PUBLIC OPINION AND THE QUESTION OF TURKISH CYPRIOT IDENTITY IN TURKISH REPUBLIC OF NORTHERN CYPRUS

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ABSTRACT

PUBLIC OPINION AND THE QUESTION OF TURKISH CYPRIOT IDENTITY IN TURKISH REPUBLIC OF NORTHERN CYPRUS

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This study explores how Turkish Cypriot identity is defined by Turkish Cypriot opinion leaders and Turkish Cypriot media in view of the longstanding interethnic dispute prevailing in the island. After a short historical review of the problem with reference to interethnic conflict and theoretical considerations pertinent to identity formation, short theoretical account of media and opinion formation, the state of the press in TRNC is displayed. This is followed by the analysis of the indepth interviews conducted within a sample of opinion leaders in TRNC and the press content in the Northern Cyprus at times which can be considered as turning points in the course of the unification negotiations. As for a conclusion, in the light of the findings, the question of whether or not the controversy around the national identity is self reproducing is tried to be answered.

Keywords: National identity, Turkish Cypriot

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ÖZ

KUZEY KIBRIS TÜRK CUMHURİYETİ'NDE KAMUOYU VE KIBRISLI TÜRK KİMLİĞİ SORUNU

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Bu çalışma, etnik bir çatışmanın uzun bir zamandır süregeldiği Kıbrıs adasında, Kıbrıs Türk kimliğinin Kıbrıs Türk toplum önderleri ve basını tarafından nasıl tanımlandığını incelemektedir. Etnik çatışmaya ilişkin kısa bir tarihsel değerlendirme, kimlik oluşumuna ilişkin kuramsal yaklaşımların değerlendirilmesi, ve medyanın kamuoyu oluşumundaki rolüne ilişkin kısa deki basının durumu bir kuramsal irdelemeden sonra KKTC değerlendirilmiştir.Daha sonra KKTC toplum önderleri ile derinlemesine yapılan mülakatlar değerlendirilmiş ve Kuzey Kıbrıs'ta yayımlanan gazetelerin (birleştirme müzakereleri süreci içinde dönüm noktası olarak görülebilecek dönemlerde) içerik analizleri yapılmıştır. Sonuç olarak, bulguların ışığında, ulusal kimlik üzerinden yürütülen tartışmanın kendisini yeniden üretip üretmediği sorusu yanıtlanmaya çalışılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Milli Kimlik, Kıbrıslı Türk

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INTRODUCTION

Cyprus is a quite small island that can hardly endure a division into two separate zones. Yet, for more than thirty years she is sheltering Turkish and Greek Cypriots strictly settled in two distinct zones. The main reason for the longstanding Cyprus dispute is the interethnic clashes between the two communities. Furthermore, there are many grounds to assert that this interethnic conflict is reproducing itself through the promotion of two distinct national identities within a common territory.

Clashes between the Turkish and the Greek communities of the island began in the early 1900's and intensified in the following years. Attempts to settle the interethnic conflict in the island failed and clashes escalated to violent armed confrontations between two communities.

Turkey has maintained a strong military presence in northern Cyprus since it intervened on the island in response to a Greece-sponsored coup in July 1974. The island has remained divided ever since and repeated rounds of negotiations between the Greek and Turkish Cypriot Communities on a possible reunification have failed to produce results.

Although there are several reasons that lie behind, it is hard to deny that the main reason for the conflict is the existence of a "national question" in this lovely Mediterranean Island. "While glancing at notable historical events, this should be said first and foremost: the two communities hadn't been able to comingle in a way to form 'one community' and hadn't been able to enhance a common state of belonging either. Ethnic and religious structures affected politics in a different and antagonistic way" (Kızılyürek 2005, 305).

A conflict based on ethnicity, religious adherence and/or other cultural traits clearly indicate lack of a common national identity within a common territory. If the social groupings within the same political boundary is subdivided into diverge cultures, that is to say, groups

distinguished by language, custom, faith and so forth, and if they claim distinct national identities within the common territory, there exists a national question prone to often violent clashes. Furthermore, if these different national identities are continuously reproduced in the ideological and political realms within their respective communities, then finding a resolution to the existing conflict will not and cannot be an easy talk.

This is why inquiring into how Turkish Cypriot identity is defined by Turkish Cypriot opinion leaders and Turkish Cypriot media is chosen as the subject matter of this study.

For this purpose, the press portrayal of the controversial issues of the Cyprus conflict and the viewpoints of the opinion leaders in the TRNC will be taken into scrutiny.

As a matter of fact, in our contemporary world one of the most influential factors that shape the public opinion and direct attitudes is the press coverage of an issue. Moreover, this press coverage itself is largely moulded by opinion leaders.

In the light of the above considerations the first chapter of this study will consist of a short historical review of the problem with reference to interethnic conflict. In this respect, theoretical considerations pertinent to identity formation will be briefly evoked. In the second chapter, following a short theoretical account of media and opinion formation, the state of the press in TRNC will be displayed. The third chapter of the thesis will be the presentation of the indepth interviews conducted within a sample of opinion leaders in TRNC. This will be followed by the analysis of the press content in Northern Cyprus at times which can be considered as turning points in the course of the unification negotiations.

As for a conclusion, in the light of the findings of the case study, the question whether the controversy around national identity is selfreproducing will be answered.

CHAPTER I

IDENTITY PROBLEM IN TURKISH REPUBLIC OF NORTHERN CYPRUS: A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

Anyone who wants to talk about "Cyprus as the location of an international conflict" necessarily evokes the factors or reasons that divide the islanders into two distinct "national identities". Consequently, a brief clarification of "identity" and "national identity" concepts is needed in this study.

A quick glance at a dictionary would probably read that "your identity is who you are". A further definition would be "all the qualities, beliefs and ideas which make you feel that you are different from everyone else or that you belong to a particular group". If such a definition states that "identity" is simply someone's answer to the question "Who am I?", this statement has far reaching consequences in a societal context. This explains why in social theory different approaches have developed different comprehensions of the concept. However, they all converse on the essential points. In this respect and as an example, "symbolic interactionism" clearly asserts that identities have at their root social relations and the social structure (Hortaçsu 2007). "Social identity theory", which focuses on problems of social identification, stresses the role of the social context as illustrated in the following statement; "It can be assumed that an individual will tend to remain a member of a group if these groups have some contribution to make to the positive aspects of his social identity" (Taifel 1981, 256).

All considerations indicate that identity is the feature that distinguishes someone from the "others". Therefore the existence of "others" is an important component of "identity" because identity is constructed through what one is not. Lastly, it should also be emphasized

that contrary to some modernist definitions "identity" should not be seen as a given, accomplished and constant "state" but rather should be analyzed as a "process" since "history changes your conception of yourself" (Hall 1996, 345).

The second key concept of this study, "national identity", simply expresses identity at the level of a nation. But there is not a universally agreed definition of the form "nation". To begin with, this study's understanding of "nation" is that it is not something given. With Renan's words: It was we who founded the principle of nationality (Renan 1996, 46).

Benedict Anderson defines nations as imagined political communities, imagined as limited and sovereign. It 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, 6). The reason why nations are imagined as limited is because of the fact that no nation identifies itself with the mankind and nations being imagined as sovereign is related to Enlightenment and Revolution, because they have destroyed the legitimacy of the divinely-ordained, hierarchical dynastic realm. Finally, it is imagined as a community, because, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship (Anderson 1991, 7).

Nations as imagined communities also have to imagine an "other" to construct theirselves and to be meaningful. In nationhood and national identities, a grand narrative of the nation is organized around representations of place and people through history, with its own seductions, the most basic often being "we are not they" (Radcliffe and Westwood 1996, 26).

Ethnicity, in other words cultural identity, is an important component of identity and an appropriate tool to construct the "other". Etienne Balibar designates community instituted by the nation-state as "fictive ethnicity" and denotes that this is not to adduce that this ethnicity is a pure and simple illusion.

"No nation possesses an ethnic base naturally, but as social formations are nationalized, the populations included within them, divided up among them or dominated by them are ethnicized – that is, represented in the past or in the future as if they formed a natural community, possessing of itself an identity of origins, culture and interests which transcends individuals and social conditions" (Balibar 1996, 140).

Nevertheless, a nation can be defined as a large human population which both "shares a common culture and either has, or aspires to have, its own political roof" (Outhwaite and Bottomore 1993, 402). This common culture has to do with cultural traits such as language, religious adherence or folk custom, all of which frequently cut cross each other. It is impossible to apply the term "nation" to all human units which are either culturally or politically distinguishable, since political and cultural boundaries may not converse with each other. When this is the case, "national identity" becomes a general preoccupation and a criterion of integrity and (political) legitimacy. In such a context, as a wide-spread ideology of modern times, nationalism holds that a national state identified with a national culture is the natural political unit. Thus, computing such a political goal emerges as a quasi sacred cause.

1.2. Identity of Turkish Cypriots: A Brief Historical Review

Cyprus is an international question and it could be said that this question has its roots in the continuing identity problem of Cypriots. It is a fact that embracing a common Cypriot identitiy is prerequisite for Turkish and Greek Cypriots to cohabitate in the island but it is difficult to refer to such an identity.

Several names could be given to the roots of the trouble: Greek nationalism, Enosis¹, Turkish nationalism, *Taksim*², Turkey's intervention etc. As Stavrinides stresses "...communalism, nationalism and the involvement of the mainland (homeland) countries are the three main forces which strengthened one another and deepened the cleavage between Greek and Turkish Cypriots, while minimizing the significance of their common characteristics, those derived by their Cypriotness" (Stavrinides 1999, 120).

Turkish and Greek Cypriots have never been formed into a single community: it could be said that they never had the chance to. When the Ottoman Empire conquered the island in 1571, thirty thousand Anatolians relegated to Cyprus. In that epoch, Cyprus was an Ottoman province and was an agrarian society in which "belonging" emanated from religion. In quite a few written sources about that epoch in Cyprus, it has been made evident that peasants lived in mixed or neighboring villages in peace with no prosperity distinctions and sharing the same social conditions. In the era that the Ottoman Empire governed the island, it could be said that the two communities lived together in peace but this doesn't mean that they had been formed into a single community. The reason for this is that, in the first place, during the times of the Ottoman Empire, Greeks and Turks weren't equal citizens because of the Ottoman Empire's system of government, which made a distinction between Muslims and non-Muslims. English governance and their policy of divide and conquer, followed the Ottoman rule, redoubling the discrimination between the two societies.

The establishment of the independent Greek state is a milestone for the Cypriot identity building process through the awakening of Megali

¹ Enosis means "union" in Greek and refers to Greek Cypriot's movement which aims to incorporate the island into Greece.

² *Taksim* means "partition" in Turkish and refers to Turkish Cypriot's political belief in the partition of the Island and an independent Turkish state to be established.

Idea³ and Helen nationalism in the island. After 1821, Greeks in the island acquired a motherland which they wished to amalgamate. Unification of Cyprus and Greece was not something desired for Turkish Cypriots, but in the beginning the reason was not being Turk, being Muslim was a much more fundamental component of the Turkish Cypriots' identity. Thus amalgamating with Greece was a threat for their religion but not for their ethnic or national identity.

The national consciousness of Turkish Cypriots evolved after Greek nationalism as a reaction to Greek nationalism fundamentally, and then took shape in parallel with Greek nationalism. What brought the national identity of Turkish Cypriots to light was the Turkish War of Independence and Kemalizm. As Kızılyürek expresses:

"Motherland Turkey and Mustafa Kemal became the determining factor for Cyprus Turkish community to detach themselves from post Ottoman crisis, to prevent future dismay and to front ethnic Turkish identity... Secular ethnic Turkish identity gradually superseded traditional religious identity" (Kızılyürek 2005, 221).

Being Muslim was a much more fundamental component of their identity, than being under British administration or being governed by Ottomans again wasn't much more different. What brought the national identity of Turkish Cypriots to light was the Turkish War of Independence and the establishment of the Turkish Republic. Turkish consulate opened in the island in 1924 and committed itself to strengthen Turkish nationalism in Cyprus. Turkish Cypriots began to organize politically with a secular and Turkish nationalist view.

Cyprus was still under the control of the British administration and the Enosis demand of Greeks in the island had become a mass movement. Turkish Cypriots began to organize and act against Enosis. The first party with statutes and a specific program established by Turkish Cypriots was "Kıbrıs Adası Türk Azınlığı Kurumu" (Cyprus Turkish Minority Association) (KATAK) and its first congress was held on 18 April 1943.

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³ "megali idea" was first uttered by Ioanni Koletti in 1844 and the literal meaning of megali idea is, the great ideal. Megali idea is an irredentist conception and the aim is to establish a Greek state which encompasses all Greeks.

KATAK was established with the support of the British who considered a Turkish association which came out against Enosis was necessary because Enosis was also against British domination in the island. KATAK was the first establishment organized against Enosis and it carried masses.

Niyazi Kızılyürek assesses the nationalist point of view in this epoch as:

"Those who at this time asking, in nationalist reaction, the island to be given to Turkey, had no problem with Cyprus to stay under British rule. The emphasis of the Turkish nationalists slogan "Cyprus is Turkish" focused on "Cyprus can not be Greek" and it was believed that Cyprus's becoming Greek could be prevented by the British staying on the island and this was enough for the period's nationalists" (Kızılyürek 2005, 232).

On 16 August 1954, Greece called upon for the self-determination right of Cyprus. M. Hakkı defines the reflection of Greece's request in Turkey as, "Greece to call up on UN for self determination right of Cyprus on 16 August 1954 produced an acute reaction in the nationalist environment in Turkey. In the meantime, Turkish press, the daily Hürriyet playing the leading role, was trying to create a public opinion by publishing news about the developments in Cyprus" (Hakkı 2004, 17). Turkey reacted against and England came out against this request as well.

As a result, the London Conference was organized on 29 August 1955 with the participation of Turkey and Greece. This conference hadn't come to any agreement but it is important because Turkey became an official part of the Cyprus problem and this position of Turkey was recognized officially.

1 April 1955 was the day that the armed struggle of EOKA (*Ethniki Organosis Kyprion Agoniston /* National Organization of Cypriot Fighters) against English domination in the island and for Enosis began.

Turkish Cypriots acted against Enosis and established political parties and associations. In 27 October 1957 Rauf R. Denktaş became the chairman of *Kıbrıs Türk Kurumları Federasyonu* (Cyprus Turk Associations Federation) (KTKF) with the help of Fazıl Küçük, who was the pioneer of secular nationalist conception in Turkish Cypriot society.

Taksim was one of the purposes of the association. The Chairmanship of Rauf R.Denktaş of the KTKF, took place simultaneously with the establishment of *Türk Mukavemet Teşkilatı* (Turkish Resistance Organization) (TMT), which was an illegal underground organization aiming *Taksim*.

Turkification campaigns as 'Campaign of from Turk to Turk' (which aims to engender a separate Turkish economy and a Turkish bourgeoisie), 'Citizen Speak in Turkish', and 'Turkish Names for Villages' came on the scene with the ascendance of Turkish nationalism. Rauf Denktaş who was the chairman of KTKF and a member of TMT, was the one who put these projects into practice.

Niyazi Kızılyürek clarifies that this Turkification campaign wasn't something aiming at the ones who are not Turks, but a campaign aimed to bring out the Turkish characteristics of those who were considered as Turks. "Turkish Cypriots who live in common with Greek Cypriots were mainly forced to join an 'imagined Turkish society'. Cyprus's boundaries, which would be divided (*Taksim*), was being formed in the minds first and then gradually in daily life" (Kızılyürek 2005, 250). Similarly, *Enosis* was the ideology adopted by Greek Cypriots. The Independent Republic of Cyprus established by the London and Zurich Agreements in 1960 - a bi-communal constitutional framework - was set up in such an atmosphere that even talking about the consciousness of being Cypriot was impossible.

In 1 January 1964, Makarios, with a declaration, abated the 1960 agreements unilaterally and it can be said that this was the end of the Cyprus Republic and 1963 was the beginning of armed conflagrations. Bloody events of 1963 made Turkish Cypriots barricade themselves in their areas and enclaves. The 3rd London Conference held in 1964 failed to arrive at a conclusion. Negotiations which failed to arrive at a conclusion and the continuing clash of arms brought about Turkey's intervention and the division of the island as *north and south* in 1974.

The Independent Republic of Cyprus failed to put an end to *Enosis* and *Taksim* ideas and also failed to form the island into a homeland for both societies. Cyprus's flag, with Kliridis's words "was the world's best flag, because no one was ready to die for the sake of it" (Kızılyürek 2005, 105).

Tufan Erhürman denotes the reason why Independent Republic of Cyprus couldn't perpetuate its existence as the failure to constitute a common "Cypriot identity".

"For Turkish Cypriot and Greek societies to establish a new corporate state and to be able to live in that state together in peace, it was necessary that first of all they should fancy being 'Cypriot', develop a consciousness of being 'Cypriot' and accept that they culturally are like each other much more than Helens or Turks living in other parts of the world" (Erhürman 2006, 93).

Instead of embracing a common/upper Cypriot identity, the two communities of the island aimed to strengthen their bonds with homelands. The education systems of both communities of the island is the most distinct demonstration of this attitude. Education was an important tool to implement, support and to make sure that ethnic nationalism⁴ created in the island was embraced. Both ethnic groups regarded education as a means of becoming more fully what one already was in ethnic terms, assuming that people were already social beings and bearers of social traditions, premises that are markedly different from the modern understanding of education as a process operating on social individuals as if on a tabula rasa (Papadakis, Peristianis, Welz 2006, 20).

As Zenon Stavrinides expresses:

"...the two communal education systems in Cyprus – the one which was imported from Greece and the other from Turkey- were cultivating a certain flattering image of one's own nation and a

⁴ Territorial/civic nationalism sees the nation as a political community of citizens (staatsnation) that inhabits a given territory and whose members are equal before the law irrespective of ethnicity, religion, class, or other particularistic criteria.. Ethnic nationalism sees the nation as a cultural community (kulturnation) that is "formed on the basis of a pre-existing ethnie and ethnic ties (Peristianis 2006, 101-102).

derogatory image of the other, and hence spread prejudices which are still very much alive" (Stavrinides 1999, 107).

After Turkey's intervention, the effect of education became much more important because Turkish and Greek Cypriots were two communities living without any contact untill free entries began in 2003.

Cyprus Turkish Federated Republic was declared in 1975. Denktaş became the President of Turkish Cypriot Federate State and the party he established, "National Unity Party" (NUP), came to power after the first elections. This was the peak point of Turkish nationalism in the island. After 1974, an effort to transform North Cyprus into a Turkish community began with such activities as transferring population from Turkey, adapting the education system of Turkey to Cyprus, celebrating Turkish national holidays, changing the names of places with Turkish ones and building new mosques. The declaration of Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus in 15 November 1983 followed. Here the aim was to form an ethnic unity between Turkish Cypriots and Turks.

As mentioned, ethnicity is an important component of identity and as cited above, Etienne Balibar stresses that populations are ethnicized and represented as if they had formed a natural community in the past or they will form one in the future and defines this as "fictive ethnicity". With Turkification policies and Turkey's dominance in the island, the mentioned fictive ethnicity was being instituted in Cyprus. Turkish Cypriots were Turks who formerly emigrated from Turkey, northern Cyprus was being treated as a province of Turkey and in the beginning Turkish Cypriots were going along with it. Turkish Cypriots were saved by Turks, by the ones of the same race but when Turks began to come and live in the Northern part of Cyprus, it came into the picture that being of the same race wasn't enough to live together.

Turkish nationalists failed to take into consideration the fact that Turkish Cypriots have their own identity and their own past, which is different from the Turks in Turkey. Niyazi Kızılyürek stresses this attitude of Turkey as,

"Turkish nationalists, who weren't able to establish a future for Cyprus- Turk society, tended to establish/create a past for them. With the Unknown Soldier Monuments, Martyr's Week, The Museum of Barbarism, Don't Forget the Massacre's campaigns, 20 July Festivals, Thanks Days and the education system based on primitive history books, Turkish nationalists tried to form a past which had no nostalgia in it ..." (Kızılyürek 20005, 293).

Turkey's Turkification policies had a completely different effect than predicted and caused Turkish Cypriots to embrace their Cypriotness. Nazım Beratlı alleges that Rauf Denktaş did not take TRNC seriously, but the ones who opposed TRNC in that era did and Denktaş himself caused "Turkish Cypriot Identity" to become a political identity and led to ossification.

"Finally, the community too reached a consensus of opinion about the uniqueness of its own identity, and they were confronted with a situation that was the opposite of what Denktaş had wished for when he established the state! The public declared that they had an identity which had to be unique and independent. At this very point, Denktaş is in discrepancy with his public. He might shout 'We are Turkish' as much as he wishes! We are 'Cypriot Turks'! If those who produced this project had read a bit of sociology, they would know that a community with a state and flag -especially if this 'state' has existed for 30 years- would feel unique and independent. (Beratlı 2006, 24).

Day after day the number of people who were concerned about their original identity to cease to exist increased. With the Annan Plan⁵ process, value attached on being Cypriot became ocular and impossible to ignore or assess as a minority opinion. Discontent emanating from Turkey's dominance on Turkish Cypriots was not something previously unheard of but it wasn't pronounced this much at the beginning. It could be said that the Annan Plan process made Turkish Cypriot identity and being Cypriot come into view.

⁵ Briefly the Annan Plan, which is more than nine thousand pages, predicted that Cyprus would be unified as a federal state with the exemption of English bases. At least one third of the New state's cabinet officers would be Turks and head of state and prime minister would be rotated every ten months between Greeks and Turks.

Being Cypriotturk is the disclosure of the ones who attach value to being Cypriot. Being Cypriot should be understood as an upper identity. Here it should be made clear that, this approach should not be conceived of an absolutely new Cypriot identity which ignores Greekness and Turkishness. As Hasgüler expresses, "The problem is not to furnish an artificial roof by ignoring these two ethnos and belief systems, it aims to balance out these two cultures" (Hasgüler 2003, 155).

"This Country is Ours" platform, which consists of 41 organizations, mounted campaigns for the plan and being *Cypriotturk* paradigm reached its peak. Protesting Turkey's dominance and existence in the island was an explicit component of Cypriotturk paradigm. As Sakallı stresses, "Turkish Cypriots who are imagining escaping from the savior found salvation in another savior. Referendum should be held and the Annan Plan should be approved" (Sakallı 2006, 74).

Referendums were held simultaneously in Turkish and Greek sides in 24 April 2004. While 64,91 % of the voters of TRNC voted "yes", 75,83 % of the voters of South Cyprus voted "no". After the Cypriot Greek society rejected the plan, being Cypriot paradigm begun to fall of. "Cypriot Turk society, offended like a lover who was unreturned, withdrew into its shell. And 'peace' remained as an empty word which lost its meaning" (Sakallı, KY2, 70).

The Republican Turkish Party (Cumhuriyetçi Türk Partisi, CTP)'s loss of votes and NUP to win elections by receiving 43,97 % of the votes in elections held in 19 April 2009 is the most apparent indication of being Cypriot paradigm's decadence in TRNC. As mentioned, NUP is a Turkish nationalist party established by Denktaş and RTP is the party that won the former elections with Mehmet Ali Talat's propeace attitude. Such an alteration in the public will, could be associated with Greek Cypriots to vote against the Annan Plan and expected improvements in that case to fall through.

As seen, until today Turkish and Greek Cypriots failed to embrace a common Cypriot identity. It could be said that the main reason is

nationalisms in the island. As Kerestecioğlu stresses, "...each nationalism is concerned with one or a few other nationalism. In other words, nationalism bears nationalism" (Kerestecioğlu 2007, 319). This is exactly what happened in Cyprus: Helen nationalism bore Turkish nationalism and they reinforced each other with the support of the motherlands.

CHAPTER II

PUBLIC OPINION AND MEDIA IN TURKISH REPUBLIC OF NORTHERN CYPRUS

2.1. Formation of the Opinion and the role of Media

As already stated and explained above, at the heart of the enduring Cyprus conflict lies the absence of agreement on what constitutes the (national) identity of the islanders. It is an obvious fact that the natives of Cyprus, coming from different ethnic, religious and historical (national) roots, did not and could not achieve a consensus on a common national identity. This can be easily perceived through divergent views and opinions as to their identity.

It is commonly accepted that an opinion is an expression about a controversial topic (Albig 2007). Although there is little agreement on the meaning of public opinion, everybody would readily accept the idea that public opinion results from the interaction of different opinions. If a state of agreement is not or cannot be achieved following an opinion controversy, resulting public opinion would express voice and thus reproduce the divergences rather than the convergences.

Opinions, without any doubt, do not exist as separate, disjointed, unrelated items but they underlie systems of thought. If an opinion is not based on strong beliefs, well-organized and fixed attitudes or ideologies, they can be more readily influenced and changed. But the vice versa is equally true. That is to say, if opinions have deep-rooted historical and material basis it is almost impossible to develop new opinions and/or change the (established) opinions.

Opinions are generally expressed by "opinion leaders" and conveyed to large publics through some of the means of communication (Glynn, Herbst, O'Keefe, Shapiro, Lindeman 2004). In modern societies

the principal means of communication is the mass media. As a matter of fact, "the entire study of mass communication is based on the premise that there are effects from the media" (D. McQuail 1993, 175). Although different theories diverge in their assessments as to the scope, levels, kinds and direction of the effects, they all converge to the point that media does have effects over the society. Although media may cause intended or unintended change, it may facilitate change; or reinforce what exists and thus prevent change. That leads us to the media's principal function regardless of its utterance as socialization and social control or simply indoctrination.

These are the underlying considerations that guided this thesis of which the subject matter is the identity problem in TRNC to inquire into the assessments of opinion leaders and portrayal of the conflict by the newspapers TRNC. In this connection, it will be opportune to briefly review the state and the historical development of the Turkish newspapers in Cyprus.

2.2. Media Environment in TRNC

Despite the sparse population, the media environment in TRNC is quite rich and displays a high degree of diversity.

The publication of the first Turkish language newspaper in Cyprus dates back to as early as 1889. The first Turkish paper "Saadet" which appeared in Cyprus began its publication on 11 July 1189, which is still commemorated as the "Press Day". However, this first newspaper was quite short-lived. But Saadet was followed by "Zaman" which began its publication in 1891.

These first publications were without doubt a reaction to the British rule when the Ottoman Empire was obliged to yield the Island's control to Britain. It is commonly accepted that the publication of these early papers were aimed at maintaining and promoting the Turkish presence in Cyprus. As a matter of fact, this goal was clearly expressed by a number of

objectives to be pursued in Zaman's first issue. These objectives can be resumed as "fighting against colonialism and strengthening the ties with the motherland" (Azgın 2009).

During the period that lasted until the 1st World War several other short-lived newspapers were published by the Turkish Cypriots. These papers were stressing not only the Turkishness of their community but were also emphasizing their Islamic faith as a component of their identity.

With the advent of the World War I, British annexed the island and banned the Turkish language newspapers until the end of the war. By the end of the war, "Doğru Yol" was the first Turkish paper which made its appearance in 1919. The most important publication of the period with the highest circulation is "Söz". It endeavored to back the Turkish War of Independence by raising funds to help the Kemalist forces (Azgın 2009).

Despite the obstacles put forward by the British Rule, different Turkish language papers pursued their publications in the following years but the outbreak of World War II subjected all publications to strict censorship and thus, papers with critical views could not survive. Nevertheless, Halkın Sesi (Voice of the People), which is still published, made its debut in 1942. It belonged to Dr. Fazıl Küçük who has pioneered the idea of a secular, nationalist Turkish Cypriot Community, which has made him the leader of the Turkish Community (Azgın 2009).

An important blow came over Turkish language newspapers in Cyprus when the agency Genikon Praktorion Tipu which used to distribute all the printed press in the island yielded to the pressure and threats of the EOKA and give an end to the distribution of the Turkish newspaper. Thus their distribution became limited to Nicosia the Capital Town of the island and in consequence their reader ship was considerably reduced (Ünlü, 101).

In the course of events, several new newspapers were launched but the majority of them were short-lived ventures. At the time of the Turkish military intervention only three newspapers, namely, Halkın Sesi, Bozkurt and Zaman, were operational and managed to be published with lots of difficulty that they had to overcome.

After the Turkish military intervention and the division of the island into two separate communities, newspaper publishing became a much easier endeavor but this time they had to cope with the competition of the newspapers freely imported to the island from the "motherland". Proliferation of newspapers was coupled with a development which still constitutes the basic characteristic of the printed press in TRNC: Today there are 12 daily newspapers, five of which functions as an organ of a political party.

They are, namely, Yeni Düzen of the Cumhuriyetçi Türk Partisi (Republican Turkish Party), Ortam of Toplumcu Demokrasi Partisi (Communal Democracy Party), Güneş of Ulusal Birlik Partisi (National Unity Party), Demokrat Bakış of Demokrat Parti (Democratic Party), Yeniçağ of Yeni Kıbrıs Partisi (New Cyprus Party). A complete list of the daily papers and their circulation is given in Table 1 below.

Table 1: Newspapers published in TRNC and their daily circulations

Newspaper	Circulation
Kıbrıs	14000
Havadis	4850
Afrika	3150
Halkın Sesi	2250
Yeni Düzen	2500
Kıbrıslı	1200
Güneş	1175
Volkan	1125
Ortam	1100
Vatan	1550
Haberdar	1000
Star Kıbrıs	1100

There are 10 television stations of Turkish Cypriots which are, Bayrak Radyo ve Televizyonu (BRT)1, BRT 2, BRT INT, Kıbrıs Ada TV, DAÜ TV, Kanal T Kıbrıs, Akdeniz TV Kıbrıs, Kıbrıs Genç TV, Kanal Sim, ART TV.

Lastly, daily circulations of the newspapers imported from the motherland are as listed below:

Sabah 2800

Hürriyet 4000

Posta 2500

Milliyet 1500

19

CHAPTER III

CASE STUDY ON THE PUBLIC OPINION AND THE QUESTION OF TURKISH CYPRIOT IDENTITY IN TURKISH REPUBLIC OF NORTHERN CYPRUS

3.1. Methodology

A field study was conducted to investigate the evolution in the identity of Turkish Cypriots. For this purpose, in-depth interviews were conducted with opinion leaders, and the issues of several newspapers published in TRNC, before, during and after the referendum of Annan Plan were analyzed.

In-depth interviews were conducted with in a sample of opinion leaders; non-governmental organization's chairmen, politicians, journalists, academics. The reason why interviews made with opinion leaders is their importance in shaping the public opinion. Opinion leaders have an important role in movements of social change: they are the ones who are highly esteemed by the ones who fall into line with them.

"...access to specific social roles, and especially elite roles, provides group members with vastly more influential means to reproduce ideologies than ordinary citizens without much access to public discourse. These, then, are the now familiar social conditions that control the context of production" (van Dijk 1998, 233) (b).

Turkish Cypriots' national identity is an issue about which there are several ongoing arguments, and the spokesmen of these different arguments and perceptions are opinion leaders. Table 2 below presents the basic characteristics of the individuals with whom interviews were conducted.

Table 2: Interviewees

Number of the interviewee	The basic characteristics of the individuals with whom interviews were conducted	Date of the Interview
I.1	Volunteer <i>mücahit</i> when he was 15. Editor in chief in a media group.	29 May 2008
I.2	Chief editor of a leftist newspaper.	29 May 2008
I.3	Lecturer in a university's Faculty of Communication, journalist.	30 May 2008
I.4	Born in South Cyprus in 1952, lived there until 1974, then moved to North Cyprus, contributes articles for a newspaper.	30 May 2008
I.5	Faculty member of a university's Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences.	4 June 2008
I.6	Businessman, engaged actively in non-governmental organizations which promoted yes vote during the campaign for the referendum.	4 June 2008
I.7	Editorial writer of a rightist newspaper. Chairman of a non-	5 June 2008
I.8	governmental organization, printer.	6 June 2008
I.9	Faculty member of a university.	6 June 2008
I.10	President of a non- governmental organization.	9 June 2008
I.11	Journalist.	9 June 2008
I.12	Contributes articles to Afrika newspaper occasionally, businessman.	9 June 2008

Number of the interviewee	The basic characteristics of the individuals with whom interviews were conducted	Date of the Interview
I.13	News coordinator of a television.	9 June 2008
I.14	Works for a TV channel for several years.	9 June 2008
I.15	Journalist since 1992, contributes articles for a newspaper and produces a program for a TV channel.	10 June 2008
I.16	Editor of a newspaper, television programmer.	10 June 2008
I.17	Journalist since 1971, contributes articles for a newspaper.	10 June 2008
I.18	Politician.	12 June 2008
I.19	Ex-president and existing member of a non-governmental organization.	12 June 2008
I.20	Journalist for 38 years.	18 June 2008

The main aim of in-depth interviews was to find out how being Turkish Cypriot and "other" is defined. For this purpose, firstly interviewees were asked to define being Turkish Cypriot and then questions about Turks who came to the island from Turkey and Greek Cypriots followed. Lastly opinion leaders were asked to assess a solution for the island, what the best solution is and if they see it possible or not.

Newspapers are analyzed because, as mentioned above, the media plays an important role on how we make sense of the world live in. What is important for this study's intent is that media representations reproduce certain attitudes everyday and defines "us" and the "other" by different means as discussed above.

Among several newspapers published in TRNC, "Volkan", "Kıbrıs" and "Africa" were selected for the purpose of analysis. The

reason behind the selection of these newspapers was to take into consideration different approaches for an objective analysis. "Volkan" is a Turkish nationalist newspaper, and "Africa", in contrast, is a newspaper which protests the existence of Turkey on the island in all aspects and stands for being Cypriotturk. "Kıbrıs" is the most widely-read newspaper.

Newspapers' approach to being Cypriot is important before, during and after the referendum, because their approach predicates a lot, if newspapers -especially the ones which give support to the Annan Plan and make much of being Cypriot- have reoriented after the Greeks voted against the plan.

3.1.2. Discourse Analysis

It is difficult to affirm that there is a clear consensus about what discourse is and the ways to analyze it. Teun A. Van Dijk states three main dimensions of discourse as " (a) language use, (b) the communication of beliefs (cognition), and (c) interaction in social situations" (Dijk 1998, 2). Michael Foucault relates discourse with power and state. "Foucault adheres to the general social constructionist premise that knowledge is not just a reflection of reality. Truth is a discursive construction and different regimes of knowledge determine what is true and false" (Phillips and Jorgensen 2004, 13). Norman Fairclough's approach takes into consideration that social forces could also affect discursive practices of the media. Therefore the definition of discourse for this study is "...a form of social practice which both constitutes the social world and is constituted by other social practices... It does not just contribute to the shaping and reshaping of social structures but also reflects them" (Phillips and Jorgensen 2004, 61). Discourse is also a symptom of the intentions of a sender (Renkema 2004, 266).

For a better understanding of the theoretical background and philosophical essence of discourse analysis, it is necessary to begin with emphasizing 'language', because "discourse analytical approaches take as their starting point the claim of structuralist and poststructuralist linguistic philosophy, that our access to reality is always through language" (Phillips and Jorgensen 2004,8). Here the point is what Ferdinand de Saussure - who is the founder of linguistics - introduced; "language" is a societal and explanatory structure. To state clearly, Saussure names the linguistic unit as a "sign" and indicates that a "sign" is formed of the "signifier" and the "signified". The "signifier" is a cognitive object and the "signified" is not an object from the outside world, it is a conception. The connection of these two elements is arbitrary (there is no determinant except 'language') so the relationship between "language" and reality is also arbitrary. Every linguistic element needs another one to be meaningful: it could find its meaning and value with the existence of the "other", by being different from other signs. The same approach is valid for discourse: "no discourse can be fully established, it is always in conflict with the other discourses that define reality and set other guidelines for social action" (Phillips and Jorgensen 2004, 47). In Saussure's terminology, "langue" is the network of signs which is fixed and this approach is what poststructuralism rejects. Poststructuralism takes "context" into consideration. The aim of discourse studies is to provide an explanatory description of the intricate relations between forms of discourse elements and their functions in communication (Renkema 2004, 2).

The discourse approach to the debate on objectivity, that everything is always described from a certain perspective, can be summarized as 'All news is views'" (Renkema 2004, 266). This study is not going to deal with the debates on whether objective journalism is possible or not, or what the ways are to come close to objectivity but it is a fact that the individual's knowledge of the world is mostly attained from the press and television and the absolute objectivity of the reporter is an ideal conception which doesn't have its answer in real life. This is the reason why an analysis of news is needed, because there is a reality constructed there.

The aim of newspaper analysis for this study is to determine how and to what extend newspapers have contributed to the formation of Turkish Cypriot identity. Even though Van Dijk's methodology is adopted for this study, a detailed analysis like he suggests will not be necessary because the aim of this thesis is not to display angled policies of the media or meaning production, re-presentation of events and facts in the media.

As mentioned above, this study embraces the critical approach to the media; in other words, the manipulative characteristic of media is adopted in the beginning and the aim is to ascertain how Turkish Cypriot identity is formed by different approaches and how the media as a manipulative tool contributed to this process.

For this purpose some micro level and macro level analyses of Van Dijk are employed in this study. Micro and macro level is the distinction in Van Dijk's discourse analysis model. Micro structure encloses lexical choice –syntax-, rhetoric and coherence. The most common examples given to concretize lexical choice are, the difference between to kill and to murder or the different usage of terrorist and freedom fighter. Active or passive forms of the sentences also engender an important change in the meaning of the sentence. Rhetorical structures of news are alliteration, rhyme, irony, metaphor, etc. "...the special means that make discourse more memorable and hence more persuasive... With the description of the macro level of discourse meaning we leave traditional linguistics and grammar behind us, and encounter such typical discourse notions as topics or themes" (Van Dijk 1998 (a), 10-12). Macro analysis is about the news schemata, the way that discourse is organized, the way that event or fact is framed in news.

For this study's intent, news which are placed on the front pages of the newspapers and columns are analyzed at a micro level to see how newspapers contributed to the formation of Turkish Cypriots' national identity. Together with the analysis of the newspapers individually, a comparison is needed as well, because as mentioned above, a discourse is

always in conflict with the other discourses and when it comes to Turkish Cypriot identity, there is an ongoing and clear conflict in the Turkish Cypriot media. While analyzing newspapers published in TRNC, newspapers are compared with each other for a better display of their different roads of approaches.

3. 2. In-depth Interviews Made with Opinion Leaders

In-depth interviews made with opinion leaders (politicians, journalists and non-governmental organization's chairman's) between the dates 29 May to 19 June 2008 will help to state the common attitude about national identity of Cypriots' in TRNC.

3.2.1. Turkish Cypriots' Ambiguous Definitions of their Self-identity

Two simple questions are addressed to interviewees as to assess self-definition of their identity: "Who is Cypriot in your opinion" and the second "What does being Cypriot mean to you". The answers to these questions may seen quite mind-boggling for an outsider who is not familiar with the historical background and the present situation. As a matter of fact, seven out of twenty interviewees clearly stated that ethnical belonging was not important, as illustrated in the answer of I8:

"The question of 'who is Cypriot' should be answered as those who live and produce in this country, who contribute to the process of production, and of course those who consider this country as their homeland, show their attachment and respect to this country. This is such a clear definition. We do not accept a definition with a reference to ethnical origins by any means. Besides its not proper and correct".

Another seven interviewees join them with somewhat less stronger assertion when they declare "Cypriot, of course is the one who feels himself/herself as Cypriot" as best illustrated in the answer of I17:

"Cypriot is of course the one who feels himself as Cypriot".

Five others also don't hesitate to stress their ethnical origins when answering the same questions as displayed in the answer of I4:

"Born or being raised in one place is not enough to determine one's identity. Preservation of the place is not enough to determine one's identity. Cultural background is also important and for this purpose you must fight".

A further consideration of the matter seems necessary when nine out of twenty interviewees suggest that self-identification is a process which may change in the course of events with the historical developments. In effect, following words of the I9 is strikingly interesting:

"Until 1974 Turkish Cypriots asserted themselves against Greeks as Turks, but in face of the new immigrant Turkish population they began to mark their identity as Cypriot". Just to confirm Hall's observation that history changes one's conception of him/her self (Hall 1996).

As a matter of fact as indicated in some other research (Kızılyürek 2002) Turkish Cypriots began to perceive their identity distinct from the "Turks" that came to settle on the island after the military intervention. Indeed, in the course of the interviews it has clearly emerged that a majority of the Interviewees consider themselves as both Turkish and Cypriot (16 out of 20). This implies that they feel themselves as "Turkish Cypriots" as a distinct identity. It is summarized in the answer of I12 as:

"On the one hand we are Turkish but on the other hand we are Turks living in the north of Cyprus different from Turks in Turkey. We have a different dialect, different behavior patterns and different visualizations".

However, some of them tend to attenuate the differences on the grounds best illustrated in the answer of I16:

"We cannot accept geography as a determining factor because, in Cyprus both Greeks (Greek Cypriots) and Turks (Turkish Cypriots) live in the same geographical location but this cannot be the determining factor. You may feel some closeness with each other when you are from the same geographical location. There is also the historical, cultural belonging and the difference of language. That makes one Turk and Cypriot both".

3.2.2. Attitude towards Turkey

Interviews indicate a clearly critical attitude towards Turkey. Feelings and stances are quite contradictory. On one hand most of the interviewees complain about the dominant posture of the Turkish State in the affairs of the Turkish community of the Island, on the other hand they voluntarily acknowledge that the Turkish Cypriots need the Turkish presence in the island. These contradictory views are even expressed with some very strong words such as "The Turkish State acts with a mind of a conqueror" (19) or "Relationships should not be based on a dichotomy of anavatan-yavruvatan" (motherland-babeland) (14).

The opposite views are also expressed with the same strong tone as in the answer of I1:

"If Turkish soldiers are forced to withdraw from Cyprus without a treaty, I emphasize this without reaching a formal treaty, I want to reiterate that without a prior peace treaty, I will also step on the last ship carrying the soldiers away from Cyprus. Some people are making fun of me. The ones who do not want Turkey, call me "the passenger of the last ship" but this is how I am and most of the Cypriots think the same way".

3.2.3. Turkish Cypriots' attitude towards Emigration from Turkey

Interviews clearly indicate a tendency among the native Turkish Cypriots to differentiate themselves from the emigrants coming from Turkey since it is almost always underlined in the responses of the 17 interviewees over 20.

The most emphasized point is the difference as to the practice of Islam religion. As pointed out in the response of I15, such a difference is seen as important because of conflict in everyday life:

"... As to the religion. Turkish Cypriots have a completely different perception. Although Turkish Cypriots also belong to the Islamic religion, their understanding of the practice of Islam is not rigid and radical as it is in the case of the emigrants from Turkey. Especially, such a rigid attitude is widespread among those who have migrated from certain regions of Turkey. This creates tension and causes certain disharmony among the ranks of the Turkish community on the island in general".

The differences as to the lifestyles are also underlined to indicate Turkish Cypriots as belonging to a distinct identity. However, among some interviewees (three out of 20) with apparently more nationalist viewpoints, such differences do not (and should not) change the essential common features as reflected in the response of I7:

"What is meant by the differences? Isn't there differences between people coming from different provinces and/regions such as Adana, Erzurum and/or Black Sea? Cyprus is a geographical site in which we live just like Adana or the Aegean region which, all have different features of the local cultures. Cyprus is also a geographical site where Turks with different local cultures live".

In this context it is worth mentioning that a distinction is often made between the Turks in general and the first Turkish settlers after the military intervention in 1974. This is very well illustrated in the following response of the I5:

"I believe it would be very helpful to draw a line between the first and last comers. I am sure the children andgrand children of the first comers adopted the Cypriot identity and life style and see Cyprus as their own country. The first generation still sticks to the Turkish life style and keeps it alive here, just like the first generation of Turkish workers in Germany: they have never been assimilated or integrated. But I think their children and grandchildren have adopted the life style to be able to get integrated with the Turkish Cypriots as did the next generations of Turkish workers in Germany. But, the problem arises due to those people who were brought here and granted citizenship to enlarge the electoral basis of certain political parties".

In the same connection another issue needs to be evoked. Although such an issue is not raised among the questions addressed to the interviewees, a considerable number of them (8 out of 20) directly or indirectly suggested that emigrants from Turkey were more inclined to commit crimes. And among the kinds of crimes committed, sexual assaults or beggary are frequently associated with the emigrants coming from Turkey.

These points should be related with the Turkish Cypriot's concern to protect their peculiar identity. As a matter of fact about one third of the interviewees (7 out of 20) display quite a strong fear of being assimilated by the emigrants coming from Turkey. In this connection the response of I2 is quite revealing:

"...the number of people coming from Turkey have already doubled the population. Natives are becoming minority and emigrants are becoming majority. We used to say that here in Cyprus there were two main nationalities: one being the Turkish Cypriots, the other the Greek Cypriots. Now the emigration from Turkey placed the Turkish Cypriots to the third rank in number. In the first rank there is the Greek Cypriots. The emigrants come next and the Turkish Cypriots rank only third. This is a great indication of how they lost their decision making power. Both through military occupation and settlers, Turkey colonized the Island".

From these words one can easily conclude that the Turkish emigrants began to be considered as the "other" as well as the Greek Cypriots.

3.2.4. Attitude towards Greek Cypriots

Attitude of Turkish Cypriots towards the Greek Cypriots is without any doubt the most revealing issue for the purpose of this study. This is perhaps why the interviewees approach the issue with quite a visible prudence. Only three of the respondents declare that there is no affinity between the two communities of the Island and exhibited a hostile attitude as indicated by the following statement:

"There are two different national identities in Cyprus, each of them feel and define themselves as either Turk or Greek" (I7).

However, those who admit the likeness in the national identity of the two communities tend to depict them through quite a narrow angle and try also to underline the essential differences as illustrated in the below statement:

"We can see that there are serious similarities between two communities living on the island. This is not something peculiar to islanders. Many behaviors, habits, cultural traits of the Greek and Turkish societies located on the opposite coasts of the Aegean Sea are common. I am, hereby, referring to entertainment culture and somewhat laziness and easy-goingness as a characteristic of Mediterranean nations as to eating habits, similar attitudes in traffic and their dealings with the public authorities. These are all common features. There are two salient and serious differences: religion and language (I15).

3.2.5. Effects of the Judgments Based on Passed Experiences

Traumas lived in the past years seem still to strongly affect the judgments of the interviewees. They are translated in the minds of Turkish Cypriots into a feeling of mistrust of "others" and lead to a feeling of loneliness and helplessness. Indeed, six interviewees express ingrained mistrust of Greek Cypriots and four respondents imply that they

don't have full confidence in their faith to Turkey. Another six interviewees express that they don't trust either of them. This view is very well illustrated in the following long words of I1:

"In 1878, this island, together with the people living on it, was leased to the British Empire in exchange of a certain number of gold coins. This is a huge trauma, this is how our dear Sultan valued Turkish Cypriots, or let's say people living on the island of Cyprus, because it is as well valid for the Greeks. Of course it wasn't only gold coins, there were also political alliances lying beneath it. Like the British would protect Ottomans against Russia in a war. The Sultan has mandated that his subjects in Cyprus will be loyal and obedient to the British Empire. This was the first trauma. Then in the 1900's, when Ataturk rose as a sun in World War I, the eyes of the Turkish Cypriots became fixed on Anatolia and watched Atatürk and his accomplishments; the Turkish blood in their veins started to boil and have enforced Ataturk's orders even before the Turks of Turkey. Then Ismet Pasa signed the Lozan Treaty following the instructions of Ataturk. With this treaty, the deed of Cyprus was handed over to British. This is how Ataturk, savior of Turkey is transposed to Turkish Cypriots. We still worship him and are still attached to his legacy in spite of our sore feelings. We have implemented all his revolutions here, because their realization was much easier in Cyprus. Then times have changed and the Turkish-Greek clashes started in the 1950s. In 1963, when Greek's all-out attack started, we thought that Turkey would come and rescue us. But Turkey was not there where it was needed. There was only some arm shipment in the Menderes era before the 60's. We have set up our own local underground resistance organization. Turkish army officers who came here to assist us also provided arms. We started to defend ourselves with those arms. Since then we have been encircled and reduced to some enclave. International protests also helped to stop the Greeks. Greeks attacked again in 1967. We thought this time Turkey would definitely come but warships turned back half way to Cyprus. Hundreds of Turkish Cypriots were assassinated in two villages. Turkey protested it, delivered a note and Greek soldiers in Cyprus retreated. This was an international success for Turkey but meant not much for us. Because invaded lands were crowded with a new population, with Greek settlers. When the year 1974 came, none of us had a hope that Turkey would come. But this time they came. As I said before, we have some traumas of the past in our minds and can't help thinking that if Turkey is offered something beneficial to its interest would the Turkish government say "it's a deal" and give Greeks more than they want"? We have such suspicions because when we look back at the history; we only see epic sermons such as "Cyprus is our national cause".

Such a state of mind is also evident in the following statement of the I17:

"We all carry at least three different passports; passports of Turkey, TRNC and the Republic of Cyprus. But we have problems as the possessors. Andrea has a Republic of Cyprus passport that truly belongs to him, but not me. Also, you have a Turkish passport but my position is totally different than yours. Mine is something that was given in consignment, it's a kind of laissez passé. And as for the TRNC passport, it is always treated with a smile since no one officially recognizes it except Turkey...Especially after gates separating the two sides of the island were opened, we had the chance to test how our common identity of being Cypriot would be exercise with the Greek Cypriots. But when we traveled to the South we are not welcomed by the Greek Cypriots. Of course no one can deny that our origins were Turkish but if I have been living on this island for about 4-5 centuries, this means I am a Cypriot. However Greek Cypriots didn't greet us as Cypriot just like themselves. They said "hold on, we are not the same" Their body language expressed this. It is always claimed that everyday 5-7 thousand go to the south to work there. People who made an application for a passport of Republic of Cyprus immediately realized that they were treated as a second-class citizen. Since the officers delivering the passports clearly inseminated that we really don't deserve to bear them."

The mood as revealed by the above statements of some respondents shed some light as to the considerations of the Turkish Cypriots who casted "yes" vote for the "Annan Plan". As a matter of fact 17 out of 20 respondents declare having voted for the "Annan Plan" because they all hoped, although with different justifications, that his plan would change the situation and would bring about material benefits to their living conditions.

Nine of the interviewees stated that their sole reason to back the Annan Plan was that the plan would bring about their international recognition, integration to EU and would offer better living conditions. This view is illustrated in the following words of I4:

"Integration into the E.U. with a united Cypriot state was opening a window to Turkish Cypriots for integration into the international community. If you approach from such a perspective, it promises you to live in a society with all its beneficial aspects, that is to say economic and political rights commensurate with the EU standards. This simply implies that you should set up partnerships with the Greek Cypriots. Once this partnership is established, it would provide you with an international identity and you would be integrated to the European Community".

Eight other respondents while sharing this view, also added that while this would throw off Turkey's tutelage over the Turkish Cypriots, it would also benefit Turkey in the accession negotiations with the EU.

As for the solution to the "Cyprus Problem", almost all interviewees indicate establishment of a federal state with two communities. This is also a clear reiteration of the fact that identity as a problem would persist even in the projections for the future settlement of the conflict.

3.2.6. A short general assessment

As one can easily deduce from the responses of the interviewees who can be taken as representative of the opinion leaders in the Turkish Part of the Island, there is not a clear definition of the Cypriots' "national identity".

Firstly, there is no commonly agreed upon identity which can be written in capital letter as "Cypriot". Immediately one is inclined to pronounce the attributive objectives "Greek" or "Turkish" to emphasize to whom s/he is referring to. This being the general case, there is no common agreement as to the perception of Turkish Cypriots as a distinct identity in the views expressed by the sample of interviewees of this study.

As a matter of fact, from the response of the interviewees three different perceptions of understanding as to the national identity of Turkish Cypriots emerge. Indeed, one perception tends to accept national identity only as Cypriot basing their arguments on the fact that people living together on an island like Cyprus are objectively obliged to cultivate and promote a common national identity. A second approach underlines and insists on historical and cultural ties and stresses the shared religious belief and common language, thus advances Turkishness as the only national identity for the Turkish Cypriots living in the island. Finally, a third perception underlines and combines the ethnic belongings and territorial commonality as indispensable components of the Cypriots national identity.

Scholarly research discloses that quite similar approaches as to national identity prevails also on the Greek side of the island (Peristianis 2006).

3.3. Press Portrayal of the Salient Events

As already explained, in this small community of Turkish Cypriots settled on the northern part of the Island, the press historically and traditionally plays a central role in the formation of political opinion. Indeed, the Turkish Cypriots' press was born in the world of politics at a time of crucial change in the history of the islanders. This is why in this study proceeded to the analysis of the selected papers during the periods of time when important events were taking place as to the Cyprus Conflict. Thus it is hoped to reach some additional insight as to the cultivation and dissemination of the viewpoints which could be useful to scrutinize the problem of the national identity of the Turkish Cypriots.

For this purpose three newspapers are chosen for analysis since their "lines" correspond to three different approaches to the question of national identity which emerged from the interviews that have been conducted.

One of the chosen newspapers, namely Volkan, represents the Turkish nationalist stance. The second newspaper, Afrika, is a devotee of the distinct national identity of the Cypriots. The third newspaper, Kıbrıs, has the largest circulation of the native press. With its mere commercialized feature it tends to promote the idea of an independent TRNC but sticks close to cooperation with Turkey.

Press portrayal of the events that took place in April 2003, April 2004 and April 2005 are chosen as the periods for analysis because in April 2003 the gates that separated the two communities were opened by an uniteral decision of Turkish Cypriot authorities and it is commonly referred as "free entries". April 2004 is the time period when the referendum campaign for the ratification of the Annan Plan was conducted. Finally, in April 2005 presidential elections were held in TRNC.

3.3.1. Newspapers' attitude towards the decision on "free entries"

On 23 April 2003 the TRNC, with the consent of the Turkish Government, opened the two gates that separed the two communities living on the island and permitted traveling from one part of the Island to the other with a unilateral decision. This move was not welcomed by the Greek Cypriot authorities since it could be considered as a move to recognize the legal authority of the TRNC and invited the Greek Cypriots not to travel to the "other side" while they declared to be ready to accommodate Turkish Cypriots desiring to travel to the South.

The journal Afrika announced the event on 22 April 2003 with a front page news report with an apparent felicity. But the catch word in the below news text was "torture" which announced the colour of the newspaper. It read: "Those who tortured us by keeping the gates closed for years now decided to open them! There is no need to thank the torturers for this!" The next day when the gates were actually open the front-page headline read: "All Cyprus is yours". The news was animated with a map of "undivided" Cyprus which was presented by a subtitle that read "Our people are now joining its other half after 29 years". As expected the portrayal of the same event was presented with a completely opposite interpretation by Volkan newspaper. In effect, the front-page headline read: "Taksim" (partition of the island) is getting consolidated". As is known, "Taksim" is the the policy goal of Turkish nationalist Cypriots to stick to the ideal of an independent Turkish state on the northern part of the Island.

3.3.2. The Debate over the Annan Plan

The coverage of the Annan Plan by newspapers before and after the referendum served as a "litmus test" of their political commitments.

Journal Afrika led the campaign in favor of the Annan Plan before the referendum and invited both the Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots to vote for the Plan on the grounds that they needed to prove that they were the sole rightful owner of the island as illustrated in the below words of the columnist (and politician) Özker Özgür: "Unless we, the Cypriot Turks and Cypriot Greeks, manage to prove that we are the rightful owner of our common homeland, they will continue to play with us like a cat plays with a mouse" (1 April 2004).

After the rejection of the Annan Plan by the Greek Cypriots, the journal Afrika regrets for the missed occasion but claims that the Greek side had sound grounds to cast a no vote. Newspapers seemed to be more concerned with the fear that the advocates of a divided Island would gain cause as illustrated in the following words of a columnist: "... (referring to USA and Turkish Republic) Deities are asserting that everything over and done with, peace proved to be an impossible taste and summoned the recognition of the TRNC and its convergence with Turkey. Our people itself, is about to destroy something that it could manage" (Beran Dağtaş, 25 April 2004).

Journal Afrika considered AKP Government's attitude with regards to Annan Plan as positive but began to suspect that after the no vote of Greek Cypriots Turkey would link the Cyprus Problem to imperatives of Turkey's association with the E.U. In effect just a few days following the referendum Newspaper's front-page headline read: "Ankara and TRNC disclose their new joint plan: A strategy of no resolution until Turkey becomes an E.U member" (26 April 2004).

Daily Kıbrıs also backed the Annan Plan but contrary to Daily Afrika this position was justified, that the resolution could only be found with mutual self-sacrifices. Consequently, after the rejection of the Plan by the Greek Cypriots journal Afrika saw the outcome as a missed opportunity, whereas it was seen by the daily Kıbrıs as an advantage offered to Turkish Cypriots. It slams the Greek Cypriots for not being sincere. It reads the declaration of E.U commissioner Günter Verheugen praising the Turkish

Cypriots for their yes vote as a "Slap on the face of Greek Cypriots" (28 April 2004).

As expected daily Volkan adopted a completely hostile attitude as to the Annan Plan. An ardent defender of Turkish nationalism Volkan saw the Annan Plan as something devised to dismantle the TRNC and depicted it as one step before the accomplishment of "Enosis" and stood resolutely against it as illustrated by its front-page headline just one day before the referendum: "TRNC will live forever" (22 April 2004).

Daily Volkan did not feel jubilation on the following day after the referendum but saw it as an occasion to reiterate its viewpoints: "Promise should be kept, embargos should be lifted, our state should be reinforced, TRNC should be officially recognized" (25 April 2004).

Volkan columnist also put the blame on the Turkish Government for the "yes" vote of Turkish Cypriots and regretted that the dictum "a Turk can lose only against another Turk has materialized once again" (Hasan Keskin, 25 April 2004).

3.3.3. 2005 Presidential Elections and the Newspapers

As can be expected, the issue of presidential elections and different perceptionalizations of national identity are reported by and debated in the daily papers in accordance with their different conceptualizations of the Cyprus problem.

Daily Volkan coverage of the elections indicate that this issue is seen and linked to the very existence of TRNC as a sovereign entity. In this respect the question asked by a columnist of the newspaper while commenting on the first presidential address of Mehmet Ali Talat is quite revealing: "Will the Turkish nation, the Turkish Cypriots accommodate a president who cannot utter Turkey is my homeland" (Sabahattin İsmail, 25 April 2005).

Talat's election also inspired a certain anxiety for the Daily Afrika on completely different grounds since its coverage promotes the idea that Talat would continue to follow a policy designed and devised by Turkish Government.

As for the Daily Kıbrıs, it should first of all be stressed that it is comparatively more concerned with and directed by commercial interests. Consequently it adopted a more cautious stance in its coverage of the presidential elections and preferred to underline that a new phase of political life was opening for the Turkish Cypriots since R.Denktaş was not a candidate in the elections.

Indeed, the election of Talat is hailed as an occasion of a new beginning for Turkish Cypriots that could lead them to a lasting peace and final resolution as the future coexistence on the island. And this linked to cooperations of Talat with the Turkish Government and the Greek Cypriots as reflected in the following words of Başaran Düzgün: "It seems that a new era in relations with Turkey is now beginning. Hitherto the anachronistic relations base on enforced inferiority and despise ceding to mutual understanding and feeling of collaboration" (30 April 2005).

3.3.4. A Short General Assessment

Exploration of three daily newspapers coverage of the same events from different angles with almost contradictory depictions is quite revealing as to the social and political function of the media. Moreover since the study is carried out in different years, such a situation can not be taken as a haphazard incidence.

As a matter of fact, interviews analyzed in the previous chapter had revealed the existence of three different and well-established perceptions of their national identity among the opinion leaders of Turkish Cypriots. Analysis of the press shows that all the major events of the political life on the island is interpreted and portrayed in the light of these distinct preexisting viewpoints as to national identity. This means that divergent views are cultivated and diffused, and thus, are reproduced by the press.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

This study attempted to inquire into the question whether or not the "Turkishness" as a national identity is reproduced in the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus. As is known, Cyprus is the scene of one of the longest international disputes of modern times. The main reason for the longstanding Cyprus dispute is the interethnic differences and clashes between the Greek and Turkish communities living on the island.

Communities coming from different ethnic and cultural origins and living within a common territory cannot reach a common identity and reproduce their own identities and this may create a "national question" and produce often violent clashes between the communities. This is why this study is designed to see how Turkish Cypriots identify themselves. For this purpose, after the representation of a brief theoretical frame and a historical overwiev of Cyprus as the scene of an international dispute, the viewpoints of those people that can be considered as representing the general opinion are investigated.

After the intervention of Turkey, Turkish nationalism reigning in TRNC corroborated Greek Cypriot's otherness. But on the other hand differences with emigrants from Turkey came in to the picture as time passed by and coexistence with "blood brothers" became more difficult day by day. With continuing emigration and enfranchisement, Turkish Cypriots began to fear for losing their original identity and political will to exist.

Turkish nationalist discourse began to lose its validity in TRNC and being Cypriot disclosure grew stronger. Greek Cypriots weren't the enemy any longer. On the contrary, it was Greek and Turkish Cypriots who had to stake out a claim on their own country, and emigrants from motherlands became the "others". The Annan plan which suggests a unified federal state for Cypriots became the saviour for Turkish Cypriots but Greek Cypriots voted against and after a while being Cypriot paradigm began to fall off. The most basic indication of this is NUP, the Turkish nationalist political party which Denktaş established, to be elected in April 2009.

It looks like lack of confidence against Greek Cypriots, which has its roots in history, is preventing the formation of Cypriot identity and discouraging Turkish Cypriots to embrace that identity. In spite of the fact that the Turkish Cypriots have complaints abouts emigrants coming from Turkey and the policies of Turkey regarding the Cyprus issue, the result of the referendum and majority of Greek Cypriots voting against the Annan Plan, caused Turkish Cypriots to lean towards their Turkishness once again. This is a powerful indication of the reproduction of Turkishness.

The analysis of the twenty interviewees' responses disclosed that there were three distinct perceptions among the Turkish Cypriots as to their national identity. Only a few respondents promoted the idea that Cypriots, regardless of their ethnical and cultural origins can (and should) cultivate and promote a distinct Cypriot identity. The vast majority (17 out of 20) stressed their Turkish origins as an indispensable component of their "national identity". However, again, the majority of them did not consider their attachment to Turkish origins as a factor that can not be reconciled with the fact that they are Cypriots as well. Contrary to the first two perceptions, a minority expressed their "national identity" as Turkish and did not foresee the possibility of generating a common identity with the Greek Cypriots due to the past events.

The viewpoints expressed by the interviewees esteemed as representative of the general opinion indicate that Turkishness is accepted by the majority as an indispensable component of the Turkish Cypriots. Moreover, the analysis of the newspaper contents also indicate that the same traits are also taken as the basis for the opinion disseminated by the

press. This clearly and simply means that Turkishness of the Cypriots of Turkish origin is continuously and resolutely reproduced on the island. In this connection there is every ground to assume that a similar situation prevails on the other part of the Island by the Greek Cypriots.

If distinct national identities are meticulously defended and promoted by significant numbers of the concerned populations, those who deploy their efforts to settle down the Cyprus dispute and assure an everlasting peace on the Island should all be aware of this fact.

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APPENDICIES

A. Interviews

A1. Interview conducted with I1 on 29 May 2008

Türkiyenin adadaki varlığından bahsederken:

Ah Türkler adadan gitse ne kadar mutlu olacağız diyen bir kesim var, bu görüşü ortaya koyanlar çok küçük bir azınlıktır. Dolayısıyla "aman bu Türkiye'den kurtulalım" gibi bir düşünce yaygın bir düşünce değildir. Benim bir yazım var, eğer bir anlaşma olmadan, altını çiziyorum bir anlaşma olmadan Türk askeri Kıbrıs'tan çekilmek durumunda bırakılırsa, askerleri taşıyan sonuncu gemiye ben de bineceğim. Benimle dalga geçenler var bu konuda işte bu Türkiye'yi istemeyen bir ekip var ya, "son geminin yolcusu" falan derler bana ama benim de bir çok Kıbrıslı Türk'ün düşüncesi de budur yani. Türk askeri burdadır tamam, bir anlaşma olursa akıllı, uslu gerekli güvenceler sağlanırsa çekilecektir adadan ama anlaşma olmadan çekilmesi kesinlikle düşünülemez bile.

Türkiye ile ilişkileri değerlendirirken:

"Türkiyenin Kıbrıs politikasına baktığımızda biz Kıbrıslılar veya ben diyeyim; ben, tarihsel süreç içinde bakarım Türkiye'nin veya Türkler'in diyelim Kıbrıs'a bakışına. Bu da ta Osmanlılara gider ve bizim beynimizde bazı travmalar var, sürekli dillendirmesek dahi bilinç altımızda o izlerini taşıdığımız travmalar var. Nedir bunlar? 1571 de adayı almış Osmanlı, gayet güzel, işte bizim atalarımızı getirmiş buraya, siz yerleşin demiş, toprak vermiş, herkese adil davranmış. Rumlara çok adil davranmış, hatta Türklerden daha da ileri haklar vermiş Rumlara, işte o güne kadar dini özgürlükleri yokken, çünkü katolikler yönetiyordu adayı Osmanlı gelene kadar, rumlar ortodoks olduğu için baskı altındaydılar, o özgürlükleri vermiş falan güzel. Çok adil bir düzen kurmuş o da güzel ama 1878 de şu kadar

İngiliz altınına adayı bizler de üzerinde olmak üzere İngiltere Krallığı'na kiralamış. Büyük bi travma, yani canımız efendimizin Kıbrıs Türküne veya Kıbrıs halkına diyelim, Rumlar için de geçerli bu, verdiği değer bu. Şu kadar ingiliz altını. Tabi sadece ingiliz altını değil arkasında siyasi ittifaklar da var, işte bilmem hangi savaşta İngiltere Osmanlı'yı Rusya'ya karşı koruyucak faln filan gibi ittifaklar da var. Ferman buyurmuş padişahımız efendimiz, Kıbrıstaki tebam İngiliz İmparatorluğuna sadakat gösterecektir, emirlerine uyacaktır. 1, travma 1. Nasıl hissedersiniz kendinizi bu durumda? Çok kötü hissedersiniz. 1878 de bunu yaşadık. Sonra 1900 lü yıllar, 1.Dünya Savası, Atatürk, günes gibi doğdu. Kıbrıs Türkünün gözü Anadoluda, o Türklük kanı kabardı, gözü Anadoluda Atatürk'ü gözlüyor. Türkiyeden önce Atatürk'ün her dediğini Kıbrısta uyguluyor, yapıyor ve Atatürkün talimatlarıyla İsmet Paşa, Lozan Anlaşmasını imzalıyor. Lozan Anlaşmasında o kirada olan Kıbrıs'ın tapusu, orjinal tapusu İngiltereye veriliyor. Türklüğü kurtaran Atatürk'ün Kıbrıs Türküne yansıması bu. Gene de Atatürk'ü tapma düzeyinde severiz, örnek alırız, aldık da, bütün getirdiği devrimleri, o tarihten sonra dahi bütün kırgınlığımıza rağmen türkiyeden önce burda uyguladık çünkü burda çok daha kolaydı. Harf devrimi, şimdi o zaman 20 milyon falan nüfusu Anadolunun, 20 milyonda uygulanması başka 100 bin nüfuslu bir topluma uygulanması başka, yani bi kaç ay içinde hemen harf devrimi burda devreye girdi. Kıyafet devrimi bir gecede devreye girdi, zaten, son geliştirilen deyimi de kullanmak istemiyorum; o ılımlı İslam lafını, ama yani İslamla ilişkimiz biraz daha zayıf olduğu için çok daha kolay oldu kıyafet devrimi, bir gecede geçmiş atalarımız o zaman. Atatürk'ü çok yakından izledi atalarımız ve bütün devrimlerini harfiyen uyguladılar. Hala daha Türk toplumları içinde Atatürk ilkelerine en sadık topluluk Kıbrıs Türk toplumudur diyebiliriz. Fakat simdi iki tane travma saydım size ve bu iki travmadan sonra sürekli böyle kafamızda Türkiyeye bakarken bir kuşku var. Şimdi Padişah 1878 de Kıbrıs'ı kiralarken mutlaka çok geçerli gerekçeleri vardı,

mutlaka, onun ayrıntılarını bilmiyorum ama Atatürkün gerekçelerini biliyorum. Atatürk Misak-ı Milli dediği sınırlar içindeki anavatanı kurmak, korumak, kurtarmak zorundaydı sadece Kıbrıstan değil kendi doğduğu yer olan Selanikten de vazgeçti Atatürk anlıyorum ama yüreğim de acıyor benim çünkü ben dışında tutuluyotum bu işin. Bu travmalar kafamızın bi köşesinde, hangi Kıbrıslı Türkle konuşursan konuş bunları bilmese dahi bilinç altında bu travmalar vardır. Sonra zaman değişti 50 li yıllar Türk-Rum çatışmaları başladı. 63'te Rumlar topyekün saldırıya geçti bize. Tabi türkler gelip bizi kurtaracak, Türkiye yok. Sağolsun işte 60 öncesi Menderes zamanından başlayan kıbrısa bi silah sevkiyatı var. Biz kendi yeraltı teskilatımızı kurduk burda, Türkiyeden subaylar geliyordu bu teşkilata yardımcı olmaya, silah da getiriyorlardı. O silahlarla kendimizi savunmaya başladık, gettolarda toplandık, kapalı bir toplum işte. Uluslararası protestolar, şunlar bunlar Rumlar durdu. 67 de tekrar saldırdılar, "tamam" dedik "ya artık Türkiye kesin gelir". Savaş gemileri denize açıldı fakat yarı yoldan geri döndüler. Meşur Johnson mektubu yanılmıyorsam 67 deydi ve Kıbrıs'a gelemeden geri döndüler. İki köyde yüzlerce Kıbrıslı Türk katledildi, Türkiye protesto etti, nota verdi bütün yapabildiği, Kıbrıstaki Yunan askerleri geri çekildi. Bu türkiye için uluslararası bir başarıydı ama bizim için çok da anlamı olan bir şey değildi çünkü bizim karşımızda yeni nüfus olarak bizden çok Rumlar vardı. Yıl geldi 1974' e, artık hiçbirimizin umudu yoktu yani Türkiye gelmez ve 74 de geldi ve çok da iyi etti, çok şükür ki geldi yoksa topumuzu birden katledeceklerdi burda ama dediğim gibi bazı travmalar var kafamızda ve yani her an düşünüyoruz, şimdi Türkiye kendi için çok yararlı olabilecek bir durumla karşılaşırsa, Türkiye hükümeti o gün acaba "tamam ya, Kıbrısta da işte ne biliyim fazla ısrar etmesek işte, Rumların istediklerini biraz daha fazla verelim" der mi? Diye. Sürekli bir kuşku var içimizde çünkü hep sürekli bir hamaset yapılır ya işte Kıbrısta bilmem milli davamız falan filan tarihe baktığımzda öle görünmüyor. En büyük Türk Atatürk'se,

Atatürk tapusunu verdi İngilize Kıbrısın, en büyük Türk oysa eğer. Dolayısıyla, tabii li 74 çok önemli bir dönüm noktası ve ondan sonraki politikalar tabii ki 74 ün yarattığı fiziki ve siyasi ortam üzerine inşa edilmiş ve bu günlere geldik işte ama kafamızda böyle rahatsızlıklar var yani.

A2. Interview conducted with I2 on 29 May 2008

Türkiye'den Kıbrıs'a göçü değerlendirirken:

Kaldı ki Türkiye'den buraya taşınan nüfus buradaki yerli nüfusu çoktan katladı, yerliler azınlığa düştü. Türkiyeliler, Türkiye'den taşınanlar çoğunluk olarak duruyor burada. Yani iki ana ulusal topluluğu vardır Kıbrıs'ın diyorduk eskiden, Kıbrıslı Türkler ve Kıbrıslı Rumlar. Şu anda Kıbrıslı Türkler 3. sıraya düşmüş durumdadır. Birinci Kıbrıslı Rumlar, ikinci Türkiyeliler, üçüncü de Kıbrıslı Türkler. Kendi siyasi iradelerini de böylelikle kaybetmişlerdir. Türkiye burasını doğrudan kolonize etmiştir, hem asker işgali hem de nüfus işgali, ben ikisine de karşıyım.

A.3. Interview conducted with I4 on 30 May 2008

Kıbrıslı olmak sizin için ne ifade ediyor? Sorusunu yanıtlarken:

Şimdi doğduğumuz, büyüdüğümüz yer dışında kültürünüzle de kimliğinizi oluşturursunuz diye düşünüyorum yani doğmak büyümek heralde tek başına yeterli değil. Onu sevmek, onun için mücadele etmek de gerekiyor. Yani Kıbrısta bizim yaşamımız hep korkularla ve mücadelelerle geçti. Bu mücadele de Kıbrısta huzur içinde yaşayabilme mücadeleseydi.

Türkiye ile ilişkileri değerlendirirken...

Demokrasiye onlar yön verdi, ekonomiye onlar yön verdi, Türkiyede gelen giden iktidarlar buradaki iktidarları manipüle ettiler, buradaki iktidarları ellerinde, avuçlarının içinde istedikleri gibi tuttular, çünkü parayı onlar veriyorlardı. Üretken bir toplum yoktu, üretmeyen toplum zaten var olamaz. Üretken bir toplum olmadığı için de memurun maaşını bile Türkiye ödediği için de ilişkiler ast üst ilişkisine dönmüştü. Oysa ki Türkiyeyle olan ilişkiler kardeşlik ilişkisine dayalı yani anavatan-yavru vatan milliyetçi söyleminin dışında olmalıydı. Asıl bekledğimiz şey buydu. Türkiyede hiç bir iktidar ve hiç bir siyasal parti bu konuda desteklemedi Kıbrıslı Türkleri, demedi ki "ya ben sizin kendi ayrı varlığınızı yaşatmanızı, geliştirmenizi, kimliğinizi oluşturmanızı istiyorum, işte size yardım ediyorum". Öyle demek yerine, "hayır siz Türksünüz, Türklerin bir parçasısınız, siz ayrı bir Kıbrıslı Türk kimliği olmamalıdır" diyen anlayışlarla karşılaştık.

Referandumla birlikte yükselen Kıbrıslılık söyleminden bahsederken:

Kıbrıslı kimliği ya da Kıbrıslılaşmaya daha yüzümüzü çeviriyor olmamız belki siyasal da bir gelişmenin sonucudur yani çünkü AB projesi Kıbrısda bir tek devletin kurulması ve o devletin gidip AB'ye üye olması ve Kıbrıslı Türklerin de toplumsal hayattan bir devlet içinde, uluslararası toplumun içinde ve uluslararası toplumla barışık olarak yaşaması gibi yeni bir pencereydi bu. Bu pencereden baktığınızda, ekonomisiyle, demokrasisiyle, yasalarıyla, anlayışlarıyla, insan haklarıyla bütün bunlar bir pakettir ve dolayısıyla bu paketi sağlayabilecek olan şey Kıbrıslı Türklerin, Kıbrıslı Rumlarla ortak olmaları anlamına geliyordu. Bu nedenle, siz ortağınıza daha çok yaklaşırsınız çünkü ortağınız sizi Avrupa'ya taşıyacak, size uluslararası kimlik taşıyacak, sizi Avrupa'nın içine yerleştirecek ve artık buralarda bizim gibi eski gazetecilerin insan hakları ihlal edilmeyecek yani insan hakları ihlalleri olmayacak çünkü biz hem çözümün ama onun yanında demokrasinin de savaşını verdik yıllarca.

A.4. Interview conducted with I5 on 4 June 2008

Türkiye'den Kıbrıs'a göçü değerlendirirken:

İlk başta gelenlerle son dönemde gelenler arasında bence ciddi bir ayrım yapmakta fayda var. Yani 74'te 75'te gelen insanların birinci kuşak değil ama onların çocukları veya torunlarının artık Kıbrıslı kimliğini benimsediklerinden ve Kıbrıs'ı kendi vatanları olarak gördüğünden eminim. Fakat işte çeşitli seçim çıkarları için olsun veya bir takım maddi çıkarlar için olsun getirilen daha doğrusu kendilerine vatandaşlık verilen insanlar, sanırım esas sorun onlardan çıkıyor. Yoksa özellikle 74, 75 te gelip, özellikle çocukları ve torunları, bence o kıbrıslı kimliğini üstlendiklerini ben düşünüyorum.

Gelen 1. kuşak türkiyeyi yaşatıyo burda hala daha türkiyeyi yaşıyor. Yani şeyi düşünün Türkiyeden Almanyaya giden 1. kuşağın yaşadığı gibi. Onlar asimile asla olmadılar, entegre de olmadılar aynı şeyde yaşıyolar hala daha fakat onların çocukları ve onların torunları nasıl entegre olmuşlarsa Almanya, Fransız veya Belçika toplumu içinde, aynı şekilde Kıbrıs'a gelmiş olan kişilerin çocuk veya torunları da aynı şekilde entegre olduklarını düşünüyorum. Fakat buların haricinde mesela birinci kuşaktan bahsedersek veya son dönemde gelen kişilerden bahsedersek yeme alışlanlıkları, yeme içme alışlanlıkları, davranış kalıplarının farklı olduğunu düşünüyorum.

A.5. Interview conducted with I7 on 5 June 2008

Sizce Kıbrıslı kimdir? Sorusunu yanıtlarken:

Kıbrıslı diye bir kimlik yok, Kıbrıslı kimliği uydurma bir kimliktir, Kıbrısta Türkler ve Rumlar vardır. Türkiye'den gelen Türklerin, kökleri Anadoluda hangi bölgelerden, hangi aşiretlerden ve hangi ailelerden geldiklerine dair kayıtlarda hepsi isimleri var. Bir de kendilerini Yunan kökenli olarak kabul eden, gelip geçmiş kavimlerin arkada bıraktıklarından karışmış, oluşmuş, melez bir toplum var, Rum

toplumu ve dolayısıyla Kıbrıs'ta kendini Türk ve Rum olarak tanıtan iki ayrı ulusal kimlik var iki ayrı halk var.

Türkiye'den Kıbrıs'a göçü değerlendirirken, sizce Türkiye'den gelen Türklerle Kıbrıslı Türkler arasında nasıl farklılıklar var sorusu üzerine:

Ne fark? Adanalı olmakla, Erzurumlu olmak arasında ne fark var? Adanalı olmakla Karadenizli olmak arasında ne fark var? Kıbrıs da yaşadığımız bir coğrafya, nasıl ki Adana bir coğrafya, Ege bir coğrafya, ayrı bir coğrafya, bütün özellikleriyle ve yerel kültürüyle, nasıl ki Karadeniz iklim özellikleri ve yerel kültürüyle ayrı bir coğrafya, Kıbrıs da türklerin yaşadığı bir coğrafya. Burada yerel ağzıyla, ki bu ağız geldiğimiz Anadolu'nun bölgelerindeki ağızın aynısıdr, yapılan bütün bilimsel araştırmalarda bu kanıtlanmıştır, özellikle Konya, Ereğli, Alanya, Antalya, Güney Anadolu bölgelerinde kullanılan ağız, İç Anadolu bölgesinde kullanılan ağız burda da kullanılıyor, yani bu yerel ağız ayrı bir kimlik olduğu anlamına gelmez kıbrısta.

A.6. Interview conducted with I8 on 6 June 2008

Sizce Kıbrıslı kimdir? Sorusunu yanıtlarken:

Kıbrıslı kimir sorusu şöyle tanımlanmalıdır, üreten bu ülkede üreten, üretime katkı koyan ve bu ülkeyi elbette ki yurdu sayan insanlardır, çok açık bir tarifi vardır, hiç bi şekilde köken tarifini Kabul etmiyoruz ve doğru da değildir zaten.

A.7. Interview conducted with I9 on 6 June 2008

Sizce Kıbrıslı kimdir? Sorusunu yanıtlarken:

Şimdi Kıbrıslı kavramını ucu açık bir kavram olarak düşünmek gerektiğini düşünüyorum ben. Dolayısıyla böyle sınırları çizilmiş, kriterleri belli bir tanımdan ziyade ucu açık, inclusive, içeren bir kavram olarak düşünmenin yararı vardır. 74'e kadar Kıbrıslı Türkler kendilerini Rumlara karşı tanımlayabilmek için Türklük kavramını öne çıkarmışlardır, 74 ten sonra ise üzerine gelen yeni nüfusla birlikte Kıbrıslı Türklüğün, "Kıbrıslı" kavramını ön plana çıkarmışlardır. Böyle bir gelişimi oldu şeyin, kimlikle ilgili şeyin.

Türkiyeyle ilişkileri değerlendirirken:

Türkiyenin Kıbrıs'ta izlediği kültür politikasını nazi Almanyalarının doğu politikasına benzetiyorum. Onlar diyordu ki, öyle şeyler yapacaksın ki orasının bir alman yurdu olduğu 10 mil uzaktan belki de 20 mil uzaktan da şeyetsin. Camiler yapma, onlara imam yollama konusunda ısrarlı bir politika devam ettiriliyor. Kiliseler camiye çevriliyor falan böyle bir fetihçi zihniyet.

A.8. Interview conducted with I12 on 9 June 2008

Sizce Kıbrıslı kimdir? Sorusunu yanıtlarken:

1960 tan önce doğanlar için Kıbrıslı kimliği başkadır çünkü Rumları gördüler, İngiliz dönemini yaşadılar. Onların onlar kimliğinde, dünyasında Rumlar ve İngilizler vardır hatta biraz daha gittiğinizde babalarımız Kıbrıslı geriye kimliğini Rumca konuşulmadan İngilizce konusulmadan ve tabii Türkçe konuşulmadan tahayyül edemezlerdi. 74 ten sonra doğan bir kişi için Kıbrıslı heralde adanın yarısıdır. Sanki o milli kimliği doğuştan kendisine gelmiş gibi Türktür. Entelektüeller için de farklıdır kimlik, onlar kendilerini özellikle sol entelektüeller, milli kimlik üzerinden siyaset yapmadıkları için daha evrensel düşünürler, önce insan olarak tanımlar ama daha çok zenginleştirmesi için Kıbrıslılık kimliğini adanın geçmişine giderler, yani kendilerini kozmopolit olarak tanımlar sol entelektüeller de. Bu karmaşıklıkların içerisinden Kıbrıslı kimdir diye sorulduğunda Annan Planı döneminde nükseden bi taraftan Kıbrıslı türk diğer taraftan biz kuzeyde Türkiye'den ayrı bir Türküz işte lehçesi değişik, hal ve davranışları değişik, tahayyülleri değişik.

A.9. Interview conducted with I15 on 10 June 2008

Türkiye'den Kıbrıs'a göçü değerlendirirken:

Türkiye halkı ile Kıbrıslı türk halkı arasında da ciddi farklılıklar var. Örneğin din konusunda Kıbrıslı Türklerin çok farklı bir algılayışı, çok farklı bir yaşantıları var. Müslümanlığı tercih etmekle birlikte katı ve kökten dinci eğilimler burada neredeyse yok denecek kadar, toplum hayatını etkileyen bi yönü yok ama Kıbrıs'a Türkiye'den gelip yerleşen, özellikle belirli bölgelerden gelip yerleşen insanlarda bu eğilimler olduğunu görüyoruz. Bunlar da tabi buradaki toplumla türkiyeden gelen bazı kesimler arasında bir çatışma yaratıyor çünkü bir uyumsuzluk söz konusu oluyor.

Kıbrıslı Rumlar'dan bahsederken...

Şu an itibariyle Kıbrıslı Rumların Kıbrıslı Türklerle ilelebet sürecek bir geleceği kurma projesine henüz çok net bir biçimde evet dediklerini göremiyoruz. 1974'ten 2003'e kadar birbirleriyle temas kurmakta zorluk çektiler, fiziki zorluk çektiler ama 2003 yılının nisan ayında kapılar bir şekilde açıldı ve temas başladı. Bu temasın baslamasından iki toplumun birbirleriyle sonra bu ilgili algılamalarında ciddi değişimler oldu. Birkaç kuşak en azından, birbirini hiç tanımadan tutum belirliyordu, önyargı belirliyordu ve genelde bu önyargı da ötekini düşman gösteren bir zihniyete dayanıyordu. Şimdi artık insanlar birbirleriyle temas kurabiliyor, birbirini görebiliyor ve aslında aralarında dil ve din farkları olmasına rağmen çok ciddi benzerlikler olduğunu da görüyor. Aynı adada yaşayan insanların bir sürü davranışının, alışkanlığının, kültürünün ortak olduğunu gösteriyor bu. Ege'nin iki yakasındaki Türk ve Yunan halklarının birbirine benzediği gibidir yani işte eğelence kültürü, temebellik iste rahat biraz iste. Akdenizli gibi yasama gibi unsurlar, yeme içme alışkanlıkları, trafik kazalarındaki benzer tavırlar, park etmedeki rahatlık, otorite tanıma konusundaki rahatlıkları falan bunlar

ortak davranışları ama tabi bunun yanında din ve dil gibi iki ciddi farklılıklar.

A.10. Interview conducted with I16 on 10 June 2008

Sizce Kıbrıslı kimdir? Sorusunu yanıtlarken:

Kıbrıslı, bana göre Kıbrıslı Kıbrıslı Türktür. Kıbrıslı Türk'ün yapısal olarak kimliği birkaç türlü aidiyet ile tanımlanır. Bunun altını çizmek lazım, bir tanesi coğrafi aidiyetir, Kıbrıs adasına ait olmakla ifade edilen bi şeydir. Bir tanesi siyasi aidiyettir, siyasi aidiyet Kıbrıs adasına ait olan Türk insanının oy verme, seçme ve seçilme hakkını kullandığı yerdir, bu da Kuzey Kıbrıs Türk Cumhuriyeti Devleti'dir. Türkiye Cumhuriyeti değildir, çünkü seçme ve seçilme hakkını kullandığı yer Kuzey Kıbrıs Türk Cumhuriyetidir, vatandaşlık bağıyla bağlı olduğu yer burasıdır, siyasi aidiyeti de budur. Kültürel aidiyeti kullandığı dilde ifadesini buluyor, Türk kültürüdür, Türktür yani. Bir de psikolojik aidiyet vardır, psikolojik aidiyeti Kıbrıs adası üzerinde belli bir coğrafi ve iklimsel ortamda yaşamasının ondan yarattığı psikolojik özelliklerdir, bu özelliği ile Kıbrıslı Rumlarla arasında doğal bir yakınlık vardır, başka bir şey yoktur Kıbrıslı Rumlarla arasında bu doğal yakınlık dışında. Hiçbir zaman coğrafyayı tanımlayıcı veya belirleyici, tayin edici bir etken olarak göremeyiz onun için, neden söylüyorum bunu, Kıbrıs'ta Rumların da Türklerin de coğrafi aidiyeti Kıbrıs adasıdır ama bu tayin edici, belirleyici bir etken değildir.

A.11. Interview conducted with I17 on 10 June 2008

Sizce Kıbrıslı kimdir? Sorusunu yanıtlarken:

Kıbırslı tabii ki kendini Kıbrıslı hissedendir, çok soyut gelir bu tanımlama belki ama, bu bir sorgulama, bitmeyen bir sorgulama aslında çünkü Kıbırıslı Türkler 1571 de ataları Türkiye'den gelmiş

olmasına rağmen kendilerini Anadolu'da yaşayan biri gibi hissetmedi ya da büyük çoğunlu hissetmedi ya da ben ve benim gibi düşünenler hissetmedi diyeyim. Biz Kıbrıslıyız dedik ama Rumlarla da bir farkımız olduğumu hissettik dedik ki biz o zaman Kıbrıslı Türküz. Çünkü bir coğrafya parçasında yani Ankaralısınız, İstanbullusunuz, Hataylısınız, Konyalısınız, Mağusalısınız, Lefkoşalısınız, Girnelisiniz, Kaymaklılısnız ve bunu biraz açarsak Kıbrıslısınız bu bağlamda tabii ki bunlar ayırt edici tanımlamalar yani biri merak eder sizi de bunu söylersiniz. Kıbrıs üzerinde bunu bir ortak tanımlama olarak kullanmak istediğimiz zaman bir ihtiyaç olarak da biz bunu gördük, biz Kıbrıslı Türküz dedik ve Kıbrıslılığı aslında belki şuur altında bunun Kıbrıslı Rumlarla ortak bir buluşma noktası olmadığını bildiğimiz için Kıbrıslı müslümanız demedik Kıbrıslı Türküz dedik, belki Türkçe konuşmamız, Türkçe konuşan Kıbrıslılar, Rumca konuşan Kıbrıslılar dedik.

Ama özellikle kapıların açılmasından sonra Kıbrıslı Rumlarla Kıbrıslılık müştereğimizin ne kadar hayat bulacağını bir sınama fırsatımız oldu, bu fırsatı bulduğumuz zaman baktık ki Güneydekiler de çok da sarılmak istemedi, yani evet gidip Konya'daki birine kardeşim ben de Türküm demek gibi bir çabamız olmadı büyük çoğunluğuyla Kıbrıslı Türklerin ama güneyi istedik biz. Güneye de gittiğimiz zaman koştuk sarılalım birilerine, onlar dedi nooluyor? yani "ne gardaşlığı ne Kıbrıslısı?". Dolayısıyla bir baktık, döndük kaldık orta yerde biz, yani benzetme yerindeyse yeşil hattın üzerinde kaldık kuş gibi. Ne Türküz, Türküz yani köken olarak bunu kimse bence inkar edemez ama diyoruz ki, ben bu adada eğer 4 yüz 5 yüz yıl yaşadıysam artık ben buralıyım, Kıbrıslıyım ama şurası da bi gerçek ki Rumlar bizi kendileriyle eşit oranda Kıbrıslı görmediler. Bu dert özellikle 1974 sonrası kapalı kapılar ardında kaldı ama tam bir araya geldik, artık buluştuk o zaman dediler ki "durun, biz sizle aynı değiliz". Vücut dilleri bunu söyledi ve günde 5 bin 7 bin insanın güneye çalışmaya gittiği iddia edilir, oraya giden insanlar ikinci sınf işçi muamelesi gördüğünü fark etti. Ve hepimizin cebinde Kıbrıs cumhuriyeti kimlik ve pasaportu var ama pasaportları bize uzatırken ilgili dairedeki memur, başvurumuzu alırken de "yani sizin çok da hakkınız yoktur bunda ama neyse" der gibi verdiler.

Ve biz asgari 3 pasaport taşırız çok kolay bi şekilde, TC pasaportu, KKTC pasaportu ve Kıbrıs Cumhuriyeti pasaportu, üçünü de sahiplenmede proplemimiz vardır. Kıbrıs cumhuriyeti pasaportu Andrea'da da var ama Andrea için tam onundur benim için tam benim değil. Türkiye cumhuriyeti pasaportu sizin de var, benim de var ama sizinki sizindir, benimki emaneten verilmiş yani köprüyü geçmem için verilen bir rase pase dir. KKTC pasaportuna da Türkiye'de bile böyle bakarlar ve müstehzi bir gülümsemeyle işlem yaparlar, yani onu da kimse tanımaz Türkiye'den başka. Bunlar hep kimliğin parçaları ve Kıbrıslı işte kıbrısta yaşayan, kendini buralı hisseden insandır ama sizin sorunuz, sorguladığınız Kıbrıslılık tabii ki algıladığım kadarıyla ulusal bir kimlik, nationality olarak algılanıp algılanmadığı bizim tarafımızdan biraz da. İsteriz öyle bir şey olsun ama yok öle bir şey.

B. Newspapers

B1. Afrika Newspaper, 22 April 2003



"Those who tortured us by keeping the gates closed for years now decided to open them! There is no need to thank the torturers for this!"

B.2. Afrika Newspaper, 23 April 2003



[&]quot;All Cyprus is yours"

[&]quot;Our people is now joining its other half after 29 years"

B.3. Volkan Newspaper, 23 April 2003



"Taksim (partition of the island) is getting consolidated"

B.4. Afrika Newspaper, 1 April 2004



"Unless we, the Cypriot Turks and Cypriot Greeks, manage to prove that we are the rightful owner of our common homeland, they will continue to play with us like a cat palys with the mouse"

B.5. Afrika Newspaper, 25 April 2004



"... (referring tu USA and **Turkish** Republic) Deities are asserting that whole thing's over and and done with, Peace proved to be an impossible taste and summoning the recognition of the TRNC and its convergence with Turkey. Our people itself, is about to destroy

something that

it could

manage"

B.6. Afrika Newspaper, 26 April 2004



"Ankara and TRNC disclose their new joint plan: A strategy of no resolution until Turkey becomes an E.U member"

B.7. Kıbrıs Newspaper, 28 April 2004



"Slap on the face of Greek Cypriots"

B.8. Volkan Newspaper, 22 April 2004



"TRNC will live forever"

B.9. Volkan Newspaper, 25 April 2004



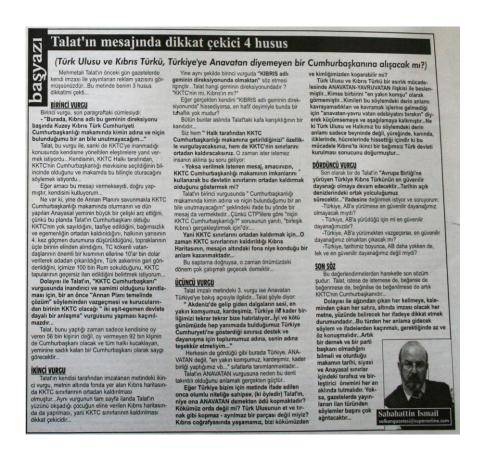
"Promise should be kept, embargos should be lifted, our state should be reinforced, TRNC should be officially recognized"

B.10. Volkan Newspaper, 25 April 2004



[&]quot;A Turk can loose only against another Turk has materialized once again"

B.11. Volkan Newspaper ,25 April 2005



"Will the Turkish nation, the Turkish Cypriots accommodate a president who cannot utter Turkey is my homeland"

B.12. Kıbrıs Newspaper, 30 April 2005



"It seems that a new era in relations with turkey is now beginning. Hitherto the anachronistic relations base on enforced inferiority and despise ceding to to mutual understanding and feeling of collaboration"

B.13. Kıbrıs Newspaper, 29 April 2004



For the first time....

Until today, during the process of search for a solution in the island there have been plenty of important milestones which got behind..

It was the Cyprus Turkish side who lost everytime, without any exceptions.

24 April 2004 was also an important milestone. And for the first time, beside losing we are the ones who won while a milestone is left behind.

B.14. Kıbrıs Newspaper, 27 April 2004



Greek Cypriots, in the Enosis referendum which was conducted in 1954, have written down their determination of not to share any thing with Turks into the history, with a 100% majority. Since then a long time loaded with bitter experiences passed. And 54 years later, they have again showed that they do not have a sharing spirit, they are so far away. Time changes but they never.