



NEAR EAST UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS PROGRAM

The Role of Political Leadership by Using Textbooks as a Means of Shaping National Identity in North Cyprus

ŞENİZ EDİP

MASTER'S THESIS

NICOSIA
2020

THE ROLE OF POLITICAL LEADERSHIP BY USING TEXTBOOKS AS A MEANS OF SHAPING NATIONAL IDENTITY IN NORTH CYPRUS

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MASTER'S THESIS

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NICOSIA
2020

ACCEPTANCE/APPROVAL

We as the jury members certify the 'The Impact of 9th and 10th Grade Cyprus History Text-Books on the Construction of National Identity in the Post-2018 Period in North Cyprus' prepared by the Şeniz Edip defended on 23/01/2020 has been found satisfactory for the award of degree of Master / Phd

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DECLARATION

I, Şeniz Edip hereby declare that this dissertation entitled 'The Impact of 9th and 10th Grade Cyprus History Text-Books on the Construction of National Identity in the Post-2018 Period in North Cyprus' has been prepared myself under the guidance and supervision of 'Doctor Zehra Azizbeyli' in partial fulfilment of the Near East University, Graduate School of Social Sciences regulations and does not to the best of my knowledge breach and Law of Copyrights and has been tested for plagiarism and a copy of the result can be found in the Thesis.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost, I am sincerely grateful to my supervisor, Dr. Zehra Azizbeyli for her continuous assistance, guidance, valuable advice and dedication resulting in the final production of this work.

My deepest thanks go to my mother Havva, my husband Mustafa Ercan, my sister Rabia Özcömert, my brother Namık Edip and my friends for providing an incredible network of support to me during the completion of this thesis. Their encouragement, understanding, and unconditional love gave me the confidence I needed to complete a project of this magnitude.

I also wish to express gratitude to my thesis committee members. Thank you to Assoc. Prof. Nur Köprülü and Assoc. Prof. Dilek Latif for not only spending their valuable time reading my often verbose chapters, but for also offering invaluable insight that significantly improved the final product.

ABSTRACT

THE IMPACT OF THE 9TH AND 10TH GRADE CYPRUS HISTORY TEXT-BOOKS ON CONSTRUCTION OF NATIONAL IDENTITY IN THE POST-2018 PERIOD IN NORTH CYPRUS

There is a de facto division in Cyprus due to ethnic conflict. In the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus there are many varieties of political opinions on the state of division. On one hand there are some people supporting the continuity of the status quo but on the other there are some people defending the unification of the island. These political opinions are supported by the political elites and have been reproduced within the education system through teaching and text-books. In other words, since education is under the control of Ministry of Education and Culture, the political administrators can intervene to change the text-books in order to legitimize their political interests. In particular, history text-books are the most important sources in which political powers can legitimize their political interests. The political administrators of each period try to shape the political opinions of the students in accordance with the targeted goals of the time. They can change the wording, pictures, photographs, and contents accordingly. In this thesis, the 9th and 10th Grade Turkish Cypriot History text-books that are published in 2018 are analysed and compared with the previous editions, to show the political purposes they serve. This thesis hereby elaborates the ways how history text-books that are being studied in the high schools in TRNC can affect the construction of national identity of students.

Keywords: History Education, Nationalism, Cyprus History Text-books, Ethnic Conflict, Historiography, Identity-building, Political Interests, National identity Construction

ÖZ

THE IMPACT OF THE 9TH AND 10TH GRADE CYPRUS HISTORY TEXT-BOOKS ON CONSTRUCTION OF NATIONAL IDENTITY IN THE POST-2018 PERIOD IN NORTH CYPRUS

Kıbrıs'ta etnik çatışma nedeniyle fiili bir bölünme var. Kuzey Kıbrıs Türk Cumhuriyeti'ndeki şu anki statüko hakkında birçok siyasi görüş vardır. Bir yandan statükonun devamlılığını destekleyen bir kesim varken, diğer yandan adanın birleşmesini savunan başka bir kesim vardır. Bu siyasi görüşler siyasi elitler tarafından desteklenip, öğretim sistemi ve ders kitapları aracılığıyla da eğitim sistemine de yansımaktadır. Başka bir deyişle, eğitim milli eğitim bakanlığınca kontrol edildiğinden, dönemin mevcut siyasi otoritesinin çıkarlarının meşrulaştırılmasına yönelik okul kitapları üzerinde müdahalelerde bulunulabilmektedir. Özellikle tarih ders kitapları, siyasi güçlerin siyasi çıkarlarını meşrulaştırabilecekleri en önemli kaynaklardır. Her dönemin siyasi idarecileri öğrencilerin siyasi görüşlerini zamanın hedeflenen hedeflerine göre şekillendirmeye çalışırlar. Bununla ilgili, kitaplarda resim, fotoğraflar ve kitap içerikleri buna göre değiştirilebilir. Bu tezde, 2018 yılında basılan 9. ve 10. Sınıf Kıbrıs Türk Tarihi ders kitapları incelenerek, önceki yıllardaki basımlarla karşılaştırılarak dönemin siyasi amacına hizmet ettiklerini ortaya konmaktadır. Bu tez işbu vesileyle, KKTC'de okutulan Kıbrıs tarih kitaplarının öğrencilerin milli kimlik oluşumundaki etkisi ortaya konmaya çalışılmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Tarih Eğitimi, Milliyetçilik, Kıbrıs Tarihi Ders Kitapları, Etnik Çatışma, Tarih yazımı, Kimlik İnşası, Siyasi çıkarlar, Milli Kimlik inşası.

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ABBREVIATIONS

CTP: Republican Turkish Party

EOKA: National Organisation of Cypriot Fighters

EU: European Union

KATAK: Association of Turkish Minority of the island of Cyprus

KTMHP: Cyprus Turkish National People's Party

HP: People's Party

TMT: Turkish Resistance Organization

TRNC: Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus

UBP: National Unity Party

UN: United Nations

UNFICYP: United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus

INTRODUCTION

As it is known, almost in every country history text-books play a large part in the formation of national identity. The national identity that is desired to be attained by political authority is carried out by history text-books. History text-books are frequently used as a means to this end especially in ethnically divided societies it is used to provide continuity of dividedness. Up to the present day several history text-books have been published and each has included goal-oriented different political aspects in the northern part of Cyprus.

This thesis aims to reveal the role of history text-books in the formation of national identity in paralel with the interests of the political authority in North Cyprus. More specifically, the aim is to reveal the role of political leadership by using text-books as a means of shaping national identity in north Cyprus. It could be said that each term when the books were revised a different political goal was pursued and the books were written according to the interests of the authority of the period. While the Turkish Cypriot community is already in identity confusion, the Cyprus history text-books have changed from time to time in paralel with the interests of the political authorities and this made the situation even more complicated. First and foremost, it is important to recognise the identity confusion of the Turkish Cypriot community in Cyprus. To enable this, the process of national identity formation, the history of Cyprus and also the ethnic conflict in Cyprus are discussed. Secondly, the history text-books for the 9th and 10th grades (published in 2018) are analysed and compared with the previously published Cyprus history text-books¹. The political aspects included in the Cyprus history text-books will be put forward and the possible effect of Cyprus history text-books on the formation of national identity of the students will be scrutinized. Several research studies have been done on previously published Cyprus history text-books however, along with the change of the books in 2018, necessity for another reserch study has arisen. The significance of this thesis is that it provides an opportunity for the comparison

¹ This thesis provides analysis for the 9th and 10th grade textbooks because they are the only compulsory textbooks in the high schools in North Cyprus.

of the the previously changed Cyprus history text-books and the last revised text-books in 2018 by revealing the changes made in the 2018 version.

I. Problem Statement

This thesis aims to put forward how the Cyprus history text-books that are being studied in high schools in the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC) that affect the formation of national identity of the students. The high +school Cyprus history text-books have been published up to the present day are chronologically analysed and compared with the most recently published Cyprus history text-books for the 9th and 10th grades in the TRNC. The main research question of this thesis is: what is the role of the Cyprus history text-books in the construction of national identity of the students? This thesis follows a constructivist approach of International Relations on the analysis of history text-books.

According to the constructivist theory of international relations, “nations and national identity” are communities that are constructed through nationalist discourses by state-controlled institutions like schools. The curriculum at schools is designed by including national discourses which support national identity. In a nationalist context, “we” and “others” are constructed through exclusivist, othering and dissident ways. In the construction of “national” consciousness children are considered as a symbolic root (Spyrou, 2011). Furthermore Spyrou (2011) asserts that, the biological family acts in a manner to enable the child to feel a strong emotional symbolic bond with “the nation” which is a large community. In this respect, education is the most significant tool that enables the government to maintain its nationalitarian visions. In this context, schools are one of the most fundamental symbolic areas for the sake of maintaining national consciousness “against others” (Spyrou, 2011). Moreover, the thesis follows Benedict Anderson’s notion to define nations that are socially constructed. For Benedict Anderson (1991) nations are “imagined communities” as the idea of the “nation” is a moderately new phenomenon and is a result of many different socio-material forces: “A nation is an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign” (Anderson, 1991:6). This is exactly what history teaching indicates. According to this rationale, for example, to retrieve

the recollections and move them to people in the future, much like a family moves its own recollections and past complaints against others to the young generation (Papadakis, 2008). This raises an awareness to the national consciousness of the community through history textbooks in the schools. As Anderson puts it, a nation "is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion"(Anderson, 1991:7). A.D. Smith offers a good point in the association of nationalism and identity formation, he defines nationalism as, "an ideological movement for the attainment and maintenance of self-government and independence on behalf of a group, some of whose members conceive it to constitute an actual or potential 'nation'" (1983: 171). In the case of north Cyprus, students spend the majority of their time in classrooms where they are exposed to a curriculum which attempts to make the curriculum meaningful and to legitimate. Naturally, it is easier for students to get to assimilate national identity and establish the notions of "we" and "they" in an ethnically divided community like Cyprus. This is because in a country that is divided into two after a violent conflict between two mainstream ethnic communities (as Turkish Cyprus and Greek Cyprus), it is quite easy to discriminate between "the enemy" and "ourselves". As it is also known, history text-books are not narrated impartially and because each community has their own curriculum, students on both sides are brought up with hostility, fear and hatred for the students of the other community. While in the history text-books of the Greek Cypriots the Turkish Cypriots are in the position of "the other", in the history text-books of the Turkish Cypriots; the Greek Cypriots are in the position of "the other" (Spyrou, 2011). If we look from the viewpoint of the Turkish Cypriot students, the question "Why one does not like a Greek Cypriot" actually becomes legitimized in the history classes.

The most important issue here is also the main topic of this thesis that is the analysis of the history text-books as they are under the state supervision also to serve the political goals of the ruling elites. The aforesaid authority shapes the political attitudes of the students in accordance with the targetted goal with the changes made on words, pictures, photographs and contents. Apart

from the history text-books, the teachers who stand there on behalf of the government's nationalist visions are the sources that enable the transfer of these to the students. Text-books, the flags on the cover of the text-books, the poems, the works of the national holidays that are celebrated at schools and the national anthems are some of the other tools that support the intended goals (Spyrou, 2011).

As part of the analysis, the following questions are intended to be explored:

- What is the role of Cyprus history text-books in enabling the targeted political opinion to be attained by the students?
- What political elements do Cyprus history text-books incorporate?
- What are the other factors which are effective in shaping the political attitudes of the students?
- Was each history textbook, in order of publication, written for a political goal? What political elements did each book involve?
- What political goal does the most recently revised Cyprus history textbook, published in 2018, serve distinctively and what political elements does it incorporate?

II. Objectives

Several research studies have been completed on the issue of the Cyprus history text-books that are published before 2015. However, the books are revised again in 2018. Through an analysis of the latest published books this research provides an opportunity for a comparison between the latest published books and the previously published versions. Therefore, this would be the originality of this thesis. For each period, when books were changed a book will be examined and briefly analysed. By putting forward the political components within the latest published Cyprus history text-books, in 2018, the role of this case in the national identity construction of the students are revealed. Thus, this can constitute as a resource for any further research with an objective based on an inquiry of how Cyprus history text-books are re-written to serve as a political goal and if the contents presented have an actual impact upon students or not. By including the books published in 2018, this study manifests the problem that arises due to the changes made in the previously published books and the books published in post-2018. Also it

demonstrates how the political contents have changed concordantly. By bringing to light in what ways Cyprus history text-books shape the national consciousness through the analysis of the post-2018 Cyprus history text-books, this study provides an insight into how politically oriented Cyprus history text-books can be to have an impact on the construction of national identity of the students.

III. Scope and Limitations

The significance of this study is that it is an original work to determine the political components of the Cyprus history text-books that are published in 2018 as the previous research conducted in this field provides analyses on previous editions of Cyprus History text-books (Beyidođlu Önen & Jetha Dađseven, 2010; Hadjipavlou, 2007; Karahasan, 2013; Latif & Karahasan, 2010; Latif, 2019; Papadakis, 2008; Spyrou, S. 2011). This thesis enables a comparison with the other studies and it also provides an opportunity for future research to investigate the possible influence on the students. This thesis elaborates the impact of different political opinions of the ruling elites on the altered information that are included in the Cyprus History text-books. However, due to the time constraint it is not possible to take the opportunity to conduct a more extensive survey research on the perceptions of the students. Nevertheless, it serves as a resource for the future researcher interested in investigating this influence on the students. This is because in this study the political factors in the Cyprus history text-books are put forward using the data provided in this thesis. Once again, due to the time constraint, it is not possible to study and analyse more than one book for each period. Moreover, from the 8th, 9th and 10th grade Cyprus history text-books, only text-books for the 9th and 10th grades are analysed.

IV. Methodology

This thesis uses qualitative research method of research to investigate the role of Cyprus history text-books on the students' national identity-building. The Cyprus (Turkish) history text-books "1974-2018" included in the educational literature are given based on content analysis method. The history text-books of Cyprus used between 1974 and 2018 have been

renewed in correspondence with the process of change of political power in the island (Creswell, J. W., 2009). In this context, the thesis aims to explore the changing process of political attitude of history text-books and seeks to understand how the history text-books can formalize the students' opinions. The purpose of this study is to explore the political elements in the history text-books that may affect the formation of students' national identity. The hypothesis of this research is: The changes in the Cyprus History text-books in highschools in North Cyprus has a political impact on the construction of the national identity. Political elements, visuals used in the books, the choice of words, the contents that are presented in the books, even the language style as well as the characteristics of the teacher who is using the material can all affect the national identity formation of the students. The analysis of the post- 2018 books takes all these issues into consideration. The Cyprus history text-books are revised from at intervals and are designed according to the interests of the political authority. The national identity of the students takes shape in the direction of the topics taught and the political elements presented in the Cyprus history text-books. As qualitative research is accepted as exploratory research, the thesis aims to find out the political elements of history text-books that may formalize the national-identity of students. It provides insights into the problem or helps to develop ideas or hypotheses for potential quantitative research. The research uses secondary data, and the research is conducted in several libraries including the libraries of Near East University, the Cyprus International University and the Eastern Mediterranean University that are situated in north Cyprus. Secondary data collection includes articles from academic journals, books and history text-books. Furthermore, this thesis employs the case study method to entail the detailed and intensive analysis of 9th and 10th grade high school history text-books in the post-2018 period. As also mentioned above, only the 9th and 10th grade Cyprus History text-books have been analyzed because these two are compulsory in high schools of TRNC.

V. Literature Review

Since the 19th century, history teaching became an important tool for creating a sense of nationalism in the world. Political factors have a major impact on

the curriculum, so text-books become a political document. The History text-books try to legitimate their justification in their cases. Therefore, the case of Cyprus is a working example that needs to be examined. According to Latif (2009), the most of history of Cyprus text-books that are used in the north has always depicted the geographical proximity of the island to Turkey as an indication that Cyprus is an extension of Anatolia geographically. This also aimed to show that the island was historically tied to the Anatolian peninsula and Greece had no historical ties to the island (Latif, 2009). It further emphasized the presence of the Ottoman Empire on the island as an indication that the island belonged to the Turks because they have ruled the island for a period of three-centuries long. The Greek Cypriot text-books have depicted the cultural ties of Greece with the Greek Cypriots to emphasize the presence of the Greek Cypriots on Cyprus since ancient times to prove they have resided on the island more than any other civilization (Latif, 2009).

The history text-books that were used in the north of the island, have gone through a change couple of times in 2000s and according to a research by Latif (2019), they have been rewritten in 2009, where a nationalist discourse is seen that is based on a “we” versus “them” principle. This defines the “other” as the historical enemy. For instance, the Greek Cypriots are described as the “other” that can kill a defenseless Turk in the Cyprus history text-books in the north. The interpretations of historical events assign blame to the other side and never accept its adversary’s pain or loss. One side considers itself as the victim of the other who is the aggressor. In addition, visual images are used to enhance these perceptions. For instance, for many years the Cyprus History text-books in the north have not included many visuals, except a few pictures of murdered children (Latif, 2019). The issue of the historical enemy is especially evident in divided societies, where education is used as a tool of political aims. To their political interests, the political leaders keep the education system under their control (Latif, 2019).

To briefly mention the history text-books taught on both sides, Papadakis’ analysis can be given as an example. According to study of Papadakis (2008), the Greek Cypriots’ and Turkish Cypriots’ nationalisms in Cyprus shared the same form of ethnic nationalism stressing common history, descent, language, culture and religion with the motherlands of Turkey and

Greece. For the Greek Cypriots, history of Greece is taught and for the Turkish Cypriots history of Turkey is taught. It is only the books published in 2004 taught the history of Cyprus with considerably less time allotted for nationalist symbolisms (Papadakis, 2008). Furthermore, while the history of Cyprus has been introduced to the Greek Cypriots as an extension of history of Greece, it was introduced as an extension of history of Turkey to the Turkish Cypriots. In Greek Cypriot side, in history of Cyprus, the discourse of Hellenism is dominant positing the historical continuity of Hellenism from ancient to modern times. In major Greek Cypriot primary level school-books, the view that Cyprus is Greek is dominant. In the books, the term "Cypriot" depicts the Greek Cypriot as a word. Thus, like the other communities living in Cyprus, the "Turkish Cypriots" are excluded from being Cypriots and they have no rightful place in Cyprus (Papadakis, 2008).

According to the logic of ethnic nationalism, in the text-books of Greek Cypriots, the Ottomans are presented as Turks and Byzantines are presented as Greeks. Turkish Cypriots were constantly presented as Turks who are depicted as a blood-thirsty, hostile and barbaric people. Many historical events have been described by the Greek Cypriot perspective. For instance, the period of interethnic violence in the 1960s is shown as minor events and the Turkish Cypriots described as responsible for erupting the violence as they are described as people who are provocative and mutineer (Papadakis, 2008). A similar trend of ethno-nationalism is followed by both communities, with a similar structure that is shared and underlined assumptions in two histories. In both cases, the political existence of the "other" is disputed. The narratives of history text-books are based on homogeneous categories such as, good and evil. Both history text-books focus on the change of dynasties, on diplomatic and political history instead of social history, internal differences, interactions and cooperation. Furthermore, it can also be mentioned that both history text-books are male centred. The idea of war becomes naturalized as an inescapable characteristic of humans as part of the patriarchal family-systems. They reject the multicultural structure of Cyprus on both sides of the divide and, argue the ethnocentric approach (Papadakis, 2008).

Erdönmez (2011) asserts that the act of writing the Cyprus history text-books studied at schools is a problem all by itself, he adds (2011) that it is not an unaccountable fact that the nation states affect the community through books in accordance with their political ideology. Under this argument, the text-books have been written after the consideration of the adjustments done by the authority of the period to affect the identity formation of the Turkish Cypriot community, who already are confused in perceiving their identity. Erdönmez (2011) asserts that Peace Operation was dealt with in the light of two opposite approaches by right and left political groups. It has been seen that the Turkish Cypriot right-wing parties consider the period after 1974 with a “nationalist” approach and define it as being freed from enslavement and attaining liberty; “independence”. On the other hand, Turkish Cypriot left-wing parties describe Peace Operation as an invasion, occupation or as “antagonism against International Law”. The author asserts that the intellectual debates on identity in Turkish Cypriot community take place, to a great extent, due to the meaning given to the traditional knowledge of history, and that this results from implementation of history education without any consideration. The author (Erdönmez, 2011) also states that as historiography and history education are carried out by the state itself, it hasn't been possible to discuss it in an academic dimension. According to Erdönmez (2011); history is a significant tool used by the present authorities to legitimate their own ideology (Erdönmez, 2011).

Papadakis (2008) argues that all the books had been written until 2004 were written by using the same logic in other words with an ethnocentric attitude and had been used as a tool to legitimate the views of the right-wing parties of the period. According to the author the main aim which lies behind is to maintain its de facto dividedness. Within this scope in these history text-books “Cyprus History” is nothing more than being a part of Turkish History. In the light of the information obtained through analysis of the book, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the flags of Turkey and the TRNC and the national anthem take place in the prologue of the aforementioned books. The topics in the history text-books start with the invasion and conquest of Ottoman Empire and the Turkish history is given a wide coverage. Moreover, the author states that, it was written that the Ottomans came to Cyprus aiming to save the

Greek Cypriots from The Venetians. While the bond of Cyprus with Anatolia is given a wide coverage, Greece is not mentioned at all. For Turkey “our motherland Turkey” is the used to illustrate Turkey , which is quite often used throughout the text-books. The Turkish Cypriot community is presented as the Turks or the Turks of Cyprus and 1974 occurs as the triumph of the Turks of Cyprus. The years 1963-1974 are emphasized, where the ethnic violence was at its peak. According to author (Papadakis, 2008), 2004 history text-books represent a positive and subversive move away from the old model, based on contemporary trends of historical analysis and teaching. The reasons of this change are academic, ideological and political. Instead of presenting a homogeneous structure, it focuses more on social history. Papadakis (2008) states that the history text-books were changed in 2004 after The Republican Turkish Party won the elections in 2003. The author also indicates that this part and its followers stand up for the reunification of Cyprus and that the intended aim of the revised text-books is completely opposite to the goal in the text-books studied until 2004. According to this, instead of a Turkish centered approach, the text-books adopt a Cyprus-centered approach. From the results the author obtained through the analysis of the textbook, he stated that the map of Cyprus on the cover page which was normally depicted to be divided was not segregated by a line but was pictured as a whole in the present instance. Unlike the other text-books, he asserts that Turkey had never been shown as a motherland. The Turkish Cypriots and The Greek Cypriots started to be defined as “the Cypriots”. Within this context British colony and nationalism were what separated “the Cypriots” who had a common history and a lot in common. Nationalism was presented as a divisive factor (Papadakis, 2008).

In another research (Murat, 2012), all the revised Cyprus history text-books from 1971 until 2009 were analysed by taking geographical, social and political factors into consideration. Based on the the results obtained from the research, it has come to light that the text-books published before 2004 and in 2009 by acting upon the argument on the Turkish nationalism otherize the Greek Cypriots and show more discriminatory approach to The Turkish and Greek Cypriot communities (Murat, 2012). Whereas in the text-books published in 2004, it was clearly seen that more weight was given to the

social history. Considering another result, it was asserted that no changes had been made on any of the text-books published from 1971 until 2004.

Murat (2012) revealed that Vehbi Zeki Serter who had been one of the writers of the text-books published and studied until 2004 was at the same time a member of the parliament from National Unity Party (UBP) which is a right wing party. He also stated that at the same time Serter adopted Taksim (partition) discourse and in fact he joined the TMT (the Turkish Resistance Organisation). Consequently, the author indicated that it was not surprising that the aforementioned history text-books were written at a period when it was aimed to maintain the defacto dividedness of the island and that started to be studied at schools. That is to say it is natural for Serter, who follows the vision of "TAKSIM" and is a historian and a politician who is a member of a political party, to aim to legitimate the official ideology based on the views of TMT-UBP. According to the research in many of these history text-books national identity defined on the basis of "the rescuer/ redemptory motherland" and Turkey is imposed and the "motherland discourse" is legitimated. From Murat's (2012) point of view, people who live on a shared geography are not told about their shared lives, shared history or shared culture because of the authority's concern about the national identity being subordinated, the Turkish Cypriot community breaking with the past and this leading to assimilation. This concern led to conscientiously avoiding social history being told in the text-books published before 2004 and in 2009 (Murat, 2012).

As the referendum on the Annan Plan was held yet it resulted in failure before 2004 and, the will to solve the Cyprus problem was in question. In the text-books studied until 2004 the Greek Cypriots were in the position of "the other" from then on they were in the position of citizens who could live together. According to the writer, in the text-books in 2004 a different approach was followed, the approach which focussed on ethnic identity was eliminated, critical, pluralistic and student-centered perspective was attempted to be created. Although it was put forward that the text-books were written in accordance with the framework of human rights, it can be said that still sides were taken and an attempt was made to legitimate the political ideology of CTP, the left-wing political party of the period. Consequently, the history text-books were re-published in 2004 were written by a committee of

historians and academicians in a way to serve the intended political goal. In 2008 “the so-called Cypriotness Identity” which was attempted to be created in the history text-books published in 2004 were considered to weaken national consciousness and to be written poorly by Şerife Ünverdi who was a member of the parliament from the UBP, the National Unity Party. In the same year Derviş Eroğlu who was a member of the parliament from the UBP criticised the history text-books published in 2004 during his speech on the platform. These criticisms were reflected on the 2009 general election, the discourses concerning the new text-books occupied a large part of the election campaigns of almost all the political parties. The concerning text-books mentioned previously were also revised in accordance with the ideology of the authority, UBP, of the period in 2009 (Murat, 2012).

In the first section of the study with the title “Rewriting the History Text-books: Are the History text-books for Reconciliation or Division?” The lycee Cypriot (Turkish) History text-books which were changed in 2004 and in 2009 were analysed and compared in terms of visuality and textuality. In this study, it is indicated that after the Republican Turkish Party, CHP, which is a left-wing party, came to power in 2004, propeace text-books which aimed for reconciliation or the United Federal Cyprus were included in the school curriculum after being revised accordingly and on the other hand after the National Unity Party, UBP, won the elections in 2009, the text-books which did not reflect national identity were started to be worked on and revised and that the curriculum for the Turkish Cyprus history changed in a short span of time. As soon as the National Unity Party, UBP, which is a right-wing party, came to power, they promised that necessary corrections in the Cyprus history text-books and that they would be rewritten. That is to say, as is seen both of the political parties designed the text-books in compliance with their own political opinion and they even used it in their election campaign.

In respect to the analysis made by Latif and Karahasan (2010) the 9th and 10th grade text-books were re-published in 2004 and therefore, they focus more on social history. They pointed out that each section started with general information and subsequently it was related with Cyprus. The narration of the topic is followed by exercises which contain general and neutral information about Ottoman Empire and its interest in Cyprus. In the

text-books there are statements which support the assumption that Muslims and Christians can exist together (Latif and Karahasan, 2010). The regime change in the island is treated as a result of a natural period. Ordinarily various civilisations ruled the island at the time. In the text-books Cyprus-centrist approach is discussed. Despite the fact that what the people had gone through was so bad it is shown that in a realistic framework all those experiences are matters of human nature and are experiences confronted all over the world and so these text-books do not have a discriminatory-partial approach. For instance, while the nationalist movements occur almost synchronously all around the world, the conflict between the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriot might not be groundless is an approach depicted in the text-books (Latif and Karahasan, 2010).

In the text-books published in 2009 the most significant topic is The Turkish Cypriots' struggle of existence. Moreover, Karahasan and Latif indicated that to show the independence of the Turkish Cypriot community on the island was one of the aims of rewriting the text-books which was written in the preface of the text-books published in 2009. The revised text-books focus on the topics concerning Cyprus or Turkishness. In these text-books The Ottoman Empire is put in the center and it becomes evident that in the questions are constructed in an ethnocentric attitude. The language used in the text-books expresses that the Greeks and The Greek Cypriots are no different from each other, in other words they are both being "the other" is expressed in a negative manner (Latif and Karahasan). In these text-books the idea that "Muslims and Christians" who represent the Turkish and the Greek Cypriots do not have even a very little thing in common is dominant. While mentioning about the changes made in the regime on the island the griefs that the Turkish Cypriots had gone through are given prominence. Due to the fact that they were written in a Turkish-centered attitude, the topics are discussed by putting forward the differences between the Turkish Cypriots and the Greek Cypriots. The image of "the other" is created in the mind of the students indirectly by narrating the Greek Cypriots' actions towards Enosis and their hostile attitude. Different from the text-books published in 2004, in these text-books topics such as "national oath and its significance" take place aiming to build a nationalist consciousness (Latif and Karahasan).

In other words, taking the results into consideration, it is evident that the change of the history text-books is directly proportionate to the change of the regime and the parties in power. Hence, it became clear how the political authority can design the text-books in accordance with their own opinion. So, it can be said that the previous political parties used the history text-books as a political tool to adopt their views.

Within this context; according to study of Özsezer and Özkul (2019), explores the influence of the political authority on the history education. The changes of the Turkish Cypriot history text-books and the change of the authorities between the years 1974-2016 made it apparent that each text-book reflected the political ideology of the period. In chronological order; with the change of political power on the island in 1974, 1994, 2004 and 2009 the text-books were revised and published synchronously (Özsezer and Özkul, 2019). Özsezer and Özkul (2019) examined the affect of the political power in the TRNC on history education from 1974 until 2016. The Cyprus history book prepared by Vehbi Zeki Serter in 1970 was first approved as a supplementary text-book and then in 1971 started to be studied as a text-book at schools and had been updated several times until 2004. In the 2002 edition Cyprus history text-book, it was asserted that there were attempts to legitimate the Turkish Cypriots' existence on the island (Özsezer and Özkul, 2019). The governing skills of the Turkish Cypriots were emphasized, however the existence of the other communities on the island was not mentioned. The Turkish people in Cyprus were described as a superior civilization and the Turkish Cypriot community was defined as an inseparable part of the greater Turkish nation. Özsezer and Özkul (2019) further pointed out that by using the phrase motherland "Turkey" in the textbook, the unbreakable bond between the Anatolian Turks and the Turkish Cypriots is emphasized, and that the previously mentioned textbook supports the policies that promote and legitimate division in Cyprus. It was stated that Mehmet Ali Talat, who was the Minister of Education and Culture in 1994 had new Cyprus history text-books for the secondary schools that were prepared for the 1st, 2nd and 3rd grades. In preparation of the text-books Vehbi Zeki Serter's book was used as a source but the language for the expressions of severe traumatic events were avoided (Latif, 2017).

After the Republican Turkish Party was re-elected in 2004, pedagogical methods were used for the first time and were applied as part of text-books concomitantly. These text-books have underlined a perspective of humanity and are different from the others and attempt to purify from nationalist discourses and identity descriptions. Nevertheless, in parallel with the expectations of the active political party of the period, instead of national consciousness “Cypriot consciousness” and instead of “Motherland Turkey” the “European identity” was also a dominant theme in the text-books (Latif, 2017). As a result of a research conducted on the 2004 edition of the Cyprus history text-books for the 3rd grade (Latif, 2017), it is clear that a united Cyprus has been envisioned as the cover page displays the map of a unified island. On the other hand, the flag of the TRNC that was used more frequently in the previously published text-books was used only twice and this led to the idea that there was an attempt to reject the existence of the TRNC (Latif, 2017).

In his research, Özder (2013) also points out that in the historical process the changes made in Turkey were followed and implemented by the Turkish Cypriot community synchronously. The author states that the TRNC National Education Law was the same as the TC National Education Law and according to this; the curriculum of the Turkish Cypriot educational was compatible with the curriculum implemented in the educational institutions in Turkey. Within this context it can be said that besides the history text-books being revised in parallel with the change of the political authority in North Cyprus, the change of the political authority in Turkey have also influenced the educational institutions. Özder (2013) asserts that after AKP came into power in 2002 there was an increase in the use of Islamic elements in the educational institutions in the TRNC. Özder gives the mosque that was built inside the Near East University as an example, or the new theology department opened within the body of Haspolat Vocational High School in 2011, or the new Faculty of Theology that was opened in the Near East University in 2011-2012. The author claims that the political changes in the Republic of Turkey have a direct impact on the education system in north Cyprus (Özder, 2013). It is better to define ethnicity in general in order to

understand the link between the nationalist discourse and identity formation in north Cyprus.

CHAPTER 1

1. POLITICS OF ETHNICITY

Since history text-books are generally written with a nationalist approach, it would be correct to begin with the definition of ethnicity, which can be best defined simply as the smallest building block of nationalism. From a constructionist perspective, nations are defined for their socially built natures. Among the scholars who take this position are Benedict Anderson (1991) and Eric Hobsbawm (1990) and Earnest Gellner (1983). "Nationalism is primarily a political principle, which holds that the political and the national unit should be congruent. Nationalism as a sentiment, or as a movement, can best be defined in terms of this principle" (Gellner, 1983: 1). For Benedict Anderson (1991), nations have a strong sense of belonging to a common nation. In other words, there is a particular sense of belonging to a particular nation, one which a person assumes to share with his/her other co-nationals (Bond, 2009).

1.1. Definition of Ethnicity

Ethnicity is derived from the Greek word "ethnos", which means "nation, people". It can be theoretically explained with two approaches. According to the Primordialist approach, ethnicity is ascriptive, it is a unique sense of commitment and social solidarity that is born from social practices such as religion, language and tradition, and these are all acquired from the society. The instrumentalist approach, on the other hand, sees ethnicity as a social structure built by the political elite of society. In the opinion of Anthony David Stephen Smith (1989), an ethnic group should carry "a collective specific name, a common myth of origin, shared historical memories and distinctive culture, a special sense of bond and solidarity with the homeland". (Smith,

1989). He further identifies social and cultural groups as ethnic groups provided that they carry these attributes and possess the experience and cultural values to pass down from a generation to the next. In order to be defined as a singular entity, ethnic groups are required to have common and distinctive values such as “language, religion, culture, traditions and customs. Thus, those who do not speak the language of an ethnic group, those who do not belong to the same religion, or have different cultural characteristics in society are referred as the “others” (Kurubaş, 2008).

1.2. Nation-Building

A nation is a social-political society with common myths and memories, territorial, physical and de facto ties with a country, carrying a shared public culture. A nation-state is a system that organizes communities within a single superior identity (nation), which can have many sub-identities, such as language, religion, on a territory whose borders are set, within the framework of a common culture, symbols, and values (Kurubaş, 2008). Homogeneity within a nation-state carries the risk of creating a breeding ground for ethnic problems; the desire for the individuals that make up the nation-state to belong to one culture, the promotion of a singular national identity and the desire for devotion to that identity alone can lead to ethnic intolerance. Nation-states use the ideology of nationalism to build a nation. The process to achieve this goal is an assimilative one with the usage of national tools such as education, military service, law and language. Nation-building is the unification of society with a single identity in a political system based on national unity, primarily to ensure independence (Kurubaş, 2008).

The most crucial factor in nation-building is to ensure the adoption of a national identity and national integration by minimizing ethno-cultural diversity in society. It is a fact that education, military service and political participation, are the essential tools of nation-building, so through these processes, it is aimed for the people to gain national awareness, homeland awareness and citizenship awareness, respectively. The national flag, national anthem, myths and stories glorify the nation as part of the tools and vital elements that support this process. For the nation-building process, if the assimilation becomes practical and is successful to regulate sub-identities to minimise

potential ethnic problems. However, ethnic groups with sub-identities, i.e. ethnocultural minorities, may not always be willing to participate in the upper-national identity; and this continues to be a common obstacle in nation-building (Kurubaş, 2008). Therefore, the concept of nationalism is essential for the continuity of the nation-state, while it is also the main reason for the formation of ethnic problems. Ethnic groups that seek ways of self-rule and often have a separatist tendency are called "ethnic nationalists", while culturally or linearly diverse ethnic groups that struggle to maintain or develop their political power are called "ethnic rivals" (Kurubaş, 2008). These two are sufficient in the context of the issue, as the situation in Cyprus is closer to these two while there are many different approaches. In the case of the TRNC, the right-wing groups can be grouped under ethno-nationalism because they seek ways of self-rule with a separatist tendency. The left-wing aspires to be united with the south of Cyprus, as they strive to keep their political power on an equal footing with the Greek Cypriots.

Several models exist to provide solutions for ethnic problems; repressive assimilative practices, multicultural practices, ethnic federalist practices, minority status and resulting administrative or cultural autonomy practices exist in nation-state systems. On the other hand, like the Cyprus problem, the stalemate attitude of the parties causes the problems to become permanent and posing difficulties for potential solutions. Furthermore, recognition or/and protection of other ethnic identities is an option for solving ethnic problems. Thus, the surge of ethnic problems would be prevented, and separatist tendencies could be avoided. Nevertheless, this also carries the risk of becoming a tool for separatism and can be utilized to support the opposing view. The alternative to this risk is the continuation of the oppression and assimilation policies that have proven not to be successful; likely causing further deterioration of the situation. On the other hand, although territorial and managerial practices such as self-government, autonomy, and power-sharing are potential solutions to reduce separatist tendencies, these practices can lead to an escalation in differences by decreasing social interaction, causing another permanent damage to a delicate situation. Within the framework of democracy and equal citizenship, the solution must protect both the integrity of the state and the country to eliminate the fear of

extinction within the ethnic identities, and to provide sustainable levels of social interaction. Thus, all concerns of state division and ethnic extinction would be addressed. Any potential model for the solution of the Cyprus problem must be based on this framework.

1.3 Ethnic Conflict

Conflict among groups is usually related to differences and disagreements on interests, opinions, beliefs, values, or needs or goals as, scarce rewards or resources.

There can be multiple ethnic groups in a society that can cause the ethnic problems. The ethnic problem as a concept is defined as the conflict between the contending individuals of society, separating themselves as “us” and “others” (Kurubaş, 2008). Ethnic problems often arise from conflicts between an ethnic group and the state over the physical, regional, cultural and political domains. There are different types of conflicts that need to be explained here. The physical conflict between the ethnic group and the state is, in fact, the conflict between the physical existence of the ethnic group and the state. Regional conflict emerges from the issues over the borders between the ethnic groups and the state, while the cultural conflict arises from differences of opinion between the state and the ethnic group over the ethnic symbols and cultural institutions. Political conflict, on the other hand, is the difference of opinion between the state and the ethnic group over the objectives toward the solution of the ethnic problem. In most societies, ethnic groups which are more dominant in terms of number or have more political power generally tend to dominate and assimilate other ethnic groups. Ethnic problems may also arise from ethnic groups' attempts to preserve their physical existence, to express and develop their cultural identity, or by request for the autonomous government or secession. In most countries, it is often seen as these situations result in flaws, disorder or problems in domestic politics (Kurubaş, 2008). Therefore, the state always must find a common way; otherwise, if the irregularities such as rebellions, disorder, etc. within the boundaries of society reaches a level of violent conflict against the political authority, then it can move to international dimensions. This leads to the

intervention of external powers in the domestic affairs of the state. Hence, the state should be able to foresee the ethnic problems that may arise from its relations with ethnic groups and be qualified enough to take the necessary measures (Kurubaş, 2008).

Ethnic problems gain international dimension in two cases. The first one is when ethnic conflicts at the national level start to be recognized and receive a response at the international level. This process of internationalization of ethnic conflict at the national level may arise due to groups resorting to international terrorism, refugee problems, foreign intervention, and diplomatic activities of the ethnic separatists and the state. Another reason for internal affairs to gain a broader dimension is the emergence of international developments affecting internal ethnic conflicts and providing them with a global status (Kurubaş, 2008). In today's conditions of increasing interdependence, the likelihood of internationalization of ethnic problems is very high, as the nation-state begins to lose its power and transfer its sovereignty to the higher authorities as a result of globalization. The political mobilization of ethnic groups as a consequence of their concerns on the extinction of or damage to their physical existence or cultural identity constitutes the most crucial trigger of ethnic problems. The fear of identity loss, affects the the ethnic groups to be politicized and acts up for the recognition of their ethnic identity. This ethnic movement emphasizes the identity and cultural ties of the ethnic group; however, such movement can quickly evolve into an ethnic nationalist movement with interest in political authority and territorial sovereignty. Political and cultural exclusion and deprivation of fundamental rights give legitimacy to the politicization of ethnic groups and their demands of equal citizenship, cultural rights, institutional autonomy or secession (Kurubaş, 2008).

1.4 The Constructivist Theory in International Relations

Alexander Wendt challenged to the Neorealist approach that the international environment is created in processes of interaction. Wendt states that actors' identities are developed and sustained through interaction (as cited in Zehfuss, 2004). Wendt defines Constructivism as the structural theory of the international system. Constructivist Theory by Alexander Wendt defines an

approach that focuses on how ideas and identities are formed in principle, how they change over time, and the effects they have on understanding the behaviour of states (as cited in Kaya, 2008). According to Wendt, the structures created by people are essentially cultural, and within this framework, cultural structures are not only behaviour-regulating but also identity- and interest-constructing. Wendt argues that the culture should be the focal point of any international relations analysis. In Wendt's Constructivism, states do not only struggle for their survival; their interests and identities are also shaped by certain historical processes (as cited in Kaya, 2008). This claim of social construction of the international structure represents the main point of difference between constructivist approach and other major theories. Social structures are neither fixed nor static; they are flexible and can change over time in parallel with the expectations. They can be defined by the expectations of the active actors, and thus their understandings or knowledge. According to the constructivist approach, anarchy means that there is no authority higher than the state that could dominate it (as cited in Kaya, 2008). To put it in different way, anarchy is not intentional, therefore cannot be coordinated; it is a set of rules that has emerged as an undesirable consequence of a large number of activities. As Wendt puts it, "self-help and power policy in international arena are institutions, not essential features, of anarchy". Identities, however, are the basis of interests and constructed through a mutual interaction and are plural by nature (as cited in Kaya, 2008). The interaction here is the relationship between "I" and the others, where the identification becomes the product of that relation. This results in both positive and negative tendencies. In the absence of a positive identification, the actor defines his own interests without regard to the other; does not necessarily show any respect and can manipulate and objectify the other if needed. With the positive identification, on the other hand, the existence, "identity", of the other actor is also taken into account. In fact, Wendt claims that the negative identification constitutes a realist power policy (as cited in Kaya, 2008). The constructivist approach, on the other hand, leans toward the existence of many collective identities based on the cooperation of the states. With the formation of such a collective identity, "the others" will also be acknowledged instead of only "us",

resulting in a change from a negative to a positive identification. Further, states get the opportunity to create institutions through which they can act as 'us' through the collective identities they would obtain (as cited in Kaya, 2008).

The core claims of Constructivism are “(1) states are the principal units of analysis for international political theory; (2) the key structures in the state system are intersubjective rather than material; and (3) state identities and interests are in important part constructed by these social structures, rather than given exogenously to the system by human nature or domestic politics” (as cited in Zehfuss, 2004, p.39). According to Wendt the “actions of people are based on meanings and meaning arises out of interaction” are two fundamental principles of constructivist theory. Wendt situates that aspect of structures that influence behaviour is not material. He says that identities and interests are learned and sustained by intersubjectively grounded practice. The formation of intersubjective structures is actualised by collective meanings. Identities which define as property of international actors are very crucial in the sense of interests and institution is a structure of identities and interests (as cited in Zehfuss, 2004). Benedict Anderson (1983) defines nationalism as the influential idea that people will die for their nations. According to Anderson (1983) in the sense that nationalism is a universal idea that every individuals belongs to a nation, nation is a socially constructed community. He (1983) says that nation is an imagined political community. Because, only the image of their communion lives in the minds of each nation. Anderson (1983) puts forward that while the most members of particular nation will not know each other, they are brought together by the image of their communion. Anthony D. Smith (1991) believes that nationalism is primarily a political ideology with a cultural doctrine at its centre. In other words, nationalism as an ideological movement, attains and maintains the autonomy, unity and identity of a nation. He (1991) further states that the concept of identity is the sameness of the people. That is to say, national identity is the national sameness. This means that the members of a particular nation differ from non-members. On the other hand Ernest Gellner (1983) defines nationalism as shared formal educational system, cultural

homogenisation, linguistic standardisation, national identification as abstract community, cultural similarity.

1.5 The Role of Education on the Ethnic Division in Cyprus: History

Education

In the divided nations with a violent historical background “selected traumas” and “selected triumphs” are seized upon. For these nations it is almost impossible to come to a consensus. Education is the main tool which enables the transfer of knowledge, culture and values. The school system in divided nations like Cyprus proceeds in a way which backs up this dividedness. Education systems are divided by religious, cultural and geopolitical lines. At schools most of the students’ study in a single identity environment where they can be in touch with only their own identity. Generally, as well as the students their teachers and classmates also come from the same sociocultural grounds and their own cultural heritage and identity are considered as superior (Johnson, 2007). To this respect distrustfulness and hostility consciousness towards “the others” increases. As the students know only a single identity, they do not have the opportunity to comprehend and so the students are not expected to show respect to “the other identity”. Education is used as a weapon in divided nations.

By legitimating discrimination through education, students are involved in the world of national culture. The Turkish Cypriot and the Greek Cypriot communities do not have a common curriculum and within this framework the students are brought up with completely different identities, feel that they belong to different nations, regard each other as enemies, the hero- rescuer of both sides becomes the nemesis of the other side. The national flag, which they adopt through the medium of education, family and society becomes a case of disaster. For instance, August 30 victory day for the Turkish Cypriots, from the point of the Greek Cypriots is known as “Τουρκική εισβολή”, which means the Turkish invasion. In the history text-books there are many cases where “a victory” won over an enemy (The Turkish or the Greek Cypriots) is taught as “defeat” for the other side and national feelings are instilled.

Consequently, with the great contribution of the teachers in such an atmosphere where the Greek and Turkish Cypriot students are brought up aiming at nation-building, and so they have feud, hatred for each other, have prejudice against each other and adopt a hostile attitude. Within this framework particularly in the ethnically divided communities like Cyprus the significance of education becomes apparent.

1.6 History Writing and Historical Narratives

When a question is asked about what the history is, what purpose it serves is being checked on. According to this; history can be literary heroism, an attempt to legitimate the current claims of the politicians or a myth which narrates what their heroes had done (Akıncı and Yavuzyılmaz, 2018).

Particularly the modern nation states who are aiming at the construction of national identity, devoted to the creation of their own desired citizens by eliminating the differences have changed the scope of history writing.

According to Akıncı and Yavuzyılmaz (2018), Edward Hallet Carr's book "What is the History" is a resource of, writing history text-books can never be objective. While there can not be a history without a comment, having an objective history can not be expected. In history writing, transferring knowledge about the events might differ from one person to another. At times, selective remembering or forgetting can affect the history writing process. The probability of being uninfluenced by the national prejudices is quite difficult for a historian and the transmission of all the documents and information may not be carried out in an equal justice. Within this context, in history writing, it is quite difficult to transfer historical events objectively, using it as a tool to legitimate a certain ideology makes the writing history even more complicated. By this way, in order to prove that their nation is distinctive the nationalists of the country may utilize and conceptualise history writing and therefore shape the historical narratives. Whatismore, the previously written history is eliminated and a new version of history emerges as it serves the interests of the political elites of the period (Akıncı and Yavuzyılmaz, 2018).

The history text-books that are written with an aim of a strong nation-building project have certain ways of history teaching. One strategy is to teach about

the ancestors and heroes of a given society, how ancient their history is and, where they come from all play a significant role in this context. Modern nation-states and nationalists have used history writing and historical narratives as tools to legitimate their ideologies and actions. On one hand modern nation-states use history to build national consciousness, on the other hand they attempt to enable their own legitimacy. While doing this they interfere in teaching to transfer historical events by involving the ideological facts and they quite often use interest-oriented manipulation (Akıncı and Yavuzylmaz, 2018).

1.7 The Importance of History Education in Formation of National Identity

In the construction of a modern nation, education is considered to be one of the most significant tools because of its unifying feature for policies. Therefore, the role of history education in the construction of every nation-state has been of great significance. According to Şıvgın (2009) history education has intradisciplinary purposes, which can be outside the scope of the discipline. The approach “teaching history for the sake of history” is what history education aims at. It is aimed to explore the history by means of some other social sciences like economics, sociology and antropology, when necessary. Şıvgın (2009) asserts that the formation of national identity is used for a pupose, which is outside the scope of the discipline and that history is used as a tool for the construction of the nationalist ideologies. Şıvgın (2009) also states that the emergence of national history writing was in parallel with the emergence of nation-states. Nation states are in an attempt to extend from the past to the future through historical continuity. In the process of the construction of the nation states, historians conduct scientific research that can catalyse and speed up the process of the nation-formation. For this goal, the features of sub-identities of the people and the communities are pushed aside and the national identity is brought to the forefront. In this regard, some adherences lose their significance and will be rebuilt within the context of nation. Thus, through history education the consciousness of “us” is formed and by segregating “the other”. Therefore, groups falling into “the other” category is segregated and instead intra-

national cooperation is provided, where national loyalty within the community is strengthened (Şivgin, 2009).

In our modernised world, there is not a single nation without subgroups that fall into “the other” category. This is due to the fact that “the other” creates da consciousness as the keystone for the existence of a community and it becomes possible to create a common identity. Consequently, a country can become a homeland and the identity of the homeland can be recognized through history education. For Anthony D. Smith (1991), by creating a widespread awareness of the myths, history and linguistic traditions of the community, the authorities succeed in substantiating and crystallizing the idea of an ethnic nation in the minds of most members of the community. Furthermore, there are “invented traditions” (Hobsbawm, 1990) that are the created to serve the interests of political elites that control the energies of the newly empowered crowds. Hobsbawm uses the term 'invented' here to elaborate it is fabricated.

1.8 Interventions of Political Powers to History Education

In the process of the formation of national consciousness, political elites interfere in history writing to normalise the status quo that is nourished and legitimised through their ideologies within the history textbooks. İnal (2008) puts forward that beside the curriculum being used for the construction of the nation state, some elements are used indirectly for the justification of the political power's ideology. An example from the context of Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus can be the use of the Turkish National Anthem (İstiklal Marşı) in the schools. The schools in TRNC ceremonially uses İstiklal Marşı on the first and the last day of the schools to be sang by the students along with the teachers even though is not compulsory (Inal, 2008). İnal (2008) further remarks that it is an undercover curriculum. In this way the political powers find an opportunity to present their political opinion they desire to adopt through the elements of the undercover curriculum. Within this framework the history curriculum had been changed to serve the interests of the political power of the period who had different expectations from the history education. The political power enables history writing and transferring knowledge about history in accordance with his/her interests during the

process of adding national history to the collective memory. Government monopoly on the curriculum provides the political power with an opportunity to make the students adopt his/ her world perspective, ideology and thoughts he/she foresees through the textbooks and all of which serve his/her own political interests.

Kabapınar (1992) asserts that political powers try to create individuals who does not question and criticize their own legitimacy. The history textbooks are written aiming at shaping the opinions and attitudes of the students for the goals of the political powers by not allowing criticism and questioning and by presenting information and events in a dogmatic manner.

Within this context political powers use history textbooks as a tool to legitimate what they think is right. Thus the absolute truths which are imposed through rote learning are taught without a critical approach. Consequently, the foreseen behaviour of the students is attained and in parallel with the policy of the political power standardized citizens are brought up. In this respect history education and schools have great importance for the political powers (Kabapınar, 1992).

1.9 How should History Text-books actually be written?

With the concern of the national identity construction, narrating history based on only politics and diplomacy started to be criticised by the modern historians. The modern historians, by developing problem-solving models tried to figure out historical events and processes through paradigms (Gül, 2013). Gül asserts that historical narratives have moved away from political goals and changed their focus on topics like economics, demography and social changes and also did not adhere to the restriction which was to narrate in chronological order. Instead of a conservative historiography which limits itself by some topics concerning government, politics and religion, topics studied in social sciences are included and not the history of the great heroes but the history of ordinary people is elaborated.

Demircioğlu (2013) states that developed states display such changes. With the impact of rapid technological changes and globalization, and particularly by means of the immense data repository of the internet people have an opportunity to get to know each other better and enhance awareness of the

current world problems. In this regard, in the educational institutions it is aimed at attaining some fundamental learning outcomes such as the information technologies being used efficiently by the students, adopting democratic education, human rights, rapprochement and forbearance. It is aimed to unearth curriculums to show solutions and sort out the societal problems of sexism, racism and terrorism through education. In this aspect, history textbooks are of great importance in terms of bringing up children with toleration and respect that consider human rights issues a priority.

Within this framework, new approaches in history writing have emerged. Demircioğlu (2013) puts forward that the developments that occurred in the perspectives on presenting case reports in history writing, in the historiography and in history education, in the preparation of the content, in the perspectives of democracy and human rights, in the historical thinking skills and the reinforcement of sexism have been reflected in the history textbooks.

Demircioğlu (2013), states that in the history textbooks the facts which are defined as scientific data, should be based on scientific data in real terms which means without prejudices and distortions as its definition suggests. Facts are not absolute, so the history textbooks must be revised in parallel with the new facts which are put forward in historiography. Within this framework the resources used to create these materials and the ways to get access to the resources should be introduced. Demircioğlu (2013) indicates that history textbooks should be designed within the framework of active learning perspective, the history textbooks should incorporate materials with knowledge which has been studied, questioned and prepared in a productive way. In terms of content topics based on grudge and hatred shouldn't be included in the history textbooks, the use of topics related to political history should be reduced and topics concern in cultural, social, economic and daily life should be focussed on. In the teaching of social topics beside the man figure, topics regarding woman and child figures must take place within the contents of the curriculum and the textbooks. In the process of enabling students to attain the knowledge and skills of democracy and also to respect towards human rights the history textbooks should have a role in eliminating the negative attitudes towards religious, language and racial differences.

Besides all these visuals used in history textbooks are one of the other important factors which can meet the new expectations from history writing. The visuals, which are used must be compatible with the text, must be explanatory and must serve the improvement of thinking skills. The modern day which we call the knowledge age has influenced all the social structures but particularly the educational institutions due to the advancement of the knowledge production and access to the knowledge. Consequently, the role of the curricula, the textbooks, teachers and students are changing in parallel with the needs of the information society (Demircioğlu, 2013). This is the case of the situation in north Cyprus.

1.10 The Reformation Process of Cyprus History Text-books in TRNC

In the light of the data obtained from the literature review, it is seen that Cyprus History textbooks were changed in 1971, 1974, 1994, 2004, 2009 and 2018 respectively by the Turkish Cypriot authorities.

Books are re-published but were given free to the students with no changes had been made on any of the textbooks published from 1971 until 2004. It should be noted that Vehbi Zeki Serter who was the primary author of the textbooks published until 2004 was at the same time a member of the parliament from National Unity Party (UBP) that is a well-known right-wing party in north Cyprus. So, it can be said that the history text-books published from 1971 until 2004 have served the political interests of the right-wing. History text-books were changed in 2004 after the Republican Turkish Party won the elections in 2003. This party and its followers have stand up for the re-unification of the island and that the intended aim of the revised textbooks in 2004 have opposed the goals of previous text-books (Latif, 2010).

In 2008, with another change of political authority, the idea of a new identity, "Cypriotness" that was used as an alternative identity in the history textbooks published in 2004, was considered to weaken the "national consciousness" and the text-books were written by another MP from the UBP, the National Unity Party: Şerife Ünverdi. In the same year, Derviş Eroğlu who was a member of the parliament from the UBP has criticised the 2004 publications of history textbooks during his speech in the TRNC Parliament. These criticisms were reflected on the 2009 general elections,

the discourses concerning the new textbooks occupied a large part of the election campaigns of almost all the political parties. As soon as the right-wing UBP came to power, they promised that necessary corrections in the Cyprus history text-books would be in order. Consequently, the history text-books were re-published in 2009 (Murat, 2012). Finally, in 2018, the history text-books were renewed again by the Ministry of Education and Culture.

1.11 The Conceptualization of Turkish Cypriot Right Wing and Turkish Cypriot Left Wing

The Turkish Cypriot left and the Turkish Cypriot right differ in their approach of the Cyprus problem. Turkish Cypriot right-wing groups aim to develop good relations with Turkey. Generally, the Turkish Cypriot right-wing groups support types of solution to the Cyprus problem on the basis of equal sovereignty of the two sides, on the basis of political equality. Also, it supports a model of solution to the Cyprus problem, in which the de-facto guarantee of Republic of Turkey remains. Furthermore, it should be mentioned that the right-wing groups are satisfied with the status quo. On the other hand, the Turkish Cypriot left-wing groups support bi-communal, bi-zonal solution models where the rights of Turkish Cypriots are protected and guaranteed that are based on political equality. These groups support a Federal Republic of Cyprus as a model that is free from the influence of any form of militarism.

1.12 Nationalism is an Ideology of the Nation

Anthony D. Smith (1991) defines the central propositions of the ideology, as follows, "1. The world is divided into nations, each with its own individuality, history and destiny. 2. The nation is the source of all political and social power, and loyalty to the nation overrides all other allegiances. 3. Human beings must identify with a nation if they want to be free and realize themselves. 4. Nations must be free and secure if peace and justice are to prevail in the World" (Smith, 1991:74). Considering that nationalism is the ideology of the nation, it places the nation at the center of its concerns. D. Smith (1991) states that nationalist description of the World and nationalist

prescriptions for collective action are concerned only with the nation and its members. “He (1991) believes that nationalism is primarily a political ideology with a cultural doctrine at its centre. In other words, nationalism as an ideological movement, attains and maintains the autonomy, unity and identity of a nation. He further states that the concept of identity is the sameness of the people. That is to say, national identity is the national sameness.” (Edip, 2020). This means that the members of a particular nation differ from non-members. In this sense for being the member of one particular nation it could be talked the same language, it could be ate and dressed in similar ways. According to him (1991), there are profound consequences of the nationalist ideal of unity as follows; “It has encouraged the idea of the indivisibility of the nation and justified the eradication, often by force, of all intermediate bodies and local differences in the interests of cultural and political homogeneity. This has spawned mass-mobilizing policies of social and political integration in which the state becomes the agent of the 'nation-to-be' and the creator of a 'political community' and 'political culture' that must replace the various ethnic cultures of a heterogeneous population.” (Smith, 1991: 76). Furthermore, Smith underlines the importance of the concept of autonomy for every nationalist. In this sense, unique experiences and unique community are preconditions of full autonomy. Through the autonomy the nation and its members can realize themselves in an authentic manner. Smith (1991) further asserts that the concepts of identity, unity and autonomy ensure the formation of an interrelated language or discourse that has its expressive ceremonials and symbols. He states that these symbols and ceremonies are so much part of the World. These symbols and ceremonies such as flags, anthems, folk costumes, war memorials, ceremonies of remembrance for the national dead, popular heroes, educational practices and military codes include the obvious attributes of nations. Such national symbols, customs, mores and ceremonies are the most potent and durable aspects of nationalism. According to Smith (1991), through the means of such symbols and ceremonies the members of the community, participate in the life that community. Through the concepts of national ceremonies and symbols, has been assured the continuity of an abstract community of history and destiny (Smith, 1991).

The concept of “imagined community” developed by Benedict Anderson to analyse nationalism. “Benedict Anderson (1983) defines nationalism as the influential idea that people will die for their nations. According to Anderson (1983) in the sense that nationalism is a universal idea that every individuals belongs to a nation, nation is a socially constructed community. He (1983) says that nation is an imagined political community. Because, only the image of their communion lives in the minds of each nation. Anderson (1983) puts forward that while the most members of particular nation will not know each other, they are brought together by the image of their communion.” (Edip, 2020). In this sense, he states that nation is imagined as limited “because even the largest of them, encompassing perhaps a billion living human beings, has finite, if elastic, boundaries, beyond which lie other nations.” (Anderson 1983:6). He states that nation is imagined as sovereign “because the concept was born in an age in which Enlightenment and Revolution were destroying the legitimacy of the divinely-ordained, hierarchical dynastic realm.”(Anderson, 1983:6). And finally he (1983) says that nation is imagined as a community because the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship. Anderson emphasizes the importance of the role of language in national identity and nationalism. According to Anderson (1983), languages appear rooted beyond almost anything else in contemporary societies. He (1983) states that language alone suggests a special kind of contemporaneous community in the form of poetry and songs. For example the national anthem which sung on national holidays. Finally, Anderson (1983) argues that nationalism is not linked with racism and defends that nationalism thinks in terms of historical destinies. Anderson (1983) states that racism dreams of eternal contaminations, transmitted from the origins of time through the outside history and put forward this claim “The dreams of racism actually have their origin in ideologies of class, rather than in those of nation: above all in claims to divinity among rulers and to ‘blue’ or ‘white’ blood and ‘breeding’ among aristocracies” (Anderson, 1983:149).

CHAPTER 2

1 THE BRIEF HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF CYPRUS

2.1 A History of the Ethnic Conflict in Cyprus

The content of the History of Cyprus and ethnic conflict in Cyprus are explained by me through the second sources not from the history text-books. It cannot be said that a purely objective approach has been followed due to the lack of completely neutral source.

During its 4000-year recorded history Cyprus acquired and ruled by several foreign powers in succession. In ancient times Cyprus ruled by Persians, Egyptians, Romans, Byzantines, and Arabs. In 1191 King Richard of England took possession of Cyprus. Then King Richard sold Cyprus on to the Knights Templar. Subsequently Cyprus sold on to Guy de Lusignan and came under the rule of Frankish until 1489 (Ker-Lindsay, 2011). In 1489 Cyprus was captured by the Venetians. In 1571, the Ottoman Empire took possession of Cyprus. In 1878 the administration of island is given to Britain in order to defend Ottoman Empire against Russian aggression and Cyprus remained until 1878 as a part of Ottoman Empire. In 1914 Britain annexed Cyprus. When the First World War broke out in 1914, the Ottoman Empire was involved in the war as part of the central powers, which stood on the opposite side of Great Britain and Great Britain annexed Cyprus. In 1925 Cyprus was declared crown colony and continued under British rule until 16th August 1960 (Ker-Lindsay, 2011).

Upon the establishment of an alliance between the Ottoman Empire and Germany during World War I, Great Britain promised to cede Cyprus to Greece provided that Greece enters the war on their side. However, Greece decided to remain neutral, and this promise was never kept. Along with the Lausanne Peace Treaty dated July 24, 1923, Turkey recognized the

annexation of Cyprus and the United Kingdom declared Cyprus as a crown colony. This declaration had the issue of ceding Cyprus to Greece dropped for a while. British administrative policies aimed to weaken Greek nationalism since the Turkish nationalism was not perceived as a threat at the time. In 1931, a revolt was organized by the Greek Cypriots against the British Administration, and as a result, British authorities took severe repressive measures on the Island. However, during World War II, the British changed their attitude and chose to soften the strict measures taken after 1931 (Ker-Lindsay, 2011). With its new stance, British policy encouraged Turkish Cypriots to develop close relations with Turkey and Greek Cypriots with Greece. In 1941, the idea of Enosis² and anti-colonial movements among the Greek Cypriots began to emerge again. Meanwhile, Turkish Cypriots began to embrace the Turkish nationalism. The first political nationalist organizations arose in 1950s by both Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities of Cyprus. In 1950, anti-colonial movements among the Greek Cypriots reached its peak and led the establishment of EOKA³ in 1955. In return, Turkish Cypriots came up with the idea of Taksim⁴. Acts of violence throughout the island has reached a stage that it could not be interfered by the United Kingdom and thus an internal conflict ensued between the years of 1957 and 1958 (Ker-Lindsay, 2011). The independence of Cyprus was declared under the guarantee of the United Kingdom, Greece, and Turkey in 1960. Cyprus became an independent member of the United Nations in 1961. However, inter-ethnic violence has erupted in a few years time and the United Nations Peacekeeping military troops were deployed in Cyprus in 1964. Inter-communal violence continued between the Greek and Turkish Cypriots between 1963 and 1967. Turkish Cypriots no longer participated in the offices of the Republic of Cyprus after 1963 and the troubles resulted in the declaration of a provisional government by Turkish Cypriots in 1967. On 15th July 1974, military coup d'état was organised by the Greek Army in Cyprus and Turkey reacted with a military operation in short time. Turkey has launched a military operation in Cyprus to end the ongoing violence as the

² The ideal of Greeks and Greek Cypriots to the unification of the island with Greece.

³ EOKA was a Greek Cypriot nationalist guerilla organisation for eventual union with Greece.

⁴ Taksim was the objective of Turkish Cypriots who supported a partition of the island of Cyprus.

guarantor power (Ker-Lindsay, 2011). It was in 1974 that the island was divided into two parts, where Turkish Cypriots controlled the north and Republic of Cyprus remained to control the south. The Turkish Federated State of Cyprus was declared in 1975 and it continued to exist until 1983.

On 15th November 1983, the TRNC declared independence under the leadership of Rauf Raif Denktaş. In the following years, negotiations between the two sides have continued but they have not reached to a success. On 23rd April, 2003, the buffer zone⁵ was opened, allowing both sides to cross to the other side. On 24th April, 2004, the United Nations have proposed a peace plan under the name of Annan Plan as it was presented to both communities, and separate simultaneous referenda were held. Even though, the Annan Plan was accepted by the Turkish Cypriots, it was rejected by the Greek Cypriots and this suspended the negotiations. In the same year, the “Republic of Cyprus” became a member of the European Union in May 2004 as the legitimate government for the whole island. Negotiations between both sides are still ongoing to date, but no significant results have been achieved regarding the solution to the Cyprus issue (Ker-Lindsay, 2011).

2.1.1 The British Period

Going back in the history, the British period is considered as an important period in terms of the nation-building process in Cyprus. After the Treaty of San Stefano was signed after the Ottoman Empire was defeated in the Ottoman-Russian war of 1877-78 (Kadioğlu, 2010), the Berlin Treaty, was accepted. With this treaty, the ruling of the Cyprus Island is left to the United Kingdom. The United Kingdom has convinced the Ottoman Empire to give them a military base and leased Cyprus in 1878. Thus, the first concrete examples of British administration that would last until 1960 had emerged. On June 12, 1878, the Cyprus Convention was signed. On July 22, 1878, the British landed on the Island under the command of General Wolseley, appointed by the Queen (Kadioğlu, 2010). General Wolseley promulgated the Constitution of Cyprus on September 14, 1878 (Kadioğlu, 2010). In

⁵ It is a line that divides Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots into two cutting through the capital of Nicosia.

accordingly, the Legislative Council consisted of at least four and no more than eight persons from all communities. A second constitution was promulgated in 1882, where the Legislative Assembly would consist of 12 elected members and 6 Officers working under the British High Commissioner's office. 3 of the 12 members were to be elected from the Muslim and nine from the Christian sides. Thus, the Muslim side would create an element of balance in the decision-making process. These steps were taken by the British Commissioners to ensure equality resulted in the hostility of the Orthodox Church towards the British Administration. In 1879, Archbishop Sophorinos and some Metropolitans wrote a motion to General Wolseley, demanding the protection of the rights of the church and the incorporation of the clergy into the Administrative Board. However, their request was denied (Ker-Lindsay, 2011). Since the British administration could not find a mutual solution to the education issue, both communities were allowed to be educated in their religion and language. Orthodox Christian Cypriot teachers caused a significant growth of Greek Consciousness and Greek nationalism. Although the British executives were aware of this situation, they could not predict the possible consequences. As a result of the tax system imposed by the British administration, unrest in both communities erupted in 1889 (Kadioğlu, 2010). This unrest that prevailed on the Island laid the groundwork for the rise of Enosis, which was first put forward by Greece on October 18, 1828, as an idea for the Island to be connected to Greece. Greek nationalism and the deteriorating situation of Cyprus became an issue also among the Island's clergy. In this context, newspapers influencing the Greek nationalism ideology played a significant role (Ker-Lindsay, 2011). Meanwhile, in 1899, the first Turkish newspaper "Saded" was published in response to the secret works of Filiki Eteria (an organization founded by Greek nationalists and the Greek Orthodox Church in 1814 to intensify efforts towards the goal of Megali Idea⁶). In the following years, many anti-Enosis newspapers were published, and the Muslim community of the island began to defend their Turkish nationalism, their rights and existence. Around the same time, the first Muslim political

⁶ Megali idea means a territorial extension for the sake to create united Greece within the borders of the Byzantine Empire and also the capital of united Greece would be Constantinople (Istanbul).

organization, the Ottoman Club of Nicosia, was founded in 1890 (Kadioğlu, 2010). Because of the war that broke out between the Ottoman Empire and Greece in April 1897, the British High Commissioner's Office prohibited "assemblies, proclamations, meetings" that would disturb the public peace. In 1903, with the veto of a majority of Christian Orthodox members, a law on unification with Greece was decided in the Legislative Assembly. Naturally, this caused anxiety about the future in the Muslim community of the island and unrest ensued. As a result, with the help of appointed British members, the Legislative Assembly passed another law, suggesting that Muslim members were being unsettled by "Enosis rhetoric". Moreover, with the establishment of the Cyprus Islamic Association under the name of the Turkish Welfare Association used the word "Turkish" for the first time in the context of the name of the association and it was revealed that the religious identity of the Cypriot Muslims transformed into the Turkish National Identity (Erdönmez, 2011). In this context, associations supporting the Nationalist Identity such as the "Progress and Freedom Club (Turkish)" were established in the following years. Turkish Cypriots history teachers were coming from Turkey. In 1912, the first ethnic conflict between the two communities has erupted with the increasing tension over the resignation of Orthodox Christian members from the Legislative Assembly. As a result of this, Muslim Cypriots were afraid of the recent developments and in a letter to London, stated that they support the British rule over the Island. With the outbreak of the First World War, on 5th November 1914, as an alliance agreement was signed between the Ottoman Empire and Germany. Greece, on the other hand, entered the war alongside the allies. Thus, Greek Cypriots hoped that the Island would be given to Greece. On the other hand, although it contravened the Cyprus Convention of 1878, United Kingdom annexed the Island. In 1918, Turkish Cypriots went to London to convey their demands for Island to be given back to Turkey, but they failed (Kadioğlu, 2010). The anti-British movement of the Turkish Cypriots increased upon the arrest of several members of the Progress and Freedom Club. Meanwhile, British Prime Minister Lloyd George, one of the leaders who met in Paris on January 18, 1919, for a Peace Conference, announced that his government intended to cede Cyprus to Greece. Meantime, following the First World War, as the

enosis rhetoric of the Greek Cypriot gained significant importance, Greek Cypriot members of the Legislative Assembly went to London to declare their demands for the Island to be given to Greece. Afterwards, the Turkish Cypriots founded the Annexation to Turkey Party. Meanwhile, the Ottoman Empire had to recognize the annexation of Cyprus by the United Kingdom according to the Treaty of Sevres signed on 10th August 1920 (Stravrinides, 1999). The Grand National Assembly Government, founded in Ankara on April 23, 1920 under the chairmanship of Mustafa Kemal Pasha, did not recognize the Treaty of Sevres, and waived of its rights on the lands outside of the defined borders in Treaty of Lausannes by signing the Treaty of Lausanne with the Allies on July 24, 1923. On March 10, 1925, Cyprus was proclaimed as a British Crown Colony. The Greek Cypriots did not welcome this situation, and the Archbishop Kyrillos wrote to C.N. Fenn, the Secretary of the British Colony, expressing the discontent of the church and the people and their desire for Enosis. Nevertheless, the idea of granting the Island to Greece was dropped once again following the response to the letter (Stravrinides, 1999).

The Cyprus was influenced from the Greek defeat in Asia Minor in 1922 and the foundation of a Turkish national state in 1923 (Savrun, 2018). With the Treaty of Sèvres, in 1920, Turkey had to accept the annexation of Britain on the island. But this treaty never ratified, through the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923 British possession was legally confirmed and recognized. On 10th March 1925 Cyprus became British Crown Colony. Following the end of the First World War, Greek Cypriots started to pursue the goal of Enosis (unification with Greece) as, it now seemed more possible. But soon after, the idea failed. The Greek Cypriot leadership in the Legislative Council in 1925-1929 moved away from the demand of Enosis. In November 1929 Greek Cypriot delegation went to London with the aim of submission Memorandum to the Labour government (Savrun, 2018). The idea of unification with Greece was on the agenda again, but the appeal for constitutional advance was rejected by the Colonial Secretary, Lord Passfield. After that the 1929 Memorandum started the radicalization of the idea of enosis. Through the Colonial Government's reforms this radicalization was reinforced. In January 1955, National Organization of Cyprus also known

as EOKA was established. This was an underground and radical organisation that would change everything in terms of nationalism in Cyprus. The members of the organization consisted of the Archbishop, the other Bishops of Cyprus as well as the politicians and people. After the founding the National Organization of Cyprus, it was decided to carry out a referendum on the issue of enosis. However, the candidates of the October 1930 elections for the Legislative Council consist of the members of supporter of Enosis (Savrun, 2018). As a result, a Greek Cypriot member, Christodoulous Galatopoulos, won the mandate. On the other hand, in the elections, Turkish Cypriots supported the Kemalist candidates and Necati Misirlizade won the elections. The British authorities were not satisfied with the results. As for the Turkish Cypriots' election outcomes; there was an indirect link between the beginning of the Kemalist movement and anti-British feelings. As a result of Necati Misirlizade's use of the vote with Cypriots against an increase of taxes the power balance change in favour of Greek Cypriot Community. Governor Storrs rejected it, passing the bill through an Order in Council. Thus, the movement of Enosis further radicalised (Savrun, 2018; Nevzat, 2011). Afterwards, a secret meeting of the Bishop of Kitium, Nicodemos Mylonas, the Bishop of Kyrenia, Makarios Myriantheos, and other members of the Legislative Council took place in September in the same year. The outcome of the meeting was to make people to refuse to pay taxes and to boycott British goods. But, National Organisation could not achieve to agree on the new policy. Therefore, on 18 October 1931, Bishop Nicodemos left his post in the Legislative Council in order to publish printed manifesto demanding Enosis. As a result, he had urged the Greek Cypriots to disobey the law of the British. After this, the conflict turned into a confrontation between the British Colonial Government and Greek Cypriot Community. Naturally, the protest against British rule turned violent. Thousands of Greek Cypriot people struggled for Enosis in Nicosia. The British lost control over some areas of the big cities, they attacked governor's house and clashed with police. The British needed additional troops from Egypt to stop them and reinforcement from the Mediterranean Fleet. During the violent actions, many of Greek Cypriots and Policemen killed or wounded. As a result of this, 10 Greek Cypriot leaders were deported for life, all civil and political freedoms were

abolished, all parties and Greek flags were banned, the Legislative Council was abolished, damage paid by Greek Cypriots, and Turkish and Greek history removed from curriculum (Savrun, 2018; Nevzat, 2011). Although Turkish Cypriot Community did not participate to revolt suffered its results. However, they were discouraged for Turkish Cypriots to anti-British Kemalist activities. The consequence for the Turkish Cypriots that was Turkish Cypriots should not act against the policy of colonialism that would undermine the stability of the British rule. The result for the Greek Cypriots was the adoption of a stronger and uncompromising nationalist attitude (Savrun, 2018).

Repressive measures of the British administration were imposed since 1931 continued until 1940, and as a result, both Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots became politically and socially inactive (Kadioğlu, 2010). The British authorities aimed to decrease the influence of the Orthodox Church and made the Archbishop elections to be held under the control of the British administration. Within a couple of years, British policy on Cyprus was changed, and the political measures were relaxed. The United Kingdom has encouraged both communities of Cyprus to develop close relations with their respective motherlands to secure its own relations with Turkey and Greece. During the Second World War, British Forces took Crete and Lemnos with the support of the Greeks, and in return, Greece offered the British officials to consider ceding Cyprus to Greece. In 1941, Germany seized Greece, leading the emergence of the "Enosis rhetoric", and anti-colonial movements in the island (Kadioğlu, 2010). With the establishment of the AKEL (Progressive Party of Working People) in 1941, the Enosis rhetoric intensified. In the meantime, the British authorities started to consider ceding Cyprus to Greece. They, later, rejected the idea due to the possibility of finding possible alternative solutions. In 1943, the influence of AKEL on Cypriots increased, and AKEL candidates were elected to become the mayors of Famagusta and Limassol cities (Hadjipavlou, 2007).

On the other hand, the Turkish Cypriots have entered a period of national awakening in which they began to describe themselves as Turkish. They studied Turkish History; celebrated the proclamation of the Republic of Turkey as part of their national commemorations annually. In this context,

Turkish Cypriots started to be politically organized under the body of KATAK (Association of the Turkish Minority of the Island of Cyprus) in order to protect their interests in 1943. The founder of the political party of KATAK was, Dr. Fazıl Küçük. Later on, he had established the KTMHP (Cyprus Turkish National People's Party) in 1944, due to a disagreement within KATAK (İsmail, 1986). It was during this time that the British Governor Lord Reginald Fletcher Winster has attempted to implement significant reforms in order to prevent anti-colonial unrest, but Greek Cypriots did not welcome these reforms.

In May 1948, the British Administration passed a new law through which the seats of the Legislative Assembly were arranged according to the proportion of the population. The Executive Assembly shared executive power with the Governor, and the Governor had the decision-making authority in the areas of defence, foreign affairs, and minority rights (Kadioğlu, 2010). Although the Turkish Cypriots welcomed this new law, the Greek Cypriots rejected it under the influence of the Church, since the new law did not contribute to the realization of the enosis. As a result, the new bill was rejected in the Executive Assembly on 20th May, and Lord Winster was later forced to adjourn the Executive Assembly (Kadioğlu, 2010). As might be expected, the Church perceived this as a victory over colonial administration. On the other hand, the Turkish Cypriots were united under the Cyprus Turkish Associations Federation with all of their institutions and organizations in order to form a stronger opposition; after failing to gain the support of Turkey regarding the solution of Cyprus Issue in 1949. In this period, the Turkish Cypriot leadership paid constant visits to Turkey and struggled to make their voice heard through public opinion and demonstrations (İsmail, 1986). As such nationalist actions continued in both communities, the Greek Cypriot community has decided to hold a referendum, also known as a plebiscite in 1950 to prove to the world that they supported enosis. This plebiscite has brought forth a 96% favourable vote for Enosis. Upon the results of the plebiscite, the Greek Cypriots acted in cooperation with Greece and made every attempt to raise the issue to the United Nations. For example, Archbishop Makarios wrote a letter to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, stating that 80% of the island's inhabitants wanted to unite with

Greece. This was an indication that they rejected the will of Turkish Cypriots and a common political structure under the conditions would not be realized. In 1955, with the support of the Archbishop Makarios, EOKA (National Organization Cypriot Fighters) was established (İsmael, 1986). This was an underground, guerrilla organisation. However, Makarios lost control over the organization shortly after its establishment and EOKA continued to exist as an underground organization, terrorising the British administration and organizing attacks against anyone appear to be uncooperative in their nationalist cause of enosis. In order to ensure internal security, the British administration declared a state of emergency throughout the island and introduced several legal regulations. Meanwhile, Dr. Fazıl Kucuk Küçük and his delegation went to London to inform them on Turkish Cypriot Community's concerns, and the Cyprus Turkish Associations Federation headed to Ankara to hold talks. In the meantime, the Foundations General Directorate was transferred by the British Administration to the Turkish Cypriot Community. On 23rd August, 1955 Turkey issued a note to the United Kingdom for the first time, announcing that they would not remain silent against any attack against the Turkish Cypriots. On 1st August 1958, TMT (Turkish Resistance Organization) was established under the leadership of Rauf Raif Denktaş, as a resistance and defence organization against the continuous aggressive stance of EOKA (İsmael, 1986). Besides ensuring the safety of life and property of the Turkish Cypriot community, fighting against terrorism and defending the rights of the Turkish Cypriot community, taksim/partition, also known as the settlement of the Turkish Cypriot People to form their own administrative authorities was another goal of this organization. In accordingly, they have organized rallies on the 27th and 28th January to prove the world that they have embraced taksim as a policy. Turkish Cypriots were against Enosis, and they would fight for their rights until the end. However, these actions have resulted in the intervention of the British Administration. TMT was engaged in actions of arming, while EOKA's aggression against the Turkish Cypriots increased. On behalf of the Turkish Cypriots, who had been made vulnerable by the ongoing British interventions, Dr Fazıl Küçük mentioned for the first time in an article that Turkish troops should be deployed on the island on the grounds that the British were unable to secure

the lives of Turkish Cypriots. In the face of rising tensions and internal conflict, the British Administration proposed a joint administration involving the Greek Cypriots, the Turkish Cypriots, Turkey, Greece and the United Kingdom (Kadioğlu, 2010). Also, the United States of America forced Greece and Turkey to find a solution to the dispute. In fear of losing the Island to Greece, the British changed approach and decided to withdraw from Cyprus on the condition that they leave their military bases in Akrotiri and Dhekelia. Under the influence of the USA, Greece and Turkey also gave up their demands for Enosis and Taksim. The government heads of two countries met in Zurich, and signed the Zurich and London Treaties in February 1959, that resulted in the establishment of the Republic of Cyprus (Kadioğlu, 2010). The Guarantees Agreement signed in 1960 obliged the guarantor countries to prevent any tensions throughout the island. The London and Zurich agreements divided the communities based on ethnicity. It was a bi-communal administration composed of 70% Greek Cypriot participation and 30% Turkish Cypriot participation. A unique legal partnership was created under the bi-national state of the Republic of Cyprus as both communities shared the legislative, executive, judicial and other functions in accordingly. The sovereignty of Cyprus was restricted by the guarantor rights settled to the countries of Turkey, Greece and the UK. It should also be mentioned that the 1960 Republic of Cyprus created a “sui generis” settlement, where the President of the state would be a Greek Cypriot elected by the Greek Cypriots and the Vice-president would be a Turkish Cypriot elected by the Turkish Cypriots. Along with the newly formed government, Makarios became the President of the Republic of Cyprus, and Dr Fazıl Küçük became the Vice-President (Kadioğlu, 2010).

2.1.2 The Period From 1960 To 1974

On 16th August 1960 Cyprus declared its independence. This was an agreed compromise that would meet the wishes of both Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots. While the President had the right to appoint seven Greek government ministers, the vice-president had the right to appoint three Turkish government ministers. Of the 50 members of the House of

Representatives, 70 per cent were Greek and 30 per cent were Turks, and each was elected by their own people. All governmental, administrative and state posts were on the basis of 70 per cent for the Greeks and 30 per cent for the Turks. The power-sharing arrangement had to break down in 1963 due to the lack of political will and co-operation in the government (De Waal, 2018). In 1963, Archbishop Makarios abolished separate municipalities, which were de facto, because the Turks refused to pay their taxes in their own municipalities and established unified improvement boards under government control. The Turks retaliated by setting up their own municipal councils. In December 1963, the two sides were fighting each other. After the beginning of the clashes, Turkey was ready to prepare a military offensive to the island. However, in order to prevent the larger conflict between the two NATO powers of Greece and Turkey, the warning of the American President Lyndon Johnson warns the Turkish President Ismet Inonu and manages to stop Turkish intervention. As a result of the conflict, a “green line” is drawn through Nicosia on 30 December to mark ceasefire lines. The Turkish Cypriots withdraw completely from the offices of the Cyprus Republic.

On 4th March 1964, the UN Security Council passed Resolution 186, with the resolution; the United Nations sent peacekeeping force to appease the tension on the island. Due to lack of full participation of Greek and Turkish military contingents based on the island, the peacekeeping forces were unable to get complete success. Thus, the British army had the responsibility for controlling the clashes. The Greek Cypriot Government rejected both the UN involvement on the grounds that it would give the Soviet Union a direct say over the island and the idea of peacekeeping force formed from NATO member states because of the view of Turkey's strategic importance to the Western alliance. In April 1967 Greek military coup took place in Greece. In September 1967 meetings took place between the Greek and Turkish foreign ministers in Thrace. The outcomes of the talks were a fiasco. The idea of enosis suggested by Washington and rejected by Ankara immediately. In November 1967 Greek Cypriots attacked Turkish Cypriots and twenty-seven people were killed. As a result, Turkey bombed Greek Cypriot forces and Turkish Cypriots formed their own provisional administration. In 1968, talks began again under the protection of the Good Offices of the UN Secretary-

General and continued over the next six years. Although clashes between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots subsided, new tensions within Greek Cypriot community arose. Even though Makarios openly gave up the idea of enosis, it has remained the nationalist fervour of many Greek Cypriots and EOKA has dissolved into a new organisation also known as EOKA-B. It waged many terrorist campaigns against the Makarios administration. On 15th July 1974, clashes arose between Greek and Greek Cypriot forces when Greece has organised a military coup d'etat in Cyprus. Makarios managed to escape from the island and former EOKA gunman Nicos Sampson became the head of the new military state of Cyprus. As a result of the military takeover of Greece in Cyprus, as one of the three guarantor powers, the Turkish Prime Minister Bülent Ecevit, went to London to see if Britain would be willing to support intervention in Cyprus (Ker-Lindsay, 2011). Consequently, it was on 20th July, 1974 Turkey intervened as one of the guarantor states. The aim was to stop Greek military coup and to protect Turkish Cypriots. The negotiations started in Geneva right afterwards^{but} did not manage to be settled. On 14th August Turkey has launched a second offensive. As a result, tens of thousands of Greek Cypriots were driven out from their houses and many regions inhabited by Greek Cypriots came under Turkish control. 37 % of the island fell into the control of the Turkish administration. In August 1974, with the representatives of Britain, Greece, Turkey, the Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots the Conference of Geneva ended in failure. The July-August war ended with a population exchange or, in other words, by displacement (Stavrínides, 1999). Many people lost their lives and almost half of the island became refugees. The Greek Cypriots living in the north and Turkish Cypriots living in the south were displaced. As a result of the conflict, two separate administrations were formed on the island. This marks the division of the island and since then the island is divided into two. In 1975 in the north of Cyprus Turkish Federated State of Cyprus was formed, and then, in November 1983, the TRNC was proclaimed unilaterally. TRNC was recognized only by Turkey and it has been declared unrecognised by the United Nations Security Council (De Waal, 2018).

2.1.3 The Period From 1974-2000s

In 1977, the Makarios-Denktaş negotiations were close to agreeing on a federal solution and since 2000, there has been little prospect of a return to the armed conflict especially the 2003 when the Green Line dividing the island was partially opened to the controlled-crossings from one side to another. On 1st May 2004 the Republic of Cyprus became an official member of the European Union and this has changed the course events completely. In this new settlement Republic of Cyprus became a member-state as the legal representative of Cyprus. On 24th April 2004 a twin referendum was held in Cyprus, where the Greek Cypriots overwhelmingly rejected the Annan plan with 75.8 % voting against it and the Turkish Cypriots accepted the plan with 64.9 % in favour (Mavratsas, 2010). "According to the Annan Plan, in its future federal government Cyprus will have a Senate with a 50-50 composition, reflecting the political equality of the constituent states (or rather the two communities), and a Chamber of Deputies, reflecting the current majority Greek Cypriot population of the island (75-25); it can also change to reflect future demographic changes, if TCs increase their population share above 25 percent " (Loizides and Keskiner, 2004). The Annan Plan was the most comprehensive plan proposed so far as it involved not only the two sides of Cyprus but also Greece, Turkey, Britain, and the EU. However, the priority of the Annan Plan was to stop the conflict in Cyprus. This was seen as an important step that could create a balance in Cyprus. It was expected that the UN plan would be met positively by both sides. From the two parties of Greek Cypriots especially "AKEL" was known for its willingness to compromise, as being the party at the forefront of bi-communal efforts and respected on the Turkish Cypriot side, the situation was reversed and the votes became no with 70%. AKEL two days before referendum supported no vote claiming that there was no sufficient assurance of implementation of the plan (Papadakis, 2005). Thus, Cypriot government signed formally the treaty that guaranteeing their EU membership in May 2004.

2.1.4 The Post-Referendum Period

Following the "no" vote of the Greek Cypriots to the UN Comprehensive Settlement of Annan Plan, the on-going negotiations towards finding a

solution came to a standstill for four years. During this time, the Turkish Cypriot President Mehmet Ali Talat and the Greek Cypriot President Tassos Papadopoulos were the leaders of the Turkish and Greek Cypriot communities, respectively (KKTC Cumhurbaşkanlığı, 2008). On July 8, 2006, the two leaders met in the presence of Ibrahim Gambari, the then UN Under-Secretary-General for Political Affairs and agreed to establish technical committees that would deal with the main issues on the Cyprus Problem and reaching a settlement based on bi-communal, bi-zonal federation with political equality. Thus, both sides have taken concrete steps towards full-fledged negotiations. With the election of Demetris Christofias as the New Greek Cypriot Leader in February 2008, the newly elected Leader met Mehmet Ali Talat on 21st March 2008 (KKTC Cumhurbaşkanlığı, 2008). They signed the 21st March Agreement which envisages setting up the technical committees. On 16th April 2008, working groups were set up for the issues of governance and power-sharing, the economy, the European Union, territory, security and guarantees. Within the framework of these efforts, a significant step was taken for the first time in April 2008 as the Lokmaci gate in Nicosia was opened to passage. The two leaders came together again on 23rd May 23, 2008; and agreed that a bicomunal, bizonal federation with political equality would be established and within this formation, there would be a Turkish Cypriot Constituent State a Greek Cypriot Constituent State of equal status (KKTC Cumhurbaşkanlığı, 2008). Talat and Christofias met for the third time on 1st July 2008, and signed the 1st July Agreement, accepting single citizenship in principle, and decided to discuss in detail of its content and implementation (KKTC Cumhurbaşkanlığı, 2008). As a result of the progress, the leaders announced on 3rd September 2008, that the negotiations would resume with the participation of Alexander Downer, the then UN Secretary-General's Special Adviser on Cyprus. A total of 30 joint texts were drafted for three main topics upon the determination of the issues which have been agreed by the representatives of both leaders and the subjects that would need further discussion. The issues of the property, territory, security and guarantees have been identified as the topics that would need further discussion. In January 2010, two rounds of intensified negotiations were held. In February of the same year, UN Secretary-General

Ban Ki-Moon came to the island where he held separate meetings with the Leaders as well as a joint meeting. These meetings revealed the need to increase the efforts to take more substantive decisions (KKTC Cumhurbaşkanlığı, 2008). On 30th March 2010, Talat and Christofias had met for the last time and then as a result of the presidential elections held in the TRNC on 18th April, the newly elected Leader Dervis Eroglu sent a letter to UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon expressing his will to resume the negotiations. Eroglu and Christofias held their first meeting on 26th May 2010. Then they were invited by the UN Secretary-General to a series of tripartite meetings to improve the process in a more positive manner. Within this context, the tripartite meetings were held on November 2010, January 2011, July 2011, October 2011 and January 2012, respectively (KKTC Cumhurbaşkanlığı, 2008). However, the Greek Cypriot Administration's assumption of the Presidency of EU on 1st July 2012, and the Presidential election of 2013, the negotiations entered into another period of standstill. As a result of the elections held in 2013, Nicos Anastasiades was elected as the New Greek Cypriot Leader (KKTC Cumhurbaşkanlığı, 2008). The new leader of the Greek Cypriots, Nicos Anastasiades was not in a hurry to resume talks. Despite many calls by the TRNC, it took a year for the resumption of negotiations. Nicos Anastasiades has, put forward reasons such as the economic crisis in their region, requested to produce a Joint declaration and Eroğlu and Anastasiadis agreed to do so on 11th February 2014. In the Joint Statement, the two leaders reaffirmed their commitment to a bi-zonal, bi-communal federation based on political equality and agreed on single sovereignty for Turkish and Greek Cypriots. With the new elections held in TRNC, Mustafa Akıncı became the President of TRNC on 25th April 2015, and the negotiations were re-launched on 15th May in the same year (KKTC Cumhurbaşkanlığı, 2008). The two leaders came together twice a month to elaborate on each aspect of the Cyprus problem, to determine the current positions and how to develop the progress. Consequently, they agreed on the opening of two new border crossings between the two sides, setting up the connection between the electricity networks, the establishment of the recently implemented cell phone communication between the sides, the adoption of measures to prevent interference of radio and television

frequencies, and the foundation of a joint committee on gender equality. To date, the leaders had made significant progress in matters such as governance and power-sharing, economic issues and the European Union, and even in property issues. On January 21, 2016, the two leaders met in the presence of UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon to discuss the current situation in Cyprus comprehensively. Ban Ki-Moon, in a statement, stated that the leaders conducted significant progress in the Cyprus negotiation process in 8 months and this was an indication that even the most challenging issues can be tackled provided that there is political will (KKTC Cumhurbaşkanlığı, 2008).

There have been many tripartite talks until today, and despite the concessions given by the Turkish Cypriot side since Mustafa Akinci took office in 2015, no concrete steps have been taken yet regarding the solution. As of 12th November 2018, the crossing gates of Derinya and Aplıç were opened (“Kıbrıs Postası”, 2018). Negotiations are still underway, but with the Natural Gas conflict, the prospect of any solution on the island seems to be in a dead-end. The Republic of Cyprus declared its continental shelf for natural gas drilling, while TRNC transferred its rights to Turkey. Thereupon Turkey announced its continental shelf and began its own drilling operations. However, since the Republic of Cyprus did not recognize the TRNC, this was perceived as a violation of sovereignty.

2.1.5 The Post-2018 Period

Today, it can be said that there is political instability in TRNC. There is no single winner in most of the elections. Therefore, there are coalition governments that are established for the last couple of elections. Currently, there is the coalition government of the National Unity Party (UBP) and the People's Party (HP). Also, this was the second consecutive coalition government since the last election. The April 2020, there will be a presidential election that might bring another change into the political arena once again. Therefore, in the context of this political instability, it is important what political attitudes political parties reflect on history text-books during this period.

CHAPTER 3

3 THE ANALYSIS OF THE HISTORY TEXT-BOOKS IN CYPRUS

3.1 The Analysis of 10th Grade Cyprus History Text-books published in 2018⁷

The first page of the 10th grade Cyprus History course books features the Turkish National Anthem alongside the flags of the Republic of Turkey and Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus. A photo of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk is given on the next page. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's "Address to Turkish Youth" is on the page by the right-hand side. The History Commission includes its editorial under the title "About the New Cyprus Turkish History Course Books" on the page before the Table of Contents. As can be inferred from the title of the editorial, the term "History of Cyprus Turks" aims to highlight the portrayal of the history of the Turkish community and not the history of the two communities in Cyprus.

In the "About the New Cyprus Turkish History Books" chapter, the Commission makes these remarks: "Just as how trees that are not deeply rooted in soil are shaken by the weakest winds and how buildings without a strong foundation collapse and get destroyed, it is an inevitable fact that nations who do not know their history are bound to vanish in the course of time." This is an important phrase that highlights the importance of political history in the formation of the national identity. The necessity of nation-building is indicated. In other words, individuals of the society get to know their friends and foes, appreciate and embrace their heroes, thus summon under a single identity, unite against those who disregard their national

⁷ All of the following analysis belongs to me.

identity, intimidate dissenters and avert potential problems through history education. A strong foundation is laid by resolving ethnic differences and convening under one roof, which will put them in an indestructible position against those who do not adapt to homogeneous identity and who cause problems. The statement below supports these points:

“In our struggle for existence as Cyprus Turks, we must learn and teach the unprecedented fight that our ancestors put up, all the incidents that took place then, the connection and relationship between those incidents, their impact and how we got to this point. Therefore, history course is vital in order for Cyprus Turks to stand upright, reach a bright future and to know our past accurately” (Excerpt from the 10th Grade Cyprus History Text-books, my translation).

These remarks highlight the “Turkish” identity of Turkish Cypriots rather than a “Cypriot” identity. They are called “Cyprus Turks” and not “Turkish Cypriots”. By ancestors, it is meant “Turkish” identity and not “Cypriot” identity when it comes to describing Cyprus Turks’ ties with the past. Even though Cyprus Turks have been in Cyprus, they are descended from the Ottomans. Their most significant feature is their “Turkish” identity that they inherited from their ancestors. In the following sentence, it is emphasized that Cyprus Turks should know their history “accurately” in order to sustain their existence on the island. The word “accurate” here is open to question. Accurate, according to who? Academicians? The state? A political party? In this context, accurate means what is desired to be known. In other words, it is a history that is found appropriate to be taught by the state and the current political party in power.

The units listed in the Table of Contents of the 10th Grade Cyprus History text-books are: Unit 1: The Foundation of the Republic of Cyprus. Unit 2: The Period between the Foundation of the Republic of Cyprus and December 1963. Unit 3: Acts by Greek Cypriots to Demolish the Republic of Cyprus, Cyprus Turks’ Resistance and Political Developments (1963-1967). Unit 4: Political Developments and Social Life of Cyprus Turks in 1963-1974. Unit 5: 1974 Peace Operation, Causes and Outcomes. Unit 6: Political Situation in Cyprus Turks after the Peace Operation. Unit 7: The Turkish Republic of

Northern Cyprus. Unit 8: Political, Social and Economic Developments since 1983.

At the beginning of each unit, there is a section called “preparatory studies” that aims to encourage students to conduct research.

At the beginning of Unit 1, there are three visuals under the title “The Foundation of the Republic of Cyprus.” Two of these are photos of Dr. Fazil Kuchuk, and a “Turkish Flag” catches the eye in one of them. It is emphasized that the cause of the foundation of the Republic of Cyprus was the slaying of seven Turks during protests against Enosis supporters and British colonialism. The incidents of 1958 were affiliated with Enosis, and seven killed Turks were highlighted. Here again, just “Turks” is used rather than the term “Turkish Cypriots”. On page 4, under the title “Agreements on the Foundation of the Republic of Cyprus,” there are flags of states that joined the Cyprus meeting in Zurich. Two shaking hands are placed in between Turkish and Greek flags while a blue Cyprus map showing an island not divided by the border is preferred over a Cyprus flag at the bottom. On page 6, in order to highlight the importance of a guarantor state’s presence, there is a definition of it in an info box as “a person, organization or state that guarantees, monitors and oversees the execution” (Excerpt from the 10th Grade Cyprus History Text-books, my translation). Under the title of “The Importance of the Republic of Cyprus Agreements for the Cyprus Turkish Community,” the 4th article on page 9 states: “Turkey provided strong support for the continuation of Turks’ presence in the island by becoming one of the guarantor states after signing guarantee and military alliance agreements” (Excerpt from the 10th Grade Cyprus History Text-books, my translation). It is made clear that Turkish presence in the island depended on Turkey’s guaranteeing and deployment of military forces in the island. This supports the viewpoint of current political authorities. On page 15, under the title “Views of the Two Communities on the New Formation”, it is proposed that Cyprus Turks internalized the Cyprus Republic and saw it as a solution while the Greek Cypriots were trying to take advantage of it and regarded it as a path to achieve their Enosis goal. The message given here is that what Greek Cypriots wish is not peace but the island’s unification with Greece. These arguments are supported with slogans from Greek Cypriot

newspapers such as “Greek Cyprus is eternal” and a visual is featured on the comment section which shows a priest holding a Greek flag and turning his back on the Cyprus flag. At the bottom, there is a question asking “What do you make of this picture?” Here students are encouraged to think that Greek Cypriots are the ones preventing Cyprus Turks and Greeks from living together and the idea that the presence of Cyprus Turks is denied by Greek Cypriots and they insist on uniting the island with Greece is taught to students. One of the assessments and evaluation questions on the last page of Unit 1, “How did the two communities view the Republic of Cyprus?” aims to encourage students to justify the ideas mentioned above with their own comments.

At the beginning of Unit 2, the visuals are titled as “The Period between the Foundation of the Republic of Cyprus and December 1963” are photos of Dr. Fazıl Kuchuk and Makarios III, the Archbishop of the Orthodox Church. Under the title “Governmental Structuring of the Republic”, there is a visual showing two leaders from the House of Representatives sitting at a table side by side. On page 20, the passage “President Makarios attempted to become a member of the Non-Aligned Movement in Indonesia Bandung Conference in 1961. Turkey strongly opposed this attempt. It was because Turkey believed that this movement was a Communist conspiracy. Cyprus Turks fully supported Turkey’s position and opposed the membership” emphasizes the idea that Cyprus Turks support Turkey’s viewpoint rather than the Greeks’. They were in a consensus with motherland Turkey rather than Cyprus Greeks with whom they shared the Cyprus Republic. It is revealed that Cyprus Turks have cooperated with Turkey. It is argued that Makarios joined this Movement despite Cyprus Turks’ opposition and used this to his advantage to pass resolutions in favour of his own nationals, Greek Cypriots, at Cyprus negotiations held at the UN General Assembly. Although Makarios was the President of the Republic of Cyprus, he became a leader only advocating the interests of Cyprus Greeks. It is understood that the same would be expected from whoever replaced him. The message here is that the President would always be Cyprus Greek and s/he would always have decisions taken in favour of Cyprus Greeks. It is understood that Cyprus Turks and their views would be suppressed and they would be assimilated

over time. These statements are backed with the below-mentioned disagreements and problems caused by Greek Cypriots. On page 21, it is stated that Cyprus Turks filed many lawsuits on the grounds that the army was not established based on the %60-%40 ratio, but Greek Cypriots and the President Makarios pressured judges to make decisions in their favour, threatened them and would not comply otherwise, which resulted in the resignation of judges Prof. Ernst Forsthoff and his deputy Dr. Christian Heinze. The content is accompanied by a visual of Prof. Ernst Forsthoff, one of the resigned judges. On page 22, under the title "Non-Implementation of %70-%30 Ratio in Public Services", it is stated that the Greek leadership did not comply with this ratio and hired Greek Cypriots and even EOKA supporters to vacant positions. It is also emphasized that the 7 to 3 ratio in the council of ministers did not function at all because decisions to be taken required absolute majority vote and Cyprus Greeks passed resolutions based on their majority on topics that Turks were responsive to. It is stressed that despite the constitution that stipulated the foundation of separate municipalities by each community in five major cities, Cyprus Greeks did not make this law, population-based inequality put Turks in a minority position and the Cyprus Greek majority followed their own agenda, decisions that would remedy Turks' condition and develop Turkish zones were hampered both in the Council of Ministers and the House of Representatives. On Page 23, under the title "Problems in the Army and Police Forces", basic problems in the establishment of the army are discussed. It is argued that all these problems were caused by Greeks' noncompliance with the constitution and appointed pro-EOKA Greeks to many government positions (e.g. Polikarpos Yorgacis who supported EOKA was appointed as the Minister of the Interior). Similarly, it is emphasized that problems regarding the establishment of separate municipalities emanated from the Cyprus Greek leadership. For instance, it is argued that although President Makarios advocated the idea of separate Turkish municipalities in these areas in order to avoid the burden of poor Turkish districts in the beginning, he later changed his position as he was afraid this could pave the way for partition. It is stated that even though the municipal law was projected to be completed in 6 months, the Greek leadership did not put any effort into it and even hampered these efforts. It is

understood from this passage that the Greek leadership attempted to deprive Cyprus Turks of their rights by using the partition as an excuse.

On page 24, Vice President's veto problem is discussed, and it is argued that Cyprus Greeks attempted to counteract this right that was entitled to Cyprus Turks by the 50th article of the constitution. On page 24-25, it says: "With the everlasting purpose of uniting Cyprus and Greece in mind, the Greek authorities drafted a plan under the leadership of Makarios in order to amend 13 articles of the Constitution that allowed the Cyprus Turkish community to have an active voice in the Republic. According to this plan that was announced on November 30, 1963, they would propose the amendment to Turks, and if they refused, they would push it. If Cyprus Turks resisted, it would be depicted as "Turks rebelled against the government" and "suppression of rebels" would be presented as an internal affair in the Cyprus government" (Excerpt from the 10th Grade Cyprus History Text-books, my translation). These statements are supported with a visual at the bottom with the text "Makarios did not abandon his Enosis idea in the Republic of Cyprus as well." It can be clearly inferred from these statements that students should perceive the Republic of Cyprus as such: it serves for Enosis and to Greeks' liking, it is based on political inequality, and it is a structure that despises Cyprus Turks and only makes decisions in favour of Cyprus Greeks. It is proposed that all Greeks wanted was Enosis, and they would do everything in their power to accomplish their goal by usurping the rights of the Cyprus Turks and threatening them. The abovementioned 13 articles are presented under the title "These are the 13 articles proposed by Makarios to be amended and were immediately rejected by the Cyprus Turks and Turkey" and in the box titled "let's discuss these articles", students are asked this question: "Even though some of these articles seemed to grant Turks some rights, there were many underlying traps. What were the damages these articles would cause on Cyprus Turks?" (Excerpt from the 10th Grade Cyprus History Text-books, my translation). Hence the opportunity for students to think objectively is taken away, and students are taught a biased point of view. The word "trap" has the potential to make a lasting impact on students' minds. It means to say that even though Cyprus Greeks seem nice, they are in fact hunters and enemies who always try to entrap Turks. The idea put

forward is that we Cyprus Turks should be suspicious of all actions of Greeks and be vigilant.

At the end of page 25, there is a visual of a ship that is named Cyprus and it is cut in half by Makarios with a saw he is holding in his hand. Cyprus Turks and Greeks are on the same ship. Alongside Cyprus Greeks on the safe side, Makarios makes the side where Cyprus Turks stand sink by cutting the ship in half. The message this image aims to convey is that Cyprus Greeks will never recognize Cyprus Turks despite being on the same ship and that students should comprehend it.

Unit 3 opens with the title “Acts by Cyprus Greeks to Demolish the Republic of Cyprus, Cyprus Turks’ Resistance and Political Developments (1963-1967), it is stated that Makarios put the “AKRITAS PLAN” (written in capital letters just like this) that served Enosis into force on December 21, 1963, and Greeks started attacking Turks following this plan. It is indicated that the contents of the Akritas Plan were published in a newspaper called Patris, and it features a visual of the relevant page from the Greek newspaper. Next to it is a Turkish explanation as students do not likely speak Greek: “The details of this plan were published on the Patris newspaper dated April 21, 1966. The content of the plan was to restrict rights of Turks to the central government, to end their existence the island systematically and to unite Cyprus and Greece.” However, the title of the newspaper shown in the visual writes: “Akritas plan was never implemented.” The rest looks vague and cannot be read. “The Greek leadership put the AKRATIS PLAN into action on the night of December 21, 1963, in an attempt to eradicate Cyprus Turks” (Excerpt from the 10th Grade Cyprus History Text-books, my translation). The word “eradicate” here is a very scorching and poignant word. Eradicating means destroying or annihilating. It aims to inflict fear and anxiety on students. It is not only suggestive of the destruction of Cyprus Turks’ identity, but it can also refer to destruction by shedding blood and killing. Fear intended to be inflicted here is amplified by a photo showing two Cyprus Turks who were martyred by Greeks during the incidents of December 21. On page 29, incidents of December 21 are explained, and it is indicated that Greeks slayed the wife and three kids of Dr. Nihat İlhan who served in

Cyprus Turkish Forces as a major and there is a photo of the family members.

This tragic incident is presented in detail and with clarity in order to inflict trauma on students. The attempt here is to show how cruelly an innocent Turkish family was murdered by Greeks. The perception it aims to create is that Cyprus Greeks do not want Turks and they act like ruthless and bloodthirsty enemies. In order to strengthen national identity, Cyprus Greeks are portrayed as evil people who strive for Enosis and hate all Turks regardless of their age or innocence and they want to get rid of them. On page 30, it is stated that Turkish Resistance Organization members; Tuncer Hasan, Aziz Guner and Muhip Hüseyin were martyred in a flour factory in Kumsal under Greek administration on December 24 alongside photos of these martyred figures. There is also information about Huseyin Ruso, a teacher who was martyred as a result of Greek attacks in Kucuk Kaymaklı. It is stated that as guarantor country, Turkish planes' presence over the island as a warning ended the attacks on December 25. At the end of page 30, it is stated that 21 Turks were killed and buried in a mass grave in Ayvasıl (Türkeli) village located in the north of Nicosia on December 24, 1963 and this massacre was revealed on January 13, 1964. There is information about attacks and sieges by Greeks in Bogaz, Zeytinlik, Ozankoy and Larnaca respectively and fighters who were martyred as a result of these incidents. There is a visual of Tuzla martyrs' cemetery in Larnaca. On pages 32, 33 and 34, conflicts in villages of Lefka region and Yeşilirmak, conflicts in Limassol region and Paphos region, the Erenköy Resistance and conflicts in Famagusta region are explained.

"In February 1964, Turks fought against Greek forces who were backed by tanks in streets of Limassol where the conflict had started. The prominent figures of these conflicts were Münir Hilmi Sago and his friends who fought until they ran out of bullets and finally used their grenades and inflicted heavy casualties on the enemy before they were martyred. The martyrs of Limassol are commemorated in an annual ceremony held in Kyrenia" (Excerpt from the 10th Grade Cyprus History Text-books, my translation). It is emphasized here that rightful Cyprus Turks fought bravely against Greeks. There is a visual

titled “Turkish Fighters in the Limassol Resistance”. On the other hand, the term “enemy” is used to define Cyprus Greeks for the first time.

“In the conflicts erupted in March 1964, Cyprus Greeks attacked with armoured bulldozers, rocket launchers and mortar fire to Turkish settlements of the town. Despite the attacks that Greek officers took part in, the region resisted against all odds and was granted the title ‘Gazi’ (Martyr) and would be called Gazi Baf (Martyr Paphos)” (Excerpt from the 10th Grade Cyprus History Text-books, my translation). Here, it is stated for the first time here that Greeks sided with Cyprus Greeks. The content is supported with a visual titled “Turks taking refuge in schools after leaving their villages during the conflicts”. On page 37, it is indicated that Cyprus Radio, operated by Cyprus Turks and Greeks were broadcasting one-sidedly and disseminated false news, and that’s why Cyprus Turks founded Bayrak (Flag) Radio despite lack of means in order to keep Cyprus Turks informed about what was going on. There is information about shows and content that aimed to give the community (Cyprus Turks) morale. On page 39, it is stated that the London Conference that was held on January 15, 1964 in order to find a solution to the problem ended without a result as the Greek leadership insisted on the restriction of rights granted to Turks and the invalidity of guarantees. Statements such as these aim to make students think that it was always Greek that caused problems and Cyprus Turks were right.

It was indicated under a title that Rauf Raif Denktash’s arrival in the island was banned by Marios due to his criticism of the Greek leadership after the London Conference. It is accompanied by a visual of a headline titled “Denktash will not be allowed to return”. It aims to give the impression that President Makarios despised Vice President Rauf Raif Denktash and Cyprus Turkish community after the ban due to such a criticism. At the bottom of the content, there is visual of Rauf Raif Denktash secretly arriving in the island in a boat and the text says: “Rauf R. Denktash was captured by Cyprus Greeks and taken into custody after entering Cyprus with a motor boat while he was banned” (Excerpt from the 10th Grade Cyprus History Text-books, my translation). On page 41, there is information about conflicts in Gecitkale and Bogazici that took place in 1967.

“On November 15, 1967, heavily armed Greek Cyprus-Greek forces invaded these villages with armored vehicles after taking down the Turkish defense line who were armed with simple weapons as hunting rifles. Turkey was reactivated after Gecitkale and Bogazici villages were attacked. The Council of Ministers held an emergency meeting. They announced an ultimatum to Junta Government in Greece” (Excerpt from the 10th Grade Cyprus History Text-books, my translation). There is emphasis here on how the motherland Turkey always defended its infant land (Cyprus Turkish community) against the enemy in this war. There are more pages in this unit compared to the first two units and the emphasis is on traumatic content such as conflicts, attacks, martyrs.

Unit 4 starts with the title “Political Developments”, where the following content is presented: “United Nations’ Special Envoy to Cyprus Osorio Taffal met with Cyprus Turks and Greeks about Cyprus Problem on 6-7 March 1968 and requested from Makarios an end to social and economic pressure on Cyprus Turks. After these meetings, Makarios announced to end the isolation imposed on Turkish regions. There were two significant reasons behind Makarios’ decision: 1) Cyprus Turks’ determination to continue resistance, 2) Cyprus Greeks realized that Turkey would back up Cyprus Turks until the end. What needs to be highlighted here is Turks’ triumph despite the entire trauma they lived through. These were the two reasons behind their success and they were proud of it. The result turned out to be as such: If Cyprus Turks had not been insisted on resisting their Cyprus Greek enemies and if Turks had not backed Cyprus Turks, there would have been no success. This is the outcome of Turkish solidarity. On page 44, it is stated that bilateral meetings began after Rauf Raif Denktash returned to the island but no positive outcome could be reached due to uncompromising attitude of the Greek side. Here the Cyprus Greek side is presented as the only culprit and their uncompromising approach are being questioned. On page 45, extended inter-communal meetings are mentioned and the reason for their failure is explained as such: “Launched on June 8, extended inter-communal meetings began on July 3, 1972. Negotiations had continued uninterrupted until Cyprus Greeks left the table.” Topics discussed in the meetings are not described in detail and the Greek leadership is presented as the only reason

behind the negative outcome. On page 46, it is indicated that a Temporary Cyprus Turkish government is founded in order to bring all mandate that was divided between various factions of the Turkish community under one roof in compliance with the 1960 Constitution and that Rauf Raif Denktash was appointed as the president while Dr. Fazıl Kucuk became his deputy. It is stated that in the following years, the term “temporary” was removed and “Cyprus Turks” continued to rule themselves by forming a separate political entity besides the Cyprus Greek Government and performed executive tasks pursuant to basic laws. On the same page, it is stated that Rauf Raif Denktash “arrived in Cyprus on April 13, 1968 after being away for 4 years, 3 months and 5 days and was welcomed by Turks with joy.” The content is supported by a visual titled “Rauf R. Denktash Talks to Press with his Family after Returning from Exile.” On page 47, political entities formed by Turkish Cypriots (who are referred to as Cyprus Turks in the book) since 1963 until the foundation of the Turkish Republic of the Northern Cyprus are explained respectively. Under the title “Social, Cultural and Economic Life” on page 50, the book dwells on the migration of Turks to canton regions they founded in order to provide their own security after Cyprus Greeks’ attacks in 1963. It is emphasized that 120.000 Turks were forced to deal with hunger, poverty and Greek embargo and Cyprus Turkish community could only survive thanks to aid from Turkey as they could not produce. It is notable that the motherland Turkey would not allow the destruction of Cyprus Turks despite the efforts of the Cyprus Greeks and it supported them in those difficult times as usual. On page 51, there is a map of Cyprus showing Turkish cantons established as a result of attacks by the Cyprus Greeks. On page 52, this statement refers to Turkey as motherland and emphasizes the growing ties between Turkey and Cyprus Turks: “Embargo by Cyprus Greeks on Cyprus Turks in economy, sports and communication did not deprive Turks of their culture. On the contrary, their ties with the motherland were strengthened.” Turkey is referred to as motherland for the first time and the relationship between the two is highlighted. On page 53, the economic embargo implemented by Cyprus Greeks on Cyprus Turks is mentioned under the title “Economic Life” and it is stated that products labelled as “strategic goods” by the Greek leadership were banned from the areas that were isolated and where Turks

lived. It is argued that items such as cotton socks, coats, and rain coats were in that list and Cyprus Greeks obstructed the aid offered from the Red Crescent and the Red Cross. It is suggested that there was a policy of intimidation/destruction implemented against Cyprus Turks. This statement is attempted to be justified with a question at the bottom right corner of the relevant page: "Why might Cyprus Greeks have prevented the aforementioned goods from entering the Turkish zone? Discuss." The expected answer from students here is "Cyprus Greeks don't like us, don't want or recognize us. They want us to die, migrate or assimilate" (Excerpt from the 10th Grade Cyprus History Text-books, my translation).

Unit 5 starts with the photograph of Bülent Ecevit on the opening page of the unit. There is another photo of Rauf Raif Denktaş embracing the Cyprus Turkish Peace Force Commander. There is a photo in between which shows the Peace Operation C212 landing ship. More coverage is given to 1974 Peace Operation in this unit compared to other units that have fewer pages. On the first two pages of the Unit 5, there is information about the foundation of EOKA-B and Greek military coup. It is stated that Turkey proposed to cooperate with the British in order to implement the guarantor agreement but the British did not lean towards the idea based on its own interests and thus the military coup took place by putting forth the 3rd article of the guarantor agreement as a justification. These three articles were presented as the reasons for Turkey's Peace Operation: "1- To prevent Greece and the island from uniting (to prevent Enosis), 2- To bring Cyprus Turks under Turkey's protection and save them from being massacred, 3- To reinstitute the constitutional order which was disrupted as a result of the military activities of Greeks and Cyprus Greeks in the island." It can be said that the goal here is to present justification for Turkey's Peace Operation. It is suggested by the unit that this Operation was launched for Cyprus Turks' rights and interests rather than Turkey's own interests. At the top of the page 59, there are photos of Prime Minister of CHP-SHP coalition government Bülent Ecevit, the then President of Turkey Fahri Korutürk and the Commander of the Turkish Armed Forces General Semih Sancar who was in charge during the Peace Operation. On the same page, these statements are found: "At 5:30 AM, the Turkish Armed Forces landed on Pladini beach (Yavuz Landing Beach)

which is located about 8 km in the west from Kyrenia in order to bring peace and stability to Cyprus, to regain the extorted rights of Cyprus Turks and to reinstitute the constitutional order that was disrupted” Here peace and stability are presented as justification for a state of war. The message given here is that Cyprus Turks would never have had peace and stability without war. Page 60 is full of visuals from the Peace Operation. There is a map showing Cyprus divided in half and the border agreed to be drawn after the Operation. On page 61, there is this passage: “Retired school headmaster Salih Avcı who acted as the Deputy Squadron Commander during the Peace Operation narrates: When the Cyprus Greeks violated the ceasefire, we were obliged to reciprocate. We were deeply demoralized when two of the most powerful weapons we had A-4 malfunctioned. One of our fighters whose name I don’t remember right now said: “Commander, I can build a functional A-4 out of these malfunctioned two» I let him do it. He managed to do it, which boosted our morale. It is one of the incidents I will never forget” (Excerpt from the 10th Grade Cyprus History Text-books, my translation). Memories, traumas, victories, heroes and enemies are important elements that contribute to the formation of national identity. The rest of the page includes visuals of the Peace Operation from the Yavuz landing beach. On page 62, there is a statement by Bülent Ecevit, which claims that Turkey had tried all diplomatic methods to solve the problem but failed. As a result, he said, they had to launch the operation for the good of the two communities in the island. At the bottom of the page 63, there is question for students to answer: “What would have happened to Cyprus Turks if the Cyprus Turkish Peace Operation had not been launched? Discuss.” Here the importance of the Peace Operation for the Cyprus Turkish Community is aimed to be portrayed to students. Under the title “the 2nd Peace Operation”, the following statements are made: “Cyprus Greeks massacred many of our cognates from all ages and sexes in Atlılar, Murataga, Sandallar and Taskent (Dohni) and buried them in mass graves during the 2nd Peace Operation. Similarly, many Turks were killed by Greeks in various parts of the island and many disappeared like in the previous years” (Excerpt from the 10th Grade Cyprus History Text-books, my translation). Here Turks are referred to as cognates for the first time. Terms such as massacre and killings are used to

inflict fear and anger on students. On the other hand, it was stated that the martyred included the elder and the children in order to cause more emotional effect. Furthermore, only our losses were mentioned just like any other history book written in order to support national identity building.

In the “remembrance” section on page 66, there are statements by retired commander Sadi Biran who fought in the Peace Operation. It is stated that explosives were placed underneath the walls at the entrance of Famagusta gate but Sadi Biran suspected that Turkish fighters would also die when the explosives are detonated and the approaching armored vehicles may have belonged to Turkish army so the commander did not follow the order of detonating the explosives. As a result, it turns out that there was a shelter right by the gate and detonating the explosives would have taken lives of 400 women and children. In other words, Sadi Biran did not allow Turks to become martyrs and he had ties with his cognates and saved people from a big tragedy. On page 68, there is a list of figures on Turkish-Greek armed forces in Famagusta region during the Peace Operation. It can be said that despite the power balance according to this list that gives Greeks advantage over their enemies, Turks were able to claim a miraculous victory. Alongside the list, there is a statement quoted from the book titled *Sancaktan Gaziliğe Mağusa (From Flag to Martyrdom: Famagusta)*: “As can be inferred from the table, our force was only one fifth of the Greeks in terms of personnel. The situation was even worse when it came to arms and ammunition. With greater means, Greeks conquered Sakarya, Karakol and Baykal regions and advanced with the intention of eradicating us. Our goal was to thwart the Greek attacks and defend our regions as well as fighting until we unite with Turkish Peace Forces” (Excerpt from the 10th Grade Cyprus History Text-books, my translation). On the same page, Cyprus Turkish Peace Forces and Security Forces Command are presented as Guarantors for peace and security. The message given here is that Cyprus Turks would not be safe without CTPF and SFC. On page 69, it is argued that Turkey’s everlasting goals have been accomplished and the Peace Operation delivered positive results for all sides. It is stated that thanks to Peace Operation and the collapse of the junta, democracy was introduced to Greece and conflicts within the Cyprus Greek community that were originated from different

political views and the massacre of the pro-Makarios by putschists came to an end. On page 70, the names and photos of the soldiers who were martyred serving in the Alamyio Team during the Peace Operation are listed and there is a photo of the Monument of Peace and Freedom. On the same page, it is stated that that 1.700 civilians were martyred between EOKA attacks and the Peace Operation. On the other hand, 499 officers, privates and rankers from Turkish Peace Forces lost their lives many of which were in the 1st Peace Operation for the freedom of Cyprus Turks. There is a statement by retired Coronel Yılmaz Baskaya in the section titled “Water Drops from the Past” where the Cyprus Greek prison camps are mentioned on page 72: “Fighters were taken to Yerosibu (Paphos) Prison Camp after they fought in Gazi Baf (Paphos) Front bravely. Life conditions here were worse than in Limassol. Imprisoned fighters did not take off their uniforms. They kissed the SFC (TMT) emblem at the first opportunity that arrived at the scene with their whitened, worn-out and torn uniforms. Is it possible to forget our brothers from Famagusta who were full of resistance spirit and Turkishness?” (Excerpt from the 10th Grade Cyprus History Text-books, my translation).

In the beginning of Unit 6, under the title of “Political Situation in Cyprus Turks after the Peace Operation”, there is information about the foundation of the Cyprus Federation as well as the beginning of bilateral meetings on current political situation and the positive outcomes as a result of these consultations.”

Unit 7 contains the founding principles of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus. The unit is full of Northern Cyprus flags. There is a photo of the artist who designed and drew the flag on page 87. There are newspaper pages with headlines about the foundation of the Northern Cyprus. The Northern Cyprus flag that was inscribed on Besparmak Mountains were featured twice in the beginning and the end of the unit.

Unit 8 starts with a visual showing the flags of the Turkish Republic of the Northern Cyprus, the Republic of Turkey and the European Union. Right on top, there is a photo of the meeting between Rauf R. Denktash and Glafkos Klerides who convened upon call by Kofi Annan. Under the title “the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus - Turkey Affairs”, it is emphasized that the

situation today has been possible thanks to the support by the motherland of Turkey despite the embargo on the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus. It is stated that many agreements were signed between the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus and Turkey and as a result Turkey contributed to TRNC's growth. There is information about the aid and credit provided by Turkey to TRNC in 2003. On the other hand, it is stated that TRNC was supported in many ways financially such as water supply, double lane roads, power plants and ponds.

On page 96-101, there is information about the negotiations that delivered no results and the referendum after the Annan plan.

3.2 The Analysis of 9th Grade Cyprus History Text-books published in 2018⁸

The 9th grade Cyprus Turkish History Coursebook, re-written in 2018, is analysed by comparing with the 9th grade history coursebook written in 2009. The introduction page of both books features the Turkish National Anthem alongside the flags of the Republic of Turkey and Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, as in the 10th grade coursebook. A photo of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and his "Address to Turkish Youth" are given on the next page. Same in the 10th grade book, the Commission includes its editorial under the title "About the New Cyprus Turkish History Course Books". Both books of 2009 and 2018 consist of five units, such as follows: "Unit 1: Cyprus in the First and Middle Ages, Unit 2: Conquest of Cyprus by the Ottoman Empire, Unit 3 in the 2009 coursebook: The Ottoman Cyprus and Unit 3 in the 2018 coursebook: The Ottoman Cyprus (1571-1878) – years added, Unit 4: British Colonial Administration in Cyprus (1878-1960), Unit 5: Dr. Fazıl Kucuk's Life, His Role and Importance in Our National Struggle". The sub-title of Unit 2 of the 2009 coursebook "Reasons for the Conquest" is amended as "Ottoman Empire's Reasons for the Conquest" in the 2018 coursebook. The "Ottoman Empire" is re-emphasized, although it was already written in the main title of the unit. It is observed that the titles "Differences between the Achaeans, Doric and Phoenician Colonies" and "Arrival of Christianity in Cyprus" which

⁸ All this book analysis belongs to me.

are included in the first unit of the 9th grade history coursebook of 2009 have been removed from the coursebook of 2018. Moreover, in the second unit, the article order of "Ottoman Empire's Reasons for the Conquest" chapter is changed. In the 2009 printed book, the causes are listed in the following order: "1- Political and Strategic Reasons, 2- Economic Reasons, 3- Religious Reasons, 4- Demand of the Cypriots, 5- Sokullu Mehmet Pasha's view of the expedition". In the 2018 book, article 5 was completely removed and the order was changed, such as follows: "1- Demand of the Cypriots, 2- Political and Strategic Reasons, 3- Economic Reasons, 4- Religious Reasons". Considering that the reasons were arranged in terms of the importance, we can observe that the demand of the Cypriot people was given priority. In Unit 3, the title of "Haraci Lands" which was included in the Land Regulations and Taxes chapter of the 2009 coursebook has been removed in the 2018 history coursebook. "Haraciye" is defined on page 39 as: It was the land given to the non-Muslims as property after a conquest. The non-Muslim who owned such land would pay harac (land tax) to the state. In the 2009 printed coursebook, the title "Events of 1881-1912" in Unit 4 is amended as "Important Developments in 1881-1912" in the 2018 coursebook.

In Unit 1 instead of statement "Cyprus has shared the same fate with Anatolia throughout history. The forces in the desire to conquest Anatolia, also wanted to dominate Cyprus" given on page 2 of the 2009 coursebook, "Cyprus's geographic position caused it to be influenced by many forces, civilizations, culture and trade, various language and religions throughout history. Therefore, it has become an area of many rivalries, political and military dominance struggles throughout the ages." is preferred in the 2018 book. It can be observed that it is attempted to move away from the idea of sharing a common fate with Anatolia. It can also be said that a more broad expression is used in the definition. At the bottom of the same page, while the 2009 printed coursebook does not include the Turks as one of the previous conquerors of Cyprus, the 2018 coursebook states that "the Turks have ruled the island time to time for certain terms". By adding this explanation, it is emphasized how far the Turks' sovereignty efforts go back on the island.

As mentioned above, the sub-title "The Arrival of Christianity in Cyprus" which was not listed in the contents section of the 2018 book, is moved to the

“facts you should know” corner under the title “Emergence of Christianity in Cyprus”. Hence, it can be concluded that the subject is not deemed significant but as one of the subjects to be taught.

On page 6 of the 2009 course-book, it is stated that during the Ottoman-Mamluk War, the Ottomans requested to the Venetians the use of Famagusta as a base and in return, the Venetians, willing to dominate the whole island, informed that they would pay taxes to the Mamluk Empire. Together with the information given above, the book published in 2018 includes that Yavuz Sultan Selim put an end to the Mamluk Sultanate in 1517; the Venetians started to pay taxes to the Ottomans instead of the Mamluks, and the island was legally annexed into the Ottoman Empire. The previous book results in the Venetians' triumph, while the latter focuses on the victory of the Ottoman Empire in the coming periods.

Several questions are addressed to students in the Unit Assessment section at the end of Unit 1 of the coursebook written in 2009, different from the 2018 edition. These are: “When were the Orthodox and Latin (Catholic) Churches established in Cyprus?, Please collect information about the following: Vuni Palace, Soli Ruins, Salamis Ancient City, Kantara Castle, Saint Hilarion Castle, Kyrenia Gate.” The 2018 edition, however, asks instead: “The Cyprus Island has been dominated by many civilizations throughout history. Which of the following is not one of the civilizations that have dominated Cyprus? A- Egypt, B- Roman Empire C- Phoenicians D- Sumerians E- Hittite Empire, In which period was Christianity recognized as an official religion in Cyprus?, Who is the former governor of Byzantine Empire, who seized the administration of the island with false documents, by using the opportunity of the weakening of the Byzantine rule in Cyprus? A- Richard I B- Isaac Komnenos C- Pierre I D- Guy de Lusignan E-Cornaro”. The activity of the 2009 coursebook on collecting information concerning the Vuni Palace, Soli Ruins etc. is not included in the 2018 edition; however, small-scaled visuals of these artefacts are displayed on the pages of both versions. It should also be noted that while only three pages are allocated for the visuals of these locations, a big coverage of 7 pages is given in Unit 3 to the Ottoman Period Architecture such as mosques, mausoleums and masjids.

The Unit 2 of the 2009 printed textbooks asks the question “What is the importance of Cyprus for the Christian world?” in the preparation section at the beginning of the unit; however it is not included in the 2018 edition. While such question allows students to look at the subject from a different perspective, it may require extensive research. First of all, the student needs to learn what is the Christian world comprised of and which of those nations were interested in Cyprus throughout the history, then the student needs to be at the level to be able to interpret the question. The removal of this question from the 2018 edition takes away the opportunity given to the students to look from another perspective. While the map showing the location of Cyprus occupies a small space on page 10 of the 2009 coursebook, it covers almost half of the page in 2018 edition supported with a note stating that Anatolia is the closest land to Cyprus with 71-km distance. It is attempted to point out the closeness between Anatolia and Cyprus. In the 2019 coursebook, the section on the religious reasons for the Cyprus Conquest by the Ottoman Empire states that title of Caliph was transferred to Yavuz Sultan Selim upon the conquest of Egypt and therefore the responsibility of protecting the Muslims’ rights was given to the Ottoman Sultans. It is stated, however, in the 2018 coursebook that the Ottoman Sultans held the title of Caliph so that the Turks have become responsible for protecting the rights of the whole Islamic world. The Muslim religious identity, which is associated with the Ottoman Empire, is associated with being Turkish in the 2018 coursebook. In this context, the Turkish people are Muslims so the Turkish Cypriots are also Muslims. This gives all the Turkish the responsibility to protect the Islam religion and the Muslim beliefs. “Sokollu Mehmed Pasha’s View of the Expedition” chapter in 2009 course-book, which is later removed in the 2018 book, explains that the Ottoman Navy had suffered a severe defeat, so Sokollu Mehmed Pasha did not want to organize this expedition in the beginning, contrary to the plans of the Ottoman Empire. This could be interpreted as an attempt to eliminate the different opinions so that it would be easier to convey only the desired idea. “The Conquest of the Ottoman Empire” chapter on page 12 of both coursebooks indicates the following: When the Ottoman Sultans needed to take important decisions such as war and peace, they would ask the opinion (fatwa) of the Shaykh al-

Islam Ebussuud Efendi for the suitability with Islam. In the 2018 book, the name “Ebussuud Efendi” is highlighted in bold letters. It is attempted to emphasize the importance of Islamic religion for the Ottoman Empire. It continued: “The Ottoman Empire sent Mehmet Efendi, one of the Divan-i Humayun (Supreme Court of the Ottoman Empire) interpreters, to Venice to undertake negotiations on taking over the island without war. When Mehmet Efendi was captured by them, Kubad Cavus (Sergeant) was sent as an envoy. In the wake of the Kubad Cavus (sergeant)’s return with a letter rejecting the Ottomans’ demands, the decision to launch the Cyprus expedition was taken” (Excerpt from the 10th Grade Cyprus History Textbooks, my translation). Here, it is suggested that the Ottoman Empire was not in favour of war but forced to take such a decision and the Ottomans had first attempted to assume the administration of Cyprus by diplomatic means without shedding any blood. “The commander of Paphos Castle delivered the castle to the Ottomans on September 12, 1570,” is written on page 15 of the 2009 coursebook. In the 2018 book, the sentence is amended to “delivered the castle to the Turks”. Since the Turkish nationalism did not exist in the 1570s, by using “Turks” instead of the “Ottomans”, it is attempted to show that both terms have the same meaning in the context. Once students understand that the Ottoman and the Turkish are the same, it would be easier for them to take a side and be proud of the nation they belong to. The sentence: “this defeat showed that Ottoman Empire could also be defeated” under the chapter “Consequences of the Battle of Lepanto Defeat” on page 17 of the 2009 coursebook, has been removed from the 2018 book. This shows that they don’t want students to read about the possibility of the Ottoman Empire’s defeat. In other words, even there is a possibility, the students must not know about it. Similarly, the sentence “Ottoman dominance in the Eastern Mediterranean was shaken.” in the 2009 coursebook has been amended in the 2018 edition as “temporarily affected”. It can be observed that a meticulous and careful language is used in the 2018 coursebook.

“The state of war during the Cyprus conquest in 1570-1571”, one of the reasons for the decrease in the population given on page 19 of the 2009 coursebook, has been amended as only “state of war”. The original sentence

argues that the Ottomans have caused the population decrease. Therefore it is amended in the 2018 edition to avoid any negative impression of the Ottomans in the minds of students. No expression is used in the 2018 coursebook that could point the Ottomans as a target.

On page 22 of the 2018 coursebook, it is argued that national unity in the Ottoman Empire was based on the religion and sect, rather than ethnicity and language. There is no such statement in the 2009 book. The importance given to the religion by the Ottoman is re-emphasized. While visuals of non-muslims and bishops are given on the pages 24 and 35 of the 2009 coursebook, only the images of non-muslims are used in the 2018 published book. The images of bishops were not used, instead a visual titled "arms dealer" is preferred. It is observed that the elements of Christianity have been carefully removed, altered or simplified.

Unit 3 uses two images of the "Ottoman Administrators" under the "Administration" chapter on page 34 of the 2009 coursebook, the images have been replaced with a world map showing the Ottoman provinces. On the map, Cyprus stands out with the red colour. In terms of the relevance with the title of the chapter, it can be said that the visuals used in the 2009 printed book are more logical. On page 35, both books contain an image excerpted from the Holy Quran. Unlike the previous book, under the title "Education and Training" on page 45 in the 2018 coursebook, it is claimed that education activities began with the conquest of the island. Hence, the positive impacts of the Ottoman Empire's conquest of the island are highlighted. Besides, it is pointed out that education in the Ottoman Empire was based on religious principles, as in other domains. Both books put emphasis on the importance given by the Ottomans to trade, agriculture, industry, farming, tax and land order and the education. In the "Greek Revolt Attempt of 1821" chapter, the following are stated: "The launch of a revolt by secret organizations in Peloponnese in 1821 for the independence of Greece was supported by some Greek Cypriots who considered themselves Greek". This is the first time that the Greek identity of the Greek Cypriots is expressed. The chapter continued with stating that the rebellion of the Greek Cypriots stemmed from their Megali Idea and Enosis plans. Even though the image of Alexandros Ypsilantis, the President of the Filiki Eteria Society,

which started the 1821 Uprising was shown in the 2009 coursebook, it has been removed from the 2018 edition. On pages 58-59 in both books under the title “Megali Idea”, it is asserted that many Etniki Eteria Society branches were established on the Ottoman Empire’s lands to achieve the Megali Idea plans by conspiring against Turkey. It is argued that claims that the nationalist activities carried out by the Greek Cypriots in the name of Megali Idea was against Turkish Cypriot national identity and nationalism were nothing but conspiracy. These organizational activities are claimed to be conducted against Turkey. At the end of the unit, ample space is given to the visuals of the Ottoman artefacts. On page 66, the definition of Mevlevi Order (whirling dervishes) is made in the “Mevlevi Corner” which displayed the Turkish Cypriots as a part of it. The Mevlevi Order, initially emerged in Konya, is attempted to be linked to Cyprus by claiming that Lala Mustafa Pasha, Ahmet Pasha, and others, persons who made Cyprus the homeland for the Turkish Cypriots, were all Mevlevis.

Unit 4 states that the ordeal of the Turkish Cypriots began with the transfer of the administration of Cyprus to the British and the disappearance of the last Turkish ship. There is no such remark in the 2018 book. However, unlike the 2009 coursebook, it includes a black and white image of the British Flag. It can be observed that this remark portrayed the Ottomans as one of the indirect factors of the Turkish Cypriots’ hard days since they transferred the administration to the British and it is considered necessary to remove it. The sub-title “The Transfer of Cyprus to the British” gives the impression that the decision was taken on voluntary base. The content, however, states that the Ottomans had become weaker by losing its lands and was forced to shift the administration of the island to the British by legal means. Unless they accepted it, the British had threatened to invade the island by force. The paragraph gives the reader the idea that the Ottoman Empire was forced to leave the island, and if it were not the case, they would continue to defend the rights of the Turkish Cypriots to the last. On page 73, it is stated that a Greek Cypriot insulted a Turkish officer during the British flag ceremony which led to the harsh response from the Turkish officer. In the 2009 coursebook, the response given by the Turkish officer was expressed as “attacked”, whereas, in the 2018 printed book, it was expressed as “walked

up to the offender.” While it is appropriate in historical narratives to use such sharp expressions for the “other identity”, they are not preferred for the “national identity”. National identity should represent the right and the good, words with negative connotation should not be preferred when describing the “national identity”. On page 74, the other community is referred as “Greek Cypriots” while mentioning their Enosis activities. However in the same sentence, when describing the political structuring of the Turkish community of the island, they are referred as “Cyprus Turk Muslim Community”. The emphasis is placed on the Muslim identity of Turkish Cypriots. On page 75, it is stated that the Turks also held rallies in response to the ones held for the Enosis and if the British withdrew from the island as the result of these actions, the Ottoman Empire (the Turkish) would fight for the Cypriot community to the last drop of blood. On page 76, it is claimed that thousands of Turkish Cypriots who do not want to acquire British citizenship after Cyprus was annexed to Britain, had to migrate to Anatolia. In this manner, students are expected to be proud of their cognates who did not abandon their identities. The question “Why did the British Colonial Administration see the greek nationalism as the danger?” asked in the “let’s research corner” on page 79 reveals that the book wants to point out how dangerous and destructive the Greek nationalism could be while underlining that the British did not consider the Turkish nationalism dangerous since it was not ill-intentioned. Instead of this question, “What is Greek nationalism?” or “what does the Greek nationalism stand for?” could be asked to students to provide them with a neutral approach. On Page 81, it is argued that the Cyprus Turks hold their motherland in high esteem unflinching for hundreds of years because they believe they are the descendants of the settlers coming from Anatolia with the 1571 Cyprus Conquest, they regard Mustafa Kemal Ataturk as their saviour and their relations with Turkey have intensified more and more in each period. The contributions of the Cyprus Turks to Turkey's War of Independence are also intidacated in the same page. The answers are listed for the question why they (should) love their motherland. In particular, the everlasting loyalty of Turkish Cypriots to Mustafa Kemal Ataturk is presented as the main reason for their love towards the motherland. On page 83, it is mentioned under “Visit of the Hamidiye Ship” chapter that the Cyprus

Turks showed how much they were longing for and how happy and excited they were to see the Turkish flag by shouting out “Long live Turkey, long live Atatürk”.

The following lines from Aydın Akkurt's book named Kod Adı Lale (Code Name Lale/Tulip) are given on page 89: “The teacher delegation from Turkey stayed fifteen days in Cyprus. The roads of the towns and villages they were visiting, had been crowned with the myrtle branches and adorned with the Turkish flags, taken out from the chests kept in the houses, and tears were flowing. This was the representation of the longing for the motherland all these years. With these lines, students are imbued with nationalistic feelings” (Excerpt from the 10th Grade Cyprus History Text-books, my translation). On page 90, the Greek Cypriot Plebiscite held on Enosis (Referendum) is explained. In the activity corner of the page, the following questions are addressed to students: What did the Greek Cypriots do for Enosis? What did the Turkish Cypriots do to fight against Enosis? On page 91, it is claimed that Turkish governments started to see Cyprus as a national cause. On the same page, under the title EOKA Terrorist Organization, the definition of EOKA is made as follows: “EOKA is a terrorist organization established in Cyprus to eliminate the Turkish Cypriot community and unite the island with Greece. The Greek Cypriot-Greek duo first attempted to realize Enosis by diplomatic means, and when it failed, they established a terrorist organization to achieve their aims. Moreover, it is stated that the Greek Cypriots, who were against Enosis were also brutally killed by EOKA. From these sentences, it is understood that Greek Cypriots who were in favour of Enosis were also EOKA supporters and their aim was to cleanse the island of the Turkish Cypriot community. When reading this, students would understand that these actions of the Greek Cypriots were targeted at their own community. And learning about how they killed their kinsmen who were opposed to the idea of Enosis, would turn them into monsters in the eyes of the students. However, students are not provided with the information whether all Enosis supporters were in favour of EOKA's activities. It cannot be expected from students to make an objective evaluation in the light of the statements mentioned above. On page 92, the following statements are written in bold letters: “Hundreds of Turks were

martyred, and thousands of them were wounded as a result of EOKA's terrorist attacks. But the support of the motherland, together with the Turkish Cypriot Military's resistance, prevented the realization of the idea of Enosis." The idea of Enosis understood here only serves to terrorism and destruction and aims to eradicate the Cyprus Turks. However, it is emphasized that Turkish Cypriots should not be afraid because motherland Turkey will be always supporting them.

On the same page, opinions of Turkey, Greece and the Britain, expressed during the London Conference, are given place. In addition, the remark "Cyprus is geographically connected to Turkey" in the 2009 course book is amended to "Cyprus is geographically and economically dependent on Turkey" on the 2018 edition. By using the word "dependent" instead of "connected", it is attempted to indicate that Cyprus cannot exist without Turkey. On page 93, a passage is given in bold letters: "London Conference showed the world that Turkey has a right to speak on Cyprus and the Issue cannot be solved without Turkey. However, it should be noted that the views of Greece were also requested at the London Conference, not just Turkey's. So if this sentence were formulated more objectively, it would be "The London Conference showed the world that the Turkey and Greece have a right to speak on Cyprus, and the Issue cannot be solved without them."

"Let's Research" corner on page 94 asks students the meaning of the Taksim (partition) concept. On page 95, it is stated that British soldiers reacted violently to the pro-taksim rallies, in which seven Turkish Cypriots were martyred. These statements are supported with a photograph of Serife Mehmet, who was martyred on January 27, 1958, and with a caption that read Serife Mehmet was crushed by a British military vehicle. What is understood here is that the British were as brutal as the Greek Cypriots and they, too, were the enemies of the Turkish. Between pages 96 and 101, the establishment, activities, aim and organization of TMT (Turkish Resistance Organization) are explained. On page 96, it is stated that five Turkish Cypriots from Inonu district were ambushed by the EOKA members and martyred on the way to their workplaces. On page 97, it is informed that in order to be a member of TMT, one had to swear an oath on Qur'an and on the armament. The importance of the religion, even in the military

organizations, is highlighted. On page 97, following part of the Article of journalist Ahmet Tolgay published in Cyprus Newspaper on August 4, 2009, is given place: "After the pro-Enosis Greek Cypriots managed to exclude the Turkish Cypriots from the Republic of Cyprus, where they were the founders and the partners, with a planned and organized implementation of Akritas plan, Turkish Cypriots were left stateless and unable to sustain their social lives. Thanks to the formations under TMT, the Turkish people could be defended, and measures were taken to fill the gaps of being stateless." And on page 98, the national pledge of TMT is given. On page 99, it is written in bold letters that the TMT's task to defend the community and the support of the motherland Turkey have enabled the Turkish Cypriot community to put up an honourable and legendary fight until the July 20, 1974 Peace Operation. It is mentioned that, today, the Turkish Cypriot Security Forces have assumed this task. The activity corner on page 100 includes three articles: "We conquered in 1571, resisted with TMT and strengthened with the Security Forces Command." On page 101, there is a reading passage taken from Aydın Akkurt's book, Kod Adı Lale (Code Name Lale/Tulip), where it tells about a teacher who taught the Turkish flag to students, which knew only the British flag by that time, and made them read the national anthem every day in class, despite all the prohibitions. The last unit is devoted to Dr. Fazıl Küçük's life, his role and importance in the national struggle.

3.3 Comparison of Previous History Text-books with the 2018 History

Text-books

The new books were published in 2018 and since then they remained unchanged as the "Turkish Cypriot History" text-books. The books aim to tell the history of the Turks in Cyprus, where, it is deemed to explain only the Turkish Cypriot History instead of a general "History of Cyprus". Although there was a common historical event in the same land, this situation was ignored and it deemed appropriate to explain Turkish History separately as if there were different historical events in a separate land. Even the name of the books aims the identity-building, but this way serves the negative identity. The other identity is ignored and only the existence of superior identity is tried to be proved. While the 9th grade history textbook of Turkish Cypriot History

was published in 2018 it differs in many ways from the previous publication of 2009, however, interestingly, it is observed that the 10th grade history textbook of Turkish Cypriot History was published in 2018 but it is not so much different from the previous publication of 2009. As in the 2009 textbooks, in the 9th grade Turkish Cypriot History textbook, a large part was devoted to Cyprus in the Ottoman Administration, whereas in the 10th grade Turkish Cypriot History textbook, it was observed that the activities of the Greek Cypriots to destroy Republic of Cyprus, Turkish Invasion of Cyprus and the conflicts between Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots were given in a wide extent (Latif, 2019). The 2018 publications, displayed the language of the content as more attentive and careful than the 2009 publications textbooks. It is obvious that there is an effort to be expressed in the most positive form when talking about a superior identity. For example, when talking about a reaction of superior identity, it was found appropriate to use the phrase “advanced upon him” in the 2018 publications instead of the word “attacked” in the 2009 published book. Instead of the expression that “the Ottoman Empire lost its dominance in the Eastern Mediterranean” in 2009 published text-book, it is used the expression that “the Ottoman Empire lost its dominance temporarily in the Eastern Mediterranean” in 2018 published text-book. When talking about the other identity, such expressions are used in both books as “they slaughtered Turks of Cyprus, they killed them, they set treacherous plans for Turks of Cyprus, they are enemy”. Unlike the 2004 publication, the 2018 publication serves a policy that advocates the continuation of the ethnic conflict, as it was obvious in the 2009 books. In terms of wording, it can be said that the 2004 books used a softer language than the 2009 and 2018 books. In the 2009 and 2018 publications, historical events are presented to the students with all their cruelty and it is tried to given the students feelings of fear, hostility and revenge. About the selection of the visual materials, It is further seen that the 9th grade history text-book published in 2018, follow a more careful and attentive image preference than 2009 publication. For instance, in the section displaying the non-Muslim populations, the image of bishops and non-Muslims are included in the 2009 publication, while in the 2018 publication it is observed this is reduced. In the Ottoman Administrative Order section of the book, it was preferred to use a

map showing the Ottoman provinces where Cyprus is brought to the foreground instead of the image on the subject. The size of the map of Cyprus, that shows the proximity of Cyprus to Anatolia in 2009 publication, has been increased in 2018 publication. Unlike the 2004 publications, 2018 and 2009 publications have images of all martyrs that deeply affects the students. Traumas of the war and division are presented to the students in full scope. It is also observed that the TRNC flag is used frequently throughout the units. It has been noticed that the frame of the section where the pictures of Presidents are located is orange. This can be a reference to the right-wing National Unity Party that holds the same orange colour. Therefore, it is thought that a deliberate color selection was made here.

In the 9th grade text-books of the Turkish Cypriot History of the 2009 and 2018 publication, religious elements such as Mawlawi in Cyprus, marriage according to Islam, the role of women in Islam, and the importance of Islam in state affairs are largely included. Therefore, it is observed that the 9th grade book of Turkish Cypriot History that was published in 2018 has a more conservative attitude than the books published in 2004. In 2009 publication, there are partly religious elements, but in the 2018 publication, Islam is brought to the forefront by reducing the elements of other religions. It is seen that some content and images related to Christianity or non-Muslims in the 2009 publication have been removed from the 2018 publication. As it is mentioned in the analysis section of the books, the images of the Bishops in the Non-Muslims section in the 2009 publication were removed from the 2018 publication. It has been observed that non-Muslim elements have been reduced in order to emphasize Islam. The question that "What does Cyprus mean for the Christian World" in the 2009 publication is not included in the 9th grade publication of 2018. On the other hand, as in the 2009 publication, the importance of Islam for the Ottoman Empire and therefore the importance of the Turks is emphasized. It has been observed that Turkish Cypriots are sometimes referred as Muslim Turkish Cypriots. It is emphasized that Muslim Identity is an inseparable part of Turkish Identity and that the most important feature of Turkish origin is that it is a Muslim. Therefore, since the Turks of Cyprus are Turkish, they are a part of the Muslim community. The most important feature that makes Turkish Cypriots superior to Christian Greek

Cypriots is that they are Muslims. As a result, the Cypriot identity of the Turkish Cypriots is put in the background, not even mentioned, and unlike the 2004 publication, it is observed that a Turkish centrist approach is adopted as in the 2009 publication (Latif, 2017). It was found that Turkish and Muslim identities of the Turkish Cypriots are emphasized in 2018 published textbooks.

In the 2009 and 2018 publication, unlike the 2004 publication, there is a view that Turks have no friends other than Turks. As can be seen from the books, both British and Greek Cypriots have caused great losses to the Turkish Cypriots and both have vowed to assimilate, manipulate and even eradicate the Turkish Cypriots within the framework of their treacherous plans. Never an objective language is used, the historical events are told in a biased manner, and the British and Greek Cypriots emerge as monsters of Turkish Cypriots. With the pictures of Turkish Cypriots murdered and martyred by the British and Greek Cypriots, these create even more fear and hostility among the students. In the 2009 and 2018 publication, the existence and structure of the Republic of Cyprus is presented as a way of serving the Enosis wishes of the Greek Cypriots. The books are dominated by the opinion that the Republic of Cyprus excludes the Turkish Cypriots from the very beginning, accepts them as a minority, and the Turkish Cypriots do not have the right to speak in the Republic of Cyprus. It is stated that even the rights granted by the law are constantly seized by Greek Cypriots and that Turkish Cypriots are being tried to be assimilated and manipulated. In other words, it is tried to be told that a possible common state to be established with the Greek Cypriots would not be good for the Turkish Cypriots. In any case and opportunity, it is understood that Greek Cypriots will make treacherous plans against the Turks and will try to assimilate and destroy them.

In the 2018 and 2009 publications, it was observed that traumas were told rather than political and social history. Conflicts between the Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots, migration resulting from the war, hunger, poverty and martyrdom are emphasized. The negotiation process, the political structure of the period, how the island was invaded and governed by other civilizations and social life are not mentioned too much. It can be said that only the belief system has been included within the scope of social history and Islam has

been imposed. On the other hand, it has not been seen that customs, traditions, lifestyle and social moral structures of Turkish Cypriots are included.

The Greek Cypriot-Greek duo is mentioned in the 2009 and 2018 publications as the enemies of the Turks of Cyprus who constantly make treacherous plans. Although nationalist activities took place all over the world after the French revolution, Greek Cypriots' support for Enosis aspirations and Greek identity is described as treason. On the other hand, Turkish Cypriots supported Turkish nationalism, they began to justify the idea of Taksim with the slogan "Taksim or Death" against Enosis and it was told that actions were the only right and normal. It is also claimed that all Enosis supporters supported EOKA. However, EOKA was an organization serving only terrorism using the idea of Enosis. It can be not said that all Enosis supporters gathered under EOKA and engaged in terrorist activities. There was also a side that supported Enosis and opposed EOKA.

The books that were published in 2004 suggest that it was British colonialism and nationalism that divided Cypriots who have many commonalities and background. In these books, nationalism is presented as a separatist element (Latif, 2010).

In history text-books published in 2004 Turkey was never shown as the motherland and is not a saviour of Cyprus. In the 9th grade history text-books published in 2009 and 2018, the Ottoman Empire was both the ancestor and the savior of the Turkish Cypriots. In the 10th grade history text-books motherland Turkey is the savior as well. It is stated that the Ottoman Empire had fought before and will fight again for the Turks of Cyprus until the last drop of its blood. It is claimed that the education for Turkish Cypriots came after the conquest of the Ottomans. According to 2009 and 2018 published text-books Turkish Cypriots were excluded from the Republic of Cyprus, Turkish Cypriots were stateless and motherland Turkey supported them. It is stated that because of the war situation Turks of Cyprus have been starved and Turkey has made food aid for Cyprus. It is also stated that Turkish Cypriots, due to the British education system recognize only the British flag, the Turkish flag and national anthem were taught by teachers from Turkey. It is claimed that Cyprus is dependent on Turkey economically and

geographically and Turks of Cyprus could not survive without the support of Turkey. It is observed that in 2009 and 2018 publications have proved the loyalty and love of Turkish Cypriots for their motherland Turkey. It is stated that there are many reasons for Turkish Cypriots to love their motherland and stated that one of them is the founder of modern Turkey, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and his innovative ideas should not only be known by the Turkish Cypriots or Turkey, Mustafa Kemal Ataturk should be known and followed by the whole World. Ataturk has been presented as a sufficient reason for Turkish Cypriots to love Turkey. In the text-books, Turkey attempts to prove himself and endear himself to the Turkish Cypriots. In the 10th grade publications of 2018 and 2009, only our own casualties were mentioned in the conflicts with the Greek Cypriots. In these text-books, only the Turkish people who were martyred during the Turkish Invasion were included. Only the sufferings of Turkish Cypriots are mentioned throughout the text-books. Again, only the number of Turkish Cypriots who had to emigrate from one side of the island to the other was mentioned. The casualties of Greek Cypriots in these wars and clashes, or the casualties and property of Armenians, Latins and Maronites, in particular, have never been mentioned. It was not written how many Greek Cypriots had to leave their homes and villages and emigrate. Likewise, how many Armenians, Latins and Maronites had to leave their houses and property were not explained. How many innocent children, the elderly and inadequate people have died has not been emphasized.

For the 10th grade text-books published in 2018 cannot be said to be very different from the 2009 Turkish Cypriot History text-books. The 2018 publication serves the same purpose as the text-books published and used from 1974 to 2004 and the books published in 2009. In other words, with the discourse of the saviour motherland and national identity defined through Turkey these books serve the political interests of the Turkish Cypriot right wing. For the Turkish Cypriot right wing, the 1974 Turkish Invasion and its aftermath is the liberation of the Turkish Cypriots. Turkish Invasion, which is very important in the establishment of the TRNC, is a victory for the Turkish Cypriot right wing that leads the Turkish Cypriots to independence. The 9th grade Turkish Cypriot history textbook that was published in 2018 differs from

the 9th grade Turkish Cypriot history textbook that was published in 2009 due to the dominant religious elements it contains. Within this framework, it can be said that it serves the political policy of the Turkish Cypriot right-wing. Because, current political authority in Turkey has more conservative attitude than the previous, in parallel, Turkish Cypriot right wing has to move in this direction in order to establish good relations with motherland Turkey.

According to the constructivist theory of International Relations, identities come from the interrelationship of the self and the other (as cited in Kaya, 2008). When negative identity is used, the other identity is ignored and constantly shown as bad, in order to glorify its own identity for the construction of national identity; interests are defined without respecting the identity of the other. The other is manipulated. In the divided nations where there is an ethnic conflict, negative identity is more preferred and applied to ensure the continuation of the division. In this context, the text-books published in 2018 as the text-books published and used from 1974 to 2004 and the books published in 2009, written with the aim of supporting the maintenance of the de facto division of Cyprus and good relations with motherland Turkey. The 2018 publication is used as a legitimate tool of the Turkish Cypriot right parties. As a result, it can be said that the Cyprus History text-books published in the TRNC are still used as a means of legitimizing the current ideologies of the right or left political authorities. Thus, history writing and education continues to be conducted in a state-controlled manner without academic criteria.

History education in TRNC serves as an example of the theory of social construction. As constructivism advocates, as a result of the social interaction between the system and individuals, it is attempted to create individuals with a single identity. The identity that is attempted to be gained by 2018 publication is the Muslim Turkish identity. Similarly, according to constructivism, interests are also based on identities. In other words, the Muslim Turkish identity, constitutes the basis of the political interests of the Turkish Cypriot right-wing groups.. They have the opportunity to take actions from the Turkish Muslim identity for their political interests. So, the political view of the right-wing groups and the right-wing political elites is presented to students through the current history text-books. Thus, any idea of re-

unification of the island is avoided, the de facto division of the island continues through the history teaching, and the good relations with Turkey continues as it is recognized as the motherland of all Turkish Cypriots.

CONCLUSION

Up to the present day several history text-books have been published and each has served different political interests in the northern part of Cyprus. In this thesis, analysis of history text-books has been made using constructivist theory. Constructivist theory helped me to understand the subject and helped me to comment in the analysis and reach a conclusion. Constructivist theory has helped me understand how ideas and identities can be created through history text-books, how these ideas and identities have changed over time for the interests of the ruling political party. I also understood how these had an impact on understanding state behavior. That is, I understood that the behavior of the state cannot be considered independent of their identity, and that identities form the basis of their interests. As a result, I understood that changes in history text-books for the interests of political parties are related to their own identity.

This thesis reveals the role of history text-books in the formation of national identity in parallel with the interests of the political authorities and the political elites in North Cyprus. More specifically, it reveals what political aspects the Cyprus history text-books include chronologically and how this could have had a political impact on the construction of national identity of the students. The significance of this thesis is that it provides an opportunity for the comparison of the the previously changed Cyprus history text-books and the last revised text-books in 2018 by revealing the changes made in the 2018 version. It could be said that each term when the books were revised a different political goal was pursued and the books were written according to the interests of the authority of the period. Only the history text-books published in 2004 serve the political interests of the left. The others published in 1971, 1974, 1994, 2009 and 2018, serve the political interests of the right. While the Turkish Cypriot community is already in identity confusion, the Cyprus history text-books have changed from 1971 to 2018 in parallel with the interests of the political authorities and this made the situation even more complicated.

It is understood from the 2018 published history text-books that the text-books are used as a political tool for legitimate the interests of Turkish

Cypriots right wing. It is attempted to legitimate de facto division of the island and good relations with Turkey. In the text-books Muslim-Turkish nationalist approach is followed and avoided from all discourse and ideas that would break the good relations with Turkey. In other words, there is no content that contradicts the political interests of the right arm. Although the same political and historical events took place in the same territory, the text-books focused on the Turkish Cypriot history as the title suggests. Historical events were fully described with Turkish-centric approach; it was reminded many times that of the Turkish Cypriots are dependent on motherland Turkey. Otherwise, it is stated that the Turkish Cypriot is not likely to survive.

Historiography is a problem in itself for all humanity. Being neutral, presenting the events in the most objective way and writing them away from nationalism is a very difficult task. In addition to these difficulties, they do not focus on writing objective history in states such as the TRNC, which are in conflict of identity and fear of loss of identity, and even deliberately use historical means to create the identity they want.

TRNC as an unrecognized state and as they could not leave in a common state with Greek Cypriots, fear of loss of their identity is quite natural. Therefore, it can be said it is right to move on this way that a nation with future concerns. Focusing on Cypriot identity, neutral reporting of events, showing nationalism as a divisive element, and focusing on social history as in the 2004 text-books, is a huge risk for the right wing of Turkish Cypriots and is contrary to their interests. The concern of right arm is that these will serve the breaking of good relations with Turkey and establishment of good relations with Greek Cypriots. It is their identity that feeds and creates this fear of the right arm. Again, if we go back to the view advocated by constructivism, identities determine the interests of individuals and states. So this is a vicious circle. As a result, it is quite right for them to take such actions towards their interests. Students who read and learn these are expected to exhibit a political attitude towards the interests of the right arm.

Of course, it should also be said that it is not only the history text-books that affect the formation of national identity of the students. Apart from the history text-books, there are many determinant factors that can be effective in the formation of national identity. Factors such as teachers, friends, family, social

life and social media all affect the students' perceptions of identity. Although history text-books are written with the aim of a particular political purpose, it is up to the teachers to transfer the information to students. The teachers can use historical events from their own perspectives and views. They can decide on the type of information to deliver to their students. Moreover, additional materials can also be brought to the class by the teacher apart from the history text-books. On the other hand, the students can have already their own perspectives through their families, their friends and through social media. Considering the accessibility of the social media today, it should not be said that history text-books are the only factor affecting the formation of national identity. Therefore, although history text-books are very important tools in the formation of national identity, there are other determinants in the identity formation. Taking all into account in the next stage this thesis provides a resource for further research to understand the change of political attitude of students. This thesis aims to reveal the role of history text-books in the formation of national identity in parallel with the interests of the political authority in North Cyprus. More specifically, the aim is to reveal the role of political leadership by using text-books as a means of shaping national identity in north Cyprus from a constructivist perspective.

Anderson (1983) states that nationalism is not linked with racism and defends that nationalism thinks in terms of historical destinies. Anderson (1983) states that racism dreams of eternal contaminations, transmitted from the origins of time through the outside history. He defends that the dreams of racism actually have their origin in ideologies of class, rather than in those of nation. In this context, in the 10th grade history text-books, the historical events in 1963 and the Turkish Invasion in 1974 are widely explained throughout the book. The existence of the Republic of Cyprus is shown as bad. Good developments during the Republic of Cyprus are not included. From the 10th grade history text-book it is understood that the Republic of Cyprus is only the way for Greek Cypriots to achieve their Enosis goals. Common cultural values are not emphasized. It is claimed that Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots are two foreign and hostile nations to each other. Similarly, it is understood that the Turkish Cypriots are part of the Turkish nation, and the Greek Cypriots are part of the Greek nation. Only the

losses of Turkish nation are emphasized significantly. In order to strengthen national identity, Cyprus Greeks are portrayed as evil people who strive for Enosis and hate all Turks regardless of their age or innocence and they want to get rid of them. With this discourses and ways of handling them it can be said that the 10th grade Turkish Cypriot History text-book is one of the factors that may be effective in the construction of a national identity. As Anderson said, racist discourses here do not link with nationalism, these discourses here serve the political ideology of political elites. On the other hand, it is founded out that in the 9th grade history text-book the history of the Ottoman Empire and especially the history of Islam are emphasized. The contribution of this thesis is that it reveals that 9th Grade Turkish Cypriot history text-books have been written in more conservative manner. In this study, as a result of the analysis obtained from 9th grade history text-books, it is determined that it contains more religious elements than all previous text-books. It is argued in the 9th grade text-books that national unity in the Ottoman Empire was based on the religion and sect, rather than ethnicity and language. There is no such statement in the 2009 book. Other religious elements such as Christianity, have been reduced. Content and visuals related to the religion of Islam were increased. The Muslim identity of Turkish Cypriots is emphasized in almost every unit. Religious elements such as Mawlawi in Cyprus, marriage according to Islam, the role of women in Islam, and the importance of Islam in state affairs are largely included. It can be said that the 9th grade Turkish Cypriot History Text-book affects the process of national identity formation by putting Islam at the center of its historical narrative and addressing the subjects in this way.

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