the Turkish Cypriots recall celebrating some innocuous Turkish National days which did not have any nationalistic nuances, such as Youth Day and so on. The Greek Cypriot, nevertheless, state that during the Second World

War and afterwards they were granted permission to celebrate the National Days of Greece as a reward for participating in the war effort on the side of the Allied Forces. As a result, the fact that the Turkish Cypriots remember mostly British National Days and the consequences if they were not followed while the Greek Cypriots remember Greek National celebrations is explained.

Almost half of the Turkish Cypriot sample did not have strong connection with religion at home whereas half of the Greek Cypriot sample considered religion to be very important at home. Also, the two samples have similar percentages in the opposite side of the spectrum where 1/5 of the Turkish Cypriots considered religion to be very important while a quarter of the Greek Cypriots did not think religion was so important in their households. Furthermore, both communities have similar percentages in the medium field of importance with the Turkish Cypriots considering religion to be "somewhat" important reaching 30% and Greek-Cypriot reaching 25%.

In the primary level of education, both communities had Religious Studies in their curriculum but the importance of that subject and other manifestations of religious life were different in the two populations. Nearly half of the Turkish-Cypriot maintained that they did not feel pressure in that area whereas only 20% of the Greek-Cypriot stated that. The majority of the Greek-Cypriot stated that they felt medium to great pressure to conform to the Christian Orthodox practices. However, in the secondary level of education, both the Turkish-Cypriot and the Greek-Cypriot described varied approaches based on the Head Teachers' relationship with religion.

Half of the Turkish Cypriot sample consider themselves to be Turkish Cypriots whereas nearly half of the Greek Cypriots identify themselves as Cypriots only. It is a much smaller percentage of the Turkish Cypriot sample that state they are Cypriots only and an equally small percentage of the Greek

Cypriots who state they are Greek Cypriots. There is also emphasis on the Christian Orthodox element on the part of certain individuals in the Greek Cypriot sample and smaller but equally powerful emphasis on the Turkish element on the part of certain individuals in the Turkish Cypriot sample.

Despite the friction due to historical events, the overwhelming majority of both the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot samples expressed positive feelings towards the other community during the British Administration times. However, approximately half of these people stated that after the division their feelings changed towards the negative. Smaller percentages mentioned that since they had grown up in single-community villages, they had had no contact with the other community therefore they could not form an opinion. Also, some other smaller percentages had lost contact after the division and could not say if their feelings had changed or not.

More than half of the Turkish Cypriot and half of the Greek Cypriot felt that the educational system of their time was good and they could not identify any areas that could have benefited from improvement. However, the remainder of the interviewees stated that the system could have been better in several areas. Firstly, the Turkish Cypriots stated that there was political influence which does not belong in education. Secondly, the Greek Cypriots stated that the system was very strict and regimented which created distance between the teachers and the students. Finally, students who attended the Greek Gymnasia mentioned that their system was inferior to that of the English-speaking schools.

Both communities gave a unanimous "no" to this question. As reasons for this situation, the Turkish Cypriots put forward the Greek Cypriot attitude (40%), the influence of Greece, Europe and the USA (20%) and, finally, the negative emotions which exist between the two communities due to the history

of the island (40%). They also state that the two communities cannot live together since there is no trust and if they are once more united into one country, they will fight again. On the other hand, the majority of the Greek Cypriot accuse the outside powers and especially the British and the Turkish for the continuation of the division and the impasse in the negotiations. They believe that the Cypriots can find the solution if they are left alone.

8.3.1 Comparison Table

Demographics	Local primary school, continued secondary education in other area.	
	Greek Cypriots	**Turkish Cypriots**
	64-83 years old Approx 80% villages Approx 20% urban areas Approx 50% Greek Gymnasia Approx 40% English schools Approx 10% Commercial College	71-93 years old Approx half from urban areas Approx half from villages English schools

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="3">Nationalism</td><td colspan="2">No nationalism in primary due to young age.
No nationalism in English secondary schools; not allowed by British Administration.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Greek Cypriots</td><td>British</td></tr>
<tr><td>Greek Gymnasia: nationalistic feelings – Union with Greece</td><td>Impose British Anthem,
English as medium of instruction,
No textbooks from “motherlands”</td></tr>
</table>

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="3">School
Main Subjects</td><td colspan="2">Own language – reading, writing, calligraphy
History and Geography of the region, Europe and the world
Mathematics and English for Year 5 and Year 6 in urban primary schools
All lessons compulsory</td></tr>
<tr><td>Greek Cypriots in Greek Gymnasia</td><td>Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots in English schools</td></tr>
<tr><td>Selection of Classical or Practical secondary education</td><td>Selection of subjects in GCSE exams</td></tr>
</table>

English language	Village primary schools did not offer instruction in English Urban area primary schools offered to Year 5 and Year 6 students for 2-3 hours per week.	
	Greek Cypriots in Greek Gymnasia	**Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots in English schools**
	3 – 5 hours per week	Intensive instruction

English language usefulness	Good job with British Administration	
	Greek Cypriots	**Turkish Cypriots**
	International language Studies abroad	British agenda

Mix of teachers	Each community had teachers of own nationality	
	Greek Cypriots in Greek Gymnasia	**Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots in English schools**
	Greek or Greek-Cypriot teachers	Teachers were a mixture of nationalities

Student Gender	Primary level: mixed gender Secondary level: separated genders Not affected by that in relationships later in life

Methodology	Teacher-centered, lecture-style Respect for teachers but also some fear

National Days of the "motherlands"	**Greek Cypriot**	**Turkish Cypriots**
	Permission to celebrate Greek National Days during and after WWII as reward for co-operation	No Turkish National Days except "innocent" ones such as Youth Day and so on Celebration of British National Days and consequences if not celebrated

Central Aim of the Curriculum	**Greek Cypriots**	**Turkish Cypriots**
	Learn your letters Become a good citizen Get a good job Partly successful	Get a good job (70%) Division of the two communities Successful

Religion	**Greek Cypriots**	**Turkish Cypriots**
	At home: Very important: 50% Medium importance: 25% Not very important: 25%	At home: Very important: 20% Medium importance: 30% Not very important: 50%
	Primary level: Religious studies in the curriculum but…	
	Much pressure: 40% Medium pressure: 40% No pressure: 20%	No pressure: 50%
	Secondary level: Varied depending on Head Teachers	

Identity	**Greek Cypriots**	**Turkish Cypriots**
	Cypriot: 50% Greek Cypriot: 25% Christian Orthodox Greek Cypriot: 25%	Cypriot: 20% Turkish Cypriot: 50% Turkish: 10% No label: 10% No response: 10%

Feelings towards the other community	Positive before division	
	Greek Cypriots after division	**Turkish Cypriots after division**
	Approx 33% no change Approx 20% lost contact Approx 33% change in feelings Approx 11% single ethnicity village – no contact with other community	20% no change 30% lost contact 50% change in feelings 20% single ethnicity village – no contact with other community

Could it have been better?	**Greek Cypriots**	**Turkish Cypriot**
	50% good no need for improvement	60% good no need for improvement
	50% could have been better if Greek schools were not inferior to English	40% could have been better if there were no political influence

Solution	No	
	Greek Cypriots	**Turkish Cypriots**
	Outside powers (Britain and Turkey) Cypriots can find solution if left alone	Greek Cypriots, Greece, EU, USA Negative emotions Lack of trust Will fight again

8.4 Conclusion

The current citizens of the island of Cyprus, be it Greek Cypriots or Turkish Cypriots, are the product of many cultures merging throughout the centuries and more recently of the British Administration and its Colonial Policies as they were implemented through the Education system in the 19th and 20th centuries. Divided and conflicted, they were forced to side with ethnic identities which occasionally did not accurately define them. It is the view of the researcher that one can discern the trends of the British Colonial Policies towards the establishment of a more British society on the island.

Although the participants of the survey are of predominantly rural backgrounds, they were encouraged by their families and their communities to pursue higher – for that time – studies. This was done in an effort to improve their lives since a better education could lead to better career prospects with one of the most popular career choices being a well-paid position within the British Administration.

Another popular choice in that time was to attend the English-speaking schools which offered a higher standard of Education and gave the students the opportunity to study in academic institutions of Britain, thus opening more doors in their future. This combined with the fact that the Greek Gymnasia offered what was perceived as an inferior quality education can lead us to believe that for many individuals, success and improvement belonged to British-educated people.

Finally, the British Administration implemented measures which deprived the two communities educational contact with their cultures by banning the import of textbooks from Greece and Turkey and by forbidding the use of

national symbols or the celebration of National Days – though the latter measure was relaxed when the need for support towards the Allies was stronger than the need to anglicize the population.

This research was by no means exhaustive; more qualitative research with new research methods is needed in the field of educational administration, as also suggested by Aydın, Erdağ & Sarıer (2010, 38), but it shows the trend of popular opinion of the citizens who were raised in a British Colony and now live with the consequences of those Policies regarding Education, Society and Politics. Still conflicted, still divided.

The research and findings here have further implications when related to results explored in a comparison study of organizational cultures in two TRNC schools that examined influencing factors of values and beliefs, rituals and ceremonies, and stories and legends (Silman, Özmatyatlı, Birol & Çağlar, 2011). Firstly, organisational culture tends to be exclusive to a particular corporation and deals with established practices and the nature of shared values and assumptions about organisational life (Branson, 2008). Within an educational context, every organisation is divergent and schools are not only distinct from other types of organisations but also differ from one another. Regarding the findings of the study on the beliefs and values of the organization, many teachers argued that younger generations were not following traditional values and this, in turn, influenced the organizational culture of their school and their education negatively. Teachers believed that the young generations were losing contact with traditional values, such as respect for the elders, patriotism, pride and honour, previously considered an asset in a person. Apparently, the youth does not regard these traditional concepts as significant anymore which influenced the school culture as a whole (Silman *et al*, 2011). This highlights the generational gap between colonial and post-colonial experience of Cypriot students and the shift in what is deemed as important to these students, as far

as what the schools deem to be so. This holds interesting implications for future policies, whereby traditional, patriotic values associated and bound up with strong links to Greece and Turkey are perhaps becoming archaic and redundant as future generations move forward to explore alternative solutions.

Secondly, every organisation has its anecdotes about people and legends who have gone before, and the things they have achieved that made them so memorable. Divided into two types, the first is born heroes whose individuality led them to become rulers of people; the second type are circumstance heroes who are selected by the school to act as mentors and paragons of the organisation and who set guidelines and models for the new members to follow (Lunenberg & Ornstein, 1996). The legends about the heroes not only express the beliefs and identity to insiders and outsiders but are a more concrete example of the organisational culture (De Zilwa, 2006). Within the organisational culture study, on the subject of stories and legends, one teacher stated that she talked about the legends of Cyprus and Turkey to show the students that they could achieve anything they wanted whereas another two teachers talked about the stories of important people who graduated from the school, which included doctors, journalists and a member of parliament, that highlighted pride they felt for their school so that that the students could feel a sense of pride in their school (Silman *et al*, 2011). The choice of topics of the stories from the teachers is clearly in line with findings in other case studies whereby the legends act as incentive to conform to the norms and a way of transmitting the values and beliefs of the organization. Both schools studied had legends and stories connected to their extracurricular activities that they felt proud of, however, it is worth mentioning that one school mainly focused on the legends of the school to do with the national struggle. Thus, students awareness is alerted to the significance of the nationalistic traditions preserved and celebrated within the school. It could be argued that this could be a good method of re-igniting the younger generations' interest in traditional and nationalistic values. However, when considering future implications in a wider

context of finding a solution to the Cyprus situation and in light of Cyprus' colonial and post-colonial history and the civil unrest that has often prevailed, such policies perhaps need to be considered with care.

A third category of analysis relevant to the current study is that of rituals and ceremonies, which although similar, have several distinctive characteristics. Essentially, rituals are daily activities that typify the organisation while celebrations act as acknowledgement of successes. Rituals give structure and bearing to everyday life, where individuals know what is expected of them at any given time. Ceremonies, on the contrary, are grander, often more extravagant and occasional as they symbolize momentous occasions that give significance and spiritual connection at certain transitions. They socialize the members of the institution, balance and comfort in the event of crisis, and relay information to outside constituencies (Bolman & Deal, 2003). Rituals and ceremonies were found to be very strong in one of the schools and a great deal of importance was placed on them, for example, national days such as the 15th of November and the commemoration of leaders like Ataturk. The aim here was to remind students of the significance of certain events and the lives of certain national figures, to teach them their past in order to retain certain values and to socialize them by using these cultural events (Silman *et al*, 2011). This shows that educational policies of the TRNC aim to imbue students the importance of national values, which is interesting considering the perceived loss of regard for traditional values discussed previously. Additionally, the visual and written sources found in every classroom regarding national days showed the researchers that the school encouraged the students to get actively involved in events, such as writing and traditional folklore dancing competitions, using the incentive of the prize awarded to the best. It could be argued that these practices highlight the importance the school gives to the preservation of national identity and the attempts it makes to preserve national traditions (North Cyprus News, 2009). The results concerning rituals and ceremonies showed that the majority of teacher participants carried out all ceremonies to do with the

celebration of national days or commemoration of national figures and heroes outlined by the Ministry of Education and Culture to pass national feelings onto the students. The administrative staff adheres to protocol whereas the teachers focused on the influence these events will have on the socialization of the students (Silman *et al*, 2011). However the aim and goal is perceived, national ceremonies continue to hold a significant role in the nationalistic ties and traditions of the schools. It could therefore be implied that it is through these celebrations that the national ideologies of the State are reflected and maintained. The State is still struggling for its security and protecting national values, which is in line with the current political developments in TRNC.

With regard to the study on organizational culture and considering a wider context, it could be inferred that the society, in general, of the TRNC is straddling two worlds. The findings appeared to reveal that the youth were losing their ties to their national values whereas the State attempts to maintain an educational policy which will imbue students with the importance of national values through rituals and ceremonies carried out at schools. With this in mind and from the results of the current study and the colonial restrictions some students experienced at the hands of the British administration, it would be fair to argue that while nationalistic values and traditions remain important, perhaps a new educational perspective is needed that would address the ever changing face of Cypriot politics and future generations.

CHAPTER 9
CONCLUSION

9.1 Conclusion

As has been explored at the beginning of this study, Imperialist, dominant Western ideologies of the 19th and early 20th century often over represented progressive expectations which led to the inflated and unrealistic economic and strategic value of the colonies being exploited. This was very much the case with Cyprus. Procured at the peak of European global expansion, it soon became evident that the island was never going to produce the economic or geographical benefits anticipated. Cyprus had remained no more than a lease from the dismantled Ottoman Empire. The option of handing it back to the Turks was inconceivable to the colonial powers, yet to cede Cyprus to the Greece was laden with complications. In the end, a violent and messy decolonization process appeared to deepen the divisions even further.

Cyprus education is beset with many problems and the often ambiguous colonial aims and practices, its achievements and limitations has to be explored, comprehended and analyzed against the background of continual and perpetual political battles, ambition and dubious aims. Fundamentally, education in Cyprus has been crippled by redundant concepts on education and political circumstances. These factors have interacted with each other throughout the British occupation as politics and education in Cyprus have always remained completely entwined.

Due to the relentless political instability and unrest, as well as to the typical empiricist Western approach to education, educational policies were frequently short term, allowing for instant modification or abandonment should circumstances require. Such policies frequently proved to lack any real, clear objective or educational aims other than serving the political and often poorly hidden agenda of the British colonial authorities.

Since the beginning of colonial occupation in 1878, under the pretext of giving financial support to the schools and by repeatedly exploiting unusual political conditions in the island, the British government succeeded in bringing the entire administration of elementary education under centralized control. Although not in any way as successful, the colonial authorities then set out to attempt to gain control over secondary education, which proved to be much more difficult in the face of the Turkish and Greek Cypriot national feeling and the ultimate power of the church.

The British administration left Cyprus with a system of education that was tinged with colonialism: in particular, the state of a generally unchanged secondary education and curriculum policy since the early 20th century, was not only minimal and lacking, but had to be completely revised to conform to modern trends in education to match other countries by 1960. Problems included the Helleno-Christian Orthodox ideology that was so dominant for so many years; the often misrepresentation of history; the high reverence in which teachers were often held, despite their nationalistic aspirations; the complex and interdependent relationship between the secular and the sacred, politics with religion and indeed the power contained in these spheres and especially in the early years of occupation, the power of religious figures who were frequently deemed as political heads of each community. These constraints were amplified and sustained by a lack of engaging textbooks that offered wider perspectives that encouraged any development of students' critical thinking; a lack of initial and official teacher training in modern epistemologies and methods; and the heavily academic, classical nature of secondary curricula policies, of which little changed during the colonial years.

Furthermore, the complete absence of self-governing institutions by the time of the transfer of power at the end of British rule, left unfavourable circumstances and stood as a fundamental hindrance to the progress of education on the island. Deprived of the constitutional means of running their own affairs, the Cypriot people found themselves not only without a voice but without the power to establish what had been desired for so long. This, and

taking into account the political frustrations and civil dissatisfaction, it was no surprise that conflicts erupted during and indeed long after the British had left.

9.2 National Identities

By 1960, Cypriot identity was largely absent in the European dialogue where the islands' colonial citizens had grown up with an identity that had continually been repressed, redefined and constricted, particularly in the framework of constitutional education and was always limited only as far as their religious and later ethnic ties would allow, i.e. in so far as being a Turkish Muslim or Greek Christian.

As has been explored, colonial educational policy of maintaining and indeed encouraging these divisions came at a cost, not just to the British stronghold on the island but at the expense of the Cypriot people. Following the tighter restrictions on the celebration of national days connected to the motherlands during the 1930s and the demand that Cypriots participate in and show allegiance to the Empire, national identities, particularly within the secondary schools were suppressed, which eventually and inevitably led to the nationalistic uprising in the late 1950s. Nationalism became the greatest incentive of the church in education, especially secondary education where Britain's control was minimal compared to the centralized elementary school system. While the role of policy, curricula and education had been integral in constructing national identities, in the case of Cyprus, nationalism began to fuel both communities claims over the island. Britain had actually fostered the very thing it wanted extinguish. During the occupation the curriculum was an essential medium whereby all interested parties attempted to formulate and establish national identities. Textbooks and ideologies brought from the mother countries of Greece and Turkey ensured that a specifically unified Cypriot identity that included both ethnic groups was never cultivated in schools.

Since the departure of the British in 1960 and the 1974 events, a divided curriculum and educational system for each community have continued to function on even more separatist lines as the island of Cyprus lies divided, national identities remaining exclusively, religiously and ethnically defined. National celebrations, roots and loyalties to Greece and Turkey have limited any prospect of developing a supportive political framework in which bi-ethnic relations can co-operate and create a legitimate independent Cypriot state.

9.3 Future Implications

The binary position of Cyprus as both east and west, Muslim and Christian, provides a unique challenge for Cypriots and the parties involved in the maintenance of peace, stability and the promotion of ethnic and religious respect. While outside powers like the UN, the EU, America, Greece and Turkey endeavour to resolve the Cyprus problem, the sample study of participants in this study perhaps can hold a vital key into such a solution: it is time for the Cypriot people to be left alone and for a unified voice to be heard.

Educational policies, approaches to teaching and the interpretation of ethnic histories in schools play a vital role in fostering and nurturing this voice. Schools and curriculum are key factors in influencing attitudes, which have been steeped in nationalistic histories, conquests, and stories of domination and ethnic hatred. Education in Cyprus can provide a forum whereby the Cypriot people explore, dismantle and reconstruct misconceptions of blame and condemnation and move towards a new era of tolerance, understanding and direction.

Based on principles of co-operation, mutual respect, equality and friendship, Cyprus' divided education policy should not restrict itself to the limitations of a historical narrative where identity is only bound up in as far as being tied to Greece or Turkey, but instead should endeavour to represent, define and celebrate national, cultural and social differences.

To return to Berger's (1969, 15) analysis, every society has to deal with the problem of transferring its cultural meanings from one generation to next so the citizens of that society become not only the ones who possess these meanings but one who also represent and expresses them. New generations are conditioned to conform to societies institutionalized frameworks of behaviour, belief systems and cultural histories: education is vital in shaping and influencing these systems. In the past, in both communities, ethnic socialization was essentially directed against the other ethnic group. As we now venture into the 21st century with increasing European integration of the EU and UN and its educational policies, pedantic discussions are open to redefine meanings of identity, citizenship and potential relationships with national identities. These disputes are especially complex and problematically charged in a case of Cyprus, whereby national identities are entrenched in the intractable socio-political problem of ethnic conflict and war that stems from identity, citizenship and the politics of mutual recognition.

British policies and plans for Cyprus, particularly during the last fifty years of colonial rule were defined by an exploitive imperial agenda that was tenaciously executed on a population at the beginning of its potential involvement in local, national and international politics. When attempts to instill faithful allegiance to the Empire failed, Britain ensured the Cypriots remained restricted within the confines of their conflicting pasts and limited future as a united nation. The Cypriot people continue to be persecuted by their past today as the definition for a Cypriot identity is still open for debate and definition.

Since 1974, education has remained a key state mechanism to educate the younger generations of Greek and Turkish Cypriots within the historical narrative of ethnic division. Curricula debates could be used within schools to examine the complexities and conflicts of what it means to be truly Cypriot; to encourage and promote the exploration of critical and reflective analysis to conceptualize solutions to the Cyprus problem. There is an urgent need for education in Cyprus to embrace new progressive identities

that have developed and indeed continue to transpire in the post colonial and post modern socio-political scheme.

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APPENDIX 1

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Demographics

When and where were you born?
Where do you live?
What is your job?
How old were you when you were a student during the British colonial times?
Do you remember your primary and secondary education?

Main Interview Questions

1. How nationalistic would you say your school was? Did you notice any significant change following the British occupation?

2. What were your schools' main subjects in the primary and secondary education during the British Education? What subjects did you have to take? Were there any optional subjects?

3. Was English taught in your school? How much emphasis was put on this as a subject? How many lessons a week? What was the content of the lesson? What medium of English was used? What was the importance placed on it and how?

4. Was there a mix of teachers? i.e. English/ Greek/ Turkish etc. Did you find certain teachers favoured different approaches to the students' education? How important was the student gender in Turkish and Greek Cypriot primary and secondary education?

5. Did your school celebrate national days of the "motherland" countries? If so, what? And did all students have to participate? How segregated was your school prior and after the British occupation?

6. What did you feel was the central aim of curriculum and schooling? Do you think it was successful?

7. How important was religion in your household? How important was religion in your school? Did this change following British Occupation? How much of your identity is tied to religion/ your ethnic background/ your "motherland"/ Cyprus?

8. What were your feelings towards Greek / Turkish Cypriots prior and after British occupation?

9. Do you think the education system could have been better? How?

10. Do you see a solution to the Cypriot problem?

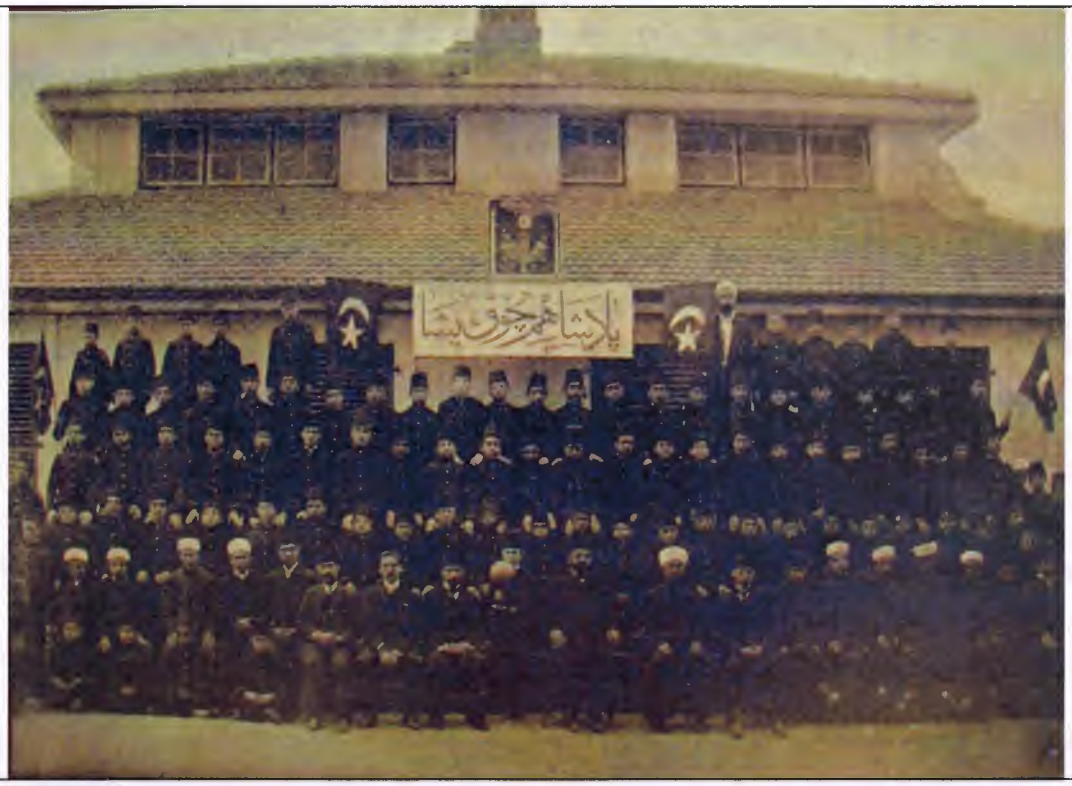
	Gender	Identity	Primary	Secondary	Rural / Urban	Relationship with Others	Solution in Cyprus
1.	Female	Cypriot	Nicosia Ayia Sofia Mosque Primary School	Victoria Girls' School	Urban	Good relations – no racism	No
2.	Male	Turk	Lefke Primary School	Nicosia Kibris Islam Lycee	Rural / Urban	Good as children – different towards the end	No
3.	Female	Turkish Cypriot	Kirni & Ayia Sofia Primary Schools	Victoria Girls' School	Rural / Urban	Good as children – Coldness afterwards	No
4.	Male	Cypriot	Larnaca Primary School	American Academy - Iskele	Urban	Good at first – distant later	No
5.	Male	Turkish Cypriot	Limassol Primary School	Limassol Lycee	Urban	Good at first – British destroyed it	No
6.	Male	Cypriot	Larnaca Primary School	American Academy - Larnaca	Urban	Good at first – changed afterwards. Personally stayed friends.	No
7.	Male	Turkish Cypriot	Lapta Primary School	Nicosia Boys School	Rural / Urban	Mixed village / friends – changed afterwards	No
8.	Female	Turkish Cypriot	Tatlısu Village Primary School (Mari Kingdom)	Victoria Girls' School	Rural / Urban	Single community village – Met a Greek Cypriot abroad but lost contact	No
9.	Male	Turkish Cypriot	Messaria Village Primary School	Nicosia Turkish Lycee	Rural / Urban	Mixed Village – had friends – have not changed	No
10.	Male	Turkish Cypriot	Famagusta Primary School	The English School - Famagusta	Urban	No nationalism at first – changed afterwards	No

APPENDIX 2- THE TABLE SHOWING DETAILS ABOUT THE TURKISH-CYPRIOT SAMPLE WHOSE AGES RANGED BETWEEN 71 AND 93

	Gender	Identity	Primary	Secondary	Rural / Urban	Relationship with Others	Solution in Cyprus
1.	Female	Cypriot	Larnaca Primary School	Greek Gymnasium Larnaca	Urban	Good	No
2.	Male	Greek & Cypriot	Primary School – Village outside Famagusta	Nicosia English School	Urban	Still friends – get together often	No
3.	Male	Cypriot of Greek origin	Primary School – Village outside Limassol	Greek Gymnasium Famagusta	Rural / Urban	Were friends – British divided us	No
4.	Male	Greek Cypriot	Agios Ermolaos Primary School	PanCyprian Gymnasium	Rural / Urban	Friends – feelings did not change	No – disappointed
5.	Male	Greek Cypriot Christian	Primary School – Village in Karpaz	Nicosia – English School	Rural / Urban	Primary school – Turks the enemy but in English School made friends	No
6.	Female	Greek-speaking Cypriot	St John's Primary School Famagusta	Girls' Gymnasium Famagusta	Urban	Friendships – changed afterwads	No
7.	Male	Cypriot	Athiyenou Primary School	American Academy	Rural / Urban	Friendships – later relationships cooled	No light in tunnel
8.	Female	Orthodox Christian Greek Cypriot	Athiyenou Girls' Primary School	PanCyprian Gymansium	Rural / Urban	Before 1960 good – after 1960 changed.	Very difficult
9.	Male	Cypriot – mother tongue Greek	Athiyenou Boys' Primary School	PanCyprian Gymnasium	Rural / Urban	Good relations – British made us fight	If left alone, yes
10.	Female	Greek Cypriot (but feels closer to Cyprus)	Athiyenou Girls' Primary School	Pallaris Trade Commercial College	Rural / Urban	All-Greek village	If Turkey says "yes" – British separated us

APPENDIX 3- THE TABLE SHOWING DETAILS ABOUT THE GREEK-CYPRIOT SAMPLE WHOSE AGES RANGED BETWEEN 64 AND 83

APPENDIX 4
PHOTOGRAPHS



A photograph of the headmaster, a teacher and students taken after an award ceremony in front of Nicosia Idadi (Lefkosa Lisesi) published on 21st February 1907 in Servet-i Fünun Newspaper, number: 826.

A photograph of an award ceremony, headed by the mufti of the Island of Cyprus, Mehmet Ziyaeddin Efendi, at Darü'l-Feyz school in Limassol in June 1911.

A photograph of one of the Greek Cypriot participants with his friends and teacher at Atiyenu primary school in 1936.

A photograph of one of the Greek Cypriot participants with his friends at Atiyenu primary school in 1936.

A photograph of the original school building in Atiyenu, which was established in 1925, today.

A photograph of the back of the original school building in Atiyenu today, which also previously appeared in the photograph of the Greek Cypriot with his friends and teacher in 1936.

A photograph of the new extension to the primary school building in Atiyenu.


American Academy, Larnaca,

CYPRUS

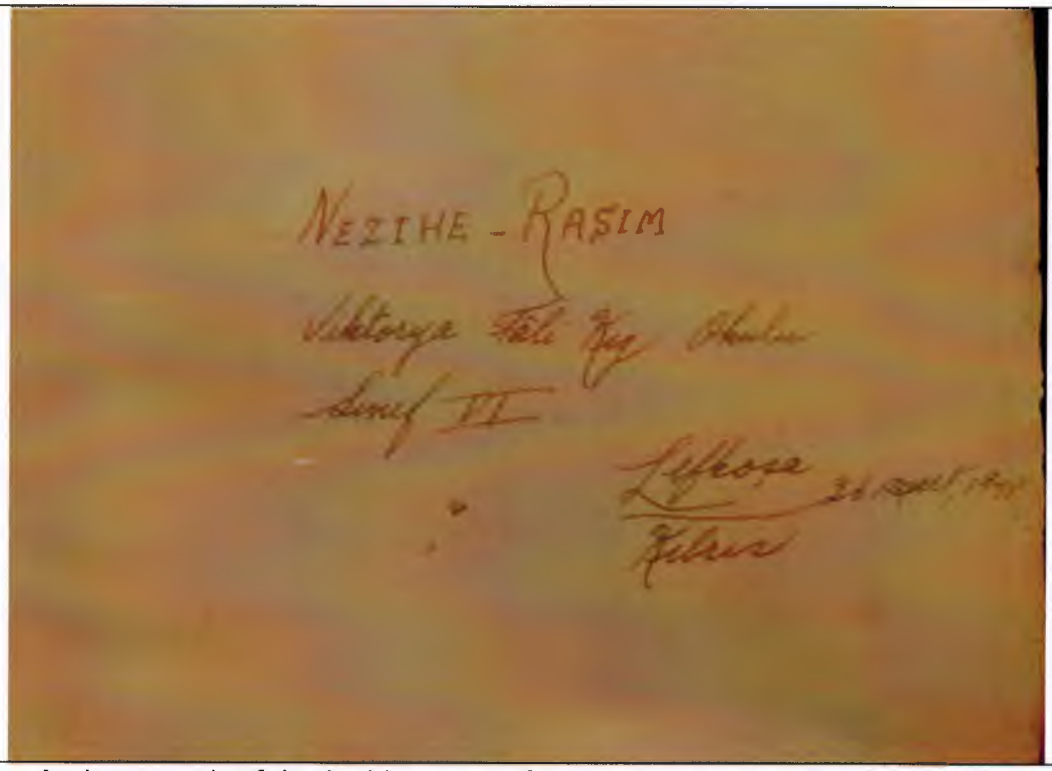
This Certifies that [illegible] has pursued and completed in a satisfactory manner all of the subjects included in the English-Greek Course of Study prescribed by the School Grade: 79,3 Conduct: Excellent

In the year 1920

A photograph of American Academy Diploma awarded to the father of a Greek Cypriot participant in 1920, who himself graduated from Atiyenu primary school and then the same academy later on.

A photograph of a Turkish Cypriot participant with his friends and teacher at Limassol Turkish Primary school taken in 1951 (on 29th October- the establishment of Turkish Republic).

A photograph of a Turkish Cypriot participant with his friends and teacher at Limassol Turkish Primary school taken in 1952 (23rd April-the Youth Day)



A photograph of the inside cover of a Koran read by a Turkish Cypriot participant attending Victoria Girls School in 1948.

A photograph of the front page of the Koran, which was published in Istanbul in 1947.

A photograph of hard cover of Koran named as 'Tanrı Buyruğu' and still read by a Turkish Cypriot participant attending Victoria Girls School in 1948.

COLONY OF CYPRUS

This is to Certify

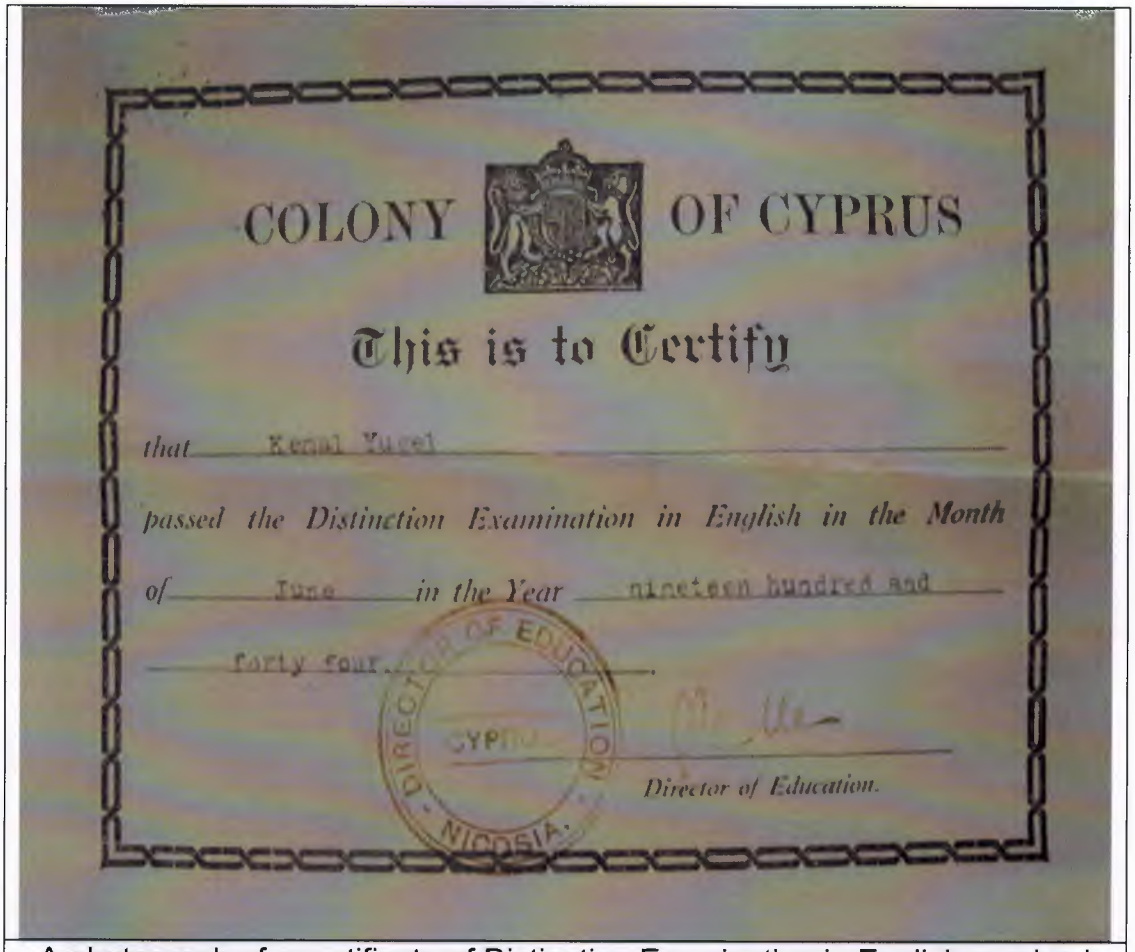
that Kemal Yucel

passed the Ordinary Examination in English in the Month of JUNE in the Year nineteen hundred and forty two.

DIRECTOR OF EDUCATION CYPRUS

Director of Education.

A photograph of a certificate of Ordinary Examination in English received by a Turkish Cypriot participant in 1942.



COLONY OF CYPRUS

This is to Certify

that Kemal Yucel

passed the Distinction Examination in English in the Month

of June in the Year nineteen hundred and

forty four.

DIRECTOR OF EDUCATION CYPRUS NICOSIA

Director of Education.

A photograph of a certificate of Distinction Examination in English received by a Turkish Cypriot participant in1944.

COLONY OF CYPRUS

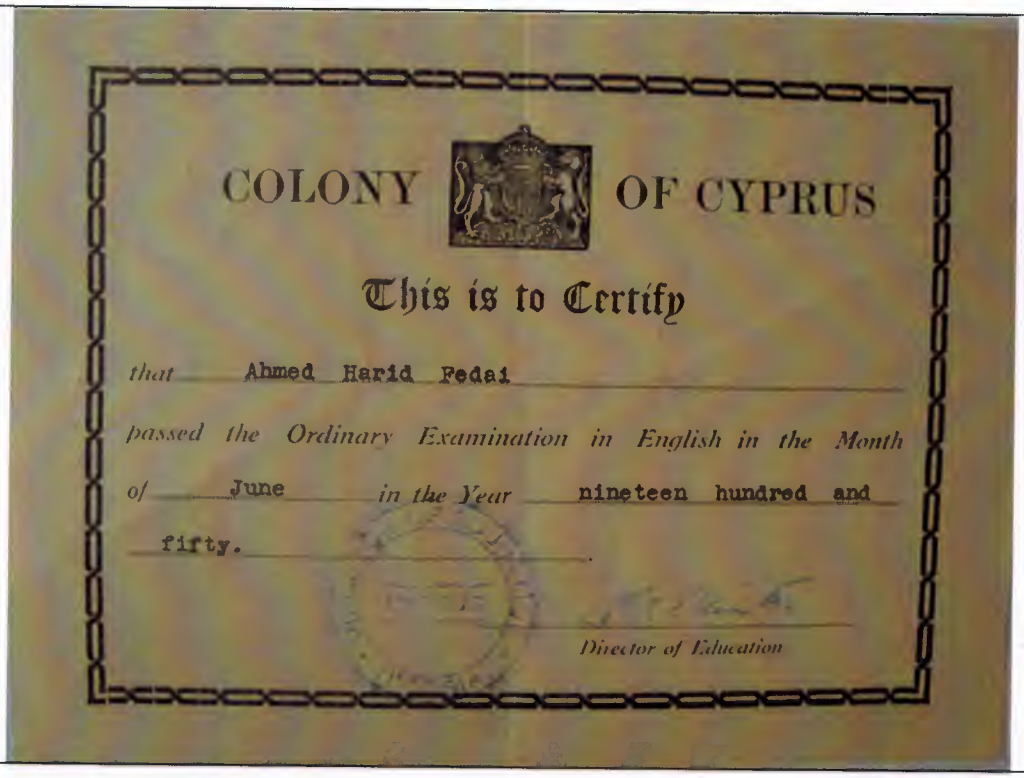
This is to Certify

that [illegible]

passed the Ordinary Examination in English in the Month of June in the Year nineteen hundred and forty eight.

Director of Education

A photograph of a certificate of Ordinary Examination in English received by a Turkish Cypriot participant in 1948.



COLONY OF CYPRUS

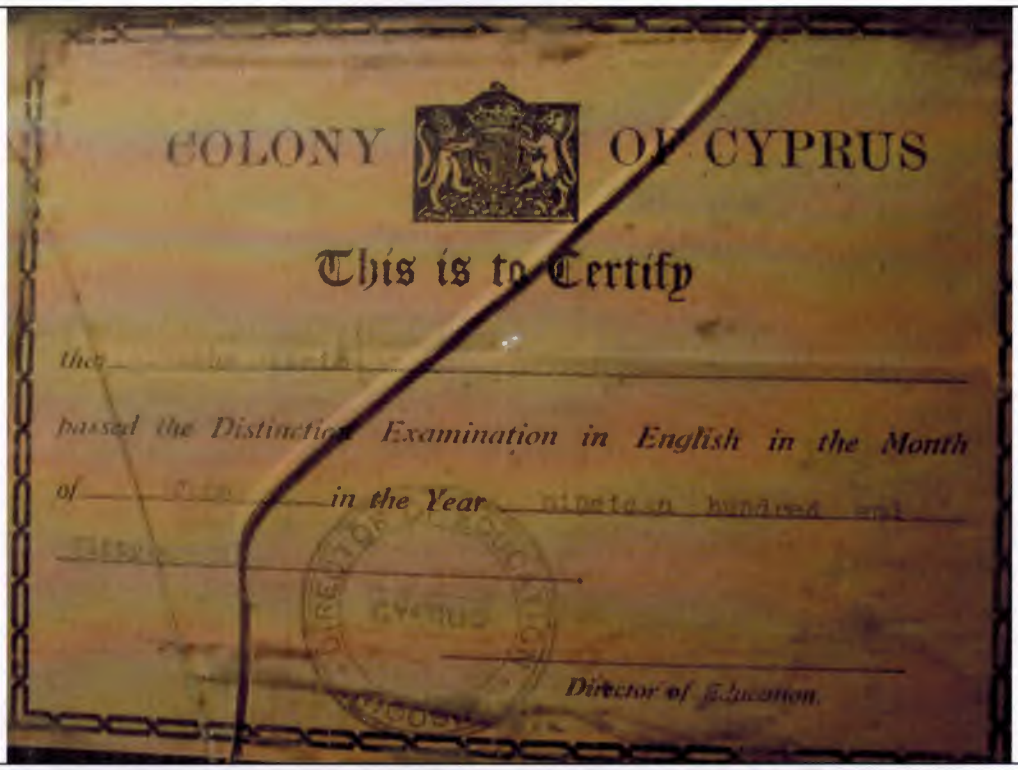
This is to Certify

that Ahmed Harid Pedai

passed the Ordinary Examination in English in the Month of June in the Year nineteen hundred and fifty.

Director of Education

A photograph of a certificate of Ordinary Examination in English received by a Turkish Cypriot participant in 1950.


COLONY OF CYPRUS

This is to Certify

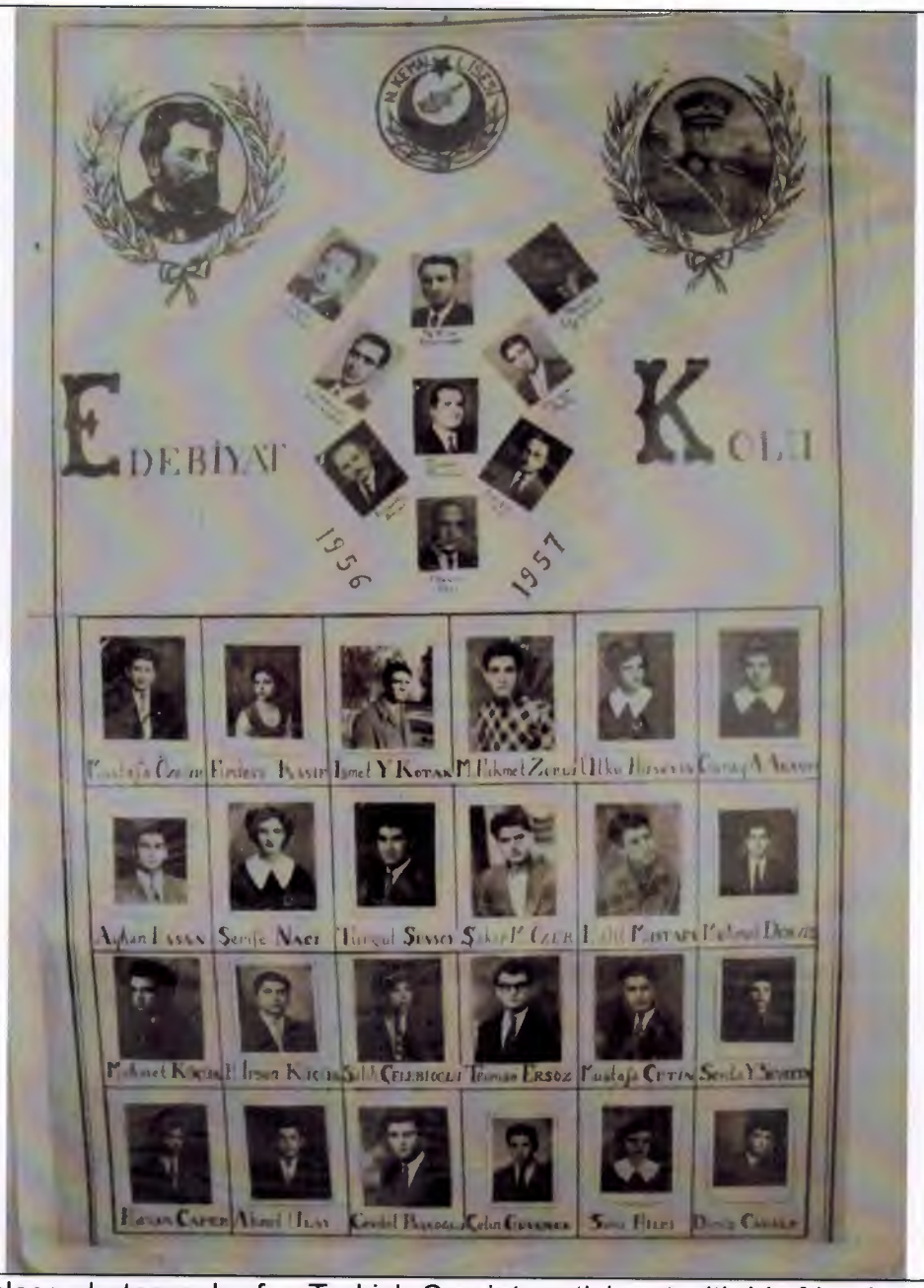
that

passed the Distinction Examination in English in the Month

of in the Year nineteen hundred and

Director of Education.

A photograph of a certificate of Distinction Examination in English received by a Turkish Cypriot participant in 1950.



A class photograph of a Turkish Cypriot participant with his friends and teachers taken in 1956-1957 academic year at Namık Kemal Lise in Famagusta

A class photograph of a Turkish Cypriot participant with his friends and teachers of English and Greek taken in 1957 at Namık Kemal Lise in Famagusta.

İSLÂM ERKEK LİSESİ

19[illegible] — 19[illegible] DERS SENESİ

SON DEVRE İMTİHAN VARAKSI

SINIF [illegible]

Dersler	Aldığı Notlar		Mülâhazat
	Rakam ile	Yazı ile	
Türkçe ~~Edebiyat~~	8	Sekiz	
İngilizce	7	yedi	
Rumca	5	Beş	
Medeni Bilgiler	10	On	
Tarih	6	Altı	
Coğrafya	9	Dokuz	
Fizik	10	On	
~~Kimya~~			
~~Tabiiye~~			
Biyoloji	10	On	
~~Jeoloji~~			
~~Nazarî~~ Hesap	6	Altı	
Hendese	6	Altı	
Cebir	6	Altı	
Müselleset			
Mihanik			
Kozmoğrafya			
Sosyoloji			
Filosofi - Lojik			
Psikoloji			
Dindersi			
Resim			
Musiki			
Hüsnühâl	Pek İyi		
Devametmediği günler	yoktur		

[illegible] sınıf talebesinden 417 numaralı [illegible] yukarıdaki notlara göre sınıfını

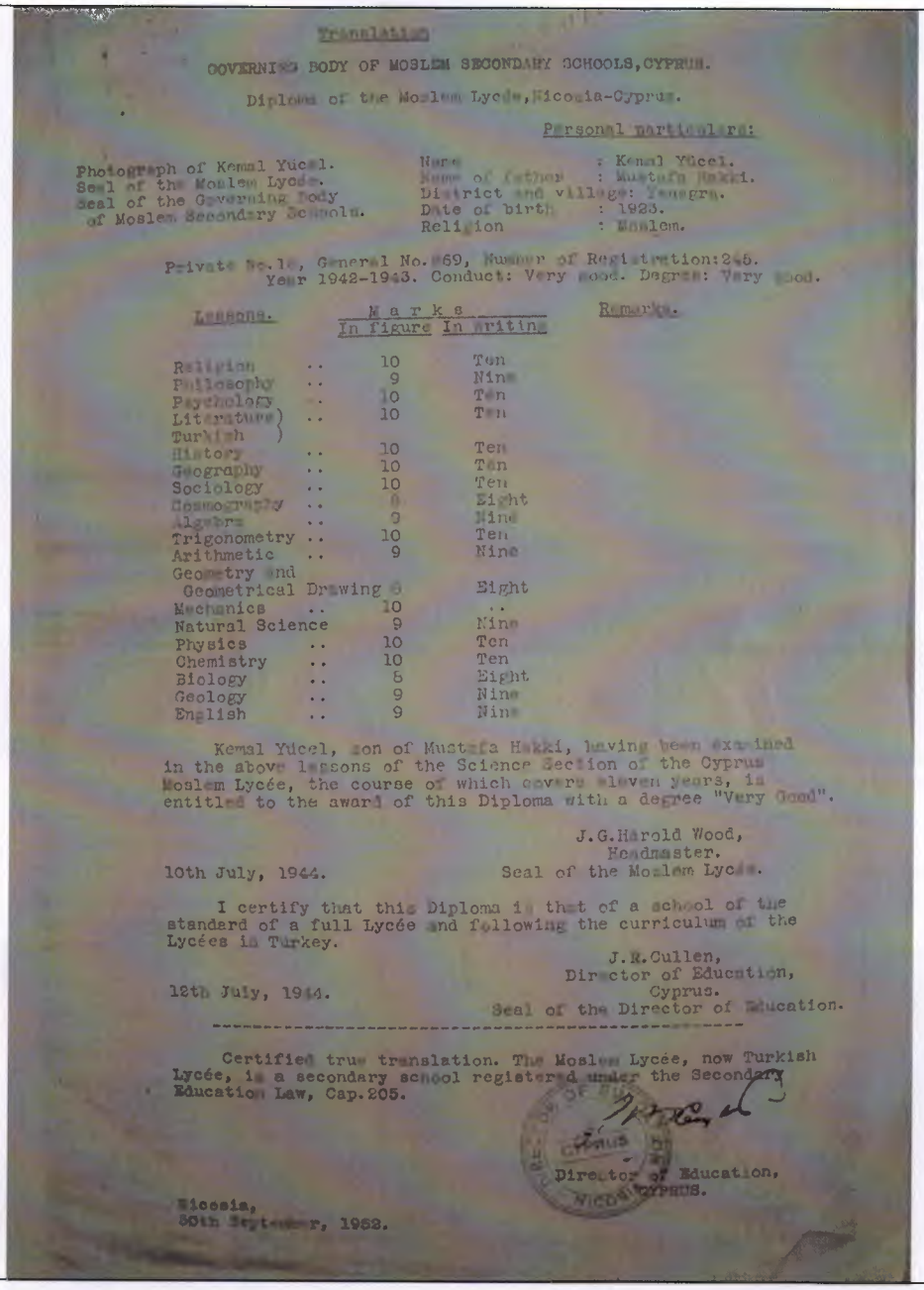
[illegible]

Lise Müdürü

J.G. Harold Wood.

İhtar: On, dokuz: Pek iyi
Sekiz, yedi: İyi
Altı: Orta
Beş: Zayıf

A photograph of an examination transcript of a Turkish Cypriot participant from Islam Erkek Lisesi in the academic year 1944-45 signed by the English headmaster, J.G. Harold Wood.



Translation

GOVERNING BODY OF MOSLEM SECONDARY SCHOOLS, CYPRUS.

Diploma of the Moslem Lycée, Nicosia-Cyprus.

Personal particulars:

Photograph of Kemal Yücel.
Seal of the Moslem Lycée.
Seal of the Governing Body of Moslem Secondary Schools.

Name : Kemal Yücel.
Name of father : Mustafa Hakki.
District and village: Yenagra.
Date of birth : 1925.
Religion : Moslem.

Private Sch., General No. 269, Number of Registration: 245.
Year 1942-1943. Conduct: Very good. Degree: Very good.

Lessons.	Marks In figure	Marks In writing	Remarks.
Religion ..	10	Ten	
Philosophy ..	9	Nine	
Psychology ..	10	Ten	
Literature) Turkish) ..	10	Ten	
History ..	10	Ten	
Geography ..	10	Ten	
Sociology ..	10	Ten	
Cosmography ..	8	Eight	
Algebra ..	9	Nine	
Trigonometry ..	10	Ten	
Arithmetic ..	9	Nine	
Geometry and Geometrical Drawing	8	Eight	
Mechanics ..	10	..	
Natural Science	9	Nine	
Physics ..	10	Ten	
Chemistry ..	10	Ten	
Biology ..	8	Eight	
Geology ..	9	Nine	
English ..	9	Nine	

Kemal Yücel, son of Mustafa Hakki, having been examined in the above lessons of the Science Section of the Cyprus Moslem Lycée, the course of which covers eleven years, is entitled to the award of this Diploma with a degree "Very Good".

J.G.Harold Wood,
Headmaster.
10th July, 1944. Seal of the Moslem Lycée.

I certify that this Diploma is that of a school of the standard of a full Lycée and following the curriculum of the Lycées in Turkey.

J.R.Cullen,
Director of Education,
Cyprus.
12th July, 1944. Seal of the Director of Education.

Certified true translation. The Moslem Lycée, now Turkish Lycée, is a secondary school registered under the Secondary Education Law, Cap.205.

Director of Education,
CYPRUS.

Nicosia,
30th September, 1952.

A photograph of certified translation of a Moslem Lycee Diploma of a Turkish Cypriot participant from Islam Erkek Lise in the academic year 1942-43 signed and sealed by the English headmaster, J.G. Harold Wood and the British Director of Education, J.R. Cullen in 1952.

GOVERNING BODY OF MOSLEM SECONDARY SCHOOLS, CYPRUS

KIBRIS İSLÂM TÂLİ MEKTEBLERİ
İDARE HEY'ETİ

KIBRIS—LEFKOŞA İSLÂM LİSESİ DİPLOMASI

1948 —1949 senesi

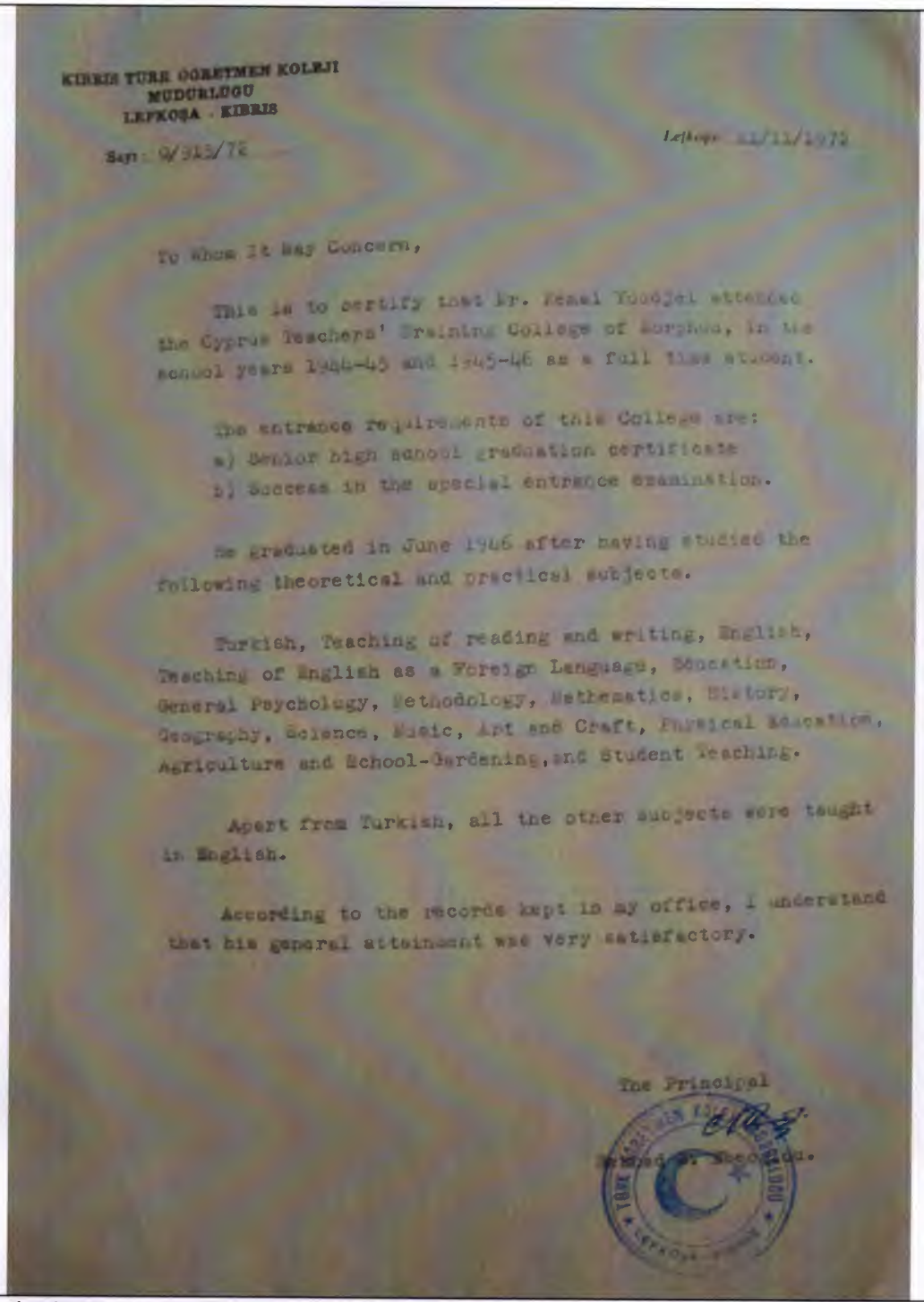
Dersler	Numaralar Yazı ile	Mülâhazat
Geometri		
Cebir		
Tarih		
Kimya		
Biyoloji		
Jeodezi		

Dersler	Numaralar Yazı ile	Mülâhazat
Astronomi		
İngilizce		
Cimnastik		

11 Temmuz, 1949.

A photograph of Islam Erkek Lisesi Diploma given in 1949 signed by Harold Wood, the headmaster of Islam Erkek Lisesi.

A photograph of authentication of Islam Erkek Lisesi Diploma accredited by the British Director of Education, J.R. Cullen in 1949. This document had originally signed by J.G.Harold Wood.



KIBRIS TURK OGRETMEN KOLEJI
MUDURLUGU
LEFKOŞA - KIBRIS

Sayı : Ö/313/72

Lefkoşa 21/11/1972

To Whom It May Concern,

This is to certify that Mr. Kemal Yücejel attended the Cyprus Teachers' Training College of Morphou, in the school years 1944-45 and 1945-46 as a full time student.

The entrance requirements of this College are:
a) Senior high school graduation certificate
b) Success in the special entrance examination.

He graduated in June 1946 after having studied the following theoretical and practical subjects.

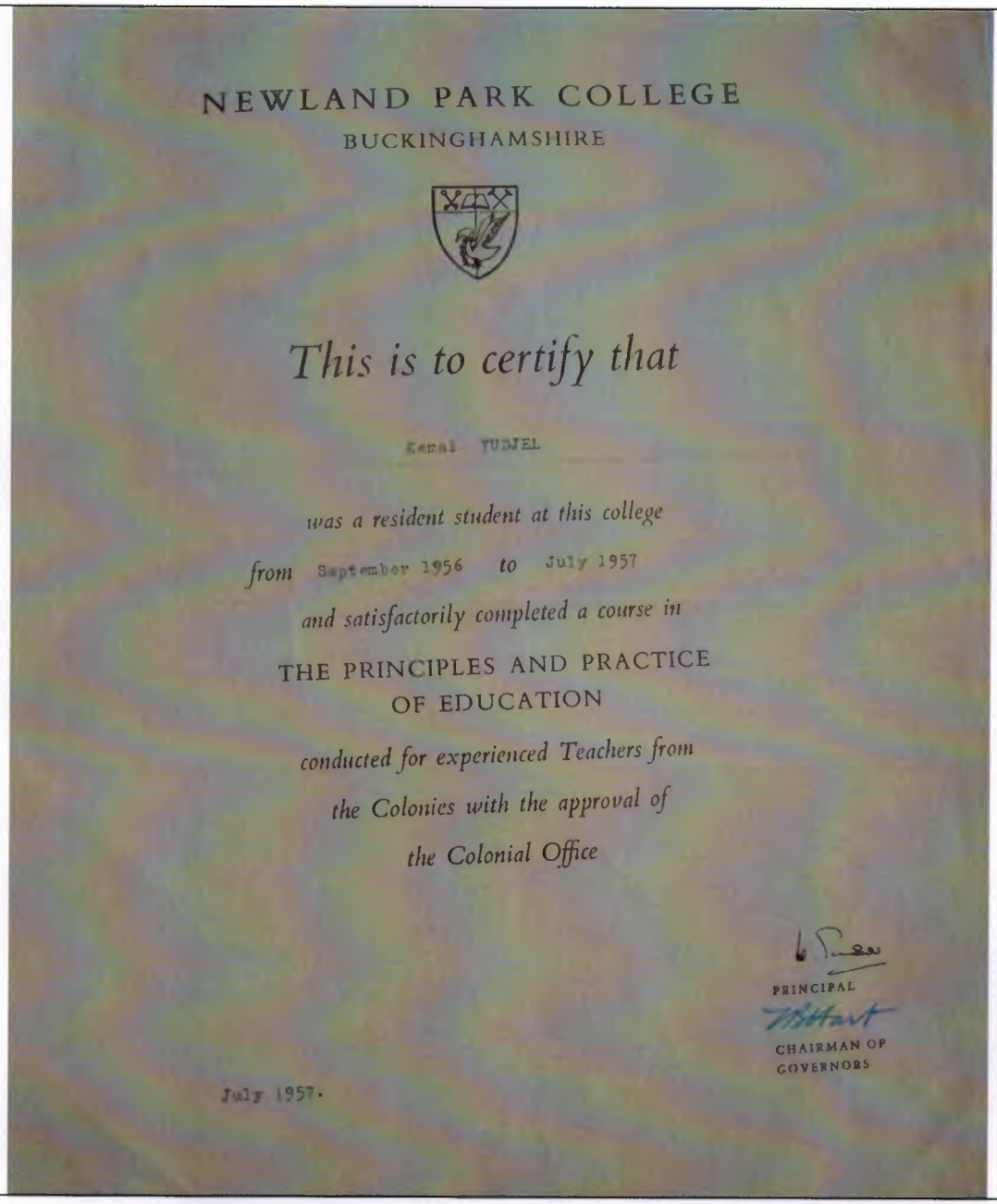
Turkish, Teaching of reading and writing, English, Teaching of English as a Foreign Language, Education, General Psychology, Methodology, Mathematics, History, Geography, Science, Music, Art and Craft, Physical Education, Agriculture and School-Gardening, and Student Teaching.

Apart from Turkish, all the other subjects were taught in English.

According to the records kept in my office, I understand that his general attainment was very satisfactory.

The Principal

A photograph of an attendance certificate to Cyprus Teachers' Training College of Morfou by a Turkish Cypriot participant given in 1957.



NEWLAND PARK COLLEGE

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

This is to certify that

Kemal TURJEL

was a resident student at this college

from September 1956 *to* July 1957

and satisfactorily completed a course in

THE PRINCIPLES AND PRACTICE
OF EDUCATION

conducted for experienced Teachers from
the Colonies with the approval of
the Colonial Office

PRINCIPAL

CHAIRMAN OF
GOVERNORS

July 1957.

A photograph of Newland Park College certificate received by a Turkish Cypriot in 1957 signed by the Principal Chairman of Governors.

A photograph of a USA university diploma of a Turkish Cypriot participant which was received after his graduation from American Academy.

A photograph of the American Academy award given to one of the Turkish Cypriot participants in 2004 as he is the oldest academy graduate.

A photograph of me and a Turkish Cypriot participant after the interview