



NEAR EAST UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS PROGRAM

**AN INVESTIGATION OF LEADING TURKISH CYPRIOT
TRADE UNIONS' ATTITUDES TOWARDS THEIR PATRON STATE
AND THE IMMIGRANTS COMING FROM TURKEY**

İBRAHİM AYBERK

PhD THESIS

NICOSIA
2019

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PhD THESIS

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NICOSIA
2019

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*Güz ve kış ve ilkbahar geçti
Yaz çarçabuk geçti
Hepsi tekrar tekrar geçtiler
Bu bana uzun geldi
Gecem avurtlarım gibi çöktü
Ve çöktüm
Sabahım, sabahlarım
Kabından taşan sütler gibi büyüdü
Ve taşıtım
Gün güne taşındı, yıl yıla
Gitmedim, gidemedim
Ki dedim
Bana söz vermeliydi biri
Sesi uzaklardan gelen
Görünmez yıllarla ilgili.*

Edip Cansever - Gidemeyiş

To my beloved family,
Hüseyin, Jülide and Hamit Ayberk.

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ABSTRACT

AN INVESTIGATION OF LEADING TURKISH CYPRIOT TRADE UNIONS' ATTITUDES TOWARDS THEIR PATRON STATE AND THE IMMIGRANTS COMING FROM TURKEY

With the case analysis of Northern Cyprus, this study aims to reveal and analyze the leading Turkish Cypriot trade unions' attitudes towards their patron state and immigrants coming from Turkey. With this aim in mind, mixed-methods design was adopted and both qualitative and quantitative data were collected from 17 Turkish Cypriot trade unions with the highest number of active members. Findings of the "Bogardus Social Distance Scale", semi-structured in-depth interviews and media and public statements were interpreted by benefiting from the explanatory potentials of Gramsci's (1971) theorising on civil society, hegemony and counter-hegemony and Arendt's (1958) theorising on private-public sphere dichotomy.

Based on the qualitative and quantitative findings, this study primarily argues that Northern Cyprus's civil society can be distinguished from other *de facto* states' civil societies owing to the fact that it has a way more active, politicized and hypercritical civil society and CSOs in consequence of both the historical reasons and conjunctural developments, where the Turkish Cypriot trade unions play the locomotive role. Consequently, Turkish Cypriot civil society functions as an arena of both consent and contestation at the same time as depicted and presented by Gramsci's (1971) famous work, *Prison Notebooks*, while some leading Turkish Cypriot trade unions consent to and reproduce greater part of *de facto* Northern Cyprus's official policy and discourse on certain issues, despite the fact that existing situation harms and leads them to be exposed to some accusations and insults from time to time, other ones overtly and actively oppose these by setting their alternative 'forma mentis' forth through disseminating contra-views.

In this context, as the "Bogardus Social Distance" scores, report of the semi-structured interviews and media and public statements indicate, leading

Turkish Cypriot trade unions considering themselves on the right and left have different views and attitudes towards their patron state (Turkey), although there is no such clear distinctions regarding their attitudes towards immigrants since they establish a direct cause-and-effect relationship between the immigrants coming from Turkey, granted citizenships particularly to recently arrived immigrants and the Turkish Cypriot community's loss of control over their political will and power. In response, they offer a solution bearing a close resemblance to the dichotomous separation made by Arendt (1958) in *The Human Condition* between the private and public (political) spheres.

Keywords: *De facto* States, Northern Cyprus, Turkey, Civil Society, Turkish Cypriot Trade Unions, Immigrants coming from Turkey.

ÖZ

ÖNDE GELEN KIBRIS TÜRK SENDİKALARININ HAMİ DEVLETLERİNE VE TÜRKİYE'DEN GELEN GÖÇMENLERE YÖNELİK TUTUMLARI ÜZERİNE BİR İNCELEME

Bu çalışmada, Kuzey Kıbrıs üzerine yapılan bir vaka analiziyle, önde gelen Kıbrıs Türk sendikalarının hamî devletlerine ve Türkiye'den gelen göçmenlere yönelik tutumlarının ortaya konulması ve analiz edilmesi amaçlanmıştır. Bu amaç doğrultusunda çalışmada, karma araştırma yöntemi benimsenmiş ve en çok aktif üyeye sahip 17 sendikadan hem nitel hem de nicel veriler toplanmıştır. “Bogardus Sosyal Mesafe Ölçeği”nden, yarı-yapılandırılmış derinlemesine mülakatlardan ve sınırlı sayıdaki sendikanın medya ve kamuya yönelik açıklamalarından elde edilen bulgular, Gramsci'nin (1971) sivil toplum, hegemonya ve karşı-hegemonya ve Arendt'in (1958) özel alan-kamusal alan dikotomisi üzerine olan kuramlaştırmalarının açıklayıcı potansiyellerinden faydalanılarak yorumlanmıştır.

Elde edilen nitel ve nicel verilerin ışığında bu çalışma, Kuzey Kıbrıs'taki sivil toplumun diğer *de facto* devletlerdeki sivil toplumlardan ayrıştığını savunmaktadır. Bunun temel sebebi, diğer *de facto* devletlerdeki sivil toplumlara kıyasla, Kuzey Kıbrıs'ta, sendikaların lokomotif rolünü üstlendikleri, çok daha aktif, politize ve eleştirel bir sivil toplumun varlığıdır. Bu nedenle Kıbrıs Türk sivil toplumu, Gramsci'nin (1971) ünlü *Hapishane Defterleri* isimli eserinde tasvir ettiği ve sunduğu gibi, hem rıza hem de itiraz alanı olarak işlev görmektedir. Bu doğrultuda bazı sendikalar, mevcut durum zaman zaman kendilerine zarar veriyor olsa da, *de facto* bir devlet olan Kuzey Kıbrıs'ın belirli konulardaki resmî politika ve söylemlerine -çok büyük ölçüde- rıza göstererek bunları yeniden üretirlerken, bazı sendikalar ise alenen ve aktif bir biçimde bunlara karşı çıkarak kendi alternatif görüşlerini ortaya koymaktadırlar.

Bu bağlamda, “Bogardus Sosyal Mesafe Ölçeği”nin, yarı-yapılandırılmış mülakatların ve sınırlı sayıdaki sendikaya ait medya ve kamuya yönelik açıklamaların işaret ettiği üzere kendilerini siyasi yelpazenin sağında ve

solunda konumlandiran sendikaların hami devletleri olan Türkiye'ye karşı çok farklı görüş ve tutumları vardır. Türkiye'den gelen göçmenlere yönelik görüşler ve tutumlar söz konusu olduğunda ise, böyle bir ayırımdan/farklılıktan bahsedilemeyeceği görülmektedir. Bunun temel sebebinin sendikaların, Türkiye'den gelen göçmenlere, özellikle de yakın dönemde Kuzey Kıbrıs'a gelen göçmenlere verilen/'dağıtılan' vatandaşlıklar ile Kıbrıs Türk toplumunun siyasi gücünü ve iradesini Türkiye'ye kaybetme endişesi arasında kurdukları sebep-sonuç ilişkisi olduğunu söylemek mümkündür. Bunu bertaraf etmek için de, sendikaların, Arendt'in (1958) *İnsanlık Durumu* isimli çalışmasında tasvir edilen özel-kamusal (politik) alan ayırımına çok benzer bir çözüm önerisi üzerinde hemfikir oldukları görülmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *De facto* Devletler, Kuzey Kıbrıs, Türkiye, Sivil Toplum, Kıbrıs Türk Sendikaları, Türkiye'den gelen göçmenler.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACCEPTANCE/APPROVAL

DECLARATION

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS iii

ABSTRACT v

ÖZ vii

TABLE OF CONTENTS ix

LIST OF TABLES xii

ABBREVIATIONS xiii

INTRODUCTION 1

Purpose of the Dissertation 1

Main Motivations, Possible Contributions and Time-Frame of the Dissertation 4

Structure of the Dissertation 5

CHAPTER 1 8

DE FACTO STATES, CIVIL SOCIETY AND THE CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS 8

1.1 Contemporary De Facto States: Brief Information 8

1.1.1 The Vitality of Patron States for the Existence and Persistence of De Facto States 13

1.1.2 Old and New Studies: The Path towards a Deeper Comprehension of De Facto States 16

1.2 Structure and Status of the Civil Society and Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) within the De Facto States 23

1.2.1 Long and Arduous Journey of the Civil Society Concept and Civil Society Organizations 23

1.2.2 Abkhazia	27
1.2.3 Nagorno-Karabakh.....	28
1.2.4 South Ossetia and Transnistria	29
CHAPTER 2.....	32
METHODOLOGY AND THE THEORETICAL BACKGROUND .	32
2.1 Methodology.....	32
2.1.1 Research Model	32
2.1.2 Information Gathering	33
2.1.3 Data Gathering	34
2.1.3.1 Bogardus Social Distance Scale	34
2.1.3.2 Image Theory.....	37
2.1.4 Sample Selection	39
2.1.5 Challenges and Problems Confronted during the Research	49
2.2 Theoretical Background.....	51
2.2.1 Hegemony and Counter-Hegemony: Interrelations between State, Civil Society, Struggle for Hegemony and Counter-Hegemony from a Gramscian Perspective	52
2.2.2 The Dichotomy between Private and Public Spheres.....	58
CHAPTER 3.....	67
INVESTIGATION OF LEADING TURKISH CYPRIOT TRADE UNIONS' ATTITUDES	67
3.1 Civil Society in Northern Cyprus	67
3.1.1 Turkish Cypriot Trade Unions: Locomotive of the Turkish Cypriot Civil Society and Societal Dissent and the Main Actors of Struggle for Hegemony and Counter-Hegemony	70
3.2 Three Separate Migration Waves from Turkey to Northern Cyprus	72
3.2.1 First-wave Immigrants from Turkey to Northern Cyprus.....	73
3.2.2 Second-wave Immigrants from Turkey to Northern Cyprus	76

3.2.3 Third-wave Immigrants from Turkey to Northern Cyprus	77
3.2.3.1 Negative Representations of Immigrants from Turkey in the Turkish Cypriot Press.....	80
3.3 Leading Turkish Cypriot Trade Unions' Attitudes towards their Patron State and Immigrants coming from Turkey.....	82
3.3.1 Research Findings	82
3.3.1.1 Percentage and Frequency Distributions of the Bogardus Social Distance Scores and Images of Turkey	83
3.3.1.2 Relevance between the Bogardus Social Distance Scores and Other Variables	84
3.3.1.3 Statistical Difference among the Groups with regards to the Images of Turkey	85
3.3.1.4 Thematic Analysis of Attitudes towards Turkey and Immigrants coming from Turkey	86
3.4 Discussion on Attitudes towards Patron State and Immigrants coming from Turkey	102
CONCLUSION	110
REFERENCES.....	116
APPENDIX.....	135
BIOGRAPHY	139
PLAGIARISM REPORT	141
ETHICS COMMITTEE APPROVAL	142

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Image Theory Predictions of Behavioral Orientations and Outgroup Images Resulting From Perceived Intergroup Relations	38
Table 2: Summary of Information regarding Turkish Cypriot Trade Unions obtained from the Registrar of Trade Unions in Northern Cyprus (as of November 2017)	44
Table 3: 20 Turkish Cypriot Trade Unions with Largest Number of Members (as of November 2017)	44
Table 4: Percentage and Frequency Distributions of Duties	46
Table 5: Percentage and Frequency Distributions of Genders	46
Table 6: Percentage and Frequency Distributions of Age Ranges	47
Table 7: Percentage and Frequency Distributions of Birthplaces	47
Table 8: Percentage and Frequency Distributions of Occupations	47
Table 9: Percentage and Frequency Distributions of Education Levels	48
Table 10: Percentage and Frequency Distributions of Considerations regarding Identity	48
Table 11: Percentage and Frequency Distributions of Personal Considerations on the Political Spectrum	49
Table 12: Percentage and Frequency Distributions of the Considerations of Respondents about the Trade Unions on the Political Spectrum	49
Table 13: Percentage and Frequency Distributions and the Mean of the Bogardus Social Distance Scores	84
Table 14: Test Results for Status/Duty, Gender, Age Range, Birthplace, Occupation, Level of Education and Identity Variables	85
Table 15: Kruskal-Wallis Test Results for Birthplace, Gender, Age Range, Identity and Level of Education Variables	86

ABBREVIATIONS

AKP	Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi (Justice and Development Party)
CIVICUS	World Alliance for Citizen Participation
CSO	Civil Society Organization
CTP	Cumhuriyetçi Türk Partisi (Republican Turkish Party)
Dev-İş	Devrimci İşçi Sendikaları Federasyonu (Revolutionary Trade Unions Federation)
EU	the European Union
Hür-İş	Hür İşçi Sendikaları Federasyonu (Federation of Free Labor Unions)
Kamu-İş	Kamu İşçileri Sendikası (Public Manual Workers Trade Union)
Kamu-Sen	Kıbrıs Türk Kamu Görevlileri Sendikası (Cyprus Turkish Public Officials Trade Union)
KTAMS	Kıbrıs Türk Amme Memurları Sendikası (Turkish Cypriot Public Servants Union)
KTOEÖS	Kıbrıs Türk Orta Eğitim Öğretmenler Sendikası (Turkish Cypriot Secondary Education Teachers' Union)
KTÖS	Kıbrıs Türk Öğretmenler Sendikası (Turkish Cypriot Teachers' Union)
LGBTI	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Intersex individuals
SPSS	IBM Statistical Package for Social Sciences
TFSC	Turkish Federated State of Cyprus
TRNC	Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus
Türk-Sen	Kıbrıs Türk İşçi Sendikaları Federasyonu (Cyprus Turkish Trade Unions Federation)
UBP	Ulusal Birlik Partisi (National Unity Party)
YDP	Yeniden Doğuş Partisi (Rebirth Party)

INTRODUCTION

Purpose of the Dissertation

With their more than two-decades-long existences, *de facto* states still represent one of the hardest and most complicated phenomena of the contemporary international system (Caspersen, 2012; Riegl and Dobos, 2017). There were lots of unknowns about these entities until the 1990s that later drew attention of several researchers who addressed and identified the nature of these entities which forms a turning point for the study of *de facto* states. Thus, the developments taking place during that decade and particularly in the 2000s on a global scale directed more academic attention towards these entities and scholarly studies focusing on *de facto* states started to occupy an important place in both Political Science and International Relations literature (Berg et al., 2017; Beachain et al., 2016).

One of the most important conclusions of these studies is that the existence of a patron state and the financial, political and military assistances provided by it are of vital importance for *de facto* states to overcome the problems stemming particularly from lack of widespread international recognition and international isolation and thus to continue their existences within the international system (Caspersen, 2012; Kopecek et al., 2016; Kolsto, 2006; Kolossov and O'Loughlin, 2011b). Therefore, it is fair enough to say that our knowledge on these entities have been improving day by day. Nevertheless, it should also be said that *de facto* states continue to serve as a sort of 'gold mine' offering ample opportunities for researchers for the reason that there are still many unanswered questions concerning these entities which necessitate further in-depth scholarly research.

The island of Cyprus was divided into two almost ethnically homogenous parts, Greek (South) and Turkish (North), after the Republic of Turkey launched a unilateral military intervention in 1974 by asserting its obligations of the 1960 Treaty of Guarantee. Since then, the relations between Northern Cyprus and the Republic of Turkey -be it political, economic and/or

social- have developed and been carried out on the basis of patron state-*de facto* state relations or, to call it with its more frequently used version in Northern Cyprus and Turkey: 'Motherland-Babyland' relationship. This was largely a result of the fact that Northern Cyprus has been suffering from lack of considerable international recognition besides political and economic isolation since the date it proclaimed itself as an independent state.

Similar to other patron state-*de facto* state relations, Northern Cyprus's still-continuing overreliance on its patron state -Turkey- in almost all aspects has its advantages but also its disadvantages. One of the direct consequences is that, up to the present, most of the Northern Cyprus's official policy, discourse and history and also the value system, thoughts, practices and principles associated with these have been determined by this situation and largely built upon Turkish nationalism (Evre, 2004). As will be discussed in more detail in the corresponding chapter, this was exacerbated further by a large influx of immigrants from 1974 onwards, leading to different migration-waves of people coming to Northern Cyprus from Turkey (Purkis and Kurtuluş, 2013; 2014). These issues have become of increasing importance particularly since the beginning of the 2000s and have started to be discussed widely both in the domestic and international stages/fields.

Within the Turkish Cypriot community and civil society today, there are not only different and clashing/struggling views, attitudes and images but also there are quite similar views, attitudes and images towards Turkey and the immigrants coming from there. The major reason enabling this is that Northern Cyprus is a relatively more democratic and free entity compared to other contemporary *de facto* states (Freedom House, 2018). Thus, despite the tutelage and dependency relationship between the *de facto* states and patron states, more often than not, creates specific constraints over the democracy (Kanol, 2015; Kanol and Köprülü, 2017) and functionalities and activity areas of the civil societies and CSOs in these entities, it is possible to argue that Northern Cyprus distinguishes itself from other *de facto* states in this regard owing to the fact that it has a way more active, politicized and hypercritical civil society and CSOs. Accordingly, Turkish Cypriot civil society functions as an arena of both consent and contestation which is not the case for the civil

societies and CSOs in other *de facto* states. In other words, rather than simply operating within the certain boundaries specified by the authorities and thus functioning mostly as the ‘reproducers’ of the nationalist common sense (*de facto* state’s official policy, discourse and history), as it is the case in other *de facto* states, Turkish Cypriot civil society also functions as an arena where particular civil society actors loudly express various views and demands, such as ‘being the masters of their own home’, which challenge and harshly criticize the official policy, discourse and history and also their patron state.

At this point, it can be argued that particular civil society actors in Northern Cyprus are coming into prominence for a variety of reasons that will be further elaborated in the relevant forthcoming chapters. These actors are the leading Turkish Cypriot trade unions, with highest number of active members, which are considered as the most important, organized, effective, active, politicized and oldest actors of the Turkish Cypriot civil society (Alpar, 2005; CIVICUS, 2005, 2011; Saygılı et al., 2013; Ioannou and Sonan, 2014; 2016). In spite of the fact that some of these trade unions’ views and attitudes towards their patron state and immigrants coming from Turkey are overt and their statements on the issues in question are occasionally reflected in the press, this is not the case for all of them. And, there is a relative shortage of academic studies comprehensively focusing on Turkish Cypriot civil society, trade unions, their attitudes towards the aforementioned subjects/actors, struggles and/or collaborations between them and the possible reasons of these in the vast literature on Northern Cyprus or Cyprus in general. A limited number of available leading efforts addressing some of these topics belong to Alpar (2005), Bryant and Yakinthou (2012), World Alliance for Citizen Participation (CIVICUS) (2005; 2011), Ioannou (2011), Ioannou and Sonan (2014; 2016), Gündüz (2008) and Saygılı et al., (2013). And there is one thing for sure that some of the findings of these studies provided an important source of information for this dissertation.

Thus, as its main title suggests, the overall purpose of this dissertation is to reveal and analyze the leading Turkish Cypriot trade unions’ attitudes towards their patron state and immigrants coming from Turkey with the help of a particular methodological approach and a theoretical and conceptual

framework. In accordance with this purpose, this dissertation attempts to find answers to the following research question: What are the leading Turkish Cypriot trade unions' attitudes towards their patron state and the immigrants coming from Turkey and how can these attitudes be interpreted?

Main Motivations, Possible Contributions and Time-Frame of the Dissertation

With the case analysis of Northern Cyprus offering a more complete picture of the attitudes of leading Turkish Cypriot trade unions towards Turkey and immigrants coming from there, first and foremost, this dissertation attempts to fill the aforementioned existing lacunae to some extent. However, this is just one of the many motivations for conducting such research. In this regard, it also aims to encourage other researchers to focus on similar issues and problematics in other *de facto* states since these issues still represent one of the most important 'virgin fields' in the recently growing academic literature on *de facto* states. In other words, the research focusing on the influence of patron states over the societal structures of these entities and leading civil society actors'/organizations' views, attitudes and demands in these *de facto* states regarding their patron states and the people/immigrants coming from these places are extremely limited. Though, a number of recent studies have identified various glimmering economic, demographic, socio-political and socio-cultural fears and complaints in some of the local populations of these *de facto* states targeting their patron states and people/immigrants coming from places (Fischer, 2010; Achba, 2016; Clogg, 2008; Kolossov and O'Loughlin, 2011a).

Equally important, by following a relatively different methodological and theoretical path, owing to the fact that this dissertation adopted mixed-methods design -though it placed greater emphasis on the qualitative component- by combining the Bogardus Social Distance Scale and in-depth semi-structured interviews and benefited from the explanatory potentials of the theoretical and conceptual frameworks provided by Gramsci (1971) and Arendt (1958), certain methodological and theoretical contributions were attempted to be made to

enrich the existing literature on *de facto* states and Northern Cyprus. Also, this study attempted to make another contribution to the Image Theory by offering an additional image (Patron) with two different types (Barbarian Patron and Ally Patron).

When it comes to the time-frame, this dissertation focuses on a delimited time period; between 2000 and 2019. Many different factors were taken into account while determining this time-frame such as the arrival of the third-wave immigrants from Turkey; rising dissent within large sections of the Turkish Cypriot community against the status quo, Northern Cyprus's overreliance on its patron state and Turkey's day by day increasing meddling into Northern Cyprus domestic politics and economics and negative influence over the social structure. This has been taking place alongside escalating domestic and international campaigns, protests and/or rallies and lobbying activities which involved civil society actors that have loudly expressed demands for 'being the masters of their own home' , where particularly the leading leftist or, at least left-leaning, Turkish Cypriot trade unions took on leading roles.

Structure of the Dissertation

This Ph.D. dissertation entitled 'An Investigation of Leading Turkish Cypriot Trade Unions' Attitudes towards their Patron State and the Immigrants coming from Turkey' was divided into five main parts followed by the References, Appendix, Biography, Plagiarism Report and Ethics Committee Approval.

The first part attempted to provide an introduction to the study and it comprises of three sections. Accordingly, the first section tried to clarify the main purpose of the dissertation by presenting the rationale behind it briefly. Besides, this section contained the main research question that the present dissertation intended to answer. In the second section, first and foremost, the writer of this dissertation put forward the main motivations and the importance of conducting such research. In addition, this section expressed time-period under investigation by underlining the critical factors that were taken into consideration. In the last section of the first part however, an overview of the

structure/organization of the dissertation was presented to the readers by the writer of this dissertation.

In the second part, under the title '*De facto* States, Civil Society and Civil Society Organizations', *de facto* states were addressed comprehensively. In this regard, in the first instance, brief information regarding the contemporary *de facto* states within the international system was given to introduce the reader to the topic. Then, the vitality of the patron states for these entities and the complexity of such a relationship were discussed. Following this, existing studies on *de facto* states and some of the striking findings that were reached in these studies were summarized. In the second section, the writer of this dissertation focused on the structure and status of the civil societies and civil society organizations in *de facto* states. Before doing this, a short general discussion of civil society was made.

The third part of this dissertation introduced the methodological and theoretical approaches that were applied in the present study. Accordingly, the first section was reserved for the methodology and it attempted to give detailed information on the research model, information gathering, data gathering and sample selection processes, followed by the challenges and problems confronted during the research. In the second section, a general theoretical and conceptual framework was tried to be drawn by referring to Gramsci's (1971) theorising on civil society, hegemony and counter-hegemony and Arendt's (1958) theorising on private-public sphere dichotomy in order to analyse and interpret the leading Turkish Cypriot trade unions' attitudes towards their patron state and immigrants coming from Turkey.

The fourth part, titled 'Investigation of Leading Turkish Cypriot Trade Unions' Attitudes', was organized around four sections. The first section begins with information regarding the status and structure of the civil society in Northern Cyprus and then discusses the locomotive role undertaken by Turkish Cypriot trade unions within the civil society, societal dissent and struggles of hegemony and counter-hegemony. The second section emphasized on the different waves of migration from Turkey to Northern Cyprus since the 1970s and a particular attention was given to the highly

negative image of immigrants from Turkey within the Turkish Cypriot community by giving examples from the Turkish Cypriot newspapers. The following section, presented the main findings of the study by analyzing the quantitative and qualitative data obtained from the leading Turkish Cypriot trade unions with highest numbers of active members. And lastly, using the theoretical and conceptual frameworks in the previous part, a general discussion was made and the main findings were attempted to be interpreted.

In the last part, under the title 'Conclusion', key findings and arguments of the present dissertation were summarized.

CHAPTER 1

DE FACTO STATES, CIVIL SOCIETY AND THE CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS

1.1 Contemporary *De Facto* States: Brief Information

In spite of their existence and remarkable persistence within the international system of sovereign states, the topic of *de facto* states has been ignored in the academic world for a long time. As a result of this ubiquitous apathy these entities have remained a mostly marginalized topic, inarguably with lots of unknowns about them, within the academic field until quite recently. It is necessary to note that there were numerous reasons behind this tendency. Principally, wide array of myths and prejudices had existed targeting *de facto* states. For example, for long years *de facto* states were prevalently evaluated as 'temporary' phenomenon and thus exposed to simplifications. As elaborated by Caspersen (2017, p. 12) "De facto states also tended to be viewed as transitory phenomenon. They existed in a temporary limbo in-between the stable alternatives of de jure independence or, more likely, forceful reintegration into their parent state". In addition to their assumed 'transitory character', *de facto* states were also labelled as highly "inaccessible or dangerous" (Beachain et al., 2016, p. 441) places/territories for scholars, overidentifying them with various problems and crimes including gangsterism, organized crimes and also different types of trafficking (Kolossoff and O'Loughlin, 1999; O'Loughlin et al., 2015). In her latest publication on *de facto* states, Caspersen (2017, p. 11) also critically drew our attention to the same mistaken overidentification "The dominant image -in the media, foreign ministries and even some academic literature- was of criminalized badlands that were ruled by infighting warlords and based their survival on extortion and

the smuggling of dangerous goods, including drugs and even radioactive material". Yet, the accuracy of such labelling/overidentification does not stand up to empirical scrutiny. The main basis of these widely held myths and overidentifications have been refuted by some recent empirical research including Caspersen (2009) and Riegl and Dobos (2017).

Recently, this ignorance and negative image of *de facto* states have changed radically due to the fact that academic interest on these entities has grown considerably. Moreover, with the 1990s (Berg et al., 2017) and more particularly with the developments in South Ossetia and Abkhazia in the 2000s (Beachain et al., 2016) studies focusing on these entities entered their heyday. With the latest contributions, the literature on *de facto* states has both expanded and become more diversified as compared to two or three decades ago. Numerous works published in the very recent past, including Caspersen's (2012) book entitled 'Unrecognized States: The Struggle for Sovereignty in the Modern International System' and Riegl and Dobos's (2017) edited book entitled 'Unrecognized States and Secession in the 21st Century', comprehensively examining these states are the biggest evidences supporting this argument.

Regardless of these developments, it is still possible to mention the existence of another trend in characterizing *de facto* states as anomalous political entities or, to quote directly from Caspersen (2017, p. 12), as "esoteric anomalies" in the existing international system. At the same time, the topic of *de facto* states preserves its highly politicized status. This highly politicized character of the debate led to a severe 'terminological inflation' as stated by Riegl (2014, p. 19): "The phenomenon of internationally unrecognized entities is characterized by methodological confusion". Accordingly, different people and scholars tend to use different terminologies depending on their political stance and how they evaluate these entities in the light of their political and/or ideological values. Examples of these diversified terminologies include various labels as was summarized by Riegl (2014, p. 19-20):

Authors label these entities as *de facto* state (Pegg 1998), self-proclaimed state, unrecognized state (Chirikba 2004), pseudo-state (Kolossoy; O'Loughlin 1998), outcast countries, pariah-state (Payne; Veney 2001: 438), anti-state, insurgent state (Muir 1997: 175), J.A. Frowein introduced the term

de facto regime (Scheu 2008: 5), para-state, almost-state (Stanislawski 2008, Pelczynska-Nalecz; Strachota and Falkowski 2008), proto-state, nascent-state (Smid; Vadura 2009: 47), separatist state, self-proclaimed states (Chirikba 2004), de facto quasi-states (Rywkin 2006), and quasi-state (Baev 1998, Chirikba 2004, Rywkin 2006, Kolsto 2006, Stanislawski 2008, Riegl 2010).

This situation creates serious difficulties in reaching an exact consensus on the definition of *de facto* states -similar to many other concepts in social sciences- and the necessary criteria to characterize an entity as a *de facto* state. However, this does not mean that there are not some widely acclaimed definitions used in the academic field. The broad definition proposed by O'Loughlin et al., (2015, p. 2) is one of the most popular ones "... a *de facto* state has, for a period of two years or greater, established territorial control in a distinct geographic region and proclaimed itself an independent sovereign polity but failed to acquire widespread international recognition and legitimacy as such in the international system". Thus, as can be understood from this definition, four key criteria come into prominence in characterizing an entity as a *de facto* state and these key criteria were clearly summarized by Caspersen (2012). First of all, i) the entity should accomplish its *de facto* independent existence through establishing an effective control over at least "two-thirds of the territory to which it lays claim" comprising major zones and cities. Secondly, ii) entity's administrators should be passionate about erecting more public institutions, ensuring the essential utilities to their inhabitants and propagandizing the entity's legitimacy to outside world. Moreover, iii) the entity should have failed to acquire widespread/considerable international recognition and lastly, iv) it should manage to 'survive' for at least two years (Caspersen, 2012, p. 11). In the light of this definition criteria many scholars, including Nina Caspersen and Vincenc Kopecek, emphasize that there are six *de facto* states in the contemporary international system; four of them, namely the Abkhazia, South Ossetia, Nagorno-Karabakh and Transnistria, are continuing their existence in the post-Soviet space. The other two *de facto* states are Northern Cyprus and Somaliland. Based upon Caspersen's (2012), Kopecek's (2017) and Riegl and Dobos's (2017) analysis, some other cases including Taiwan, Kosovo, Palestine and Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic were not categorized as *de facto* states due to the reason that these cases

have significant international recognition. This reality puts them into a highly disputable and ambiguous position. Therefore, Caspersen (2012, p. 12) preferred to categorize them as “borderline cases” by underlining that they get stuck in between being a recognized state and an unrecognized state. In her most recent publication, however, Caspersen (2017) overemphasized that two new cases which could be characterized as *de facto* states in line with the aforementioned criteria have emerged, namely the Donetsk and Luhansk/Lugansk, in the Donbass region of eastern Ukraine. Yet, as these two cases are the quite recent outcomes of the long-running armed conflict between the government forces and Russian-supported elements, from 2014 onwards, currently lots of allegations and unknowns exist about them. Thus, future research should be carried out in order to obtain more comprehensive information about these two cases and further clarify their status in the contemporary international system.

These six *de facto* states have several characteristics in common. For example, according to O’Loughlin et al., (2011) and Beachain et al., (2016), they all have identical structural circumstances of origin as all of them established after specific wars; they all strive for building further state institutions by disproving the widely held belief arguing that it is impossible to create an effective statehood without the existence of international recognition to a large extent; they all have highly disputable demographic/population structures or can be said ‘demographic phobias’; and they all suffer from international isolation although at different levels. Despite all these common characteristics, contemporary *de facto* states by no means constitute a homogeneous group but rather an excessively heterogeneous group of geographical and political entities (Riegl, 2014). First of all, as mentioned above, their geographical locations differ from each other. This means that although most of the existing *de facto* states are concentrated in the post-Soviet space, it is not the only region where they are continuing their existence. Moreover, they significantly differ from each other in terms of their democratization levels. According to Freedom House’s report entitled ‘Freedom in the World 2018’, Abkhazia, Somaliland and Nagorno-Karabakh can be categorized as ‘Partly Free’, giving them a score of 4.5, 4.5 and 5

respectively on a 7-point scale. On the other hand, same report categorized South Ossetia and Transnistria as 'Not Free', giving these countries scores of 6.5 and 6 respectively. The most striking point is that Northern Cyprus has received a score of 2 and categorized as 'Free'. Another important point of difference between *de facto* states is related with the issue of a patron state. To make it clear, all *de facto* states do not have a patron state in a classical sense; as argued by Caspersen (2009, p. 51) the Somaliland forms a partial exception:

As a result, most *de facto* states really have no alternative but to rely on a patron state...There are, however, some exceptions to this rule... We should, however, not overlook the fact that the United States functions as a form of patron state in this case, so although Somaliland finds itself in a somewhat different position, it only constitutes a partial exception from the general rule of patron state dependency.

It can be argued that *de facto* states which have patron states in a classical sense have different patron states (Russia, Armenia and Turkey) and dissimilar levels of economic, political and cultural proximities to them. Lastly, as argued by O'Loughlin et al., (2015) when these *de facto* states are compared to each other, it becomes clear that they all have diverse demographic compositions. For example, scholars such as Beachain et al., (2016) have underlined the homogeneity of some *de facto* states' population structures in terms of ethnicity including South Ossetia and Nagorno-Karabakh. Yet, different structures regarding demography are at stake in Abkhazia -where there are significant populations of Armenians and Russians- and Transnistria -which hosts Ukrainians and Russians alongside of Moldovans- both having ethnically heterogeneous populations where neither of the ethnic groups has a precedence over others. And thus, people belonging to different ethnic groups in these territories have varied aspirations regarding geopolitics and levels of trust in domestic and non-domestic political institutions and leaderships. These will be addressed in more detail below.

All these six *de facto* states have managed to survive for more than two decades -Abkhazia since 1993, Nagorno-Karabakh since 1994, Somaliland and Transnistria since 1991, South Ossetia since 1992 and Northern Cyprus since 1974. Kolsto (2006, p. 753) specified five factors that played important roles in *de facto* states' persistence "symbolic nation-building; militarization of

society; the weakness of the parent state; support from an external patron; and lack of involvement on the part of the international community. Among these, 'support from a patron state' is of vital importance and deserves special focus.

1.1.1 The Vitality of Patron States for the Existence and Persistence of *De Facto* States

It is impossible to comprehend the existence and persistence of *de facto* states which constitute the 'black sheeps' of the world of sovereign states without giving reference to the patron states and mentioning their cruciality. As briefly mentioned above, lack of considerable international recognition and the international isolation suffered are largely beclouding the lives of these entities. In these circumstances, *de facto* states do not have much choice other than to rely on their patron states (Caspersen, 2012; Kopecek et al., 2016) in order to continue their existences. Thus, with very few exceptions, they receive enormous support from their patrons which are their "life-line[s]" (Kolsto, 2006, p. 757) that keep *de facto* states' hearts beating. Compared to other *de facto* states located in the post-Soviet space, South Ossetia is the smallest and most reliant one on its patron which is Russian Federation as underlined by Kolossov and O'Loughlin (2011b, p. 637): "The South Ossetian budget is almost totally (96 percent) shaped by financial assistance from Russia... Russian assistance includes not only investments, loans, subventions, and technical aid, but also direct payments to the population". According to the same article, similar situation is also valid for Abkhazia. A significant amount of money has been spent by Russia, especially after 2009, in order to revamp the urban infrastructure of Abkhazia including its roads and railways. Yet, assistances received are not limited with monetary backing that are mainly used for building new institutions and infrastructure. *De facto* states, almost always, receive political and military support from their patron states too (Caspersen, 2012). Parallel to these security guarantees, Abkhazia, South Ossetia and Transnistria host Russian troops on their soils -however, in the cases of Nagorno-Karabakh and Northern Cyprus, Armenian and Turkish soldiers are at stake respectively. For example, Russia has deployed two military stations in Abkhazia with 3,800 soldiers, making significant contribution

to the Abkhazian economy too (Kolossoff and O'Loughlin, 2011). Moreover, *de facto* states prefer to eliminate/overcome their demographic disadvantages, if there is any, with the help of the same actors when the patron state is at the same time the 'kin' state (Beachain et al., 2016) which is especially the case in Abkhazia, Northern Cyprus and Nagorno-Karabakh.

The level of dependence on a patron state is directly proportionate to the level of international isolation imposed on these states. This means that when the level of isolation imposed at the international level on a *de facto* entity increases, it becomes more and more reliant on its external patron in every aspect of its life. Thus, patron states usually turn into so to say 'life support units' for *de facto* states in the course of time because, as highlighted by Caspersen (2012), international isolation is a highly detrimental enforcement. One of the leading civil society activists in Abkhazia, Liana Kvarchelia, also remarked on the same issue in one of the panel discussions she attended. She problematized the international community's treatment of Abkhazia by concluding that this wrong treatment is pushing Abkhazia further towards its patron state, Russia (Khintba et al., 2010). In conjunction with this fundamentally asymmetrical reliance on patron states, *de facto* states face many different accusations and prejudgments. However, as Caspersen and Herrberg (2010, p. 8) have suggested one of them shines amongst others:

These entities are described as the puppets of external powers: Abkhazia, South Ossetia and Transnistria as Russia's puppets; Northern Cyprus as Turkey's; and Nagorno Karabakh as Armenia's. The importance of internal dynamics is rejected and the *de facto* regimes are merely seen to be doing their master's bidding.

As can be seen, this common labelling portrays the existing patron-client relationships as simple and arbitrary. However, little evidence exists to support such portrayal. If we can draw an analogy for the actual relationship between *de facto* and patron states then the 'iceberg' metaphor is an appropriate one. This means that apart from the apparent facts, there is a lot that is unseen; the relationship between *de facto* and patron states is highly complicated and not solely arbitrary, open to political ups and downs (Caspersen, 2012; Kolsto, 2006). On the one side of the coin there is the utmost importance given by the *de facto* states to keep their economic, political and military relations with their patron states as close as possible. Nevertheless, other side of the coin should

not be overlooked. *De facto* states have also characteristics to influence/effect the internal politics of their patron states. For instance, in the Republic of Turkey considering Northern Cyprus as a 'national cause' is still a dominant tendency in both daily and political life (Ulusoy, 2016). Naturally, in a Republic where the (Turkish) nationalism is the founding ideology, policies produced by the governments regarding the Northern Cyprus and the solution of the protracted 'Cyprus problem' have direct effect over the support they receive from the public.

Traditionally, patron states have specific current and future objectives and interests. In line with these, they develop various policies and take concrete steps regarding *de facto* states they are backing up. As stated by Kochieva (2016) patron states frequently see no harm in giving material and moral support to specific political parties and candidates against others who they believe will serve their interests. Numerous examples can be found supporting this argument but especially two of them are quite important. In the first years of its ongoing rule, Justice and Development Party (*Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi*/AKP) supported pro-solution and pro-European Union (EU) Republican Turkish Party (*Cumhuriyetçi Türk Partisi*/CTP), during the parliamentary elections that took place in Northern Cyprus in 2003 and 2005, against the National Unity Party (*Ulusal Birlik Partisi*/UBP) and Rauf Denktaş whom are the strongholds of the status quo, and Mehmet Ali Talat in the 2005 presidential election against (Turkish) nationalist Derviş Eroğlu in compliance with its pro-EU foreign policy vision (Özersay, 2013). When this met the expectations of the majority of Turkish Cypriots, the elections resulted as Turkey also desired. Nevertheless, these policies and 'guidances' are not always in perfect harmony with the *de facto* states' own objectives and expectations and thus they do not bear desirable fruits. To put it more precisely, relations between *de facto* and patron states are not immune from political fluctuations and sometimes receive widespread objection from the inhabitants of the *de facto* states (O'Loughlin et al., 2015). For instance, despite they made appearances with Russian leadership, many Kremlin-favourite candidates sustained resounding defeats in the elections as stated by Beachain et al., (2016, p. 447): "There have been examples of Kremlin

interference in the elections of its dependent allies but in three high-profile cases (Abkhazia-2004; Transnistria-2011; South Ossetia-2011) such meddling proved counterproductive and ended with a defeat for Moscow's favourite". As the Kremlin-favourite Raul Khajimba lost the 2004 presidential election against his opponent Sergey Bagapsh with the overwhelming support of Abkhaz community, a popular civil society activist, Arda Inal-ipa, characterized this development as a vital stance against their patron state: "That [presidential election] was a serious demonstration that we are not in Russia's pocket. When we see that Russia will help us, we'll be with them. When it doesn't, we won't." (Kucera, 2007, p. 1). It is necessary to mention that when the things do not go as planned, patron states sometimes react harshly to their clients. Despite, patron states predominantly 'blackmail' their dependent entities by cutting off financial and military support that helping them stay alive, they can also decide to take further steps such as imposing strict economic embargos till the situation changes in their favor as happened in Abkhazia after the presidential elections in 2004 (Caspersen, 2009).

In an attempt to enlarge our understanding regarding *de facto* states, it is essential to elaborate on the scientific research in the literature and the striking findings these studies have revealed.

1.1.2 Old and New Studies: The Path towards a Deeper Comprehension of *De Facto* States

In the earlier part of this dissertation it was voiced that wide array of myths and prejudices regarding *de facto* states which prevailed for a long period of time inhibited them to attract the interest they deserved in the academic world. When they started to attract the academic interest they deserved, this 'status quo' was dismantled; but this time particular research topics/questions began to dominate the academic literature for long years. Earlier academic research on *de facto* states mostly concentrated on the conditions paving the way for their establishment as put forward by O'Loughlin et al., (2011, p. 2): "Research on *de facto* states is understandably preoccupied with the conditions whereby they come into existence and either gain, or fail to gain, external legitimacy".

Additionally, other dominant research topics were revolving around state-building (King, 2001) and international community's reactions to the existence of *de facto* states and the vitality of patron states for these entities (Pegg, 1998; Caspersen, 2008; 2009). Research focusing on similar topics can be found even today -Caspersen's (2017) work entitled 'Making Peace with De Facto States' and Comai's (2017a) 'The External Relations of De Facto States in the South Caucasus' are symptomatics of such discussions- yet it should be underlined that the dominance of such research has declined relatively compared to the first years. Perhaps the greatest fallacy of earlier academic research is that they were mostly looking to the topic via the 'window of ethnicity' and thus, they were unavoidably turning a blind eye to the internal political, economic, social and also cultural dynamics of the *de facto* states (Caspersen, 2008; Beachain, 2017).

As previously mentioned, owing to the growing interest, academic research on *de facto* states have already reached significant numbers and become significantly diversified over the last 10-15 years. More recently, many academic research have been published concentrating on the internal political, economic, social and also cultural dynamics/affairs of these entities. Especially the theoretical works focusing on the tutelage and dependency relationship between the patron and *de facto* states (Kanol, 2015; Kanol and Köprülü, 2017; Comai, 2017b) and the public attitude surveys centering upon the opinions and preferences of these entities' residents have clarified people's understanding concerning the *de facto* states with the interesting findings they revealed. This point was also emphasized by Caspersen (2017, p. 15): "There is now a considerably body of research on the internal dynamics of de facto states. This has greatly improved our understanding of them and has helped displace previous simplifications". This large 'repertoire' consists of a great selection of different 'rhythms'; studies searching for comprehensive answers to the questions such as "Preferred future status of the Republic/Willingness to join patron states-Integration/Unification with Russia" (Kolossoff and O'Loughlin, 2011a, p. 9-10; O'Loughlin et al., 2015, p. 26-29; Beachain et al., 2016, p. 446; Toal, 2017, p. 16-18; Kolossoff and O'Loughlin, 2011b, p. 649-650; Fischer, 2016, p. 16-19; Jaksa, 2017, p. 3); "Support for the presence of Russian

[Armenian in the case of Nagorno-Karabakh] troops/How long should Russian [Armenian in the case of Nagorno-Karabakh] troops remain?" (O'Loughlin et al., 2015, p. 15-17); "Overall level of trust in the leadership of the Russian Federation/patron state" (O'Loughlin et al., 2015, p. 13-15; Kolossov and O'Loughlin, 2011a, p. 9; Jaksa, 2017, p. 3; Bakke et al., 2014a, p. 10); "Overall level of support for integration or reunification with a parent state" (O'Loughlin et al., 2011, p. 31-32; 2015, p. 26); "Security and perceived well-being" (O'Loughlin et al., 2011, p. 14-19); "Views on current and future geopolitical relations with Russia and Georgia" (O'Loughlin et al., 2011, p. 30-33; Toal and O'Loughlin, 2013, p. 162-163); "Support for local (state) institutions" (O'Loughlin et al., 2011, p. 22-24; Toal and O'Loughlin, 2013, p. 153-154; O'Loughlin et al., 2015, p. 19); "Possibilities of post-war reconciliation" (O'Loughlin et al., 2015, p. 24-26); "Life-world identifications" (O'Loughlin et al., 2011, p. 19-21); "Trust in the presidents of the *de facto* republics" (O'Loughlin et al., 2015, p. 19-21; Toal, 2017, p. 16-19; Jaksa, 2017, p. 3); "non-Abkhaz perceptions of the extent of discrimination in Abkhazia" (Clogg, 2008, p. 316-318); "Attitudes of current residents of Abkhazia and largely ethnic Georgian former residents of Abkhazia about each other" (Toal and Grono, 2011, p. 667-673) and "whether the state is moving in the right or direction" (O'Loughlin et al., 2015, p. 17-19; Jaksa, 2017, p. 3). One of the most groundbreaking conclusions that these studies had reached is that inhabitants' attitudes/answers to the questions and their support and lack of support show significant differences based on their ethnic origins as it is still one of the most 'active fault lines' in the existing *de facto* states. This crystallizes particularly in the percentages regarding the 'Overall level of trust in the leadership of the Russian Federation/patron state'. Overall, the participants in three *de facto* states -Abkhazia, South Ossetia and Transnistria- placed their trust in the Russian leadership, with Georgians/Mingrelians in Abkhazia being the only exception as revealed by O'Loughlin et al., (2015). Only 22 percent of the Georgian/Mingrelian respondents in Abkhazia stated that they trust the Russian leadership whereas the numbers for ethnic Abkhaz, Armenians and Russians in Abkhazia are more than 80 percent, 90 percent and 70 percent respectively. Additionally, more than 80 percent of the South Ossetian participants in South Ossetia place their trust in their patron state

(Kolossoff and O'Loughlin, 2011, p. 9; O'Loughlin et al., 2015, p. 13-14; Jaksa, 2017, p. 3). Thus, the vast majority of the inhabitants in these three *de facto* entities are positively inclined toward Russian Federation and its leadership.

Another important conclusion disclosed is that the vast majority of the respondents in Abkhazia, South Ossetia and Transnistria think so highly of the availability of Russian troops on their soils since this situation does not only provide security but also concomitantly brings economic benefits such as creating employment opportunities for local population. Supporters of this option thus take up a position on behalf of the permanent staying of Russian military forces on their soils. There is no united and powerful opposition, especially in Abkhazia and South Ossetia, contesting this 'almost a consensus', again except from Georgians/Mingrelians in Abkhazia, with only 20 percent of them advocated that Russian military forces should remain forever (O'Loughlin et al., 2015). For the issue of 'support for local (state) institutions' including law enforcement forces, researchers concluded that respondents in the *de facto* republics are trustful towards them. According to Bakke et al., (2014b) and Toal and O'Loughlin (2013), respondents' trust level to the law enforcement forces in Abkhazia is 45.4 percent and in South Ossetia 51 percent. Compared to other possible political futures/alternatives such as independence and re-integration with the 'base' state -Georgia, Azerbaijan and Moldova- the vast majority of respondents said that the best political future for their *de facto* state is to 'integrate with its patron state -Russia or Armenia'. With reference to O'Loughlin et al., (2015), Jaksa (2017) and Toal (2017) this aspiration is so intense in South Ossetia where over 80 percent of the respondents want to see their *de facto* state united with the Russian Federation in the near future. Nonetheless, same kind of aspiration does not exist amongst ethnic Abkhaz in Abkhazia. Despite all their positive attitudes toward their patron state, clear majority of ethnic Abkhaz respondents united around the preservation of the independent state of Abkhazia. As O'loughlin et al., (2015, p. 27) indicates "No Abkhazian politician doubts the need for close relations with the patron... At the same time, for most Abkhazians, particularly for ethnic Abkhaz, national sovereignty is a supreme value. Independence is the firm choice of ethnic Abkhaz (80 percent)". On the other hand, Jaksa (2017) had

disclosed a lower percentage which is 65. Amongst the asked political alternatives, lowest support belongs to the 'reunification with the base state'. Excluding the numerically small Moldovan respondents in Transnistria, people are not holding brief for the reunification in these *de facto* states (Toal, 2017). The last conclusion is on the participants' overall evaluations concerning the life and discrimination in *de facto* states. As Clogg (2008) reflected, particularly non-Abkhaz inhabitants of Abkhazia feel that they are being treated as second-class citizens compared to the ethnic Abkhaz in almost all aspects of life including education, employment, jurisdiction and military duty.

Researchers have also identified various growing fears, complaints and feelings of resentment about their external patrons and people coming from these places -more particularly businessmen and migrant labors- amongst the residents of some of these *de facto* states. It is possible to argue that they are utterly stemming from the asymmetrical reliance on patron states. In other words, ever-expanding political, economic, military and cultural preponderances of patron states in these entities have recently sparked off fears, complaints and resentments amongst the native population/people living in some of these entities. According to Fischer (2010, p. 5) "The subject of this fear of marginalization, however, seems to be slowly shifting away from a Georgian demographic or military threats to concerns about increasing Russian political and particularly economic influence in Abkhazia". Lately, these issues began to occupy a part of the daily conversations and politics and appear as themes on the local and national newspapers of some of these *de facto* states. These growing fears, complaints and resentments can be collected under a number of different headings: economic, demographic, socio-political and socio-cultural.

Principally, economic and demographic fears, complaints and resentments arouse interconnectedly. In some of the *de facto* states located in the post-Soviet space, namely the Abkhazia and South Ossetia, big Russian companies and businessmen are making large investments in multiple sectors including tourism and transportation infrastructures across the coastal strips for new holiday resorts and commencing mining projects and petroleum exploration works (Khintba et al., 2010; Kolossov and O'Loughlin, 2011a;

Fischer, 2016; Phillips and de Waal, 2010). Besides, Russian citizens intend to purchase lands and houses by taking advantage of the cheap real estate markets and recent legal reforms in these places: “Land in Abkhazia is owned by the state and leased to individuals and businesses. A change to the law in June 2009 opened the way for Russian investors and others to purchase long-term leases to Abkhazian property, previously restricted to Abkhazians only” (O’Loughlin et al., 2011, p. 7). In Abkhazia for example, this situation led to public indignation and awakened the fear of losing distinctive Abkhaz identity, culture and sovereignty, or to quote directly from Achba’s (2016, p.1) piece “being swallowed by their protector”. Supporters of this fear believe that if the necessary restrictions are not imposed urgently to dilute their patron state’s ever-expanding influence/preponderance then they will lose their identity and sovereignty that they have been fighting for years. This is because they parochially think that a possible Russian population boom -linked to the aforementioned investments and legal reforms and/or reform proposals- would shift the ‘fragile’ demographic balance radically against them and consequently put them in a marginalized position in front of the other population groups. As a matter of course this belief slightly opens the door to the socio-political fears, complaints and resentments ‘predicting’ that people will lose their political will in the long run. According to the Democracy and Freedom Watch (2016), this fear is more common in the Abkhaz community because they consider themselves as a small ethnic group and thus these developments cause much alarm and resentment amongst them.

When it comes to the socio-cultural fears, complaints and resentments, fear of losing culture and language is spiraling upwards amongst the residents of the *de facto* states, stemming mostly from full rapprochement with their patron states. Especially people in Abkhazia and South Ossetia believe and fear that dominance of Russian culture and language in their republics is eroding/corrupting the Abkhazian and South Ossetian cultural values which are the vital elements of their unique identities (Clogg, 2008; Kolossov and O’Loughlin, 2011a). As a direct product of these suspicions and fears, in the past months, the first salient frustrations and hostilities between the indigenous people -ethnic Abkhazians and South Ossetians- and Russians -capitalists

and people leading their lives in these geographies- have bubbled to the surface. According to Kolossov and O'Loughlin (2011a) and Achba (2016) Russian pop culture and language dominates the life in Abkhazia and South Ossetia through their hegemonic preponderances within the daily and political life, written and visual media -with the help of the TV channels broadcasting in Russian- and education by being one of the main mediums of teaching. Moreover, as Philips and de Waal (2010) stated, almost all building products and heavy machinery needed are brought into Abkhazia and South Ossetia from Russian Federation. Workers in the construction sector should be 'recruited' from the patron states too; due to the fact that lack of considerable international recognition makes compensation of this labor force shortage from international labor markets impossible. Temporary prefabricated houses are built as accommodation for migrant workers and the high concentration of them in such small geographical areas making contribution to bolstering patron states' -Russia in this case- hopes of greater influence over these entities: "the presence of more than 5,000 workers from Russia in the small city of Tskhinval(i) [South Ossetia] contributes to a further strengthening of the Russian presence" (Kolossov and O'Loughlin, 2011a, p. 9).

It is possible to encounter the reflections of these fears and resentments in the local and national press as they contain some articles actually critical of the full rapprochement with the patron states and people coming from these states and living in the forenamed *de facto* entities. Yet, it should be underlined that sometimes the dose of the critical comments 'goes beyond the pale'. Some examples of recent date might be given in support of this assertion. A good example is that in 2009, Nuzhnaya Gazeta -a private, local wide circulated newspaper in Sukhum [Abkhazia] publishing weekly news in Russian (BBC, 2015)- blamed and insulted Russian Federation for pursuing 'colonial mentality' over South Ossetia (Kolossov and O'Loughlin, 2011a). At the same time, even some other newspapers preferred to voice harsher words in their critics and used "sex with an infected partner" (Kolossov and O'Loughlin, 2011a, p. 10) imagery metaphorically to describe Abkhazia's (asymmetrical) relations with its patron state, leading to public resentment amongst Russians. Increasing 'anti-Russification' sentiments in these

territories primarily manifest themselves as public pressures being put on the Abkhaz and South Ossetian governments to prioritise the protection and usage of local languages. Parastaev and Mearakishvili (2016) suggested that South Ossetians who share this idea think that their current national education system has severe deficiencies in this regard and thus needs urgent government attention.

In addition to these, the last two decades have witnessed a growth of interest in academic research on the structure and status of the civil society and civil society organizations (CSOs)/actors within the *de facto* states. Before focusing on the structure and status of the civil society and civil society organizations/actors in Abkhazia, South Ossetia, Nagorno-Karabakh, Transnistria and Northern Cyprus, dissertation will take a closer look into the 'journey' of civil society concept and civil society organizations (CSOs) in the course of time.

1.2 Structure and Status of the Civil Society and Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) within the *De Facto* States

1.2.1 Long and Arduous Journey of the Civil Society Concept and Civil Society Organizations

Chapter Two of Umut Özkırımlı's book entitled 'Contemporary Debates on Nationalism: A Critical Engagement' starts with citing Guido Zernatto's well-known analogy, "A word is like a coin" (Özkırımlı, 2005, p. 13), that he made use of to discuss the journey of the word 'nation'. With reference to this striking analogy, Zernatto revealed the transformations and ups and downs that the denotation of the word 'nation' had experienced, just like the values of the coins, since the medieval age. In a repeat of what happened in the case mentioned above, it should be underlined that the concept of civil society and CSOs have gone through the similar transformations and ups and downs from past to the present.

The concept of civil society has a very long history. Most researchers would probably agree on the finding that it appeared for the first time in history

in ancient Greece with Aristotle. However, when it appeared for the first time the concept of civil society was not different and separate from the state, or to quote directly from Howley (2009, p. 71): "...civil society was considered synonymous with the state". It was merely an extension of the state apparatus. The historical identicalness between the civil society and the state continued till the 18th Century when the bourgeoisie gained strength (Tamer-Gözübüyük, 2010). When it comes to the recent historical development process, 19th century could be characterized as -so to say- the 'black spring' of the concept due to the fact that in the second half of the 19th Century, it went out of circulation. Quite the contrary, in the 20th Century numerous epoch-making developments and transformations had been witnessed regarding the concept of civil society and the CSOs. At the beginning of the 20th Century, the concept re-emerged and the CSOs which are known as the main actors shouldering the civil society space took active roles in small-scale humanitarian aid projects especially in the third world (Yüksel and Sezgin, 2012). In the 1960s, however, CSOs faced an important breakup which undermined their pretty homogenous structure. This breakup created two different groups of CSOs. While one group of them showed decisiveness to stick to their traditional roles, small-scale humanitarian aid projects, other group of CSOs chose to adopt more politicized characters/roles (Yüksel and Sezgin, 2012). Despite all, the dramatic changes and developments of the late 1980s including the collapse of the Eastern bloc in 1989 symbolizes the beginning of a new era for the concept and the CSOs. After 1989 and particularly throughout the 1990s, owing to the globalization processes, the concept has gained immense popularity and the national and international CSOs skyrocketed both quantitatively and qualitatively. The prevailing modern view argues that one fourth of the existing CSOs were established after 1990 (Yüksel and Sezgin, 2012) and it is possible to express the number of CSOs operating on global scale with billions and on national scale with millions (Gül, 2014). Furthermore, with the addition of novel issues and problems such as the democratization, protection of human rights and freedoms, global warming and the devastating effects of capitalism, the interest and activity range of the CSOs within the public sphere expanded. But this, at the same time, created a deadlock over a shared definition of the civil society and CSOs. Even today people remain at a deadlock at a universal,

standardized, non-amorphous and theoretically strong definitions of civil society and CSOs. In order to overcome this 'bogging down effect', people - researchers of civil society, lawyers, politicians and sociologists- generally prefer to generate their own definitions of civil society and CSOs (Ryfman, 2006; Alemdar, 2015). Concordantly, from narrowest to widest, definitions usually depend on the conjuncture and the persons who define them.

For all these ambiguities encompassing the concept and CSOs, most researchers and institutions converge on the understanding that a number of key components do exist which are the 'sine qua non' of civil society. The Center for Civil Society at the London School of Economics, for example, defines civil society as "the arena of uncoerced collective actions around shared interests, purposes and values. In theory, its institutional forms are distinct from those of the state, family and market, though in practice, the boundaries between state, civil society, family and market are often complex, blurred and negotiated" (CCS, 2009, p. 1). And the most popular and comprehensive work emphasizing the tangled interrelationships between the state and civil society belongs to Gramsci (1971). Considering the definition of the Centre for Civil Society, CSOs do not set their sights on coming to power/getting into the government. Yet still, they carry the loads of two important responsibilities on their shoulders. As Gül (2014) asserted one of them is forging public opinion both at the national and international level. Secondly, CSOs strive to put specific issues into the centers of the national and international agenda and by this way they struggle to influence and shape the decision-making processes. On that account, heterogeneous structure of the civil society sometimes witnesses the cooperation of actors -including socio-cultural and socio-political groups- and sometimes their struggles for hegemony and counter-hegemony in the Gramscian sense.

The prevailing paradigm argues that there is an organic relationship between the democracy and the development of the civil society (Gümüþ, 2014). This means that a free and fully functioning civil society and influential CSOs can only emerge in states which had reached specific levels of democracy. Conspicuously, as Popescu (2006) underlined, most researchers and politicians in the prevailing paradigm take for granted the absence of

democracy in the *de facto* states. And solely basing on this presupposition/prejudgment, they argue that necessary grounds and criteria for the development of civil society in these entities do not exist at all. Therefore, most of them typically believe that investigating the structure and the status of the civil society or even chasing its traces in *de facto* states is just a 'sisyphian challenge'; efforts that could not go beyond a great waste of time. Yet, experiences time and again proved the skeptics wrong. Albeit, it can simply not be compared to the prospering structures of civil society and CSOs in some democratic Western states. It is still possible to mention the existence of civil society and CSOs in *de facto* states as was also argued by Tocci and Mikhelidze (2011, p. 148): "In fact, one may even question whether civil society can exist at all in contexts characterized by conflict." Needless to say, with a boatload of weaknesses, problems and pressures unique to them. Shortage of resources stemming mostly from the lack of widespread international recognition and international isolation and embargo is only one of them. But more importantly, in most of the cases, *de facto* states' highly militarized and paranoid characters lead to CSOs and civil society actors being exposed to harsh accusations, strict surveillance, intimidation and harassment from the state/state security services, albeit at different levels (Popescu, 2006; Tocci and Mikhelidze, 2011).

This part will focus on the overall structure and status of the civil society and CSOs/civil society actors in Abkhazia, Nagorno-Karabakh, South Ossetia and Transnistria -which are quite diverse from each other- without going into too much detail as this could take us beyond the scope of this thesis. Yet, one other important point should be noted: Somaliland case will be purposively left outside the scope of this discussion as it does not benefit from the support of a particular patron state. In other words, as discussed above, it is not possible to talk about an obvious patron-client relationship in classical sense in Somaliland case contrary to the other contemporary *de facto* states.

1.2.2 Abkhazia

For scholars working on the *de facto* states, the biggest nominee for political multivocality, functioning civil society and influential CSOs in the post-Soviet space was Transnistria owing to the particular importance attached to its relatively higher level of economic development. But, their predictions went wrong and Abkhazia became the 'joker in the pack' (Popescu, 2006). While Abkhazia is certainly not the 'wonderland' of political multivocality/pluralism and civil society, compared to the overall standards of the post-Soviet space, it is considered to have a well-developed civil society that is significantly independent from the authorities which is argued to provide enough room for the discussion of some of the politically sensitive issues within the public sphere (Kolsto and Blakkisrud, 2008; Popescu, 2011). Various factors can be identified that helped to the development of civil society in Abkhazia. But beyond any doubt, robust support coming from the international community - especially from the EU- is one of the most important factors behind this promising picture. When it comes to the numbers, many scholars have come up with the total number of registered and active CSOs in Abkhazia. Although reported numbers differ from source to source, it appears that the percentage of highly active CSOs is low. For example, Popescu (2006, p. 16) reported that: "... there are some 10-15 active NGOs in Abkhazia, and 5-6 of them being very active". On the other hand, according to Mikhelidze and Pirozzi (2008, p. 23) "There are about 200 NGOs registered in Abkhazia, but only 30 have regular ongoing projects and activities". Another important fact pointed out by Popescu (2010) is that greater part of the Abkhaz civil society space has been filled by three different types of CSOs. More clearly, in addition to the CSOs "understood in a classical Western sense" (Popescu, 2010, p. 15) there are also localized socio-political organizations, including various associations formed by war veterans, which are strictly right-wing and inward-looking organizations and Russian-sponsored organizations/GONGOs whose main agenda is to 'tailorize' the Abkhaz civil society and community in compliance with their patron state's interests. The first type of CSOs are surrounded by an atmosphere of mistrust mainly from the security and intelligence service of the state and nationalist-conservative segments of the community. They frequently suffer a harsh accusation of being 'puppets'/'collaborators' -and even 'traitors'

when the social unrest heightens (Simao, 2010)- of the international forces who are trying to undermine Abkhazia and therefore exposed to investigations and harassments as put forward by Popescu (2007, p. 14):

Mistrust of EU assistance in the secessionist entities is widespread. NGOs from Abkhazia that have received funding from international organizations, including the EU, have been under constant attack from conservative forces... They have typically claimed that organizations supported by the west are agents or spies of the west and work with Georgia against the secessionist entities, even though civil society activists in Abkhazia are strong supporters of Abkhaz independence.

Besides, it seems that the high age average of the CSO leaders and volunteers and the unbalanced concentration of the CSOs in the capital city (Sukhum) are the two other problems which have potentials to impede the sustainability and distort the promising picture of the civil society in Abkhazia (Popescu, 2010).

1.2.3 Nagorno-Karabakh

Compared to Abkhazia, the overall atmosphere for civil society and CSOs is more problematic in Nagorno-Karabakh. The main reason behind the limited power, influence and activities of the CSOs is the 'instrumentalist' and 'self-interested' approach of the Nagorno-Karabakhi authorities. In Nagorno-Karabakh, as Kolsto and Blakkisrud (2008) reported, there are 150 registered CSOs despite the fact that the percentage of active CSOs is again very low presenting similarity with the Abkhazia case. As can be interpreted from these numbers, authorities of Nagorno-Karabakh do not introduce solid barriers to opening of CSOs. On the other hand, it would be a mistake to argue that the main motivation of the authorities is pure support for political multivocality. Quite the contrary, similar to some other *de facto* states within the post-Soviet space, Nagorno-Karabakhi authorities are trying to create a 'fake image' or "illusion" (Popescu, 2006, p. 9) through this way. With this fake image they are hoping to convince the international community that their *de facto* state is highly democratic and has a well-developed and active civil society which would in return smooth the way for gaining (further) international recognition (Caspersen, 2009; Simao, 2010). Nevertheless, it should also be kept in mind that the political/ruling elites are the segment of the society who have been benefiting most from the status quo within the *de facto* states. Thus, they do

not want the CSOs to become powerful and politicized enough to challenge their privileged positions and also their *de facto* entity's official discourse and paradigm. Certainly, the Nagorno-Karabakhi authorities' general tendency of judging dissenting opinions and criticisms on politically sensitive topics as threats towards the 'indivisible unity of the state and nation' has a direct restricting impact over the actions, abilities to exercise political influence and freedom of expression of the CSOs, not to mention their areas of specialization as stated: "Although some NGOs criticize certain aspects of governmental policies, no one openly challenges the authorities on more fundamental issues, like the official approach to conflict settlement with Baku" (Kolsto and Blakkisrud, 2012, p. 147).

1.2.4 South Ossetia and Transnistria

Regarding the two other cases examined above, South Ossetia and Transnistria are two different stories. While South Ossetia has an extremely weak civil society, the situation in Transnistria is at the bottom of the barrel where the civil society space is highly limited and the existing CSOs are barely breathing because of the huge state violence that they are being exposed to (Kolsto and Blakkisrud, 2008; Mikhelizde and Pirozzi, 2008).

What is striking is that reproaches against the international actors are widespread in South Ossetia and particularly the EU is being held responsible for the weakness of the civil society and CSOs. According to the leading South Ossetian civil society activists, the assistances provided by the EU to the *de facto* states are obviously disproportional as suggested: "... there has been less international financial support for civil society in South Ossetia than in Abkhazia. And there is less knowledge and consequently a greater distrust of the EU in South Ossetia than in Abkhazia" (Popescu, 2007, p. 19).

Activities of the Transnistrian authorities are to a great extent preoccupied with efforts to silence the opposing voices of those who disagree with them and the official policy before they gain widespread popular support (Popescu, 2006). At this point, it is necessary to mention the Ministry of State Security because the 'witch-hunts' against CSOs are being mostly carried out

by this draconic structure. According to the report of the Equal Rights Trust (2016, p. 30), harsh and vigorously repressive methods put into practice by the Transnistrian authorities to overawe the CSOs, not to mention other actors such as media companies, who challenge them and the official policy and/or assumed to challenge include "...arbitrary arrest and detention;... violation of due process rights; violation of the rights to freedom of expression, association and assembly; In addition, in recent years, there has been an increase in reported cases of harassment and intimidation against human rights activists and media outlets". Moreover, the Ministry of State Security in Transnistria is doing its utmost to block CSOs from receiving technical and financial assistance from the international community. Thus, considering its relatively crowded population as against Abkhazia, Transnistria's civil society remained indispensably 'anemic'. Also, the few CSOs that are barely breathing today got trapped dealing with social issues only and are not allowed to take part in discussions on politically sensitive issues (Popescu, 2006; Tocci and Mikhelidze, 2011; Mikhelidze and Pirozzi, 2008).

It seems that there is a moderately developed literature on the overall structure and status of the civil society and CSOs in *de facto* states. Studies referenced above provide valuable insights about the level of development of the respective civil societies and CSOs in these entities, their strengths and weaknesses and also the pressures they are suffering from, caused mainly by the state authorities and hardline nationalist-conservative groups. However, there has been virtually no scientific study to date comprehensively focusing on and documenting the CSOs' and/or the leading civil society actors' views and attitudes in these entities regarding their patron states and the people/immigrants coming from these places. These issues have remained mostly unexplored despite the fact that recent research reported the existence of diversifying attitudes and fear, complaint and resentment bombardments targeting their patron states and people coming from these places amongst the residents of some of these entities. Only a few academic studies on *de facto* states have given publicity to CSOs' and important civil society actors' comments and attitudes, yet only on a limited number of issues. For example, O'Loughlin et al., (2011) gave place to an Abkhazian CSO's comments on

“sense of security” in their work. On the other hand, Kolsto and Blakkisrud (2008) made an interview with the coordinator of one of the most important Nagorno-Karabakhi CSOs, Naira Hayrumyan, for their research and briefly mentioned her knowledge regarding the status of the press freedom and civil society in Nagorno-Karabakh. And, as previously cited, Caspersen (2012) emphasized Arda Inal-Ipa’s comments about the symbolic meaning of the election loss of a presidential candidate supported by their patron state, Russia, for the Abkhaz community. Yet, they are far away from filling the emerged lacuna and shedding light on the issues that remain mostly unknown. These issues are still in need of serious attention and in-depth scholarly study.

Building upon the literature on *de facto* states and civil society, Northern Cyprus case will be elaborated in the chapters to follow.

CHAPTER 2

METHODOLOGY AND THE THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

2.1 Methodology

The main purpose of this chapter is to clarify the methodological approach adopted to reveal and analyze the leading Turkish Cypriot trade unions' attitudes towards their patron state and the immigrants coming from Turkey. In accordance with this purpose, this chapter will first outline the research model and the information and data gathering processes. Equally important, it will then discuss and justify the data gathering and sample selection procedures by providing information on which methods/techniques were used and also how and why they were preferred. Lastly, some of the problems and challenges confronted by the researcher will be presented, pointing out the importance of the political context/socio-political conjuncture in which the fieldwork of this dissertation was carried out.

2.1.1 Research Model

Mixed-methods design was selected as the methodology in order to fulfil the overall research aims of this dissertation, presented in the introduction section, benefiting from the important advantages provided to the researchers by this methodological approach. Creswell and Clark (2007, p. 5) describe mixed-methods research as a method "[focusing] on collecting, analysing, and mixing both quantitative and qualitative data in a single study or series of studies. Its central premise is that the use of quantitative and qualitative approaches, in combination, provides a better understanding of research problems than either approach alone". As can be understood from the quotation, supporters of the mixed-methods research emphasize that both research approaches

(quantitative and qualitative) have some specific limitations and deficiencies. Therefore, especially in sensitive research topics, adopting either of the methods alone could prevent a researcher from 'seeing the bigger picture'. That is, the researcher could fail to capture the complete understanding of the phenomenon under investigation as noted by Creswell and Clark (2011, p. 8):

There are several ways in which one data source may be inadequate. One type of evidence may not tell the complete story, or the researcher may lack the confidence in the ability of one type of evidence to address the problem. The results from the quantitative and qualitative data may be contradictory, which could not be known by collecting only one type of data... These are all situations in which using only one approach to address the research problem would be deficient. A mixed methods design best fits this problem.

In short, the researcher of this dissertation shares the aforementioned concerns and criticisms and thus decided to adopt mixed-methods design. Through combined use of both methods, the researcher aimed to balance the limitations and deficiencies of one research method by the strengths of another and give answers to research questions/problems on a politically sensitive topic as comprehensive as possible: "Sometimes the results of a study may provide an incomplete understanding of a research problem and there is a need for further explanations. In this case, a mixed methods study is used with the second database helping to explain the first database" (Creswell and Clark, 2011, p. 9).

2.1.2 Information Gathering

The vast majority of the preliminary information was attained as a result of a broad literature review on *de facto* states and contemporary discussions over them, structure and status of the civil society and civil society organizations within these entities, Turkish Cypriot trade unions and immigrants in Northern Cyprus coming from Turkey. The search included recently published - especially since the year 2000- academic studies including books, articles from scholarly journals, reports and master's theses and doctoral dissertations, both in English and Turkish. Hence, the present dissertation has greatly benefited from the library catalogue of the Near East University (<http://library.neu.edu.tr/cgi-bin/koha/opac-main.pl>) and various online

academic journal databases, namely the Academic Search Complete (EBSCOhost) and Journal Storage (JSTOR).

It is worth noting that this initial search had disclosed a number of striking conclusions. To begin with, as mentioned in the preceding paragraphs, the academic interest on *de facto* states has grown greatly in the recent years. Many researchers published studies analyzing the overall structure and status of the civil society and CSOs in most of these entities and beyond any doubt these efforts enriched the literature in general. Yet, the literature focusing on the CSOs' and the leading civil society actors' views and attitudes in these entities regarding their patron states and the people/immigrants coming from these places and Northern Cyprus's civil society and CSOs are different stories. This initial search has clearly showed the shortage of scholarly studies that focus on these issues. Thus, by revealing and analysing the leading Turkish Cypriot trade unions' attitudes towards their patron state and immigrants coming from Turkey, this dissertation aimed to contribute to reduce the mentioned shortages to some extent and also 'provoke'/encourage researchers to carry out similar studies in other *de facto* states in the future.

2.1.3 Data Gathering

As mentioned in subsection 2.1.1, this dissertation adopted mixed-methods research. Thus, both qualitative and quantitative data (QUAL+quan) were collected simultaneously from the sample.

Quantitative data detailing and enhancing the qualitative data, upon which greater emphasis was placed by the researcher, were collected with the help of one of the earliest but still one of the most widely used (psychological) attitude scales, known as the Bogardus Social Distance Scale.

2.1.3.1 Bogardus Social Distance Scale

Social Distance Scale was originally developed by Emory S. Bogardus in the 1920s. According to Bogardus (1959, p. 7), social distance refers to "the degree of sympathetic understanding that functions between person and

person, between person and group, and between group and group". As Brazill (2003) emphasized, the Social Distance Scale was initially developed to empirically measure and compare the attitudes towards cross-cultural contacts, people or groups belonging to different racial and/or ethnic populations in a country by "[asking] people how willing they would be to interact with various ethnic/racial groups in specified social situations" (Schaefer, 2008, p. 1068). Over the past 90 years, Social Distance Scale started to be used by the researchers across many different disciplines and it was adapted to measure attitudes towards multifarious groups including immigrants, refugees, tourists, Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Intersex individuals (LGBTI) and drug-addicts. Hoşgörür (1997) believes that scale's 'simplicity' in terms of its planning and application is the key factor behind this tendency.

In the 1930s, Bogardus modified the first version of the scale and the final version consists of seven statements/judgements. Strikingly, the way Bogardus have put these statements in order resembling a 'pyramid' as they are changing from the closest relationship to farthest one or, to quote directly from Horne (2011, p. 29), going "from most to least positive". Thus, during the survey, the respondents are asked to state whether they would accept or not a person belonging to a different group, be it national, cultural and/or religious, following the classification used by Horne (2011, p. 29) and Domino and Domino (2006, p. 133):

1. to close kinship by marriage
2. to my club/[social circle] as close friends
3. to my street as neighbours
4. to employment in the same occupation
5. to citizenship in my country
6. as visitors only to my country
7. would exclude from my country

Although researchers could follow different application and calculation procedures in their studies, usually, the Social Distance Scale is calculated and interpreted by taking its basic characteristics into consideration: the first

statement/judgement worth only 1 point and the last statement/judgement worth 7 points, reflecting the scale's cumulative character. And this means that a respondent receiving a higher score from the Social Distance Scale is more socially distant/remote to a person or group under investigation than a respondent receiving lower score as stated "Typical scale anchors are 'would have to live outside of my country (7)' and 'would marry (1)'. In this case, a respondent who accepts item 'seven' would be more prejudiced than a respondent who marks item 'one' or any other item on the scale" (Wark and Galliher, 2007, p. 392). Moreover, specific computer software such as IBM Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) are used by the researchers to particularly calculate the 'mean' and also the 'standard deviation' of the scores expressed by the respondents. Through these calculations, researchers make deeper analysis and comparisons between respondents with regards to their levels of closeness or remoteness to a person or a group under investigation.

This dissertation remained loyal to the final version of the Bogardus Social Distance Scale; same number of statements/judgements carrying similar meanings and values were used. The statements/judgements were only slightly modified in accordance with the research questions in hand. Also, some socio-demographic questions were asked to the interviewees. All gathered basic quantitative data and the Bogardus Social Distance Scale (scores) were analysed with the help of the IBM SPSS Version 20 software.

Qualitative data upon which this dissertation placed greater emphasis were gathered via in-depth semi-structured interviews, carried out on a face-to-face basis. Bryman (2012, p. 471) summarized the basic features of the semi-structured interview technique as follows:

The researcher has a list of questions or fairly specific topics to be covered, often referred to as an **interview guide**, but the interviewee has a great deal of leeway in how to reply. Questions may not follow on exactly in the way outlined on the schedule. Questions that are not included in the guide may be asked as the interviewer picks up on things said by interviewees. But, by and large, all the questions will be asked and a similar wording will be used from interviewee to interviewee.

Selection of the semi-structured interview technique rather than the structured or unstructured interviews provided many advantages to the researcher. Most importantly, corroborating Bryman's (2012) aforementioned citation, semi-structured interviews permitted the researcher to have more degree of control over the whole interview process. By this way, the researcher managed to narrow down the scope of the interviews and thus reduce the amount of irrelevant information/data that could emerge as much as possible. Yet still, by creating a psychologically safer environment through maintaining respondents' freedom with the help of this interview technique, the researcher encouraged them to elaborate on and clarify their responses. This paved the way for the researcher to capture more useful data and elicit details regarding the specific issues being addressed in the dissertation.

During the semi-structured interviews, a list of questions -an interview guide- covering the main topics the researcher thought to be crucial for the main research question was used. While these 13 open-ended questions constructed the main framework/scope of the interviews, additional questions were also asked by the researcher when a striking information was disclosed. It is important to note that open-ended interview questions were designed by benefiting both from the "three critical structural features of perceived international relationships" (Alexander et al., 2005, p. 29) identified by the image theorists and question types in similar studies combining the Social Distance Scale and the Image Theory.

2.1.3.2 Image Theory

Alexander et al., (2005, p. 28) define Image Theory as "a theory of strategic decision making that identifies the primary judgements guiding international images, or stereotypes, and the selection of international policies". Originally, the Image Theory was designed by the scholars who work in the field of International Relations to analyze the basis and outcomes of the images which the nation-states have of each other. However, as Çelik (2014) underlined, many scholars in different disciplines have recently began to use this theory in their studies to examine the intergroup relations too.

According to the image theorists, ‘image(s)’ emerge(s) as a result of a ‘three-dimensioned’ “structural features of perceived international relations” and these factors/dimensions can be succinctly summarized as “goal compatibility, relative power/capability, and relative cultural status, or sophistication” (Alexander et al., 2005, p. 29). Therefore, as the five most popular ones detected by image theorists are outlined in the Table 1 below, different reply combinations result in different images the actors -be they states or groups- have of each other and trigger a great variety of ‘reaction/treatment options’ and sentiments:

Table 1: Image Theory Predictions of Behavioral Orientations and Outgroup Images Resulting From Perceived Intergroup Relations

Relationship Pattern	Behavioral Orientation	Outgroup Image
Goal compatibility Status equal Power equal	Cooperation	Ally
Goal incompatibility Status equal Power equal	Containment or attack	Enemy
Goal incompatibility Outgroup status lower Outgroup power higher	Defensive protection	Barbarian
Goal incompatibility Outgroup status lower Outgroup power lower	Exploitation or paternalism	Dependent
Goal incompatibility Outgroup status higher Outgroup power higher	Resistance or rebellion	Imperialist

Source: Alexander et al, 2005, p. 783

Before the fieldwork began, Ethical Approval was taken from the Near East University Social Sciences Ethics Committee. The semi-structured interviews were conducted over a three-month period; between February and May 2018. They were carried out on a face-to-face basis in Nicosia and Famagusta where the headquarters of the Turkish Cypriot trade unions are concentrated. Except for two of them, all interviews lasted around 45-60 minutes. In the case of the two exceptions, interviews lasted around 20 minutes due to the respondents' busy schedules.

All qualitative data, except for two respondents who politely refused to be voice recorded, were collected by using a digital voice recorder. For these two semi-structured interviews not voice recorded, the researcher took detailed notes. Before each interview, respondents were informed about the digital voice recorder and asked for their permission to record the interviews. Moreover, interviewees were informed that their names will not be used in this dissertation although the researcher did not foresee any serious risk. Nevertheless, this precaution is aimed at ensuring none of the Turkish Cypriot trade union leaders (Chairpersons and/or General Secretaries) included in this dissertation could in anyway be harmed due to their participation in a politically sensitive research.

After the transcription of the digitally voice recorded semi-structured interviews, thematic analysis was used to analyse the data.

2.1.4 Sample Selection

Purposive sampling which Bryman (2012) discussed in extenso in his book entitled 'Social Research Methods' and defined as a "non-probability form of sampling... [placing] the investigator's research questions at the heart of the sampling considerations" (Bryman, 2012, p. 416-418) was deemed suitable for the sampling technique of the present dissertation. Starting from this point of view, sample of this dissertation was chosen from the population of Turkish Cypriot trade unions in *de facto* Northern Cyprus.

Apparently, there is no consensus among scholars in the literature over whether or not the trade unions should be classified as CSOs. Each state's -

no matter they are *de facto* states- unique socio-economic circumstances and different legal arrangements and political cultures make things complicated by blurring the proposed borders belonging to CSOs and keep these debates going even today. In connection with this, while the researchers dealing with the structure and status of the Lebanese civil society and CSOs for example are not considering its trade unions as CSOs and thus leaving them out of their research scopes, same thing could not be said for Northern Ireland (Alemdar, 2015). This means that trade unions in Northern Ireland are included within the population of CSOs owing to the aforementioned reasons.

In a repeat of what happened in the Northern Ireland case, academic studies focusing on civil society and CSOs in Northern Cyprus should categorize Turkish Cypriot trade unions as CSOs. Even, they are considered as the most important, organized, effective, active, politicized and oldest actors of the Turkish Cypriot civil society -can be characterized as the 'locomotives'- compared to other Turkish Cypriot CSOs including associations and clubs. These issues will be discussed in more detail in Section 3.1. However, this is just one of the many reasons. At this point, other reasons should also be outlined to further clear why the researcher of this dissertation chose only the Turkish Cypriot trade unions as the research sample.

As Alpar (2005) and CIVICUS (2005) underlined, in contrast with other CSO-types in Northern Cyprus, Turkish Cypriot trade unions have the highest levels of public involvement and trust, despite the fact that the research by CIVICUS (2005, p. 164) have obtained striking results showing how low the inhabitants' overall trust and participation in CSOs is: "In the northern part of Cyprus low degrees of overall social trust reflect in rather low levels of trust for CSOs and other institutions". Yet, citizens mostly prefer to become members of trade unions (with 17 percent) rather than affiliating themselves to other Turkish Cypriot CSO-types (CIVICUS, 2005).

Especially since the beginning of the 2000s, Turkish Cypriot trade unions have been the central actors of the 'targeting and blaming and counter targeting and blaming spiral' taking place with the patron state. As Ioannou and Sonan (2014) reported, two widespread tendencies exist concerning the trade unions. One side of the argument, including mostly the Turkish Cypriots,

see the Turkish Cypriot trade unions as the 'last castles standing' as against Turkey's perceived ever-expanding political, economic and cultural pressures on Northern Cyprus and Turkish Cypriot community, got stuck amidst the 'insolubility of the protracted Cyprus problem' and the international isolation. For others, including the right-wing Turkish Cypriot groups, Turkish government and its officials in Northern Cyprus, trade unions are the biggest obstacles to 'reforming' the "anaemic Turkish Cypriot economy" (Ioannou and Sonan, 2016, p. 2) which has been giving alarm signals for a long time. Besides, they are perceived to present a threat to continuation of the 'Motherland-Babyland' relationship in all fields. A similar view on the trade unions' role is presented by some international institutions as well. For instance, in 2006, the World Bank prepared a report on Northern Cyprus entitled 'Sustainability and Sources of Economic Growth in the Northern Part of Cyprus'. Some of the findings outlined in the report led to slight indignation amongst the trade unions as the report, in a way, blamed them for 'wadding' the necessary measures to achieve fiscal sustainability by drawing attention to their -particularly the ones' representing white-collar workers- powerful positions as reported (2006, p. 16-54):

Historically, macroeconomic conditions in the northern part of Cyprus have been volatile and driven by both external and internal factors... On the domestic front, the choices of Turkish Cypriot policy makers as well as domestic institutional features such as the strong public sector trade unions have shaped the structure of the economy as well as its overall competitiveness... unless the Turkish Cypriot community comes together to address the wage bill, the distortions in the labor market will continue, dependency upon Turkey will increase, and the debt owed to Turkey will continue to grow. Various measures for reducing the wage bill range from retrenchment and wage cuts to employee attrition, early retirement schemes, and wage increases below inflation... But wage reform is always difficult especially in a context of strong trade unions that traditionally see their role as improving the welfare of their members through higher income and better benefits.

A group of Turkish Cypriot trade unions have also been strong in their lobbying activities. Some of the heavy-weight ones grouped under the same roof, known as the Syndical Platform (Sendikal Platform), regularly organizing overseas trips, going beyond their primary interests and activities concerning domestic politics. During these trips, the unions held official visits/talks with several international actors voicing their complaints and resentments regarding their patron state's ever-expanding political, economic and cultural

pressures on Northern Cyprus and the Turkish Cypriot community and also immigrants coming from Turkey and their impacts over the Turkish Cypriot community. They also have been using these lobbying activities in order to strengthen their position and legitimizing their rhetoric and policies in domestic politics by also making reference to international rules and regulations.

In 2010, for instance, they paid an official visit to International Labour Organization's representative in Ankara and gave him a 'letter of complaint'. Briefly summarized, in this letter, Turkish Cypriot trade union representatives complained that (Haber Kıbrıs, 2010):

Because of an uncontrolled influx of large numbers of people from outside [Turkey], health and education systems in Northern Cyprus are on the verge of total collapse. [Also] violent crimes including rape, sexual harassment, murder, brigandage, gangsterism, prostitution are increasing day by day and forcing Turkish Cypriots to migrate from Cyprus.

In a similar vein, members of the Syndical Platform visited various institutions of the EU in Brussels in 2011 to voice "Turkey's assimilation policies over Northern Cyprus" (Parlan, 2011). And in 2013, they visited London at the invitation of the British Parliament to renew their above-mentioned complaints and resentments as reported: "Population that is transferred in contravention of Geneva Convention from Turkey is affecting the demographic structure, health, education and social services negatively. [These] deliberate policies applied to Northern Cyprus brought Turkish Cypriots to the brink of extinction" (Yenidüzen, 2013).

In return, patron state officials often make statements targeting especially some of the Turkish Cypriot trade unions that are leftist in their political orientations and throw out several accusations against them. But most of these accusations that put forward are reiterations of cliché nationalist arguments/theses which can be seen in other *de facto* states. For the most part, Turkish government officials ranging from ministers to ambassadors to Northern Cyprus blame Turkish Cypriot trade unions of being 'small and marginal groups' (Kıbrıs Postası, 2010a; 2011a); 'of putting their own selfish interests above the public's interests and state, and having unique rights which could not be found even in communist states' (Gürkan, 2008; Kıbrıs Postası, 2013c); 'stabbing Turkey in the back and acting like enemies of it' (Kıbrıs Postası, 2011a); 'going on strikes continuously/arbitrarily and paralyzing the

whole Northern Cyprus' (Habertürk, 2011); 'disrespecting the state and Turkish Cypriots' past' (Kıbrıs Postası, 2010a); 'showing similar reactions towards Turkey with Greek Cypriots' (Star Kıbrıs, 2010; Kıbrıs Postası, 2010b); and Northern Cyprus of being 'the republic of trade unions' (HaberKıbrıs, 2012).

However, probably one of the most popular moments which Turkish government 'walked the walk' and crystallized its attitude towards Turkish Cypriot trade unions was in 2011. Immediately after the first 'Societal/Communal Existence' rally where some of the leftist trade unions played leading roles in organizing, Turkish government decided to appoint Halil İbrahim Akça, the Head of the Aid Delegation of the Republic of Turkey in Northern Cyprus, as Turkey's new Ambassador to Nicosia. What makes this appointment striking is the fact that Akça was very vocal and harsh in his criticisms targeting Turkish Cypriot trade unions (Ioannou and Sonan, 2016). As the Head of the Aid Delegation, before the first Communal Existence rally, he gave an interview to a Turkish magazine and proposed the immediate limitation of the trade unions' rights (Milliyet, 2011):

The main problem [in Northern Cyprus] is that there are so many people who are working and they get paid far too much... Additionally, there are many strong trade unions and they are blocking all austerity measures... How they [trade unions] use union rights is so destructive and affecting public service delivery negatively... There is a need for limitation of the trade union rights in most of the laws.

The evolving role of the trade unions was one of the factors drawing the researcher to do a more detailed study by identifying a group of trade unions as the major focus of the study. In this endeavour, on 27th September 2017, the researcher submitted a petition to the Registrar of Trade Unions under the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC) Ministry of Labour and Social Security and requested an up-to-date list of trade unions that were active in Northern Cyprus, information regarding their total number of registered members, names of their current Chairpersons and/or General Secretaries and contact addresses. After a series of time-wasting and pointless bureaucratic barriers and 'questionings', on 9th November 2017, Registrar of Trade Unions responded to the petition and provided a written information to the researcher. Yet, the information obtained was a bit disorganized and also

some data were missing regarding total number of registered members and contact addresses:

Table 2: Summary of Information regarding Turkish Cypriot Trade Unions obtained from the Registrar of Trade Unions in Northern Cyprus (as of November 2017)

Total Number of Registered and Active Trade Unions in Northern Cyprus	47
Total Number of Registered Trade Unions without Missing Information	43
Total Number of Members (43 Trade Unions)	25,273

Following the necessary work (reorganizing and simple calculations) on the obtained information, the researcher decided to carry out semi-structured interviews with the Chairpersons and/or General Secretaries of 20 Turkish Cypriot trade unions with largest number of registered/active members. The researcher preferred to collect data directly from the Chairpersons and/or General Secretaries and this preference stemmed from the necessity to reach most reliable, binding and detailed answers to the research questions. Moreover, as other recent research on Turkish Cypriot civil society and CSOs put forward most of the CSOs in Northern Cyprus, including trade unions, have “personalized” (CIVICUS, 2005, p. 170) style of leaderships. This means that the Chairpersons and/or General Secretaries usually have the last word in the trade unions’ decisions on the general policy and problems. Thus, beyond any doubt, their characters and preferences shape the general tendencies, attitudes and practices of the trade unions. The Table 3 below provides an overview of these 20 trade unions:

Table 3: 20 Turkish Cypriot Trade Unions with Largest Number of Members (as of November 2017)

Trade Union	Federation Member or Independent	No. of Registered Members
1.Kıbrıs Türk Amme Memurları Sendikası (KTAMS)	Independent	3579
2.Kamu İşçileri Sendikası (Kamu-İş)	Hür-İş*	2900
3.Kıbrıs Türk Kamu Görevlileri Sendikası (Kamu-Sen)	Independent	2643
4.Kıbrıs Türk Orta Eğitim Öğretmenler Sendikası (KTOEÖS)	Independent	2635

5 Kıbrıs Türk Öğretmenler Sendikası (KTÖS)	Independent	2199
6.Belediye Emekçileri Sendikası (BES)	Independent	1619
7.Devrimci Genel İş Sendikası (Devrimci Genel-İş)	Dev-İş*	908
8.Kıbrıs Türk Elektrik Kurumu Çalışanları Sendikası (EI-Sen)	Türk-Sen*	691
9.Kıbrıs Türk Kooperatif Çalışanları Sendikası (Koop-Sen)	Independent	637
10.Basın Emekçileri Sendikası (Basın-Sen)	Independent	594
11.Kıbrıs Türk Hemşire ve Ebeler Sendikası (KTHES)	Independent	499
12.Kuzey Kıbrıs Türk Cumhuriyeti Büro, Banka ve Ticaret Çalışanları Sendikası (Büro-İş)	Hür-İş	493
13.Doğu Akdeniz Üniversitesi Akademik Personel Sendikası (DAÜ-Sen)	Independent	472
14.Doğu Akdeniz Üniversitesi Birlik ve Dayanışma Sendikası (DAÜ Bir-Sen)	Independent	472
15.Bayrak Radyo Televizyon Kurumu Çalışanları Sendikası (Bay-Sen)	Hür-İş	472
16.Kıbrıs Türk Telekomünikasyon Çalışanları Sendikası (Tel-Sen)	Türk-Sen	343
17.Doğu Akdeniz Üniversitesi Personel Sendikası (DAÜ Per-Sen)	Hür-İş	309
18.Mağusa Türk Genel İş (M'SA Türk Genel-İş)	Independent	304
19.Gümrük Çalışanları Sendikası (Güç-Sen)	Independent	284
20.Kıbrıs Türk Dayanışma Sendikası (KTDS)	Independent	284
		Total: 22,337 (represents 88.38% of the total number of members belonging to 43 Trade Unions.

Hür-İş*: Hür İşçi Sendikaları Federasyonu (Federation of Free Labor Unions)

Dev-İş*: Devrimci İşçi Sendikaları Federasyonu (Revolutionary Trade Unions Federation)

Türk-Sen*: Kıbrıs Türk İşçi Sendikaları Federasyonu (Cyprus Turkish Trade Unions Federation)

By the end of the fieldwork, the researcher had managed to meet with 17 Turkish Cypriot trade unions and conducted face-to-face, in-depth semi-structured interviews with in total 17 trade union leaders; Chairpersons and/or General Secretaries. While two trade unions, Bayrak Radyo Televizyon Kurumu Çalışanları Sendikası (Bay-Sen) and Doğu Akdeniz Üniversitesi Personel Sendikası (DAÜ Per-Sen), politely refused to participate in any part of the research alleging that the research topic is ‘highly political’, the researcher did not receive any response from the Kıbrıs Türk Hemşire ve Ebeler Sendikası (KTHES) for his calls and visits asking to schedule an appointment. These 17 trade unions have 21,057 registered members, representing 83.32% of the total number of members belonging to 43 trade unions. Respondents’ socio-demographic profiles and considerations can be summarized briefly as follows:

First, 88.2% of the respondents are Trade Union Chairpersons (15 of them) and 11.8% are General-Secretaries (2 of them) as shown in the Table 4:

Table 4: Percentage and Frequency Distributions of Duties

Status/Duty	Percentage	Frequency
Chairperson	88.2	15
General-Secretary	11.8	2
Total	100	17

Second, 88.2% of the respondents are men (15 of them) and 11.8% are women (2 of them) as shown in the Table 5:

Table 5: Percentage and Frequency Distributions of Genders

Gender	Percentage	Frequency
Man	88.2	15
Woman	11.8	2
Total	100	17

Third, 17.6% of the respondents are in the 30-39 years old category (3 of them), 41.2% are in the 40-49 years old category (7 of them), 35.3% are in

the 50-59 years old category (6 of them) and 5.9% is in the 70-79 years old category (1 of them) as shown in the Table 6:

Table 6: Percentage and Frequency Distributions of Age Ranges

Age Range	Percentage	Frequency
30-39 years old	17.6	3
40-49 years old	41.2	7
50-59 years old	35.3	6
70-79 years old	5.9	1
Total	100	17

Fourth, 88.2% of the respondents' birthplace is Cyprus (15 of them) and 11.8% of the respondents' is Turkey (2 of them) as displayed in the Table 7 below:

Table 7: Percentage and Frequency Distributions of Birthplaces

Birthplace	Percentage	Frequency
Cyprus	88.2	15
Turkey	11.8	2
Total	100	17

Fifth, 5.9% of the respondents are press members (1 of them), 41.2% are civil servants (7 of them), 5.9% is academician (1 of them), 29.4% are trade unionists (5 of them), 11.8% are teachers (2 of them) and 5.9% is accountant (1 of them) as shown in the Table 8:

Table 8: Percentage and Frequency Distributions of Occupations

Occupation	Percentage	Frequency
Press member	5.9	1
Civil servant	41.2	7
Academician	5.9	1
Trade unionist	29.4	5
Teacher	11.8	2
Accountant	5.9	1
Total	100	17

Sixth, 5.9% of the respondents had graduated (only) from primary school (1 of them), 29.4% of them are (only) high-school graduates (5 of them),

35.3% of them are university graduates (6 of them), 23.5% of them are master's degree graduates (4 of them) and 5.9% of them is doctoral graduate (1 of them) as summarized in the Table 9 given below:

Table 9: Percentage and Frequency Distributions of Education Levels

Level of Education	Percentage	Frequency
Primary school	5.9	1
High-school	29.4	5
Undergraduate	35.3	6
Postgraduate	23.5	4
Other (Doctoral graduate)	5.9	1
Total	100	17

Moreover, 17.6% of the respondents consider themselves as Cypriot (3 of them), 58.8% of them as Turkish Cypriot (10 of them), 11.8% of them as Turkish (2 of them) and 11.8% of them as only "Human-being" (2 of them) as shown in the Table 10:

Table 10: Percentage and Frequency Distributions of Considerations regarding Identity

Identity	Percentage	Frequency
Cypriot	17.6	3
Turkish Cypriot	58.8	10
Turkish	11.8	2
Other (Human-being)	11.8	2
Total	100	17

When it comes to the considerations or positionings regarding the political spectrum, 64.7% of the respondents considered/placed themselves on the left on the political spectrum (11 of them), 17.6% of them on the right on the political spectrum (3 of them) and 17.6% of them refused to make such a consideration/positioning (3 of them) as shown in the Table 11:

Table 11: Percentage and Frequency Distributions of Personal Considerations on the Political Spectrum

Political Spectrum (Person)	Percentage	Frequency
Left	64.7	11
Right	17.6	3
None	17.6	3
Total	100	17

Lastly, 58.8% of the respondents considered/placed their trade unions on the left on the political spectrum (10 of them), 17.6% of them on the right on the political spectrum (3 of them) and 23.5% of them refused to make such a consideration for their trade unions (4 of them) as displayed in the Table 12:

Table 12: Percentage and Frequency Distributions of the Considerations of Respondents about the Trade Unions on the Political Spectrum

Political Spectrum (Trade Union)	Percentage	Frequency
Left	58.8	10
Right	17.6	3
None	23.5	4
Total	100	17

2.1.5 Challenges and Problems Confronted during the Research

The researcher was confronted with some challenges and problems prior to and during the fieldwork phases of this dissertation which had a direct impact over the scope and duration of the research.

Initially, the researcher was planning to include other Turkish Cypriot CSO-types such as associations into the sample of this dissertation too. With this objective in mind, the researcher obtained the lists of associations and clubs in Northern Cyprus recorded by the TRNC Ministry of Interior on October 2017. However, the lists lacked clarity and organization. On the lists, there are hundreds of associations located in different towns; Lefkoşa (Nicosia), Girne (Kyrenia), Gazimağusa (Famagusta), Güzelyurt (Morphou) and İskele (Trikomo). But, this is not the only handicap. The lists also suffer from 'unprofessionalness'/'laxness' as they include lots of missing, incomplete or

wrong information with regards to the total number of members, founders and/or contact addresses of these CSOs. Thus, the unmanageable and messy state of the lists bogged down the possibilities of appropriate sample selection for an academic study. In the light of this undesirable development and other reasons discussed in detail in Section 2.1.4, the researcher decided to limit the scope of this dissertation to Turkish Cypriot trade unions.

Few weeks before the fieldwork began, Northern Cyprus has witnessed two important developments; one being related to the politics and the other one is related to the security to a large extent. In the early general election that took place on 7th January 2018, the newly-established far-right wing political party, Rebirth Party (*Yeniden Doğuş Partisi*/YDP) received 7% of the total votes and gained two seats in the Parliament using a political rhetoric that built upon and embraced 'Motherland-Babyland' relationship effectively instrumentalizing identity politics based on a division between Turkish Cypriots and people coming from Turkey. New deputies of the YDP, Erhan Arıklı and Bertan Zaroğlu, both immigrants from Turkey, have already been in the public eye for a long time with their trenchant criticisms and invectives against people supporting a federal solution to the Cyprus issue and challenging their patron state's policies towards Northern Cyprus. For example, in one of his newspaper columns, Erhan Arıklı, blatantly stated that he wants to "put out a cigarette on people viewing Turkey as an occupier [in Cyprus] and use them as punch bags" (Havadis, 2018). In a similar vein, Bertan Zaroğlu directed stream of sexist ad hominem insults towards a woman deputy, Doğuş Derya, through his social media account after she challenged the official history in one of her parliamentary speeches (Gündem Kıbrıs, 2014).

The second development that presented a challenge occurred on 22nd January 2018 when tens of ultra-nationalist mobs attempted to lynch the staff of the Turkish Cypriot newspaper, Afrika. The day before the lynching attempt, Afrika newspaper published a headline 'Peace Operation to Cyprus, Olive Branch Operation to Syria: Another Occupation Operation by Turkey' highly critical of Turkey's ongoing military operation in Syria by simply making an analogy between the two cases. Turkey's President Tayyip Erdoğan showed an exaggerated response to this headline and called on his supporters in

Northern Cyprus to “give the necessary response to this [headline]” (Smith, 2018). The very next day, a large crowd of Turkish ultra-nationalists swarmed in front of the Afrika newspaper, started to throw things such as stones and/or eggs at the windows and tried to break into the office to -presumably- batter the staff. Safety of the staff was hardly maintained by the Turkish Cypriot police forces.

These two developments led to a trauma, concern and indignation amongst the Turkish Cypriot community. So, the fieldwork of this dissertation was carried out in a significantly tense and uneasy socio-political context. As a direct consequence of this context/conjuncture, the researcher encountered problems with getting appointments from some of the trade union leaders. Some of them showed unwillingness and reasonable timidity to schedule an appointment after the researcher informed them about the topic of the research. This situation has left the researcher no choice but to call or visit them more than once and also to receive help from reliable persons who eased the appointment process, termed as ‘gatekeepers’ within the research methods literature (Bryman, 2012). However, it should be ‘rendered unto Caesar’ that the researcher did not encounter similar hardships during the interviews. All respondents spoke frankly and uncensored rather than being cagey in answering interview questions.

2.2 Theoretical Background

For an analysis of the leading Turkish Cypriot trade unions’ attitudes towards their patron state and immigrants coming from Turkey, it is necessary to refer to specific theoretical approaches. For this purpose, in this section, some of the main theoretical approaches to hegemony-counter-hegemony and private sphere-public sphere dichotomy will be summarized; placing special emphasis on Gramsci’s and Arendt’s theorisings respectively. By doing so, this section mainly aims to present how the author of this dissertation benefited from these theorisings in his attempt to illuminate the striking findings of this research.

2.2.1 Hegemony and Counter-Hegemony: Interrelations between State, Civil Society, Struggle for Hegemony and Counter-Hegemony from a Gramscian Perspective

The term 'hegemony' has to be one of the most over-used terms in different mediums inclusive of academia, politics and media for many years. Even in the conversations on a daily basis, it can sometimes be overused to the point of being in a way a 'slang'. While Italian (neo) Marxist thinker and politician Antonio Gramsci was not the first person introducing the term hegemony, it substantially owes its popular and long-term usage to him. Despite the fact that he is classified in Marxist categories within the literature, one could claim that Gramsci presented specific observations which some of them remained "somewhat fragmentary[,] sometimes opaque [and] open to wide range of different interpretation" (Hobden and Jones, 2001, p. 235) due to not surprising reasons stemming from 'unpleasant writing conditions', differing significantly from his intellectual ancestors. In other words, although he benefited intellectually from his ancestors such as Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel and Karl Marx to a great extent, Gramsci (1971) developed his genuine perspectives in his works.

In his famous and voluminous work entitled 'Prison Notebooks', Gramsci (1971) portrayed "a complex and dialectic interrelation between the state, civil society and hegemony" (Katz, 2010, p. 408); resembling a sort of a 'ball of tangled interrelations'. By doing so he placed the state, civil society and hegemony into a novel theoretical context by widening and enriching the contents of the aforementioned problematics (Yetiş, 2015). For example in his analysis, different from Marx who did not assign any positive value/role to the civil society and interpreted it in an accusatory way, as a useful tool in spreading capitalism and its values (Edwards, 2004), Gramsci (1971) situated the civil society within the superstructure (Örs, 2015; Katz, 2010). Basically, according to Gramsci (1971, p. 12), the superstructure is the domain where the cultural and ideological elements such as symbols and values are reproduced:

What we can do, for the moment, is to fix two major superstructural 'levels': the one that can be called 'civil society', that is the ensemble of organisms commonly called 'private', and that of 'political society' or 'the State'. These

two levels correspond on the one hand to the function of 'hegemony' which the dominant group exercises throughout society and on the other hand to that of 'direct domination' or command exercised through the State and 'juridical' government.

From this point of view, Gramsci (1971) argued that the political society comprises judicial and repressive institutions, such as police and army, which have direct intimidating effect on society. Civil society on the other hand, contains a wide array of other institutions, including "...the so-called private organisations like the Church, the trade unions, the schools" (Gramsci, 1971, p. 56), along with the media.

Within the above-cited ball of tangled interrelations, it is necessary to say that Gramsci (1971) ascribed a 'Janus-faced' role to the civil society as stated by Katz (2010, p. 408):

Civil society plays a dual and dialectic role, as an agent of government and the hegemonic forces that control the state, which on the one hand is used as an instrument to maintain the current relations of power in society. On the other hand, civil society is the arena of creativity where counter-hegemonic forces develop alternatives to the hegemonic ideologies and practices.

As it is seen in the citation given above, first and foremost, civil society is an arena/floor of action where the dominant class's/social group's -or the "ruling stratum"s (Hobden and Jones, 2001, p. 236)- hegemony and communal persuasion are created and maintained, being inimical to the political society representing the arena of pure force and coercion in Gramsci's (1971) analysis (Ramaswamy, 2010). Thus in the Prison Notebooks, widened and enriched content and meaning of the hegemony started to be identified with two main things: First, the political and cultural-ideological, and also moral leadership over the groups with whom an alliance was formed (known as the "historical bloc" in Gramscian terminology) and subaltern groups; Second, the persuasion (Okur and Ongur, 2014; Forgacs, 2000; Dikici-Bilgin, 2009; Doğan, 2013). To make it more clear, it connotes to the capability of the dominant class/social group to create and manipulate other classes'/social groups' value systems, ways of life, thoughts, principles and practices -or ideologies in general- with the successful combination of coercion and persuasion, so that its particular value system, way of life, thoughts, principles and practices become

uncontested view of the society (Slattery, 2003), or what Gramsci (1971) himself termed as “forma mentis” (Buttigieg, 1995, p. 12). Therefore, resorting solely to direct and brutal force is not enough to construct and maintain hegemony. This is because a rule, resorting solely to force and mechanisms of oppression would likely lack legitimacy and would be short-lived (Örs, 2015) by providing fertile ground for political unrest and all kinds of counter-practices; comprising coup as well. That is to say, in the construction and maintenance of hegemony, coercion and consent should always be in a vital association and relationality: “The ‘normal’ exercise of hegemony... is characterized by the combination of force and consent, which balance each other reciprocally, without force predominating excessively over consent” (Gramsci, 1971, p. 80). The intricate analysis used by Gramsci (1971) in *Prison Notebooks*, highlights the importance of this ‘amalgamation’ by making reference to Machiavelli’s prominent metaphor of a Centaur; a mythological creature composed of “half-animal and half-human” (Gramsci, 1971, p. 170).

As briefly discussed above, in the Gramscian account of civil society, being the site where the hegemony and communal persuasion is maintained by dominant class(es)/social group(s) is just one of the two faces of Janus. In the *Prison Notebooks*, Gramsci (1971) emphasized that an everlasting hegemony is not possible. Contrariwise, it is a dynamic process and a dominant class/social group should continue working tenaciously to secure and strengthen its hegemony every single day (Uzuner, 2016). This is because, according to the basic law of dialectics, existence of a hegemony is always prone to/provides breeding grounds for crisis and counter-hegemonic struggles carried out by subordinated class(es)/social group(s): “civil society is the vital space in which minority interests establish the collective power and processes required to challenge majority operating principles and practices in society more broadly” (Kohn, 2011, p. 237). This means that civil society is the only practical site other classes/social groups could orchestrate opposition, erect an “alternative historic bloc” (Hobden and Jones, 2001, p. 236) for (counter) hegemonic-struggle and disseminate a contra world-view, or an “alternative forma mentis” (Katz, 2010, p. 411), against the dominant

class/social group via “war of position” (Gramsci, 1971, p. 207). To put it in simple terms, it is the place where transformation of the society begins.

It should not be forgotten that Gramsci (1971) developed his ideas outlined in Prison Notebooks by focusing on a particular historical, political and economic conjuncture. Writing in the 1920s and 1930s, while he was locked up in a fascist dungeon, his ideas and observations “reflects a particular, in many ways unique, set of circumstances” (Hobden and Jones, 2001, p. 236) and fundamentally have the aim of grasping “the failure of a socialist revolution in Western countries” (Filc, 2009, p. 119) and, by the same token, how working-class people were won over by fascism. Major social classes are therefore specified as the key ‘unit of analysis’ in his works; a choice which was frequently criticized as ‘class-essentialist’ by various scholars who further developed his governing ideas particularly on civil society, hegemony and counter-hegemony. In this context, the main thrust of the Gramscian thesis is that hegemony can only be established and/or challenged by major social classes as Filc (2009, p. 120) indicated: “In Gramsci’s view, the core of any historical bloc was always one of the fundamental social classes in a specific mode of production. Thus in capitalism there are two historical blocs, with the proletariat and the bourgeoisie respectively at their core”.

It has been long years since Gramsci (1971) put his ideas and observations on paper. Many scholars/researchers from so many different disciplines used these ideas and observations as a base for the development of further innovative ideas and analysis particularly on civil society, hegemony and counter-hegemony as aforementioned (Burke, 1993). Perhaps the biggest novelty brought by the many recent studies, as Keles (2019, p. 334) put forward, is that they went beyond the strict/orthodox Gramscian perspective/consideration, narrowing the unit of analysis down to only social classes, and applied his theorising to a much wider range of cases by using varied units of analysis:

Gramsci’s concept of hegemony allows us to develop a critical engagement with power relations between differently positioned social, cultural, and economic groups. This can go beyond an analysis of class relations and explore the domination in the context of ‘race’, ethnicity, and gender as scholars such as Hall (1986) and Laclau and Mouffe (1985) have shown.

Before proceeding to Laclau and Mouffe's (1985), Hall's (1986) and more recent scholars' ideas, and the novelties brought by them, one should mention Cox (1993).

In his wealthy contribution entitled 'Gramsci, Hegemony and International Relations: An Essay in Method', Cox (1993, p. 49) operationalized Gramsci's (1971) theory of hegemony and took it to the international stage in order to make sense of the international relations: "Not surprisingly, Gramsci did not have very much to say directly about international relations. Nevertheless, I found that Gramsci's thinking was helpful in understanding the meaning of international organisation with which I was then principally concerned". From this viewpoint, he argued that any state 'thirsty for' being a hegemonic power within the international system should disseminate the set of values it represents with the help of its dominant classes/social groups, so that they eventually became globally accepted (Yetiş, 2015; Yalvaç, 2014). Thus, Cox (1993) defends that, during this process, states do not solely resort to their economic and military capabilities but rather "[generate] broad consent for that order even among those who are disadvantaged by it" (Hobden and Jones, 2001, p. 237).

Above all, it can be argued that the biggest theoretical criticism and contribution came from Laclau and Mouffe (1985). In their work, 'Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics', they reread Gramsci's theory/concept of hegemony in the light of the novel historical developments and crisis and consequently skyrocketed variety of social movements, such as feminist and ecologist movements (Uzuner and Ayhan, 2016). In their interpretation, Laclau and Mouffe (1985) reasoned particularly against Gramsci's (1971) 'class-essentialist' consideration which argues that hegemony can only be established and/or challenged by major social classes (Yetiş, 2015). According to them, in contemporary circumstances/conditions "the a priori claim that class is always the core of the historical bloc became problematic" (Filc, 2009, p. 120). Based on this, the importance and 'constitutive role' of the discourse was brought to the forefront in their work as "all social phenomena and objects obtain their meaning(s) through discourse" (Carpentier and De Cleen, 2007, p. 267). This means that characterizing

hegemony and also counter-hegemony as a particular ‘discursive practice’, or quoting directly from Laclau and Mouffe’s work (1985, p. 105) “articulatory practice”, necessitates other social subjects and movements, except from the social classes, to be considered as the unit of analysis (Yetiş, 2015). For them, under present circumstances/conditions, wide array of actors could enter into struggles of hegemony to be the unifying actor of what Gramsci (1971, p. 56) called the “historical bloc”. In the same manner, Hall (1986, p. 8) used some of the Gramsci’s (1971) ideas as a ‘trivet’ and principally implemented his theory of hegemony to the field of ethnic and racial studies: “Actually, though Gramsci does not write about racism and does not specifically address those problems, his concepts may still be useful to us in our attempt to think through the adequacy of existing social theory paradigms in these areas”.

The above-discussed Gramscian theorising and the novelties presented by scholars such as Hall (1986) and Laclau and Mouffe (1985) has inspired many stimulating academic work being published recently. These studies tried to focus on various fields, issues and developments by immingling/synthesizing Gramsci’s (1971) particular concepts with these novelties as they frequently used different units of analysis other than classes including unequally positioned socio-cultural groups. Detailedly speaking, Keles’s (2019) work, ‘Media and Nationalism Beyond Borders’, is the symptomatic example of this tendency. In his work, Keles (2019), benefited from Gramscian concepts to a great extent while analyzing how the great majority of the media and civil society actors in Turkey reproduce state’s official ideology -“a nationalist common sense that only accepts Turkishness as a legitimate national identity within the state” (Keles, 2019, p. 334)- and Kurdish movement conducts a counter-hegemony against the hegemony of Turkish nationalism through asserting its alternative ‘forma mentis’ within the same sphere. On the other hand, in his contribution entitled ‘Populism as Counter-Hegemony: The Israeli Case’, Dani Filc (2009) mainly used Laclau and Mouffe’s (1985) rereading of Gramsci’s (1971) theory of hegemony. Applying this theoretical framework to examine the political developments in Israeli case, Filc (2009, p. 119) suggested that “the coming to power of the Likud Party in Israel [is] an example of a counter-hegemonic, populist movement”.

Gramscian theorising on civil society, hegemony and counter-hegemony and the novelties brought by a younger generation of scholars are relevant and beneficial to analyzing the leading Turkish Cypriot trade unions' attitudes towards their patron state and immigrants coming from Turkey. Further details of this utilization will be discussed in the sections that follow. But before doing this, the dichotomy between the private and public spheres should be discussed briefly without going beyond the scope of this dissertation.

2.2.2 The Dichotomy between Private and Public Spheres

In almost all disciplines it is possible to find some topics that are highly contested. The dichotomy or the separation regarding the private and public spheres is certainly one of them; leading to 'rabbit-hole type' debates for decades within Media and Communication Studies, Sociology, Political Science and so on. As has been mentioned many times in this dissertation, the late 1980s and 1990s introduced many developments and new problems to people's lifeworlds. That being the case, many ideas and concrete suggestions had quickly mushroomed in the same period on how these peculiar problems could be overcome. Thus, repeating what happened in the civil society case (Section 1.2.1), these brainstormings exacerbated the debates around the public sphere and also its dichotomous separation from the private (Yükselbaba, 2008; Zabcı, 1997; 2015). By common consent, the cornerstone works on the subject belong to Arendt (1958) and Habermas ([1962] 1989). So, at this stage, it is important to refer to these works without forgetting, of course, the scope and limitations of this dissertation.

It might be better to emphasize that the problems which Arendt (1958) and Habermas (1989) were fretting about in their works are quite different from the contemporary ones. As Zabcı (2015, p. 110) argued, both thinkers "aim to criticize the political and intellectual patterns of the modern world by looking at historical public spheres. By doing so, both of them are trying to constitute a 'norm' for a more libertarian, more participatory political pattern/model". In his influential book, German thinker and public intellectual Habermas (1989) concentrated on the historical journey of the public sphere and the important

developments it experienced, ranging from the emergence to its ‘erosion’ along this journey. Moreover, in the ‘The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere’, he idealized bourgeoisie public sphere emerged in 18th-Century Europe and its intrinsic characteristics as a model (Zabcı, 1997; 2015; Ramsey, 2016). Making use of the model, Habermas (1989) intends to give the clues regarding the road map that should be followed. In this sense, Habermas (1989) hoped for a partially inclusionary public sphere grounded on rational-critical discourse producing informed opinions to surmount the deadlocks of modern world’s democracy as Ramsey (2016, p. 65-66) put forward: “In essence, the (political) public sphere is that ‘space’ in society where citizens discuss a range of political issues, and formulate opinions based on the information that circulates in the public sphere, through rational-critical discussion”. Thus, his conception of the public sphere contains a wide range of meeting venues in which coffee houses is only one of them (Calhoun, 1992; Giddens and Sutton, 2014). Yet, more importantly, existence of the rational-critical discourse in the space in question is guaranteed by “A set of basic rights concerned the sphere of the public engaged in rational-critical debate (freedom of opinion and speech, freedom of press, freedom of assembly and association, etc.) and the political function of private people in this public sphere (right of petition, equality of vote, etc.)” (Habermas, 1989, p. 83). Later on, he concentrated/canalized his attention on the theory known as the “communicative action” where he laid special emphasis on the power of the communication among human beings and understanding (Habermas, 1984). With this theoretical approach, Zabcı (2015, p. 113) argued that “Habermas steered away from the institutional structuring of the public sphere to the question of how could a mode of communication based on rationality in interpersonal relations be formed”.

Similar to Habermas (1989), Arendt (1958) also attributed the emergence of the private-public sphere dichotomy to specific historical developments. But on the other hand, Arendt (1958) took the main focus of her analysis back to ancient Greece rather than the bourgeoisie public sphere (Yükselbaba, 2008; Yılmaz, 2009). This is because the dichotomy or the separation between the respective spheres appeared for the first time in this

period in the city-center (polis) of ancient Greece: “Taking the ancient Greek distinction between *oikos* (household) and *polis* (city) as her starting point, Arendt emphasized not only the distinction between the public and private, but also the *maintenance* of the distinction and border between the two realms” (Dawes, 2017, p. 164). In her critique directed against modernity, Arendt (1958) argued that with the “rise of the social realm” (Arendt, [1958] 1998, p. 49) the boundary between the public and private spheres became blurry/obscure. That is to say, the constitutive activities/values of the public sphere, namely the “speech and action” (Arendt, [1958] 1998, p. 176), were invaded by the activities of the private sphere that are “labor and work” (Arendt, [1958] 1998, p. 37) as a direct consequence of the modernity according to D’Entreves (1994, p. 8):

In [Arendt’s] view, once the social realm has established its monopoly, the distinction between labor, work and action is lost, since every effort is now expended on reproducing our material conditions of existence. Obsessed with life, productivity, and consumption, we have turned into a society of laborers and jobholders who no longer appreciate the values associated with work, nor those associated with action.

Thus, as Zabcı (1997; 2015) stated, Arendt (1958) is particularly concerned with the problem of how could basic characteristics and experiences of the ancient Greek public sphere be revitalized within the modern circumstances and social structure.

In the ancient Greek model idealized by Arendt (1958) in her famous work ‘Human Condition’, the conceptual demarcation between the spheres in question is clear-cut. Thus, in the Arendtian scheme of things ([1958] 1998, p. 28), private and public spheres represent identifying/distinguishing characteristics and activities:

The distinction between a private and public sphere of life corresponds to the household and the political realms, which have existed as distinct, separate entities at least since the rise of the ancient city-state; but the emergence of the social realm, which is neither private nor public, strictly speaking, is a relatively new phenomenon whose origin coincided with the emergence of the modern age and which found its political form in the nation-state.

To begin with, the household, family and intimate relations in general, including friendship, as well as co-workship, are located at the core of the former (Yılmaz, 2009; Zabcı, 2015). In this manner, private sphere is portrayed as the

sphere of non-political, necessary life-sustaining activities; known as “labor and work” (Arendt, [1958] 1998, p. 37) in Arendtian terminology. Thereby, as Meade (1996, p. 113) stated, personal needs characterize the private sphere: “The private realm is where activities necessary to the maintenance of life take place”. Owing to the reason that this sphere is under the influence and guidance of activities fulfilling personal necessities and desires (Yılmaz, 2009), Arendt ([1958] 1998, p. 38) defends that the life here is not ‘free’ and labels the private sphere as ‘shadowy’ by over identifying it with ‘deprivation’:

Not only would we not agree with Greeks that a life spent in the privacy of ‘one’s own’ (idion), outside the world of the common, is ‘idiotic’ by definition... we call private today a sphere of intimacy... the privative trait of privacy, indicated in the word itself, was all-important; it meant literally a state of being deprived of something, and even of the highest and most human of man’s capacities.

Hence, people who are stuck in the private sphere only and who do not engage in politics are not even considered as proper human beings. However, according to her theorising, this negativity may be circumvented and a person can lead a ‘free’ life only if s/he goes beyond the borders of the intimacy and participates in the “light[ened]” (Arendt, [1958] 1998, p. 38) public sphere.

Deeply inspired by Gramsci’s (1971) theorising on civil society, depicting it both as an arena of consent and contestation, Arendt (1958) developed her conceptualization of the public sphere and particularly brought its political side forward (Edwards, 2004). According to Kubilay (2009), in *Human Condition*, the public sphere stands for two different but strictly related phenomena. First of all, within the public sphere “everything that appears... can be seen and heard by everybody and has the widest possible publicity” (Arendt, [1958] 1998, p. 50). Besides, it also refers to “... the world itself, in so far as it is common to all of us and distinguished from our privately owned place in it.” (Arendt, [1958] 1998, p. 52), that is to say “the space of appearance” (Arendt, [1958] 1998, p. 198). In this sense, Arendt (1958) argued that the public sphere should not be considered as natural, nor given. On the contrary, it is a (literally) man-made sphere having multiple constitutive elements/activities (Meade, 1996). At this juncture, “action” and “speech” are specified as the two constitutive elements of the Arendtian public sphere: “The space of appearance comes into being wherever men are together in the manner of speech and action” (Arendt, [1958] 1998, p. 199). Yet, as Yılmaz

(2009) attracted our attention, “action” in the Arendtian terminology/theorising does not involve all activities, but rather the political ones only. Equally important, “speech” is an activity being made regarding the collective concerns and issues. And the constitutive role assigned on the “speech”, in a way echoing the Gramsci’s theorising, indicates the importance given to the “persuasion” in interactions between people: “To be political, to live in a *polis*, meant that everything was decided through words and persuasion and not through force and violence” (Arendt, [1958] 1998, p. 26).

In her work, Arendt ([1958] 1998, p. 52) analogizes the public sphere to a “table [which] is located between those who sit around it”. Based on this she advocated that, in the public sphere, people get involved in politics by getting out of their routines which are their personal necessities and concerns. To put it more precisely, people prioritize matters of common concern, interact and negotiate about collective issues and problems with each other, do politics on them, and try to take decisions via persuasion (Meade, 1996; Yükselbaba, 2008). Or, as Olgun (2017, p. 50) stated, people search for an answer to the question of “What we should actually do to live together?”. This persisting activity binds people together. Yet also, people take the opportunity to put forward their unique identities and diversified opinions during this ‘negotiation process’. By this means, people differentiate themselves from each other: “the world, like every in-between, relates and separates men at the same time” (Arendt, [1958] 1998, p. 52).

Despite the fact that Habermas’s (1989) and Arendt’s (1958) works are still seen as the two ‘magnum opus’ in the existing literature on the dichotomy or the separation between the private and public spheres, this does not mean that their idealizations are immune from harsh criticisms. This argument is also valid for the dichotomy/separation itself. Strictly speaking, they took flak from academic circles and some feminist thinkers/movements. Although these thinkers’ core of the idealizations -bourgeoisie public sphere on the one hand and ancient Greek public sphere on the other- are different from each other, they are both criticized as being exclusionary, ostracizing and dehumanizing against some groups. For example, these critics tend to blame Habermas’s (1989) ideal public sphere for actually not being ‘public’ at all, but rather

inherently elitist and sexist, leaving women and ethnic minorities out of this site (Giddens and Sutton, 2014). By the same token, Arendt's (1958) appeal to the ancient Greek public sphere experience is faced with similar criticisms from some feminist scholars. She was criticized for idealizing a 'male-centric' model which ostracizes particularly women from politics: "Benhabib (as do others) criticizes classical republicanism in Hannah Arendt's model as excluding women and slaves." (Wolosky, 2013, p. 195). Nevertheless, today, debates regarding the dichotomy between the respective spheres and Habermas's (1989) and Arendt's (1958) works on this topic continue to present useful theoretical and/or methodological frameworks and thus are widely used to explain and analyze different phenomena/cases in different disciplines.

Up until recently, most of the academic studies on Northern Cyprus, or on Cyprus in general, were focusing on the chronic/protracted 'Cyprus problem' and solely aiming to solve the ethnic division and problems between the two main communities of island, Turkish and Greek Cypriots. Frankly speaking, existing studies exploited the topic to the hilt as the ongoing 'Cyprus problem' is analyzed from almost all available and suitable theoretical and conceptual frameworks within the academic literature. Normative outcome of this dominant tendency was the neglect and/or relative marginalization of various other topics and problems such as, and in particular, internal dynamics/matters of Northern Cyprus contrary to the 'inflation' in the subject area mentioned above. Comparatively limited number of academic studies focusing on the civil society, leading CSOs and civil society actors; immigrants coming from Turkey; perspectives on identity in Northern Cyprus; and influence of the Turkey's existing patron state-*de facto* state relationship with the Northern Cyprus over the Northern Cyprus's internal dynamics/matters preferred to adopt diversified theoretical and/or conceptual frameworks. Amongst them, some of the prominent theoretical and conceptual frameworks are Europeanization (Kyriz, 2015), peacebuilding and peacemaking (Jarraud et al., 2013), historical institutionalism and clientelism (Ioannou and Sonan, 2016), orientalism and xenophobia (Hatay, 2008), critical realism and Bourdieu's theory of capital (Purkis and Kurtuluş, 2009), social identity (Psaltis

and Cakal, 2016), nationalism (Kyritsi and Christofis, 2018), and dependency and tutelary democracy (Kanol, 2015; Kanol and Köprülü, 2017).

The researcher of this dissertation thinks that the above-discussed Gramscian and Arendtian theorisings are applicable to and useful for understanding and analyzing the Northern Cyprus case. Thus, a different path has been consciously attempted and followed in this dissertation and it benefited from the explanatory potentials of the theoretical and conceptual frameworks provided by Gramsci and Arendt to generate answers to the main research questions in hand. Accordingly, it remained loyal to some of the main arguments and concepts -relevant to the scope of the dissertation- presented and used by Gramsci (1971) regarding the interrelationship amongst state-civil society and hegemony-counter-hegemony. Yet, one important point should be noted at this point. As will be discussed in more detail in the sections to follow, due to their solid financial and organizational structures and highly politicized characters with different political orientations, in any period of their deep-rooted history, the vast majority of the Turkish Cypriot trade unions have not adopted a solely class-based struggle/politics and rhetoric, and have not shaped their campaigns and activities accordingly (Gündüz, 2008; Ioannou, 2011). Especially the heavy-weight left-wing trade unions take on leading roles during the problems and crisis which have political, social and/or economic causes concerning the whole community or specific socio-cultural and/or socio-political groups: "Trade unions in the north are often vehicles of popular mobilisations and trade union leaders are political agents outside the state and some of them frequently against it" (Ioannou, 2011, p. 174). With these leading roles, which go beyond representing and defending the interests of their members only, they represent these groups directly or indirectly and carry out influential campaigns, activities, protests and discourses voicing a raft of concerns, frustrations, desires and apprehensions of future. Peculiar circumstances and characteristics of Northern Cyprus and Turkish Cypriot trade unions thus necessitate some of the arguments put forward by Laclau and Mouffe (1985) on hegemony and counter-hegemony, to be considered despite the fact that the researcher of this dissertation does not acknowledge all of their assumptions. Accordingly, the understanding of hegemony and

counter-hegemony adopted in this dissertation is not class-centric, supporting that other groups and/or actors directly or indirectly representing these groups and their interests can engage in struggle for hegemony and counter-hegemony through asserting contra world-views. In this context, civil society is accepted as an arena of both consent and contestation. While some Turkish Cypriot trade unions -particularly the ones considering themselves as right-wing- assent to and thus reproduce most of the *de facto* state's official policy, history and discourse, other group of trade unions -particularly the ones considering themselves as left-wing- pursue counter-hegemony by overtly and harshly challenging the official policy, history and discourse, and asserting their contra-views about: the status of Northern Cyprus; relations with the Republic of Turkey organized on the basis of 'Motherland-Babyland' relationship; main 'Other(s)' of their community; and apprehensions of the future.

Coming to the theorisings on the private-public dichotomy, this dissertation placed greater emphasis on Arendt's theorising. The basic reason is that, as the literature review showed, Arendt (1958) featured the political side of the public sphere significantly more compared to Habermas's (1989) analysis. Besides, the theoretical and conceptual framework presented by her is more frequently used in the migration (and also minority) studies, most probably because it provides a relatively more simple, understandable and thus applicable framework than Habermas's (1989). Martin's (2010) work entitled 'Immigrant's Rights in the Public Sphere: Hannah Arendt's Concepts Reconsidered' is just one of the symptomatic examples in which this argument crystallizes. Under contemporary circumstances, talking about such a strict/clear-cut distinction/separation between the respective spheres does not seem possible. Clutching this separation as a 'nostrum' for all contemporary social and political problems and ills is not realistic either. But yet, Arendt's (1958) theorising still offers a useful framework for understanding, analyzing and illustrating local population's views and practices on immigrants as well as the majority population's views on minorities; with which activities and relationships should immigrants (or minorities) content themselves or which of them should be denied to these groups (Martin, 2010). Accordingly, the

researcher of this dissertation thinks that Arendt's (1958) dichotomous separation between the private and public spheres will support this dissertation's effort to understand, analyze and illustrate leading Turkish Cypriot trade unions' attitudes, preferences, concerns and fears concerning their patron state and immigrants coming from Turkey. Thus, staying loyal to Arendt's (1958) categorization, this study accepts private sphere as the sphere of family and intimate relations in general, including friendship, as well as co-workership. On the other hand, the public sphere is accepted, as the sphere of politics in which people prioritize matters of common concern, interact and negotiate about collective issues and problems with each other, do politics on them, and try to take decisions via persuasion (Meade, 1996; Yükselbaba, 2008).

CHAPTER 3

INVESTIGATION OF LEADING TURKISH CYPRIOT TRADE UNIONS' ATTITUDES

3.1 Civil Society in Northern Cyprus

The deep-rooted history of the civil society and CSOs in Cyprus can be traced back to the British colonial period. Many historians and researchers insist that the “cooperative movement (1909)” and the “trade union movement (1932)” (Alpar, 2005, p. 10) played important roles together in forming and securing the ‘hard fought trivet’ which the present and also the new CSOs on both sides of the Green Line take for granted today. This being the case, trade unions are accepted as the oldest actors of the civil society in Cyprus (Kyriss, 2015).

The date Cyprus had experienced the *de facto* division, on the other hand, symbolizes a sort of a ‘new start’ for the Turkish Cypriot community. Predictably, the development of the Turkish Cypriot civil society cannot be evaluated independently of this radical change. Immediately after the 1974, a small number of new CSOs, including some right-leaning trade unions (still being active today) established in parallel with the nation-state building process, were set up in the northern part of the island and consequently the Turkish Cypriot civil society showed a slight expansion (CIVICUS, 2005; Ioannou and Sonan, 2016; Kyriss, 2015). Yet, the real flourishing and popularization of the civil society in Northern Cyprus started with the 1990s.

Alpar (2005) believes that there are two main dynamics which sparked off this flourishing and popularization in addition to the globally growing importance of the concept of civil society and CSOs during that decade; one

being the external and the other being internal. With regards to the external dynamic, the international community started to insist on a federal solution to the protracted 'Cyprus problem' with the 1990s and the civil society and CSOs on both sides of the Green Line were identified as vital actors in this process. Transformation and EU integration processes, especially in the Central and Eastern European countries, arose out of the collapse of the socialist bloc in 1991, brought the idea of supporting civil society in order to establish liberal-democratic structures forefront within the EU. Therefore, great amount of financial and technical aid were pumped into Northern Cyprus to strengthen the status and structure of the civil society and CSOs (CIVICUS, 2005; Kyris, 2015). With the strong support of the EU mainly, CSOs addressing different issues and problems such as women's rights and ecology boomed during this period, transforming the civil society in Northern Cyprus into a field with different types of flowers: "The 1990s were a turning point for the Turkish Cypriot civil society... This [decade] signaled the emergence of a more diverse Turkish Cypriot civil society and the establishment of various new organisations" (Kyris, 2015, p. 57). In other respects, according to Alpar (2005), the internal dynamic is directly associated with the growing societal distress/reaction following the 2000 and 2001 financial crisis, known as the 'Banking Crisis' in popular discourse, which has caused a massive downfall in the financial sector within the Turkish Cypriot community, against the entity's overreliance on its patron state and Turkey's enduring meddling especially in Northern Cyprus's internal politics and economy. This dynamic and its consequences will be discussed in more detail in the next section of this chapter.

When one looks at today, despite the ongoing overreliance on Turkey in practically all fields, presence of several ten thousand Turkish troops on the ground and political and economic isolation, overall, the civil society and CSOs in Northern Cyprus are quite well developed and functioning, not to mention the influence of leading trade unions on daily life and political agenda (CIVICUS, 2011). Taking the total population of the Northern Cyprus into consideration and comparing the total number of CSOs with the numbers in some other *de facto* states briefly analyzed in the previous sections, it could

even be argued that there is an ‘inflation’ of CSOs where the associations and trade unions constitute big part of it. Apparently, peculiar characteristics of Northern Cyprus and the conjunctural developments in 2000s which will be further emphasized in the next section provided a suitable basis for the mushrooming of the CSOs up to the present. Also, this environment gave enough space to the civil society and CSOs to become politicized to the extent that is uncommon for *de facto* states (CIVICUS, 2005; 2011). Fundamentally the leading left-wing trade unions such as Turkish Cypriot Teachers’ Union (*Kıbrıs Türk Öğretmenler Sendikası/KTÖS*), Turkish Cypriot Public Servants Union (*Kıbrıs Türk Amme Memurları Sendikası/KTAMS* and Turkish Cypriot Secondary Education Teachers’ Union (*Kıbrıs Türk Orta Eğitim Öğretmenler Sendikası/KTOEÖS*) are not cagey about being hyper critical of the *de facto* state’s official policy, history and discourse and their patron state, though they sometimes face threats and attacks by (Turkish) nationalist-conservative groups. Albeit, these strengths are just one side of the coin; the other side is filled with a raft of problems.

Putting aside the shortage of various resources, lower availability of them except from the town centers and the overwhelmingly male-dominated and “personalized” (CIVICUS, 2005, p. 170) style of their leaderships (CIVICUS, 2005; 2011), civil society and CSOs in Northern Cyprus have some other weaknesses and problems that are more closely related to the primary concerns of this dissertation. To put it more precisely, World Alliance for Citizen Participation (CIVICUS) Civil Society Index Reports (2005; 2011) put spotlight on the general climate of discrimination and intolerance within the Turkish Cypriot civil society and CSOs towards the immigrants coming from Turkey. Thus, most of them are not being effectively included in the Turkish Cypriot civil society and CSOs. Besides the immigrants coming from Turkey, many other socio-economic and socio-cultural groups whom have been pushed to the margins of the society, including indigent persons and minorities, are mostly left outside of the civil society and CSOs.

3.1.1 Turkish Cypriot Trade Unions: Locomotive of the Turkish Cypriot Civil Society and Societal Dissent and the Main Actors of Struggle for Hegemony and Counter-Hegemony

International non-recognition and isolation are leading to most of the problems and weaknesses which the contemporary *de facto* states should deal with today. It is for this very reason, as emphasized in Chapter 1, they have no other practical option but to bank on their patron states. Nonetheless, the tutelage and dependency relationship, more often than not, creates a series of constraints over the democracy (Kanol, 2015; Kanol and Köprülü, 2017) and functionality and activity areas of the civil society and CSOs in these entities. Northern Cyprus's relations with Turkey, in every period of its history, has been organized on the basis of *de facto* state-patron state relationship or to call it with its more frequently used version: 'Motherland-Babyland' relationship. However, having relatively more democratic status/environment and functioning, active and critical civil society (actors) (Freedom House, 2018), especially the trade unions, thanks to specific historical reasons/experiences and conjunctural developments, Northern Cyprus case distinguishes itself from other contemporary *de facto* states in this regard.

It can be argued that today the Turkish Cypriot trade unions play a locomotive role for the Turkish Cypriot civil society. Compared to the existing astronomical number of other CSO-types within Northern Cyprus, trade unions are considered as much more active, effective, vocal and politicized notably owing to their longstanding past and gained experiences together with the solid financial and organizational structures (Alpar, 2005; CIVICUS, 2005; 2011; Ioannou and Sonan, 2016; Saygılı et al., 2013). By means of their pivotal positions, they have enough capacity to give clear messages to both domestic, including the ruling elites in Northern Cyprus, and international community (Saygılı et al., 2013). Although it is not well known, trade unions did not reach their pivotal positions in the Turkish Cypriot civil society easily.

When one looks into the trade unions' almost a century old past on the island, it becomes evident that they passed through many good days and bad. Primarily two important periods or "critical junctures" (Ioannou and Sonan, 2016, p. 2) shaped the historical journey of the trade unions in Cyprus which

appeared for the first time in 1920s and 1930s (Ioannou and Sonan, 2016). Therefore, the 1940s and its impact over the unionization should not be overlooked because in that decade, while trade unions became so powerful across the island, Turkish Cypriots also started to establish their own trade unions in addition to the mixed ones (Ioannou and Sonan, 2016; Saygılı et al., 2013; Alpar, 2005). During the period between the mid-1960s and 1974 however, when the tensions between Greek and Turkish Cypriots developed rapidly and quickly deteriorated into an intercommunal fighting that spread to the whole island and ended with the military intervention of Turkey, trade unions -unavoidably- reduced their activities to minimum and this dramatically impeded the trade union movement in Cyprus (CIVICUS, 2005). Whereas this intervention signifies a 'new start' for Turkish Cypriot community as aforementioned, it also created a permanent 'rupture' for the trade unions in Cyprus according to Ioannou and Sonan (2016, p. 2): "...the separate paths of the trade unions were sealed along the de facto partition of the country".

In its narrowest definition, given by the Social Science Encyclopedia (1996), "trade union" is a CSO mainly struggling to protect its members' interests against the employers. However, particularly the heavy-weight left-wing Turkish Cypriot trade unions' campaigns, activities and discourses are not limited to this. For instance, existences and activities of the two teachers unions, KTÖS and KTOEÖS, date back to the establishment of the *de facto* entity. While they made unignorable contribution to the democratization and political multivocality, they sometimes had to pay heavy prices for this purpose. In more recent years, it is seen that especially the leftist trade unions took over the responsibility many times with the political activism and discourse that have been sprouted up/triggered by the social, political and economic developments and crisis. Mainly in two different periods, heavy-weight leftist trade unions including KTÖS, KTOEÖS and KTAMS took on a leading role in escalated societal reactions. One of the clearest examples is the series of *This Country is Ours Platform's* (*Bu Memleket Bizim Platformu*) rallies being triggered by the chain of unpleasant events in the late 1990s, one of which was the assassination of the journalist Kutlu Adalı in 1996, and the financial crisis in the early 2000s. Another important period was 2011, when the social reactions

quickly increased in parallel with the destructive consequences of the 2008 financial crisis and the changing perceptions of the vast majority of Turkish Cypriots assuming that Republic of Turkey started to pursue different and relatively more detrimental political, economic and social policies regarding Northern Cyprus and the Turkish Cypriot community, and led to *Societal/Communal Existence (Toplumsal Varoluş)* rallies (for a detailed discussion see Ayberk et al., 2019).

By assuming leading roles in societal dissent, protests and rallies, particularly left-wing trade unions are clearly giving voice to various concerns, demands and harsh criticisms which are not so possible to witness in other *de facto* states since they openly contradict and disagree with the state's official policy, history and discourse. And as mentioned before, with their highly critical stance, though they sometimes get strong reactions from insults up to threats from Turkish Cypriot right-wing and patron state officials, they are opening alternative political and also cultural channels against the discourse occupying the big part of the public sphere based on Turkish nationalism, its 'national paranoia and red lines' and 'Motherland-Babyland' relationship (Alpar, 2005). Herein, it is possible to argue that few themes/demands have risen to great popularity in this process: 'being the masters of their own home' or, "being [the] masters of their own fate rather [than] being led and governed by Turkey" (Bayada, 2011, p. 36) which goes hand in hand with the 'concerns regarding the negative effects of Turkey's ever-growing meddling into Northern Cyprus's domestic politics and economics and immigrants coming from Turkey over the Turkish Cypriot community'; and 'a (federal) solution to the protracted Cyprus problem'. This situation created a course marked with rigid ups and downs, comprising strident criticisms, accusations and reprisals, in Northern Cyprus-Turkey-trade unions relations (for a detailed analysis see Ayberk et al., 2019).

3.2 Three Separate Migration Waves from Turkey to Northern Cyprus

Migration is not a recent phenomenon for the small Mediterranean island of Cyprus. Throughout its history, Cyprus has experienced various large-scale in and out migration movements stemming from different reasons; this list can be

expanded from environmental problems to security concerns. For example, as Hill (1952) stated, in the 18th century while the island was under Ottoman Rule, Cyprus experienced a massive out migration movement to Syria and today's Turkey mainly due to the devastating consequences of the drought and locust invasion. In other respects, during the period 1946-1974, many people, mostly Turkish Cypriots, migrated from Cyprus to particularly Turkey, Australia and Britain due to security concerns arising from the strife based on ethnic differences between two communities (Purkis and Kurtuluş, 2009). Therefore, studies focusing on Cyprus frequently prefer to characterize it as 'Migration Heaven' or 'Island of Migrations' metaphorically. However, it can be argued that the most contested migration movement that has an undeniable importance within the routine conversations of Turkish Cypriots, discourse of the daily politics, civil society, national media and negotiations for a peace settlement between two communities belongs to the large influx of immigrants from the Republic of Turkey who started to come to the north of the island since the *de facto* division of Cyprus in 1974. In the light of the findings presented in previous limited academic studies, immigrants coming from Turkey can be analyzed in three separate migration waves on the basis of their motivations, magnitudes, characteristics and impacts over the Northern Cyprus as well.

3.2.1 First-wave Immigrants from Turkey to Northern Cyprus

On 20 July 1974, Turkish armed forces carried out a unilateral military intervention in Cyprus by asserting the rights and obligations of the 1960 Treaty of Guarantee. Immediate consequence of the division of island in 1974 was that it provoked a massive population displacement between north and south, creating two almost ethnically homogenous political geographies as Gürel and Özersay (2006, p. 3) reported: "142,000 Greek Cypriots migrated from north to south and 45,000 Turkish Cypriots migrated from south to north". Consequently, Turkish Cypriots who were constituting only 18% of the island's total population during the time period in question started to control more than one third of the island's territory and about 60% of its industry, 68% of its tourism sector and 70% of its agricultural production (Hannay, 2005;

Hoffmeister, 2006; United States Senate Committee on the Judiciary, 1974). Yet, unlike the southern part of the island, serious labour shortage was experienced both in urban and rural sectors; "...in professions previously performed by Greek Cypriots such as artisanal, agricultural, professional and mercantile works" (Purkis and Kurtuluş, 2013, p. 3) in the north, mostly owing to the qualitative and quantitative traits of Turkish Cypriots. Lack of widespread international recognition of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus (TFSC), proclaimed in 1975, made resolution of this labour shortage harder as this status blocked access to other available active labour markets. Thus, the solution adopted at that time was to recruit people from the today's patron state, Republic of Turkey; the only state that officially recognized the *de facto* existence of the TFSC (Purkis and Kurtuluş, 2014).

Signing of the agreement between TFSC and the Republic of Turkey, known as the "Agricultural Labour Force Protocol" or "Agricultural Labour Agreement" (Purkis and Kurtuluş, 2013, p. 5), is the most serious attempt to overcome the subversive effects of the skilled and unskilled labour shortage obstructing the healthy operation of the economy. According to Hatay (2005, p. 12) this labour force protocol enabled the recruitment and placement of several thousand first-wave immigrants from Turkey: "The majority came to Cyprus between 1975 and 1977 from the regions around Trabzon (East Black Sea), Antalya, Mersin, Adana (Southern Turkey), Çarşamba, Samsun (West Black Sea), Konya (Central Anatolia) and southeastern Turkey". Although lots of debates exist regarding the exact number of first-wave immigrants coming from Turkey (varying from 10,000 to 50,000) because of the 'curtain of secrecy' over the official figures, which is the very common characteristic of all *de facto* entities, Purkis and Kurtuluş (2013; 2014) reported that the number of immigrants subject to the aforementioned protocol was around 30,000. As recent studies had clearly revealed, this remarkable number also served the policy of Turkification of the northern part which began to be pursued by both the Turkish Cypriot leadership and (mainland) Turkish decision makers, crystallizing their interpretation of the post-1974 political reality that underlines the permanence of the division of the island. Purkis and Kurtuluş (2013, p. 3) put forward that: "Alongside providing a labour force to fill the labour gap in

different sectors of the Northern Cyprus' economy, the intention of transforming this newly acquired territory on the North Cyprus into a Turkish land is obvious...". Therefore, the widespread tendency in the Turkish Cypriot community and heavy weight left-wing trade unions is to characterize/label first-wave migration as the cornerstone of their patron state's 'demographic and cultural engineering' over Northern Cyprus and Turkish Cypriots.

Great majority of the first-wave immigrants were composed of landless and financially powerless farmers who were suffering from loss of livelihoods due to both natural and manmade disasters including dam projects, floods and/or landslips. It has been underlined by Purkis and Kurtuluş (2013; 2014) that first-wave migration from Turkey to Northern Cyprus was largely an 'incentive-led' migration movement because various incentives were offered to encourage these people such as land grants, social benefits and houses, announced by officials responsible for the settlement with village headmen making convincing speeches in various provinces. As most of the first-wave immigrants were 'taken' collectively with their family members and neighbours during this period, when they arrived to the Northern Cyprus, they were domiciled together mainly into remote empty villages that had been quitted by ex-Greek Cypriot owners such as Dipkarpaz (Rizokarpaso), Bafra (Vogolida), Bahçeli (Kalturga), Değirmenlik (Kitrea), Paşaköy (Aşa) and Ulukışla (Marotovuno) (Hatay, 2008). Thus, they had weak social and cultural interactions with the Turkish Cypriot community in general. In addition to the immigrants who were settled in through this labour force agreement, some people individually moved to Northern Cyprus to avoid various troubles that they were facing at that time including blood vengeance, honour killings and state-sponsored political, ethnic and religious discrimination and repression which was especially the case amongst the Alevi population living in Turkey and the members of the revolutionary left (Purkis and Kurtuluş, 2013; 2014).

Since most of the first-wave immigrants came from rural areas of Turkey, they tended to be indigent, less educated and possessed more conservative ideas compared to the Turkish Cypriot community (King and Ladbury, 1982). Moreover, they had several habits -for example having their meals on tables without legs through sitting on the ground- contrasting with the

local Turkish Cypriot culture and the modern image of Turkish people, portrayed in Turkish cinema (Yeşilçam movies) (Hatay, 2008), living in Republic of Turkey. Thus, soon afterwards, some Turkish Cypriots started to voice their complaints targeting these people. But, first-wave immigrants from Turkey did not become the biggest concern of the Turkish Cypriots due to the aforementioned fact that most of them had very limited social and cultural interactions with the Turkish Cypriot community in general (Ayberk, 2013). As will be discussed more comprehensively in this chapter, the main focus of the negative images and widely acclaimed frustrations, fears and speculations/myths regarding immigrants coming from Turkey has been the third-wave immigrants.

3.2.2 Second-wave Immigrants from Turkey to Northern Cyprus

As Purkis and Kurtuluş (2013; 2014) argued first-wave migration ended in 1979 and compared to the previous wave, the mid-1980s brought different kinds of people to Northern Cyprus. According to their analysis, it is possible to define second-wave migration as 'opportunity-led' due to the fact that it was motivated by the monetary gain opportunities found in Northern Cyprus rather than the incentives. Correspondingly, few of them were from rural regions of Turkey, and they were instead high-skilled and semi-skilled migrant workers who could labour in education, reparation, tourism, ready-made clothing, electricity industries and construction sectors. Furthermore, the number of small and medium-scale capitalist merchants who were mostly busy with suitcase trading and tourism and hotel management increased (Hatay and Bryant, 2008b; Purkis and Kurtuluş, 2009). Another novelty that was brought to Northern Cyprus with the second-wave migration was the experienced boom in the number of the people involved in off-shore banking, casinos, companies set up to launder illicit money made by Turkish mafia, awols, fugitives from justice, soldiers and university students (Purkis and Kurtuluş, 2008; 2009).

It is necessary to note that in the late 1980s and early 1990s various new agreements were signed between Northern Cyprus and its patron state,

significantly influencing the magnitude and context/character of the second-wave migration and future immigrants. Undoubtedly, the most striking and contested agreement was signed in 1991 and enabled the entrance of people from Turkey to Northern Cyprus by using their national ID cards only at the border gates rather than the passports; something that today attracts the most significant criticism and resentment from the great majority of the Turkish Cypriots and trade unions.

3.2.3 Third-wave Immigrants from Turkey to Northern Cyprus

In the beginning of the 2000s however, Northern Cyprus started to experience a distinctive migration movement from its patron state. In comparison to the first and second-wave, it should be noted that the third-wave migration's magnitude, context and motivations are significantly different. First and above all, it has features particularly common with informal labour's global movements as indicated by Purkis and Kurtuluş (2013, p. 7): "Their [third-wave immigrants'] migration has more parallelism with the other labour migrations throughout the world which have been accelerated by the globalisation processes". Thus, the overwhelming majority of the third-wave immigrants are informal workers, being mostly of Arab or Kurdish origin, labouring at dangerous, dirty and badly-paid jobs within the construction sector, cleaning industry, filling stations or fields (Hatay, 2005).

As many recent empirical research revealed, series of events that took place during the early 2000s accelerated the influx of third-wave immigrants from Turkey. Presumably, the most motivating development was the rejection of the UN-sponsored reunification plan, known as the Annan Plan, in 2004 by Greek Cypriots, subsequently leading to a massive expansion in Northern Cyprus's construction sector (Hatay and Bryant, 2011). However, there was not enough cheap workforce in the reserves of the Turkish Cypriot labour market to meet the demands of the skyrocketed construction sector. This is mainly because Turkish Cypriots did not show willingness to work in these badly-paid and 'non-prestigious' jobs. According to Purkis and Kurtuluş (2013, p. 7) this created a huge pull factor and tempted sizeable amount of third-wave

immigrants: “When this overflow of labour has coincided with the intensive demand of cheap labour for the construction sector in Northern Cyprus, which is the most important leading sector for capital accumulation in this country since 2002, it transformed into a very strong new migration wave”.

In the early years, the vast majority of third-wave immigrants coming from Turkey were forced to spend the night on the construction yards or other rundown places where they were recruited under very inhumane and health-threatening conditions (Hatay, 2005). But, different from the first and second-wave immigrants, the population of third-wave immigrants in Northern Cyprus reached to large numbers in the course of time and this overcrowding obliged them to find other places for sheltering. Great majority of them did not reside in remote villages (in contrast to the particularly first-wave immigrants) but instead started to live in closer proximity with the Turkish Cypriot community as they preferred to move in the empty and dilapidated historical houses within Nicosia’s city-centre, walled city, which had been abandoned by their former-Turkish Cypriot-owners. Third-wave immigrants showed excess demand to these old and dilapidated properties, although most of them are in a bad state of repair or totally inhabitable due to the lack of available water and electricity facilities (Hatay, 2008), because they remained the best option by providing very cheap shelter compared to the rest of property market in Northern Cyprus. Besides, owing to the social solidarity networks, including various associations and coffee houses, established between immigrants, the aforementioned region functions as an informal job market (Purkis and Kurtuluş, 2009). Overwhelming ‘geographic concentration’ of them deeply changed the demographic structure of the walled city and as Hatay (2008) put forward, transformed it into a ghetto of predominantly male third-wave immigrants coming from Turkey.

As distinguished from previous immigrants, third-wave immigrants’ magnitude, employment practices and geographic overcrowding within the walled city also made them highly visible in almost all aspects of daily life (Ayberk, 2013). Moreover, as many Turkish Cypriots did not turn their backs to the walled city completely and still prefer to visit the various restaurants and entertainment venues located in this region (Bizden, 2006) -despite majority of

them are now living outside of the city centre- the social and cultural interactions between them and the third-wave immigrants increased relatively. While these would seem like positive developments between the Turkish Cypriots and immigrants coming from Turkey at first glance, there is also another side of the coin which has a significantly different story to tell. To be more precise, higher visibility of third-wave immigrants and their increased socio-cultural relations and interactions with the Turkish Cypriots due to this wave's specific context and peculiarities "sparked off the Turkish Cypriot community's self-awareness of [their cultural] distinctiveness [in comparison to people from the Republic of Turkey]" (Ayberk, 2013, p. 68). And the emergence of distinct self-awareness amongst the great majority of the Turkish Cypriot community formed a trivet for what could be termed as 'xenophobic form of nationalism'. It is worth noting that this xenophobic form of nationalism manifests itself through identifying/viewing all immigrants coming from Turkey as hostile 'Other', blaming them for every existing problem in Northern Cyprus which goes hand in hand with putting exaggerated and demeaning stereotypes into circulation, intentional manipulation of the past to legitimize its struggle for hegemony and politicizing various formerly mundane cultural elements and clinging to them as primary markers of difference (Ayberk, 2013). Yet more importantly, many Turkish Cypriots also gave voice to a number of frustrations, fears and speculations/myths against immigrants coming from Turkey which are getting higher-pitched day by day. In general, these widely acclaimed frustrations, fears and speculations/myths can be classified under five headings: 'Republic of Turkey is deliberately intending to colonize Northern Cyprus or to quote word by word from many Turkish Cypriots, transform Northern Cyprus into its 82nd province' (Hatay, 2005; 2007; Purkis and Kurtuluş, 2009; Hatay and Bryant, 2008a); 'through shifting demographic balance radically against Turkish Cypriots by regularly transferring/sending people, Republic of Turkey is trying to consolidate its control over the Northern Cyprus's politics and/or Turkish Cypriots' political will' (Hatay, 2005; 2007; Hatay and Bryant, 2008b); 'Turkish Cypriots are losing their distinctive culture as they are at the point of being assimilated into a quantitatively larger, yet culturally "backward" population, belonging mainly third-wave immigrants coming from Turkey' (Sümer, 2005; Hatay and Bryant, 2008a; 2008b); 'ever-

growing number of mainly third-wave immigrants from Turkey leading to a dramatic decrease in the job opportunities which Turkish Cypriots seek for and lowering wages' (Erhürman, 2006); and 'rates of especially violent crimes which Turkish Cypriots are not accustomed to observe before are escalating because of more recent immigrants from Turkey' (Hatay, 2007).

3.2.3.1 Negative Representations of Immigrants from Turkey in the Turkish Cypriot Press

Exaggerated, negative and even sometimes malicious coverage of immigrants and migration from Turkey in general by the Turkish Cypriot newspapers is a longstanding experience. Some examples can also be found in the mid-1970s, harshly criticizing the existence and negative impacts of the first-wave immigrants (Hatay, 2008). Nevertheless, with the arrival of the third-wave immigrants from Turkey in the early 2000s, newspaper columns and reports suffering from bias, othering, labelling/stigmatization and xenophobia has risen enormously both in prevalence and prominence and started to 'adorn' the first pages of the national newspapers frequently. When the contents of some Turkish Cypriot newspapers with highest daily circulation numbers, *Kıbrıs*, *Afrika* and *Havadis*, and news portals were analysed, it can be argued that there are lots of recently published columns and reports explicitly circulating and at the same time reproducing the aforementioned frustrations, fears and speculations/myths.

First and foremost, many Turkish Cypriot columnists are complaining about the huge presence of mainly third-wave immigrants and almost non-existence of Turkish Cypriots within the walled city and the present bad and dangerous situation of the region (Hastürer, 2012). Quite similar to Hastürer's (2012) column, many other popular Turkish Cypriot columnists assert that the walled city is "occupied" by a large crowd of faces who have significantly different lifestyles in terms of their foods and dressing styles; something that pushes the Turkish Cypriot culture to the verge of extinction (Kışmır, 2013). Perhaps, as Hatay (2008) underlined, this is one of the primary reasons why many Turkish Cypriot journalists and columnists have been filling their pieces

with emotional depictions of the past, vividly portraying the streets of the walled city as completely Turkish Cypriot through stressing the non-existence of hostile 'Others'. For instance, Tolgay's (2003) and Artun's (2011) columns are full of such yearnings and identified Turkish Cypriot cultural elements - molohiya, kolokas (vegetable dishes), şeftali kebab (sausage-shaped barbecue dish), jasmine and basil- that started to be used as markers of difference against the immigrants coming from Turkey (Ayberk, 2013). Thus, accordingly, Hastürer's (2013) piece talks about how the "indigenous/familiar scents" of jasmines and basil were overwhelmed in recent years by the 'alien scents' rising from foods, namely the lahmacun (thin dough with spiced-ground meat on it), being cooked by huge number of mainly third-wave immigrants. Moreover, detailed analysis of columns and reports published after 2000 in the Turkish Cypriot newspapers revealed the widespread tendency of demonizing immigrants coming from Turkey as "potential convicts and rapists", "transferred Turks" and/or "transported population", utterly "ignorant persons" and "fundamentalist Islamists", and also "disease importers", corrupting the socio-cultural and ideological makeup of Northern Cyprus (Levent, 2006; Levent, 2011; Okan, 2016; Türkkan, 2015; Ciyaslıoğlu, 2011; Osman, 2010; Çetereisi, 2006). In this manner, the rhetoric used by Levent (2012, p. 4) in his column in which he made fun of the Turkish Student Oath by changing its original lines is the symptomatic of such demonizations: "I am Turk... I am rapist... I am killer... I am thief... I am hijacker... I am pervert... I am maniac... My law is to rob, rape, murder and hate and disrespect everybody excluding myself". Besides these, some columns and reports in these newspapers continuously alarm their Turkish Cypriot readership about their patron state's ongoing "colonization and assimilation project" and try to convince them to think of themselves as a "minority population" in their own homeland through pumping up the population numbers of immigrants from Turkey in Northern Cyprus (Afşaroğlu, 2011; Kişmir, 2017).

3.3 Leading Turkish Cypriot Trade Unions' Attitudes towards their Patron State and Immigrants coming from Turkey

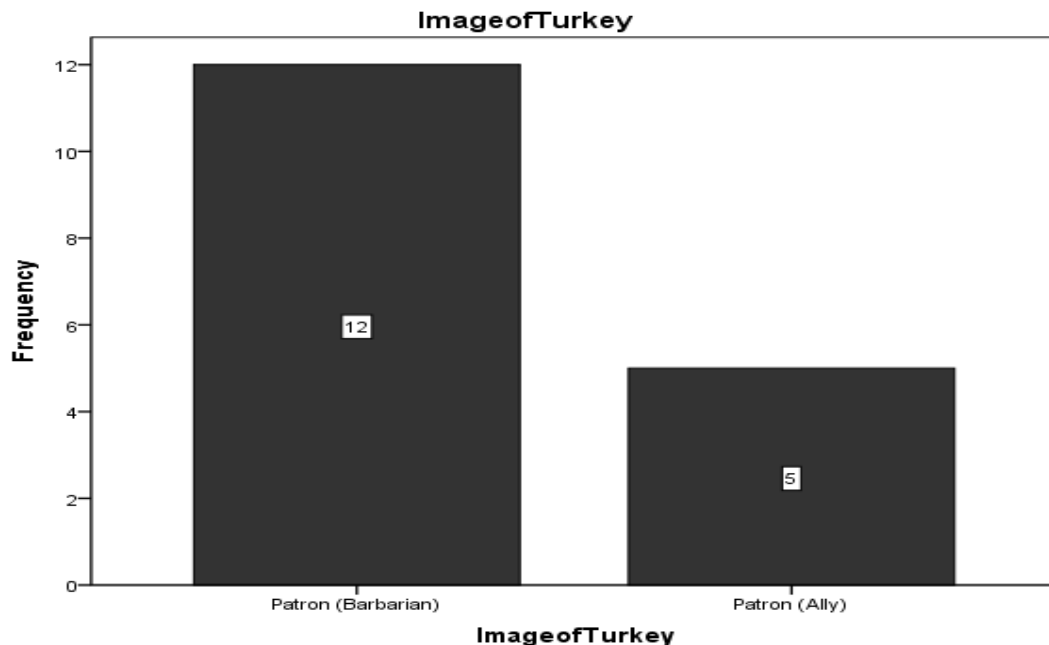
3.3.1 Research Findings

In the first phase of the data analysis, the researcher of this dissertation benefited from the IBM SPSS Version 20 software. Some of the data collected during the face-to-face interviews in accordance with Bogardus Social Distance Scale (towards immigrants coming from Turkey) and socio-demographic characteristics of the research sample were thematized and coded into a SPSS data file. It was done by bearing in mind the important findings of the previous studies underlining that the trade union leaders' own characters and preferences have unignorable effect on the general policies, tendencies and practices of the trade unions (CIVICUS, 2005). Due to the greater emphasis being placed on the qualitative data and relatively small sample size, the researcher of this dissertation decided to apply only a few simple and non-parametric statistical tests and analyses. These are percentage and frequency analysis, cross-tabulation analyses and Kruskal-Wallis test.

While the percentage and frequency analysis was conducted to obtain the distributions of the answers and considerations of the respondents/trade unions, Kruskal-Wallis test was applied to see if other variables, such as considerations/positionings regarding the political spectrum, have effect on the respondents'/trade unions' images of Turkey. Then, Bogardus Social Distance scores were used as the dependent variable and cross-tabulation and Pearson's chi-square test was used to investigate if it has a relevance with other (independent) variables or, in other words, if the Bogardus Social Distance score varies, for example, by considerations/positionings regarding the political spectrum. In these analysis, level of significance (p-value) was set at $p < 0.05$.

3.3.1.1 Percentage and Frequency Distributions of the Bogardus Social Distance Scores and Images of Turkey

Based on the percentage and frequency analysis, it was identified that the dominant tendency among the respondents/trade unions is to consider Turkey as the 'Barbarian Patron' of the *de facto* Northern Cyprus; the image that was derived using the information and criteria summarized in the Table 1 in the Section 2.1.3.2. As the bar-chart below shows, while 70.6% of the respondents/trade unions (12 of them) consider Turkey as the 'Barbarian Patron' of the Northern Cyprus, 29.4% of them (5) consider it as the 'Ally Patron':



Secondly, when the percentage and frequency distributions of the Bogardus Social Distance scores of the respondents/trade unions towards immigrants coming from Turkey were analyzed again with the percentage and frequency analysis, it was identified that the great majority of the respondents'/trade unions' (88.2%) Bogardus Social Distance score is '1'; meaning that they would accept an immigrant coming from Turkey to the closest possible relationship listed in the Section 2.1.3.1. The Table 13 below summarizes the further details concerning the percentage and frequency distributions and also the mean of the Bogardus Social Distance scores:

Table 13: Percentage and Frequency Distributions and the Mean of the Bogardus Social Distance Scores

Bogardus Social Distance Score	Percentage	Frequency
1	88.2	15
5	5.9	1
6	5.9	1
Total	100	17
Mean: 1.35		

Yet, both of these points require further elaboration for clarification. Thus, they will be discussed in more detail in the sections to follow.

3.3.1.2 Relevance between the Bogardus Social Distance Scores and Other Variables

As stated above, cross-tabulation and Pearson's chi-square test was conducted to discover what kind of association/relationship exist between the Bogardus Social Distance scores of the trade unions towards immigrants coming from Turkey and other variables. For example, tests results did not indicate a statistically significant association/relationship between the study sample's Bogardus Social Distance scores towards immigrants coming from Turkey and their considerations regarding the image of Turkey ($\chi^2 = 0.944$, $p > 0.05$ [$p = 0.624$]). In other words, test results show that attitudes towards immigrants coming from Turkey do not differ depending on the variable of 'image of Turkey', be it 'Barbarian Patron' or 'Ally Patron'. Furthermore, according to the test results, the level of social distance towards immigrants coming from Turkey does not vary depending on neither the personal considerations/positionings ($\chi^2 = 1.236$, $p > 0.05$ [$p = 0.872$]) nor the considerations/positionings about trade unions ($\chi^2 = 1.587$, $p > 0.05$ [$p = 0.811$]) with respect to the political spectrum. One last point is that when similar statistical procedures were followed for rest of the variables, such as occupation, identity and so on, it was concluded that no statistically significant relationship exist between them and the Bogardus Social Distance scores. To put this differently, social distance levels do not vary by status/duty, gender,

age range, birthplace, occupation, level of education and identity as shown in the Table 14:

Table 14: Test Results for Status/Duty, Gender, Age Range, Birthplace, Occupation, Level of Education and Identity Variables

	Chi-square (χ^2)	P-value (p)
Status/Duty	8.009	0.818
Gender	0.302	0.860
Age range	3.346	0.764
Birthplace	0.302	0.860
Occupation	9.390	0.495
Level of Education	5.289	0.726
Identity	1.587	0.954

3.3.1.3 Statistical Difference among the Groups with regards to the Images of Turkey

In terms of the 'Images trade unions have of Turkey', Kruskal-Wallis test results indicate that there is statistically significant difference among the groups of ideological variable concerning the images of Turkey. For instance, trade union leaders considering/positioning themselves and their trade unions on the left on the political spectrum view/characterize Turkey as the 'Barbarian Patron' of the *de facto* Northern Cyprus; while, on the other hand, trade union leaders considering/positioning themselves and their trade unions on the right on the political spectrum view/characterize Turkey as the 'Ally Patron' ($H(2) = 8.857$, $p < 0.05$ [$p = 0.012$] and $H(2) = 8.520$, $p < 0.05$ [$p = 0.014$]). The importance of this result is that it indicates the significance and function of the ideological identities and how the images which trade unions have of Turkey vary according to their ideological identities.

However, when similar statistical procedures were followed for the rest of the variables, Kruskal-Wallis test results did not indicate the same thing. In other words, neither the age range, nor the birthplace, nor any other factors including the level of education, identity and so on, have statistically significant effect on the considerations regarding the image of Turkey. Further details are summarized in the Table 15 given below:

Table 15: Kruskal-Wallis Test Results for Birthplace, Gender, Age Range, Identity and Level of Education Variables

	Kruskal-Wallis
Birthplace	H(1)= 0.436, p= 0.509
Gender	H(1)= 0.889, p= 0.346
Age Range	H(3)= 3.479, p= 0.323
Identity	H(3)= 6.480, p= 0.090
Level of Education	H(4)= 2.929, p= 0.570

3.3.1.4 Thematic Analysis of Attitudes towards Turkey and Immigrants coming from Turkey

In the second phase of the data analysis, the semi-structured interview records that were gathered via the help of an interview guide were analyzed by using thematic analysis. Consequently, the findings were collected in two main themes as ‘Turkish Cypriot trade unions’ attitudes towards their patron state/Turkey’ and ‘Turkish Cypriot trade unions’ attitudes towards immigrants coming from Turkey’. While summarizing the findings, the researcher of this dissertation included numerous direct quotes from the responses of the representatives of the trade unions for the sake of establishing a basis for discussion. In order to protect the anonymity of the trade unions, this dissertation referred to the respondents with the pseudonym ‘R’ which is numbered from 1 to 17.

With reference to the sub-theme ‘compatibility between the Northern Cyprus and Republic of Turkey in terms of the goals in the present and for the future’, the vast majority of the trade unions/respondents stated that there is no harmony; meaning that Northern Cyprus and Republic of Turkey have incompatible goals resulting essentially from the impositions and pressures. For example, R12 expressed his/her views on this sub-theme as follows:

I think there is no such harmony because Northern Cyprus is under the political, economic and military control of Turkey... Through impositions and pressures, Turkey is trying to change the Turkish Cypriots’ characteristic values. Actually, a kind of a ‘human engineering’ is being carried out. We, as Turkish Cypriots, want to stand on our own feet and want to be masters of our own home. However, since 1974 it has been said that ‘You will do this and you will do that’... For example, the previous Turkish ambassador [to Nicosia] asked that: ‘There are many people waiting to become TRNC [Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus] citizens.

Why don't you grant these citizenships?' This is one of clearest examples of the pressures that our governments and community are facing...

Another trade union/respondent, R4, also stated that it is not even possible to talk about a compatibility by laying special emphasis on the perceived status of the Northern Cyprus:

There is no compatibility between the national objectives of TRNC and Turkey. How is that even possible? There is nobody taking TRNC seriously, not even Turkey... Turkey is trying to direct TRNC in accordance with its aims, targets and interests... It does not take any permission from TRNC before making any decision. Actually, Turkey sees TRNC as its sub-government. And for me, this is true. TRNC is the sub-government of Turkey.

On the other hand, only a few trade unions/respondents argued that the Republic of Turkey sporadically intervenes and provides guidance to secure and maintain this harmony which are for the good of the TRNC and Turkish Cypriot community. For example, R13 stated that:

As I said before, I was an active member of the Idealist Movement [Ülkücü Hareket]. We are not like Greeks. We are 'TRNC lovers'. Both the rightists and leftists in South Cyprus have the same aim: Enosis [union with Greece]. They [Greece and south side] are richer than us [Turkish Cypriot community]. They have the ambition of occupying Cyprus completely... I am telling this once again: the Turkish military never leaves here because this island is strategically important, very important. To be honest, I would definitely want that to happen. Turkish military should always be here because if we were left alone, Greeks would take revenge... Turkey is our motherland; it is the home of all Turks. Since I am a Turk, Turkey is my motherland too. At least we have a motherland. At least Turkey sends water, money, etc. to us. And of course it sometimes demands somethings. For our good. What more do you want? We are an ungrateful society.

Secondly, trade unions/interviewees were asked about the 'relative economic and military powers and/or capabilities of Northern Cyprus and Republic of Turkey'. All of the trade unions/interviewees who expressed their views on this sub-theme, without any exception, stated that there is a world of a difference between the economic and military powers and/or capabilities of both states. In this regard, all trade unions/respondents share a similar view that Northern Cyprus's economy and army are heavily dependent on financial and military assistance from Turkey. For instance, R17's and R7's views are as follows respectively:

Turkey's military power cannot be compared to the TRNC's. Without Turkey, we are nothing... Without Turkey, Greeks would 'drown us in their saliva'.

The comparison between the Northern Cyprus' economy and Turkey's is impossible. Does TRNC have its own economic structure? No. In my opinion, TRNC has an economy that is completely reliant on Turkey and surviving with the money being transferred from there... Turkey, as it has a greater economy than ours, is making decisions and giving us instructions. It designs protocols on financial issues in order to have more control [in Northern Cyprus]. Since the 1990s, protocols are being sent and this situation still continues. They are being renewed one way or the other and are imposed on Turkish Cypriots.

By the same token, research respondents were requested to express their views about the 'relative status (educational and cultural levels) of Northern Cyprus and Turkish Cypriots and Republic of Turkey and the people of Turkey'. Repeating what happened in the sub-theme above, trade unions/respondents uniformly expressed that there are huge differences between them. Yet, the differences this time are on the part of Northern Cyprus and Turkish Cypriots. Correspondingly, R4's and R17's views on this sub-theme are as noted below:

In comparison to Turkey and Turkish society, we, the Turkish Cypriots, are much more educated and cultured... Except from 5% or 10% of them at max, they [people of Turkey] are illiterates.

Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus and Turkish Cypriots are ahead in comparison to Turkey and Turkish people... both culturally and democratically. The people in Cyprus are more democratic, humanistic, and modern. For example, they do not stab their wives when their wives shout at them. However, in Turkey, unfortunately, we can see everyday people stabbing, chopping 'their women' with knife for this reason. In Cyprus, such cases and people are actually very rare. And the existing ones are our psychopaths who come here from Turkey unfortunately.

The most striking point is that while expressing their views on this sub-theme, it is observed that, many trade unions/interviewees put the 'positive influence' of the British colonial rule and English culture over the Turkish Cypriot community and its culture to forefront. Two good examples belong to R1 and R12 respectively:

A Cypriot does not take anything for granted. We always question everything... I think, our culture is much closer to the English culture than the European culture... While we suffered from being an English colony and its disadvantages, I think, this had provided us with many advantages on the other hand. Turkish Cypriots live the English culture.

There is a great difference... [In Turkish Cypriot culture] there are some manners/habits and values that were inherited from the English era and culture and also there are some others from the living together experiences with Greek Cypriots. That's why, in my opinion, Turkish Cypriots are more

civilized, tolerant and liberal than the majority of Turkish people in Turkey. The religious understanding of Turkish Cypriots is also more different. I mean blind religious belief is not common...

In the light of all these considerations, it is observed that the strongest 'image of the Republic Turkey' amongst the trade unions was the 'Barbarian Patron' as also the quantitative results presented in the Section 3.3.1.1 have clearly indicated. Bryant and Yakinthou's (2012) comprehensive report, entitled 'Cypriot Perceptions of Turkey', also reported similar findings/perceptions from a small number of trade unions/trade union leaders that were included in their research sample. This image, for example, crystallizes more in a small part of the R15's interview:

There are pressures and impositions from Turkey on Turkish Cypriots, to integrate us into Turkish community, culture, system... It is not only in the economic field. Nearly in all areas we are exposed to these; political, cultural, demographic, environmental, educational, etc. In order to convert us into a form, shape that Turkey wants, I believe, imposed policies are being implemented in these fields. Due to these, in my opinion, TRNC became dependent and a sort of a 'sub-government'. Especially, recently, the efforts to convert our societal structure have increased via economic packages and protocols and population which is being sent or transferred, whatever you call it. Through this population, our demographic structure is being changed. The main aim, target is our modern, secular societal structure and some values. What are those values? Respect, tolerance, democracy... Instead of these a violent, fascist, tyranny culture is tried to be inserted. Take a look at the violence against Afrika newspaper... the attacks [political and physical] against the journalists due to the caricatures they published. In other words, the attacks on press freedom and expression. The societal structure is tried to be converted through pressure...

That being said, on the other side of the medallion, there are a small number of trade unions considering the Republic of Turkey as the 'Ally Patron' of the *de facto* Northern Cyprus and Turkish Cypriots. Supporters of this view made similar statements and gave similar justifications during the interviews as they particularly emphasized the existence of Greek Cypriots and the potential existential threat they could pose to the Turkish Cypriot community. For example, in this manner, R9 indicated that:

Turkey is our motherland, my motherland. I hope this situation stay the same forever. While the Greeks are there, just few kilometres away from us, can you think of the opposite? No, impossible... We [Turkish Cypriots] cannot exist without our motherland. Loud and clear. But, it should not intervene too much in our internal affairs. I mean, on every occasion by saying 'I am giving you the money, do this and do that' or 'I am giving you the money, grant citizenship to this number of immigrants'.

At this point, it should be stated that the images of the Republic of Turkey obtained in this study, 'Barbarian Patron' and 'Ally Patron', are partially consistent with the Image Theory which was discussed in more detail in the Chapter 2. The main reason is that the Image Theory does not offer a convenient image(s) depicting the relations between the *de facto* states and their external patrons, the views and perceptions of the respective parties concerning these relations and also how they see each other and why they adopt a particular attitude. Thus, in the light of the structural features being used by the Image Theory (goal compatibility, relative power and/or capability, and relative status) and the interview records, the researcher of this dissertation thinks that another image could be added to the existing images given in the previous chapters. In this study, the consensus view amongst the leading Turkish Cypriot trade unions arguing that the Republic of Turkey has relatively superior economic and military power and/or capability compared to Northern Cyprus and the dependency of the *de facto* Northern Cyprus to Turkey in all fields makes the Republic of Turkey the 'Patron' (state) of Northern Cyprus.

Nonetheless, the further and significantly different considerations of the respondents necessitates us to categorize 'Patron' image into two types: 'Barbarian' and 'Ally'. To make it more clear, as the vast majority of the trade unions have the tendency to perceive the Republic of Turkey as principally having relatively superior economic and military powers and/or capabilities, inferior educational and cultural levels and incompatible goals, not to mention the imposing and threatening character of the existing relations between the two states for their opinion, make Turkey the 'Barbarian Patron' of the Northern Cyprus. On the other hand, the view that Republic of Turkey sometimes 'intervenes in Northern Cyprus's internal affairs and provides guidance' still makes it a 'Patron' (state), while the positive views with reference to the goal compatibility or, put differently, the belief that 'Republic of Turkey does all of these for the good of Northern Cyprus and Turkish Cypriots' and the optimistic assumption that 'when Turkey becomes powerful, Northern Cyprus and Turkish Cypriots also become powerful' particularly against the Greek Cypriots, who are still the main 'Others' of the Turkish Cypriot community for

some trade unions, make Turkey the 'Ally Patron' rather than the 'Barbarian Patron' of Northern Cyprus. At this point the dominant tendency of the trade unions/interviewees to perceive the Republic of Turkey as having inferior educational and cultural levels could be a bit confusing. However, it must not be forgotten that, as Castano et al., (2016, p. 354) pointed out: "the *ally* image involves perceived mutual gains outweighing the importance of perceived capabilities or cultural judgements"; which is also the case in this study.

Consistent with the predictions of the image theorists, trade unions/respondents expressed diverse 'threat perceptions' which are the normative outcomes of the different images they have of Turkey. To be more precise, concerning this sub-theme, the vast majority of the trade unions holding a strong 'Barbarian Patron' image of Turkey are of the opinion that the asymmetrical form of existing relations between Northern Cyprus and the Republic of Turkey poses an existential threat to the Turkish Cypriot community, not to mention its unique culture and identity. R10 and R11 pointed out this threat and how this threat arouses anxiety in them with these words respectively:

In my opinion, Turkey's current and future aims and targets present a threat for the Turkish Cypriot community. I am worrying about the possible extinction of the Turkish Cypriots, and of course, by means of this, the disappearance of our culture at the same time.

Firstly, I would like to say that the relationship between the TRNC and Turkey is a 'Motherland-Babyland' relationship. And, this 'structure' in the northern side [TRNC] is the product of Turkey. That's why the international community defines Northern Cyprus as the 'subordinate local administration' of Turkey. In this framework, the relations between TRNC and Turkey are in the form of 'commanding versus obeying'. As there are not two equal and independent political entities, relations are not based on mutual respect. Turkish side is always the dominant side and the one which is obeying the orders and impositions is TRNC. Since the 1950s, Turkish governments have been aiming for the integration of Northern Cyprus with Turkey in the long term. Turkey has such an agenda and has been implementing it systematically... There is no difference between the contemporary Turkish rulers and Ottoman rulers. Their main logic is the same: 'the one who gives the money, gives the orders'. They are sending their own managers and appointing them above the selected politicians here. Moreover, by totally changing the demographic structure of Northern Cyprus for their own sake, they are interfering into the internal politics. Today, Turkish-origin population in Northern Cyprus is three or five times greater than the Turkish Cypriots. Therefore, the Turkish Cypriot community is on the verge of extinction.

On the contrary, for the trade unions/interviewees holding 'Ally Patron' image of the Republic of Turkey, the existing relations do not pose any problem and/or threat but rather provide important benefits to Northern Cyprus and Turkish Cypriots. By using one of the most overused analogies in the Northern Cyprus-Republic of Turkey relations, R17 expressed his/her views on this sub-theme as follows:

I do not think that Turkey is a threat for Northern Cyprus and Turkish Cypriots. Let me ask you a question: can parents be a threat for their children? Similarly, if parents would not be a threat for their children, Turkey would not be a threat for the TRNC or could not lead to problems for Turkish Cypriots. If Turkey grows, this means that we will not remain the same... The more Turkey strengthens, the more TRNC strengthens.

When it comes to the sub-theme 'how do you think Turkey-Northern Cyprus relations should be?', mainly two different opinions were expressed by the trade unions with reference to the different images they are holding of the Republic of Turkey and threat perceptions in connection with these images. Within this context, trade unions/interviewees viewing Turkey as 'Barbarian Patron' and highly threatening, wants more 'distanced' relations based on trust, mutual respect and understanding. At this point, R2 underlined many Turkish Cypriots' demands for 'being the masters in their own country' and 'solution to the Cyprus problem', which is on the rise amongst the Turkish Cypriot community and within the Turkish Cypriot civil society since the early 2000s, whilst he/she was passing his/her opinions on this issue:

I do not think that the existing 'Motherland-Babyland' relations are sustainable and healthy.... The thing is that we [Turkish Cypriots] do not want to be ruled. We should rule our own home and we should control our internal matters; economy, education, health system... Also, we should solve the Cyprus problem, this is a must. We should not bow down to the pressures. We should not keep our mouths shut. We should insist that our relations with Turkey to become more distanced. We should have distanced but at the same time good relations. I believe, lack of such distanced relations is a big threat for us [Turkish Cypriots].

However, the trade unions/interviewees endorsing the 'Ally Patron' image of Turkey and thus considering it as 'cooperative' superior partner, which constitute the minority amongst the research respondents as shown above (Section 3.3.1.1), prefer the Turkey-Northern Cyprus relations to continue on the same track. For example, R8 reported that:

I consider Turkey as my motherland. Whatever happens, no matter what they say, this is not open to dispute for me. I hope this would stay and last forever. Thus, politically, I believe that we need to act together with the Turkey; never separately... I do not have the exact formula, but, as two separate states without being separate entirely... I do not see any problems here except from small cracks. I mean I am definitely on the side of acting together as tight as a tick. I think this proximity is beneficial for us. The more Turkey becomes powerful the more we become powerful.

In the semi-structured interviews carried out with the Turkish Cypriot trade unions, the vast majority of them declared that they have good relationships with the immigrants coming from Turkey in general. On the institutional level, respondents stated that in their trade unions there are also members and executives who are immigrants from Turkey, though they implied that they are mostly from the previous migration-waves rather than the third-wave, alongside of the relative majority of the Turkish Cypriots. Besides, on the personal level, they all stated that they have close relationships with the immigrants coming from Turkey including friends, workmates and some family members. R1 and R2 touched upon this sub-theme of 'relationships with the immigrants coming from Turkey' in their interviews by saying:

On personal level, I have some close friends. Also, I have several workmates... I think I am on good terms with them.

First of all, in terms of personal relationship, I consider mine with them [immigrants from Turkey] as good. Actually, very good. I have friends in the institution where I am currently working. In my trade union too. I have neighbours who are from them [in my village]. We watch football matches together. We chat, wine and dine together etc. I have also relatives. For example, my aunt's husband is from Turkey.

Before moving on to the other sub-theme, it is necessary to mention that the dominant tendencies in the responses with regards to this 'relationships with the immigrants coming from Turkey' and Bogardus Social Distance scores that were presented in the Section 3.3.1.1 are tricky. This is because when the surface was scratched and dwelled deeper into the details, a significantly different picture appears. This means that, despite the vast majority of the trade unions scored '1' in the Bogardus Social Distance Scale, indicating the closest possible relationship with the immigrants coming from Turkey, and also verbally stated during the interviews that they have close relationships with them in both their professional and private lives, this does not mean that the trade unions/interviewees do not have any negative views concerning the

immigrants coming from Turkey. The other way around, during the interviews all trade unions, as though they are 'replicated by using a carbon paper', put many concerns, fears and complaints about the immigrants coming from Turkey and proposed solutions addressing these into words which have so much in common.

Thereby, although there are many factors -geographical proximity and historical ties; religious and linguistic similarities; and some common traditions- the great majority of the trade unions believe that the immigrants coming from Turkey are culturally inferior and very different from the Turkish Cypriot community. According to R4 and R9, who reported their opinions on the sub-theme of 'sense of cultural proximity', the differences between the "real Turkish Cypriots" and immigrants coming from Turkey in every respect (cuisines, patterns of entertainment and reactions against particular events) are immediately evident:

Before everything, I am living the Cypriot culture. They [immigrants from Turkey] love spicy and hot foods but I love my food without spice and hot. I eat *şeftali kebabı* [a minced meat with onions and parsley wrapped within a layer of lace fat] and pork for example, but, they eat their *çiğ köfte* [cracked wheat with very spicy seasoning]... they dance the halay in their weddings but we [Turkish Cypriots] dance with the Dillirga song... I can give you tens of different examples...

I perceive people who are in Turkey or who are coming here as very different. They have very different inferring, understanding and viewpoint. The people coming from Turkey, I think, are more religious, conservative and also cruel. However, Cypriots are friendlier and more tolerant. Isn't it? For example, we cannot even have a fight with each other properly. I mean when two Cypriots argue, they threaten and say to each other: 'I will beat you'. However, Turkish people say: 'I will kill you or bump you off'. Shortly, the Cypriots talk the talk but definitely do not walk the walk. They just say... we are not cruel nor brutal.

The most important point is that the trade unions refer to the more recent wave of immigrants from Turkey or, what Purkis and Kurtuluş (2013; 2014) termed in their comprehensive studies as the 'third-wave immigrants', as the main subjects/responsible of these existing cultural differences. Strikingly, while expressing their views on this matter, many trade unions underlined that the cultural differences setting the Turkish Cypriots and the earlier immigrants from Turkey ('first-wave immigrants' in Purkis and Kurtuluş's (2013; 2014) classification) apart in the beginning disappeared or, were at least 'marginalised' to a great extent, as they successfully integrated into the Turkish

Cypriot culture, which is definitely not the case for the recent immigrants from Turkey. R10's and R17's views, who defends that the 'barbecue routine' constitutes one of the building blocks of the (Turkish) Cypriot culture, are as noted below:

I believe that people who came to Cyprus from Turkey right after 1974 adapted to Cyprus and to our community. And their children too... However, I cannot say the same thing for the recent comers. Definitely not...

According to me, there is no cultural difference between the Turkish Cypriots and immigrants from Turkey who came here in 1974 or just after and became citizens. Let me give you an example from my own personal life. My neighbor and our trade union's Chairperson, who is from Turkey, make barbecue every Sunday. This is peculiar to Cyprus and our culture. Am I wrong?

Moreover, by establishing a typical and collective 'us' in contrast to 'them' division based on scapegoating, they are being held responsible for all the contemporary disorders and problems that the Turkish Cypriot community has been grappling with today. This sub-theme ('effects of immigrants coming from Turkey on Northern Cyprus') includes a broad range of matters such as the day by day escalating security issues, particularly the allegedly rising crime rates, and demographic balance concerns which also bring claims of cultural corruption/degeneration with them. During the interviews, the trade unions many times clutch at the most popular clichés of the Turkish Cypriot community in order to justify their views on the rising crime rates. For example, R5 and R9 suggested the following:

I guess, the immigrants who came here in the 1970s are not the ones who are responsible from the undesirable events we are witnessing every other day. A lot of these things [incidences of murder, theft, sexual assault, lynching attempt, etc.] are because of the immigrants who have been coming during the recent years. Actually, we [Turkish Cypriots], as a community, are anxious because of them... Just remember, until quite recently we were not used to lock our cars or doors. Windows of our houses were open. What about now? Now, I am afraid of leaving my own children at home alone. I am scared...

Let me give you a basic example: I am 48 years old, and until recently, I had not heard of any murder, theft or rape incidences here. What about now? We cannot even skim through the newspaper. There are 500 convicts in the national prison now. 300 of them are from Turkey and may be 100 of them are from the third world countries; foreigners. The remaining 100 convicts are Turkish Cypriots and their crimes are either traffic accident, or having a small fight or taking drugs. Plain and simple.

R11, on the other hand, dwelled on the assumed shift in the demographic balance and the transformation and corruption/degeneration of the cultural structure that have been occurring recently:

Turkish Cypriot culture is on the verge of extinction. This is because the population of people from Turkey is now much more than the Turkish Cypriots. Thus, northern side is just like an Anatolian town, with different reflections of cosmopolitan Istanbul; whelming smells of wood heaters... Nicosia's smoky dirty air... dirty roads, rubbishes that are thrown away... cars not stopping at zebra crossings... honking sounds... *döner* or *lahmacun* shops on every corner. Increasing number of women with headscarf, loud volume of Ezan... These are the problems we [Turkish Cypriots] are facing currently. If someone wants to see the Cypriot culture, s/he must go to the south side. Seriously, we can see two [different] countries on the same island: European (south) and Eastern (north).

The vast majority of the other trade unions are of the same mind with R11 and, during the interviews, they also voice the belief that the Turkish Cypriot community has become the minority of the population in the recent years in relation to the immigrants coming from Turkey. R16 expressed his/her views as follows:

According to the official figures the [Northern Cyprus's] general population is 270,000. This is a lie. In my opinion, it is more than 500,000 or 600,000. And, as original Turkish Cypriots, I mean, who were born and grew up in Cyprus, we have remained only 80,000. How does something like that happen? We have become the minority and also the second and even third class citizens in our country... If there is a [labour] need [from Turkey], officials should sit down and calculate the exact amount carefully.

Having said that, the growing negative views, concerns and fears amongst the Turkish Cypriot trade unions centre especially upon the political issues since they establish a direct connection between the immigrants coming from Turkey, granted citizenships and the loss of control over the political will and power/influence. During the interviews it was observed that these represent today's hot button issues for all trade unions. This perceived threat clearly stems from the widely held belief that the immigrants' main loyalty is to Turkey which is why they obey to its orders and interests unconditionally as asserted by R1:

These people [immigrants coming from Turkey] do not want to do something harmful or contrary to Turkey's interests. You know what I'm saying? If there was to be a referendum on the abolishment of the guarantee system or the guarantorship of Turkey over the Northern Cyprus tomorrow, the north side would vote 'No'.

In addition, giving reference to the 'success' of the YDP in the last general elections, which was a hot topic during the period the interviews were being carried out, almost all trade unions/respondents claimed that if citizenship continues to be granted to the recently arrived immigrants from Turkey, the political demography which is already under transformation will completely be transformed in favour of them in the foreseeable future and consequently all critical political ranks in the decision taking will 'fall into the wrong hands'. In this sense, three good examples belong to R12, R16 and R13 respectively:

As you also know, a new political party was established, YDP. And it gained two seats [in the parliament]. I believe, it is a great danger and ignoring this danger is a big mistake. Obviously, if we continue to distribute citizenships at this rate, the more YDP-type political parties will increase, and in the end, the more parliamentarians, ministers, managers, etc. will be from them. That's why I said, I answered 'yes' but 'conditional yes' to the question about the citizenship on the scale you gave me ten minutes ago.

As can be seen from the recent general election, YDP gained two seats in the parliament thanks to its Turkish nationalist discourse claiming that it represents immigrants coming from Turkey. This is what they are doing: micro-nationalism... They claim that they are being treated badly, exploited [by Turkish Cypriots]. And also, nobody protects their rights. But, if you really look at our country, there is no such thing as discrimination especially against the ones who became citizens. Two thirds of the people who were recently employed [in the public sector] are Turkish-origin! Today, the general secretary of the UBP, Dursun Oğuz, is Turkish-rooted. Many ministers are also Turkish-origin. And it is obvious that this number will increase in the future because you are bringing these people and granting them citizenship without any criteria. This passivates the local population. Since you are giving them the right to elect and be elected so easily, in the forthcoming elections, these immigrants will put up more candidates and since their numbers are already higher than the Turkish Cypriots, these candidates will be elected as parliamentarians, mayors, etc. This is a great threat... I do not mean to be racist here, but, this is the reality. These are the unfortunate consequences of the population transfer policy [of Turkey], the undone changes regarding the immigration law [*Muhaceret Yasası*] and distributed TRNC citizenships 'like hot cakes' especially during the times when the UBP is in the government.

I am not against the granted citizenships. But, although mostly our leftists defend and give voice to this argument, they are right! Immigrants [from Turkey] are negatively affecting our political will. It is changing... They [leftists] are moaning about the immigrants from Turkey 'They are increasing in number, in the future, the elections will not reflect the political will, opinions and preferences of the Turkish Cypriot community'... There is some truth to that argument. Please pay attention to some columnists from the right wing. They say 'If you complete 5 years of residence in England, you will get the citizenship'. That's true... But, England has 80 million or more population. What would happen if 2 or 3 million people will be the citizens? Nothing. However, in Northern Cyprus, Turkish Cypriots' population is only 130,000 or 140,000. If you grant citizenships more than this number, they [Turkish Cypriots] will lose everything they own.

Therefore, trade unions generate their proposed measures as solutions by putting the above listed negative views, concerns and fears in the centre. When the opinions under the sub-theme of ‘the things should be immediately done’ are analysed in more detail, it can be argued that trade unions’ demands primarily revolve around the ‘prohibition of the entrances to Northern Cyprus by only using identity cards’ and ‘tighter immigration laws on citizenship particularly targeting the exceptional citizenships being granted by cabinet decision’. According to R3 and R16, authorities of the Northern Cyprus should prioritise the undergoing demographic change and political, cultural and security concerns of the Turkish Cypriot community and, as a matter of urgency, should bring entrances to Northern Cyprus by passport procedures rather than the identity cards into force:

I need to say that the entrances [to Northern Cyprus] via identity cards [ID] should be banned immediately. And passport obligation should be brought instead. Because, I believe, this ongoing practice is destroying us; it is destroying our customs, culture, life quality and so on. Here, has become a ‘free for all’ [*sorma gir hanı*] place recently. A man puts 10TL in his pocket, takes his ID card and enters the country easily. There is no questioning or anything. And when he could not find a job and a place to shelter then there comes the murder, theft, etc. Unless we do not ban the entrances via the ID card, we cannot prevent such bad incidences.

Entries to our country should not be that easy. This country is overloaded because of the immigration from Turkey. There has been an explosion recently in the number of crimes and criminals [in Northern Cyprus]. Our prison is full beyond capacity. As Sırrı Süreyya Önder stated in one of his speeches ‘Northern Cyprus should not function as Turkey’s large intestine’. And there is only one way to prevent it: entries via the identity card should be cancelled immediately.

Regarding the citizenship issue, all trade unions which partook in this research are almost unanimous in their opinions that the authorities of Northern Cyprus should stop “handing out” citizenships, particularly the exceptional ones by the cabinet decision, to immigrants coming from Turkey with the exception of marriage only. For example, R12’s and R14’s views on this topic are as given below:

You know, in our country, there are citizenships given by the parliament [cabinet] decision. Our trade union is completely opposed to those type of given citizenships. We did many statements on this issue. You can find them easily on the internet. For example, previous government distributed 13,000 citizenships including exceptional ones. Just to increase their parties’ votes... On the other hand, for example, I have a friend who is also from Turkey. He has been living here for more than 20 years, he is working but still he does not have the TRNC citizenship! That’s not fair. We are

completely opposed to the citizenships that were granted for political purposes... This affects the political will. They [people who are here just for a week or 10 days] should not interfere with the future/fate of this country.

We [as a trade union] consider it [citizenship issue] as a highly sensitive issue. We believe that TRNC must give up handing out citizenships. But, let me tell you in advance, I do not have problems with the citizenships via marriage, for the sake of starting a family. So, if I have to repeat myself one more time, citizenships must be conditional. I accept citizenships [of immigrants from Turkey] if specific conditions exist... Rest of them can also be given [work and residence] permits. They can stay here for some years, they can work. All fine and well but they should not be given the right to elect and be elected.

Moreover, an internet search using some keywords such as 'Northern Cyprus', 'Turkey', 'trade unions', 'migration' and 'population' have brought up a modest amount of public and media statements, majority of which belong to specific left-wing -or, at least, left-leaning- trade unions, whereas some of them belong to the specific right -or, at least, right-leaning- ones. Despite this search does not present the full picture regarding all of the leading trade unions' attitudes towards their patron state and immigrants coming from Turkey and shows the need for more in-depth research, it still gives one some important information.

In this sense, the most striking point is that, despite their views and attitudes towards Turkey are significantly different, the public and media statements that were made by the trade unions on both sides of the political spectrum include many similar claims, concerns, fears, complaints and proposed solutions regarding the immigrants coming from Turkey and the direct or indirect representations of them in these statements, particularly the third-wave immigrants', are mostly negative. Thus, as one could easily notice, these limited number of available statements belonging to specific trade unions are loudly voicing almost all of the the widely shared claims, concerns, fears, complaints and proposed solutions addressing particularly the immigrants coming from Turkey by the large sections of the Turkish Cypriot community, while at the same time reproducing them in regular basis.

First and foremost, as can be seen from the joint public statement of KTAMS and Public Manual Workers Trade Union (*Kamu İşçileri Sendikası/Kamu-İş*), the majority of the public and media statements characterize/label immigrants coming from Turkey as the "uncontrolled

population” by overidentifying them with various (demographic, security and/or political) problems and activities such as the rising crime rates (KTAMS, 2018). For example, in a number of statements belonging to the Cyprus Turkish Public Officials Trade Union (*Kıbrıs Türk Kamu Görevlileri Sendikası/Kamu-Sen*), one of the heavy-weight Turkish Cypriot trade unions placing itself on the right on the political spectrum which addresses Turkey as the “Motherland” of Northern Cyprus and underlines the vitality of its guarantorship for the Turkish Cypriot community in almost all of its statements just like its counterpart Kamu-İş (Kıbrıstime, 2014), heftily criticized the existence of so many immigrants from Turkey by analogizing Northern Cyprus to a sort of a “free for all place” (“sorma gir hanı”) (Kıbrıs Postası, 2010c). Moreover, aside from aggravating the financial and economic burden and violent crime rates -which the ‘Turkish Cypriot community is not accustomed to’-, this “uncontrolled population” is also leading to the corruption of the social and cultural structure (Gündem Kıbrıs, 2011; Kıbrıs Postası, 2010c; 2011b).

Heavy-weight left-wing trade unions such as KTÖS, KTOEÖS and KTAMS single-handedly or collectively with some other left-wing -or, at least, left-leaning- trade unions, by merging under the name of the Syndical Platform, are touching on the same subject with their statements. However, by going a few steps further they tend to portray/label immigrants coming from Turkey as a part of the Turkey’s systematic “social engineering” and “assimilation” and “integration” policies over the Turkish Cypriot community (Parlan, 2011; Yenidüzen, 2013; Kıbrıs Postası, 2013a, KTOEÖS, 2016). Furthermore, they frequently argue that due to the citizenships being granted to the immigrants coming from Turkey, the demographic and cultural structure have dramatically changed in recent years against the Turkish Cypriot community and as the direct consequences of these economic, demographic and political policies that have been carried out by the Republic of Turkey and the “entity in the northern part of the island which functions as the sub-government of Turkey/a subordinate authority” Turkish Cypriots have been transformed into a “minority of the population” and have reached the verge of “losing their control over the political will” (Kıbrıs Postası, 2013b; Yenidüzen, 2018). In one of its relatively more recent date statements, Syndical Platform

gave voice to similar concerns and resentments on behalf of the more than ten left-wing -or, at least, left-leaning- trade unions (KTOEÖS, 2019).

In this context, limited number of Turkish Cypriot trade unions whose statements on immigrants coming from Turkey were reflected in the press, no matter their stances towards Turkey and the official policy and discourse, frequently defend that Turkish Cypriot authorities should take stricter measures in terms of entrances to Northern Cyprus. For example, despite it is one of the leading right-wing trade unions well-known with its positive stance towards Turkey and its guarantorship over the Northern Cyprus, Kamu-Sen frequently defends “prohibition of the entrances to Northern Cyprus by only using identity cards” (Kıbrıs, 2019). Heavy-weight left-wing trade unions either single-handedly or collectively under the name of the Syndical Platform regularly give voice to the same demand too (Kıbrıs Postası, 2013b; Gündem Kıbrıs, 2016). However, resulting from their harshly negative and critical stance towards Turkey and ‘Motherland-Babyland’ relationship, they also demand more ‘distanced’ relations based on “political equality” and “mutual respect” rather than sort of a ‘unconditioned submission’ by bringing the large sections of the Turkish Cypriot community’s demands of “being the masters of their own home” and “federal solution” to the ‘Cyprus problem’ to forefront (KTOEÖS, 2016; Gündem Kıbrıs, 2016; Kıbrıs Postası, 2013b; Afrika, 2019).

This study aimed to present a broader picture of the topic under study by doing in-depth interviews with 17 leading Turkish Cypriot trade unions including also the ones whose views and attitudes towards Turkey and immigrants coming from Turkey were not reflected in the media to date. As the Bogardus Social Distance scores, semi-structured interviews and public and media statements presented above indicate, leading Turkish Cypriot trade unions considering themselves on the right and left have different attitudes towards their patron state (Turkey), although there is no such clear distinctions regarding their attitudes towards immigrants. These striking findings, therefore, require one to further elaborate on a discussion by using the concept of hegemony and counter-hegemony and the dichotomy between the private and public spheres which this dissertation now turn to.

3.4 Discussion on Attitudes towards Patron State and Immigrants coming from Turkey

In his famous Prison Notebooks, Gramsci (1971) depicts a highly tangled interrelationship between the state, civil society and struggles of hegemony and counter-hegemony, and on that account, he ascribes a “dual and dialectic role” (Katz, 2010, p. 408) to the civil society. For this reason, in Gramsci’s (1971) theorising the civil society is identified as an arena of struggle for hegemony or, in other words, as an arena of both consent and contestation where, on the one hand, the hegemony and persuasion are created, maintained and also reproduced every single day with the help of the members of the civil society and, on the other hand, an opposition is orchestrated to germinate a counter-hegemonic struggle which requires time and effort (Katz, 2010; Kohn, 2011). It is for this very reason, which a number of previous studies have already underlined, similar views, ideas, pleasures or displeasures do not always dominate the civil society. Quite the contrary, as a field in which many actors having sharp disaccords between them engage in struggles for hegemony and counter-hegemony on all occasions, civil society can frequently exhibit fragmentality. When the main concern of this dissertation which is the Northern Cyprus case is considered, research findings show that a similar situation exists since there is a tangled interrelationship between the *de facto* state, civil society and hegemony and the Turkish Cypriot civil society functions as an arena of both consent and contestation at the same time as depicted and presented by Gramsci’s (1971) famous work. As will be discussed in more detail in the following paragraphs, while some leading Turkish Cypriot trade unions consent to and reproduce greater part of Northern Cyprus’s official policy and discourse on certain issues, despite the fact that existing situation harms and leads them to be exposed to some accusations and insults from time to time, other ones overtly and actively oppose these by setting their alternative ‘forma mentis’ forth through disseminating contra-views. Yet at the same time, as the Bogardus Social Distance scores, report of the semi-structured interviews and media and public statements presented in the Section 3.3.1 indicate, they occasionally develop a ‘common language’ on specific issues -which is full of similar claims, concerns, fears, complaints

and proposed solutions- by pushing most of the important disaccords setting them apart into the background.

Fragmentality within the Turkish Cypriot civil society and struggles of hegemony and counter-hegemony in Gramscian sense between the leading trade unions can be clearly seen in their views and attitudes towards their patron state; Republic of Turkey. As has been mentioned many times in this dissertation and the findings presented above have also shown, most of the *de facto* state's official policy, history and discourse and the specific value system, thoughts and principles that are associated with these have been internalized and normalized as the uncontested realities and necessities by some of the leading Turkish Cypriot trade unions, fundamentally by the ones considering themselves on the right on the political spectrum. Thus, through the activities they carry out and rhetoric they use in this space, they persuasively reproduce most of the thoughts, principles and practices of Northern Cyprus's official policy, history and discourse that were largely built upon (the ideology of) Turkish nationalism (Evre, 2004). Thematic analysis of the semi-structured interviews and limited number of public and media statements belonging to Turkish Cypriot trade unions show that one of the expected consequences of this tendency is to, contrary to the widely held stance/consideration in the international community, view *de facto* Northern Cyprus as a sovereign state that must be protected and eternized. Thereby, its guarantorship/guarantor role and the financial and military assistances provided by the Republic of Turkey which is considered as the 'Motherland' or, differently put, what could be termed as 'Ally Patron' in compliance with the three significative structural features (goal compatibility, relative power/capability and relative cultural status) that were introduced by the Image Theory (see Table 1), by these trade unions are of vital importance for Northern Cyprus and Turkish Cypriots to continue their existences particularly against their "arch-nemesis"; Greek Cypriots. Therefore, they appreciate Turkey's demands and its continual meddling into Northern Cyprus's domestic politics and economics as "beneficial" rather than threatening and "matter of course" to retain the existing close ties with their superior partner. These views are still being widely advocated in the civil society though, paradoxically, asymmetrical

form of existing relations from time to time bring damages or carry the risk of harming these trade unions and their members since the scopes/goals of the recent economic protocols and agreements carrying the key features of the neoliberal transformation -such as reducing the share of the public sector within the economy via privatizations- and the Turkish governments' and its bureaucrats' overt intentions and efforts to limit the powers and activities of the Turkish Cypriot trade unions, not to mention the union gains, are blatantly obvious (Bozkurt, 2014; Ioannou and Sonan, 2016; Ayberk et al., 2019).

Other group of leading Turkish Cypriot trade unions however, notably the ones considering themselves on the left on the political spectrum, object to the official policy, discourse and history with the rhetoric they produce and policies and activities they carry out within the civil society. Hence, in terms of Gramscian theorising, they wage an overt, hypercritical and significantly active counter-hegemonic struggle to acquire communal persuasion through asserting contra-views which is not so common to witness in other *de facto* states' civil societies and civil society actors owing to the prevalent restrictive political environments discussed in Chapter 1. The existing limited number of scholarly studies such as Simao (2010), Mikhelidze and Pirozzi (2008) and Popescu (2006) indicate restrictive political environments in other *de facto* states force the civil societies and CSOs in these entities to operate within certain boundaries specified by the authorities and in a way to function mostly as the 'reproducers' of the nationalist common sense or, in other words, their states' official policies, discourses and histories. However, in the Northern Cyprus case, it can be said that the alternative 'forma mentis' that is being set forth and tried to be propagated by the left-wing or, at least, left-leaning leading Turkish Cypriot trade unions include opposing attitudes, concerns, apprehensions of the future and forms of nationalism against Northern Cyprus's common sense (official policy, discourse and history) based largely upon the Turkish nationalism. For example, as the thematic analysis of the interviews and a number of public and media statements belonging some of these trade unions have shown, Northern Cyprus is widely characterized as an "illegal structure/regime" which is continuing its existence with no initiative of its own and under the "occupation and effective control" of its patron state;

functioning as a “sub-government of Turkey”. Consequently, the ongoing and growing reliance on a what could be termed as a ‘Barbarian Patron’ in compliance with the Image Theory and all the phenomena and developments associated with it, from recent economic protocols to different waves of migration with different motivations, magnitudes and characteristics, are being considered as pressures, impositions and/or parts of a greater plan/project and thus being perceived as existential threats to Turkish Cypriots, their peculiar identity, culture and political will. These all lead to the escalating demands of “being [the] masters of their own fate rather [than] being led and governed by Turkey” (Bayada, 2011, p. 36).

Nevertheless, as has been discussed in the Section 2.1.4, they do not confine the extent of their campaigns and target audience to the domestic field/stage only. But rather, they bring their concerns, complaints and accusations regarding their patron state to the international field/stage. By means of gaining attention for their concerns, complaints and accusations in the international field and taking the support of some international actors it can be argued that these trade unions are trying to strengthen their continuing counter-hegemonic struggle. One more thing should be noted here: in consonance with the Image Theory’s main arguments, coalition building through taking the support of other powerful actors is one of the most common and effective strategies being employed against an entity/actor which is considered as highly threatening, possessing superior economic and military capabilities as Parkhurst (2004, p. 50) stated: “Response alternatives to the barbarian state promote actions towards coalition building to counter the perceived threat as the strength of the barbarian state overwhelms the perceiver state”. So, in the present scheme of things, it might be argued that this group of leading Turkish Cypriot trade unions (at least the members of the Syndical Platform) are following a similar strategy presented by the image theorists.

The above-presented qualitative and quantitative findings on the other hand have indicated that the leading Turkish Cypriot trade unions have a ‘common language’ sharing almost identical fears, concerns, myths, negative views and attitudes against the immigrants coming from Turkey. Practically

similar to the rising/growing (xenophobic, populist, nationalist) trend on a global scale, these phenomena represent in some way a common ground for large masses and thus draw different groups being at cross-purposes together (Özkırımlı, 2019). Put differently, Bogardus Social Distance scores, semi-structured interviews and public and media statements in the Section 3.3.1 have showed that contrary to the widely held view in Northern Cyprus, these fears, concerns, myths, negative views and attitudes which are the consequences of the readings being mostly made over the recent wave of immigrants from Turkey, having different characteristics and much greater magnitude and visibility within the daily life compared to the previous waves of immigrants, are the phenomena widely shared not only by the leading trade unions putting themselves on the left on the political spectrum. It is the other way around since these are also shared by the right-wing trade unions, paradoxically though they accept and persuadedly reproduce most of the thoughts, principles and practices of the Northern Cyprus's official policy, history and discourse especially about Turkey. Amongst these, escalating demographic (becoming the minority of the population and second-class citizens), cultural (loss of Turkish Cypriot culture) and security (boom in the reported violent crimes) fears/concerns are the ones coming to the fore at the first sight. Bearing a significant resemblance to the globally voiced proposed solutions, leading Turkish Cypriot trade unions are pressing the authorities to introduce stricter entry controls such as the immediate cancellation of the entrances to Northern Cyprus by using identity cards. Yet still, it is possible to talk about the existence of another fear which overshadows the others -even if just a bit.

The primary factor feeding the widely shared political fear/concern amongst the leading trade unions, no matter they are considering themselves on the right or left, is the direct causal/cause-and-effect relationship they established between the immigrants coming from Turkey, granted citizenships particularly to recently arrived immigrants and the Turkish Cypriot community's loss of control over their political will and power; which became one more time the hot topics in political discussions while this dissertation was being prepared. In connection with this, trade unions argue that if the authorities in

Northern Cyprus continue to grant citizenships to the immigrants coming from Turkey at this rate, this would shift the already 'fragile' politico-demographic balance in Northern Cyprus completely in favour of them and thereby of Turkey. Since this assumed development/transformation increases the possibility of losing political will and power, that is to say all critical political venues, positions, offices and decision-making processes or, the public sphere in general in Arendtian terms, to immigrants coming from Turkey, whom they consider as culturally inferior to themselves, it leads to a widely shared concern amongst the leading trade unions.

Based on the findings, it is thus seen that the leading trade unions, in order to eliminate any such possibility, offer a solution bearing a close resemblance to the dichotomous separation made by Arendt (1958) between the private and public spheres. Going back to the theoretical discussions in Chapter 2, Arendt (1958) based her general distinction between the spheres to the ancient Greek model though she developed her conceptualization of the public sphere with the particular inspiration coming from the Gramsci's (1971) theorising (Edwards, 2004). In this regard, while the private sphere stands for the sphere of non-political, necessary life-sustaining activities such as the household, family and intimate relations, the public sphere serves as the sphere of political action and speech where people prioritize matters of common concern, interact and negotiate about collective issues and problems with each other, do politics on them, and try to take decisions via persuasion (Meade, 1996; Yükselbaba, 2008). When considered from this point of view Bogardus Social Distance scores, thematic analysis of the interviews and media and public statements show that the leading Turkish Cypriot trade unions, no matter their stances towards Turkey and the official discourse and policy, demand that the presence and activities of the immigrants from Turkey in Northern Cyprus should be confined to the private sphere in the most general terms; the sphere where the personal necessities and desires ranging from the family relations to the struggles to earn a living prevail. Put another way, in order to be able to preserve the Turkish Cypriots' political will, power and privileges and the cultural and political values, principles and expectations they consider as belonging to them, immigrants from Turkey should not have

more political presence in the public sphere and should not have more voice in political discussions and decision-making processes.

Actually, trade unions' demands bearing a close resemblance to the dichotomous separation made by Arendt (1958) between the private and public spheres with reference to ancient Greece, are not unprecedented. As the previous work by Martin (2010, p. 144) has clearly shown similar restrictive attitudes, demands and treatments, dictating other immigrants which fields and activities should they be bereft of, exist in other parts of the world too: "What is deemed inappropriate becomes part of the private realm. Within this dichotomy (appropriate and inappropriate) we find immigrants because of their need to submerge themselves into the private sphere. This is because their life, customs and presence don't fit what is 'appropriate'". Yet still, it is possible to argue that uniformly positive responses given by the leading Turkish Cypriot trade unions to the marriage question indicates that they are leaving more or less a leeway for some immigrants at this point by showing a notable selectivity between them; preferring some immigrants over others.

Thus, the critical question to be asked at this point is: What are the possible reasons behind this shared demand amongst the leading trade unions despite the fact that they have highly different views and attitudes towards Northern Cyprus's official policy, history and discourse and their patron state? Actually, for the leading Turkish Cypriot trade unions considering themselves on the left on the political spectrum, the answer seems quite obvious; given the dominant belief amongst them that all the phenomena and developments associated with Turkey are small but important pieces of Turkey's greater plan/project over Northern Cyprus and Turkish Cypriots, they accept the growing presence of immigrants from Turkey within the public (political) sphere, which started to be felt even more after the election 'success' of the YDP, as a threat for their community and the biggest obstacle in front of their demands for "being [the] masters of their own fate rather [than] being led and governed by Turkey" (Bayada, 2011, p. 36) and a federal solution to the 'Cyprus problem'.

When it comes to the leading Turkish Cypriot trade unions positioning themselves on the right on the political spectrum however, the situation is a bit more complicated and the possible reasons do not 'stick out like a sore thumb' compared to the left-wing trade unions' insistence. Notwithstanding, it may be argued that the main underlying reason why right-wing trade unions are also insisting that decisive steps must be taken almost immediately to obviate the growing presence and activities of immigrants from Turkey -particularly the recently arrived ones- within the public sphere, is the reflex having a kind of concern of (political) survival stemming from past experiences and trauma at its core (Evre, 2004; 2009). Putting this matter more explicitly, they advocate a solution based on private-public sphere split in Arendtian terms for the sake of not losing whole of their community's political power, will and thus privileges once again to a more powerful group, but this time to immigrants from Turkey rather than Greek Cypriots, in their own home. So, recalling the analogy used by Arendt (1958) for the public sphere, right-wing trade unions are also insisting upon to retain their community's control over the 'table'. Yet since their concern of survival up against Greek Cypriots still far outweighs the others (Evre, 2004; 2009), different from the left-wing trade unions, these concerns and demands do not turn into discourse directly criticizing and accusing their patron state. Consequently, this situation is keeping the struggles of hegemony and counter-hegemony between the trade unions within the civil society alive.

CONCLUSION

With a case analysis focusing on Northern Cyprus, this Ph.D. dissertation aimed to reveal and analyze leading Turkish Cypriot trade unions' attitudes towards their patron state and immigrants coming from Turkey. For this purpose, this dissertation integrated qualitative and quantitative methods of data collection and analysis (mixed-methods research), though it placed greater emphasis on its qualitative component. The quantitative data were collected with the help of the one of the oldest yet still one of the most widely used attitude-scales, namely the Bogardus Social Distance Scale, and analyzed by using a few simple and non-parametric statistical tests and analyses, including percentage and frequency analysis, cross-tabulation analyses and Kruskal-Wallis test, in IBM SPSS Version 20 software.

On the other hand, qualitative data were mainly collected via in-depth semi-structured interviews and analyzed by thematic analysis. Moreover, a limited number of available media and public statements related to the main research question at hand, belonging to specific trade unions such as Kamu-Sen, Kamu-İş, KTAMS, KTOEÖS and KTÖS, were also used at this point to support the efforts of this dissertation. As presented in Chapter 3, by means of the qualitative and quantitative analysis of the data that were collected from in total 17 leading Turkish Cypriot trade unions, a number of important findings were obtained at the end of this research. Accordingly, these findings were interpreted by benefiting from the explanatory potentials of Gramsci's (1971) theorising on civil society, hegemony and counter-hegemony and Arendt's (1958) theorising on private-public (political) sphere dichotomy which were discussed in extenso in Chapter 2.

In this regard, key findings and arguments of the present dissertation could be briefly reiterated as follows:

First of all, in Chapter 1, contemporary *de facto* states were addressed comprehensively by first giving brief information about *de facto* states, then discussing the importance of the patron states and lastly focusing on the structure and status of the civil societies and CSOs in these entities. A recent but growing literature on *de facto* states has shown the vitality of patron states

for the existence and persistence of these entities which are suffering from lack of widespread international recognition and economic and political isolations. As a number of other recent academic studies have underlined, overreliance on an external patron is leading to many constraints over the democratic structures and also functionalities and activities of the civil societies and CSOs within these *de facto* states. Despite Northern Cyprus is also overly reliant on its patron state (Turkey) in all aspects, compared to other contemporary *de facto* states and their restrictive political environments, it is a relatively more democratic and free entity. Moreover, as the findings of this dissertation presented in Chapter 3 have indicated, it has a way more active, politicized and hypercritical civil society and CSOs in consequence of both the historical reasons and conjunctural developments, where the Turkish Cypriot trade unions play the locomotive role within the civil society and societal dissent. Although numerous examples can be found supporting this argument, two most important ones are: *This Country is Ours (Platform)* and *Societal/Communal Existence* rallies. In this regard, present dissertation argues that these aspects distinguish Northern Cyprus case and Turkish Cypriot civil society and CSOs from other *de facto* states. Thus, particularly the Turkish Cypriot trade unions in Northern Cyprus heclicly engage in politically sensitive topics/matters which is not so possible to witness in other *de facto* states owing to the fact that authorities in these entities determine the limits of the functionalities and activities of the civil societies and CSOs.

Secondly, in consequence of the existence of more active, politicized and hypercritical civil society and CSOs -particularly the trade unions- Turkish Cypriot civil society functions as a sphere of both consent and contestation at the same time, as portrayed in Gramsci's (1971) famous Prison Notebooks. This is not the case for the civil societies and CSOs in other *de facto* states because the highly restrictive political environments in these areas, in a way, oblige them to mostly function as 'reproducers' of the official policy, discourse and history. Thus, this leaves almost no room for contestation and 'germination' of a counter-hegemonic struggle. However, qualitative and quantitative findings have shown that there is a continuing hectic struggles for hegemony and counter-hegemony within the Turkish Cypriot civil society,

perpetrated by the leading Turkish Cypriot trade unions considering themselves on the right and left on the political spectrum. In this sense, findings presented in Chapter 3 indicate that trade unions possess highly different images, views and attitudes towards their patron state and this results from their ideological identities. At this point, as a contribution, an additional image (Patron) with its two different types (Ally Patron and Barbarian Patron) was proposed to the Image Theory by using the three significative criteria summarized in the Table 1 and research findings.

Based on the semi-structured interviews and limited number of media and public statements, right-wing or, at least right-leaning, trade unions tend to view Turkey as the 'Ally Patron' of Northern Cyprus and thus they persuasively reproduce most of the thoughts, principles and practices of Northern Cyprus's official policy, history and discourse that were largely built upon Turkish nationalism by internalizing and normalizing them as uncontested realities and necessities. On the other hand left-wing or, at least left-leaning, trade unions (constituting the majority amongst these 17 trade unions) tend to view Turkey as the 'Barbarian Patron'. And they loudly express the large sections of the Turkish Cypriot community's complaints and concerns concerning the status quo, their patron state and immigrants coming from Turkey and demands for 'being the masters of their own home' by harshly challenging the *de facto* state's (Turkish) nationalist common sense with their activities, protests and/or rallies both in the domestic and international arena. At this juncture, this dissertation argues that the lobbying activities being carried out in the international arena is a significant attempt/strategy of the left-wing trade unions to strengthen their positions and continuing counter-hegemonic struggle. As shown in Chapter 2 and 3, this sometimes leads to left-wing trade unions being exposed to strong criticisms from Turkish Cypriot right-wing and patron state officials and a course with ups and downs in Turkey-Northern Cyprus-trade unions relations.

Thirdly and most strikingly, despite leading Turkish Cypriot trade unions have significantly different images and thus demands concerning Turkey, the Bogardus Social Distance scores, semi-structured interviews and public and media statements presented in the corresponding chapter indicate that there

is no such clear distinctions regarding their attitudes towards immigrants coming from Turkey. In other words, besides some other demographic, cultural and security fears, this dissertation identified that there is also a common political fear decked out with a number of concerns amongst these 17 Turkish Cypriot trade unions; no matter their ideological identities and what stances they have towards Turkey and their *de facto* state's official policy, discourse and history.

Based on the thematic analysis of the in-depth semi-structured interviews, it is argued in this dissertation that this political fear emerges through the readings being mostly made over the third-wave immigrants coming from Turkey who have much greater visibility within the daily life, compared to first and second-wave immigrants, due to their magnitude and 'geographic concentration' within the Nicosia's city center. Furthermore, it is fed by the causal relationship being established between the immigrants coming from Turkey, granted citizenships particularly to recently arrived immigrants and the Turkish Cypriot community's loss of control over their political will and power. Thus, contrary to some widely held expectations, they insist on a single 'recipe' which resembles the private-public (political) sphere separation in the Arendtian scheme of things. In this context, leading Turkish Cypriot trade unions all together advocate that the presences and activities of the immigrants from Turkey in Northern Cyprus should be confined to the private sphere and they should not have more political presence in the public sphere and more voice in political discussions and decision-making processes. Present dissertation argues that the main logic uniting the left-wing or, at least left-leaning, trade unions around this 'recipe' is the belief that growing presence of immigrants from Turkey within the public (political) sphere started to represent the biggest obstacle in front of their demands for "being [the] masters of their own fate rather [than] being led and governed by Turkey" (Bayada, 2011, p. 36) and a federal solution to the 'Cyprus problem'. However, when it comes to the right wing or, at least right-leaning, trade unions the uniting factor is the reflex having a kind of concern of (political) survival stemming from past experiences and trauma at its core. Yet, since their concern of survival up against Greek Cypriots still far outweighs the others

(Evre, 2004; 2009), different from the left-wing trade unions, right-wing trade unions' these concerns and demands do not turn into discourse directly criticizing and accusing their patron state, Turkey.

In the light of contemporary conditions and circumstances, no bold changes are expected in the short term regarding the status of Northern Cyprus within the international system and Turkey-Northern Cyprus-trade unions relations. In this context, it can be argued that the relations between the Northern Cyprus and Turkey will continue on the basis of patron state-*de facto* state relations or, to call it with its more frequently used version in the popular discourse which is 'Motherland-Babyland' relationship, due to the continuing international political and economic isolation. Moreover, contents of the recent economic protocols and agreements and the critical statements of the members of the current Turkish government targeting Turkish Cypriot trade unions make AKP government's decisiveness to change/shape the social and economic structures of Northern Cyprus in line with its objectives and interests and restrict trade unions' power blatantly obvious. As a result of this circumstances, it can be expected that the particularly left-wing trade unions will intensify their hypercritical and accusatorial attitudes, activities and lobbying, which distinguish Northern Cyprus case and its civil society from other *de facto* entities' civil societies, towards the status quo and their patron state in the forthcoming period. Thus, it seems possible that the struggles for hegemony and counter-hegemony between the leading Turkish Cypriot trade unions within the civil society will be sharpened and deepened.

This situation can even get more intense if the AKP government realizes the same strategy/counter manoeuvre it is following in Turkey against the trade unions it considers as dissident. To be more precise, in order to oppress the targeted dissident trade unions in Turkey, AKP government is using the strategy of backing up already existing proponent/pro-government trade unions and also encouraging the establishment of more new proponent ones. Besides, the trade unions can collectively harden their attitudes towards the immigrants coming from Turkey. Based on this, they can put more pressure on the authorities of Northern Cyprus in the forthcoming period for stricter practices in terms of entrances to the country and citizenship to obviate the

growing presence and activities of immigrants from Turkey -particularly the recently arrived ones- within the public sphere.

To conclude, this Ph.D. dissertation filled the existing lacunae within the literature on *de facto* states and Northern Cyprus to some extent since there is still a serious shortage of scholarly studies addressing such issues. Moreover, specific methodological and theoretical contributions were also made to enrich and diversify the literature on *de facto* states and Northern Cyprus, alongside of the Image Theory. Eventually, the methods and results that were adopted and obtained in this study, have opened the floodgates to a certain extent to other researchers who have the intentions to carry out similar research in other *de facto* entities. According to the researcher of this Ph.D. dissertation, this seems to be of vital importance because of the fact that these topics have remained mostly unexplored despite a number of recent scholarly research reported the existence of diversifying attitudes and fear, complaint and resentment bombardments targeting their patron states and people coming from these places amongst the residents of the some other *de facto* states too.

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APPENDIX

Yarı Yapılandırılmış Görüşmelerde Kullanılacak Açık Uçlu Sorular

1.Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin mevcut ve geleceğe dönük hedefleri/amaçları ile Kuzey Kıbrıs'ın hedefleri/amaçları arasında bir uyum olduğunu düşünüyor musunuz?

2.Kuzey Kıbrıs ile kıyasladığınızda/karşılaştırdığınızda Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin askeri gücü/kapasitesi ile alakalı neler söyleyebilirsiniz?

3.Kuzey Kıbrıs ile kıyasladığınızda/karşılaştırdığınızda Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin ekonomik/iktisadi gücü ile alakalı neler söyleyebilirsiniz?

4.Kuzey Kıbrıs ile kıyasladığınızda/karşılaştırdığınızda Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'ndeki eğitim seviyesi ile alakalı neler söyleyebilirsiniz?

5.Kuzey Kıbrıs'a kıyasla Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'ndeki ortalama kültürel düzey/seviye hakkındaki düşünceleriniz nelerdir?

6.Kuzey Kıbrıs ile Türkiye Cumhuriyeti arasındaki ilişkilerin gelecekte nasıl olması gerektiğini düşünüyorsunuz?

7.“Türkiye’den gelen/Türkiye kökenli göçmen” denildiğinde aklınıza neler gelmektedir?

8.Türkiye’den gelen göçmenler ile olan sosyal ilişki düzeyiniz hakkında neler söyleyebilirsiniz?

9.Türkiye’den gelen göçmenlerin Kuzey Kıbrıs’a etkileri hakkında neler söyleyebilirsiniz?

10.Türkiye’den gelen göçmenler ile kendinizi farklı gördüğünüz özellikler var mıdır?

11.Kuzey Kıbrıs'ın (devletin) Türkiye'den gelen göçmenlere ilişkin politikası sizce nasıl olmalıdır?

12.Kendinizi siyasi yelpazenin neresinde konumlandırıyorsunuz?

13.Sendikanızı siyasi yelpazenin neresinde konumlandırıyorsunuz?

Bogardus Sosyal Mesafe Ölçeği

- Lütfen aşağıdaki soruları olabildiğince samimi bir şekilde cevaplandırınız.
- Lütfen aşağıdaki soruları bahsi geçen grup/göçmenler hakkında sahip olduğunuz genel görüşlerinize bağlı kalarak yanıtlayınız; cevaplarınızı bahsi geçen grubun/göçmenlerin (tanıdığınız) ne en iyi ne de en kötü üyesini göz önünde bulundurarak vermeyiniz.
- Lütfen cevaplarınızı olabildiğince ilk hissi reaksiyonlarınıza göre veriniz.
- Lütfen aşağıdaki soruları EVET veya HAYIR seçeneklerinden uygun bulduğunuzu yuvarlak içine alarak cevaplandırınız.

1)Türkiye'den gelen bir göçmenle/Türkiye kökenli bir göçmenle *evlilik yoluyla yakın akraba olabilirim,*

EVET HAYIR

2)Türkiye'den gelen bir göçmeni/Türkiye kökenli bir göçmeni *kişisel dostum olarak arkadaş grubuma/kulübüme alabilirim,*

EVET HAYIR

3)Türkiye'den gelen bir göçmenle/Türkiye kökenli bir göçmenle *aynı mahallede/sokakta komşu olarak kalabilirim,*

EVET HAYIR

4)Türkiye'den gelen bir göçmenle/Türkiye kökenli bir göçmenle *aynı meslekte bir işte çalışabilirim,*

EVET HAYIR

5)Türkiye'den gelen bir göçmen/Türkiye kökenli bir göçmen *ülkemin vatandaşı olabilir,*

EVET HAYIR

6)Türkiye'den gelen bir göçmen/Türkiye kökenli bir göçmen *ülkemde sadece konuk olarak kalabilir,*

EVET HAYIR

7)Türkiye'den gelen bir göçmen/Türkiye kökenli bir göçmen *ülkemden sınır dışı edilmelidir,*

EVET HAYIR

Sosyo-Demografik Bilgiler:

1.Cinsiyetiniz:

a. Kadın

b. Erkek

2.Yaşınız:

3.Doğum Yeriniz:

a. Kıbrıs (Kuzey-Güney)

b. Türkiye

c. Diğer _____

4.Mesleğiniz:

5.Kendinizi Tanımladığınız Kimlik:

a. Kıbrıslı Türk

b. Türk

c. Kıbrıslı

d. Diğer _____

6.Eğitim Düzeyiniz:

a. İlköğretim

b. Ortaöğretim

c. Lisans

d. Yüksek Lisans

e. Diğer _____

BIOGRAPHY

Name & Surname: İbrahim Ayberk

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Educational Background:

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Publications

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Presented Papers at International Academic Conferences and Symposiums:

Ayberk, İ., "The Turkish Immigrant in the Turkish-Cypriot Imaginary: An Examination of the Exclusions in Daily Life", **International Conference on**

The Cyprus Conflict: Multiple Dimensions of Conflict and Conflict Resolution, 14-15 April 2014, Middle East Technical University Northern Cyprus Campus, Kalkanlı.

Dayıoğlu, A., and İbrahim Ayberk, “Grey Wolves in Cyprus and their Relation with the Turkish State: A Conveyor-belt Relationship?”, **International Conference on Extreme Right in Cyprus, Greece and Turkey**, 1 November 2014, Department of Social and Political Sciences, University of Cyprus, Nicosia.

Ayberk, İ., “Türkiye’den Kuzey Kıbrıs’a ‘Üçüncü Dalga’ Göçmenler: Artan Görünürlük, Öz Farkındalığın Gelişimi ve Sonuçlar” (“Third-Wave’ Immigrants from Turkey to Northern Cyprus: Increasing Visibility, Growing Self-Awareness and Consequences”), **HASDER 33. Halkbilimi Sempozyumu: Kıbrıslı Türkler ve Asimilasyon**, 17 December 2018, Şehit Tuncer İlkokulu Mertcan Konferans Salonu (Şehit Tuncer Primary School Mertcan Conference Hall), Nicosia.

Other Publications:

Ayberk, İ., “Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi: Sosyal Devletin Baskıcı ve Ruhani Devlete Dönüşümü”, *Gaile Dergisi (Journal of Gaile)*, 27 September 2014.

Ayberk, İ., “‘Yalnızlık Lobisi’: AKP Hegemonyasının Yarattığı Yeni Hayali Düşman”, *Gaile Dergisi (Journal of Gaile)*, 13 December 2014.

Ayberk, İ., “Çok Geç Olmadan!”, *Gaile Dergisi (Journal of Gaile)*, 28 February 2015.

Ayberk, İ., “Bayrak Kaynaklı Güncel Tartışmalar, Sözlü ve Fiziki Şiddet ve ‘İnanç Kırılmalı’”, *Gaile Dergisi (Journal of Gaile)*, 14 June 2015.

Ayberk, İ., “Güzel Günler Emek İster”, *Gaile Dergisi (Journal of Gaile)*, 11 November 2015.

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Language Capability:

Turkish: Native

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PLAGIARISM REPORT

Ayberk-An Investigation of Leading Turkish Cypriot Trade Unions' Attitudes towards their Patron State and the Immigrants coming from Turkey

ORIGINALITY REPORT

7 %	3 %	3 %	5 %
SIMILARITY INDEX	INTERNET SOURCES	PUBLICATIONS	STUDENT PAPERS

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ETHICS COMMITTEE APPROVAL



20.12.2017

Sayın İbrahim Ayberk,

Bilimsel Araştırmalar Etik Kurulu'na yapmış olduğunuz YDÜ/SB/2017/73 proje numarah ve "Önde Gelen Kıbrıslı Türk Sendikalarının "Hami Devletlerine" ve Türkiye'den Gelen Göçmenlere Yönelik Tutumları Üzerine Bir İnceleme" başlıklı proje önerisi kurumumuzca değerlendirilmiş olup, etik olarak uygun bulunmuştur. Bu yazı ile birlikte, başvuru formunuzda belirttiğiniz bilgilerin dışına çıkmamak suretiyle araştırmaya başlayabilirsiniz.

Yardımcı Doçent Doktor Direnç Kanol

Bilimsel Araştırmalar Etik Kurulu Raportörü

Direnç Kanol