

**EXPLORING THE PROCESS OF NATIONAL IDENTITY  
CONSTRUCTION IN THE CONTEXT OF SCHOOLING IN THE  
TURKISH REPUBLIC OF NORTHERN CYPRUS**

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## **ABSTRACT**

**The University of Manchester  
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### **EXPLORING THE PROCESS OF NATIONAL IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION IN THE CONTEXT OF SCHOOLING IN THE TURKISH REPUBLIC OF NORTHERN CYPRUS 2013**

The research reported in this thesis explores national identity construction by students in the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC). A lower secondary school (6-8 grades, 11-14 years) was the site where the research took place. The study was designed to examine the relationship between students' construction of national identity and their educational experience. The aim was to reveal and examine the sense of national self this age-group of students in Northern Cyprus had, how through their education they were placed in the immediate community and the broader social and geo-political space, and what factors contributed to the process of the construction of their national identification. The study was undertaken using multimedia data collection methods, specifically (1) primary texts; (2) interviews with students, teachers, school managers, textbooks writers and officials from the Ministry of Education; and (3) on-site observation of the school at work and lessons. The analytic framing for enquiry was based on Foucault's programme of investigation of the constitution of the subject, which approached the process of national identity construction as an interplay of the structural environment of schooling and of individuals' agency, revealed through a set of practices. The study findings indicated that the schooling experience played a distinct role in shaping national identities of students. The school was shown to actively promote the state, the TRNC, where the school was located. The state rituals and state ideology were reproduced through school practices, which modeled prescriptive patterns of state structures but were also seen as 'school-specific'. Viewed as such, school practices, through which the students were positioned as belonging to their state, reproduced and sustained the social norms practiced in society. The patterns of students' positioning as belonging to their state reflected conflicting conditions of the existence of the TRNC. Through their schooling experience, the students were positioned as belonging to the same national group. At the same time, the students were shown to be capable of strategizing in making their individual choices of self-positioning in relationship to the world of states and nations. Several interrelated factors contributing to the process of national identity construction were identified as education policies, schooling environment, teachers' agency and students' agency. Theorized through Foucault's analytic concepts of *technologies* these factors were seen as parts of the same process and were clustered into a diagram mapping the technologies in relation to one another as four interrelated factors.

## **DECLARATION**

No portion of the work referred to in the thesis has been submitted in support of an application for another degree or qualification of this or any other university or other institute of learning.

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## A Linguistic Note on Reading Turkish

Personal names and pseudonyms in Turkish are used throughout this thesis in their original Turkish spelling. This linguistic note aims to assist the reader with reading such words.

The Turkish language uses an expanded Latin alphabet. In addition to the 26 letters found in the English alphabet, the Turkish language alphabet includes letters **ç**, **ğ**, **ı**, **ö**, **ş** and **ü**. Equivalence of their sound in Turkish can be roughly represented by English sounds as following:

**ç** as *ch* in *chair*

**ğ** is mute but lengthens preceding vowel

**ı** as *y* in *rhythm*

**ö** as *ir* in *bird*

**ş** as *sh* in *shelf*

**ü** as *ew* in *few* or *u* in *lute*

A few letters found in both the English and Turkish alphabets have different sounding in the two languages. Turkish

**c** is pronounced as English *j* in *joke*

**j** is pronounced as *s* in *pleasure* or *measure*



## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

#### 1.0 Introduction

The research reported in this thesis explores national identity construction by students in the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC). A lower secondary school (6-8 grades, 11-14 years) was the site where the research took place. The study was designed to examine the relationship between students' construction of national identity and their educational experience. The aim was to reveal and examine the sense of national self this age-group of students in Northern Cyprus had, how through their education they were placed in the immediate community and broader social and geo-political space, and what factors contributed to the process of the construction of their national identification.

The research questions that structure the study are:

1. How do students of lower secondary school in the TRNC construct their national identity?
2. What factors contribute to the process of the construction of national identity by students of lower secondary school in the TRNC and why?

The approach to the notion of national identity adopted is based on the work of Barrett (2007), where I use a conceptualization of national identity as *affiliation and belonging to a particular state and nation and positioning of oneself in relationship to the world of states and nations*. Such an approach suggests that the investigation of the process of national identity construction of the students in the TRNC looks at how students are positioned and position themselves in relation to states and nations in the context of schooling.

The study was undertaken using multimedia data collection methods, specifically (1) primary texts, which include pictures and various other symbolic representations found on the school site, in addition to conventional texts such as education policies, national curriculum and textbooks; (2) interviews with students, teachers and managers at school, and those involved in education reform such as new history textbook writers and officials from the Ministry of National Education and Culture; and (3) on-site observation of the school at work and lessons.

Foucault's theorizing on the constitution of the subject was used as a means of understanding and explaining the data. This meant that the process of national identity construction in the context of schooling was viewed as neither the passive reproduction of dominating structures, nor a manifestation of free will, but as the constant interplay of the two, revealed through a set of practices. This approach to the analyzing of the social processes is articulated by Foucault as the interplay of various *technologies*, and is conceptualized in this study as the interplay of structure and agency. Conceptualization of Foucault's theorizing in terms of the interplay of structure and agency enabled an examination of the process of national identity construction through the interaction between the agency of individuals and the structural schooling environment.

Interpreted through the lens of Foucault's analytic tools, all the relevant data (written texts, observations, interviews) were collated in order to address the research questions.

## **1.1 Rationale for the study**

As a researcher working in the field of education, I have chosen to examine national identity construction in the educational setting in the TRNC – one of the two Cypriot states. My interest in national identity issues derives from my personal experience of living in different countries and of frequent international traveling. Crossing state borders always brings to the fore the

meaning of national identification and its power to place one in the sun or in the shade (especially when it puts one in the shade). My interest in Cyprus, and the Turkish Cypriot community in particular, stems from many years of living and working in Cyprus. Since 2003, my time on the island has been more or less evenly divided between the North and the South. Be it north, south, east or west, I have become acutely aware of the zones of separation on the island. It is hard to disagree with Jepson (2006) who observes that 'in almost any area of Cyprus, one is aware of its edges, its physical boundaries' (p. 159). The fact that four distinct political zones exist on a fairly small island is unusual. The flag gallery on the island is even more remarkable.

Depending on the location, one can find oneself under the flag of Greece, the Republic of Cyprus, Turkey, the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, Great Britain, the European Union (EU) and, to complete the picture, the United Nations (UN). Indeed, it is a gathering of nations but not united. These are not 'routine' flags in Billig's (1995, p. 38) terms. They all have 'symbolic mindfulness' (Billig 1995, p. 41); they flag the territory in a very conscious manner.

Cruising among the flags, 'no-entry' zone signs, barbed wire, guarded border crossings, all of which intermingle with the bright colors of bougainvillea, lemon and orange groves, sleepy villages, dusty streets in towns, beautiful beaches and ancient sites, I found myself more and more committed to the task of learning about the people who live amidst this mosaic of improbable mixtures.

The island of Cyprus has been officially rated as a 'conflict zone' in international discourse for at least forty-nine years – since the beginning of the Constitutional Crisis in the Republic of Cyprus in December 1963, followed by the dispatch of UN peacekeeping force to the island in March 1964 (The UN Security Council resolution 186 (1964)), which is still in place at the time of this writing.

The consequence of the unresolved 'Cyprus problem' is that the two prominent communities of Cyprus – Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot – have been territorially and politically separated into two entities. The Turkish Cypriot community has been in political and economic isolation for the entire period of the existence of its state, the TRNC, since its proclamation in 1983. Isolation of the TRNC and the restrictions on movements in and out of its territory prevented the regular travels of Turkish Cypriots to any countries other than the Republic of Turkey; likewise those restrictions averted regular visits by foreigners into the land of Turkish Cypriots. In pre-Internet times, the Turkish Cypriot community of Cyprus was unable to generate any form of publicity outside its territory and was practically unknown to the outside world. The outcome of such relative obscurity is that much of the English-language literature pays only cursory attention to the Turkish Cypriot community.

Since the opening of the border crossings between the two Cypriot states in 2003, access to the TRNC became more open. This resulted in an increased number of research projects on the Turkish Cypriot community. However, among recent publications very few have focused on education in the TRNC, and specifically on issues of national identification in educational context. Studies addressing the issues of national identity fluctuations in the Turkish Cypriot community render those issues on a community level (Çarkoğlu & Sözen 2004; Lacher & Kaymak 2005; Vural & Rüstemli 2006; Mertkan-Ozunlu & Thomson 2008; Navaro-Yashin 2006). No empirical research has been carried out on current processes of national identification among younger Cypriots in the TRNC in general, nor has there been such investigations in the educational context *in situ*. Thus, the present study is the first of its kind in beginning to address the issues of national identification in the context of schooling in the TRNC.

It is planned that the research findings will perform several functions: that they will fill the gap between urgency and increasing general interest in and

the shortage of information regarding the Turkish Cypriot community; that they will contribute positively to the debate on Cyprus and, specifically, the Northern Cyprus community by allowing an assessment of the developments in the Turkish Cypriot state; that they will contribute to the debate on education in conflict zones by locating those aspects of the educational system which are most crucial to the individuals' outlook at themselves and the world around them; that they will contribute to the understanding of the process of national identity construction in the context of schooling; and that they will establish the platform upon which further systematic studies might be constructed.

Several research papers, which developed out of the present study, have already addressed some implications of the study's research framework and findings. One such paper reported on the possibilities which Foucault's work opens for the investigation of the process of national identity construction in the context of schooling, and argued for the utility of Foucault's analytic tools in a variety of educational contexts (paper presented at the annual conference of the British Educational Research Association (BERA), Institute of Education, University of London, UK, September 2011). Another conference presentation proposed Foucault's theorizing on the constitution of the subject as a methodological approach to researching agency in educational contexts (presented at the Agency Conference, Cambridge University, UK, June 2012). Preliminary findings on national identity constructs in the TRNC's school context, as emerging from the data collected for the present study, were discussed at different venues as poster and paper presentations (annual conference, Centre for Research on Nationalism, Ethnicity and Multiculturalism (CRONEM) University of Surrey, Guildford, UK, July 2008; annual conference BERA, The University of Manchester, September 2009; Postgraduate Research Conferences, The University of Manchester, July 2011 and December 2011; seminar Researching Multilingually, Durham University, UK March 2012).

## 1.2 Thesis structure

This first introductory chapter presented the aims and rationale of the study, and the research questions which structure the study. **Chapter Two** expounds on the central concept of this study - national identity - and discusses the role of education in fostering the sense of national identity. **Chapter Three** provides background information about the TRNC and, by examining the circumstances of its emergence and its current existence, the issues around national identity are explained. The chapter also provides an overview of the TRNC's education system whose recent reform reflects political and ideological changes in the state. In **Chapter Four**, the analytic framework for the study is developed. The analytic framing for the enquiry is based on Foucault's programme of investigation of how human beings are made subjects. His theorizing on the constitution of the subject, and, in particular, his concept of *technologies*, are employed to describe and explain the process of the constitution of national subjects in the context of schooling. I then go on to present **Chapter Five** where I outline the research design of the study. The data and emerging themes are presented in three chapters: **Six, Seven and Eight**. **Chapter Six** introduces the school – the site of the research. **Chapter Seven** examines the programme of studies of lower secondary school level in the TRNC. **Chapter Eight** looks at school celebrations of national holidays and commemorative events. The themes emerging from the data in these three chapters are discussed with reference to the issues raised in earlier chapters. **Chapter Nine** integrates all aspects and themes that emerged from the data presented. A conceptual framework based on Foucault's interplay of *the technologies of domination* and *the technologies of the self* (developed in Chapter Four) frames the analysis and interpretation of the data. The chapter presents the analysis and the findings of the research in relation to each research question. Finally, **Chapter Ten** discusses the implications of the findings and makes suggestions for future research.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **MAKING SENSE OF NATIONAL IDENTITY**

#### **2.0 Introduction**

This study aims to investigate the process of national identity construction by students of lower secondary school level in the TRNC. In this chapter, the central concept of the study – national identity – is addressed through a critical review of the literatures dealing with matters of national identification, and, specifically, with its relation to the educational setting. The issues generated in this chapter serve as a conceptual basis for exploring relationships between national identity construction and educational experience, which will be examined in the TRNC’s educational context in further chapters.

The chapter is in three sections. The first of these presents the definition of the concept of national identity adopted for the purposes of this study, and examines relevant literature on the issues relating to national identification. The second section looks specifically into the links between education and the fostering of national identity. The chapter then lists the assumptions on national identity and education which underlie this study and provides a summary of pertinent issues.

#### **2.1 Matters of definitions**

For the purposes of this study, I adopt Barrett’s (2007) definition of the notion of national identity, which conceptualizes national identity as ‘a subjective sense of affiliation and a personal sense of belonging to a particular nation and state, as well as a sense of how [people] personally are positioned and situated in relationship to the world of nations and states’ (pp. 17-18).

Separation of the notions of ‘state’ and ‘nation’ in the above definition suggests the ‘sense of affiliation’ and ‘the sense of belonging’ (Barrett 2007, p. 17) to two different types of communities – one being the state and one

being the nation. The distinction between the two concepts – state and nation - is also warranted by several authors. Thus, Gellner (2006 [1983]), who considers both states and nations as a contingency (i.e. not a universal necessity), emphasizes that they ‘are not the *same* contingency’ (p. 6). In this respect, Gellner (2006 [1983]) remarks that states and nations do not necessarily appear simultaneously; some states emerged without the help of the nation and ‘some nations have certainly emerged without the blessings of their own state’ (p. 6). Similarly, Billig (1995), Breuille (2006), Giddens (1990), Hutchinson & Smith (1996) insist that it is important to make the distinction between statehood, state nationality and citizenship on one hand, and cultural nationality on the other.

According to Breuille (2006), states, or polities, which can range from city-states and small principalities to sprawling empires, establish physical boundaries to distinguish themselves from other states. Viewed as political entities with established territorial borders, states are legal organizations; they have legal standing in the eyes of international law and are also legally binding for its members – citizens of the states – in that the state ‘confers rights and presupposes duties’ of its members (Chrysochoou 2004, p. 110).

Nations and national identities are often linked to statehood which, in Heywood’s (2000) terms, ‘offers the prospect of cultural cohesion and political unity’ (p. 253). Yet, if the state has tangible, material, let sometimes disputable borders, the concept of nation is by far more elusive and difficult to pin down. There is, indeed, no common template for the nation as all nations exhibit a great degree of heterogeneity.

In scholarly debates on nations and national identity, the notion of the nation as a social construct has gained importance in the last two decades. In his *Introduction* to the 2006 edition of Gellner’s *Nations and Nationalism* (first published in 1983), Breuille (2006) notes that the resurgence of interest in national issues, which has continued since the 1990s by different disciplines, ‘led to many innovations’, notably, that ‘the notion of the nation as a social



construct has been deepened with such ideas as the nation as an “event” or a “category” rather than a social group’ (p. L).

A number of prominent scholars of national issues and nationalism (Anderson 1983; Billig 1995; Gellner 1983, 1987; Giddens 1987; Hall 1996; Smith 1986, 1991, 1994) argue that nations are political constructs and that they are imagined or invented to serve the political goals of various groups. Among all those, Anderson's (2006 [1983]) notion of a nation as ‘imagined political community - and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign’ (p. 6) has been very influential in the research on national identification. Anderson (2006 [1983]) explains why it is *imagined*, *limited*, *sovereign* and why it is a *community*:

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... The nation is imagined as *limited* because even the largest of them, encompassing perhaps a billion living human beings, has finite, if elastic, boundaries, beyond which lie other nations. No nation imagines itself coterminous with mankind... It is imagined as *sovereign* because the concept was born in an age in which Enlightenment and Revolution were destroying the legitimacy of the divinely-ordained, hierarchical dynastic realm... 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. Ultimately, it is this fraternity that makes it possible, over the past two centuries, for so many millions of people, not so much to kill, as willingly to die for such limited imaginings (pp. 6-7).

As political projects, nations change their content as deemed necessary by the requirements of time or by the group which leads the project. Reicher and Hopkins (2001) show how the content of national identity might differ, might be contested and might be used strategically to serve particular political projects and how ‘any version of national past and national identity serves contemporary interests’ (p. 20). Similarly, Billig (1995) talks about competing tales of national histories which are created to serve political goals. This is why national histories are continually being re-written. Histories which are ‘unofficial’ at some times might become ‘official’ when the proponents of such

history move to a leading position in society. Thus, the process of the re-writing histories 'reflects current balances of hegemony' (Billig 1995, p. 71).

The importance of national history has been emphasized by various scholars. With reference to Anderson's 'temporal dimension' of nation, Billig (1995) notes that this particular dimension of the nation ensures that 'all nations maintain a sense of their own history, which is no one else's' (p. 70). This is why the emergence of nation-states is accompanied by the creation of national histories (Anderson 1983; Billig 1995; Colley 1992; Hobsbawm & Ranger 1983). History provides the nation with a common experience, heroes, symbols, and does not have to be accurate (Keating 2001, p. 10). Because nations create their own interpretations of themselves, Said (1983) argues that nations are not just imagined communities, they are also interpretive communities.

The process of 'invention' of the nation requires valorisation of the national entity by its members. Gellner (2006 [1983]) goes as far as to suggest that members' recognition of their shared belonging to a national group supersedes other requirements for making of the nation:

1. Two men are of the same nation if and only if they share the same culture, where culture in turn means a system of ideas and signs and associations and ways of behaving and communicating.
2. Two men are of the same nation if and only if they *recognize* each other as belonging to the same nation...It is their recognition of each other as fellows of this kind which turn them into a nation, and not the other shared attributes, whatever they might be, which separate this category from non-members (pp. 6-7).

Once 'their recognition of each other as fellows...turn them into a nation' (Gellner 2006 [1983], p. 6-7), as Gellner proposes, there is yet another requirement for the nation's valorization. Billig (1995) insists that the nation's existence should be viewed in its relation to the world of nations. Billig (1995) refers to Robertson (1990, 1991, 1992, quoted in Billig 1995, p. 83) who argued that the idea of nationalism, or particularism of a certain nation, could develop *only* in tandem with internationalism. Billig (1995) himself expresses

this idea in the following way: 'if "our" nation is to be imagined in all its particularity, it must be imagined as a nation amongst other nations', and so 'the consciousness of national identity normally assumes an international context' (p. 83).

Tracing the first modern international political settlement to the Congress of Vienna in 1815, Billig (1995) notes that 'the Congress heralded not merely the era of the sovereign nation-state, but that of international system, in which each state officially recognizes the internal sovereignty of its neighbours' (p. 83). By virtue of its sovereignty, as Billig (1995) claims, each state becomes one among other states, and the political order in the world 'to this day... continues to be based upon the assumption of sovereign nation-states existing in mutual recognition' (Billig 1995, p. 83).

Extending further his thesis of the inevitable 'mixture of the particular and the universal' (Billig 1995, p. 83) as a necessary condition for the very existence of the states and nations, Billig (1995) writes:

Nations do not have to pass a theoretical test of nationhood, showing that they possess some notional criterion of internal unity, whether of ethnicity, language or culture... The major test is international, for the nation will seek recognition from established nations, who, in their turn, will recognize their own nationhood in the successful new claimant. In consequence, the new nation has to resemble other nations to gain their recognition. It must adopt conventional symbols of particularity, which, because of their conventionality, are simultaneously symbols of the universality of nationhood (p. 85).

The issues surrounding the very existence, and apparent necessity, of national identity which were discussed in this section have pertinence to the present study. These issues will be examined when discussing specific instances of the national identity construction in the context of schooling in the TRNC. For conceptual clarity, a review of the operational definitions of the concepts of national identity, state and nation, as used in the present study, are presented in the next section.

### 2.1.1 National identity, state and nation

In view of the existing debates and uncertainties of what constitutes the content of national identity, Barrett's (2007) conceptualization of the notion of national identity as *one's positioning in relation to states and nations*, adopted for the purposes of this study, provides useful reference points, as well as boundaries, for the investigation of the process of national identity construction. Based on that definition, the focus of this study is on the positioning of students in relation to states and nations.

Barrett (2007) defines the 'state' as 'a sovereign political entity' (p. 5), and the term 'nation' as 'a named human community occupying a homeland and having a shared history, common myths of ancestry, a common mass public culture, and shared values, symbols, traditions, customs and practices' (p. 5). Having established this distinction, Barrett (2007) makes the point that

Although myths of origins, codified histories and shared values, symbols and traditions are most frequently discussed in connection with nations rather than states, it is important to note that states, including multinational states, also usually have their codified histories, their own myths of origin, and their own systems of shared values, symbols and traditions. Thus, not only nations but also states can be viewed as having distinctive cultures and histories with which individuals who live within those states may subjectively identify (p. 7).

In his own research on the development of national identities in children and adolescents, Barrett (2000) links national identities 'at an objective level' (p. 4) to the 'emblems or representations of the national identities' (p. 5) which comprise various state and national institutions, symbols, customs, traditions, celebrations, historical figures and historical events, particular geographical territories, languages, beliefs of common descent and common kinship, as well as beliefs about the typical characteristics and traits of the national group. It is through these 'emblems or representations of the national identities' (Barrett 2007, p. 5) that the positioning in relation to states and nations is viewed in the present study.

Barrett's (2000, 2007) summaries of symbolic representations of states and nations, through which national identities 'are represented, reproduced and interpreted by their members' (Barrett 2007, p. 5), recap common views of national representations discussed in literature, where national identities are linked to particular geographical territories (Giddens 1985), to the language (Balsera 2005; Gellner 2006 [1983]), to a sense of continuity with historical past (Anderson 1983; Billig 1995; Hobsbawm & Ranger 1983; Smith 1991), to shared traditions, customs, practices and celebrations (Papadakis 1993; Smith 1986, 1991, 1994, 1999), to the state and national emblems (Billig 1995), to the common descent and common kinship (Anderson 1983; Barrett 2000, 2007) and to the typical characteristics and traits of the national group (Smith 1999).

The present study aims to explore what distinctive and characteristic features of national identities can be revealing and revealed through the sets of practices in the schooling context in the TRNC. Symbolic representations of national identities, listed in the discussion of literature in this chapter, are included in the data coding and display as evidence of positioning in relation to states and nations in the context of schooling in later chapters (Chapters Six, Seven and Eight). The intent of the present study, however, is to go beyond the cultural-symbolic elements of national identity representations, and to capture what constitutive elements of national identity can be indicative of positioning in relation to states and nations, that are specific to the schooling setting in the TRNC.

The concepts of national identity, nation, state, and instances of their symbolic representations, which were introduced in this section, will surface repeatedly throughout the thesis as the data are organized and interpreted to address the research questions guiding this study.

Concerned with students' positioning towards states and nations as revealed through the schooling practices, this study is clearly located in educational context. The following section will address national identity issues in relation

to educational context through critical review of literature reporting findings on existing relationships between education and the fostering of national identity.

## **2.2 Education and national identity**

Several writers have remarked on the fact that there is insufficient empirical research assessing direct links between educational practices and the development of national attitudes (Bracey 2006; Goalen 1997; Grosvenor 1999). Empirical studies in this area are indeed scarce. Yet, existing research has indicated that schooling plays role in shaping certain types of national identity.

One empirical study which evaluated the impact of education on the development of identities among Turkish schoolchildren in two secondary schools in Germany (Faas 2007) revealed that schoolchildren attending different schools developed different national identities. Turkish schoolchildren attending the school promoting 'a Eurocentric (i.e. white Christian) approach' (Faas 2007, p. 50) developed ethno-national identities. In contrast, the Turkish schoolchildren attending the school which endorsed European values alongside multicultural values, developed national-European hybrid identities.

Findings of a study with mixed-heritage adolescents in British schools (Vadher & Barrett 2007) indicate that school is marked as a particular locale which puts forward national self-categorizations different from other contexts, such as family and circle of friends. Thus, a study by Vadher & Barrett (2007) shows that ethnic and religious identities tend to be more dominant at home whereas being at school reveals a more mix of British and ethnic identities. Vadher & Barrett (2007) suggest that the experience of being in a British school and taught in the British education system made students feel British.

A few researchers suggest that school curriculum might play a role in shaping certain type of national identity (Barrett 2007; Barret & Short 1992;

Wills 1994). There are also suggestions of possible influences of textbooks (Lambert & Klineberg 1967; Maw 1991; Preiswerk & Perrot 1978; Schiffauer & Sunier 2004; Winter 1997) and of school practices (Bauman & Sunier 2004; Mannitz & Schiffauer 2004; Sunier 2004) in fostering a particular content of national identities in students.

Whereas there is a paucity of empirical research into the immediate influence of schooling on the development of sense of national identities, deliberate attempts of various governments and national education systems to implant a sense of national identity in schools have been widely reported.

### **2.2.1 Tailoring education to nation-building process**

Several historical studies on the links of education and national identity show how nation-building programmes accompanied new political orders in various states.

Two cases reported by Shibata (2004) – one of Meiji Japan (1868-1912) and one of the German *Kaiserreich* (1871-1918) – which examine the role of a centralized education system in promoting a unified vision of national identity in different political circumstances, point at the crucial role played by education in consolidating national feelings.

Shibata's study of the case of Meiji Japan shows how an abrupt creation of a modern state and the vision of a modern Japan was redefined within the newly built state educational system. Shibata (2004) notes that the creation of a uniform education system for children of all social strata and all regions ensured that all Japanese would share the same sense of identity.

Establishment of the state education system in the new Emperor state equipped Japan, in Shibata's words, 'with a reliable and solid network for the dissemination of the national ideology to all citizens. Within the governmental policy for education, the political dogmas of state *Shinto* and the idea of a 'family-state' became important elements of Japanese national identity (Shibata 2004, p. 80).

In case of Germany, in Shibata's study (2004), there was no political settlement of a German state, yet the nation of Germans existed within the consciousness of the people in the German cultural domain (Shibata 2004, p. 80). To form the German people as political citizens of the *Kaiserreich* and to equip German folks with a shared German cultural identity, the *Volksschule* was developed in the *Kaiserreich* at the end of the nineteenth century (approximately 1871 onwards). The political aspirations of the consolidation of the German state thus rested on reinforcement of German cultural identity learned through schooling (*Volksschule*).

Examination of the process of formation of the Spanish national education system, and its relationship with nationalist education policies (Balsera 2005), is yet another instance of the use of education by the state in promoting its nation-building project. Balsera (2005) notes that it seemed to be obvious at the beginning of the twentieth century that 'education was to become a key element in the process of creating a Spanish consciousness encouraged by the state, and its main agent was to be the school' (p. 25). She emphasizes that in the case of Spain, a specific general culture imposed on the population was based on a common language. Balsera connects linguistic policies in education to national project and argues that the role of linguistic policies in education is fundamental 'as it is where the construction of national identities is best observed' (p. 40).

Gündüz's (2009) study of reforms in education in the newly established Republic of Turkey illustrates how education in the Republic was seen as the primary guarantor of radical reforms undertaken by the government. When the Republic of Turkey emerged as a new political entity in 1923, the founder of the Republic, Mustafa Kemal insisted that the main goals of the Republic's reforms – establishment of a national, modern and secular society – could be achieved only via a national education system and that reforming of the education system should be viewed as an immediate task of the government. According to Gündüz (2009), already in 1923, the year of the establishment



of the Republic, Mustafa Kemal stated that the nation's educational institutions should be similar and that all Turkish citizens, women and men, must graduate from those institutions. The Law of Unification of Instruction (*Tevhid-i Tedrisat*), adopted in 1924, was among the first reforms in the field of education; under that Law all educational institutions were combined under the control of the Ministry of Education. The secular character of education, and the new curriculum which aimed to impart scientifically-based knowledge in educational institutions to forge new ideologies, shaped the newly founded Republic and ensured the protection and continuation of reforms undertaken by the Republican regime.

Amidst the volume of research on national identification and education, Gellner's (1983) work on *Nations and Nationalism* presents the most comprehensive and general account of the role education plays in transmitting a unified sense of identity which safeguards national unity. Gellner's work itself was an attempt to form a theory of nationalism. Yet, his understanding of nationalism as an emerging phenomenon in the age of industrialization, that required cultural homogenization based on literacy transmitted by national education, makes Gellner's work pertinent to this study.

Gellner (2006 [1983]) introduces the notion of 'high culture', that is literate culture which is primarily a means of communication in modern industrial societies. According to Gellner (2006 [1983]), the modern society is an anonymous, impersonal society with mutually substitutable individuals, which requires knowledge that would hold together masses of such society and allow the utmost mobility of the individuals in it. Mobility requires '*generic training*' (p. 26); this is why the education system of an industrial society 'is unquestionably the *least* specialized, the most universally standardized, that has ever existed. The same kind of training or education is given to all or most children and adolescents up to an astonishingly late age' (Gellner 2006 [1983], pp. 26-27). Gellner's *high culture*, which is transmitted through

generic, standardized, programme of education, becomes *shared culture* in the society. He also notes that this high culture is designated to instill a certain sense of national identity in a totality of population through the medium of schooling. High culture, transmitted by means of state-sanctioned education, becomes a foundation of national unity, and 'the medium and emblem of a "nation" ' (Gellner 2006 [1983], p. 75).

The need in centralized education for the promotion of a unified sense of identity which safeguards national unity and loyalty to the national state is evident in Gellner's theorizing. Common language, 'the cultural shreds and patches' which are often 'arbitrary historical inventions (Gellner 2006 [1983], p. 55) become a school-mediated, state-supervised, shared culture in a society. Centralized education is particularly instrumental in the state's nation-building process because education is not reserved for a selected few; the majority of the population have access to education or 'to a viable modern high culture' (Gellner 2006 [1983], p. 86). Gellner (2006 [1983]) emphasizes that the two - education and 'a viable modern high culture' - are being treated as equivalent, and further elaborates that

the notion of education or a viable modern high culture is once again fairly loose but nonetheless useful. It refers to that complex of skills which makes a man competent to occupy most of the ordinary positions in a modern society, and which makes him, so to speak, able to swim with ease in this kind of cultural medium (p. 86).

Centralized education is the channel through which high cultures are transmitted to the masses. Once a centralized education system is established in a society, it guarantees the viability and sustainability of high culture which is necessary for modern societies to operate:

...when general social conditions make for standardized, homogeneous, centrally sustained high cultures, pervading entire populations and not just elite minorities, a situation arises in which well-defined educationally sanctioned and unified cultures constitute very nearly the only kind of unit with which men willingly and often ardently identify. The cultures now seem to be natural repositories of political legitimacy (Gellner 2006 [1983], p. 54)

In Gellner's (2006 [1983]) view, nation, high culture and centralized education feed each other and each component in such triumvirate is crucial in holding national unity together:

The *nation* is now supremely important, thanks both to the erosion of sub-groupings and the vastly increased importance of a shared, literary-dependent culture. The state, inevitably, is charged with the maintenance and supervision of an enormous social infrastructure (the cost of which characteristically comes close to one half of the total income of the society). The educational system becomes a very crucial part of it, and the maintenance of the cultural/linguistic medium now becomes the central role of education. The citizens can only breathe conceptually and operate within that medium, which is co-extensive with the territory of the state and its educational and cultural apparatus, and which needs to be protected, sustained and cherished (pp. 62-63).

Gellner developed his argument within a universal historical framework of the age of industrialism. Upon development of his theoretical argument, Gellner himself applied his theory only to a case of a fictional place called Ruritania. Although highly abstract and not based on individual life examples, his theorizing is nevertheless no less appealing in its logic.

Gellner reiterates a number of points which were articulated in an earlier discussion of nation-invention process as a political project (section 2.1 of this chapter), namely, that nations and national identities are arbitrary historical inventions, and that nations and national identities change their content to satisfy the requirements of dominant ideologies. What he brings new into this discussion is that the state-sanctioned popular education ensures the sustainability of the cultural basis of national unity. In the age of compulsory basic education, the centralized education system becomes the medium of transmission for the cultural basis which is in line with the state-dominated ideology and prescribes the loyalties and solidarities contrived by the state-dominated ideology.

If Gellner theorized on the role education played in holding national unity together in general terms, research dealing with education in conflict and

post-conflict societies has been specifically interested in what kind of national unity or disunity emanates from education.

### **2.2.2 Conflict and post-conflict societies**

The importance of education in fostering national identities in students has been acknowledged by education-related research in conflict and post-conflict societies. A number of projects on Northern Ireland and Cyprus explored the role of education in perpetuating or reducing conflict by shaping children's views of their national identities (Bekerman & McGlynn 2007; Bryant 1998, 2001, 2002, 2004; Gallagher 2000, 2004, 2005, 2008; Loughrey et al. 2003; McGlynn 2011a, 2011b; McGlynn et al. 2004; McGlynn et al. 2009; Richardson & Gallagher 2001).

Tracing roots of the violent conflict in Northern Ireland to communal segregation, where education was controlled by various religious groups, Gallagher (2005) reports on efforts to reduce tension in Northern Ireland's society through intervention in its education. Gallagher' (2005) review of activities of Integrated schools which were introduced in Northern Ireland during the 1980s, and other educational initiatives which followed, showed that education had an important role to play in the reconciliation process, even if it was limited.

Bryant's (1998, 2001, 2004) historical research on education in Cyprus demonstrated how nationalist discourses in the two communities on the island created the ground for the upcoming conflict in Cyprus and how national subjects were created by education systems on the island. Bryant (2004) employs Gellner's notion of 'high culture' to make a claim that 'the "high culture" of schooling could be converted into nationalism' (p. 141) as, through schooling, Cypriots became masters of 'a body of knowledge that had come to represent the traditions of the community' (p. 141). Bryant (2004) sketches two alternative 'molds of traditional knowledge' in the two Cypriot communities which proved divisive for the two communities: 'In the

Greek Orthodox case, education's task was a cultivation or evocation of a latent potential of the ethnic subject, while in the Muslim case it was a form of enlightenment in which the intellectual occupied the role of physician whose task it was to guide and heal' (p. 155). A number of authors also pointed at the crucial role education played in propagating nationalist, and divisive, feelings in the two prominent communities of Cyprus (Ateşin 2006; Bryant 1998, 2001, 2004; Hill 1952; Nevzat 2005; Persianis 1996; Weir 1952). Rooted in very different ideologies and different educational traditions, the two communities indeed imparted very different views of national selves to Cypriots who went through different types of schooling in Cyprus.

Whereas in the case of Northern Ireland integration of previously segregated schools could be perceived as one way of promoting peace, through students' contact (Gallagher 2005), in the case of Cyprus, integration of the two education systems – Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot – is not a plausible possibility. Firstly, education systems in the two communities are based on two different languages. Second, the reality of territorial and political separation between the communities does not foresee an immediate opportunity for the mixing of students of segregated communities within the same schooling environment. In the case of Cyprus, all educational efforts aimed at reconciliation between the conflicting communities will have to be undertaken on the level of separate national education systems. It is now the role of national education enterprise to foster the national selves through its schooling, which can be unifying rather than divisive for the conflicting sides.

### **2.3 Pertinence to the study**

Several insights drawn from the reviewed literature on national identification and national identity issues in education inform this research and I will recur to these insights frequently throughout the thesis.

The basic assumption underlying the present study is that nations and national identities are social constructs or inventions. Whether the emphases

are on the attachment to a political organization of the state or to a common heritage rooted in language, religion and other shared traditions, the grouping of individuals into national units is a result of social activity, not natural biological division. Being a product of social activity, national identity is viewed as a fluid construct, as any social activity reflects the ever changing personal experience of individuals, and the historical and cultural context.

Another important insight that weaves through this thesis is that the construction of nations and their content serve various political projects. The content of the nation and national identification can thus change to fit the political agenda of the state or the dominating ideology in the state.

As far as the role of national education in promoting a sense of national identity is concerned, it is assumed, following Gellner (1983), that the state implants shared culture, or literate high culture in Gellner's terms, as a basis for national unity through the state-sponsored education system. Nation, high culture and centralized education feed each other and each component is crucial in holding national unity together.

The assumptions listed above underpin the investigation of the process of national identity construction in the context of schooling in the TRNC.

Several specific issues addressed in this chapter will be examined in the following chapters with reference to educational context in the TRNC.

Historical references to various education systems discussed in this chapter, which pointed at imminent changes in education caused by political change, will be tested in the context of educational developments in the TRNC and its political setting. Highlighted as significant components in the nation-building process by Anderson (1983), Balsera (2005), Barrett (2000, 2007), Gellner (2006 [1983]), Giddens (1985), Papadakis (2003), Smith (1991), the school-taught history and geography, languages, state and national emblems, customs and various other schooling practices will be examined through their specific instances revealed in the data collected on the school site in the

TRNC. The role of education in conflict societies, which was discussed in this chapter, is relevant to the current circumstances of the TRNC, the society which endures the consequences of prolonged conflict. Comparison of Cyprus with Northern Ireland drawn in this chapter suggested that, despite similar goals of education to facilitate social integration in various conflict and post-conflict societies, unique local settings require differing approaches to education in order to achieve desirable goals of overcoming the conflict consequences. Relationship between schooling practices and education in a conflict society will be further investigated in this study in the specific context of Cyprus conflict.

## **2.4 Summary**

In the present chapter, it was my intention to introduce the main concepts and theoretical perspectives central to this study. National identity, the concept at the very core of the enquiry, was conceptualized as positioning in relation to states and nations. Such conceptualization is essential to the understanding of the subsequent presentation of the data, analysis and findings of the present study. The conception of national identities as social constructs, or inventions, developed in this chapter through critical reading of literatures, underpins methodological approach to the investigation of the process of national identity construction. Education was shown to be a proactive and planned process for the dissemination and construction of national identity. It was also shown in this chapter that this process reflects political and ideological agenda of the state. This is why it is important to develop basic understanding of education system, as reflecting the state's aspirations for its nation-building project. In order to achieve this, the issues which were discussed in this chapter on a general theoretical level will be addressed in their specific historical, cultural and political context of the TRNC and its education system in the next chapter.

## CHAPTER THREE

### THE TURKISH REPUBLIC OF NORTHERN CYPRUS AND ITS EDUCATION SYSTEM

#### 3.0 Introduction

This study is designed to examine the process of national identity construction in the context of schooling in the TRNC. The purpose of this chapter is to address the links of state-sponsored education in the TRNC and the political setting of the state. In doing this, the chapter explores in detail the issues raised in the previous chapter, which pointed to deliberate attempts of states to use education in their nation-building projects. The chapter also presents a general overview of the TRNC's education system, which provides a basic understanding of the structural framework of schooling in the TRNC.

This chapter is in three sections. The first presents the geo-political profile of the island of Cyprus, the circumstances of the emergence of the TRNC and the peculiar nature of its existence with reference to national identity issues. The second section looks at the developments in education in the TRNC, which are linked to political developments in the Northern Cyprus community. The chapter concludes with an overview of the Turkish Cypriot national education system.

#### 3.1 The Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC)

Located in the TRNC, the present study, which has *national identity* at the core of its enquiry, faces challenges posed to the very 'consciousness of national identity [which] normally assumes an international context' (Billig 1995, p. 83). One of the issues raised in the previous chapter, that of the international recognition of nations or states as a necessary condition for their existence, creates an immediate problem for the TRNC's nationhood in view of its non-recognition by other states. Seen as essential to the process



of 'imagining a nation among nations' (Billig 1995, p. 83), international context and an inevitable 'mixture of the particular and the universal' (Billig 1995, p. 83) in constructing national identities, is explored here against the realities of the TRNC's local and geo-political context.

The issue of national identification in the TRNC comes to the fore at different levels of international interactions of the TRNC and its nationals with the outer world. TRNC's nationality, well-defined and secured by the provisions of the TRNC Constitution (1984), is called into question on an international level, thus forcing TRNC citizens to resort to differing means to overcome their official 'non-existence'. National differentiation among various groups of the TRNC nationals becomes particularly apparent at the border crossings. Being placed between the two gates to the outer world – the Republic of Turkey on its northern borders and the Greek Cypriot administered area of the Republic of Cyprus on its southern borders – the TRNC residents choose the gate they can enter based on available national passports they carry.

A brief historical overview of developments in Cyprus in the last five decades (since 1960) will explain the reasons for the current political positioning of the TRNC in its international context, and for the territorial division of Cyprus.

The map below (Figure 3.1) shows the entire island of Cyprus with the key settlements and the current political division of the island of Cyprus into four zones. The northern part of Cyprus is the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, the southern part is the Greek Cypriot Controlled Area of the Republic of Cyprus, the line in between is the Green Zone and is under UN control. Two sections in the south of the island (Akrotiri and Dhekelia) are British sovereign territories. The capital of the two *de facto* political entities, the TRNC and The Republic of Cyprus, is Nicosia (*Lefkoşa* in Turkish, *Λευκωσία/Lefkosia* in Greek) but is a divided city. The northern part of Nicosia is the capital of the TRNC and the southern part of Nicosia is the capital of the Greek Cypriot Controlled Area of the Republic of Cyprus.



**Figure 3.1 Map of Cyprus**

Cyprus was a Crown Colony of Great Britain until 1960<sup>1</sup>. When the island of Cyprus gained its independence, the Treaty of Establishment (Constitution 1960) excluded from the boundaries of the Republic the two areas containing the British military bases of Akrotiri and Dhekelia (99 square miles). Britain to this day retains sovereignty over these areas.

The Republic of Cyprus, established in 1960 as a bi-communal state, lasted only three years. The Constitution of the Republic of Cyprus was abrogated in December 1963 by the then President of the Republic Archbishop Makarios III, who tried to create a unitary Greek Cypriot state based on majority rule where Turkish Cypriots would be considered a minority. Thirteen amendments proposed by Archbishop Makarios on 30 November 1963 undermined the principles of bi-communality and were not accepted by the Turkish Cypriot community. Following the Constitutional Crisis of 1963 and removal of Turkish Cypriot representation from all governing positions, the two communities began to function as two separate political entities.

<sup>1</sup> Since 1878, Cyprus was administered as a Crown Colony but was recognized as a part of the Ottoman Empire until 1914. The formal addition of Cyprus to a Crown Colony took place in 1925.

The initial territorial separation between the North and the South and the establishment of the 'Green Line' dates back to 1964. The United Nations Peacekeeping Force, UNFICYP<sup>2</sup>, was set up in Cyprus in March 1964 (The UN Security Council resolution, 186 (1964)) to prevent fighting between the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities. The coup d'état in Cyprus staged by the fascist junta of Greece, and a proclamation of the Hellenic Republic in Cyprus on 15 July 1974, led to the intervention of the Turkish Forces (one of the three Guarantor Powers under the 1960 Constitution) on 20 July 1974.

The current demarcation of the territory of Cyprus into the North and the South, separated by the 'Green Line', followed two Geneva Conferences (25-30 July 1974 and 9-13 August 1974) and the Second Peace Operation by the Turkish troops on 14-16 August 1974. Since a *de facto* ceasefire on the island in August 1974, UNFICYP has supervised the ceasefire lines which extend over 180 kilometres across the island. A Population Exchange Agreement was signed on 2 August 1975 in Vienna. Most Greek Cypriots moved to the South to live under the governance of a Greek Cypriot administration and most Turkish Cypriots moved to the North to live under the governance of a Turkish Cypriot administration.

The government of the erstwhile Republic of Cyprus, which has consisted only of Greek Cypriots since 1963, has been controlling the territory located to the south of the Green Line since the establishment of the current borders in August 1974. The Greek Cypriot administration has adopted and still uses the title of The Republic of Cyprus, despite the fact that it ceased to exist as such in 1963.

The UN and the EU have accepted Greek Cypriot administration as the sole representative of all Cypriots. Hence, Cyprus representation in the United

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<sup>2</sup> UNFICYP has been one of the longest-running UN Peacekeeping missions; its Mandate has been renewed invariably for six-month terms since the time of its establishment in March 1964.

Nations and other international organizations consists only of Greek Cypriots.

The Turkish Cypriot community, after being removed from all administrative bodies of the Republic of Cyprus in 1963, tried to establish different governing structures to direct the affairs of the Turkish Cypriots. The Provisional Turkish Cypriot Administration was formed in 1967. Such administration was, as its name suggests, provisional and was intended to be in place until the stipulations of the 1960 Constitution of the Republic of Cyprus were once again applied. In 1974, the Autonomous Turkish Cypriot Administration was established. This was followed by the establishment of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus in 1975. In November 1983, The Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus was proclaimed. The UN Security Council resolution 541 (1983) deplored the declaration of the TRNC and called for its withdrawal.

Following the 1994 ban by the European Court of Justice on exports to Europe of any goods bearing the stamp of the TRNC, the TRNC has mainly depended on the Republic of Turkey for trade. The Republic of Turkey has been also providing annual economic aid packages to Northern Cyprus (Özdese & Özyigit 2007). The TRNC's dependency on Turkey looms large but not only on budgetary matters. In addition to generous financial assistance from Turkey, which has helped sustain the Turkish Cypriot community over the decades, the Republic of Turkey has also acted as a bridge to the outside world for the TRNC's community. The TRNC residents use the international telephone line code of Turkey (+90); the Republic of Turkey has designated a special postal code (Mersin 10, Turkey) which handles mail to and from the TRNC; and all international flights from and to the TRNC go via Turkey's airports.

As a forty-eight-year-long negotiation process<sup>3</sup> on alternative political arrangements in Cyprus continues, a living community of 265,100 people in

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<sup>3</sup> The negotiation process between the two communities – Greek Cypriot and Turkish

the TRNC (Population and Housing Census 2006) carries on its daily existence in a state which is customarily referred to as 'quasi state', 'so-called state', 'runaway state', 'the north of the green line', 'the nation-in-waiting' or '*de facto* state.' The list is not comprehensive but it does give an idea of the unusual nature of the named state.

Years of international isolation have led to the formation of a *sui generis* society in the TRNC. Direct interaction with the international community has been largely limited. The political isolation of the TRNC results in not having membership in international legal and institutional bodies. Unlike other societies, the TRNC does not have an internationally recognized government, and thus, it lacks diplomatic relations with most states. Holders of TRNC passports cannot travel anywhere except to Turkey since their passports are not valid outside the TRNC and the Republic of Turkey. Non-recognition of TRNC citizenship outside its borders has forced TRNC citizens to acquire 'supplementary citizenship'. Many TRNC citizens hold British, Australian, Canadian and/or Turkish passports in addition to their TRNC citizenship<sup>4</sup>.

The opening of the checkpoints in April 2003 by the TRNC allowed free movement between the North and the South in Cyprus for the first time in 29 years. Since 2003, TRNC residents who can prove their 'indigenous Cypriot' status (i.e. those Turkish Cypriots who lived in Cyprus before 1974 and their children) have been eligible for the passports of the Republic of Cyprus, to which they are entitled by the 1960 Constitution. Since May 2004, the date of the accession of the Republic of Cyprus to the EU, Turkish Cypriots who hold

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Cypriot – has been going on almost uninterrupted since 1964. Multiple international attempts to reunite the two sides failed (e.g. 1986 UN Perez de Cuellar settlement plan was accepted by the TRNC but rejected by Greek Cypriots; a federal solution plan proposed by the UN General Secretary Butros Ghali in August 1992 failed; a plan proposed by the UN in 1993 and EU talks in Luxemburg in 1998, as well as the Annan Plan of 2002-2004, did not achieve any settlement either).

<sup>4</sup> According the Population and Housing Census (2006) in the TRNC, 42,795 TRNC citizens held dual citizenship: 33,870 TRNC-Turkey, 4,184 TRNC-UK and 4,740 TRNC-Other.

the passports of the Republic of Cyprus have gained access to the benefits available to all EU citizens. According to the UK Foreign Affairs Committee Report (2006-2007), about 80 to 90 thousand Turkish Cypriots obtained identity cards of the Republic of Cyprus by the time of the data gathering for the report. The remaining TRNC residents have had to resort to other additional 'recognized nationalities' for the purposes of studies and travel abroad.

Despite the constraints imposed on the TRNC by its precarious existence as an internationally unrecognized political entity, the TRNC has all the characteristics and institutions of a nation-state. The TRNC is a democratic and secular state with a presidential regime and a parliament (*Cumhuriyet Meclisi / The Legislative Assembly of the Republic*). The President of the Republic appoints the Prime Minister and, on the proposal of the Prime Minister, the ministers. Government ministries give effect to government policy once the Assembly passes the necessary legislation. The TRNC also possesses, what Billig (1995) calls, 'symbols of the universality of nationhood' (p. 85) - its own national flag, national anthem and other national emblems.

The resemblance of the TRNC and other known states in terms of all necessary 'conventional symbols of particularity' (Billig 1995, p. 85) and yet, its non-recognition by other states (except by Turkey), indicates that the TRNC has not passed what Billig (1995) considers the 'major test' (p. 85) for the nationhood or statehood – international test – which manifests itself in international recognition. Relevant to this study, the relationship between particular/national and universal/international setting in the TRNC, specifically in the educational context, will be further addressed through the examination of schooling practices. The evidence of such practices will be presented in Chapters Six, Seven and Eight.

The following section explores the links between the political setting of the TRNC and its state-sponsored education. Examination of these links

addresses the assumptions, articulated in the previous chapter, that education reflects political agenda of the state and that education is used strategically by the states in their nation-building projects. By examining the relationship between education and political circumstances in the TRNC, this following section locates the present study in its historical and cultural context, which is pertinent to the understanding of the process of national identity construction located in educational context in the TRNC.

### **3.2 Education and the political context**

A historical review of the circumstances of the emergence of the TRNC and of its current reality indicated that the existence of the two political entities on the island of Cyprus is viewed as a temporary condition, what is known as an infamous ‘Cyprus problem,’ on local and international levels. One indication of that is the continuous process of negotiations between the two states on alternative political arrangements in Cyprus, with the involvement of international bodies.

Although territorial and political separation of the two prominent communities of Cyprus – Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot – are an outcome of fairly recent developments on the island, the separation of the communities’ education is a centuries-long tradition. For more than four centuries, since the establishment of the Ottoman rule in Cyprus in 1571, the Turkish Cypriot (called Muslim Cypriot prior to 1930s) and Greek-Cypriot (or Christian) communities have had their own distinct systems of education.

A brief review of research on Cyprus in the context of education in conflict societies, presented in the previous chapter, indicated that the two education systems in Cyprus cultivated national identities, which reflected differing nationalistic visions in the two communities and proved to be divisive (Ateşin 2006; Bryant 1998, 2001, 2004; Hill 1952; Nevzat 2005; Persianis 1996; Weir 1952). Seen as contributing to the escalation of conflict in Cyprus, mainly in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s, the two education systems have undergone

changes in the decades following territorial separation of the two communities in 1974. Both Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities, which were previously seen as ethnic extensions of their respective 'motherlands' (Loizides 2007; Peristianis 2006) - Greece and Turkey - have been reported by various researchers as going through considerable transformation in terms of their national visions of themselves (Çarkoğlu & Sözen 2004; Killoran 2000; Lacher & Kaymak 2005; Mertkan-Ozunlu & Thomson 2008; Navaro-Yashin 2006; Peristianis 2006; Vural & Rüstemli 2006).

In the Northern Cyprus community, according to Lacher & Kaymak (2005), the previously hegemonic conception of a Turkish identity began to decay with the achievement of Turkish Cypriot independence, especially since the declaration of sovereignty in 1983. Application of the Republic of Cyprus for EU membership in 1990s is also seen by several researchers as a reason for reconfiguration of the Northern Cyprus and of Cypriot society as a whole in relation to global and local political and social contexts (Lacher & Kaymak 2005; Mertkan-Ozunlu & Thomson 2008; Vural & Rüstemli 2006). The UN blueprint for the Cyprus settlement plan proposed in 2002, commonly known as the Kofi Annan Plan, was another significant impetus for the change in political thinking in the TRNC, as the Plan was seen as a plausible possibility to the resolution of conflict in Cyprus and ending of the isolation of the Northern Cyprus community (Çarkoğlu & Sözen 2004; CIVICUS 2005).

In the Turkish Cypriot community, rejection of Turkish nationalism, which dominated the political and ideological scene in the TRNC until the late 1990s, and attempts by the Turkish Cypriot community to put an end to its political isolation, led to the change of the government and of the reigning ideology in the state in 2003. Election of the TRNC government in December 2003 brought to an end the rule by the rightists National Unity Party (*Ulusal Birlik Partisi/UBP*) which was a leading political force in the Northern Cyprus state for more than thirty years. The new coalition government was now led



by the left-wing Republican Turkish Party (*Cümhuriyet Türk Partisi/CTP*), which had on its agenda unification of the island of Cyprus within the framework of proposed settlement plan by the UN (Annan Plan).

The 2003 election has been viewed as a turning point in Turkish Cypriot politics (Çarkolu & Sözen 2004). Political changes in the state had a direct impact on the TRNC's national education system. The new coalition government took significant steps to design and implement an education reform immediately following the election. The reform was incepted at the time when hopes for re-unification of the island and accession to the EU as a united island were high amidst the TRNC community (January-February 2004). When in April 2004, the Cypriot public was asked to vote on a bi-communal, bi-zonal federal solution of the Cyprus problem, the Agreement was approved by the Turkish Cypriots (65% voted 'yes') and rejected by the Greek Cypriots (more than 75% voted 'no'). Since the Plan required approval on both sides, the Cyprus problem remained unsettled; the TRNC was kept out of the EU and retained its status of a pariah state.

Despite enormous disappointment among the Turkish Cypriot community by the results of the April Referendum 2004, and the consequent rejection of the TRNC by the EU, the TRNC government went ahead with its education reform. In addition to restructuring the education system and following recommendations of EU committees on various aspects of pedagogy, types and procedures of student assessment and programmes of study, the Turkish Cypriot government commissioned the re-writing of the textbooks. First volumes of the new textbooks, produced in the TRNC for the TRNC schools, were on the desks in September 2004, a few months after the reform was launched.

The recent education reform, which reflected changes in politics and ideology in the Turkish Cypriot society, is not the first instance of the Turkish Cypriot education being used as a tool by political powers in the community in their nation-building process. A historical reference to the educational change in

the Turkish Cypriot community, that followed political transformations in the society in 1920s-1930s, is included in Appendix 18 to this thesis. The historical note in Appendix 18 refers to the time when the campaign for the Westernization of the Turkish Cypriot community, guided by secular Turkish nationalism, marked the major ideological shift in the Turkish Cypriot community. Education was seen by the Turkish Cypriot leadership as crucial in solidifying the changes occurring in all other aspects of life. Following reforms in Turkey, the Latin-based alphabet was adopted in Cyprus in 1928, and implemented immediately in education. By the end of the 1930s, education was secularized and Kemalist<sup>5</sup> principles were introduced in education. The main points of Kemalism were enumerated as the “Six Arrows”: republicanism, nationalism, populism, reformism, etatism (statism), and secularism. These were regarded as fundamental and unchanging principles guiding the republic, and were written into its constitution. Radical secularism became one of the key principles of Kemalism.

Since the Turkish Cypriot community adopted Kemalist ideology, the Turkish Cypriot education has overtly pronounced its adherence to this ideology and has been in the vanguard of promoting Kemalism through the state-sponsored education system. Atatürk’s reforms remain written into current education policies in the TRNC and the teaching of these reforms is included in the programme of studies in the TRNC schools.

The current TRNC education system reflects the changes prompted by historical and political developments which have affected the Turkish Cypriot community to date. The recent education reform, however, is significant in that for the first time in almost four hundred years (since 1571), the Turkish Cypriot community initiated changes in its education which were independent from Turkey. Even more so, replacement of most textbooks by newly-produced texts in the TRNC for its schools, which focus on local Cypriot or

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<sup>5</sup> Kemalism is Atatürk’s programme of reforms undertaken in the Republic of Turkey in 1920s-1930s

Northern Cyprus context, marks a notable move away from Turkey's school curriculum. Attempts of the TRNC's government to establish its own, autonomous, education system are indicative of the TRNC's positioning as a sovereign national entity having its own vision of its national education. This observation is supported by Mertkan-Ozunlu & Thomson (2009) who note that 'the TRNC reform agenda ...has a nation-building component. Through curriculum reform, and an emphasis on citizenship, policy makers hope to strengthen further a distinctive TRNC national identity' (p. 102). Whilst pursuing the task of crafting distinctive 'high culture' (Gellner 2006 [1983], p. 86), as a foundation of national unity for its community, the TRNC's government also endowed its education with the mission 'to implement radical changes to build capacity for competitiveness and community development if TRNC is to be part of the global "knowledge economy"' (Mertkan-Ozunlu & Thomson 2009, p. 102).

Historical continuity of the Turkish Cypriot education and its alignment with other European education systems are equally significant characteristics of the current Turkish Cypriot education system. A closer look at the education system implemented in the TRNC in the next section will allow a more in-depth assessment of that system in its current state. The review of the TRNC's education system will locate lower secondary school – the site of the research – within its institutional structure and will focus on the issues relating to national identification in the context of TRNC's education.

### **3.3 The national education system**

The national education in the TRNC is a centralized education system under control of the Ministry of National Education and Culture (MOEC)<sup>6</sup>.

Traditionally held in high esteem in Cyprus, education continues to be viewed as a way of personal and social advancement among Cypriots and plays an

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<sup>6</sup> In 2010, the Ministry of National Education and Culture in the TRNC was re-named the Ministry of National Education and Youth Sport. In the text of this thesis, the name of the Ministry is kept as it was at the time of the fieldwork conducted in 2008-2009 school year.

important role in the everyday life of the Turkish Cypriot community. Significant budget allocations<sup>7</sup> to education sector in the country, which suffers from an endemic budget deficit, suggests that the state assigns great importance to education. Consistently high numbers of students who continue their education beyond basic compulsory level, as well as numbers of students who pursue tertiary education in the universities in Cyprus and abroad,<sup>8</sup> also indicate that there is high demand for education in the TRNC.

### **3.3.1 General overview**

The Turkish Cypriot Education System is comprised of optional pre-school, five-year primary school, seven-year secondary education, which is followed by tertiary education (see Appendix 9). In accordance with the TRNC Constitution (1984), education in the TRNC is compulsory until the age of fifteen and free until the age of eighteen. Compulsory education currently includes primary school and four years of lower secondary school but the state sponsors education up until the end of the upper secondary school. All state-run schools are secular and co-educational. All children of school age in the TRNC have free and easy access to all levels of basic education.

The Turkish Cypriot Education System is implemented in all government schools in the TRNC. The private schools which exist on the island are all English-language schools and serve the English-speaking population (predominantly British). Although the MOEC is responsible for the supervision and standardization of services provided by the private sector up to higher education, English-language private schools in the TRNC follow curricula imported from other educational systems (e.g. Britain). The specific

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<sup>7</sup> Annual budget allocations to education sector in the TRNC are up to eight percent of the state's total GDP (State Planning Office reports 2004-2008). World Bank Report (2006) indicated that in 2005, the education budget was about 14 percent of the total central budget, and noted that it was considered very high by European standards.

<sup>8</sup> Eighty-five percent of the school-aged children complete some form of secondary education in the TRNC and up to sixty percent of TRNC school graduates enroll in universities (State Planning Organization Reports 2004-2008).

interest of this research is in the Turkish Cypriot Education System, which is implemented in government schools, and a further review of the TRNC's education will refer to the state-sponsored education only.

According to official data supplied by the MOEC, the majority of the Turkish-speaking population (ninety percent) send their children to government schools, where the main language of instruction is Turkish. Statistics show that there is a steady influx of students through the compulsory education system and all the way to upper secondary school (State Planning Organization 2003-2008). World Bank Report (2006) notes that the numbers of the school aged population at times might increase dramatically due to an influx of immigrants, mainly from Turkey. Turkish citizens who come to Cyprus to seek employment (many of those are seasonal workers) tend to send their children to public schools, which are free of charge and where the medium of instruction is Turkish. The statistics do not always include exact data of the migrating population. Despite the fact that it is difficult to keep track of all the children of school age in families of migrant labourers from Turkey, according to anecdotal evidence, practically all the children of school age attend schools. So far, there have been no reports of discrimination against any group of the population when it comes to school attendance policies.

### **3.3.2 Financing, management and control**

Education is publicly financed by the MOEC that maintains primary schools, lower and upper secondary schools. It is MOEC's responsibility to carry all the expenses relating to the production and supply of the textbooks to all students going through basic education levels. Teachers' salaries are paid directly by the MOEC.

Teacher recruitment in the TRNC schools is conducted centrally and teachers have limited influence in their first placement. Teachers are hired permanently and the movements of teachers are regulated by the MOEC on

a need basis. All teachers in TRNC government schools are university graduates. The teachers are trained in the universities in their respective subjects and have to complete a one-year pedagogical training programme to be eligible to teach at school.

The MOEC exercises great control over curriculum matters. All government schools follow standardized curriculum approved by the MOEC. Teachers at school do not appear to have any say in the selection of textbooks, managing curricula or subject/hour distribution. Teachers are expected to follow the instructions, which emanate from the MOEC, on the content of subjects, dates and occasions for celebrations, recommended activities for celebrations, dates for in-house exams, and types of extra-curricular activities. The MOEC makes decisions on which books should be used at schools, and all the textbooks used at schools bear the stamp of approval from the MOEC. Teachers can supplement the basic texts with their own teaching materials, as long as the material content does not deviate from the approved content of studies. Teachers produce their own 'in-house' tests for scheduled assessments, but the samples of the tests are supplied by the MOEC. Teachers are also free to select the teaching methods that they think best for learning purposes.

### **3.3.3 Review of education policies**

Current education policies emphasize the importance of providing equal educational opportunities to all youth in the country, which would 'enable the Cyprus Turkish community to take up its position among other communities in Information Age' (Education Policies 2005, p. 4). Appendices 10 and 11 to this thesis contain excerpts from the current Education Policies (2005). These texts include the vision and mission of the current education system, a list of 'human qualities of the 21<sup>st</sup> century targeted by the Cyprus Turkish Community' (Education Policies 2005, p. 4) and objectives of the basic education.

The review of the TRNC's education policies suggests that education is seen as an important vehicle for achieving the social and economic goals of the state. Among those goals are the necessity to equip youngsters with the skills necessary to adapt to the requirements of modern times of rapid changes; to bring the level of education of the TRNC's children to the standards comparable with those at the international level; to raise individuals who maintain and cultivate their cultural traditions, who are aware of their human rights and who appreciate cultural differences, and who feel comfortable amidst the diversity of the modern world. Promising competitive, high quality education, which is equally accessible to all the students going through the basic level of national education system, the TRNC's education aims at greater mobility for the TRNC's youth within the region and broader world. In the context of the current political isolation of the TRNC, mobility of its citizens can be viewed as the means of overcoming the state enclosure imposed on the youth growing up in the TRNC. In any case, harmonization of the TRNC's education system with education systems in EU countries makes such promise of mobility realistic. Examination of school practices in further chapters (six, seven and eight) will reveal whether this promise is met in reality of schooling in the TRNC.

### **3.4 Summary**

The purpose of this chapter was to establish the historical, cultural and political contexts of the study. Viewed as a medium of delivering the goals of the state in its nation-building process, education in the TRNC was presented in the context of political developments in the state. The deliberate attempts to use its national education system to promote political agenda of the state were illustrated by the recent efforts of the new TRNC's government to reform its education system. The undertaken reform reflected attempts of the state to facilitate international integration of its citizens, as the national education was re-structured in order to be compatible with other education systems in Europe. Overall, the material presented in this chapter supports

the assumption, articulated earlier, that education serves political goals of the state in its nation-building enterprise.

The initial discussion of the relationship between national identity and education in this chapter, and in the previous chapter as well, pointed at a variety of complex issues as having implications for the process of national identity construction. To bring these various issues into a whole, analytical framework based on Foucault's theorizing on the constitution of the subject is proposed in this study. Foucault's approach to analyzing social processes as sets of practices found in their specific historic and cultural context makes his theorizing relevant, as it shows how a variety of factors found in established structures and individuals' action are tied as parts of the same process of meaning construction. The next chapter will elaborate on the analytical framework based on Foucault's theorizing and will show how his work can be useful in the examination of the process of construction of national subjects.



## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **ANALYTIC FRAMEWORK**

#### **4.0 Introduction**

The research reported in this study explores the process of national identity construction in the context of schooling in the TRNC. The previous two chapters introduced several themes and issues, which are integral to this study, and explored some of these issues in the specific historical, cultural and political context of the TRNC and its education system. What emerged can be summarized in a series of key ideas as follows: nations and national identities are inventions, and they are constantly re-invented to serve the interests of various political groups; education is used strategically by the states in their nation-building projects; and societal changes prompt changes in education and in the content of national identification.

Together, these ideas support the assumption, articulated in Chapter Two, that national identity is a social construct. Any enquiry into the process of social reality requires capturing what systematic series of actions make a process, and whether prominence is given to agency, to activity, or to structures which enable, shape and constraint activity. The approach to a social process of national identity construction, undertaken in the present study, is grounded in Foucault's analyses of knowledge construction which view human activity as neither the passive reproduction of dominating structures, nor a manifestation of free will, but as the constant interplay of the two, and as revealed through a set of practices.

The purpose of this chapter is to present Foucault's approach to the investigation of the social process of subject construction, and his analytic tools, which will be used to shape the data presentation and subsequent analysis, and discussion of the findings.

The chapter is in three sections. First, an account of Foucault's theorizing on the constitution of the subject is presented. The following section addresses his work in terms of its methodological merits. The final section introduces concepts of various *technologies* and discusses the application of these concepts, as analytic tools, to the examination of the process of national identity construction in the context of schooling.

#### **4.1 Theorizing on the subject**

The analytic framing of this study is based on Foucault's programme of investigation into how human beings are made subjects.

Subject is a philosophical category which has received varied conceptions throughout the history of philosophical thought. The manner this philosophical category is treated in Foucault's work can be roughly encapsulated in the following definition: the subject is an entity which is capable of choosing how to act within the constraints of the given historical and cultural context. Foucault notes that it is important to make the distinction between *the subject* and *the individual*. The individual is transformed into the subject and the transformations take place as a result of outside events and actions undertaken by the individual.

The subject occupies a key position in Foucault's work, which spans a period of more than twenty-five years. Despite his constant interest in the subject theme, Foucault did not develop a theory of the subject. In one of his later interviews (1984, published in 1987), Foucault states that he refused to set up a theory for the reason that 'beginning from the theory of the subject, you come to pose the question of knowing, for example, how such and such a form of knowledge was possible' (Foucault 1987, p. 121). According to Foucault, setting an *a priori* theory of the subject implies an idea of a universal and timeless subject which attaches people to specific identities – the view which Foucault consistently opposes in his writing (Foucault 1982, 1987, 1988a, 1988b, 1988c, 1993).

Foucault's historical analyses of the different ways humans are constituted as subjects resulted in a body of scholarship which suggests that there is a complex interplay of constraint, choice and action. Throughout his scholarly career, Foucault placed different emphases on those various elements but remained consistent in his viewing of the subject as a dynamic, ever-changing, and always context-dependent form.

The application of Foucault's theorizing to the investigation of the process of national identity construction conceptualizes such process in terms of interrelated domains of structure and agency. The terms *structure* and *agency* are not explicitly used by Foucault in his writing<sup>9</sup>. Yet, the main focus of Foucault's intellectual interest – that is on the constitution of the subject – is nothing other than investigation of the social processes where conduct of individuals is examined within their structural environment. His viewing of the process of the constitution of the subject is articulated in the following manner: human beings are shaped by networks of knowledge, anonymous structures, as well as institutional and other social structures; and human beings have the capacity to modify existing constraints and their own behaviour.

Having accepted Foucault's general approach to the social process of the constitution of the subject as to the outcome of outside events and actions undertaken by individuals, I also accept his perspective on the subject as a historical and context-dependent category.

To Foucault, his own 'historic-critical investigations are quite specific in the sense that they always bear upon a material, an epoch, a body of determined practices and discourses' (Foucault 1987, p. 49). 'Determined practices and discourses' (Foucault 1987, p. 49) change their content; they function as *true* only in particular times and places. The notion of *truth* itself is viewed by Foucault as an event, something that happens, rather than exists. He refers to historically specific mechanisms behind the production of discourses,

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<sup>9</sup> My judgment of that is based on English translations of Foucault's work

which function as true in different socio-historical contexts, as *regimes of truth* (or later *games of truth*). Regimes of truth are defined as ‘the ensemble of rules according to which the true and the false are separated and specific effects of power attached to the true’ (Foucault 1977 quoted in O’Farrell 2005, p. 65). In his interview in 1977, Foucault (1980) states the following:

Truth is a thing of this world: it is produced only by virtue of multiple forms of constraint...Each society has its regime of truth, its 'general politics' of truth: that is the types of discourse which it accepts and makes function as true; the mechanisms and instances which enable one to distinguish true and false statements the means by which each is sanctioned; the techniques and procedures accorded value in the acquisition of truth; the status of those who are charged with saying what counts as true (p. 131).

In her discussion of Foucault’s notion of truth, O’Farrell (2005) remarks that ‘economic and political mechanisms demand its constant production’ (p. 94) and further notes that ‘it is circulated, consumed and regulated via educational institutions and the media, and it also forms the object of political debate and social struggle’ (p. 94).

Stressing the point that the subject is not a substance but a form, Foucault notes that this form is not always identical to itself. The form changes and it is precisely the relationship between these different forms of subject and the regimes of truth that are in the focus of Foucault’s investigations, and are also leading the present study.

The view of the subject as a changing form is in alignment with the view of national identity as a fluid construct, proposed earlier in this thesis. Locating the present investigation of the process of national identity construction in its specific historical, political and cultural contexts is also akin to Foucault’s perspective on the subject as a historical and context-dependent category. Foucault’s notion of the regimes of truth, and his argument that they are circulated and regulated via educational institutions, relate to one of the underlying assumptions of this study that education plays a proactive role in promoting political and ideological agenda of the state. Foucault’s approach

to the process of transformation of the individual into the subject means in the context of this study that individuals – students in a lower secondary school in the TRNC – transform into national subjects within the constraints of historical and cultural context of the regimes of truth, and ‘the ensemble of rules’ (Foucault 2000, p. 132), which are specific to this particular historical period and society in the TRNC. It also means that the regime of truth, which the TRNC’s society ‘accepts and makes function as true’ (Foucault 1980, p. 131) is produced ‘by virtue of multiple forms of constraint’ (p. 131) of its social reality.

## **4.2 Guiding principles underlying research**

Despite Foucault’s shifting foci and a wide range of historical and thematic choices, there are several constant elements which underlie all Foucault’s inquiries. Those elements can be summarized as three key points:

1. The subject and its various forms and identities are constructed rather than discovered. Foucault’s modes of objectification of the subject through various disciplines and sciences in different historical and contextual settings trace the process of such construction.
2. The subject and its identities are historical and cultural constructions. There is no autonomous transcendent subject which exists outside its context. All Foucault’s investigations into the constitution of the subject demonstrate that individuals act within limits imposed on them by their social and historical context.
3. The subject and its identities are not fixed but are constantly modified. Foucault consistently rejects the idea that, in fact, anything is fixed or can be taken at face value in any domain of human culture.

These guiding principles reiterate the assumptions on national identity underlying the present study, and this makes Foucault’s analytic approach to

his own historic-critical investigations applicable to this investigation of the process of national identity construction in the context of schooling.

A note should be taken that despite Foucault's insistence that the subject and its identities are not fixed once and for all and are always in-flux, they should not be seen as indeterminate. In his 1980 Berkley interview, Foucault (1988c) agrees with the point that there is need 'to pin things down, even if in a provisional way' (n.p.), and that human beings have to establish the points of fixity to develop a sense of self. Foucault explains that his insistence not to accept anything as definitive, obvious or immobile 'does not mean that one must live in an indefinite discontinuity'; it means rather that 'one must consider all the points of fixity, of immobilization, as elements in a tactics, in a strategy – as part of an effort to bring things back into their original mobility, their openness to change' (n.p.). This point is well taken and the emergent themes of affiliations with states and nations, as revealed through a set of practices, are built into the analytic process, as 'elements in a tactics' (Foucault 1988c, n.p.). In this sense, Foucault's overall approach to the social process of constituting national subjects is not just used to organize the preliminary findings but is integral to the critical reading of the data throughout the analysis.

### **4.3 Analytic tools**

Application of Foucault's theorizing on the constitution of the subject might appear problematic since Foucault does not offer any methodological template. Viewing his historic-critical analyses as a constantly evolving experience, Foucault states that there is no general method that would be definitively valid for himself or for other people: what he writes is never prescriptive but instrumental and tentative. Foucault's claim to do 'nothing original' specifically refers to the methods he uses in his work:

...I make use of the most conventional methods: demonstration or, at any rate, proof of historical matters, textual references, citation of authorities, drawing connections between texts and facts, suggesting

schemes of intelligibility, offering different types of explanation. There is nothing original in what I do (Faubion 1994, p. 242).

Thus, Foucault is not establishing a definitive path to proceed with an analysis. His reluctance 'to tell people what they should do' (Foucault 1988c, n.p.) leaves the reader ill equipped, but only when it comes to specific methodological prescriptions. As O'Farrell (2005) notes, Foucault's rejection of universally applicable method makes his methodology difficult to apply, 'yet paradoxically at the same time renders it so attractive through its sheer flexibility and adaptability to a range of quite specific locations, times and situations (p. 57). O'Farrell (2005) warns, however, that whereas 'it is always possible to organize things differently...certain rules must still be observed' (p. 52) and notes that 'these rules involve processes of empirical and historical verification and the detailed and logical examination of existing categories (p. 52).

Careful reading of Foucault suggests a number of possibilities applicable to the fields of enquiry well outside the themes of his own analyses. One needs to approach Foucault's work not as a prescriptive methodological guide but as a set of analytic tools. Foucault himself describes his own work as a 'tool box':

I would like my books to be a kind of tool box which others can rummage through to find a tool which they can use however they wish in their own area... I would like [my work] to be useful to an educator, a warden, a magistrate, a conscientious objector. I don't write for an audience, I write for users, not readers (Foucault 1974, pp. 523-524, quoted in O'Farrell 2005, p. 50).

Foucault's suggestion to use his work as an adaptable set of tools is the direction I follow. From the tools in his 'box', the concepts of *technologies* are particularly useful in describing, explaining and understanding the process of construction of national identity in the context of schooling. The utility of these concepts in the present study is explicated below.

#### 4.4 *Technologies of the subject*

Toward the end of the twenty-odd-year-period of his work on the subject, particularly in his lectures and interviews dating from 1980 to 1984, Foucault formulates his outlook on the constitution of the subject in terms of interplay of various *technologies* (Dartmouth College lectures 1980, published 1993; University of Vermont seminar 1982, published 1988). As a context for the summary of his own work on the subject, Foucault (1988a) proposes four major types of technologies, 'each a matrix of practical reason', that 'human beings use to understand themselves' (p. 17): (1) technologies of production, (2) technologies of sign systems, (3) technologies of power and (4) technologies of the self.

According to Foucault (1988a), it is the last two technologies<sup>10</sup> that kept his attention: 'technologies of power, which determine the conduct of individuals and submit them to certain ends or domination, an objectivizing of the subject' (p. 18), and 'technologies of the self, which permit individuals to effect by their own means or with the help of others a certain number of operations on their bodies and souls, thoughts, conduct, and the way of being, so as to transform themselves...' (p. 18).

While expressing his great interest in the ways the subject constitutes himself in an active fashion, Foucault does not set the subject free to do just anything. He insists that individual's 'practices [of self] are nevertheless not something that the individual invents by himself. They are patterns that he finds in his culture and which are proposed, suggested and imposed on him by his culture, his society and his social group' (Foucault 1984, p. 122).

It was the work of the *technologies of power* that was illustrated in the previous discussion of how education was used by states as a tool in their nation-building process. 'Viable modern high culture' (Gellner 2006 [1983], p. 86), which was shown in Chapters Two and Three to reflect the 'national'

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<sup>10</sup> Foucault uses the terms 'technologies' and 'techniques' interchangeably.



agenda of the states, determine the content of national identification, as it is transmitted through the school-mediated idiom to the totality of the population. Individuals' positioning in relation to states and nations in educational context is, thus, viewed as constrained by the state's 'national' agenda transmitted through the centralized, state-run education.

Foucault notes that the two types of technologies – technologies of power and technologies of the self – hardly ever function separately; there is constant interaction between the two. He stresses that when one wants to analyze the process of the constitution of the subject, one

has to take into account the interaction between those two types of techniques – techniques of domination and techniques of the self. He has to take into account the points where the technologies of domination of individuals over one another have recourse to processes by which the individual acts upon himself. And conversely, he has to take into account the points where the techniques of the self are integrated into structures of coercion or domination (Foucault 1993, p. 203).

The *process* of national identity construction in the present study is approached as the interaction of Foucault's *technologies* – (1) technologies of power and domination (structural environment of schooling) and (2) technologies of self-creation that give concrete forms to national identities constructed by the students within their historical and cultural context of schooling (agency of individuals).

Foucault's *technologies of power and domination* and *technologies of the self* (Foucault 1988a) are conceptualized here in terms of *structure* and *agency*. Anonymous structures, networks of knowledge, social and cultural institutions all embody, as well as produce, the structural environment of the subject. All those structures shape people's life and set the rules or procedures to be followed; they 'determine conduct of individuals' (Foucault 1988a, p. 17). Technologies of the self are agency of the individuals who are capable of choosing how to act and what choices to make among the models available in his or her environment. It is the agency of individuals which 'permit

individuals to effect by their own means or with the help of others a certain number of operations on their bodies and souls, thoughts, conduct, and the way of being, so as to transform themselves...' (Foucault 1988a, p. 18).

Interaction between the two technologies is just another way of describing existing relationships between organized social and institutional practices on the one hand and behavior of individuals on the other. This kind of relationship is viewed here in terms of the interplay of structure and agency in specific historical cultural organization of humans.

The relationships between structural components and individuals' positioning within their structural environment always manifest as practices. Foucault's insistence that the points of interaction between various types of technologies can only be revealed through a set of practices is summed up by Bernauer (1987), who claims that the collective scholarship of Foucault

puts forward a domain for analysis which overcomes the theory-practice dualism. It is composed, not of institutions, theories or ideologies but of practices, the discursive and extra-discursive relations which are operative in a culture's program for the conduct of intellectual pursuit, of practical action, and of self-constitution. Foucault's ethical perspective was signaled in his concern with the action of the axes: what knowledge does (and not reads), how power constructs (and not represents), how relationship to the self is invented (and not discovered) (Bernauer 1987, p. 185).

Thus, the social practices are in the focus of investigation of any social process, and it is only through practices that the interplay of structure and agency is revealed. This has implications for the organization of the present study. The presentation of the data, and the following analysis and interpretation, aim to examine the points of interaction between the structural context of schooling and individuals' positioning in relation to states and nations, as revealed through the sets of practices at school.

Approaching the process of national identity construction in the schooling context through Foucault's analytical framework opens up a number of possibilities. The notion of technologies is very useful in isolating those

techniques which shape specific structural environment of a lower secondary school in the TRNC, and the techniques which allow individuals to act upon themselves and modify the circumstances of their structural environment. Through his notion of *technologies*, and his insistence on their constant interplay, Foucault recognizes the necessity to view an individual or agent in the context of individual's structural environment. In the context of this study, it suggests that the interpretation of students' positioning towards states and nations is embedded in the context of children's structural environment of schooling. Such analytical approach allows to avoid a dichotomy between the individual and his/her structural environment but, rather, view individual behaviour in the context of that environment. This means that the specific nature of various technologies and their constant interaction are viewed as parts of the same complex process.

#### **4.5 Summary**

This chapter presented the analytic framework which draws on Foucault's insights into the constitution of the subject. Foucault's conception of the process of the subject production as the interaction of various *technologies*, and his endeavor to show both specific nature of those technologies and their constant interaction, enabled me to frame the process of national identity construction in terms of the interplay of structure and agency. In the context of this study, this means that the process of national identity construction can be viewed as the interaction between agency of individuals and structural schooling environment, as revealed through various schooling practices. It was proposed that the specific nature of various technologies and their constant interaction can be viewed as parts of the same complex process. The analytical framework presented in this chapter provides the structure within which to organize the data, as well as to frame analysis and discussion of the findings. Chapter Five, which follows, will present the overall research design of the study.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **RESEARCH DESIGN**

#### **5.0 Introduction**

The research reported in this thesis is designed to examine the process of national identity construction in the context of schooling. One of the basic assumptions underlying this research, which was articulated in Chapter Two, is that national identities are social constructs. The analytic framework introduced in the previous chapter was grounded in similar understanding of national subjects as social constructs, which were constantly modified within the constraints of the given historical and cultural context. This enquiry is thus rooted in ontological views of the social world which embrace the idea of subjective and multiple realities, and such views have bearings on the research design of the study.

This chapter provides an overview of the research design. The early sections explain the rationale for methodological choices, the sampling methods, the process of access to the field and data collection techniques. The chapter then describes the analytic procedures employed in this study. Finally, ethical considerations, language matters, and the issues of trustworthiness and reflexivity are discussed.

#### **5.1 Rationale for the methodological approach**

This research aligns itself with the views which fall into an interpretive, or subjectivist, paradigm of enquiry. Presented in Chapters Two and Three, the views of national identities as changing their content and as serving political agenda of the states are grounded in the viewing of national identities as being socially constructed. The interpretive, naturalistic approach to the present research is thus warranted, because in the interpretive paradigm of enquiry, the situations are treated not as fixed and static but as fluid and

changing; events and behaviors are 'situated activities' as they evolve over time and are richly effected by the context (Cohen et al. 2007, p. 20).

Subjectivist views of social reality 'see knowledge as personal, subjective and unique' and require 'understanding of the way in which the individual creates, modifies and interprets the world in which he or she finds himself or herself' (Cohen et al. 2007, p. 8). Guided by specific aims and informed by previous research, this investigation is ultimately based on my own understanding of what categories best capture what I found in the data. In this sense, this research is highly interpretive and reflects my own subjective views of the social reality I studied.

Thomson and Gunter (2007) emphasize that 'all knowledge production is delimited by the geographical, historical and cultural position of the knowledge producer' (p. 329) and that meaning making relies on established practices and language-based traditions. As a knowledge producer in this research, I drew on my social experiences, and my cultural and linguistic positioning are framing the meanings I make of my research. My position in the setting I researched, namely education in Cyprus, a conflict society, is that of a person external to the conflict. Representative of a British institution, but not being British (Russian) at that, I was accepted on the research site as an outsider of a 'mixed' background who was not associated with any community of Cyprus. Being introduced to the conflict, and to the issues central to this enquiry, through my own experiences in Cyprus (North and South) and thorough research, I formed my understanding of the historical, cultural and political context of the research. I also drew on my social experiences in various educational settings in different countries (Russia, the USA, Britain), including my work in a university in the TRNC. So my subjectivity became what Creswell (2007) calls both 'a producer and a product' of the research (p. 213) and is reflected in all stages of the research.

### **5.1.1 Qualitative research**

The ontological and epistemological assumptions identified above have direct implications for the methodological considerations of the research.

Qualitative naturalistic enquiry was adopted in this investigation of the process of national identity construction in the context of schooling, as this allows for multiple interpretations of social reality and acknowledges subjective experience of the individuals in the creation of the social world.

The procedures of qualitative research have an inductive, emerging character. As Creswell (2007) explains, the inductive logic of qualitative research means that it moves 'from the ground up, rather than handed down entirely from a theory or from the perspectives of the inquirer' (p. 19).

Following such inductive logic, the foci of my research have been unique instances of events, situated activities and an in-depth study of the local context of the research.

### **5.1.2 Case study methodology**

A case study methodology was adopted for the investigation of the process of national identity construction in the context of schooling.

As Yin (2009) points out, 'the distinctive need for case studies arises out of the desire to understand complex social phenomena' (p. 4) and becomes more relevant 'the more that your questions require an extensive and "in-depth" description of some social phenomena' (p. 4). Yin (2009) states that the case study particularly has a distinct advantage when 'a "how" or "why" question is being asked about a contemporary set of events, over which the investigator has little or no control' (p. 13). Therefore, the case study design was selected as appropriate for this research, since the aim was to investigate in depth *how* students of a lower secondary school in the TRNC construct their national identity, as well as which factors contribute to the construction of national identity in the context of schooling and *why*.

Case study research, by definition, is focused on a single, relatively bound unit (Creswell 2007; Patton 2002; Stake 1995; Yin 2009) and, according to Patton (2002), cases themselves are units of analysis in case study research. The case studied in this research is the process of construction of national identity in the context of schooling. The relationship between construction of national identity and students' schooling experience is the unit of analysis.

One strength of the case study methodology is that it allows for the exploration of social processes in their real-life context (Stake 1995; Yin 2009). Yin (2009) states that the case study design allows investigators 'to retain the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real-life events...' (p. 4) and emphasizes that the case study examines contemporary events 'when the relevant behaviors cannot be manipulated (p. 11). Thus, a case study approach allows unanticipated issues to emerge, as well as to examine and probe the nature and complexity of the issues under investigation as they unfold in their natural setting. Such inductive approach is appropriate to the purposes of this study, as it permits generation of a wide range of qualitative data in order to describe, understand and explain the process of national identity construction as it is revealed in schooling practices.

## **5.2 Phases of the research**

The present study was conducted in two distinct phases – a pilot study and the full study. The table 5.1 below presents the fieldwork schedule for the two phases of the research.

<b>Phase</b>	<b>Time Period</b>	<b>Description</b>
<b>Pilot Study</b>	January - February 2008	Application to the MOEC for permission to conduct fieldwork in a selected school. Data collection on the school site. Interviews with MOEC officials and textbook writers.
Analysis	March - May 2008	Analysis of collected data. Sampling of the research site for the full study based on analysis of information collected during the pilot study. Scheduling of further data collection based on the findings of the pilot study.
<b>Full Study</b>		
Entry Stage	September - October 2008	Application to the MOEC for permission to conduct fieldwork in a case study school Actual physical entry into the field setting
Data gathering	October - December 2008	Observations, interviews and on-going analysis of data
Analysis	December 2008 - February 2009	Analysis of collected data. Development of coding scheme and manageable classification of the data collected. Sharpening the focus of the research. Setting agenda and lists of issues to be addressed in further data collection.
Data gathering	February - April 2009	Observations, interviews and on-going analysis of data
Further analysis	April - August 2009	Formal coding. Classification schemes for emerging themes and patterns.

**Table 5.1 Fieldwork Schedule**

The process of data collection and data analysis went on simultaneously. However, interruption during the fieldwork period was necessary to review the amounts of data which had been gathered during the initial stages of fieldwork. The time for the interruption during the full study phase was convenient as it fell naturally into the school's end-of-semester examination period and mid-year break. During that time, I had a chance to reflect on the data, conduct preliminary sorting of the data and identify emerging patterns and categories which were helpful in focusing further data collection on the issues that could be most illuminating for the questions of central importance to this research.

### **5.3 Access to the sites**

Gaining access to the school sites for the pilot study and for the full study was done through the MOEC. I applied to the MOEC for permission to access the sites three times: once for the pilot study in January 2008 and



twice in the following academic year (2008-2009) for every three-month-period presence on the school sites. Each time, I submitted an official letter to the Office of the General Directorate of Secondary Education (*Genel Ortaöğretim Dairesi Müdürlüğü*) at the MOEC requesting access to the school I selected for my fieldwork. Application letters stated the aims and purposes of the research and a description of methods to be used (A sample of my application letter to the MOEC is included in Appendix 1 A and 1 B to this thesis). Permission to do my fieldwork on the school sites was granted each time (MOEC's sample letter can be found in Appendix 2 A and 2 B). First two applications took two-three weeks to be processed. The third (and final) application was approved on the next day following the application. In addition to receiving the official letter of approval from the MOEC to conduct my fieldwork in TRNC schools, I also sought permission of the school Principals to conduct my fieldwork in their schools (Appendix 3 A and 3 B). Both school Principals agreed on proposed schedules for school visits, and on activities I planned for my visits, and were very helpful in organizing initial meetings with the teachers and students at school. Access to schools' facilities, lessons, activities and to people at schools presented no difficulties. The schools' Principals and teachers were cooperative and supportive during the entire time I conducted my fieldwork.

## **5.4 Pilot study**

The pilot study was conducted during the winter of 2008 in one lower secondary school in the TRNC. The pilot study tested the process of access to research sites, fitness of research design to the purposes of the study, data collection techniques, as well as gathered information which was used to determine sampling strategies for the selection of the fieldwork site for the full study.

This section aims to provide an overview of the pilot study: sample selection and the study's value and outcomes.

#### **5.4.1 Selection of the site for the pilot study**

Purposeful random selection of the site was used to pilot the study in one lower secondary school in the TRNC. Pre-determined criteria for the selection of a school for the pilot study were (1) a state-run school and (2) a lower secondary level school, that is the school within the basic compulsory structure of the national education system in the TRNC. These criteria were set by the aim of the study – to investigate the process of national construction by students *in a lower secondary school in the TRNC*.

From the fourteen lower secondary schools in the TRNC, one school was selected at random. At the time of pilot study planning, I did not have sufficient information about schools in the TRNC which would allow me to strategically identify one particular site. Random selection of one school during the first phase of the study might be viewed as an advantage in qualitative research as, according to Patton (2002), ‘random sampling, even of small samples, will substantially increase the credibility of the results’ of the study (pp. 240-241). Thus, purposeful random selection of a school suited the purposes of the pilot study phase – to serve as a testing ground for research process designed for the full study.

#### **5.4.2 Outcomes of the pilot study**

Methodologically, the pilot study informed the approach to data gathering at the full study phase. In conducting the pilot study, I had an opportunity to put into practice several methods of data collection and improve my skills in using them.

Initial observation during the pilot study showed that, however spontaneous observation might be, there is need to plan observation more carefully and to always arrive at the site with an ‘observation protocol’ (Creswell 2007, p. 135). Soon after the beginning of my pilot study, I realized how cumbersome it might be to record everything I had observed and to file impromptu observation notes, as the volume of my field notes grew rapidly. I started to

arrive at the school site with my observation protocol handy, even when specific observation was not planned for the day. It allowed me to produce spontaneous notations in a more effective way and it also reduced the time 'cleaning' my records afterwards.

During my pilot study interviews, I tested interviewing techniques with students and teachers in groups and individually. I found that students were more at ease when they were interviewed in groups and, to the contrary, teachers preferred to have individual interviews. This is how I planned my interview schedules for the full study, with the focus on individual interviews for teachers and group interviews with the students. The research process during the pilot study suggested that I would keep a research diary where I would write down my reflections on observation, interviews, encounters, and my thinking on various issues relevant to the present study.

The pilot study helped me to determine the nature of the case study as a methodology mostly appropriate for my investigation of the process of national identity construction in educational context. During the piloting stage, it was revealed that the case of national identity and education could be studied from a number of angles on one school site, and that rich qualitative data could be generated on a schooling site to illuminate the investigation.

In terms of collecting background information relevant to schooling in the TRNC, the pilot study proved to be extremely useful in that it allowed me to collect information which could not be obtained through literature reading. Meetings and conversations with MOEC officials, textbook writers, the school's Principal, teachers and students supplied me with very rich material on education system and schooling in the TRNC. I obtained access to statistical information, official and anecdotal data on education in the TRNC, the process of inception and implementation of Education Reform 2004 in the TRNC, and specifically, on lower secondary schools in the TRNC. Being on the school site allowed me to get acquainted with the school's daily

operations and get the feeling of 'immersion' into a school setting which was completely new to me.

The pilot study had several practical implications for the following fieldwork: it helped me construct schedules for data collection and analysis with respect to the content of the data and procedures to be followed; it gave me an understanding of the time required to gain access to the school site and to arrange and implement the proposed schedule for my fieldwork at school; it provided information about potential settings in which the research could be carried out; it also helped me to determine which components of the schooling could generate data that would be most illuminative of the case studied. My experiences on the school site during the pilot study gave me valuable insights into the practices of schooling in the TRNC. Although my status of an 'outsider' would not be eliminated throughout the entire time of data collection for this research project, the pilot study experience significantly increased my level of comfort in the school setting in the TRNC, as well as my sensitivity to certain issues and behaviours, and gave me a good feeling of my place as a researcher in this cultural and educational setting.

## **5.5 Full study site selection**

One lower secondary school was selected as the site for the full study research. The selection of only one location follows the advice of Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) who state that '...the more settings are studied the less time can be spent in each' (p. 31). Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) suggest that the researcher makes 'a trade-off here between breadth and depth of investigation' (p. 31) and, limits the choice of settings in order to achieve the depth of investigation of the studied phenomena. The choice of one location (one school) for the research allowed thorough investigation of the issues of national identity and education from a number of angles, as well as permitted 'prolonged engagement... in the field' (Lincoln & Guba 2007 [1986], p. 18).

Purposive<sup>11</sup> sampling strategy was used in selecting the school as location of the research. As Patton (2002) points out, ‘the logic and power of purposeful [purposive] sampling lie in selecting information-rich cases for study in depth [...] from which one can learn a great deal about issues of central importance to the purpose of the enquiry’ (p. 230).

The purpose of the enquiry in this study was the examination of the process of students’ national identity construction in a lower secondary school in the TRNC. The choice of a lower secondary level, which includes 6-8 grades, or 11-14-year-olds, was made due to the following reasons. One reason is that 6-8 grades of the general structure of education in the TRNC are compulsory. Therefore, all children of school age must go through this level of schooling. This responds to Gellner’s (2006 [1983]) proposition of transmission of ‘viable modern high culture’ (p. 86) through the generic training received at school, as a foundation of national unity, accepted in this study as one of underlying assumptions. So the selection of the site of such generic (basic, compulsory) training is in alignment with the conceptual basis for exploring relationships between national identity construction and educational experience, outlined in Chapter Two. Specific choice of the age group - 11-14 years - was justified by the findings of research into children’s and adolescents’ understanding of national groups and into the developmental process of their national identification. Such research has demonstrated that the children’s knowledge of their own national identity, which starts developing through the early years of schooling (5-6 years of age) (Jahoda 1962, 1963a, 1963b; Middleton et al. 1970; Piaget & Weil 1951), expands considerably during subsequent years (Barrett & Short 1992; Jahoda 1962; Lambert & Klineberg 1967) and, by age 11-12, the salience of national identity becomes very noticeable and even overrides other group identities (Barrett et al. 2001; Barrett & Short 1992;

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<sup>11</sup> The terms ‘purposive’ and ‘purposeful’ are used in various sources (Creswell 2007; Patton 2002) to refer to the same sampling strategy, that is sampling strategy which focuses on selecting information-rich cases, with the logic of the strategy to serve a particular purpose (Patton 2002, p. 230). Here, both terms are used interchangeably, as they appear in citations from original sources.

Lambert & Klineberg 1967). Literature reviewed so far indicates that by 11 years of age children have a good knowledge of their own national affiliations and are able to make clear distinctions between national ingroups and outgroups. In his review of findings of research by Lambert & Klineberg (1967, quoted in Barrett 2002), Barrett (2002) writes:

by 10 or 11 years of age children are able to produce detailed descriptions of the characteristics exhibited by members of their own and other salient national groups, including their typical physical features and appearance, clothing, language, behavioral habits, psychological traits, and sometimes their political and religious beliefs (p. 4).

The choice of one particular lower secondary school was based on the findings of the pilot study and official data on school characteristics and locations provided by the MOEC. This information allowed me to make decisions on what kind of data to collect in order to illuminate the issues of central importance for this study, and where I would find these data; in other words, which school might serve as particularly 'information-rich' (Patton 2002, p. 230) location and which site might supply sufficient and illuminative data in order to explore the process of national identity construction by students in a lower secondary school in the TRNC. To meet these requirements, the school site was identified in accordance with the following criteria.

#### (1) School size

The school selected as the site for this research has been drawn from a pool of fourteen state-run lower secondary schools in the TRNC. The fourteen lower secondary schools included in the national education system are scattered all over the territory of Northern Cyprus, with some schools located in towns and some in the rural areas which are not densely populated. The schools located in towns have average number of students around 180-468 and of teachers around 15-34 (MOEC official data, 2008). In less populated areas, three schools on the MOEC list count between 80 and 160 students and one lower secondary school contains only 75 students and 7 teachers.

The school selected as the site for this case study is the largest lower secondary school in the TRNC with over 800 students and over 70 teachers (academic year 2008-2009).

The larger size of the school population promised greater variability and possibility to collect sufficient amount of data for the study, for, as Cohen et al. (2007) note, 'one can observe considerable variation in the response from the participants' (p. 102) when participants are drawn from a larger population.

## (2) Implementation of Education Reform 2004

Education Reform, which was launched in 2004, foresaw the gradual implementation of changed programme of studies in schools across the territory of Northern Cyprus. The school selected as the site for this research was one of the first to undergo comprehensive reform when it was introduced in 2004 (MOEC official data 2008). By the time of the fieldwork, the school was in its fifth year of operation under the reformed system. It made sense to conduct research in this particular school since substantial portion of the data emanates from the reformed education system launched in 2004.

Decisions on the school site selection were based on these two characteristics, but convenience to my base was a factor also to be taken into account. Closeness of the site was mere coincidental. However, apart from the obvious convenience of spending a reasonably short time to drive to the school site (35-45 minutes), I found it to be an advantage that my personal familiarity with the region of school's location permitted an 'insider' outlook at the geographical and cultural context of the school's location.

All in all, selection of the school site was based on, what Patton (2002) describes as 'strategically deliberating on how to get the most information of greater utility' (p. 242) from the study. It was a combination of mixed purposive sampling in identifying the site for the investigation of the process of national identity construction in the context of schooling. School site

selection based on the largest possible size is a sampling strategy in its own right and follows the logic of allowing greater variability within the sample (Creswell 2007; Patton 2002). Location of the research in the school which operated under reformed conditions for a number of years by the time of the fieldwork makes the setting as particularly appropriate for the research positioned within the reformed education in the TRNC.

The site selected for the full study enabled me to examine the research questions in a particular schooling location within the national educational structure of the TRNC. The findings and analysis are not generalizable but they are relatable to other schooling settings within the same educational structure.

## **5.6 Research instruments and data collection**

This study used multimedia data collection methods, specifically: (1) primary texts, which include pictures and various other symbolic representations found on the school site in addition to conventional texts such as education policies, national curriculum and textbooks; (2) interviews with students, teachers, and managers at school, the site of the research, and those involved in education reform such as new history textbook writers and officials from the Ministry of National Education; and (3) on-site observation of the school at work and lessons. All the relevant data (written texts, observations, interviews) have been collated in order to address the research questions.

The intention of this research was to build an in-depth understanding of the case, and multiple forms of data collection contributed to a better understanding of the case under investigation. The use of different sources of data is commonly recommended in literature discussing case studies (Creswell 2007; Patton 2002; Stake 1995; Yin 2009), and Yin (2009) specifically emphasizes that one principle 'extremely important for doing high-quality case studies' (p. 101) is to use 'multiple, not just single, sources



of evidence' (p. 101). Yin (2009) notes that the various sources are highly complementary and that 'any case study finding or conclusion is likely to be more convincing and accurate if it is based on several different sources of information' (p. 116).

### **5.6.1 Primary texts**

Primary texts comprise conventional written texts, as well as pictures and various other symbolic representations found on the school site. Instances of pictures and symbols from visual displays at school are incorporated in the narrative in Chapters Six, Seven and Eight of the thesis.

Common feature of all types of primary texts is that they are all 'official' texts; they are all produced and disseminated by central government offices in charge of national education system in the TRNC or produced on site at school in accordance with official MOEC regulations. The primary text data, nevertheless, can be catalogued into two categories which, following the suggestion of Hammersley and Atkinson (2007), are based on whether the texts provide background information or relate to central themes of the study.

#### **5.6.1.1 Primary texts which provide background information for the study**

Prior to conducting fieldwork for the full study, a number of texts were collected with the aim to obtain general background and factual information on the education system and schooling in the TRNC. These texts include statistical and annual education reports produced by the MOEC, texts which provide insights into the daily operations of schools in the TRNC, Education Policies and National Curriculum documents. The list of these texts is presented below in Table 5.2:

Text	Year of Publication
Annual Reports for Education, MOEC, TRNC (Turkish and English)	2002 - 2007
Annual Statistical Reports for Education, MOEC, TRNC (Turkish and English)	2002-2007
Education Policies, Department of Educational Planning and Programme Development, MOEC, TRNC (Turkish and English)	2005
Lower Secondary School Curriculum Turkish Language Social Studies History of Cyprus Science and Technology Mathematics History of the Establishment of the Republic of Turkey and Kemalism Religious Culture and Moral Principles English Art Music Academic English Department of Educational Planning and Programme Development, MOEC, TRNC (Turkish and English)	2005
Academic Year Calendar, MOEC, TRNC (Turkish)	2007-2008 2008-2009
Lower Secondary School Weekly hour distribution of subjects Schedule and programme of optional subjects Plan of extra-curricular activities Guidance for School Inspection Assessment and Evaluation Guidebook Exam samples for various subjects Lists of textbooks Department of Educational Planning and Programme Development, MOEC, TRNC (Turkish)	2007-2008 2008-2009
www.mebnet.net Official website of MOEC, TRNC (Turkish)	2008-2009

**Table 5.2 Primary texts**

The texts included in Table 5.2 were selected based on, what Yin (2009) calls, 'apparent centrality to [the] enquiry' (p. 105). The selected texts provided ample information on TRNC's educational structure, basic education policies, programme of studies, factual data related to education in the TRNC and to daily school operations. The texts, thus, constituted the data that gave access to the *structures*, which were claimed in Chapter Four to be integral to the process of national identity construction in the context of

schooling. As the present study focused on the lower secondary level of educational structure, the content of the texts specifically related to this level was of central interest.

Apart from enabling understanding of structural setting of schooling (or, what Foucault would call *technologies of power and domination*), the texts were of practical importance for planning fieldwork. Facts and figures found in statistical reports and annual education reports helped me make a general evaluation of schooling conditions in the TRNC, and were also instrumental in deciding on the choice of the school site for this research. The texts which provided insights into daily operations of the school - school year calendars with schedules of exams, celebrations, regular school and extra-curricular activities and the like - were useful in preparing time-table of data collecting activities during the fieldwork.

Annual statistical and education reports produced by the MOEC are publicly accessible but exist in limited circulation. I was given access to these documents on the site at the MOEC. The texts of Education Policies and Curriculum documents - products of Education Reform 2004 – are publicly available through the official website of the MOEC. I obtained my copies of these documents at the MOEC in their original version issued in 2005. Description of the current education system in the TRNC and references to the programme of studies in this thesis are largely based on the texts of Education Policies and Curriculum documents (2005). Academic calendar, weekly distribution of subjects and various other documents produced by the Department of Educational Planning and Programme Development were obtained at the MOEC. Updated versions of these documents could also be found through the official website of the MOEC.

#### **5.6.1.2 Primary texts which relate to central themes of the study**

The texts selected for the purposes of this study include visual displays of various images (verbal, pictorial, symbolic) on the school site and textbooks

for each grade of the lower secondary school (6, 7 and 8 grades). Examples of visual displays are integrated in the text of this thesis in Chapters Six and Seven and the list of the textbooks used in the study is included in Appendix 12.

These texts are an essential part of the daily school life of children, and are, what Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) call, 'social products' (pp. 129-130), in that they are produced by the society and are valuable sources of data and information about that society (p. 132). Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) emphasize that taking account of such 'social products' is required not simply 'in the interests of documenting the "contexts" of social activity' (p. 137) but should be treated as 'integral to the organization of everyday social life' and, as such, 'incorporated into the fabric of ... enquiry just as they contribute to the fabric of social life' (p. 137).

In the context of this study, which adopts Foucault's concepts of *technologies of power* and *technologies of the self* (Foucault 1988a, p. 17) to approach the investigation of the process of national identity construction, visual displays on the school site and the textbooks are the texts which fall under the category of *the technologies of power*. In my conceptualization of Foucault's interplay of the two types of technologies as of interplay of structure and agency, these texts are the 'fabric' (Hammersley & Atkinson 2007, p. 137) of the structural environment of students. Consequently, the contribution of these texts to the process of construction of national identity is of primary concern to the enquiry in this study.

#### **5.6.1.2.1 Visual displays**

Visual displays at school include adornments of the walls in the school's hallways, classrooms, common teachers' room, offices of senior staff, school yard, and school building. The texts of visual displays are ordinary elements in the everyday visual environment at school. These texts were collected during field visits. Treated as an important type of data in its own right,

collection of visual images sometimes was interdependent with other data collection activities, for example, during observation of various events on the school site.

I took photographs of some visual displays when it was convenient and permitted. Some of the photographs are used as illustrations in the narrative in Chapter Six to help the reader visualize the setting<sup>12</sup>. When photographing was not possible, I described the visual settings in my field notes.

#### **5.6.1.2.2 Textbooks**

Textbooks for each grade of the lower secondary school (6-8) were collected.

The textbooks for basic/compulsory level of education in the TRNC are free to all students and are supplied by the MOEC. The MOEC distributes all the textbooks among schools as per number of students in each school. Thus the textbooks only circulate within the schooling system.

I started my collection of the textbooks during the time of the pilot study. No copies of the textbooks could be given away at school. Subject teachers loaned me their class copies of the texts. I could only keep the loan for a very short time and make my own photocopies of the texts. I completed my textbook library during the time of the fieldwork for the full study, following the same procedure of 'short loan' and photocopying. In addition to these photocopied paper editions of the textbooks, the MOEC supplied me with electronic version of the three volumes of *Cyprus History* (6, 7 and 8 grade) and *Social Studies* books for each grade of the lower secondary school.

From the textbooks for compulsory subjects in the programme of lower secondary school, I selected the textbooks that have greater potential to address issues relevant to *national identification*, defined in this study as *positioning in relation to the world of states and nations*. This selection was based on preliminary reading (skimming) of all the texts.

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<sup>12</sup> Some photographs were edited in order to remove images which could identify the site

Table 5.3 below includes the list of the textbooks used in each grade of the lower secondary school in the TRNC. The textbooks selected as ‘primary texts’/data for the purposes of this study are highlighted with bold font.

COMPULSORY SUBJECTS/TEXTBOOKS	Grades		
	6	7	8
<b>Turkish Language</b>	√	√	√
Mathematics			
Science and Technology			
<b>Social Studies (History/Geography)</b>	√	√	-
<b>Cyprus History</b>	√	√	√
<b>History of the Establishment of the Republic of Turkey and Kemalism*</b>	-	-	√
<b>Religious and Moral Principles</b>	√	√	√
English			
Technological Design			
Information and Communication Technology			

**Table 5.3 Textbooks for compulsory subjects**

### 5.6.2 Observation

The field notes taken of my observations were one of the sources of data collected during the fieldwork.

As one of the goals of the present study was to discover what sense of self 11-14-year-old students in a lower secondary school had, the approach was to gain a first-hand experience with the setting - the school - and its population. Engaging in a direct naturalistic observation of the setting, its daily routine, events and observation of interactions was crucial in gaining a comprehensive view of the setting behind the study, as well as generating a bulk of data used in further analyses.

Twenty-seven non-participant (unstructured and semi-structured) lesson observations were conducted during the data collection for the full study (October 2008-April 2009). Table 5.4 below presents the schedule of these observations.

Fieldwork Dateline	Type of observation	Code, subject, grade, language	Teacher
Oct 2008 Exploratory	unstructured	(L01) Cyprus History, 6, Turkish (L02) History Social Studies, 6, Turkish (L03) Geography Social Studies, 6, Turkish (L04) English, 6	Sara Sara Gülay Fatma
October- November- December 2008	semi-structured	(L05) History in English, 8 (L06) History Social Studies, 6, Turkish (L07) History Social Studies, 7 Turkish (L08) Cyprus Hiistory, 6, Turkish (L09) Cyprus History, 8, English (L10) Geography, Social Studies, 7, Turkish (L11) Religious Culture and Moral Principles, 7, Turkish (L12) Kemalism, 8, Turkish (L13) English, 7 (L14) English, 8 (L15) Academic English, 7 (L16) History in English, 7 (L17) History in English, 8 (L18) Geography in English, 8 (L19) Music, 6 (English and Turkish)	Berna Sara Merve Ersoy Anna Gülay Merve  Ersoy Berna Hessa Hessa Berna Berna Sahar Maha
February- March-April 2009	semi-structured	(L20) History Social Studies, 6, Turkish (L21) Geography Social Studies, 6, Turkish (L22) Kemalism, 8 Turkish (L23) Turkish Language, 7 (L24) Geography in English, 7 (L25) Cyprus History, 8, English (L26) Cyprus History, 8, Turkish (L27) Music, 7 (English and Turkish)	Sara Gülay Ersoy Narina Sahar Anna Ashraf Maha

**Table 5.4 Schedule of lesson observations**

In addition to observations of the lessons, I also conducted 8 scheduled observations of various school activities and school calendar events. These scheduled observations are presented in Table 5.5 below:

27 October	2008	Monday	School Assembly
10 November	2008	Monday	Atatürk Remembrance Day
13 November	2008	Friday	School activities dedicated to the Foundation of the TRNC and Republic Day (National Holiday)
15 December	2008	Monday	“Youth Talent Days”
22 December	2008	Monday	Commemorative activities held at school for the Remembrance Week of Martyrs and Heroes 21-25 December (Sunday-Thursday)
23 December	2008	Tuesday	Visiting a memorial with the students and teachers on the occasion of the Remembrance Week of Martyrs and Heroes
17 March	2009	Tuesday	“Foreign Languages Days”
19 May	2009	Tuesday	Atatürk’s Day of Sports and Youth

**Table 5.5 Schedule of observation of school activities**

In addition to scheduled or ‘formal’ observations, it was anticipated that ‘free’ or unplanned occasions would emerge during the fieldwork. I tried to stay open to the data, i.e. watched, listened and looked for opportunities to deepen observations. Indeed, opportunities emerged during ‘unplanned’ time in the course of the fieldwork. During periods of unplanned activities, casual informal interactions among people at school, or between researcher and students, or researcher and teachers, were good occasions to see what was going on, in or around the daily school life. Such unplanned observations were valuable in that I was, probably, not seen as much as an intruder or note-taker on the scene but rather as a participant. Significant learning occurred during unstructured time of observation and field notes of such spontaneous instances became a very rich resource of data.

Observations were recorded in field notes. Field notes taken of observations throughout the entire period of October 2008 – April 2009 resulted in 95 entries. The length of the entries varied from one page to five hand-written pages. Observations included both oral and visual data. In addition to the



observer writing down details in field notes, a few photographs were taken of the physical settings at school.

Forty-two entries (out of 95) were quick fragmentary jottings of unplanned spontaneous observations which were recorded soon after the occurrence of an observed event. All other entries followed standard format: (1) notes made on the site, (2) expanded notes that were made as soon as possible after the initial observations, (3) issues for clarifications and (4) a tentative running record of ongoing analysis and interpretation (adapted from Kirk & Miller 1986). Each entry had its 'header': the date and time of the observation, the physical and contextual setting of the observation, the participants (e.g. number, who they are, who comes and goes, what they do and their roles), the layout of the setting (e.g. sitting arrangements), and the chronology of events observed.

Following the advice of several writers (Bogdan & Biklen 1992; Cohen et al. 2007; Lincoln & Guba 1985), a reflection section was added to my field notes. It would have been impractical to run a reflection section on each entry, however, certain entries generated more interest in the process of the research. Those selected entries were supplemented with extensive commentary. The *commentary* would appear under the same 'header' as the entry and would include incidents which caught my attention, supplementary research on information recorded in the field notes, my reactions and speculations to what had been observed. Some commentaries included possible lines of further enquiry.

#### **5.6.2.1 Observation in a naturalistic enquiry**

Selection of observation as one method of data collection, and specifically unstructured and semi-structured observations, fit well in the inductive naturalistic enquiry proposed for this study. The distinctive feature of observation as a research process, according to Cohen et al. (2007), is that observation 'offers an investigator the opportunity to gather "live" data from

naturally occurring social situations. In this way, the researcher can look directly at what is taking place *in situ* rather than relying on second-hand accounts' (p. 396). Other points in favour of observation are well described by Patton (2000) who notes that direct observations enable the inquirer to better understand the context within which people interact; the observer can discover aspects that routinely escape awareness of people in the setting, and the observer can see other aspects about which people would be unwilling to talk (pp. 262-263). One very important value of observation noticed by Patton (2000) is that 'firsthand experience with a setting and the people in the setting allows an inquirer to be open, discovery oriented, and inductive because, by being on-site, the observer has less need to rely on prior conceptualizations of the setting, whether those prior conceptualizations are from written documents or verbal reports' (p. 262). My observations fit into Patton's description above and were inductive in nature. I did not use predetermined categories and classifications but conducted observations in a more natural open-ended way; the events and behaviors were observed as they naturally unfolded.

#### **5.6.2.2 Unstructured and semi-structured observations**

It is common in literature on research methods to set observation on a continuum from unstructured to structured (Cohen et al. 2007; Patton 2002; Punch 2005). In accordance with such classification, I categorized my observations as unstructured and semi-structured.

During the first two weeks of the fieldwork, lesson observations ((L1)-(L4) in Table 5.5) and various other observations were unstructured, since the aim was to get acquainted with the school setting, teachers and students. The practices at school were observed as they naturally unfolded. Selection of issues emerging from observation derived from the situation rather than knowing in advance what those key issues would be. As noted by Robson (1993), observations in an unstructured form are commonly used in an exploratory phase in order 'to seek to find out what is going on in a situation

as a precursor to subsequent testing...’ (p. 192). Four lesson observations during the first two weeks were arranged by the school’s Deputy-Principal on my request to allow me observe lessons at different levels (6-8 grade) and on different subjects. I was also allowed to attend school assembly, visit various school facilities (e.g., Teachers’ Room, classrooms) and be present at school gatherings.

Following the exploratory phase (first two weeks of the fieldwork), scheduled observations were semi-structured, that is the kind of observation which has ‘an agenda of issues but will gather data to illuminate these issues in a far less predetermined or systematic manner’ (Cohen et al. 2007, p. 397). A number of issues relating to national identification in the schooling context, which emerged during the exploratory stage, allowed more focused planning for further observations. Following the initial observations arranged by the Deputy-Principal, I personally requested teachers to allow me observe lessons and other activities. Most teachers agreed on requested observations and were also willing to arrange follow-up interviews to discuss emerging questions and issues. As it is visible in Table 5.4 (Lesson Observations) and Interview Catalogue 5.1 (Interviews with Teachers), a number of teachers’ names (pseudonyms) are catalogued under both observation and interview schedules.

There was noticeable evolution of observation procedures throughout the entire period of data collection. If there was heavy leaning towards open, discovery-oriented observation at the ‘entry’ (Patton 2002, p. 310) stage of the fieldwork, those initial observations led to subsequent generation of themes and categories which were built into schedules of further observations. The evolution of observation procedures in this study followed what Adler & Adler (1994) call ‘progressive focusing’. As the study progressed, the nature of observation changed: it was sharpening in focus, leading to ever clearer research questions which required more selective observations. Adler & Adler (1994) note that ‘progressive focusing’ requires

the observer to undertake analysis during the period of observation itself. The logic here is that categories and concepts for describing and analyzing the observational data will emerge during the analysis, rather than be imposed on the data from the start. The interruption between the stages of fieldwork, as well as continuous reflection on observational data, allowed such analysis of initial observational data to narrow the focus of observations scheduled for the later stages, and to put forward issues identified as more prominent for the study.

### **5.6.3 Interviews**

The observation field notes and primary texts collected during this study became important sources of data used for analysis and interpretation of the issues relating to national identity construction in a lower secondary school in Northern Cyprus. The goal, however, was to employ varying methods of material collection in order to acquire a more rounded understanding of the topic. I chose to complement the observation and primary text materials with interviews.

Patton (2002) writes the following about combining the methods of observation and interviewing:

We interview people to find out from them those things we cannot directly observe. The issue is not whether observational data are more desirable, valid, or meaningful than self-reported data. The fact is that we cannot observe everything. We cannot observe feelings, thoughts, and intentions. We cannot observe behaviors that took place at some previous point in time. We cannot observe situations that preclude the presence of an observer. We cannot observe how people have organized the world and the meanings they attach to what goes on in the world. We have to ask people questions about those things (pp. 340-341).

The approach to collecting data through interviews in this study was what Patton (2002) describes as 'the interview guide' (p. 343) approach. He explains that within such approach, 'the interviewer remains free to build a conversation within a particular subject area, to word questions

spontaneously, and to establish a conversational style but with the focus on a particular subject that has been predetermined' (p. 343).

The guide prepared for each interview conducted for this study limited in advance the issues to be explored. The same guide could be used in interviewing different people, thus ensuring that the same basic lines of enquiry were pursued with different individuals and allowing systematic and comprehensive investigation of particular issues. Other topics emerged during the interviews but the guide helped me to keep interactions focused while allowing individual perspectives and experiences on the issues under investigation to come forward. A variety of question types were included in the interview guides. There were questions asking for factual information (Patton (2002) includes them under the category 'knowledge questions'), and open-ended questions which offered the interviewees the opportunity to respond in their own words and to express their own personal perspectives. Each guide could vary in the extent to which the sequencing and the wording of questions were predetermined. However, there was no variation in the principle that the interviewer tried not to supply or predetermine the phrases or categories that would be used by respondents to express themselves. The purpose of interviews conducted during the fieldwork was to learn terminology and opinions of those being interviewed, to capture *their* individual perceptions and experiences of the issues under discussion.

The interview guide approach proved to be useful as a number of interviews were follow-up interviews, i.e. they were intended to solicit clarification of the issues which had emerged previously during observation. Those interviews helped make sense of issues raised by observation and to compare and contrast interview data to the field notes taken of the observations.

In addition to questions brought to the interview sessions as a set guide, the interviews contained some initial questions; those included age, place of birth of participants, general questions about school and studies. Such warm-up sequences in the beginning of each interview set the tone for the subsequent

interview and helped the interviewer establish rapport with the interviewees. After the participants had responded to these initial questions, the interviewer then asked general questions about the topic area of the interview and then asked probing questions which would lead to the interview guide.

#### **5.6.4 Interview participants**

Interviews with schoolchildren, teachers, school Principal and Deputy-Principal at school, and those involved in education reform such as MOEC officials and textbook writers, were conducted. Between the initial pilot study phase and the 'closing' stage of the full study conducted in October 2008 - April 2009, the total of 39 students, 18 teachers, two members of school administration, two textbook writers and two MOEC officials were interviewed. Detailed information on interview types and participants conducted during the full study is included in this section below.

Most interviews with adults were individual interviews. Preference for individual interviews was justified by the fact that adult participants held different posts in this educational setting and were asked questions specific to their job position or subject area. Interviews with teachers, for example, included questions which were specific to the subjects they teach. The decision to refrain from interviewing teachers in groups was also prompted by an experience with two group interviews in the beginning of the data collection period. My impression from those two interviews was that a 'group think' was offered instead of a more personal response. The same people, when interviewed individually, expressed views which were rather different from those expressed in a group. Arksey and Knight (1999) explain that it is very common that the 'public line' might be offered by people interviewed in groups, and they specifically warn against group interviewing of colleagues because people who work together in the same professional setting might be reticent in front of their colleagues and reluctant to open up and because interviewing of colleagues can even spark an antagonism.

All interviews with students were group interviews. Group interviews for interviewing children are suggested by several authors. Cohen et al. (2007) recommend group interviewing for children because 'it encourages interaction between the group rather than simply a response to an adult's question' (p. 375). Cohen et al. (2007), further, suggest that an interviewer should try to make an interview with children as informal as possible and note that a group interview makes interviewing more informal (p. 375). Lewis (1992) remarks that children may be less intimidated when interviewed in a group than when talking individually to an adult (p. 416). Comparing individual and group interviews with children, Lewis (1992) observes the following:

Group talk may be very natural and less stilted than in individual interviews. A strength of this natural environment is that non-responses from one child do not curtail or stop the interview. Other children take over and so the flow is sustained. Group interviews may also be more productive than individual interviews because when one child is speaking, other children have 'thinking time', thus also encouraging greater reflexivity in responses. The group context may also make it easier for children to question the interviewer, seek clarification, or to express uncertainty. Children's responses to one another's comments may well prevent the routinised responses by one child sometimes obtained in individual interviews (p. 417).

Group interviews have a very different dynamic than individual interviews. Certain features of group interviews could apply to interviewing any age group: possibility to generate a discussion, complementing others' answers with additional points, clarification or challenging of individuals' responses by others in a group, stimulation of new ideas. Interviewing children, however, adds a few dimensions to interviewing process.

Among the factors which might have bearing on the interview with children, Arksey and Knight (1999) list cognitive and linguistic development, attention and concentration span, ability to recall and life experience. Suggestions coming from research on interviewing children (Arksey & Knight 1999; Barnes & Todd 1977; Breakwell 2000; Cohen et al. 2007; Lewis 1992) emphasize the importance of proper grouping of children for the interview,

location and physical setting of interviews, length of interviews and the choice of language. A number of three or four children in a group is recommended as the ideal number because larger number in a group would divert children's attention from the main task (Barnes & Todd 1977). Lewis (1992) refers to research evidence that friendships groupings encourage children to give 'much fuller responses' (p. 418). Cohen et al. (2007) advise to conduct interviews in locations which are close to the natural surroundings of children.

As far as the length of interviews with children is concerned, the recommendations are contradictory. Limit of 15 minutes for interviewing children suggested by Cohen et al. (2007) seem to be impractical – setting up an interview and going through initial questions would not leave much time for exploration of significant issues planned in the interview guides. The general findings of various researchers that older children are capable of longer periods of attention than younger children (Breakwell 2000; Lewis 1992), as well as the fact that the normal length of a class period in the lower secondary school is 45 minutes, suggest that the manageable length of an interview with a group of children could be up to 35-40 minutes.

Following the above recommendations on interviewing children, all group interviews with children were approximately 35-40 minutes long and took place in children's regular classrooms. Groups of 3 or 4 students were formed. Initially, the students for group interviews were recommended by the teachers. Several groups of students were asked for repeat interviews at later dates; this is why the names of some students appear in the Interview Catalogue 5.5 more than once.

#### **5.6.4.1 Interviews with MOEC officials and textbook writers**

A purposive sample of 4 individuals who were personally involved in their different capacity in Education Reform 2004 were identified. All agreed to be interviewed, and the interviews took place during the time of my pilot study, between January-March 2008. The interviewees are as follows:



<b>Inter view No.</b>	<b>Pseudonym</b>	<b>Role</b>	<b>Particular details</b>
(01) (02) (03)	Birsen Birsen Birsen	MOEC official, Department of Education	Female, previously school teacher, fifteen years of work in the MOEC at the time of the interview, personally involved in preparing and implementing Education Reform 2004. Cypriot
(04)	Cemal	MOEC official	Male, previously school teacher, seven year experience in current position at the MOEC, personally involved in developing current education system in liaison with the EU representatives employed by the MOEC. Cypriot
(05)	Ayşen	Textbook writer	University professor, commissioned by the MOEC to write new textbooks on Cyprus History. Non-Cypriot
(06)	Gülşen	Textbook writer	University professor, commissioned by the MOEC to write new textbooks on Cyprus History. Cypriot

### **Interview Catalogue 5.1 Individual interviews with MOEC officials and textbook writers**

In January 2008, I paid several visits to the MOEC to inquire about the procedure of gaining access to possible school sites for my research and to ask whether I could obtain general information on the current education system in the TRNC from MOEC sources (meaning both people and access to MOEC official documents). On my first visit to the MOEC, I presented a letter of registration as a Doctoral Student at The University of Manchester and explained what the intent of my research in the area of education in the TRNC was. The letter confirming my doctoral student status in a UK university was a satisfactory credential for MOEC officials. MOEC employees were willing to engage in conversations with me, gave me access to MOEC's public records and indicated who, among MOEC personnel, were the most knowledgeable about education system in the TRNC, its current structure, policies and the process of implementation of the recent education reform.

One individual, who was mentioned by several MOEC employees as one of the most knowledgeable on TRNC's education, held a senior position in the Department of Educational Planning and Programme Development (*Talim Terbiye Dairesi Müdürlüğü*). Referrals by several people at different levels of MOEC structure validated my choice of this particular individual. My informer, who appears under the pseudonym *Birsen* in Interview Catalogue 5.1, a former school teacher, had been employed in various positions in the MOEC for the last fifteen years at the time of the interviews. Birsen agreed on three interviews, one-hour-long each. In one of the interviews, Birsen suggested that I interview an individual (*Cemal, 04*), who had been directly involved in shaping current education policies and could give valuable insights into the current structure and operation of education system in the TRNC. Thus, both MOEC officials I interviewed were found due to a snowball effect, i.e. several officials at the MOEC pointed at their colleague, Birsen, as a credible source of information, who, then, in turn, recommended a professional who could contribute to the research. Limiting this sample to two participants was reasonable as the interviews with two MOEC officials produced the volume of information required to obtain the detailed information of the functioning of the education system in the TRNC.

In addition to the two MOEC officials, two university professors, who authored new textbooks on Cyprus History, were asked for interviews. My initial interest in interviewing authors of the new textbooks was prompted by information I obtained about the process of inception and implementation of the Education Reform 2004 in the winter 2008 (through my interviews with MOEC officials, as well as examination of documents made available on site at the MOEC). The time-frame of six months, in which the new textbooks were produced, surprised me. When I saw the textbooks themselves, I was also impressed by the quality of the textbooks in terms of content, presentation of sensitive historical information and by the pedagogical approach. I set out to learn more of the authors' first-hand experience in

producing the texts, which became significant signposts of reformed education in the TRNC.

The names of the authors were indicated on the first editions of the textbooks published in 2004. Authors' affiliations with their respective universities in Northern Cyprus were publicly available, as the new textbooks on Cyprus History caused a wide response in the local press and academic publications. Authors' contact information was obtained through official directory sites of their respective universities. I sent my letters requesting interviews and explaining the reasons for interviews to both authors by e-mail (Sample letter is in Appendix 8). Both authors agreed on interviews and I met with each author separately, at time suggested by them, in their university offices. Each interview lasted approximately 35-40 minutes.

#### **5.6.4.2 Interviews with school administrators**

A purposive sample of 2 school administrators – a school Principal and a Deputy-Principal – were interviewed. These two individuals were specifically selected for interviews as having access to and knowledge of regulations at school, and overall school operations, due to their senior positions at school. The school Principal and his Deputy-Principal supplied me with general and factual information regarding the school setting, school's daily operations, activities during and outside regular school hours, exams, numbers of students and teachers and the like. The Principal and the Deputy-Principal were interviewed each individually in their school offices.

<b>Interview number</b>	<b>Pseudonym and gender</b>	<b>Role</b>	<b>Location of the interview</b>
(07)	Şenol (M)	School Principal	Principal's Office/School
(08)	Şenol (M)	School Principal	Principal's Office/School
(09)	Mohammed (M)	Deputy-Principal	Deputy-Principal's Office/School

#### **Interview Catalogue 5.2 Individual interviews with school administrators**

### 5.6.4.3 Interviews with teachers at school

Fifteen interviews were conducted with the teachers at school. Two initial interviews with teachers, arranged by the Deputy-Principal, were group interviews. All subsequent interviews with teachers were individual interviews and were arranged by agreement with each individual teacher.

Interview number	Pseudonym and gender	Role	Location of the interview
(10)	Berna (F) Anna (F) Hessa (F)	English Teacher English Teacher English Teacher	Teachers' common room/school
(11)	Fatma (F) Fatoş (F) Sibel (F) Gülay (F)	English Teacher English Teacher History Teacher Social Studies Teacher	Teachers' common room/school

### Interview Catalogue 5.3 Group interviews with teachers

Interview number	Pseudonym and gender	Role	Location of the interview
(12)	Mehmet (M)	Mathematics Teacher	Teacher's classroom
(13)	Berna (F)	English Teacher	Teacher's classroom
(14)	Anna (F)	English Teacher	Teacher's classroom
(15)	Sahar (F)	English Teacher	Teacher's classroom
(16)	Fatma (F)	English Teacher	Teacher's classroom
(17)	Gülay (F)	Social Studies Teacher	Teacher's classroom
(18)	Merve (M)	Social Studies Teacher	Teacher's classroom
(19)	Ersoy (M)	Social Studies Teacher	Teacher's classroom
(20)	Ersoy (M)	History Teacher	Teacher's classroom
(21)	Sara (F)	History Teacher	Teacher's classroom
(22)	Sara (F)	History Teacher	Teacher's classroom
(23)	Maha (F)	Music Teacher	Teacher's classroom
(24)	Narina (F)	Turkish Language/ Literature Teacher	Teacher's classroom

### Interview Catalogue 5.4 Individual interviews with teachers

A combination of opportunistic and purposive sampling strategies were employed to select teachers for the interviews. Purposive variation sampling (Patton 2002, p. 243) was employed initially in order to identify common

patterns and issues that cut across different school subjects, which could be revealing of national identity issues. Thus, teachers of history, geography (incorporated into Social Studies), languages and literature were asked for interviews. I also tried to achieve variation across different levels of a lower secondary school – teachers in 6, 7 and 8 grades.

In addition to purposive variation sampling, opportunistic sampling to select teachers for interviews was also employed throughout the duration of the fieldwork. Opportunistic sampling, also called emergent opportunity sampling (Patton 2002), is frequently quoted in literature on qualitative enquiry as a very common sampling strategy in qualitative research (Creswell 2007; Miles & Huberman 1994; Patton 2002) as it ‘involves on-the-spot decisions about sampling to take advantage of new opportunities during actual data collection’ (Patton 2002, p. 240). With reference to the merits of opportunistic sampling strategy in qualitative research, Patton (2002) notes that ‘being open to following wherever the data lead is a primary strength of qualitative fieldwork strategies. This permits the sample to emerge during fieldwork’ (p. 240). Opportunistic sampling in selecting teachers for interviews, indeed, proved to make sense as I went along with my fieldwork, since it was impossible to predict at the start of the fieldwork what would emerge on the site. Opportunities arose, for example, during casual interactions with teachers, and when the issues of interest to the study emerged. Thus, an incidental encounter with a Mathematics teacher in the Teacher’s room prompted me to ask the teacher for an interview (*Mehmet, 12*), as several interesting points, which were pertinent to the study, emerged in that casual conversation with Mehmet. A number of interviews with teachers also followed observations of various lessons, where teachers were asked to clarify or elaborate on the issues that emerged during observations. Some names of the teachers in Interview Catalogue 5.4 correspond to the names of the teachers in Table 5.4 (Schedule of Lesson Observations). This means that the teachers whose lessons were observed were also interviewed afterwards. Similarly, some teachers were asked to participate in interviews

following my observations of various calendar celebrations and routine school events.

A larger number of English teachers in Interview Catalogue 5.4 is explained by the fact that some teachers of English teach subjects other than English (e.g. History and Geography), to meet the requirements of a new Turkish-English programme option. A number of English teachers included in interview schedules (Interview Catalogues 5.3 and 5.4) also reflects a greater involvement of English teachers in various school and extra-curricular activities. Thus, teachers of English were able to provide information on various issues well beyond their direct position as teachers of the English language.

#### 5.6.4.4 Interviews with students

Thirty-four students were interviewed in groups of three or four. Overall, thirteen group interviews were conducted in the course of the full study. Interview Catalogue 5.5 provides a list of 13 group interviews with the students.

Interview number	Pseudonym and gender	Grade	Location of the interview
(25)	Ahmet Müslüm Kazbek Mustafa	6-grade student 6-grade student 6-grade student 6-grade student	School classroom
(26)	Müslüm Kazbek Mustafa	6-grade student 6-grade student 6-grade student	School classroom
(27)	Nina Doina Feliz	6-grade student 6-grade student 6-grade student	School classroom
(28)	Nina Doina Feliz	6-grade student 6-grade student 6-grade student	School classroom
(29)	Sezen Murat Selim Erol	7-grade student 7-grade student 7-grade student 7-grade student	School classroom

(30)	Nerime Gulnara Asma	7-grade student 7-grade student 7-grade student	School classroom
(31)	Tarkan Aslan Kaplan	7-grade student 7-grade student 7-grade student	School classroom
(32)	Tarkan Aslan Kaplan	7-grade student 7-grade student 7-grade student	School classroom
(33)	Tamara Leyla Mahmut	8-grade student 8-grade student 8-grade student	School classroom
(34)	Boyan Burak Baban	8-grade student 8-grade student 8-grade student	School classroom
(35)	Sema Güzin Şefika	8-grade student 8-grade student 8-grade student	School classroom
(36)	Yusuf Murat Meral	8-grade student 8-grade student 8-grade student	School classroom
(37)	Mehmet Cengiz Aliye Caide	8-grade student 8-grade student 8-grade student 8-grade student	School classroom

### **Interview Catalogue 5.5 Group interviews with students**

All interviews were conducted in the school classrooms chosen by the teachers. As was suggested by the school Principal, the selection of children for interviews was arranged by teachers. The school Principal explained that it was not permitted for outside visitors or researchers to directly solicit children's consent on participation in interviews. The standard procedure at school was to ask teachers to arrange students' participation in interviews and also to liaise with the students' parents.

My request to include interviews with students from each grade of the lower secondary school was based on the rationale of achieving variation across age. In this respect, an attempt at stratified purposeful sampling was made. It

is difficult to make a claim, however, that a full maximum variation of respondents was achieved as the groups of interviewees were pre-selected by other people and I had no control in choosing the participants for my interviews.

#### **5.6.5 Research diary/reflexive journal**

I kept a research diary, or reflexive journal, during the fieldwork, as recommended by Lincoln & Guba (1985). The purpose of keeping the diary was to record the research process. It seemed particularly important to keep a record of methodological decisions and questions related to the study's focus in view of my choice of case study design and naturalistic qualitative enquiry, which allowed freedom for unanticipated issues to emerge during research process.

The research diary was a standard lined notebook. I made a new entry each time I visited school, went over my field notes or re-visited my data. I wrote down my reflections on observation, interviews, encounters, as well as my thinking on various issues relevant to the research process and 'things-to-do' in the follow-up stages of research. Each new entry started on the next new page and was dated.

The research diary served a number of functions. My reflective remarks on emerging methodological issues helped me evaluate and streamline procedures for my following observation and interviews. The personal insights on various issues that emerged during fieldwork complemented my data found in field notes and interviews.

### **5.7 Language issues**

This research was conducted in a country whose state language is Turkish. The main medium of instruction at school, where the fieldwork took place, was Turkish, so was the language of the most textbooks and other materials used at school.



Prior to conducting this research, I worked in a university in the TRNC and lived in a Turkish-speaking village; these were the two reasons that prompted my learning of the Turkish language initially. I took formal instruction in Turkish at the university where I taught, and I was forced to communicate in Turkish with my neighbours at home, as the villagers did not speak English at all. Such 'immersion' in the Turkish language proved useful when I located my doctoral research in the TRNC a few years later.

My knowledge of the Turkish language was instrumental in conducting the research in a Turkish-language environment, and it also served as an easing factor during the process of application to the MOEC and upon 'entering' the school site. However, as my official status in the field was of a representative of a British institution, I was mainly seen as an English speaker by participants of the research. The fact that Turkish is a foreign language to me can also be easily identified by my accent. English was offered by the participants as the primary language of communication. Yet, the participants appreciated my effort at mastering Turkish and often used Turkish terms and phrases during interactions to clarify various concepts and phenomena.

Whereas oral interactions between myself and all other participants of the study were conducted in English, most written texts used as data in this research were in Turkish. All official correspondence with the MOEC had to be executed in the Turkish language. Needless to say, the language of this thesis is English and the text of the thesis is intended for the English-language audience.

Several issues with relation to the language use have arisen during the course of this study. Two major areas that I will address here are: handling of a bi-lingual situation during fieldwork and presentation of bi-lingual data in this thesis.

## **5.7.1 Bi-lingual matters during fieldwork**

### **5.7.1.1 Official documentation**

It is a requirement of the MOEC in the TRNC that all official documents relating to research conducted in TRNC schools are executed in the Turkish language. The application kit I submitted to the MOEC to request permission to conduct my research in one lower secondary school in the TRNC contained: MOEC application form; a letter stating the purpose, location and time-frame of my research; and informed consent (information sheet and consent form) for participants of the study (Appendices 1-7). All these documents were submitted to the MOEC in Turkish.

I asked a former colleague, an instructor in a university in Northern Cyprus, to help me prepare the letters in Turkish and to translate the informed consent forms from English into Turkish. The person who assisted me with the translation is bi-lingual: both Turkish and English are his native languages. Prior to his appointment in reading translation and Turkish language courses at a university, my colleague worked as a professional translator at the BBC radio station in the UK providing English-Turkish and Turkish-English translations.

I felt it was important to ensure that the language of official documents had to be appropriate and not to cause me any embarrassment in terms of its content or linguistic structure. The documents indeed were executed professionally and it added credibility to the application.

### **5.7.1.2 Data in Turkish**

Texts in Turkish for my own use did not require assistance of a professional translator. I possess a good working knowledge of the Turkish language and felt comfortable navigating through Turkish during my research. On occasions when I had doubts about the meaning of certain linguistic units or questions about cultural connotations, I consulted native speakers of Turkish.

My language consultants are my colleagues at the university where I currently hold a teaching position. Both consultants are educated speakers of Turkish and English.

The volume of texts in Turkish was too extensive to undertake translation. The textbooks alone would sum up to hundreds of pages. It was simply impractical to translate such voluminous data. Moreover, translation of the texts into English would not in any way contribute to the research. I chose to translate into English only the instances which I included in the text of my thesis for the sake of its English-language readers.

For frequently used texts, or what I would call ‘iconic texts’, such as Atatürk’s *Address to the Youth*, national anthem of Turkey and Atatürk’s sayings, standard English translations exist and appear in various formats as anonymous translations. I used these standardized English versions of ‘iconic’ Turkish texts to accompany Turkish originals. Some of these English translations can be found in Appendices 15-16 to this thesis.

The English translations of the instances of the Turkish texts included in the thesis are mine. My translations were checked for accuracy by my language consultants.

### **5.7.2 Presentation of Turkish language data in the text of the thesis**

In Chapters Six, Seven and Eight, I refer to the data which appears in Turkish. Most instances of Turkish language data come from the textbooks. There are also instances of texts found on the school site.

Isolated instances of terms in Turkish are used throughout the text. Accompanied by an English translation, these instances are used in the text in their original Turkish version when the terms have unique cultural connotation and are frequently used in other languages in their Turkish version to denote a significant cultural or historical phenomenon. For example, the Turkish term *bayram* (literally meaning *holiday* in English) has

acquired a life of its own in the course of Cyprus history and represents a concept recognized by speakers of other languages in Cyprus.

To help reader follow the original sounding of these terms, a note on reading Turkish is included as a separate page at the opening of the thesis.

## **5.8 Ethical considerations**

The study involved human participants – students, teachers, school administrators, MOEC officials and textbook writers. The guidelines for educational research established by the British Educational Research Association (BERA), 2004 edition, were followed during the research process. The research also complied with The University of Manchester's Code of Conduct. In addition to compliance with United Kingdom institutional regulations, I had to meet the local requirements set by the MOEC in the TRNC in regards to research conducted in the TRNC schools.

Permission from the MOEC in the TRNC was obtained to conduct research in schools in the TRNC. Each phase of the research, which required access to the field, entailed a separate application, as indicated in the section describing procedures of gaining access to the sites (section 5.3 in this chapter). In accordance with MOEC regulations, each application specified the purposes of the research and the methods of data collection. MOEC's permission was granted for each requested period of conducting fieldwork at school.

In addition to MOEC's permission to visit school sites and to gather data there, I also obtained permission of school administration and teachers to conduct my research on the school sites. Permission was sought from the teachers for me to enter their classes, as well as to participate in and observe various activities on the school site. Letters to the participants of the research, informing them of the research and asking them to participate in interviews or to allow observation in their classrooms, can be found in Appendices 3-4 to this thesis.

Informed Consent forms for students and their parents, as well as for adult subjects involved in the study, were prepared in accordance with the BERA guidelines for human subject research and in accordance with The University of Manchester guidelines. Informed Consent forms were supplemented with Information Sheets which explained the purposes and conditions of the research, and stated that the subject could withdraw from the research project at any time. Informed Consent forms and Information Sheets were executed and presented to the participants in Turkish and English (Appendices 5-7). The Turkish version of each document corresponds to the English original; similarly, the English translation of each form corresponds to its Turkish original.

All participants in the study were also informed verbally about the purposes of the research and were told that participation was voluntary. The participants (and the parents in case of interviewed children) of the research were asked to sign a Consent Form in case they agreed to participate in the study.

To protect privacy and identity of the participants, no real names were used in the text of the thesis or in any other settings. In the text of this thesis, participants are referred to by fictional names. Quotations from their interviews are identified by fictional names as well, or by the interview number. Participants were given an option to choose their own pseudonyms. Five students asked me to use the pseudonyms of their choice; all other participants relied on my choice of names for them. The names of the school and surrounding locations were also replaced by pseudonyms.

Data collected for this study are held in anonymized form and are kept securely confidential.

As a researcher, I felt that my presence at school posed ethical dilemmas in several respects. Being a teacher myself, I am fully aware of busy life- and work-schedules of school administrators, teachers and students, and I realize

that my requests for interviews were demanding on their time. Another concern of mine was that my presence at school, particularly at lessons, could be disruptive to the usual routine of those involved in my research. And finally, I was also aware that asking certain questions could make people uncomfortable.

I tried to be flexible with my time-table of interviews and observations and to fit these activities in the slots the teachers would find most convenient. I tried to adapt as much as possible to the school's routine and to make my presence unobtrusive. I always arrived promptly to the arranged interviews or observations and, if it was appropriate, engaged in activities or offered help when teachers required it. Two times during the fieldwork, I sensed that my presence on the site made some teachers uncomfortable. I simply found the way to leave the site on the pretext of a different engagement. If a particular comment or question caused uneasiness during my interaction with people at school, I changed the flow of the conversation and did not insist on the issues which the participants found awkward.

As my fieldwork progressed, I had the feeling that I was not 'big news' at school and that the teachers, school administrators and students accepted my presence on the school site as ordinary. Everybody was very helpful and responsive but seemed to go on with their mundane business in my presence as if I were not there.

## **5.9 Data management and analysis**

To move from the data to the subsequent interpretation, a general analytic strategy was devised. This analytic strategy encompasses several phases: case study compositional structure, general approach to the synthesis of different components of the case, and specific techniques for analyzing the data.

### **5.9.1 General analytic strategy**

As Yin (2009) notes, ‘all empirical research studies, including case studies, have a “story” to tell’ (p. 130). Yin (2009) calls analytic strategy a ‘guide to crafting this story’ (p. 130).

The starting point for my ‘crafting’ of story were my research questions: *How do students of lower secondary school in the TRNC construct their national identity?* and *What factors contribute to the process of the construction of national identity by students of lower secondary school in the TRNC and why?*

Conceptualization of the central category of this study, *national identity*, as ‘a subjective sense of affiliation and a personal sense of belonging to a particular nation and state, as well as a sense of how [people] personally are positioned and situated in relationship to the world of nations and states’ (Barrett 2007, pp. 17-18) suggested that the set of evidence to address the research questions should focus on how students of lower secondary school in the TRNC are positioned, and position themselves, in relation to states and nations through their schooling experience.

The *process* of construction of national identity, as described in Chapter Four of this thesis, is viewed as an interplay of structure and agency, and, consequently both domains of the social reality of schooling are built into the study. The data and analysis presented in the narrative in Chapters Six, Seven, Eight, and subsequent interpretation of the findings refer to instances of structural environment of students with reference to national identity, and to their positioning in relation to states and nations within this structural environment.

### **5.9.2 Compositional structure**

The data reflecting schooling practices are organized into three sets: (1) school site, including physical location, visual setting and daily school

operations; (2) the programme of studies; and (3) celebrations of national days and commemorative events.

These data aim to reveal what affiliations, to what states and to what nations, can be found on this school site and, thus, to be illustrative of the process of national identity construction in the context of schooling in the TRNC. The data sets are presented in three chapters – six, seven and eight - with one chapter covering one of the three components of schooling. Each of the three chapters starts with issue identification and purpose, it then incorporates evidence into descriptive narrative and ends with a section presenting emerging themes in relation to the identified issues.

The narrative styles throughout Chapters Six, Seven and Eight differ, which reflects varying types of data incorporated into the narratives.

### **5.9.3 Approach to the analysis of the data**

The analytic approach to the data included in this research is similar to a cross-case analysis procedure. Each set of data built around one component of schooling (building, programme of studies and celebrations) was analyzed separately and the findings across components were aggregated using constant-comparative method, described by Lincoln & Guba (1985) as the method that looks for recurring patterns and themes across sets of data. The same family of questions (research questions) was addressed as I went through each component of schooling. I examined all components to see how they were similar or different and what unique characteristics they shared within each category and theme.

### **5.9.4 Organizing and coding data**

Database described in section 5.10.3.2 of this chapter contains raw data collected during the course of the study. The database is accompanied by the data catalogue and by the annotated bibliography for the primary texts. The compilation of the raw data into the database was the initial sorting of the



data into general categories: primary texts, oral texts, field notes and research diary entries.

Field notes and research diary entries remained in their original handwritten form but were stored in the database in chronological order. These data are listed in the database catalogue in accordance with their chronological sort order.

Primary texts and oral texts required supplementary procedures prior to assembling those data into the database.

#### **5.9.4.1 Primary texts**

All primary texts were filed under four categories: visual displays (photographs or descriptions of various displays on the school site); official publications by the MOEC including education policies, curriculum, statistical and educational reports; documents describing operational procedures including academic year calendar, schedules of event and various activities relating to school operations; and textbooks.

The textbooks comprise several volumes and preliminary sorting was required for the organization of these volumes. Following initial reading (skimming) through the texts, the number of the textbooks was limited to the set which would be used in the data analysis. Second copies were made of all the texts in the set. This was done in order to allow notations in the texts during the coding stage. The texts which were accompanied by electronic versions, were indexed accordingly.

#### **5.9.4.2 Oral texts**

Oral texts include interviews with MOEC officials, textbook writers, school senior staff, teachers and students.

All 37 interviews were fully transcribed with the focus on content. The transcripts of interviews reflect the natural dialogue as closely as possible.

Turkish words and phrases used by the participants during interviewing remain in the transcripts in the language of the original. Sentence fragments, repetitions, words appear in the transcripts as spoken. However, microdetails such as pause length, in- or outbreaths, and the like, were not transcribed. Each line of the transcriptions was numbered so that tracing of words and phrases that were later extracted from the interview data was possible. The transcription process that was completed for all 37 interviews resulted in approximately 260 typed pages of transcribed talk.

For each interview, “R” denotes a researcher, and a pseudonym (different name for each participant) denotes the interviewed individual. In addition to the use of the pseudonyms, fictional names of places and individuals referred to in dialogue, where the actual name might break confidentiality, were substituted. These fictional names are indicated through the use of quotations.

### **5.9.5 Coding of the data**

Sheer volume of the data collected during the fieldwork, as well as variety of the types of evidence, required development of manageable classification in order to come up with, what Patton (2002) calls, ‘the primary patterns in the data’ (p. 463). To organize data into manageable chunks and to develop a set of analytic categories that capture relevant aspects of the data, I applied two types of coding, which are listed by Patton (2002) as ‘first-cut coding’ (pp. 463-464) and ‘formal coding’ (p. 463).

The mechanics of the *first-cut coding* involved reading through all the data – interview transcripts, field notes, research diary, primary texts – making comments on the margins and attaching notes about what I could do with the different parts of the data. During this reading through the data, I looked at what was in the data and came up with topics and labels for different sections of the data. Many passages throughout different types of data illustrated

more than one theme or pattern. Exhibit 5.1 below shows a sampling of codes from the margins of the field notes.

Code: State (symbolic/verbal representation of the state) Code: GeoLoc (Geographical Location) Code: Hist (Historical Association) Code: Nat Gr (National Group)
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### **Exhibit 5.1 First-cut coding examples: sample codes from the field note margins**

The first reading through the data was aimed at developing the coding categories and initial classification system for the emerging themes.

For the next step, the formal coding in a systematic way, I did several readings of the data until the data could be completely indexed and coded. Content analysis, which, in its traditional form, 'refers to searching text for recurring words or themes' (Patton 2002, p. 453), was used to identify the core meanings - themes, patterns – found in the data.

For the interview transcripts, observation field notes, research diary entries and visual displays (stored as pictures or my written descriptions in the database), I used coloured highlighters to colour code different ideas or concepts and then cut and pasted different quotes into the themes, which emerged during repeated readings of all the data.

For the textbooks, slightly different technique was used. To condense the volume of the data coming from the textbooks, I relied on the 'margin notes' which were already built into the texts of the books themselves. The overall categorization strategy was structured by the focus of the study – issues relating to national identification, defined in this study as *positioning in relation to states and nations*. But the main points, which served as the basis for the summary of the texts, came from the text 'margins' – insertions in the texts that distinguished certain portions of information and placed them noticeably outside the major text, as brief summaries of the most important content.

The coding stage constituted a descriptive phase of the analysis and built a foundation for the following interpretive phases.

### **5.9.6 Interpretive phases of analysis**

During the interpretive phase, the meanings were extracted from the data, the narrative was written and comparisons between the themes that emerged in components of the narrative were made. The interpretation and discussion of the data were framed by analytic framework developed in Chapter Four, which was integral to the critical reading of the data. I applied Foucault's programme of investigation of how human beings are made subjects to my examination of the process of construction of national subjects in the context of schooling. Foucault's concepts of *technologies* which 'human beings use to understand themselves' (Foucault 1988a, p. 18) were particularly useful in approaching the social process of identity construction. What Foucault calls *technologies of domination* were treated in this study as instances of structural components of schooling (e.g. prescriptive curriculum, visual displays of national affiliations at school). Foucault's concept of *technologies of the self* helped isolate instances of individuals' actions within structural environment of schooling (e.g. performances of the national anthem and other rituals revealing of national affiliations). Foucault's conception of the process of the subject production as interplay of various *technologies*, and his endeavor to show both specific nature of those technologies and their constant interaction, enabled me to frame the process of national identity construction in terms of interplay of structure and agency. Following Foucault's view of social processes as gaining meaning in specific historical and cultural settings, and as revealed through sets of practices, my interpretation of the data focused on schooling practices which could be revealing of students' positioning in relation to states and nations. Thus, Foucault's conceptual tools allowed reading of the data in terms of interaction of structural components of schooling environment and of actions of individuals revealed through practices at school, as I was moving back and

forth through the emerging themes and patterns. Reading of the data through Foucault's analytic framework allowed me to identify several factors contributing to the process of national identity construction and to build a graphic model illustrating the interaction of these various factors, as parts of the same complex process. The model was used as the guide to discuss the findings of the study in relation to the research questions.

### **5.10 Trustworthiness of the research**

Traditionally used to evaluate the worth of the research undertaken within positivist, or quantitative enquiry, the notions of validity and reliability have received diverse interpretation in qualitative research (Cohen & Manion 1994; Denzin & Lincoln 2005; Lincoln & Guba 1985; Nisbet & Watt 1984; Patton 2002; Yin 2009), and the very relevance of these particular terms for qualitative research has been questioned (Bush 2002; Denzin & Lincoln 1998; Lincoln & Guba 1985).

To substitute for the concepts of validity and reliability, Lincoln and Guba (1985) proposed the notion of *trustworthiness* as more befitting for qualitative research. Lincoln and Guba (2007 [1986]) explain that ontological, epistemological and methodological differences between positivist and naturalistic paradigms of enquiry ask for different types of criteria to apply rigour in research. They, further, suggest that the notion of trustworthiness is 'itself a parallel to the term *rigor*' (Lincoln & Guba 2007 [1986], p. 18) in a naturalistic enquiry.

The notion of trustworthiness fits well with the naturalistic stance taken in this research. As proposed by Lincoln and Guba (1985), the criteria of trustworthiness include credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability, and these criteria will be addressed in this section in order to evaluate the trustworthiness of the present study.

### **5.10.1 Credibility**

Lincoln and Guba (1985) propose triangulation of data sources and methods, and prolonged engagement in the field, as techniques for establishing credibility.

Triangulation has been acclaimed as the most common approach to the 'validation' of qualitative research by various writers (Bush 2002; Cohen & Manion 1994; Nisbet & Watt 1984; Taylor & Bogdan 1984). Cohen and Manion (1994) specifically point at the value of triangulation in conducting study of social processes and phenomena, where 'triangular techniques...attempt to map out, or explain more fully, the richness and complexity of human behavior by studying it from more than one standpoint' (p. 233). Nisbet and Watt (1984) apply the concept of triangulation to case study research and stress that checking data 'across a variety of methods and a variety of sources' is the basic principle in data collection for case study (p. 85).

Different methods of data collection and different sources of evidence used in this study allowed, what Creswell (2007) describes, 'corroborating evidence from different sources to shed light on a theme or perspective' (p. 208). The data generated from the analyses of primary texts helped me to map initial themes and patterns relevant to the issues of national identification in the context of schooling. Complemented by observation data, the list of themes was further modified. The insights provided by the research participants in interviews served as a check on the data and analyses, which were generated by observation and analyses of the texts. The combination and integration of field notes from observations, notes from my research diary, interview transcripts, data from content analyses of the texts contributed to a 'deeper and clearer understanding of the setting and people being studied' (Taylor & Bogdan 1984) and to limiting potential bias in the data (Denzin & Lincoln 2005; Patton 2002) thus increasing the credibility of the findings.

The credibility of the research was further strengthened by, what Lincoln and Guba (1985) call, prolonged engagement in the field. The requirement for prolonged engagement is based, according to Lincoln & Guba (2007 [1986]), on the need to have 'lengthy and intensive contact with the phenomena (or respondents) in the field to assess possible sources of distortion and especially to identify saliences in the situation' (p. 18). Two phases of the research – two-month-long fieldwork for the pilot study and seven-month-long presence in the field during the full study – can be claimed to be a prolonged engagement with the phenomena investigated in this study. The length of my presence in the field (nine months total), frequency of visits to school (up to three-four times weekly) and a variety of engagements in the field (casual and formal interactions with the school population and with individuals representing other levels of educational structure in the TRNC) allowed for continuous testing of information by persistent observation, soliciting follow-up interviews and an in-depth pursuit of the issues which emerged as salient in the course of the study. Selection of one specific site for the research – one lower secondary school in the TRNC - also allowed studying the process of national identity construction from different angles within the same setting.

### **5.10.2 Transferability**

Lincoln and Guba (2007 [1986]) state that thick descriptive data are necessary to establish transferability of the research. As non-generalizability is commonly accepted with reference to qualitative single case studies (Patton 2002; Stake 1995; Yin 2009), the idea of transferability is useful when considering applicability of the findings in other contexts. Following Lincoln & Guba (1985), Creswell (2007) suggests that 'rich, thick description allows readers to make decisions regarding transferability' (p. 209), and detailed descriptions of the setting and the participants enable readers 'to transfer information to other settings' (p. 209) which might share same characteristics.

Even if it is not by any means ‘clear how “thick” a thick description needs to be’ (Lincoln & Guba (2007 [1986]) p. 19), the attempt was made in this study to provide as detailed account of the context and data as possible. The account developed about the context of this study in Chapters One, Two and Three and presentation of the data in Chapters Six, Seven and Eight provide material against which ‘judgments about the degree of fit or similarity may be made by others who may wish to apply all or part of the findings elsewhere’ (Lincoln & Guba 2007 [1986], p. 19).

As Patton (2002) insists, the ‘meaningfulness [and] insights generated from qualitative enquiry have more to do with the information richness of the cases’ (p. 245). Thorough investigation aimed at achieving ‘information richness’ endeavored in this study lay grounds for the transferability of the findings of the study and, hopefully, can be applicable on a general level to similar contexts.

Although limited to one specific site, this research produced the findings which can be illustrative of the process of national identity construction in the context of schooling in the TRNC. Apart from specific contextual peculiarities of the site, some of the findings can be illuminating of the processes taking place in other TRNC schools operating under similar conditions. The instance of one lower secondary school in the TRNC represents state-run lower secondary level of highly centralized education in the TRNC. All state-run schools in Northern Cyprus follow the same programme of studies and have the same schedule of activities at the basic, compulsory level of education. Thus, the research conducted on a selected site might be revealing of the experiences of students at similar level in the whole of the TRNC. The issues relevant to education in conflict zones, addressed in this research, can be positioned in relation to findings of studies conducted in other conflict and post-conflict societies, that examine the relationships between schooling and construction of national identity. As it was noted in Chapter Three, the nature of conflict in Cyprus, and its effects on the Northern Cyprus community, are



unique to this specific setting. Yet, the general findings pointing at specific role of schooling in mitigating conflicting conditions can be drawn on. In this way, the findings of the present study can enrich overall understanding of the relationship existing between schooling and national identity construction.

### **5.10.3 Dependability and confirmability**

Among the techniques for achieving dependability and confirmability, Lincoln and Guba (1985) include auditing of the research process and reflexivity. Integral to any research, reflexivity will be addressed further on in this chapter, in its own right, as it is crucial for making value judgments of the interpretations reported in the present study. Auditing process will be addressed here through presentation of the documenting procedures of the research. This presentation is based on Yin's (2009) suggestion of two tactics of proper documentation, suitable for an empirical case study research: the use of a *case study protocol* and the development of a *case study database* (p. 45).

#### **5.10.3.1 Case study protocol**

The case study protocol, as outlined by Yin (2009), is contained in its main form in the current chapter of the thesis, which presents research design of the study. In Yin's (2009) description of the case study protocol, the following sections are recommended 'as a general matter' (p. 81): an overview of the case study project; field procedures which include access to the sites, ethical considerations, sources of data and other general procedures; case study questions with 'specific arrays of data'; and a guide for the case study report, including outline, use and presentation of other documents and bibliographical references (p. 81).

These requirements to the case study protocol are met, since they correspond to the requirements to the thesis structure and, particularly, to the research design chapter.

### **5.10.3.2 Case study database**

Yin (2009) explains that the main principle behind creating database is that all materials have to be organized and stored to allow for later retrieval. The possibility of such retrieval ensures confirmability of the data used in the research.

My database includes the following components: written texts, interview transcripts, observation field notes and research diary. The case study database is organized in the following manner: three sources of data – primary texts, interviews and field notes from observation – are filed into separate folders. The format of the three sources of data is different and each folder has its own classification and indexing system.

The primary texts, which include conventional written texts and texts displayed visually on the school site are sorted according to the type of the text. An annotated bibliography of the texts is compiled. Hard copies of the texts (including photographs or notes with descriptions in case of visual displays) are indexed. The index includes the number assigned to the text, the type of the text and brief description of the text.

All interview transcripts are arranged in the order they are numbered in Interview Catalogues, as presented in this chapter (Interview Catalogues 5.1-5.5). The transcripts are filed in electronic form and as hard copies. The numbering of interview transcripts is consistent with the numbering of the stored audio-recordings. Each interview is kept on file with the date, time, location and participants' information.

And finally, relevant to the issues of dependability, Yin (2009) takes specific note of the pilot case study as a testing ground, that increases chances of soundness of further research. Pilot study conducted during the course of this study allowed to test the methods of data collection in terms of both the procedures to be followed and the content of the data. In addition, the pilot study provided information for building sampling frame and conceptual

clarification of the research design. Thus, the pilot study strengthened dependability of the instruments and procedures employed during the fieldwork for the main study and, hence, trustworthiness of the research.

### **5.11 Research perspective and reflexivity**

As Creswell (2009) notes, 'all writing is "positioned" within a stance' (p. 179). Such positioning means that the writing is a reflection of the writer's 'own interpretation based on the cultural, social, gender, class, and personal politics that we bring to research' (Creswell 2009, p. 179). This is why the importance of self-reflection, particularly in qualitative interpretive writing, has been espoused by various authors (Creswell 2009; Patton 2002; Richardson 1994; Weis & Fine 2000).

My reflection on the research process and on my own 'positioning' (Creswell 2009, p. 179) in research and in the field where the data were collected has been an integral part of the research process itself. I recorded my impressions, surprises, reactions and findings in a research diary (reflexive journal). These records reveal far from straightforward research process, occasional frustrations, rewarding experiences and also contain remarks which proved helpful at the stages of case study presentation and analysis. In this section, I will elaborate on several issues which might help the reader shape perceptions of me as a researcher in this study.

Feeling of being an 'outsider' in the field was present at all stages of the research despite obvious acceptance of me by most of the participants of the research. Various incidents during the fieldwork confirmed my status as a 'foreigner' in many senses of the word. The questions like 'So where are you from?', 'How do you like Cyprus?' or 'Have you been to the South too?', which were asked every so often during my fieldwork, reminded me that I came to the site from the outside. There were a few instances of noticeable suspicion of my intents on the part of some teachers who participated in interviews and other fieldwork settings.

Notwithstanding my 'explicit research role' (Hammersley & Atkinson 2007), I received tremendous support from the teachers, students and senior staff at school, as well as from MOEC officials and textbook writers whom I interviewed in the course of the fieldwork. MOEC officials and school teachers were very helpful in supplying me with materials which could be relevant to my research. Students were offering to take me on tours of school, to show their work and their grades and to explain what *they* thought could be of interest to me, to a novice in their culture. I felt quite often that teachers and students at school were very pleased that someone came from the outside to study their world. I think that my ability to show my background knowledge of history of the place and familiarity with the culture of Cyprus and the TRNC helped establish trust between me and the participants of the research from the start.

Novelty of the setting for me – basic (compulsory) level of schooling in the TRNC – required a lot of learning. I have a teaching experience in the TRNC-based university. However, the culture and practice of a higher educational institution is rather different from the level of schooling where I located my research. The TRNC university, where I was employed, catered mainly for the students from abroad, and it also emulated Western university system. My personal experience with basic levels of schooling was in Russia, where I went to school, and in the United States, where my son completed ten years of basic school education. Naturally, I ran comparisons between my own experiences in various educational settings and this new educational environment in the TRNC, aimed at bringing up young citizens/residents of this particular state. Yet, I tried to gain thorough understanding of the school culture where I located my research; I tried to immerse myself into the daily school routine at the selected site, as well as to read and to ask questions about the schooling practices at any convenient occurrence.

In this study, I adopted a role of an 'exemplary student' at school when I methodically and scrupulously went through the texts and

learning/assessment activities designed for the students in each grade of the lower secondary school in the TRNC. After I completed a unit of study in each subject area, I 'sat an exam'. My exams included questions at the end of each text unit and genuine exams given to the students at the scheduled examinations. I received satisfactory grades of 80%-100% of correct answers in my self-administered exams (sometimes, I had to repeat the course until I reached a satisfactory mark for my learning) in all my studies. Becoming a student of a lower secondary school myself, as I was going through the programme of studies, allowed me to get on common footing with students and teachers when discussing the content of studies. In-depth knowledge of the taught subjects and activities at school was also very helpful in handling data coming from the written texts, as well as noticing consistencies or incongruities between 'structural' (programmed) domain and 'agency' (ad hoc) domain on the school site.

My researcher role within the setting where the data were collected, and my own learning during the course of this research, affected my presentation and interpretation of the data. In reporting the data in this thesis, my view of 'typical', 'unusual' or 'worthy of attention' material was based on my researcher position, my assumptions, my knowledge and my experiences in the field. I hope that my perspectives do justice to the phenomena examined in the present study, and allow the readers to see the real setting of schooling and the processes shaping construction of national identity through my presentation of them in this thesis.

## **5.12 Summary**

This chapter outlined the research design of the study. The chapter set out methodological context of the study and explained how it fits the conceptual framework of the study. The chapter described in detail the process of data collection and analytic procedures followed. The trustworthiness of the study was evaluated, and reflections on the research process and researcher's perspective positioned the writing within its cultural and social subjective

stance. The following three chapters present the data and emerging themes, which will be collated to address the research questions guiding this study.

## CHAPTER SIX

### INTRODUCING THE SCHOOL

#### 6.0 Introduction

The research reported in this thesis explores the process of national identity construction by students in a lower secondary school (11-14 years-old) in the TRNC. A specific lower secondary school in the TRNC was selected as the site for the research. To examine the relationship between schooling and national identity construction, I undertook seven months of fieldwork at a school which I call Orange Grove School (pseudonym). This fieldwork was conducted in the 2008-2009 school year and involved multiple visits to the school, conversations/interviews with school administrators, teachers and students. I also observed lessons and various school activities built into the school's daily routine, as well as activities which took place outside regular school hours.

The purpose of this chapter is to introduce the Orange Grove School – the site of the research where the fieldwork took place. The chapter starts with outlining general characteristics of the school, its physical location and demographics. The following section presents a narrative based on impressions of the school's daily operations; this is achieved through a description of the school building and of a typical day at school. The concluding section of the chapter discusses themes emerging from this initial introduction to the school's location and culture.

The data used in this chapter come from on-site observations of the school at work and lessons, interviews with students and teachers, as well as from the primary texts including pictures and various other symbolic representations.

## **6.1 Profile of the school**

The Orange Grove School is a government school and is a part of the basic, compulsory, structure of the TRNC's national education system. The school includes grade levels 6, 7 and 8 within the national education structure (Appendix 9). The school counts more than 800 students and more than 70 teachers (2008-2009 academic year), making it the largest government lower secondary school in Northern Cyprus.

Founded in 1950, the school housed both lower secondary (*Genel Ortaokul*) and upper secondary (*Genel Lise*) levels until 1982. In 1982-1983 academic year, the school was turned into a lower secondary school and was awarded a name of a perished Turkish fighter it currently bears.

### **6.1.1 The geography and demographics of the school**

The school is located in a regional centre, a town of a fair size by Cyprus standards. The town itself is a remote outpost when considered in relation to other regional centers of Northern Cyprus. Whereas other big towns are now vibrant areas with overpopulated resort villages, traffic jams, rich night-life and popular tourist locations, this corner of Cyprus still maintains its traditional Cypriot tranquility.

Agriculture remains the best-developed sector of economy in this part of Cyprus. Citrus gardens and green valleys with agricultural fields attract seasonal labourers from Turkey. Some of the labourers come to the area for temporary employment but do not stay beyond the agricultural season. Others stay longer, sometimes years. There are also a number of military personnel from Turkey, who reside on the military bases scattered over the territory of this part of Cyprus. Due to proximity of the Green Line, UN vehicles are a frequent sight on the local roads and tracks.

The region is unique in that not many foreigners of European origin have settled here. Whereas English is widely spoken elsewhere in the island, this



area is predominantly Turkish-speaking. The area is populated by Turkish Cypriots and nationals of the Republic of Turkey; some from the latter group are naturalized TRNC citizens, and some are temporary residents who come to Cyprus mainly to seek seasonal employment. The social status of the residents in the area varies. Most Turkish Cypriots are landowners and, being a well-educated stratum of society, are employed in the civil service, banking sector, or work as teachers and doctors. Employment of nationals of the Republic of Turkey ranges from professional positions (teachers, doctors, businessmen) to seasonal manual labour in agriculture, construction or domestic work.

The school draws from a mixed population in terms of social structure. The intake of children of families from Cyprus and from the Republic of Turkey also gives the school diversity in terms of ethnic origin of the students. The bulk of in-comers from Eastern Anatolia, who seek employment in the area, are of Kurdish or Arab stock; however they do not represent Turkey's 'mainstream' population. Children from 'mainstream' Turkish families are also included in the demographics of the school population. Having said that, it should be noted that a number of children who are registered in teachers' class registrars as 'being of Turkish origin' at school, were born and have grown in Cyprus.

### **6.1.2 Language at school**

The language of instruction at school is Turkish. The Turkish language used at school is a literary norm of the language which conforms to the standards set by the Turkish Language Institute (*Türk Dil Kurumu /TDK*)<sup>13</sup>. All the

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<sup>13</sup> The Turkish Language Institute was established in 1932 in Turkey, on the initiative of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. The task of the Institute was to standardize the Turkish language, which existed in many dialects. The language standardization was a part of endeavour to create new state with its own *national* language. Istanbul dialect became the basis of the national language of the newly established Republic of Turkey. Following the Alphabet reform (1928, when Arabic script was replaced by the Latin script), vocabulary, spelling and grammar were standardized. National education and all official publications in Turkey conform to the language standards set out by the Institute.

textbooks and other materials are written in accordance with the regulations of the Turkish Language Institute. The teachers, trained in higher educational institutions in Turkey and Cyprus, all speak the standard literary norm of the Turkish language.

Spoken Turkish in Cyprus exists in several dialects. The Cypriot dialect of Turkish is a very distinct dialect and can be incomprehensible to the Turkish speakers from the mainland Turkey. The Cypriot dialect of Turkish contains a large number of Greek words, deviates from standard Turkish in its sentence structure and word-choice and also has distinct pronunciation patterns. Thus, the Cypriot dialect of Turkish remains the domain of 'native' Cypriots and is not spoken by any other Turkish speakers in the country. Families of migrant laborers from Eastern Anatolia speak the dialects common to their areas – those dialects are mixtures of Kurdish or Arabic Turkish dialects. Those dialects are not only incomprehensible to Turkish Cypriots but to many Turkish-speakers in Turkey itself.

Schoolchildren, who come from rather diverse linguistic backgrounds, have no difficulty communicating among themselves and learn to speak standard Turkish as they go through formal schooling. According to the teachers at school, it is impossible to tell the difference in language among students at school. The teachers report no linguistic barriers whether it concerns communication among students, or communication among teachers and students.

As far as English is concerned, it has been firmly established in Turkish Cypriot schools even if it is not a major language of instruction. All students learn English as a second language. Six hours a week plus extra two hours of an optional 'Academic English' is rather intensive course of language instruction (Appendix 13 A and B). At my first visit to school, I was surprised as the students greeted me in English and took me on an English-language tour. Throughout the entire period of my fieldwork, English was the teachers' and students' choice of communication.

## 6.2 Impressions of the Orange Grove School

### 6.2.1 School building

The school building is located in a quiet street at the outskirts of a town and does not stand out in its environment. The small gate to the front yard is lettered simply Orange Grove School. The only adornment of the school construction is the bronze relief of the hero (Figure 6.1) whose name the school bears. A small bronze plaque under the image of the hero contains a commemorative inscription. Two tiny images of national flags, one of the TRNC and one of Turkey, are placed on the two sides of the wall bearing the relief of the hero.



**Figure 6.1 The school's front piece**

#### **Field notes: 4 October 2008**

The content on the plaque under the portrait is, apparently, not meant for reading as it is virtually impossible to see small letters of the text placed well above the average person's height. I managed to read the text because I enlarged my photograph of the school's front piece on the computer. The text contains a brief outline of the hero's life and death. The plaque under the portrait, perhaps, came as a part of the 'commemorative set' when the school was awarded the name of the hero...I have seen texts of similar format attached to the names awarded to various public institutions in Cyprus. There is a pattern: a name, a portrait, a chronology of life and death (the death is always in a battle; the Turkish hero perishes defending Turkish Cypriots).

Once inside the school building, I find myself in a small hallway with a number of unmarked doors. One door leads to the school's bursar office – heaps of paper and two very busy women are visible through the glass door. The door to the Principal's office is also here, in the entrance hall. Then,

there is a Teachers' Room and two more doors lead to the school's inner yard and to the classroom area.

Inside the entrance hall, walls are decorated with photographs of various sports events. A display cabinet in the hall holds a number of trophies won by the school in sport competitions. A good portion of one wall is taken up by photographs of school staff and of graduation photos from previous years. A careful observer might also notice a small frame of Atatürk's portrait with the text columns next to the image of Atatürk (Figure 6.2). This framed kit is placed fairly high, above the photographs of sports events, and is not very discernible.



**Figure 6.2 A wall display in the school entrance hall**

**Field notes: 3 October 2008**

When I spot an image of Atatürk, I have the feeling I am looking through the family's picture album I have seen so many times. This tiny frame on the wall, with two texts and Atatürk in the middle, is unmistakably famous 'trinity': the national anthem of the Republic of Turkey, Atatürk's famous inspirational speech to the nation's youth and 'the father of Turks' himself – great Atatürk. Placed high under the ceiling and small in size, the text in the frame is impossible to read but I recognize the image; it is just a smaller version of a standard kit I have seen so many times. In my office at the university, where I worked a few years earlier, the framed anthem and Atatürk's address to the youth, with Atatürk's image in between, took a big portion of the

wall. I saw blown up versions of the 'trinity' in other locations, mainly in educational institutions in the TRNC.

Still in the hallway, tucked away in a corner is a small bust of Atatürk (Figure 6.3). The bust is not very visible – its bronze colour blends in with the colour of the paneled walls. The bust here, obviously, is not to greet visitors, as it happens to remain at the back of anyone entering the school through the main entrance door.



**Figure 6.3 Atatürk's bust in the school's entrance hall**

A much bigger bronze bust of the 'father of Turks' on a sizable marble pedestal looms over the school yard. This Atatürk statue marks the central point of the school space. Every Monday morning and Friday afternoon the entire student population gathers in the school yard under the penetrating gaze of Atatürk for the school assembly. This is also the gathering point for any other solemn or casual occasions. The saying engraved on the pedestal states: *HAYATTA EN HAKIKI MÜRŞİT İLİMDİR (Our True Mentor in Life is Science)*.

The school building is freshly painted. The halls and rooms are reasonably clean but the entire school space looks a bit plain. Very simple furniture has a 'used' look and ubiquitous images of Atatürk with faded colours add to a well-worn look of the school. A few art prints - display of students' projects done for various classes - on the walls of the main walkways splash some

brightness into the school space. Every classroom has a decorative corner with materials relating to the subject taught in the classroom. These decorative corners have a mixture of purchased posters and homemade materials gathered by the students; materials in these corners are periodically up-dated and have a very 'live' feeling to them.

There is no great variety of national or state symbols at school. Apart from two tiny national flags (TRNC and Turkey) seen on the school's front piece (Figure 6.1), the flags are not noticeable anywhere else on school premises. There are also no other official emblems of the TRNC or Turkey. The small print of the national anthem inside the framed kit discussed earlier (Figure 6.2) is hardly visible and does not stand out amidst displays of sport events. Faded pictures of Atatürk, however, can be found in the corners and on the walls virtually in every school area.

**Field notes: 20 November 2008**

When I first toured the school, I did not spot some images of Atatürk. I took a few photographs in various locations at school. When I enlarged pictures on the computer and gave a more careful glance to my photographs, Atatürks of all shapes and forms started popping up. I can't help thinking of the game 'How many Atatürks can you find in the picture?' The placement of Atatürk's images in many cases is not central to the display and some images appear to be in hiding. Most images of Atatürk are faded or yellowed; they must have been around for quite a while.

Several teachers, who were asked of the origin of Atatürk's portraits at school, could not trace the appearance of the portraits to any particular date or time.

A teacher of English, Anna, who had worked in the school for almost ten years said:

*They've always been here, these portraits. As long as I remember myself, they've been here. I don't remember any one putting the portraits on the walls. They were here when I came to work in this school. And if more or less portraits have come in the recent years, I would not notice... (10)*

A History teacher, Ersoy, (the teacher had worked in the school for fifteen years) admitted the following:

*We move them around. I had to take off Atatürk's portrait last summer in my classroom because we were painting the walls. But then we put the same portrait on. No new portraits arrived recently. Everybody has one. But where do they come from? – we got them when we got our furniture, a hundred years ago (19)*

One teacher appeared to know more than others. A teacher of Mathematics, Mehmet, who boasts of being in this school since the year of its foundation (1982-1983 school year), said:

*The big bust was here when the school was still middle school and high school together. I don't think it was here when the school building was built, in 1950. After the TRNC was announced a state, it was common to decorate school places with the big busts of Atatürk- It was after 1983- There was always a portrait of Atatürk in each school- since I was a child myself- but in the 1990s we got loads of them. In the 90s, the Ministry sent dozens of the portraits to schools. We got most of our portraits then. See, in Turkey, they suddenly became fashionable in the 90s and we got them at the same time. We could do with a new portrait but there are so many other things we need at school... This is when we got the- in the 90s- What would it be? Almost fifteen, eighteen years ago? (12)*

In addition to four different types of Atatürk images (carpet-style portrait, photographic image, Atatürk's silhouette and an artist's drawing), the Teachers' Room has a few different portraits on display (Figure 6.4): current president of the TRNC Mehmet Ali Talat<sup>14</sup>; the founder of the TRNC Rauf Denктаş<sup>15</sup>; and the portrait of the hero whose name the school bears.

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<sup>14</sup> Mehmet Ali Talat was the President of the TRNC (inaugurated 25 April 2005) at the time of the fieldwork in 2008-2009.

<sup>15</sup> Rauf Denктаş is the founder of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus and was the first president of the TRNC, holding that position from 1985 to 2005 (elected in 1985, 1990, 1995 and 2000). Prior to the establishment of TRNC, Denктаş was elected as the President of the Turkish Communal Chamber when the Republic of Cyprus was still a functional state (1960-1963). Denктаş has been the chief negotiator of the Turkish Cypriots in the United Nations sponsored peace talks since 1968 and until his retirement in 2005.



**Figure 6.4 A portrait corner in the Teachers' Room. From top clockwise:  
Atatürk, Rauf Denktaş, a Turkish hero, Talat**

The same Mathematics teacher, Mehmet (12), who seems to notice the movement of the portraits in the school, noted:

*Denktaş will stay. Talat will go. There will be new President and we will get a picture of the new President in place of Talat. Talat will not be kept as our other leaders, forever- Nobody can replace Denktaş. Denktaş is our history. Atatürk is who we are. Denktaş is why we are still here... Yani [Turkish colloquialism] I mean Turkish Cypriots... He did a lot defending our rights. Maybe we will get new portraits of Atatürk when we have new government. Nobody notice these ones. They have been here for ages. They are part of the walls. But it is really not important to us (12)*

Despite the omnipresence of Atatürk's images, there is an impression that they are not the items of primary importance at school. They seem to be, as Mehmet describes them (12), 'part of the walls' – unobtrusive, bland and somewhat behind the scenes of everything else happening at school – learning, sports, examinations, field trips, and participation in science fairs – those records of school life are displayed in bright colours and look well up-to-date. Yet, the faded portraits of Atatürk and the two tiny flags on the front piece, are telling of the school's location - the TRNC. Otherwise, the school looks like any other ordinary school, with long corridors of school rooms, rows of desks and blackboards across the front in every classroom, noisy playgrounds, uniformed children, teachers, time-tables of lessons on the



walls of the Teachers' Room and piles of books on all the desks and tables found in the school.

### **6.2.2 A day at school**

At 7:40 on Monday morning, several hundred students in school uniforms are milling about the school yard. Everybody is called for assembly at 7:45.

Those in the yard are routed by the teachers to the lots designated for each class. Students seem to know well the location of their class lots. It takes a couple of minutes for the entire student population to gather into groups. The students face the tribune (a concrete elevation along the school wall) with the big bronze bust of Atatürk at its centre.

On the podium, there are the school Principal and the Music teacher. As soon as the students are streamed into some semblance of lines, the Music teacher gives the command to start singing. The singing of the national anthem (*İstiklâl Marşı/Independence March*, the National Anthem of the Republic of Turkey and of the TRNC) commences. Without musical accompaniment, an elaborate tune of the anthem is hardly discernible. The singing also lacks enthusiasm. The music teacher stops the choir, reprimands the singers and gives the command to start the singing all over again. The second time, the anthem makes it through, led by the strong voice of the music teacher. As it is common, only the two first verses of the anthem are performed.

Following the singing, the Principal steps forward and announces events for the upcoming week. Right after the announcements, the assembly is dismissed. The entire duration of the assembly is 8-10 minutes at most.

Quite a few students arrive late and casually stroll towards their class groups during the assembly. Rather than joining the singing or listening to the announcements, the late-comers exchange greetings with their classmates and join the ongoing chats in the rows. The Principal or the teachers do not make any efforts to call the students to attention or reduce the noise which

reigns throughout the assembly. As soon as the Monday morning formalities are performed, everybody goes on with their usual business – the Principal goes to his office, schoolchildren and teachers head to their classrooms. A few teachers and students do not have lessons during the first class period and remain on the ground; the teachers gather in a gazebo in the school yard and cups of Turkish coffee are instantly fetched to the gazebo by the coffee-courier. The children who wait for their classes also stay in the school yard – some play sports, some just stroll or sit on the benches.

Teachers in the gazebo call me in and offer a cup of coffee. In Cyprus, those tiny cups of Turkish coffee appear as if by magic – in a local shop, a travel agency, a taxi booth, a ministerial office. At school, teachers and administrative staff always made sure first that I had an offer of coffee prior to letting me go on with my data collection business...I join the teachers in the gazebo. I have been coming to school regularly for at least three weeks by now. The teachers at school know me; they are always welcoming and stop for a chat when we meet in the hallways or elsewhere on school premises. Our talk in the gazebo is very informal. I do not pull out my tape-recorder so as not to ruin spontaneous conversation. From six teachers in the group five are teachers of English and one is a History teacher. English teachers say they are in for a long day. There is a teacher-training workshop after classes. The workshop will take most of their afternoon and will not be of benefit, like all other workshops they have to attend. I have already heard of these workshops during my previous encounters with the teachers at school. In some earlier interview, one teacher said:

*They tell us what teaching methods we should use. We can't follow their recommendations...We don't have technology. These methods are not applicable to our situation... We need teaching materials. We need time to prepare our own teaching materials, not workshops. According to the new English programme [2004], we have to teach listening comprehension. We waited for two years to get a CD with the texts for listening comprehension. We have to prepare for classes – the workshops take up all preparation time. When do we prepare for classes? At night. You can't come to class unprepared. We could do better without their workshops.(Berna, 10)*

Now in the gazebo, usual complaints about mandatory activities and workshops, imposed on teachers from above, are cut short by one teacher. The teacher announces that everything is fine in their school; teachers are treated well and they are very happy. This sudden defensive outburst is aimed at me. I am a stranger, walking around with my notebook and a tape-recorder, asking questions, prying and watching carefully while sipping my coffee. Teachers in a group change the subject instantly. Teachers start asking me about my job and life in the country where I currently hold a teaching position.

Our conversation is soon interrupted. A group of children approaches our gazebo gathering. A boy and two girls, whom I met earlier, are offering to take me around the school. I agree. I still have at least half-an-hour to spend before the start of the lesson I am allowed to observe on that day.

The group is led by the boy, Selim (13 years old), whose English is very good. When we first met, Selim told me that his relatives lived in London. Selim visited London often and was planning to go to England after he finished high school (upper secondary school in a Turkish Cypriot education structure). I had several encounters with Selim and each time he was eager to show his knowledge of the outer world – all things British.

We are on the tour. Selim and the girls – Ayşe and Nilgün – take me to their classroom. The classroom is empty but there are textbooks and notebooks on the desks. The textbook is the *Turkish Language* for the seventh grade. Ayşe shows me her desk and flips through her notebook with good grades in it. It is a mere coincidence that the textbook is open on the page which contains a text about Atatürk and a photograph of Atatürk surrounded by people (out of six units covered in the text, only one unit is directly dedicated to Atatürk's legacy. The title of the unit is *Atatürkcülük (Kemalism)*. This very unit is the unit currently studied by Ayşe' class). The topic of the lesson is *Atatürk'ün Milli Kültüre Verdigi Önem/Attention Atatürk Paid to National Culture*. I ask Ayşe what she knows about Atatürk. Both Ayşe and Nilgün

supply me with very minute details of Atatürk's achievements. The girls ask me in return what I know about Atatürk. I think I impress the girls with my knowledge of the facts of Atatürk's life and deeds. Throughout our conversation, children praise Atatürk – the hero, the founder of the Republic of Turkey and a fine example of good character.

After showing me all their notebooks, the children take me to the class corner. There are some essays on display. There is also a text about Atatürk – the event of the establishment of the Turkish Language Institute by Atatürk and Atatürk's thoughts on the Turkish language. The class corner also contains a homemade poster commemorating famous Turkic epic *Dede Korkut*<sup>16</sup>. Children's knowledge of the epic does not go beyond acknowledging the epic as a famous piece of Turkish literary heritage. To my question what *Dede Korkut* is about, the children say that they do not remember, and Nilgün notes that her favourite book is *Harry Potter* and she does not like reading old legends.

Selim, Ayşe and Nilgün volunteer to escort me to the room of the history lesson I am planning to attend. The children take a long road. They want to show me quite a bit of the school. I also suspect they want to practice their English, as every so often they ask me whether their grammar in English is correct.

On our way to my history room, Selim, Ayşe and Nilgün ask me a lot of questions – all about Cyprus. Children ask me how I like their island, what Cypriot food is my favourite, and what my favourite place in Cyprus is. I name Morphou Bay – the beautiful bay in Cyprus' North-West - as my favourite sight. Ayşe says that her favorite place is Troodos (a mountain range in the south of Cyprus). To my remark that I like Troodos too, Ayşe asks in

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<sup>16</sup> *Dede Korkut* is a collection of tales about battles and heroes which are usually dated back to Oghuz Turks and their life in pre-Islamic times. The stories also contain detailed description of the way of life of Turkic people as horse-riders, skillful archers and wrestlers.

amazement, 'You've been to the South?!' I wrote down this encounter with Ayşe right after it happened:

**Field notes: 27 October 2008**

Ayşe: *I think Troodos is the most beautiful place in Cyprus. I like to go there.*

R: *I also like Troodos. Have you seen snow at the top of the Troodos Mountains in winter?*

Ayşe: *You've been to the South?!*

R: *Yes, I have been to Troodos, to Limassol and to Paphos. Do you go to the South often?*

Ayşe nods.

I ask Nilgün and Selim if they like any places in the South of Cyprus too but Nilgün and Selim change the topic of the conversation. Selim just says that he goes to the South if he wants to, but right away starts talking about England. Selim and Nilgün ask me what I like about England. Ayşe does not participate in the rest of the conversation.

We part at the doors to the history room. Selim, Nilgün and Ayşe invite me to attend their class too some time and stroll away. I enter the classroom. The teacher is not in yet but a few children are at their desks. I hear exchange of whisper in Turkish, '*İngleza, ingleza*' ('*English, English*'). I am not English but, as often is the case in this part of Cyprus, people assume that anybody who is not Turkish or Turkish Cypriot is English.

I greet students in Turkish and they seem to be a bit perplexed. They ask how come I speak Turkish as I am obviously not from Turkey or Cyprus. We strike a conversation in Turkish, but as soon as we establish that I am an English-speaker, children switch over to English. This immediate offer of English as a language of communication by students and teachers at school, at this and all other instances, is surprising because I can hardly find anyone

speaking English outside the school walls in this area. All local businesses, shops, markets and offices can only offer Turkish in most cases and, sometimes, Arabic. English remains a rare language in the area. At school, the level of English is very good and many children and teachers have a near-native proficiency in English.

When the teacher arrives, most students are in the room. The teacher formally introduces me and I take my seat at the back of the class. Students very soon forget about me and the lesson goes on. The teacher later tells me that their school is frequently attended by visitors and researchers of all sorts, so the presence of a stranger in the classroom is not seen by students as unusual.

I am at the History lesson in the sixth grade. This is a General History course, which is a part of Social Studies curriculum (Sara, L01). The lesson is on different types of calendars used throughout history – ancient Egyptian, Mayan, Old Jewish, Chinese, Turkic animal calendar, Christian and Hijri (Muslim) calendars. Students work on two activities in class. One - is to calculate the difference between the given dates of the Christian calendar (currently accepted social calendar) against the dates in the Muslim calendar (currently used to establish dates for religious celebrations in Muslim cultures). Another activity is to figure out why the traditional celebration of Ramadan in Northern Cyprus starts on a different date each year.

The atmosphere in the classroom is very relaxed. There are no instances of particularly disruptive or disrespectful behavior but the children freely volunteer comments on discussed issues and continuously chat with each other. One boy simply walks to the blackboard to write down his calculations on the dates. The teacher does not try to stop the student. As soon as the bell rings at the end of the lesson, the children jump off their seats and rush out of the classroom.

The History teacher (Sara) agrees on an interview following the lesson. We stay in the classroom as there is no lesson in the room during the next class period. I already informed the teacher about the purpose of my research and that I was interested in the issues of national identity. Right at the start, Sara (21) notes:

*Here's your national identity- We look at seven different calendars but we do calculation on Hijri- on Muslim calendar- Why? I guess who wrote the book- this is the new book- we just got it- it is from Cyprus- of course they tried to make tasks that relate to children- to their life- so if you have similar topic in a different country, tasks would be different- but here, we are Turkish Cypriot country- we basically have no religion but we have Muslim heritage- and here's your national identity- Muslim culture and history- you can't avoid it- it's our history...*

During the interview, we talk about new History curriculum, pedagogical approach, changes in the content of History, school matters and about various other issues. Sara is very complimentary about new textbooks. She thinks that the book is fun to use but notes that the main emphasis is still on Turkish heritage. She says the students need to learn more about other cultures. Sara is trying to channel her talk to national issues from time to time (without my promoting) and, at some point, notes the following:

*Well- we just think of educating children- education was always important in Cyprus- and that's what most parents want- children also like study- we have good students- I guess you can say this is national feature- to care about studies- people respect teachers- we have great competition in Teacher's College- this is so important- school in Cyprus, with Turkish Cypriots is very important- think- we are small country- we have problems with economy- with everything- but money we spend on education! Our children don't lack for good education- this is what? And here- you come to school and get all your books free- every student- (21)*

Sara's comment on value of education, above, as a 'national feature' in Cyprus reiterated my own observation that education was held in high esteem in Cyprus; that was based on my historical research on education in Cyprus, and on the background research on the current conditions of education in the TRNC. Yet, the comment made by the teacher overtly suggested that the attitude towards education in a society in general, and at

school in particular, merits consideration as a significant factor in itself, contributing to the construction of national identity. More detailed examination of schooling practices in the following chapters can provide better understanding of this point.

This general introduction to school gave rise to several themes, which can be illuminating for the process of national identity construction in the schooling context in the TRNC.

### **6.3 Emergent themes**

Following the definition of national identity as positioning in relation to states and nations, the themes emerging from this introduction are based on the patterns of such positioning as revealed in the data presented in this chapter.

#### **(1) 'Conventional symbols of particularity' (Billig 1995, p. 85)**

It was proposed earlier in this study (Chapter Two) that any named nation or state has to resemble other nations or states through the adoption of national symbols. These symbols reveal the particular character of the nation but, at the same time, serve as symbols of the universality of nationhood (Billig 1995). Among the most obvious national symbols, Billig (1995) names the national flag and the national anthem.

The TRNC, a sovereign state, has its own flag but it appears on all school displays as a part of a set: the flag of the TRNC and the flag of the Republic of Turkey (e.g. Figure 6.1). Flag displays are very few and are not very noticeable. A tiny image of the tandem flag set in the school's hallway is well obscured by more prominent visual displays of sports trophies, by photographs of students and teachers at various school events.

Another national symbol of the TRNC, the national anthem, happens to be the national anthem of the Republic of Turkey. Singing of the anthem is a regular occurrence at school. Every school assembly starts with the anthem



singing. There is obvious familiarity with the text of the song; if struggling with the tune, the students and the teachers know the words well and go through the text of the first two quatrains of the anthem without any stumbling. The singing of the national anthem is, apparently, an obligatory ritual built into the routine of schooling and required by higher regulatory authorities. Performed hastily and without apparent display of 'nationalist sentiment' (Billig 1995), the anthem singing was, nevertheless, never omitted from any observed school gathering – assembly or any other special occasion.

A noticeable pattern of national affiliations, which is based on the data presented in this chapter, is that symbolic associations with states and nations are mainly through individuals (e.g. Atatürk, Denктаş, Talat, a Turkish fighter) rather than through 'impersonal' emblems.

Atatürk is one particular image which stands out among all other national symbols. As reported in this chapter, the teachers could not exactly locate the appearance of Atatürk's portraits and busts at school. According to the teachers (10, 19), images of Atatürk seemed to have 'always been here' (10). Yet, one teacher (Mehmet, 12), who worked almost twenty-five years at school, remarked that noticeable saturation of the school's space with Atatürk's images took place around the time of the proclamation of the TRNC as a sovereign state (1983). However, he did note that the busts and some images were at the school prior to 1983.

Background research on 'Atatürk imagery' revealed that the images of Atatürk proliferated in Northern Cyprus following official territorial separation of the two communities in 1975, but their appearance in public places in Cyprus long predates the events of 1974-1975 and the establishment of the TRNC (1983). Historical note on the appearance and spreading of Atatürk's images in Cyprus is included in Appendix 18 to this thesis.

It may be assumed that the bust of Atatürk in the school garden appeared during 1963-1974, the period, to which Adil (2007) refers to as the 'period of

busts and silhouettes' (p. 88), because of the noticeable increase of Atatürk's busts in Cyprus during these years. In any case, the instructions on *where* to put busts and *where* and *how* to position Atatürk's portraits at *schools* already existed among MOEC's official guides for the inspection of schools in 1983-1984. It was noted in the guide that there should be a bust of Atatürk in a school's garden (i.e. every school's garden) and it should be regularly cleaned, and the portraits of Atatürk should be placed in the classrooms above the blackboard.

Now, at school, the omnipresence of images of Atatürk produces a feeling of 'being in a memorial' of some sort, but shabby looks of Atatürk's images create an impression that the memorial service took place some time ago and these are just the traces of it. Yet, the constant 'flagging' (Billig 1995) of the national context through the images of Atatürk at school is indicative of positioning of this school within the particular nationhood, of which Atatürk is a current symbol.

It was noted earlier in this chapter that Atatürk, apart from instances of isolated portraits and busts, frequently appears as a part of a 'kit': Atatürk's portrait against the background of Turkish national flag, the text of the national anthem of Turkey and Atatürk's *Address to the Youth*, where Atatürk calls young people of Turkey to defend Turkey from all internal and external enemies. The time of production of this 'standard kit', or of its appearance at school, is unknown but it would be a plausible assumption that the kit was packaged in Turkey for the use in Turkish schools (hence only the national flag of Turkey in the background and *the Address to the Youth* calling young people to defend Turkey), and that it was transferred to Turkish Cypriot schools alongside Turkish curriculum which was followed by the TRNC's schools up until the reform of 2004.

Few other images have lesser visual presence at school, but nevertheless, 'flag' (Billig 1995, p. 41) affiliations with nations and states in their own distinct ways.

Rauf Denktaş, the founder of the TRNC, is an iconic figure in Northern Cyprus society. Revered by some, and blamed for intransigence in negotiations on the settlement in Cyprus by others, the image of Denktaş is closely connected to the 'Cyprus conflict' and Turkish Cypriot community's struggle for its rights. Denktaş was the leading figure and a representative of the Turkish Cypriot community through the years of armed confrontation between Turkish- and Greek-Cypriot communities in the 1960s and 1970s, the rule of Greek junta in July 1974 and the following years of separation of the two communities. Denktaş was also a chief negotiator on political arrangements for Cyprus and for Turkish Cypriot community (starting with 1963 Constitutional crisis and until his death in winter 2012).

The portrait of Mehmet Talat, the President of the TRNC at the time of the fieldwork, is another symbol (besides Denktaş) of TRNC's sovereignty, the state with its own President.

As one participant of the study (*Mehmet, 12*) noted, 'Denktaş will stay. Talat will go'. Obviously, Denktaş is a confirmed symbol of national imagery of Northern Cyprus community and has been included in a 'permanent' set of symbols in the TRNC. Denktaş is a founding father of the TRNC, and Talat is a democratically elected president of the state established through Denktaş's efforts.

Only one portrait of Denktaş and one portrait of Talat were found on regular display at school – both as parts of the 'portrait corner' in the Teacher's room (Figure 6.4 in this chapter).

One more pictorial image found at school is a portrait of the Turkish fighter, whose name the school bears. The fighter's portrait is in the 'portrait corner' in the Teachers' Room (Figure 6.4) and is on the front piece at the school's entrance (Figure 6.1, the image is removed). The fact that the school bears the name of a Turkish soldier, who perished in a battle in Cyprus, points at TRNC's affiliations with Turkey. The name was awarded to the Orange Grove

School in 1983, the year of the foundation of the TRNC. This is typical of the general trend in the TRNC in that year. Having established its own sovereign state, the Turkish Cypriot community honored Turkey by awarding names of Turkish fighters, perished in Cyprus, to various public institutions (including schools) in the TRNC in 1983.

Symbolic representations of nationhood at school, or 'conventional symbols of particularity', which allow a nation 'to resemble other nations to gain recognition' (Billig 1995, p. 85) appear at school as a mixture of 'symbols of particularity' (p. 85) of both the TRNC and Turkey. Clearly located in a sovereign state with its own President, and its own flag, the students at school sing the national anthem of Turkey (which reads as an ode to the Turkish flag). The school itself bears the name of a Turkish fighter. And the image of Atatürk, indisputably the national symbol of the Turkish Cypriot community, is frequently adorned with the texts and images which are unmistakably Turkish (The Turkish flag, The Turkish national anthem, call to the youth of Turkey to defend the motherland, Turkey).

## **(2) Languages at school**

Linguistic patterns revealed at school are of significance to the current investigation of the process of national identity construction. Often seen as crucial identifiers of national affiliations (Balsera 2005; Barrett 2007; Billig 1995), languages position their speakers within distinct national groups.

The linguistic 'sameness' of students is a theme which comes through the data as salient, with reference to national identity. It is remarkable that all students are reported by their teachers as speaking the 'same version' of Turkish, considering the dialectal diversity of the Turkish language in the area from where the school draws its student population. The Turkish language used by children at school is a standard literary norm. According to the teachers, who themselves are educated speakers of literary Turkish, children

at school master the language very well and are capable to move on through further levels of education as literate speakers of standard Turkish.

Bi-lingualism (Turkish-English) is another prominent characteristic which might be indicative of students' positioning in relation to states and nations. The mere fact that English is not a common language spoken in this area of Cyprus makes English proficiency of students and school teachers noteworthy. Overt references to Britain are noted, however, English is not necessarily associated with Britain. Britain was commonly mentioned by the students in the context of further studies or traveling. Otherwise, English was recounted by the school population to be a means of communication. Students reported reading popular English language literature (in English), participating in English-language social sites and listening to English-language music programmes. Teachers frequently attended teacher-training workshops, run by European trainers in English. Students' and teachers' ability to communicate with visitors to school, like myself, was a fine example of using English for communication purposes.

### **(3) Territorial attachment, boundaries and borders**

Defined in this study as positioning in relation to states and nations, national identity is inevitably linked to the territory and territorial boundaries, whether these are relatively fixed territorial boundaries of states, or shifting territorial boundaries of nations.

It was shown in Chapter Two that the notion of territorial boundaries is commonly accepted as coming alongside national identification (Anderson 1983; Barrett 2007; Billig 1995; Giddens 1985). This is why Anderson (1983) specifically referred to invented nations as *limited* communities, 'because even the largest of them... has finite, if elastic, boundaries, beyond which lie other nations' (p. 7). Barrett's (2007) definition of the term nation, as 'a named human community occupying a homeland' (p. 5), also implies the necessity to establish the boundaries of the territory, the homeland.

The images which belonged to 'their' territory emerged in conversations with the students when they talked about Cyprus, their island. A casual encounter with the students, reported in this chapter (Field notes, 27 October 2008) is typical of many others I had with the students. Practically all the students with whom I talked, whether during scheduled interviews or casual interactions, were eager to know my impressions of *their* island (Cyprus), *their* food (Cypriot food), *their* sea (the Mediterranean) and many other things – all Cypriot. Always getting very animated when talking about Cyprus – clearly 'their' place – students did not refer to specific political entities existing on the island. It was just 'Cyprus'.

The following description by Jepson (2006) of her vision of boundaries existing in Cyprus is one way to understand students' positioning in relation to their entire island as their island. Jepson (2006) writes:

An island is an easily imaginable whole; it is not arbitrary. While I have the two-dimensional map of my own country imprinted on my consciousness, as many of us do, a relatively small island has a particular presence, and not only on a map. An island's boundary – where it meets the sea – is non-negotiable. I would argue that this "presence" affects the consciousness of those who live on it (p. 158).

For whatever reason, the disappearance of the territorial boundary between the two states of Cyprus was noticeable in students' talking of *their* territory as the whole island of Cyprus, *their* island. However, the theme of 'crossing the border' emerged when I admitted my experience of being in places which lay outside the physical boundaries of the TRNC in Cyprus. The invisible border became visible as the students changed their positioning from referring to the whole of Cyprus into distinct separation between the South and the North. Me being in the South meant 'going over the border'. This differing positioning towards the island is also indicative of our different status on the island – students' *belonging* to the island and me *visiting* the place. As an official visitor to a school in the TRNC, I am located within official borders, in this case, the state borders of the TRNC. Me displaying my knowledge of 'the other side', the South, is a reminder that there is a border and the

students have to cross it, even if Cyprus, the island itself, is *their* territory. Hence, overt confirmations from the children that they can go to the South if they want to (Field notes, 27 October 2008).

#### **6.4 Construction of national identity at school**

The themes that emerged in this chapter led to the following findings, which build an initial understanding of the relationship between students' construction of national identity and their educational experience in the context of schooling in the TRNC: the school was shown to be the site of systemic, repetitive, 'banal flagging' (Billig 1995) of national affiliations; national affiliations of students were flagged through daily schooling environment, visual symbolic representations of the state and routine rituals performed at school; and through their schooling experience, the students were positioned as belonging to the same national group.

The Orange Grove School, which was used as the site for the present research, could be clearly identified as a school in the TRNC and as a school in Cyprus. The students were shown to position themselves as belonging to the island of Cyprus, but at the same time, as aware of territorial borders of the TRNC in Cyprus. A number of rituals built into school's routine operations, and displays of national symbols were revealing of national affiliations with the school's own state, the TRNC. The appearance of state affiliations as the TRNC-Turkey set at school reflected the current pattern of TRNC's self-positioning as a state, or its 'conventional symbols of particularity' (Billig 1995, p. 85), existing outside school.

Language patterns at school differ drastically from the ones in the area surrounding the school. Fluent in standard learned Turkish idiom, the students stand out in this area, rich in a variety of spoken dialects of Turkish. Fluency in English also positions the students among the group of people who can engage in communication with non-Turkish speakers, English-

speaking outsiders and visitors to the area, whereas English proficiency in general is a rare feature in the community residing in the school's region.

Linguistic policies behind the language patterns revealed at school are one of the factors playing role in positioning of all students within a distinct group of individuals sharing the same linguistic affiliations. Education policies, in this respect, can be seen to be positioning the students within a distinct linguistic group.

School displays of national symbols, which can be seen as continuous flagging of nationhood, also appear to be reflective of the prescriptive structural setting of education in the TRNC. High visibility of the national flags of the TRNC and Turkey elsewhere in the region, and in Northern Cyprus in general, are not commonplace at school. The school has its own, 'made for school', displays of national affiliations. A modest bust of Atatürk in the hallway, and much larger bust in the garden are, apparently, for the *school* display. Not only it is prescribed by explicit regulations for school inspection (Guide for School Inspection 2008) to have Atatürk's bust in the school garden, the saying itself on the pedestal is relevant to educational context (*Our true mentor in life is science*). Sayings attached to some Atatürk portraits elsewhere at school also touch on the theme of education (e.g. *Öğretmenler: Yeni besiller sizlerin eseri olacaktır/Teachers: the new generation will be your devotion*). Inclusion of Atatürk's *Address to the Youth* in 'national' displays is meant precisely for consumption of the young generation, the students at school.

The students at school were shown to be positioned as belonging to the same national group in the context of schooling. Education provided by schooling positioned the students as literate individuals belonging to a distinct group of literate speakers of standard Turkish idiom, and of English as a means of communication with groups outside territorial and cultural boundaries of the TRNC. Mandatory participation of all students in the same kinds of rituals at school, and being in the same physical surrounding of the



school, positioned the students within the group undergoing the same 'generic training' (Gellner 2006 [1983], p. 26) in the state rites, specifically patterned for the school use. Visibly framed by the prescriptive format of the MOEC, the school seemed to be endowed with the task of cultural homogenization of the students attending a lower secondary school in the TRNC in terms of their national belonging.

## 6.5 Summary

Introduction to the school site provided in this chapter, and the emergent themes, resulted in several findings. The school was shown to be a distinct locale which determined how students of this school were positioned in relation to states and nations, and, through their schooling experience, the students were positioned as belonging to the same national group.

Specifically with reference to the research questions, which ask *how* national identity of TRNC students is constructed at school and *what factors* contribute to the process of national identity construction, the critical reading of the data presented in this chapter resulted in the following: students were shown to be positioned, and to position themselves, as belonging to the state of the TRNC, a sovereign state in Cyprus, with clearly demarcated territorial borders. Representations of the state at school, as a TRNC-Turkey set, reflected existing patterns in the state itself, but the selection of such representations was seen as specifically designed for the use at school. Structural environment of schooling and prescriptive regulations behind it were shown to be contributing factors to such national positioning of the students at school.

Based on the examination of general characteristics of the school, its physical setting and its routine operations, these findings provide only initial understanding of the process of national identity construction in the schooling context, and will be further tested through the analysis of the data presented in the following chapters. In order to build a fuller and more complete understanding of the relationship between students' construction of national

identity and their educational experience, the following chapter will examine in detail the programme of studies, with the specific focus on the issues of national identification.

## **CHAPTER SEVEN**

### **PROGRAMME OF STUDIES**

#### **7.0 Introduction**

The process of national identity construction in the context of schooling in the TRNC is examined through various schooling practices, as suggested by the analytic framing for the enquiry developed in Chapter Four. So far, I have displayed instances of the data which were illustrative of daily school operations and described the physical space of school, with the focus on national identification issues. The schooling practices examined in this chapter include the programme of studies for the lower secondary level. The chapter explores how, through the programme of studies, students are positioned, and position themselves, in relation to their immediate community and the broader social and geo-political space, and what factors contribute to this process.

The chapter is in five sections. It starts with a general overview of the programme of studies at the lower secondary level. It then examines the textbooks used in the TRNC's lower secondary schools. The following section provides a descriptive record of national identification content through historical and geographical mapping. The final section discusses emerging themes, and considers how findings of this chapter help address the research questions guiding this study.

The data used are from the written texts collected at the MOEC and at school, on-site observations of the school at work and lessons, and interviews with textbook writers, school administrators, teachers and students.

## 7.1 Overview

The lower secondary school level is a part of the basic, compulsory structure of the TRNC's national education system (Appendix 9). There are no selective examinations for placement of students in lower secondary schools<sup>17</sup> or selective exit examinations at the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> grade. The exams which students sit throughout this level of schooling assess knowledge students gain in each grade, and do not determine further educational routes of the students. Most children who participated in this research expressed their intent to continue their studies after completion of the basic education. The school Principal confirmed in an interview that 'virtually all children move to the next level' (07) of studies and noted that several re-examinations during the school year were allowed to ensure that all students could get satisfactory grades, in order to continue their education further.

All government schools in the TRNC follow the same curriculum at lower secondary level (the list and weekly distribution of subjects for each grade can be found in Appendix 13 A and B). The students at school are offered two options within the same curriculum: all-Turkish or Turkish-English instruction. Table 7.1 below presents programme options at this level of schooling and orientation towards different types of schools available upon the completion of basic education.

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<sup>17</sup> Prior to Education Reform 2004, there existed selection of most able students for *Maarif Colleges* – selective secondary schools from the fifth to the ninth grade.

	Upper Secondary	Age	Grade	Apprenticeship Education	Multi-Programme Modern High Schools, Vocational High Schools and Fine Arts High School	College and Anatolia High School
BASIC EDUCATION	Lower Secondary School	14-15	9th <sup>18</sup>		Common Programme	Common English Programme
		13-14	8th		Turkish Programme	English Programme
		12-13	7th		Turkish Programme	English Programme
		11-12	6th		Common Turkish Programme	

**Table 7.1 General structure of the lower secondary school level**

In the sixth grade, Turkish is the only language of instruction and English is taught as a second language. Students who reach a satisfactory level of English at the end of the sixth grade can take Mathematics, Science, History and Geography in English in upper grades (7 and 8). Subjects offered in English are listed as electives, and all core subjects are taught in Turkish throughout the entire lower secondary level.

According to the teachers and MOEC officials, provision of English-taught courses in the programme of studies gives students in state-run schools a chance to opt for English-language, mainly British, education at higher levels. Thus, for example, a MOEC official, Birsen, noted the following:

*private schools- it's not a problem to have seats in private schools. You just pay money and open new seats. But money you pay is a lot to many parents- it's a lot for people in Northern Cyprus- that's why we*

<sup>18</sup> The 9<sup>th</sup> grade, which appears in the programme of lower secondary level in the Table 7.1, is incorporated in the programme of *Lise*, the upper secondary school and is counted as a prep class for *Lise*. Those students who choose to continue their education after completion of basic education (lower secondary school) attend the 9<sup>th</sup> grade when they move to *Lise*. It is projected by the Education Reform 2004, that the 9<sup>th</sup> grade will gradually be incorporated in the lower secondary school and will become part of the basic, compulsory, education in the TRNC by year 2011-2012.

*need to teach English in public schools- not everybody get go to private English-language schools- kids who go to state school should also have opportunity to go to British universities later... (01)*

Inclusion of English-language instruction in Turkish-language state-run schools is noteworthy within the context of this study, and is telling of national affiliations projected by the state through its national education. Historically, affiliations of Turkish Cypriot community with Great Britain have been manifested in various forms of political arrangements. Directing students towards further studies in British schools and universities has been a well-established tradition in Cyprus. A number of private (paid) English-language schools, that follow British curriculum, have operated in Northern Cyprus for several decades. In addition to these, selective *Maarif Colleges* (free of charge) also prepared students for further education in English-speaking institutions. So, the English-language route for further studies was available, but only to a selective number of students, whether based on financial considerations, or results of selective examinations. Development of academic proficiency in English in state-run schools under current education system opens up possibilities for English-language studies at higher educational levels to the students attending state schools.

The provision of English-language academic programme in state-run schools is evidence of a conscious attempt of the state to make available a range of equal educational opportunities to all students, and it responds to the state's promise to provide education which would 'care for equality of opportunity' (Education Policies 2005, p. 3). According to the teachers (15, 17) and a MOEC's official, Birsen (01), the ultimate choice of further education is made by a student and his/her family. Yet, as Birsen (01) noted, English-language education in private schools is costly, and provision of free English-language instruction in state-run schools creates an opportunity for following English-language educational routes for the students who, otherwise, would not consider it because of its high cost.

The competition in form of selective examinations is eliminated. According to the School Principal (07) and teachers at school (12, 15, 17), the removal of placement examinations reduced reliance on private tutoring, which was commonplace in the Turkish Cypriot society at the basic level of education previously<sup>19</sup>. Education Policies (2005) confirm that 'in the new system, no examination will be administered for attending GCE/GCES programmes after the secondary school period. Students who reach to a satisfactory level at the end of Basic Education will be able to take this programme' (p. 18). As it was mentioned earlier, students at school are allowed to re-sit their examinations in order to raise their grades to a satisfactory level (interview with the school Principal, 07). The dates for such remedial examinations are set in the school year calendar (Appendix 14 A and B) and, according to the Principal (07), due to these re-examinations, everybody gets a chance to pass through the basic level of education.

It seems that the promise of 'equality of opportunity' (Education Policies 2005, p. 3) is met at the level of educational structural design. The following section will specifically look into how this promise is handled in the reality of schooling.

### **7.1.1 Two-language academic programme at school**

Inclusion of *Academic English* as an elective subject in the programme of studies aims to facilitate preparation of students for their participation in English-Turkish programme at the lower secondary level. The programme of Academic English includes teaching of terminology required for various subjects taught in English, and also incorporates sections of standard curriculum content in History and Geography.

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<sup>19</sup> World Bank Report (2006) indicated that private tutoring, aimed at preparing students for selective examinations to the *Türk Maarif Colleges*, was 'a major source of dualism' (p. 85) in education in the Turkish Cypriot community and that children without tutoring had much lesser probability of performing well in such exams than their peers from more affluent families. The report noted that the average amount parents would spend on private tutoring was as much as US\$250 every month (p. 90).

An English teacher, Hessa, explained the difference between two types of *English* offered by the new programme of studies – *English* as a foreign language (compulsory subject) and *Academic English* (elective subject):

*We teach English- like we always did before- English is taught as a foreign language. Mostly teach grammar in English but also four skills... This is normal English. Everybody takes it... Now- Reform introduced- we teach Academic English. The students who get good grades in English, are put in Academic English. In Academic English, we teach Science, Math, History and Geography in English...*

*I have two Academic English classes. One is very low level of English. It is very difficult to teach subjects in English to these students. Again, Turkish students have much lower level of English. Maybe, they do not start learning English in Turkey early enough. We don't know what the reason is but their level of English is very low... There is another class which is excellent... (10)*

When I asked Hessa whether her 'excellent' class was made up of 'indigenous Cypriot' kids, Hessa clarified:

*No, I didn't mean this. We do not make difference when we put children in classes- like who is who- All classes are mixed – Cypriots from Cyprus, Cypriot kids from Turkey...No...I just say that often kids who come from Turkey, start English later...because here in Cyprus parents worry about education...I just mean that it's more work with some kids. At the end, they all learn- but some need more work- so we do it (10)*

Another English teacher in a group, Berna, added:

*See, if kids are put in Academic English, they are not bad. Kids from Turkish families have good grades in English. But they are not as fluent. Maybe because their families don't pay attention- they don't work at home- they often come from poor families who do not care much about education... We teach them. We do not think they are bad and leave them... No, we try to bring all our students to a good level in studies- It is just more difficult when students do not know language very well. Now we have to teach Math and History in English, for example... Kids have to know the language first to understand the subject... In regular English course we talk about shopping, traveling and then boom- Math in English- I don't know terminology myself- So I can understand how difficult it is to children. When we have children with low level, it lowers level of the whole group. But we try to bring everybody to high level (10)*



What is rather peculiar, English-taught courses in Mathematics, Sciences, History and Geography are taught not by subject teachers but by teachers of English. This is how they explain the reasons behind such handling of Turkish-English programme at school:

*Subject teachers, who know the subject, do not want to teach it in English. See- they were trained in their subject in Turkish and say they cannot teach it in English. Most of these teachers got their education in universities in Turkey. They say, 'You know English - you teach the subject in English'. So- We don't know the subject! Now we have to learn the subject – Physics, History, Geography... It is not easy. If you can speak English, it does not mean you can teach anything. So, we have to fill in the space of specially trained subject teachers and teach specific subjects to children who want to learn these subjects in English ... (Berna, 10)*

Another English teacher, Hessa, adds:

*It is good for us- we learn some history, geography- but it takes a lot of time. As time goes, we learn all the subjects we have to teach in English. We have enough materials to make new textbooks. Sometimes, we translate the chapters from the Turkish textbooks, or find our own materials to fit the curriculum on the subject...In our own time we have to read and we do research (10)*

Other teachers of English noted that, following almost four years of new programme of studies implemented at school, English teachers became 'subject specialists' (Sahar, 15). In response to my query whether subject teachers trained in English-language universities would be hired to meet the demands of the new two-language programme at school, Sahar stated the following:

*No! No, as time goes by, we learn all the subjects... It is scary to think that somebody would walk in and try to teach. You cannot prepare for the lesson in 5 minutes... We did a lot of research and we made loads of teaching materials...Newcomers would have great difficulty to do anything about it- We don't need new teachers- We have enough teachers... (15)*

As it is visible in the quotes above (10, 15), the offer of a parallel English-language curriculum to the students in a Turkish-language school in the TRNC is not supported by provision of properly qualified teaching staff (i.e. subject-trained English-speaking teachers). It was noted in Chapter Three

that the hires of school teachers are permanent in the TRNC. This is confirmed by the data (10, 15) displayed above: the introduction of an English-language programme in state-run schools did not at all indicate new hires. Rather, the teachers who were already on the staff had to train themselves 'on the spot' in very specialized areas, such as Mathematics, Sciences, History and Geography.

This means that the changes introduced to education system have to be adjusted to the existing, and relatively rigid, state system (e.g. permanent employment of teachers as state employees). This raises the question of disparity between educational structures in their 'design' form and the schooling reality. It also brings to the fore the role of the teachers in delivering the goals of the state through its national education, which is viewed in this study as a proactive and planned process for the dissemination and construction of national identity.

The issue of teacher training, which emerged frequently in a variety of contexts, is also telling of the existing breach between the intentions of education policies and actions of teachers, who can make these policies effective or hinder their implementation.

To train teachers in methodology, which would help deliver the aims and objectives set out in Education Policies (2005), teachers of TRNC schools were all required to attend regular teacher-training workshops. Most teachers dismissed these workshops as unnecessary, and claimed they could not implement recommendation 'in reality' (16). Thus, for example, a History teacher, Ersoy, noted the following:

*They don't tell us anything new. They show to us what to do in class – it does not apply to our situation... So- we go to the workshops, waste time and then go to class and teach the way we can teach in our conditions (19)*

Similar to Ersoy's comment above (19), a Social Studies teacher, Gülay, noted:

*Just this week we have two workshops again. But at these workshops and seminars they tell us what we could do. It is all very abstract. They tell us what methods and activities we can use but it does not help us prepare for teaching... We cannot apply those recommendations when we go to class (17)*

Particular focus of teacher-training activities were on training teachers of History. Seen as an essential step towards 'reconciliation and stability' in Cyprus (Project Fiche 2006), training of history teachers was undertaken by the Council of Europe in co-operation with local Non-Government Organizations (NGOs). Again, the workshops offered as part of the European Council project (Project Fiche 2006), in addition to MOEC-organized training, were aimed at providing support to the development and use of new methods for teaching history. The project sponsored by the Council of Europe, with the total budget of 1,190,884 euro, was planned for the duration of the entire years of 2007, 2008 and 2009, and was running during the time of the fieldwork conducted for this study (2008-2009).

According to a textbook writer (*Cyprus History*), teacher training was seen as more important than supplying teachers with teacher manuals:

*... but at the same we had to write teachers' book. We cannot tell the teacher, 'Welcome back from the summer vacation. By the way, we changed the history' 'You've been teaching this for the last five years but now you will be teaching that'.. Once they close the door, they can teach whatever they want.*

*We [suggested] the training. And they are still doing it. For the last four years, they are doing it. They are putting lots of money into that teacher training. Ledra Palace. Goethe Institute...*

*And there would be a big one here. April. ...EUROCLIO is making a big conference on history education. Nicosia. Teacher's Unions are financing, Europeans are financing that. Papers, workshops- (Gülşen, 06)*

To my comment that the book activities, requiring extensive research, seemed very challenging for teachers, and that teacher manual could be helpful, the same writer, Gülşen, said:

*This is dynamite! If you do not have a background in old history, it is very difficult to discuss it. But it is for the teacher and children to discuss. If you know all the answers because of your political background, you do more harm to the kids than you think. That's why teacher training thing is very important. They need to understand that there are no specific answers... The literature is there. There are European teachers who have experience. Why not bringing European teachers here - they would be happy...(06)*

Such differing views of the value of teacher training workshops support the point raised earlier that projections made on the level of education policies are not necessarily effected on the level of schooling. The teachers admitted to omitting a lot of 'fancy activities' (14) in their teaching. They explained that 'working conditions [were] not suitable' (14) for implementation of activities included in the textbooks and/or suggested in the policies. Several teachers (14, 16, 17, 21) noted that the classes were full, teachers' time for preparation and grading 'creative' (14) assignments was inadequate and this is why they 'couldn't do it all' (14). So far, it was revealed in the data that teachers' agency was a significant factor in the operation of the educational process, and that Gülşen's (06) remark 'Once they close the door, they can teach whatever they want' was applicable to schooling practices examined in this study.

### **7.1.2 Language studies**

Attention to language choices at school is of importance to this research, concerned with national identity issues, as language was pointed to be seen as a crucial identifier of national identity (Anderson 1983; Barrett 2000, 2007; Billig 1995). With reference to language in educational context, Balsera (2005) specifically notes that 'the role of linguistic policies in education is fundamental, as it is where the construction of national identities is best observed' (p. 40). Two programme options (Turkish and Turkish-English) at lower secondary level discussed earlier in this chapter touched upon language matters reflected in the programme of studies. This section will

provide more detailed review of general language policies at school, as having relevance to this research.

Linguistic policies are explicitly articulated in Education Policies (2005), where the Turkish language is pronounced 'the language of instruction in all subjects up to the 6<sup>th</sup> grade of Basic education' (p. 16). The Policies (2005) also state that the acquisition of 'a second language *apart from English*' (p. 8; italic is mine) is built into the programme and that 'as from the 6<sup>th</sup> grade, the student chooses either German or French as a second language apart from English' (p. 15). This means that the place of English is not a matter of choice, whereas other languages are for choosing. It is, further, specified that in their foreign language studies 'students are trained through appropriate objectives and contents which conform to "The European Language Portfolio" and "The European language Passport" in order to improve their foreign language skills' (Education Policies 2005, p. 15). There is also a provision recommending Greek (Modern Greek), 'the language of the neighbouring society' (Education Policies 2005, p. 8 and p. 15), as an optional subject in the programme of studies. Linguistic hierarchy at school is thus well-pronounced. English is an obligatory component of the national curriculum, and six hours of English instruction per week are built into the compulsory programme of studies (Appendix 13 A and B). Supplemented with optional *Academic English*, the English language occupies prominent position in the curriculum. German and/or French are offered as electives and are taught only two hours per week. Greek is recommended for inclusion as an elective subject.

Students' choices of languages, apart from the standard tuition in Turkish and English, reflect the linguistic hierarchy established in the programme of studies. Based on the information obtained during the time of the fieldwork (School Principal's file of study plans for each student at school for 2008-2009 school year), Academic English appeared more often in students' individual study plans than any other elective course. Thus, for example, from

a number of 270 individual study plans for seven-graders, Academic English was listed in 170 study plans, followed by Mathematics in English (104) and Science and Technology in English (73). Eighty study plans contained four hours of electives made up of Academic English and Mathematics in English.

Teachers explained that the popularity of Academic English as an elective subject, in addition to compulsory English lessons, reflected students' desire to have good knowledge of English (10, 12, 14, 15). This view was supported by the findings based on the interviews with the students. Out of twenty-three children, who were asked to list their favourite subjects at school, eighteen named English (25, 27, 29, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35). Most of the students who vowed their liking of English planned to continue their education after school in various universities and colleges in Cyprus or Turkey, and five children had plans to move to Britain for further studies. However, all children admitted that 'it is good to know English' because they could communicate with people elsewhere, since 'everybody spoke English' and because 'English is a good language' (25, 27, 29, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35).

In accordance with the Education Policies (2005), courses in German and French are written into the programme as electives (Appendix 13 A and B). Modern Greek is offered as an extra-curricular activity, alongside classes in music, dance and sports. In my conversations with students, 9 children out of 23 (25, 27, 29, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35) said that they knew about Greek lessons, but only three students from this number were taking Greek. These three children noted that they liked speaking Greek among themselves so no one could understand them; they learned *Rumca*<sup>20</sup> as a 'code language' (35). The children who reported learning German or French (one hour per week) admitted that their German/French was not very good; they took it because it was 'fun and easy' (31), and that it also helped them complete the requirement of having four electives (25, 27, 29, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35).

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<sup>20</sup> The term *Rumca*, used by students with reference to the Greek language means the language of *Rum*, Greek-Cypriots. Official term for the Greek language in Turkish is *Yunanca* (the language of *Yunan*, i.e. Greeks).

## 7.2 Textbooks

Profusely studied as 'one of the most important educational inputs' (Altbach 1991, p. 257), textbooks have been seen by several researchers as seeking 'to anchor the political and social norms of a society' (Schissler 1989-1990, p. 81), and as used to 'spread ideologies, follow political trends and try to justify them by imbuing them with historical legitimacy' (Pingel 2010, p. 8). This view of the textbooks resonates with the assumptions put forward in earlier chapters of the thesis (Chapters Two and Three) that the whole of national education is reflective of state's ideology and is used by the state as a tool in its nation-building project.

Closely tied to the national curriculum, the textbooks for lower secondary level in TRNC schools are part and parcel of the structural context of schooling and are a medium through which 'viable modern high culture' (Gellner 2006 [1983], p. 86) is transmitted. Sanctioned by the state through MOEC's approval, the textbooks reflect current state's aspirations for its national education and, as seen in the context of this study, the state's endeavour to transmit a certain type of foundation for national unity.

Most textbooks used in lower secondary schools are an outcome of the Education Reform 2004. Prior to the reform, all textbooks were produced in and supplied by the Republic of Turkey. When the Reform was launched in 2004, a number of Turkish Cypriot and international scholars were commissioned to write new textbooks specifically for the TRNC schools. The only textbooks which continue to be supplied by Turkey are *Turkish Language* (6, 7, 8 grades), *Religious Culture and Moral Principles* (6, 7, 8 grades), and *History of the Establishment of the Republic of Turkey and Kemalism* (8 grade). This means that the programme of studies in TRNC's lower secondary schools combines elements of 'high culture' (Gellner 2006 [1983], p. 86) of the TRNC and Turkey. How it impacts on the positioning of students in relation to states and nations will be discussed in relation to each set of the textbooks.

### 7.2.1 TRNC-produced textbooks

The new TRNC-produced textbooks were designed to reflect education policies of the TRNC's reformed education system, its curriculum, and a new approach to the content and presentation of material (Education Policies 2005). Each textbook carries a stamp of approval of the MOEC. Introductory notes in the textbooks state explicitly that the books are produced specifically for the students in TRNC schools. An example of such note can be found in Appendix 17 A and B.

As it was mentioned in Chapter Three, the decision to produce textbooks for the TRNC schools locally was significant in that it marked the establishment of TRNC's own education curriculum, as different from the curriculum of Turkey, which was previously followed in Northern Cypriot schools. According to an official from the MOEC, Birsen, production of the textbooks in the TRNC for its schools was an important step for the national education in the country in that the content of studies was made relevant to Cyprus:

*When I went to school, and even when my children went to school, we learned about geography of Turkey, history of Turkey- we studied all about Turkey- but we are in Cyprus- we need to know things that relate to Cyprus. Now children can learn things about Cyprus, Cyprus history, Cyprus geography. It is very good that children at school can read about- know more about Cyprus, its nature, its history- It is logical. Students who go to school in Cyprus should have the textbooks which tell them about their country, not Turkey (03)*

The content of TRNC-produced textbooks is indeed 'Cyprus-oriented'. For example, the texts in Social Studies (History and Geography) make links to events and places in Cyprus; they also include chapters on Cyprus agriculture and tourism – the most prominent sectors of Cyprus economy.

The references to 'our country' frequently made throughout the texts emphasize the relevance of the studied material to the location where students receive their education and their belonging to that place. The following examples (Exhibit 7.1) from Social Studies texts are typical of such references:



### Example 1

Ülkemizde Ahi Teşkilatı'na benzetebileceğimiz esnaf kuruluşları var mıdır?

Are there any organizations in **our country** resembling Ahi Institute?

(Social Studies, 6, History, 2005, p. 102)

### Example 2

Sulama sorununu çözmek için gölet yapımı dışında **ülkemizde** başka ne gibi önlemler alınmaktadır? Araştırınız

Apart from building ponds, what other precautions are taken in order to solve the irrigation problem in **our country**? Explore.

(Social Studies, 7, Geography, 2005, p. 59)

## Exhibit 7.1 Instances of references to 'our country' in the TRNC-produced textbooks

There are also instances in the texts where the construct 'our country' is directly linked with specific locations in Northern Cyprus. The following activity from the Social Studies textbook is illustrative of this:

### Araştırılmalı – Öğrenelim

Ülkemizdeki tarımsal faaliyetlerde yaşanan en büyük sorun sulamadır. Bu problem ortadan kaldırmak için pek çok gölet yapılmıştır. Bu göletlerden en büyüğü **Gemikonağı-Lefke-deki Maden Deresi** üzerine yapılmış olan **Gemikonağı Göleti'dir**. Sulama için yapılan digger göletleri, hangi dereler üzerine yapıldıklarını ve nerede yer aldıklarını araştırınız.

### Let us research

The biggest problem with the farming in **our country** is irrigation. In order to eliminate this problem, many ponds have been created. The biggest of these ponds is **Gemikonağı Pond**, which is built on **Maden Creek** located in **Gemikonağı, Lefke**. Find out what other ponds have been created for irrigation purposes, on which creek, and where they are located.

(Social Studies, 7, Geography, 2005, p. 59)

## Exhibit 7.2 An instance of textbook references to specific locations in Northern Cyprus

There is one instance in a Geography textbook where the reference to 'our country' is supported by a picture showing the contour of the island of Cyprus, with clearly marks borders of the TRNC on it (Exhibit 7.3):

**ÇEŞİTLİ DÜNYA ÜLKELERİNİN KALKINMA DURUMU**

23 Nisan kutlamaları için ülkemizde misafir olan ve dünyanın çeşitli ülkelerinden gelen çocuklara ülkelerinin kalkınmışlık durumlarını öğrenilebilmek için aşağıdaki altı soruyu sorduk.

1. Çekirdek aileniz kaç kişiden oluşmaktadır?
2. Aileniz ve ülkenizdeki insanlar genelde ne işle uğraşarak geçimlerini sağlıyorlar?
3. Ülkenizdeki eğitim durumu nedir?
4. Ülkenizdeki sağlık hizmetleri ne durumdadır?
5. Ülkenizde insanların gelir düzeyi genelde nasıldır?
6. Ülkeniz ekonomisine katkı sağlayan kaynaklar nelerdir?

**DEVELOPMENTAL SITUATION IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES**

Children from all over the world arrived in our country for the 23 April celebrations. In order to learn about the developmental conditions in their countries, we asked them six questions, which follow:

1. How many members does a nuclear family have?
2. In general, how does your family and people in your country make a living?
3. What is the situation with education in your country?
4. What is the situation with healthcare in your country?
5. In general, what is the level of income in your country?
6. What are the resources that contribute to your country's economy?

Social Studies, 6, Geography, 2005, p. 62

### **Exhibit 7.3 Graphic display of the TRNC's borders next to the reference 'our country'**

As visible in the above examples (Exhibits 7.1 – 7.3), the students are positioned by the programme of studies in relation to the TRNC, or to specific locations in Northern Cyprus, as to 'their country'.

Alongside its own, locally-produced books, which clearly relate the students in TRNC schools to Northern Cyprus, there is a set of textbooks imported from Turkey.

#### **7.2.2 Turkey-produced textbooks**

TRNC's national school curriculum retained in its new programme of studies three subjects which are directly transferred from the curriculum of Turkey.

The course in the Turkish Language is one of these subjects. The language of learning in the TRNC is the standard literary norm of the Turkish language. The students in TRNC schools master grammar, written conventions and other language skills of this norm. There is no separate course in Literature in the programme of studies, but the textbooks on the Turkish Language include reading sections. As a matter of fact, grammar and other language points are organized around various themes, with the thematic reading at the core. An instance of the thematic distribution of a course in the Turkish Language is included in Table 7.2 below:

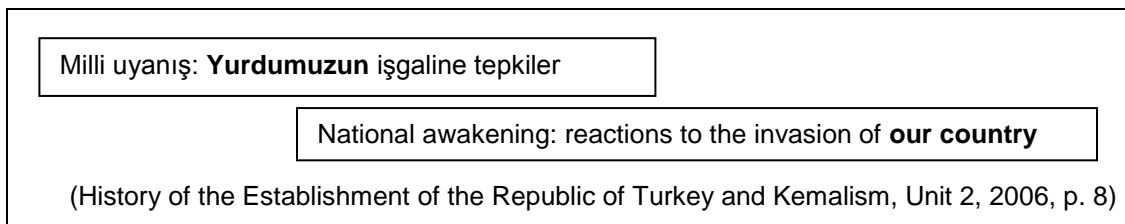
Study Skills	Theme	Theme Topics	Period of studies
Reading-Writing-Speaking-Grammar	1. Communication	- Communication skills - Lack of communication - International communication/Long-distance communication - Different means of communication used by living beings	4 weeks
Reading-Writing-Speaking-Grammar	2. Kemalism	- Atatürk's ideas on life - Atatürk's love of arts and people - Atatürk's attention to national culture - Atatürk's attention to theatre - Atatürk's attention to language	5 weeks
Reading-Writing-Speaking-Grammar	3. Concepts and associations of ideas	- Riddles - Dreams, imagination - Aesthetics - Antagonism	4 weeks
Reading-Writing-Speaking-Grammar	4. National Culture	- Games-Sports - Cultural heritage - Outstanding personalities of Turkish culture - Turkish music	5 weeks
Reading-Writing-Speaking-Grammar	5. Nature and Universe	- Environmental protection - Sea love - Snow on earth and in the air - Living beings	3 weeks
Reading-Writing-Speaking-Grammar	6. Society	- Neighbourhood - Cooperation - Mutual support - Hospitality	2 weeks

**Table 7.2 The Turkish Language curriculum for the 7th grade followed in TRNC schools (MOEC 2007)**

As shown in that thematic distribution (Table 7.2), five weeks of language instruction (5 hours per week) are dedicated to the topics relating to Kemalism, and five weeks – to the national culture of Turkey. Thus, in addition to polishing language skills, the students also gain knowledge on Turkish cultural heritage, presented as 'National Culture' (Table 7.3, Unit 4),

and have a chance to review landmarks of Atatürk's life and his achievements in various areas of life (e.g. art, music and women's rights).

Similar to the programme of studies in the Turkish Language, the curriculum and the textbook of the course in History of the Establishment of the Republic of Turkey and Kemalism (*Atatürkçülük*), taught in the eighth grade, are transferred from the Turkey's educational curriculum and are 'exactly followed' (*Birsen 01*). The references to 'our country' in the textbook on *Atatürkçülük* imply the Republic of Turkey, even when this is not stated explicitly. Most such references relate to the theme of the Turkish War of Independence and the establishment of the Republic of Turkey. The Exhibit 7.4 below provides an example of this.



#### **Exhibit 7.4 An instance of the references to 'our country' in the Turkey-produced textbooks**

Example in the Exhibit 7.4 is typical of the course in *Atatürkçülük*. This subject provides minute detail of 'our country' being in danger, the birth of 'our country', achievements of 'our country' and the duty to always protect and defend 'our country' from internal and external enemies. 'Our country' implies the Republic of Turkey.

According to Birsen, a MOEC official, there is nothing unusual in the practice of using textbooks of Turkey in the TRNC schools:

*Of course we need to teach in Cyprus schools about Cyprus geography and Cyprus history but- what happened in Turkey- they know better. We have to teach the history of establishment of Turkey and about Atatürk's reforms- this is in the policy- it is our own Cyprus policy- not Turkey- We teach in our schools what Atatürk's reforms- it's not possible without teaching about Turkey- and the books are already written in Turkey- why change them- it does not cost us much and the content of the subject- no need to change- ... Turkish*

*language, Atatürkçuluk, Morals and Religion- these are subjects which we don't need to make our own Cyprus subjects- we stick to Turkey's programme in these subjects- we will not create anything different or better in these subjects (01)*

A Social Studies teacher, Ersoy, has his own approach to teaching *Atatürkçülük* based on the Turkey-produced textbooks and curriculum, as well as to the references 'our country':

*...students have to know facts. When exams come, they need to know when it happened, how you call it- know some dates- show that, know facts- They are checked on information. We just teach facts. The programme says you teach this and we teach it. If the programme says teach something else, we teach something else. Know facts – get good grade- as simple as that- We don't focus on 'we', 'them', 'not we' – we focus on knowledge- and the time for the lessons is short. We need to cover a lot of material in a short time (19)*

Merve, also a Social Studies teacher, has a different view on the matter. She reports avoiding information which she finds not appropriate to the context of TRNC's schooling:

*I am a Cypriot. I find it ridiculous that we ask kids recite the text 'we must go defend our motherland Turkey'. I remember I had to learn it myself when I went- was at school. We just omit a few things from the programme. You have to get around the text. You cannot yourself repeat everything in the text. I explain history, how the Republic of Turkey was established, what was the role of Atatürk in modernizing Turkey. I also tell them how Turkish Cypriots changed their view of their living and adopted Atatürk's vision- but no- I don't insist on reciting: 'our duty is to go defend our motherland Turkey', no- I tell them this is an example what human will can do- Your country is Northern Cyprus- take the best from your learning and find your own place in the world. Love your own country and home, Cyprus- I think many kids think this way- They understand what is their country and what is not really their country- whatever you can write in a book. Yes, I avoid unnecessary things in my teaching. You have to learn to ignore some things (18)*

The third subject in the programme of studies, which is directly transferred from the Turkey's curriculum is *Religious Culture and Moral Principles* (6, 7, 8 grades). True to the Kemalist principle of secularism, 'religious culture' included in the programme of studies only provides general information about world religions. Among topics included in the programme of the course, there

are not only sections covering basic beliefs of Hindu, Buddhism, Christianity, Judaism, Islam but also such themes as Friendship, Courage, Diligence, personal Hygiene, Honesty, Politeness (Curriculum of Religious Culture and Moral Principles, MOEC, 2006). The course programme also includes explanations of major concepts of Islam, which relate to cultural or traditional norms of behaviour in modern Turkish society.

Ersoy, Social Studies teacher, who also teaches Religious Culture and Moral Principles, confirms that the course is more like a course in Civics and aims at teaching students general norms of acceptable behaviour in society:

*You will not find a person in Cyprus here who go to Mosque... Maybe foreigner would do but not people in Cyprus- We are not religious and a few words we explain in this class- because they are part of language. When I try to explain what Namaz is, it does not have much meaning to children- good to know the word- if you read Turkish literature or just history- it is good to understand these words. But mainly, the course covers good norms of behaviour. We had Zekat- Muslim tradition- it is charity- when rich people give money to poor people- this is positive- But then we also talk about friendship, relationship with people, love to your country, duties of people, value of knowledge- everything- how important it is to help people- So we stress morals- good behaviour-... (19)*

Among the topics included in the programme of the course, there are 'Respect toward Turkish Holidays and to the March of Independence' and 'Respect Toward Outstanding Personalities of Turkey' (Curriculum of Religious Culture and Moral Principles, MOEC, 2006). The topics make explicit references to Turkey. To my query on the relevance of these topics to the students at school, Ersoy said that, of course, they are in the programme because the programme was made in Turkey. Ersoy explained that the time to cover all the topics was very limited (1 hour per week), but, it was important to teach students 'respect to these things' (19). Ersoy noted that Turkey did a lot for the Turkish Cypriot community and was supporting the TRNC, so it was only right to include Turkey in the school programme in the TRNC.

In group interviews with students, no children expressed particular interest in religion. According to school Principal's record of children's individual study plans, very few students selected Religious Culture and Morals as an elective course. In my conversation with the Principal on the matter, he stated that it was just used to make necessary hours and that they 'did not push children' (07) to elect the course.

One hour of Religious Culture and Morals was, nevertheless, included in the list of compulsory subjects (Appendix 13 A and B). A teacher, who was teaching the course, as a compulsory subject (a History teacher, Merve), explained why the course was not top priority in children's studies:

*what will you do with it? What we teach is just enough to understand our- After that, how will they use it? Young people today need computer. They need languages. They go to the world and have to know what the rest of young people are good at- technology and English- and just good education (18)*

To my query whether the content of the course was part of the assessment, Merve said:

*Atatürkçuluk- yes and core curriculum – Mathematics, Turkish, English- and this is all. We make exams in practical knowledge- well and Atatürkçuluk- this one is requirement of the Ministry. Ministry send the list of subjects for exams (18)*

In my discussion of the textbook and the programme of *Atatürkçülük* course with the eight-graders, the students stated that they thought it was 'good to learn about Turkey' (36). When asked explicitly which country the reference 'our country' meant in *Atatürkçülük* textbook, one eight-grader, Meral, said:

*Türkiye! It was when people had war in Turkey. Atatürk was in Turkey. The book writes about Turkey (36)*

I asked the students in the group if they considered themselves as belonging to Turkey as 'their country', and Meral exclaimed:

*Olmaz [No way]- It is different country. Our country is not Turkey. Kuzey Kıbrıs is our country. Turkey is our friend- We have many soldiers from Turkey- And we learn about Turkey- I always go to Turkey for holiday (36)*

Murat (36), another student in the same group, told me that they (i.e. residents of the TRNC) could travel to Turkey any time they wanted. When we discussed the issue of traveling and citizenship, Murat also explained that he could be a citizen of Turkey and get Turkish passport if he wanted to go outside Turkey or Northern Cyprus. But Murat said that they could go to Turkey without any passport, just with a *kimlik* [identity card] of the TRNC.

The ambivalence of the construct 'our country', which could mean the TRNC or Turkey, was, obviously, not seen by teachers or students as causing any confusion. Yet, teachers reported their differing individual approach to rendering references to Turkey, as to 'our country', by 'ignoring' it (18), 'getting around the text' (18), 'focusing on knowledge' and on 'understanding what is meant' (19).

Despite individual choices made by the teachers in regards to presenting material 'imported' from Turkey, the teachers recognized it as an integral part of TRNC's educational curriculum and the fact that they had to teach it. This observation supports the general approach, adopted in this study, to viewing the social process of national identity construction as positioned within the constraints of the structural context of schooling. The general approach to structural prescriptions at school can be summarized in the following words of Ersoy (19), quoted earlier in this section: 'the programme says you teach this and we teach it. If the programme says teach something else, we teach something else'.

The following section look further into the structural constraints of educational context by examining the format of the textbook.

### **7.2.3 Format of the textbooks**

As it was indicated earlier in this chapter, the language of education in the TRNC's state schools is the standard literary norm of the Turkish language. All the textbooks, including the ones produced in the TRNC, contain a



declaration confirming that the texts were written in a language which conforms to the norms of the Turkish Language Institute.

Every textbook in use in TRNC's lower secondary schools (this refers to the books produced both in the TRNC and in Turkey) also contains a standard opening sequence: the national anthem, Atatürk's portrait and Atatürk's *Address to the Youth*. The Exhibit 7.5 below presents this opening sequence. The texts of the anthem and of the *Address* in Turkish, and in their English translations, are included in Appendices 15-16 to this thesis.



Page 1

Page 2

Page 3

**Exhibit 7.5 Textbook opening sequence: National anthem, Atatürk's portrait and Atatürk's *Address to the Youth***

The example in Exhibit 7.5 is taken from the TRNC-produced textbook. Two national flags – one of the Republic of Turkey and one of the TRNC - are displayed above the national anthem on page 1 (Exhibit 7.5). This two-flag-set is the only difference in opening sequence between the TRNC- and Turkey-made textbooks; books published in Turkey display only the flag of Turkey above the text of the national anthem.

The anthem, called *İstiklâl Marşı* (*Independence March*), was officially adopted in Turkey on 12 March 1921 – two and a half years before the establishment of the Republic of Turkey on 29 October 1923. The song was used during the Turkish War of Independence (1919-1923). The text of the

song glorifies the sacrifices made for the sake of the nation (Appendix 15 A and B). Since no official national anthem for the newly established Republic of Cyprus was ever written, the Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot communities have been using national anthems of Turkey and Greece, respectively, since 1960.

The portrait of Atatürk on page 2 of the Exhibit 7.5 is accompanied with Atatürk's saying at the bottom *Yurtta sulh, cihanda sulh* (*Peace at home, peace in the world*). This saying is frequently quoted as the underlying principle of Turkey's foreign policy of promoting peace and is also cited in the opening section of the TRNC's Constitution (1983), when proclaiming TRNC's faithfulness 'to the principles of Atatürk and in particular with the purpose of spreading his principle of "peace in the homeland, peace in the world"' (Preamble to the TRNC Constitution).

The final piece of the ubiquitous 'trinity', Atatürk's famous inspirational speech to the nation's youth, is on page 3 of the Exhibit 7.5. The speech was delivered by Atatürk on 20 October 1927 in Ankara. The speech is presented in the textbook's opening sequence in so-called 'old Turkish', its original version, as it was delivered by Atatürk. Another version in 'new Turkish' exists. However, this other 'new' version does not appear anywhere on the 'trinity' kit exhibited at school, or in the textbooks.

Learning of the anthem and of the *Address to the Youth* (in its 'old Turkish' version), apparently, had taken place before students joined the lower secondary level. A sixth-grader, Doina (27), noted that she had already known the text of the *Address to the Youth* when she was in elementary school. Similarly, several students (Nina, 27; Mustafa, 25; Kazbek, 25) pointed out that they had learned the national anthem at school 'years ago' and also sang it 'each year in Music class' (25).

When I asked children which version ('new Turkish' or 'old Turkish') of the *Address* they had learned in elementary school, the children laughed and told

me that they could tell me ‘their version’. In two different interviews (25 and 27), different groups of students recited ‘their version’ of several ritual speeches. Children said that they changed the words because they liked to get ‘funny meaning’ (25).

To my request to recite the ‘proper’ text of the *Address to the Youth*, all children in the groups I interviewed (25, 28, 31, 33) could read by heart the complete text. None of the children hesitated for a moment during the recitation (25, 28, 31, 33). One of the reasons for such good knowledge of the texts might be that memorization and recitation of the ‘sacred’ texts – the national anthem and the *Address to the Youth* – are built into curriculum of different subjects – Social Studies, Turkish Language, *Atatürkcülük* and Music.

Recitation of the anthem also did not cause any difficulty, however the students could only produce the first two quatrains of the national anthem. Children explained that they learned only two verses at school. The music teacher, Maha (23) confirmed that learning of the first two stanzas of the anthem was required by the curriculum and, likewise, only the first two stanzas were performed at school, as prescribed by the MOEC’s regulations. Maha (23) noted that the anthem learning was built into curriculum of Music lessons in each grade:

*Kids know the words but we have it in the curriculum anyway. Each new level should include learning of the anthem and practice singing it. We sing two verses. They can never sing it right. It is difficult music. We sing it to the chorus of professional singers- this is what we do- We play the recording and children sing with it. But the- of course you have to learn the anthem at school- where else will you learn it? It’s not that parents- well- teach their children to sing the anthem. In that way it is important- we have to teach kids things about their state. What they do outside school is often what they learn at school- where else- (23)*

In my conversations with students, I referred to two ‘unofficial anthems’ of Cyprus. My knowledge of these allegedly popular unofficial anthems derive from literature (Azgın 2000; Killoran 2000) and informal conversations with

Cypriots outside this research setting. One such song is based on a poem by a Turkish-Cypriot poet Neşe Yaşın:

*Yurdunu sevmeliymiş insan  
Öyle diyor hep babam  
Benim yurdum ikiye bölünmüş ortasından  
Hangi yarısını sevmeli insan*

People must love their country...  
So he says, so my father always says.  
My country, from the middle has been split into two.  
Which half must people love?

(Translated by Killoran, In Killoran 2000, p. 139)

None of the students I interviewed showed any recognition of the poem (25, 27, 28, 31, 33). A six-grader, Doina (27), affirmed that the anthem of their country, the TRNC, was *İstiklâl Marşı* (*The March of Independence*). Other students, Kazbek (25) and Tamara (33) also stated very positively that ‘their country’ was *Kuzey Kıbrıs Türk Cumhuriyeti*, ‘the country in the North’ of Cyprus (33) and they ‘loved *that* country’ (33). The eight-grader, Mahmut (33) noted:

*I go to South. Rumlar live there but we can go there. We are not same country. My grandfather had house in Paphos before- People call him Bafli- But now we are here- our country here- My family all in the North- We love it, specially in April- and May- Orange tree have flowers- is too much beautiful here-*

Returning to the subject of the national anthem, Mahmut (33) confirmed that the national anthem they learned at school was *İstiklâl Marşı* (*The March of Independence*); they did not learn any other anthem at school. When I noted that *İstiklâl Marşı* was the national anthem of the Republic of Turkey, Mahmut (33) said that it was also ‘their anthem’: it was the ‘national anthem of Northern Cyprus’, and that ‘all student knew it’.

The second song, which I offered as ‘unofficial anthem of the Turkish Cypriot community’ was the *Marching Song of the Turkish Mujahidin*<sup>21</sup>. The students

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<sup>21</sup> Mujahid (*turkish* Mücahit) – is a fighter of the Turkish Cypriot resistance in the 1950-1970s in Cyprus. The first two stanza of the poem, in its English translation, follow:

rejected the song as the anthem. The children recognized the song, and one student (Tarkan, 31) could even recite the first four lines. The students knew that it was the song of the Turkish Cypriot resistance long time ago. They read the poem – it was in their textbooks - and, sometimes, the song would be played when they had ‘week of martyrs’ (Doina, 27) at school, but, no, this was by no means their anthem. Again, students confirmed that the national anthem they learned at school was *İstiklâl Marşı* and that this was the only anthem of their country.

As shown in the data above, the anthem, which was learned and performed at school, was recognized by students as the only official national anthem of the country. The students did not express any interest in searching for an alternative, nor questioned the appropriateness of the Turkey’s national anthem used as the national anthem of the TRNC.

In my conversation with a textbook writer, Ayşen, I noted that it seemed unnecessary to place the familiar texts of the anthem and the *Address* in every textbook, as students knew them anyway. Ayşen responded as follows:

*Every school textbook has it- The Ministry of Education- The way you look at it [for thirty years] they have been so- old mentality, ideology, Turkish nationalism... You cannot remove mental blockage there of 70 years- it is there. As a Republican Historian I am able to explain it- it is different type of modernization, it is different type of Westernization- ...This is the format. Format of the Ministry of Education- Shall we make a big change- No way- No way... (05)*

Similarly, Ersoy, a History teacher, in our discussion of the content of the new textbooks on *Cyprus History* noted the following:

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A spark is glowing  
Inside the mujahidin.  
It is the fire of Turkishhood  
Which is unprecedented.

Cyprus cannot be rendered Greek  
Turkish mujahidin cannot stand easy  
Either Turkish Cyprus exists  
Or mujahidin dies.

*I could not imagine such book possible a few years ago. The content is very different. The format does not change (laughs)... There is taboo... Especially after Turkish coup-d'etat - 1980 - Islamic element... Now, they made film about Atatürk- and it continues like that- Film- big discussion is going around because it touched on taboo and nobody can touch taboo. We will not do it in Cyprus. We protect our secularism, our way of life. What you see in every book, cannot be touched. But you can change what is inside... (19)*

Both Ayşen (05) and Ersoy (19), above, noted that certain things 'cannot be touched' (19), despite seemingly drastic transformations in the Northern Cyprus society and education itself. The format of the Ministry of Education seems to be fixed, and not at all challenged, and this reiterates the issues raised previously. The discussion of the general review of the programme indicated that the introduced changes in educational system were modified at school in order to fit in the *existing* structural setting, not the other way around. The examination of the format of the textbooks in this section also revealed that the programme of schooling is located within well-established structure of the state. Whether it is 'taboo' that 'nobody can touch' (Ersoy, 19), or 'mental blockage there of 70 years' (Ayşen, 05), it looks like the entire programme of studies in the TRNC is placed within a picture frame. *İstiklal Marşı*, Atatürk's portrait and his *Address to the Youth* are indelible fragments of the frame, which serve as constant reminders of some fixed structure.

What kinds of images of the nationhood can be found within the frame, will be examined next. The following section will specifically address how students are positioned in relation to states and nations through historical and geographical mapping in the programme of studies.

### **7.3 Historical and geographical mapping**

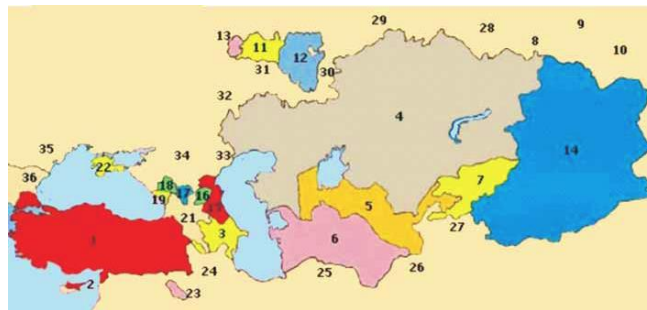
Commonly accepted as crucial components in the process of 'invention' of nations and national identities (Anderson 1983; Barrett 2007; Billig 1995; Giddens 1985; Hobsbawm & Ranger 1983; Keating 2001), historical and geographical mapping of states and nations are relevant to this investigation of the process of national identity construction. In the context of this research,

the content of the course in Social Studies (History and Geography) is seen as particularly revealing of what ‘cultural shreds and patches’ (Gellner 2006 [1983], p. 55), transmitted through education, form the basis of a shared culture that becomes a foundation of the national unity.

Historical mapping of the Turkish Cypriot society is presented in the programme of studies by the two sets of histories: *General History* and *Cyprus History*. Each set will be examined for its individual contribution to the ‘cultural shreds and patches’ (Gellner 2006 [1983], p. 55) of the nationhood.

### 7.3.1 General History

General History, which is a part of the Social Studies course (grades 6 and 7), covers the period starting with ancient civilizations and ends with the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire in 1922 (the year, when the Sultanate was abolished). Overall, the course in General History is a course in Turkish history. Teaching this history as part of basic education in Turkish Cypriot schools is justified, as the programme of General History places the TRNC in the family of Turkic states. The Exhibit 7.6 below maps all the members of that extended family.



1. Turkey 2. TRNC 3. Azerbaijan 4. Kazakhstan 5. Uzbekistan 6. Turkmenistan 7. Kirgizstan 8. Altaj Ozerk Republic 9. Hakas ozerk Republic 10. Tannu-Tuva Ozerk Republic 11. Tatarstan 12. Bashkurdistan 13. Chuvashistan 14. Near Turkistan 15. Dagistan 16. Chechen-Ingush 17. Kabardin-Balkar ozerk Republic 18. Karachaj-Cherkes Ozerk Republic 19. Abkhazya Ozerk Republic 20. Adjar Turks 21. AhiskaTurks (Meshkheti Turks) 22. Crimea Turks 23. Kerkuk Turks 24. Azeri Turks 25. Horasan Turks 26. Afganistan Turks 27. Tadjikistan Uzbek 28. Near Siberia Turks 29. Tobol Turks 30. Tatar Turks 31. Bashkurd Turks 32. Misher Turks 33. Nogaylar Turks 34. Stavropol Turkmen 35. Gagavuz Turk Ozerk Republic 36. Balkan Turks

(Social Studies, 6, 2005, p. 66)

### Exhibit 7.6 Map of the modern Turkic states

The programme of General History traces historical and cultural roots of the living community in the TRNC to Turkic tribes, who had their origin in Central Asia. Even though traces of Turkic people can be found as far as the Stone Age, they truly entered the stage of history in the Middle Ages, when they started migrating from Central Asia in the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD to other locations. Turkic tribes who moved west, came to Anatolia, Mesopotamia, Palestine and Egypt. Those who moved south, went to China and India. Those who moved north, went to Siberia. This explains why Turkic people live in many different locations at present.

According to the textbook (Social Studies, 6, History, 2005), migration of the Turkic tribes caused tremendous changes in Europe and Asia: it stimulated the Great Migration of Peoples and contributed to the collapse of the Roman Empire. Following the collapse of the Roman Empire, the power vacuum on the former territories of the Western Roman Empire laid the ground for the feudal system. The Age of Antiquity ended and the Middle Ages began.

Following the Great Migration, the vast Hunnic Empire was established in Europe and Asia under Attila the Hun, which broke up into several states after Attila's death (died in 453). Several states which were founded by the Turkic people on European territories included Bulgarian, Magyar, Avar, Oghuz, Kuman, and Peçenek States. Thus, the Turkic people mixed with the Europeans and made the foundation of European nations.

Once Turkic tribes, which used to be nomads, settled, they set up cities and developed agriculture, they had their own writing system, they had paper and primitive printing facilities, they could write books and developed education. Women wove beautiful carpets. Artists painted miniatures. Musicians and poets sang their songs and legends to the music of *kopuz* (string instrument similar to lute). Women were treated with respect and could occupy leading positions in government and other areas of life. The programme of General History presents the Turks as fearless warriors but also as the enlightened



nation, the nation capable of creating beautiful art, and as a just society built on solid legal foundations.

The students learn at school that the earliest written document created by Turkic people, *Orkhon*<sup>22</sup>, dates back to the early 8<sup>th</sup> century AD and tells who Turkic people were and how they lived.

During the history lesson (L2, Sara), when the teacher tells the students what people can learn about Turks from *Orkhon* document, one student volunteers his own version of the origin of Turks:

**Field notes: 25 November 2008.** Student-Teacher exchange at the history lesson:

*Student: Turks come from a wolf. Grey wolf is a mother of all Turkish people.*

*Teacher: Yes, according to some legend<sup>23</sup>, a wolf showed some Turkic tribe the way out of a valley where people were trapped. We read our legends but we base our knowledge on scientific evidence, not on legends. How can we come from a wolf? What a thing to say! Certain people, nationalists, believe we owe our destiny to a wolf and these nationalists use the wolf as their symbol. You know- a wolf looks like a dog. People who don't like nationalists, call them 'köpekci' [dogs]. That makes nationalists very angry. Dog is an insult in traditional Turkish culture. You cannot make a worse insult than to call somebody a dog... Turks do not come from a wolf. Turkic people have rich culture and long history. Turkic people have moved around the world and have mixed with many different peoples. I would never think any of you is related to a wolf.*

Following teacher's explanation, one student recites a popular saying of Atatürk (sounds facetious): *Ne Mutlu Türküm Diyene* [How proud the one

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<sup>22</sup> Orkhon - The earliest written documents of Turkic origin were found in Orkhon river valley in Mongolia in the 19<sup>th</sup> century; this is why the writing system used in these documents is called *Orkhon*. Orkhon was the Old Turkic script which was used by Göktürk and other early Turkic Khanates from at least the 7<sup>th</sup> century to record the Old Turkic languages.

<sup>23</sup> The old Turkish fable of a wolf who led the Turkic people out of entrapment is mentioned in the General History textbook (Social Studies, 6, History, 2005, p. 56). The fable refers to the time of *Göktürk* State – a political entity, where the word *türk* [Turk] appears for the first time in known historical records.

who could say 'I am a Turk' – a saying of Atatürk inscribed on various structures, monuments and billboards displayed in public places in the TRNC and Turkey].

The teacher responds to the student's comment:

*...Yes, you know what it means- when Atatürk said it, it meant we had no difference among people in Turkey, everyone could be called Turk- not show differences- it was wise- nothing wrong with being called Turk. Turks had a writing system long before many known European nations. Uygur and Göktürk people had their own alphabet in pre-Islamic times. Turkic art greatly influenced later Islamic art. What you can see now in museums as great Islamic art was, in fact, Turkic art that existed before Islam came into being. Turkish military strategy which was developed centuries ago is used by modern armies. Turkish epics are celebrated by UNESCO and are older than many literary masterpieces created elsewhere in Europe.*

Somebody else in the class shouts: *Ne Multu Kıbrıslı Diyene* [How proud the one who says 'I am a Cypriot'] and the students laugh.

The teacher explained to the students that influence of Turkish, and broader Turkic, culture is evident in Cyprus but it was also true that there were a lot of different influences in Cyprus and this is why people who live in the TRNC are called Turkish Cypriots and not simply Turks.

Later, in an interview with this teacher, Sara (22), I referred to the incident of a student changing 'Türküm' to 'Kıbrıslı' and asked if this was common for students to change wording in 'sacred' Atatürk's sayings. The teacher said:

*It is fine that students question what the system forces on them. I am a historian and I know how many times history changed. I also understand that you can't make young people be serious about everything they learn. They are good students. They like playing...*

Sara, then, suggested:

*I will show to you an example from the history textbook- to show what the books teaches- If you read the text, it looks like the Turks changed the course of history twice...*

*[the teacher leafs through the pages of history book looking for examples of the text]*

*Hmm...Turks changed the world two times. This is not stated directly in the text but if you look at what was happening in history, you might think that Turks are responsible for great changes in the world. Migration of people, migration of the tribes- they are all from Central Asia- Hunnes, Atilla- they are Turkic tribes- This migration marks the beginning of the Middle Ages. And then the doings of Turks end Middle Ages and mark the beginning of a new period, Modern Ages, when Turks conquer Constantinople. Here in the text, it is called the Conquest of Istanbul. The history we teach to children tells us that Turks pushed a lot of things, showed Europeans 'how to use the wheel', created European civilization...*

*Do you think it is a coincidence? A few things were made convenient. We know how history was written to create an image of a great nation of Turks. And we continue teaching this history to children. If they question this, it is fine. This is what I want them to do (22)*

In the above excerpt (22), the teacher overtly expressed the view that history was 'invented' (Anderson 1983), or, in any case, was purposefully 'written to create an image of a great nation of Turks' (Sara, 22).

There is certainly an effort to create an image of a special kind of Turkish character in the course of General History, and this is done by tracing the worth of the Turkish nation and its contribution to humanity. The narrative in the textbooks of General History makes references to 'real' sources to support the image: Chinese, Persian, Russian, Arab, Byzantine and Turkic. Back in time, for example, 'known' Chinese records described Turks as brave, fierce fighters (Social Studies, 6, History, 2005, p. 50). The 'world famous' military strategy of the Huns (first Turkic state), known as *Turan* or *Hilal*, has been used by the other armies, even in modern-time wars (Social Studies, 6, History, 2005, p. 61). It is also noted in the course of General History that there were many chances when Turks could conquer China (the Turkic and Chinese states were fighting for control over the Silk Road – the most important trade route between Europe and Asia), but they refused to do so. Chinese were Buddhists, and Turks did not want to mix with them and lose their warrior spirit. All through the centuries of the Ottoman conquests, the Turks proved to be brave warriors. When the Ottoman Empire crumbled in the beginning of the twentieth century, and when time came to defend their

lands from foreign invaders, following the World War I, Turks showed their worth in battle again.

The image of a brave warrior, developed throughout the narrative of the course in General History, is reflected in the text of *İstiklal Marşı/March of Independence*, which glorifies the bravery and sacrifice of fearless fighters for their nation (complete English text of the anthem is in Appendix 16 B). There are references to ‘fiery blood’ in the anthem. Similarly, in his *Address to the Youth*, Atatürk, calling young generations of Turkey to defend Turkish independence and the Republic, states the following: ‘the strength you need is in the noble blood within your veins’ (Appendix 15 B).

In an interview with a group of seven-graders (32), when discussing reference to the ‘noble blood’ in *Address to the Youth*, Aslan notes:

*I am lazy- tembel [Turkish word meaning ‘lazy’]- I have lazy character-*

And Tarkan adds:

*People in Cyprus are lazy. They are nice people. People in Cyprus like to drink coffee- they sit all day in coffee house and drink coffee- I guess they can be brave- but they don’t think about fighting...They drive like mad- Traffic bad in Cyprus- but then people are- friendly and little lazy- and always say ‘tamam’ [‘Okay’]- everything- ‘tamam, tamam’... (32)*

It also emerged in several conversations with students that they did not see themselves in any way similar to legendary warriors, described in their course of General History, and often detached themselves from distant historical events, as not very relevant to their daily living. Students more likely associated themselves with Cyprus, Cypriot way of living, friendliness of people in Northern Cyprus, daily events in Northern Cyprus. Very typical attitude to history, and their positioning in relation to history on the one hand, and to their immediate setting in Cyprus on the other hand, was expressed by two girls in a group interview with eight-graders. One girl, Sema, said the following during our discussion of history:

*Teacher, it's hard for us to discuss history- we didn't live there- Our teacher told us we had war in our country- ... we don't think about history- (35)*

Şefika, a student from the same group, in our discussion of heroic deeds of the Turkish fighters depicted in General History noted:

*We like heroes- we also go to cemeteries, to martyrs, with school- but not always- we only sometimes do that- but we like fun too much- I think we are like all people in Cyprus- we like neighbours- when neighbours have problem, they just come to you- your house- they can come late to your house and you let them in- you can also go to your neighbours when you need something- neighbours know everything about you- yes, also people like gossip in Cyprus- everybody knows about you- (35)*

My attempts to discuss matters of religion, mainly with reference to the content of General History, also did not generate a lot of interest among students. The students knew few basic facts about Islam, and that knowledge was well within the limits of the school programme. None of the students claimed to be Muslim. However they knew about *Hijri* calendar and could tell me about *Bayrams*, traditional religious holidays which were still celebrated in Cyprus.

The origins and spread of Islam, its influence on the Ottoman culture, and consequently Cyprus, are covered in the course of General History. References to existing sites in Cyprus are made occasionally in the text; these references are meant 'for the curious'. Brief references to *Bayram* holidays in the textbook are examples of such points (Exhibit 7.7):

## Ramazan Bayram

*Meraklısı için...*

Ramazan Bayramı Hicret'in ikinci yılından itibaren kutlanmaya başlanmıştır. Ramazan ayı boyunca tutulan orucun ardından sonar gelen bu dini bayram üç gündür. Zekat ve fitre bu ayda verilir.

*For the curious...*

Muslims started celebrating Ramazan Bayram (Eid al-Fitr) in the second year of the Hijra Calendar. After the month of fasting (the month of Ramazan) is over, there are three days of celebrations. During the month of Ramazan people share their fortune with those in need.

## Kurban Bayram

*Meraklısı için...*

Kurban Bayramı ise, Ramazan Bayramından iki ay on gün sonar kutlanan dört günlük bir bayramdır. Hac ibadetinin bir parçası olarak kutlanan bu bayramda kurban kesilir.

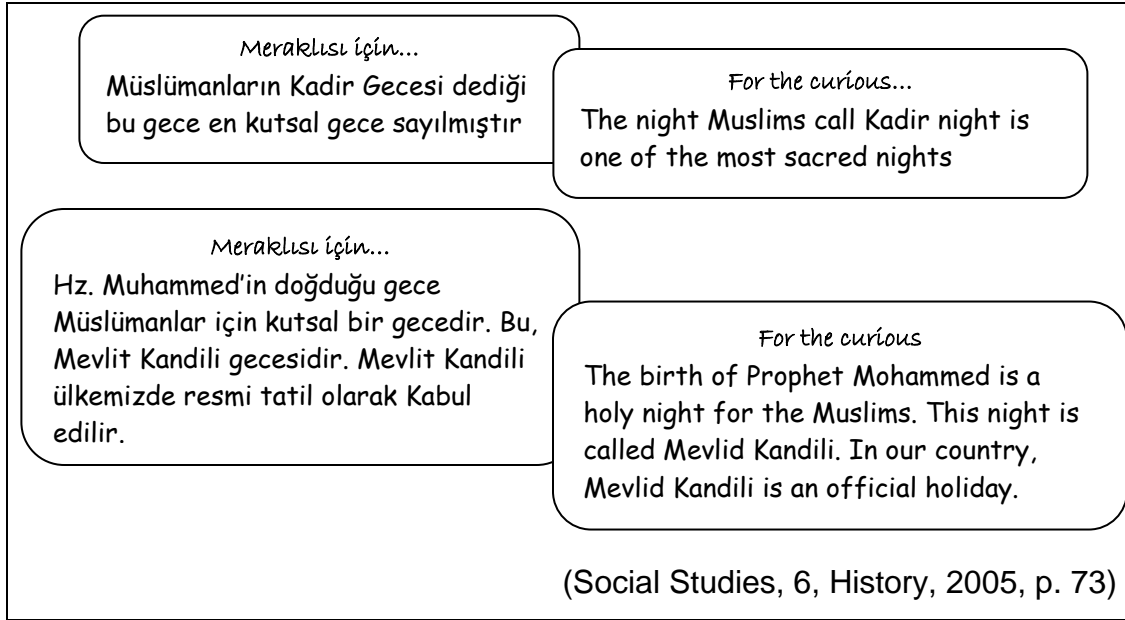
*For the curious...*

Feast of the Sacrifice is celebrated two months and ten days after Ramazan Bayram, and it lasts four days. This festival is celebrated as a part of Hajj sacrificing.

(Social Science, 6, History, 2005, p. 71)

### Exhibit 7.7 References to *Bayram*

At a history lesson I observed (L6), which covered the history of the emergence of Islam and links of the Islamic heritage to traditions currently observed in Northern Cyprus, references to *Bayrams* – two four-day holidays in Northern Cyprus were mentioned. Two other points 'for the curious' in the textbook, referring to religious holidays, were omitted. Exhibit 7.8 contains these 'omitted' points:



### Exhibit 7.8 References to religious holidays

In my interviews with students, I asked them what these events related to. Nobody in the group (26) could tell me what *Kadir Gecesi* (*The Night of Kadir*) was. The boys in the group knew that *Mevlid Kandili* was a day off in their country, but they were not sure why. I paid children's attention to the caption in the textbook which explicitly stated that *Mevlid Kandili* was the birth of Prophet Muhammed. The children said they did not read it and their teacher did not tell them to read that page at home.

I could not verify whether students did not know the explanation of the terms I asked about, or were hiding their knowledge of religion-related information, as I found to be frequently the case among Turkish Cypriot adult population. No Cypriot outside school could tell me why 9 March<sup>24</sup> was a national holiday. Similarly, the subject Religious Culture and Moral Principles, which is included in the curriculum of the lower secondary level, was not mentioned by teachers or students without my prompting. To all my queries relating to the course Religious Culture and Morals, I was assured that it had nothing to

<sup>24</sup> The 9<sup>th</sup> of March 2009 was marked as a national holiday in the school calendar; schools and all other public locations, were closed. The occasion for the holiday was *Mevlid Kandili* – the birth of Prophet Mohammed

do with religious beliefs; it just covered the history of Islam and its influences on the culture (art and literature) of Islamic states.

When I asked one of the English teachers, who was teaching History in English as part of the Turkish-English programme, what *Kadir* night meant, the teacher said:

*I don't know. I am sorry but I don't know what it means. You see I am not very religious. My mum gets upset that I don't know anything about religion- she is not really religious herself but- maybe I should know about these things... I am sorry I have to google to find out what it means... Oh- [reads Turkish site of vikipedi on the subject] it means the beginning of the night when the God started sending his revelations to Mohammed... (Berna, 13)*

The time allocated to teaching General History in 6 and 7 grades is taken by the course History of the Establishment of the Republic of Turkey and Kemalism in the eighth grade. The course picks up at the time, when the General History stops at the events leading to the abolition of the Sultanate in 1922, Turkish War of Independence (1919-1923) and the following establishment of the Republic of Turkey in 1923. In terms of the content, there is certain degree of continuity between the two courses, as General History was, in fact, the history of Turkey, and *Atatürkçülük* is a continuation of it. After sketching the pre-history of the Turkish nation through the course of General History in the sixth and seventh grades, the process of the emergence of the modern Turkish nation is followed in the eighth grade. The new nation of Turks, forged in battles of the War of Independence, and through conscious efforts of Atatürk and his followers, reflects Atatürk's vision for a progressive, secular, enlightened and democratic society which is based on solid legal foundations and promotes peace at home and the world.

Familiar pattern of a set – TRNC's alignment with Turkey - emerged again. General History, which meant to show the roots of the Turkish Cypriot community, through specific historical references to the sights in Cyprus, made smooth transition to the history of the Republic of Turkey. In this way, the entire General History course has merged the history of Turkey with the



history of Turkish Cypriots, as coming from the same roots – the Turkic tribes who wandered from Central Asia.

### **7.3.2 Cyprus History**

A course in Cyprus History is taught in parallel with General History. Cyprus History focuses largely on political history of Cyprus: from tracing the presence on the island of various civilizations and ruling powers, this history leads to the emergence of the TRNC, and to its current position in the world of states and nations. The first volume of Cyprus History (6 grade) starts with physical description of the island (its geological composition, climate, vegetation, etc.), and then shows the strategical importance of Cyprus in the Mediterranean to many powers who ruled Cyprus throughout centuries, up until the fall of the Venetian rule in Cyprus in 1571. The programme for the seventh grade is more or less evenly divided into the coverage of the Ottoman rule in Cyprus (1571-1870) and the British administration of the island in 1870-1931<sup>25</sup>. The final volume (8 grade) is dedicated to the most recent history of the island, which starts with the World War II, then leads to the establishment of the Republic of Cyprus in 1960, disintegration of the Republic in 1963, the following decades of negotiations on the conflict settlement between the two communities, the Greek coup, the Turkish Peace Operation of 1974, the establishment of a sovereign state of Turkish Cypriots, the TRNC, in 1983 and the outcome of the April 2004 Referendum.

The course in Cyprus History presents the island as a truly cosmopolitan location, where one can find traces of the Assyrians (2000 BC – 700 BC), Egyptians (3000 BC – 333 BC), the Hittites (Bronze Age people of Anatolia), the Phoenicians (1200 BC – 900 BC), the Dorians (1200 BC) and the Persians (started ruling Cyprus in 525 BC). When Alexander the Great of Macedonia defeated the Persians, he included Cyprus in his Empire. Later,

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<sup>25</sup> 1931 is a year of a Greek Cypriot revolt against British Colonial administration in Cyprus and the burning of the Governor's house by Greek Cypriots. The year is often treated as a watershed in political history of Cyprus and a turning point in relationship between British Colonial administration and Cypriot population.

Cyprus became a part of the Roman Empire. After the division of the Roman Empire in 395, Cyprus remained subject to the Eastern, or Byzantine, Empire. This is when Christianity was introduced to the island's population. Early Cypriot Christians were called *Rum* – the term which is still used on the island to refer to Greek Cypriots, who are predominantly Christians. There was a break in the direct rule of Cyprus from Constantinople in 688 when Justinian II and the Caliph 'Abd al-Malik signed an unusual treaty to share the island. For almost 300 years (688 AD – 965 AD) Cyprus was a kind of condominium (joint dominion) of the Byzantine Empire and the Caliphate. During the Middle Ages, some European powers established city-states or settlements in Cyprus. English Kings ruled Cyprus for a while and, following the rule of Richard the Lion Heart, the Cyprus was ruled by the Lusignan dynasty (1192-1474) and then, by Venetians.

The students are constantly referred to the existing sites in Cyprus that are linked to various historical developments on the island. The students are asked to locate various historical sites in the area where they live (textbook activities, assigned by teachers).

Some children find their own sites, with which they affiliate. Two six-graders, Doina and Feliz, told me that they knew of a place not far from their school where Aphrodite, the Greek goddess of love, was stationed. Feliz noted that she could be related to Aphrodite, because she was a Cypriot:

*Because I am in Cyprus... I can be relative of Aphrodite- but you don't know- not just Turkish- no- I love my family here- we are all in Cyprus- how we live here- I love the sea- what I find here in Cyprus is this is who I- ...If I go somewhere, I will miss my family and will miss how we live here- and the sea- and Aphrodite came from the sea- I can't live without sea- (27)*

Her friend, Doina, however, said that she was 'for sure, Anatolian' and explained this relationship in the following way:

*Turkish people are Anatolian- my family are Turkish Cypriots- we are from Anatolia- The teacher showed to us how people from Anatolia came to Cyprus- Aphrodite was Greek woman- no, I think we are not from there- and Cyprus was also Anatolian- (27)*

When I asked a different group of students whether they thought they could be related to any of the people who lived in Cyprus throughout history, Asma, a seven-grader, stated that people who lived in Cyprus were just Cypriots.

Asma said:

*Teacher, we are Cypriots. I know I am Cypriot. People from Cyprus like sea and Turkish coffee- we have dolma and we make ceviz macunu- Did you try ceviz macunu? Only people in Cyprus make it- we also have things- you can find it only in Cyprus- I think people in Cyprus are different from others- we dance kozan and testi- you went to wedding in Cyprus? (30)*

When I asked if the dances Asma named were similar to Turkish dances, Asma laughed and said:

*Teacher, Turkish people do not know our dances. And they sing different. We don't like their music. Our dance and music is only here, in Cyprus- we have funny dances too- with glasses- I know I am Cypriot, I do everything like Cypriot- we also have food- and you can't find this food anywhere- do you like olives? Çakistez- this is how we call olives- how we prepare them in Cyprus- çakistez... and then we do kadaif- and gaddar- (30)*

Doina jumped in:

*Helim, helim- we have helim- in Cyprus people make helim (30)*

I asked if I could find helim in the South, and Doina said:

*Haloumi- You went to South!?! All people in Cyprus like helim- Rum call it haloumi- but I think we make it the same, all people who are from Cyprus- but you can't find it in other countries- (30)*

I asked:

*And the dances? Kozan and testi- Do Cypriots in the South have the same kinds of dances? (30)*

Doina replied:

*Yes, they dance with glasses on your head- I don't know- maybe- they show in the books how Turkish Cypriots and Rumlar together in wedding- of course they know the same dances- because they dress the same- yes- do same things- (30)*

The course in Cyprus History clearly focuses on two prominent communities of Cyprus – Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot. Traditionally, the two communities were seen as Christians and Muslims. Turkish Cypriots were

the Muslim community and they still preserve some features of that culture, even though religion is not important any longer. It is also shown in the programme of Cyprus History how the community of Muslim Cypriots became known as Turkish Cypriots, and how the modern outlook on life took the upper hand among the Turks of Cyprus.

According to the historical narrative constructed in Cyprus History, Christians and Moslems lived happily together. Different in religion, the two communities could not be distinguished in any other area of living. The students are positioned by their programme of studies to the community of Greek-Cypriots in the South as to their 'neighbouring society' (Education Policies 2005 p. 8 and p. 15). Cyprus History, in particular, places emphasis on cooperation between the two communities, and on their cultural, social and economic living together. The texts contain examples of Greek- and Turkish-Cypriots participating in joint strikes (Cyprus History, volume 3, 2005, p. 32), serving in British Armed forces during World War II, and enjoying convenience of railway facilities, which permitted transportation across many areas of Cyprus (Cyprus History, volume 3, 2005, pp. 3-10). There are also examples in the texts of common living of the members of the two communities – eating, drinking, dancing together, playing football, and the like (Cyprus History, volume 2, 2005, pp. 32-39). Not only Greek and Turkish Cypriots lived peacefully side by side, they even looked alike. The proof of their similar look is in the textbook. The instances in the Exhibit 7.9 below are typical of how a Greek Cypriot and a Turkish Cypriot are presented in the textbooks on Cyprus History.



### Exhibit 7.9 Images of a Greek Cypriot and a Turkish Cypriot

When asked whether they saw any differences in the way Cypriots looked in different parts of the island, the students said that only 'British people looked different' (35). An eight-grader, Sema (35), who admitted to 'go shopping often' in the South noted that 'young people there looked like Turkish Cypriot young people'. She also noted that communication was not a problem when they went to the South because 'they spoke English in the South':

*when we talk to anyone in Nicosia, we talk in English- in the shops- streets- everywhere- all people there speak good English- no Turkish of course- or no Rumca- we speak English- and at the border- guards speak English to us- everyone- different people in Nicosia from other countries too- (35)*

The focus of the programme of Cyprus History is visibly on Cypriotism, and the commonalities between the two communities sharing the island. An interview with a textbook writer, Gülşen (06), confirmed that this was the intention, as the new books were designed on the eve of the April referendum 2004, when the Turkish Cypriot community had realistic hopes for the re-unification of the island under the Annan Plan. Gülşen (06) even reported an incident, when the Textbook Commission rejected the activity which focused not on bi-communalism in Cyprus, but on its cosmopolitan composition.

Several teachers admitted that they 'went beyond' the content of the textbooks in their lessons and had 'their stories' to tell children (18). A History teacher, Merve, for example, noted the following:

*I try to teach children to appreciate different cultures. Cyprus is a place where you have all cultures imaginable. In the new textbooks on Cyprus History we talk about common living of Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots. We don't mention any other people or any other cultures that we have in Cyprus. I have to say to children that they should look around and see how many different people live in Cyprus and that they all contribute to Cyprus culture. Cyprus absorbed so many different cultures throughout its history and the process is not finished. New people arrive in Cyprus and we learn new things from these people. It all contributes to the rich culture of Cyprus (18)*

It is obvious from the interviews with the students, that teachers inform them of demographic diversity in Cyprus, as several children told me that they learned in their history lessons where other 'Cypriot people' lived (31, 33, 34). An eight-grader, Boyan (34), told me where I could find Maronite people in Northern Cyprus. Boyan said that their teacher even knew some Maronite people from that place, and that she told them stories of these people.

During my interviews with the students, I asked the students how a Maronite Cypriot would describe Cyprus, how a Turkish Cypriot would describe Cyprus, how a Kurbet Cypriot would describe Cyprus, and so on. Students in different groups gave more or less similar answers: family, food, friends, nature (e.g. the sea, mountains). They assumed that 'other' Cypriots would eat 'typical Cypriot food' (36, 37), like their families and friends in Cyprus (32, 35, 36) and would like the sea and gardens of Cyprus (33, 36, 37).

In their 'own' depiction of Cyprus, the students displayed a variety of choices only in relation to specific geographical sites on the island. Some students included only locations in Northern Cyprus (e.g. Beshparmak Mountains, Morphou Bay) and others also included sites which were located on the territory of the southern section of Cyprus (e.g. Troodos mountains).

Overall, children displayed a good knowledge of the geography of the entire island, locations of towns, historical sites, mountain ranges. However, in their

descriptions of 'home', children made choices which indicated their individual positioning in relation to the territory of the entire island, or only to Northern Cyprus, as their 'home'. Yet, the self-positioning of the students as belonging to Northern Cyprus, and the state of the TRNC, was the most salient.

The two histories – General History and Cyprus History – offered different versions of historical affiliations of the Turkish Cypriots: one aligned with the nation of Turks, and another rooted on the island itself. Although students displayed fair knowledge of historical information delivered by both sets of history, students' preference was towards positioning themselves in relation to Cyprus as to their *homeland*, and to the TRNC, as their *state*. Frequently mentioned ties with home, families, nature, customs and food of Cyprus pointed at students' experiences outside schooling as playing part in such positioning. In affiliating themselves with stories, factual information, national groups, historical events, the students showed to draw selectively from the information provided by the programme of studies, and gave preference to the stories which were relevant to their daily existence in Cyprus.

The students showed to be well aware of the fact that there were two states in Cyprus – one in the North and one in the South, and that people had to cross the border, in order to get to the other state.

Apart from referring to people in the south as *Rum*, an official term for Greek Cypriots in the Turkish language, students also referred to the state of Greek-Cypriots in the south as *Rum Yonetimi* or *G.K.R.Y.*<sup>26</sup> The explanation to these two latter terms can be found in self-positioning of the Turkish Cypriot state through its geographical mapping below.


### **7.3.3 Geographical mapping of the Turkish Cypriot community**

A geographical portrayal of the Turkish Cypriot community through the programme of studies is best observed through the examination of the two-

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<sup>26</sup> *G.K.R.Y.* is an initial word for *Güney Kıbrıs Rum Yönetimi/Greek-Cypriot Administration of Southern Cyprus*

year-course in Geography, which is a part of Social Studies (6 and 7 grade). Two textbooks, supplemented with a set of maps, establish distinct boundaries of the TRNC, and also locate it within a larger regional and global framework.

The contour of the TRNC (  ) never appears in isolation on any maps supplied by the programme. Even though the physical boundaries of the TRNC are always clearly demarcated on all maps, the image of the TRNC always comes on a slate of the whole of Cyprus. A standard topographical map, which is presented in the Exhibit 7.10, is typical in this respect. This map can be found in Geography textbooks, in a supplementary map set, and is on display in a Geography classroom.



**Exhibit 7.10 Topographical map of the TRNC as part of the island of Cyprus**

The two countries located on the island of Cyprus are named on the map (Exhibit 7.10) as *Kuzey Kıbrıs Türk Cumhuriyeti* (the northern part of Cyprus) and *Güney Kıbrıs Rum Yönetimi* (the southern part of Cyprus).

*Kuzey Kıbrıs Türk Cumhuriyeti* (K.K.T.C.) is the Turkish name of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC). This is the official name of the country, which is featured on the maps and documents issued elsewhere. Despite the



fact that the UN's call<sup>27</sup> not to recognize the TRNC as a sovereign state is still in force, and many countries comply with the UN's resolution, the TRNC is nevertheless acknowledged as a political entity with such a name.

*Güney Kıbrıs Rum Yönetimi (G.K.R.Y)* means Greek-Cypriot Administration of Southern Cyprus. This is the name which can hardly be found on the maps issued outside the TRNC. The territory demarcated on the map (Exhibit 7.10) as G.K.R.Y is commonly known elsewhere as the Republic of Cyprus.

I asked a seven-grader, Murat, to show me the Republic of Cyprus on the map (the map from Exhibit 7.10), to which Murat said:

*We have no Republic of Cyprus. The Cyprus- the island- all Cyprus was the Republic of Cyprus. In this country here- [points at the southern part of Cyprus] only part of republic because only Rumlar live there. We can get a passport of the Republic of Cyprus if we go there but we don't live there. It is not our state (29)*

To my question whether it was difficult to obtain a passport of the Republic of Cyprus for people from the TRNC, Murat replied:

*I don't think so- I don't know... People say you can get it. People say Rumlar speak good English, like their own- I have to learn good English (29)*

A Geography (Social Studies) teacher, Gülay, to my query why the southern section of Cyprus is called Greek Cypriot Administration of Southern Cyprus on the map, noted:

*They don't recognize us, we don't recognize them [laughs]... Now seriously- this is the correct name of the place. How can we call it the Republic of Cyprus? The Republic of Cyprus includes all Cypriots, the rule of all Cypriots, Turkish Cypriots, Greek Cypriots- The seats in the parliament are empty. The place of the Vice-President of the Republic is empty. What is left of the Republic is a group of Greek-Cypriot administrators who rule Greek Cypriots. This is the correct name of the place. We always refer to that place as Rum Yönetimi [Greek-Cypriot Administration] (17)*

*Greek-Cypriot Administration of Southern Cyprus* indeed is a proper name of the political and administrative unit in the south of Cyprus, as the territory

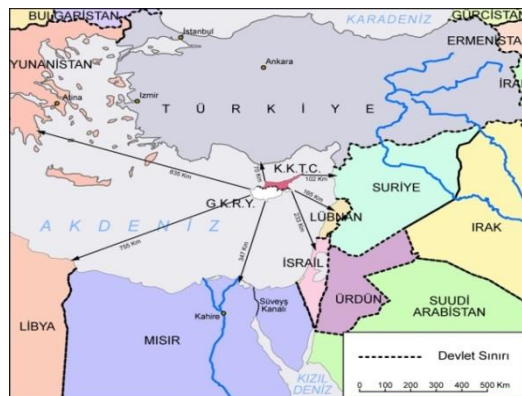
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<sup>27</sup> The UN Security Council resolution 541 (1983) deplored the declaration of the TRNC and called for its withdrawal

only comprises Greek-Cypriots and their communal administration, which is not the Republic of Cyprus *per se*, at least as it was designed upon its establishment in 1960. A History teacher, Ersoy, gives his explanation why the name 'the Republic of Cyprus' does not appear on the maps of Cyprus:

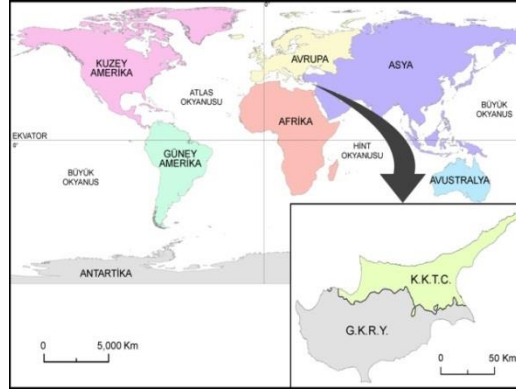
*The maps we use show reality- We don't teach children to hate Greek Cypriots. We even teach Rumca at school. We tell them that the island of Cyprus is home to everybody who lives there. We also teach about the Republic of Cyprus. Children know enough about the Republic of Cyprus and they learn what the Constitution said and how Greek Cypriots tried to change the Constitution. Our children probably know better about the Republic of Cyprus than politicians. Children know that the country in the south is not the Republic of Cyprus- it is only part- what Greek-Cypriots can control- their own administration, administer themselves... (20)*

All other maps of Cyprus invariably show a two-polity island: *K.K.T.C.* and *G.K.R.Y.* The island of Cyprus is taken as a basic reference point for the location of the TRNC within broader regional and global space. Thus, the TRNC's location in relation to its surrounding area, the Mediterranean Sea and the countries in the Mediterranean area, is positioned as the whole of the island of Cyprus, with clear indication of the two polities situated on the island. The Exhibit 7.11 below presents one such map of the Mediterranean region, where Cyprus is located.



**Exhibit 7.11 The TRNC and Cyprus in the Mediterranean region**

Similarly, the map in the Exhibit 7.12 below, which positions the TRNC in relation to the global space, presents the TRNC as a part of a two-polity island, *K.K.T.C.* and *G.K.R.Y.*



**Exhibit 7.12 The island of Cyprus on the world map**

Apart from firmly positioning the TRNC on the map of Cyprus, as on the two-polity island, the general focus of the course in Geography is on the whole of island – its physical characteristics (e.g. climate, distribution of woodlands, the type of terrains and vegetation, types of agricultural activities possible on the island); its demographic composition and distribution of population; names and locations of various types of settlements; and its belonging to the Mediterranean region, as most prominent geographical characteristic.

The inclusion of a unit on the European Union in the Geography programme of the seventh grade (four weeks or 4 one-hour lessons) does not directly indicate any relationship between the TRNC and the EU. The unit deals with the EU in its own right, as a distinct economic region, and does not link Cyprus, or the TRNC specifically, to the EU and its affairs.

A Social Studies teacher, Gülay, offers her perspective on the inclusion of the European Union in the course of studies:

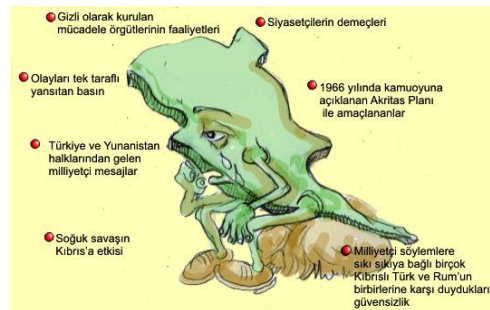
*We have a page here- benefits young people receive because they are in European Union. I guess it's ok to see what people get out of EU. TRNC was not accepted in EU, Turkey is also kept out of EU. No need reminding people- what you can get from EU. I skip this page. They need to know the history of EU, some facts about it- but [ ] here, the activity asks 'write down how, in your opinion, Turkey will*

*benefit from membership in European Union’- we know that EU does not want to accept Turkey- the textbook was written when EU was a real hope for TRNC to leave isolation and be with the rest of the world- and Turkey too- Turkey applied for membership- The text is not up to date. TRNC and Turkey are not anywhere near EU. We don’t focus on how good it could be- us in EU- But some children will go to Europe to study maybe- They need to know facts about European Union- Just learn the facts and in the exam you have to know facts- when it was formed, what currency they use- like this- And it’s useful to have some general knowledge of it- (17)*

The most prominent emphasis of geographical mapping of the TRNC in the programme of studies is on TRNC being a part of the island of Cyprus. The fact that the name *per se*, ‘The Republic of Cyprus’, does not appear on the maps or is not acknowledged by teachers or students as ‘reality’ (Ersoy, 20), is also indicative of continuing conflicting conditions in Cyprus. The paradoxical situation when a student states ‘we have no Republic of Cyprus’ (Murat, 29) and, at the same time, admits the possibility of getting a passport of the Republic of Cyprus, is very revealing of the conflicting reality in Cyprus in general.

### 7.3.4 Cyprus conflict

The presentation of the events which led to the current conflict in Cyprus in the programme of studies is an attempt to look at the situation from many different angles. For example, the textbook in Cyprus History presents the rift between the two communities during the 1960s as a problem of the entire island, not just one community. The drawing in the Exhibit 7.13 is illustrative of this.



**Exhibit 7.13 ‘Cyprus conflict’ (Cyprus History, volume 3, 2005, p. 90)**

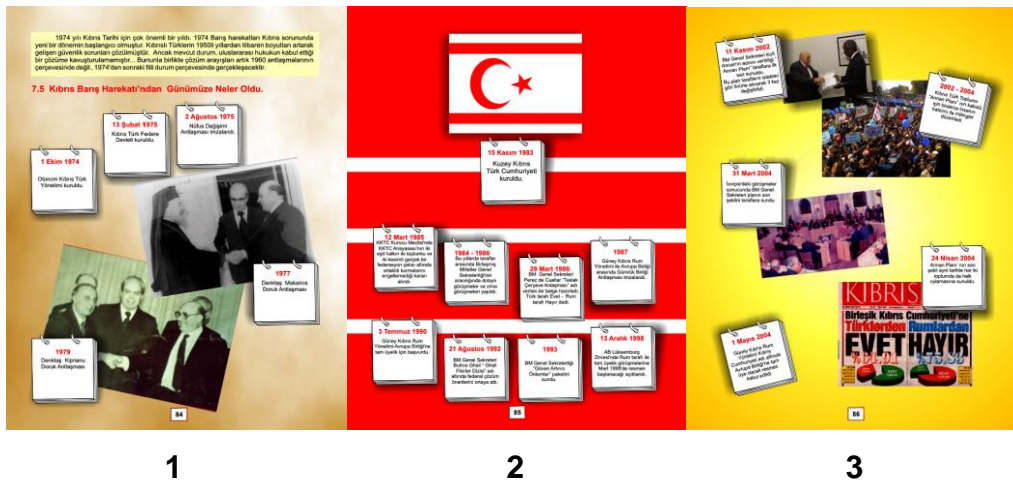
This drawing of a weeping island follows the outlining of the events in the Republic of Cyprus in the beginning of the 1960s, which led to the disintegration of the Republic and to clashes between the two communities. The picture personifying the whole of Cyprus is placed after the question posed in the text: 'So, how did we arrive at this [sad] situation...' (Cyprus History, volume 3, 2005, p. 90). The possible causes are listed next to the image of the island (Exhibit 7.13): the activities of the fighters of the secret organizations; the enticing speeches of politicians; biased presentation of events in the press; the impact of the Cold War on Cyprus; the goals of the Akritas Plan that became public in 1966; the nationalist messages coming from Turkey and Greece; the mistrust that was created by Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots who engaged in nationalist discourses.

The nationalists' views in both communities are presented in negative light in the course of the Cyprus History. This negativity is aimed specifically at nationalist discourses which proved to be divisive between the two communities.

Conversations with students revealed that they did not link themselves or their daily life to conflicting conditions in Cyprus. Seeing themselves as connected to the land with its beauty and the sea, and as belonging to the state of the TRNC, the students did not place any emphasis on being an exclusive group of Cypriots, or in opposition to any other residents of Cyprus, whether in the North or in the South. At the same time, the students did not express the views of themselves as closely tied to their 'neighbouring society' of Greek Cypriots. They made clear distinction between Turkish Cypriots and *Rumlar* in the South. The students showed to be well aware of the existence of the two states on the island, but that was a reflection of the state of affairs in Cyprus, where two political entities have existed for at least thirty-odd years. The students, who were 11-14 years old at the time of the fieldwork, were born into the reality of separate states, one Turkish-Cypriot and one Greek-Cypriot.

The issue of TRNC's political isolation is not explicitly discussed in the programme of studies. To the contrary, the entire unit dedicated to the European Union in Social Studies, 7, Geography and, particularly to the benefits to young people who have access to the EU, is telling of positioning of the students through their programme of studies to the wider international space. An instance of an activity in Exhibit 7.3, which states that 'children from all over the world arrived in our country for the 23 April celebrations' also points at the fact that the status of the TRNC, students' country, is presented as nothing short of regular interactions with the outer world.

The course in Cyprus History ends abruptly at the time of the 2004 April referendum, when the fate of Turkish Cypriot community was decided (i.e. the community of Northern Cyprus was left in political isolation). No specific assessment of the situation is offered at that point. The entire period of territorial division between the two conflicting communities in Cyprus, since 1974, is presented as a series of events on three pages (Exhibit 7.14).



**Exhibit 7.14 Three last pages of the textbook Cyprus History, volume 3, which cover events in Cyprus during 1974-2004**

Amidst the listed events, there is a record of negotiations on the settlement of Cyprus problem (page 1 in Exhibit 7.14). This record in itself is indicative of continuing conflicting situation in Cyprus.

The TRNC is established in the midst of the negotiation efforts on the settlement of the Cyprus Conflict (page 2, Exhibit 7.14). The last, third page in the sequence, Exhibit 7.14, contains the dates of significant landmarks leading toward implementation of the Annan Plan – the plan for the re-unification of the island – which was scheduled for 24 April 2004. The calendar leaf with the date, 24 April 2004, is attached to the image of a newspaper reporting the results of the April 2004 referendum, where Turkish Cypriot voted ‘Yes’ and Greek Cypriots voted ‘No’ to re-unification. The final event in the sequence is the election of Mehmet Ali Talat as the President of TRNC, 17 April 2005, which is a confirmation of the new political course of the TRNC, following victory of pro-unification parties of the TRNC.

The closing remarks in the last volume of Cyprus History read as follows:

### **Ve Son Söz...**

1960-1974 yılları arasında Kıbrıs'ta yaşananları sadece iki toplum arasında yaşanan milliyetçilik bunalımı olarak tanımlayamayız. Sorunun kaynağını ve yaşananları anlayabilmemiz için 1960-1974 yılları arasında Soğuk Savaşın değişen dengelerini, Türkiye ve Yunanistan iç politika gelişmelerini, iki toplumun geçirdiği sosyal ve siyasi yolculukları anlamamız gerekir. Tüm bunlar birbirleriyle ilişkilidir. Günümüzde yakın dönem Kıbrıs tarihi ile ilgili araştırmalar artarak devam etmektedir. Konuyla ilgili devlet arşivleri her yıl yeni tarihi belgeleri yayınlamakta, araştırmacılar bu yeni belgeler üzerinde tarihi tekrar kurgulamaktadırlar.

### **Afterwards...**

What was happening in Cyprus in 1960-1974 cannot be described as problems between the two big communities of Cyprus. To understand the sources of the problems of 1960-1974, we need to understand the changing balance of power in the world during Cold War, domestic political developments in Turkey and Greece and the social and political developments of the two communities of Cyprus, because all these events are interrelated. Research on the recent past of Cyprus has intensified in the recent years. The state archives disclose new documents every year. New facts about historical events surface up and, using new information, researchers revise history.

### **Exhibit 7.15 *Afterwards* in Cyprus History, volume 3, 2005, p. 131**

The sense of remaining uncertainty, and the absence of any definitive ‘road map’ for future, emerges when the students arrive at the end of the course in Geography, and Cyprus History alike.

Specifically with reference to Cyprus History textbooks in the TRNC, Papadakis (2008) noted that the books presented history as ‘a story of change and of possible change in any direction’ (p. 28) and, further, remarked that the future was ‘left open as a political choice’ (p. 28). This

assessment of history programme at school can be extended to the entire programme of studies, which reflects the continuing conflicting conditions in the TRNC, but also offers varied choices of national affiliations to the students.

## **7.4 Emergent themes**

The examination of the programme of studies gave rise to a number of themes, which might be illuminating for the process of national identity construction in the schooling context in the TRNC.

### **(1) Equity in education**

The emphasis on 'equality of opportunity' (Education Policies 2005, p. 3), which is made in education policies, emerged as a prominent feature of the programme of studies. No obvious division of students into groups based on ethnic, social or linguistic backgrounds was observed at school. Inclusion of the entire students population in terms of language training, instruction, participation in extra-curricular activities and state rituals indicated that all students at school were receiving the same kind of 'generic training' (Gellner 2006 [1983], p. 26), which was proposed in this study (Chapter Two) to become shared culture serving as a foundation of national unity in a society.

### **(2) Educational mobility**

Schooling experience of the students emerged as contributing to the students' positioning in terms of their movement within local and global space in the context of further educational opportunities. As revealed in the data, possibilities for different educational paths – in Turkish-speaking and English-speaking educational institutions – were built into the programme of studies.

Families were reported as having a say in selection of further educational routes for their children (Birsen, 01). Nevertheless, through the schooling, a variety of choices was made available to the students, whose families, otherwise, would not consider certain possibilities at all, because of linguistic



or financial constraints. Elimination of selective examinations removed the need for private tutoring, which was costly and not affordable to some parents. Re-examinations and teachers' efforts 'to bring all...students to a good level in studies' (Berna, 10) are also seen as promising equal access to the same quality education to all students, and ultimately, allowing international educational mobility within Turkish-speaking, and English-speaking world as well.

### **(3) Languages at school**

Turkish, the national language of the TRNC, is the language of instruction in state-run schools and it positions the students as belonging to the state where they receive their education.

The privileged position of English among other languages at school is noticeable. Seen not just as contributing to educational mobility, the English language was seen as an important means of communication. English was also shown to play a mediating role between the two conflicting communities in Cyprus, as the students reported that they used English to communicate with *Rumlar* in the South. This use of English reflects historical mediating role of Great Britain and various international bodies between the two communities.

'The language of the neighbouring society' (Education Policies 2005, p. 8 and p. 15), *Rumca*, offered at school as an elective subject, did not come across as facilitating communication with Greek Cypriot community. The students who learned *Rumca* at school referred to it as a 'code language' (35). It indicated that the community of Greek Cypriots remained largely unknown to the students.

### **(4) Flagging of the state**

Symbolic representations of the state appeared to be framing the programme of studies. Located within the highly-centralized national educational

structure of the state, the school replicates the 'conventional symbols of particularity' (Billig 1995, p. 85) of the state. Yet, this reproduction of state insignia at school is of a special kind. As it was already noted in Chapter Six, the state 'kit' specifically assembled for the use in educational setting included national anthem, Atatürk's portrait and Atatürk's *Address to the Youth*. The very presence of such kit in the programme was reported in this chapter to be the format of the MOEC.

The existence of a prescriptive format of the MOEC, which reproduces the state through its symbolic representations, supports one of the guiding assumptions of this study that the state and its education system are closely linked, and that education plays a proactive role in promoting the state. The recurring pattern in this seemingly fixed format is that it refers to the times which predate the most recent changes, that launched the reform of education. Like the busts and portraits of Atatürk, which were dated by the teachers quoted in Chapter Six to times immemorial, the MOEC's format, as presented in this Chapter was seen as 'mental blockage' of 70 years (Ayşen, 05) and thus, pre-dating the current developments in the TRNC.

### **(5) Teaching about the state**

In addition to noticeable presence of the state, through the MOEC's format framing the programme of studies, the teaching 'things about the state' (Maha, 23) was incorporated into the programme of studies. Learning of the anthem was reported by the Music teacher to be in the Music curriculum at each grade level. Units specifically dedicated to teaching the 'format' texts were also built into the curriculum of various subjects (Turkish Language, *Atatürkçülük*, Religious Culture and Morals).

The students were shown to be well drilled in the 'format' texts. Without exceptions, all interviewed students could elaborate on dates and events having relevance to the Turkish War of Independence, landmarks of Atatürk's

life, could recite Atatürk's sayings and his *Address to the Youth*, and also knew the anthem (the two first quatrains learned and performed at school).

The students demonstrated excellent knowledge of only two verses of the anthem, which were learned and performed at school. This indicates that teaching about the state mainly took place at school. No evidence of additional knowledge about the state, which would go beyond the schooling programme was displayed by the students in the course of the study.

The students accepted all 'format' texts taught at school as proper. They disputed the information, which I brought from outside their schooling, regarding unofficial 'anthems' of Cyprus and/or Turkish Cypriots. The students pointed at the text of the national anthem in their textbooks as a proof of *Istiklal Marşı* being the only true anthem of the state.

#### **(6) Commitment to Kemalist ideology**

Kemalism – the state ideology – is incorporated into the programme of different subjects. Minimal references to religion-related national traditions, contrast with meticulous learning of Kemalist doctrines, Atatürk's *Address to the Youth*, his other speeches and sayings. Superficial attention to religion-related material among schooling practices is, in itself, telling of commitment to the Kemalist ideology, which emphasizes secular principles of all social affairs in the state, and above all, its education.

#### **(7) Format vs. content**

As it was visible in the data, the prescribed format of the MOEC was accepted by the participants of the research as a given. For example, a textbook writer, Ayşen (05), stated simply, as a matter of fact, that 'this is the format, format of the Ministry of Education', and a teacher, Ersoy (19), noted that 'the format does not change', and that it was prohibited to do anything about it ('there is taboo... nobody can touch taboo').

The apparent acceptance of the MOEC's format, revealed in the data presented in this chapter, is similar to teachers' reaction to the presence of Atatürk's portraits and busts at school reported in Chapter Six: oblivious to specific movements - appearances or disappearances of Atatürk's portraits - teachers nevertheless were shown to be well aware of their presence. Like the timeless portraits at school, that are blended with the walls, the standard opening sequence in the textbooks and *Atatürkçülük* are blended with the programme of studies. The examination of the programme of studies confirms the observation made in Chapter Six that the school is the site of systematic, repetitive, 'banal flagging' (Billig 1995) of national affiliations, and particularly, of *state* affiliations.

If the format of the MOEC appeared in the data as a fairly fixed feature of educational setting in the TRNC, the content of the programme of studies was shown as prone to change. As Ersoy (19) noted, 'the format does not change... What you see in every book, cannot be touched. But you can change what is inside...'

### **(8) High culture**

The fact that TRNC's school curriculum combines its own, TRNC-designed programme of studies and the textbooks, with the curriculum imported from the Republic of Turkey, indicates that the 'viable high culture' (Gellener 1983 [2006], p. 86) transmitted through schooling has dual origins: 'high culture' of the TRNC is interspersed with the 'high culture' of Turkey. Such mixing is evidently sanctioned by the state. This is confirmed by a MOEC official, Birsen (01), who notes that inclusion of *Atatürkçülük* course of studies, directly transferred from Turkey's curriculum is 'our own Cyprus policy- not Turkey', and as such, can be seen as a defining feature of the structural educational setting in the TRNC. Thus, education was shown to reflect and reproduce 'the dominating structures' (Foucault 1988a) in the state through its education policies and curriculum choices.

**(9) 'Cultural shreds and patches' (Gellner 2006 [1983], p. 55)**

'Cultural shreds and patches' (Gellner 2006 [1983], p. 55) contributing to the shared culture, which could serve as a foundation of national unity were shown to be rather varied. Different versions of national biography, taught within the same programme of studies, through courses in General History, Cyprus History, Geography and *Atatürkçülük*, provided students with rich material for the construction of, what Anderson (2006 [1983]) would call a genealogy of their national selves.

Despite the changes made to the programme of studies and the entire education system in the TRNC, the TRNC's education retained standard 'format' presentation of textbooks, and a number of subjects linked to the education curriculum in the Republic of Turkey. The emphasis of the General History course was on history of Turkey. The revised programme of History of Cyprus, on the contrary, emphasized Cypriotism (as contrasted with Turkishness). The prominence of the entire programme of studies in geographical mapping of the TRNC was given to the island of Cyprus and to the reality of its division into two political entities – *K.K.T.C.* and *G.K.R.Y.* TRNC, the state with its own merits and the state in position of clear boundaries, was positioned in relation towards larger geographical space through its affiliations with the entire island of Cyprus, as affiliated with the Republic of Turkey.

**(10) Students' self-positioning**

The students clearly identified with Northern Cyprus as being *their* country, and the TRNC as being *their* state. Frequently referring to Northern Cyprus as their home, mixed with references to their families, indicated that sentimental attachment to Northern Cyprus – homeland – was not necessarily nurtured at school; these sentiments were shown to be brought from outside schooling. Yet, in their descriptive accounts of their homeland,

the students showed to draw selectively on the resources available to them through schooling.

School children's projections of their educational choices, which would require movement to various locations, e.g. Turkey or Britain, were linked with practical matters of traveling on passports of the states, which were not reported to be their 'homeland'. Thus, while school children expressed their sentimental attachment to Northern Cyprus as the location they considered 'home', and their belonging to the TRNC through their comprehensive knowledge of state-related information, students strategically positioned themselves within states and nations, which promised benefits in terms of their international movement (e.g. passports of the Republic of Cyprus and passports of Turkey).

### **(11) Structure and agency**

Structural components of education and teachers' individual involvement were shown, through the evidence presented in this chapter, to be parts of the same process. As it was suggested by the analytic framework, developed in Chapter Four, it is only through the interaction of structures and actions of individuals that social processes gain meaning. The examination of the workings of the programme of studies in TRNC's lower secondary schools suggested that this interaction was far from straightforward. The issues of disparity between educational structures in their 'design' form and the schooling reality, operation of the new education system within rigid structures of the state system, the role of teachers in educational process, and particularly their mediating role between the state policies and the students all seemed to be in complex interrelation with each other.

## **7.5 Summary**

The examination of the programme of studies in this chapter, which focused on positioning of the students in relation to the world of states and nations, resulted in several findings. Through their programme of studies, the

students were positioned as belonging to the same national group, and as belonging to the the state where they received their education, the TRNC. The changes made to the programme of studies were shown to undergo modifications at school through teachers' action. It was also revealed in this chapter that whereas the content of the programme of studies changed, as reflecting ideological changes in the state, the state structure, and the MOEC's 'format', which dated back into history, remained in place. The content of the programme of studies with reference to national positioning of the students, which was shown to project varying patterns of national affiliations, reflected uncertainties of political arrangements in the TRNC at the time. Complex interaction of structural components of schooling was shown to be effected by teachers' agency. Students' own positioning in relation to states and nations was seen to relate to their schooling experience but also revealed students' individualized choices of such positioning.

This chapter continued building an understanding of the process of national identity construction in the context of schooling by focusing on the programme of studies for the lower secondary school in the TRNC. It partially addressed the research question by identifying several factors contributing to the process of the constitution of national subjects, and by showing the complex interaction between those factors. Several themes, which emerged in this chapter, will be discussed later in relation to the themes emerging from Chapters Six and Eight. The following chapter will complete the presentation of the data by examining schooling practices which relate to celebrations of national days and commemorative events at school.

## **CHAPTER EIGHT**

### **SCHOOL CALENDAR EVENTS**

#### **8.0 Introduction**

The research reported in this thesis examines national identity construction in the context of schooling. The approach adopted in this study views the process of identity construction as revealed through sets of practices. The previous two chapters examined the schooling practices pertaining to daily school operations and to the programme of studies, with specific focus on national identification issues. This chapter explores further how students are positioned and position themselves in relation to their immediate community and the broader geo-political space through celebrations of national holidays and commemorative events marked in school calendar. By doing this, the chapter aims to complete the findings of previous chapters with evidence that will contribute to a fuller and more comprehensive understanding of the process of national identity construction in the context of schooling in the TRNC.

The chapter is in four sections. The first two sections are based on the calendar events classified into two categories: national holidays and commemorative events. The following section discusses the themes that emerged from the data presented in the chapter. And the final section considers how the critical reading of the data help address the research questions guiding the study.

The data used in this chapter come from the written texts collected at the MOEC and at school, on-site observations of celebrations and various other events at school, and interviews with teachers and students.



## 8.1 National holidays

As observed by Billig (1995), ‘all nation-states have occasions when ordinary routines are suspended, as the state celebrates itself’ (pp. 44-45). Among these, national holidays are particularly distinguished as the occasions ‘patterned so that the national flag can be consciously waved both metaphorically and literally’ (Billig 1995, p. 45). Examination of such occasions in this study is thus warranted, as school celebrations of national days can be particularly illuminating for the issues of national identification in the context of schooling.

The list of national holidays, included in the school calendar, is presented below, in the Table 8.1 (the entire school calendar for 2008-2009 academic year in both Turkish and English can be found in Appendix 14 A and B).

30 September-2 October	2008	Tuesday-Monday	<i>Ramazan Bayram/Ramadan</i> (4-day holiday)
29 October	2008	Wednesday	Republic Day. Foundation of the Republic of Turkey (1-day holiday)
15 November	2008	Saturday	Republic Day. Foundation of the TRNC (1-day holiday)
8-11 December	2008	Monday-Thursday	<i>Kurban Bayram/Kurban Holiday</i> (4-day holiday)
9 March	2009	Monday	<i>Mevlid Kandili/Birthday of the Prophet Muhammed</i> (1-day holiday)
23 April	2009	Thursday	National Sovereignty and Children’s Day (1-day holiday)
19-20 May	2009	Tuesday-Wednesday	Atatürk’s Day of Sports and Youth (1 day holiday on 19 May)

**Table 8.1 National holidays in a school calendar**

### 8.1.1 Republic Days

Two Republic Days listed in the school calendar as national holidays mark the foundation of two different states – one of the Republic of Turkey (29 October) and one of the TRNC (15 November).

The celebrations of the two Republic Days are very similar to one another. On each occasion, students are selected alphabetically for official group visits to the Turkish Ambassador to the TRNC, to the Commander of the Security Forces, and to the Commander of the Troops, in the TRNC. The students are accompanied by their teachers on these official visits, which take place the day before public celebrations on the actual dates.

In my conversations with teachers, they confirmed that the selection of students for the visits is not based on academic performance or other achievements; the names are marked as they appear in class rosters in alphabetical order. Teachers also noted that, in this way, all the students had an opportunity to be included in the groups for official visits over the course of one academic year.

Several students, whom I interviewed, were among those selected for the visit to the Commander of the Troops on one of the Republic Days, 15 November. A seven-grader, Aslan (31) and an eight-grader Murat (36), told me that they really enjoyed their school trip to the military site. Aslan (31) said,

*The soldiers talked to us... The Commander talked to us... We had food in their kitchen- the soldiers showed us how to march... Yes, I think I want to be in the army- they were soldiers from Turkey- they are in Cyprus for two years- I can go to Turkey or stay here when I am in army- I don't know- All boys go to army in Cyprus-*

Students' participation in official public celebrations on the two Republic Days was not required. Only a group of folk dancers from school was sent to the public festivities on both dates. The students told me that there were many locations where festivities took place, in towns and villages all over Northern Cyprus, and that dancing groups from other schools also went to public

celebrations. The students noted, however, that they liked attending the festivities on both Republic Days because they could see military parades and air shows performed by the Turkish Armed Forces.

The establishment of the Republic of Turkey (29 October) is acknowledged at school through displays of school-made materials outlining the historical landmarks of the Turkish War of Independence (1919-1923) and of Atatürk's reforms, aimed at modernization of newly established Turkish Republic (1923). Photographs of Atatürk in military uniform accompany the stories relating to the War of Independence. Stories of Atatürk's reforms are also supplemented with photographs of Atatürk, but these are the records of various social occasions: Mustafa Kemal with the new Turkish Alphabet, Mustafa Kemal attending a university class, and Mustafa Kemal in a group of people at the establishment of the Turkish History Institution.

On the occasion of celebrations of the TRNC's Republic Day, displays in classroom corners focus on two individuals: Rauf Denktaş (died in 2012), the founder of the TRNC, and Dr Fazıl Küçük (died in 1984) – Vice-President of the Republic of Cyprus and, later, the head of the Provisional Cyprus Turkish Administration (established in 1967). The portraits of both Dr Fazıl Küçük and Rauf Denktaş appear for a short while around 15 November.

The display I saw in one classroom around 15 November contained the portraits of the two community leaders - Rauf Denktaş and Dr. Fazıl Küçük - and an issue of *Halkın Sesi (The Voice of the People)*, Dr Fazıl Küçük's newspaper. Life stories of both men were attached to the portraits. The display was in a classroom of a Social Studies teacher, Gulay, who informed me that she had folders in her bookcase with 'stuff ready for different occasions' and that the portraits of Küçük and Denktaş were among the 'stuff' (Gulay, 17). The teacher could produce all required portraits promptly when the dates were approaching. According to the teacher, students were asked to bring a story or two to add to the display 'to let children do their part' (Gulay, 17).

### 8.1.2 Religious Holidays

Strictly secular character of the state, and of the state education in the TRNC, is explicitly pronounced in the TRNC's Constitution (1984). The examination of the TRNC's education system, conducted in the course of this study, confirms this. Yet, three national holidays in the school calendar are religious Muslim holidays: *Ramazan Bayramı*, *Kurban Bayramı* and *Mevlid Kandili*.

The two *Bayrams*, which last 4 days each, are treated as mid-semester breaks at school and no celebrations are associated with either holiday at school.

In a group interview with 6-graders (25), I asked the students to tell me why they had school holidays at the time of *Bayrams*, and how they would celebrate the *Bayrams*. The students said the following:

Kazbek: *We go see our family. We go to other places in Cyprus to see relatives. My grandmother cook and I see my cousins and other people. We need time to visit people. This is why we don't go to school.*

Ahmet: *We kill sheep at Kurban Bayram and we all eat sheep.*

I asked Ahmet why people would kill a sheep at Kurban Bayram and Ahmet noted:

Ahmet: *Before, people in Cyprus were Muslims. They killed sheep for Muslim reason. And my grandparents always have sheep on Kurban Bayram.*

Kazbek: *No, we don't kill sheep- we just visit- well- just have holiday- or travel sometimes- or stay in Cyprus and have holiday... It's like Sunday- We see families at Sunday-*

Students' knowledge of *Bayrams* did not go far beyond the information supplied by the textbook (Exhibit 7.7 in Chapter Seven). As it was shown in Chapter Seven, the references to *Bayrams* were limited to one-two sentences each. The only definite fact about the holidays children knew was that *Ramazan Bayram* and *Kurban Bayram* were old Muslim holidays. One student (Ahmet, 25) could also specify that the first *Bayram* was *Şeker*

*Bayram* (Turkish *şeker* means *sugar* in English), because people ate a lot of sweets, and that at the second *Bayram* people ate a lot of lamb.

Even less was known about *Mevlid Kandili*, a national holiday ‘of some sort’ (Ahmet, 25). No particular celebrations were reported on that day, however, one child said that ‘some people shoot guns on that day’ (Kazbek, 25).

### **8.1.3 National Sovereignty and Children’s Day**

National Sovereignty and Children’s Day on the 23 April is one of the holidays dedicated to the theme of the Turkish War of Independence and the establishment of the Republic of Turkey. Students at school told me that the celebrations were attended only by elementary students, and that students of lower secondary schools just had a day off.

Not knowing much about religious national holidays, the students could tell me right away what 23 April was. Students informed me that National Sovereignty and Children’s Day on 23 April was the anniversary of the establishment of the Turkish Grand National Assembly. To my query why Children’s Day would be celebrated on the day of the first gathering of the National Assembly, students, without a moment’s hesitation, provided the answer: because Atatürk dedicated the Turkish Republic to children. One seven-grader, Tarkan (31), asked me if I knew the symbols of the holiday, and not waiting for an answer, Tarkan and his classmates, Aslan and Kaplan, joined their hands. Tarkan explained that this was the symbol of the holiday – children holding hands together; it symbolized unity. The boys, then, described in detail what would happen on the day of the festivities.

Similarly, a group of eight-graders (36), who were ‘too old’ to participate in the festivities of the 23 April, could recite the script for the celebrations; their script was almost identical to the ones related by seven-graders Tarkan, Aslan and Kaplan (31). According to my informers (31, 36), elementary students would go to parks and squares, officials from Turkey and the TRNC

would make speeches, the deeds of Atatürk would be reviewed, and then children would stay to play.

#### **8.1.4 Atatürk's Day of Sports and Youth**

Atatürk's Day of Sports and Youth was taking place in May 2009, after my fieldwork at school was over. However, during my interviews and casual interactions with students and teachers, frequent references were made to '19 May' celebrations, which happened to be Atatürk's Day of Sports and Youth. I attended celebrations on 19 May, that took place in a public location in the TRNC, with students and teachers from the Orange Grove School participating. I include in this chapter notes from my observation of the actual event (19 May), as well as other relevant information that became available during the scheduled fieldwork at school (October 2008 - April 2009).

A two-day celebration of Atatürk's Day of Sports and Youth is an occasion to review Atatürk's deeds and the landmarks of the Turkish War of Independence (1919-1923). The date itself marks Atatürk's landing in Samsun on the Black Sea coast on 19 May 1919 and the beginning of the war. The day off school on 19 May requires students' mandatory attendance of the celebrations which usually take place in open public spaces, like town and village squares. Preparation for the festivities goes on well in advance of the day. Programme of studies in Music and Art contain several units marked as 'preparation for 19 May festivities'. In my interview with a Music teacher, the teacher said that students were learning 'happy songs' (Maha, 23) for the occasion but that the 'centre piece' was *İzmir Marşı* (*Izmir March*). The students told me that it was Atatürk himself who was humming the melody of *Izmir March*, when he was marching ahead of his troops, and everybody liked the melody so much that one composer made it into a song (35).

In our discussion of extra-curricular activities, students referred to '19 May dances' as the 'kind' of dances they were learning at school. An excerpt from an interview with a group of seven-graders (30) follows:

R: *What kind of dances do you learn in your dance class?*  
 Asma: *Ahh- 19 May dance*  
 R: *What is '19 May dance'?*  
 Asma: *Ahh- Rhythmi- Rythmic dance*  
 Nerime: *Modern. We dance modern fast dances.*  
 Asma: *Salsa*  
 R: *It is a very difficult dance*  
 Asma: *It is fun. Then we dance salsa outside.*  
 R: *Do you dance it outside school?*  
 Asma: *When we celebrate 19 May, we go to the monument- Atatürk monument in the park. Asker- şey- military and other people come. They have speeches. We dance then, on same square.*  
 I: *What do you celebrate on 19 May?*  
 Nerime: *Young people. Atatürk made it holiday for young people.*  
 Gulnara: *When we had Kurtuluş Şavaşı- [Turkish War of Independence], Yani- it was 19 May and then Atatürk made it holiday*

The conversation above took place in December 2008, a few months before the date (19 May 2009). The following entry in my field notes was made on the Atatürk's Day of Sports and Youth itself.

### **Field notes: 19 May 2009**

Students told me they were learning '19 May dances'. Today is the 19<sup>th</sup> of May and I came to see the dances children worked on for almost a year. The festivities on the square started in the morning. It was exactly like the students described in their interviews. Quite a few civil and military officials came to the festivities. The entire school population also seems to be here. All stood to attention when the anthem (the recording) went on and the officials and students joined the choir. The singing of the anthem sounded earnest, like on all other public occasions. Lots of speeches followed...

The memories of the day of the landing and triumphant advance of Kemal's troops were brought back by the cheerful sounds of *İzmir Marşı*. The students all knew the words and happily sang along with the record.

The official part was followed by display of talent from students. Five couples danced Salsa. If slightly wooden in their moves, nobody missed a step. The same five couples danced Rumba and then Cha-Cha. Following Latin American dance performance, a different group of students, clad in traditional Cypriot clothes, performed traditional Cypriot dances. After that, the officials left and the students stayed to

play games, organized and supervised by the teachers, for the next two hours or so.

### **Field notes: 20 May 2009**

Local newspapers are full of pictures of happy children celebrating 19 May all over the TRNC. According to MOEC's public release (MOEC webpage, 20 May 2012), Atatürk's Day of Sports and Youth was a success and all secondary schools were praised for their good participation in the festivities.

## **8.2 Commemorative events**

Three commemorative events, listed in the Table 8.2 below, are scheduled during the regular school-in-session days.

10 November	2008	Monday	Atatürk Remembrance Day and Atatürk Week
21-25 December	2008	Sunday-Thursday	National Struggle and Martyrs' Week
15 January	2009	Thursday	Death anniversary of Dr Fazıl Küçük

**Table 8.2 Commemorative events in school calendar**

### **8.2.1 Atatürk Remembrance Day**

Atatürk Remembrance Day on 10 November is a commemoration of Atatürk's death (died in 1938). I precisely selected this date for observation. Having observed daily commemoration of Atatürk through various schooling practices, I was curious to see what could be added to the date specifically designated in the calendar as Atatürk's Day.

On the 10 November, the Orange Grove School, like the rest of the country, observed a two-minute period of silence at 9:05 am, the time of Atatürk's death. All students and teachers gathered in the school yard, in front of the bust of Atatürk, and waited for the siren to announce the moment (9:05). There were a few bouquets of flowers at the pedestal of Atatürk's bust in the school yard. The two-minute silence was followed by the speeches, which reminded students of the landmarks of Atatürk's life and deeds. The record of



the national anthem played and everybody sang along. Following the singing, which sounded solemn, everybody was dismissed. For the rest of the day, a pair of student guards – a boy and a girl - stood by a huge portrait of Atatürk in the school's hallway. The portrait was placed on the wall specifically for the occasion. A miniature model of Atatürk's Ankara memorial, and two paper torches on the sides, were placed on a table beneath the portrait. As reported by children, both memorial and torches were made by the students at school. The change of guards took place every fifteen minutes, so quite a few children had a chance to be on guard during the day.

Following a full day of organized events at school on the 10 November, the rest of the week went fairly quiet. The big portrait of Atatürk was removed from the hallway in the middle of the week but faded bouquets of flowers at the pedestal in the garden stayed until the end of the school week on Friday.

Having a chance to observe Atatürk's commemoration events at school, I asked the students if they would do something similar for Dr Küçük. Nina, a six-grader (27) said that, of course, people would 'have a minute of silence' and will bring flowers to Dr Küçük's monuments, because Dr Küçük 'saved Turkish Cypriot people' and 'people in Cyprus love him'. Nina (27) also noted that the students could go to Dr Küçük's memorial if they were at school. To my question whether she would go to the memorial with her family this year, during school vacation, Nina explained that this was a 'school trip' and that she would not go on her own or with her family.

### **8.2.2 Death anniversary of Dr Küçük**

The date of the commemoration of Dr Küçük's death, 15 January, happened to be at the time of the end-of-term exams and the beginning of mid-year school break. No special festivities were planned for the date at school. However, the students could recount the scenario of the events taking place around the date.

The students told me that there was a memorial to Dr Küçük (*Anıttepe*), ‘just like to Atatürk in Turkey’ (36). One of the eight-graders, Yusuf (36), noted that Dr Küçük was buried in *Hamitköy* near *Lefkoşa*. Following Yusuf, Murat, a participant of the same group interview (36), added that the place was called *Mumcu Hill* in *Hamitköy*, and explained that this is why the memorial was called *Anıttepe*, Turkish word *tepe* meaning *hill*. Murat (35) explained to me that it was easy to remember the name: *anıt* on *tepe*, meaning *monument* on the *hill*. The boys told me that there would be a big ceremony at *Anıttepe*, but also many other ceremonies would take place in other locations. The script for the celebration presented by the boys sounded a bit similar to the celebrations of the Republic Days, which I had already observed. With the presence of Turkish Military Forces, and the state and military officials from the TRNC and the Republic of Turkey, the life and deeds of Dr Küçük would be remembered in speeches, and the wreaths would be laid at the memorial (or his monuments elsewhere in Northern Cyprus). I asked the students if the school’s group of folk dancers would attend any of the events, as they did on the Republic Days. The students said that there would be no parades or dances; people would just have a minute of silence and lay wreaths.

### **8.2.3 National Struggle and Martyrs’ Week**

Throughout the entire week of 21-25 December, National Struggle and Martyrs’ Week, various ceremonies and events take place all over the TRNC. The commemorative activities outdo any other celebrations of national days in Northern Cyprus, and at school as well.

Commemorative events are dedicated to the memory of those who perished during the years of armed confrontation between Greek-Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities during the 1963-1974. The students informed me that the dates themselves (21-25 December) refer to, what is known in Turkish Cypriot history as, *Bloody Christmas*<sup>28</sup>. The students could relay the general

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<sup>28</sup> The phrase *Bloody Christmas* appears in the textbook on Cyprus History, volume 3, and the events of 21-25 December 1963 are presented as the following: On the 21 December

information on the events of December 1963, the week of *Bloody Christmas*, and the further developments, as they were presented in the school programme (Cyprus History, volume 3, 2005) in a sketchy manner. In the discussion of the events of 1964-1974, and specifically of December 1963, when Turkish Cypriots were attacked by Greek Cypriot and Greek militants, the students did not express much desire to go into the detail of confrontation between Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities in those years; the students also refrained from making any judgments of the events (31, 33, 36). This was similar to the students' reluctance to dwell on past history, which were described in Chapter Seven (Sema and Şefika, 35). Children mainly acknowledged that it was 'difficult life for Turkish Cypriots before' (31), that 'many people died' (33), but that now Turkish Cypriots had their 'own country and were happy' (33).

The school had its own programme of events to mark the National Struggle and Martyrs' Week. School activities started on Monday, 22 December, during the regular morning assembly. Following the speech of the school Principal, who reminded the students of the events of 1963 and acknowledged the contribution of all Turkish and Turkish Cypriot fighters to the national struggle, a minute of silence was announced to commemorate the memory of the perished martyrs. The anthem singing to the recording of professional choir with the orchestra, after the minute of silence, was rather different from the usual struggled a cappella singing at a regular school assembly. The students' behaviour at this assembly was also different: all stood still throughout the entire time of the assembly and there was no chatting, usual for other school gatherings.

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1963 two unarmed Turkish Cypriots were shot down by the Greek Cypriot police; the violent clashes between Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots ensued, with hundreds of Turkish Cypriot women and children from northern suburbs of Nicosia taken hostage by armed Greek Cypriot irregulars. Severe civilian casualties were suffered by Turkish Cypriots during these days. The following years of confrontation resulted in more losses among Cypriots in both communities.

On the next day, all the students went to the memorial of a Turkish fighter, who perished in a battle in Cyprus. The students arrived in buses and, without much prompting from their teachers, lined up into groups on the memorial ground, which faced the podium with the microphone for the speakers. A few officials, including officers from the Turkish Armed Forces, were present at the ceremony. A number of speeches were delivered. The speakers described the hardships the Turkish Cypriot community endured when they were fighting for their rights. One speaker expressed indebtedness to Turkey for saving Turkish Cypriot community from extermination. This speaker noted that it was only thanks to the Turkish Army that the TRNC existed and that Turkish Cypriot community could live and prosper.

Teachers and students laid wreaths at the memorial and the ceremony ended with the singing of the national anthem. Solemn singing of the anthem (to the recording, as on other formal occasions) and the ritual of laying wreaths looked well-rehearsed; everybody seemed to know when and how to move, where to place the wreath, and when to stand to attention and sing.

During the week, each class had a scheduled visit by a veteran of Turkish Cypriot resistance forces or by a member of the Society of Martyr's Families and Disabled War veterans. A teacher of the Turkish Language, Narina (24), told me that the students were asked to write essays on the topics "Why do we celebrate the National Struggle and Martyrs' Week?" and "What do we do as children for our Republic, the TRNC?" The teacher noted that the new curriculum in Cyprus History did not provide sufficient information on 'the years of sufferings' of Turkish Cypriot community and that the visits of the veterans were useful in that respect, as the veterans could convey their experiences of sufferings to the students. Thus, the national celebrations at school were seen to complement the content of programme of studies with 'symbolic mindfulness' (Billig 1995, p. 41), which confirmed that the state was established to safeguard the rights of the Turkish Cypriot community. This

was also indicative of existing disparity between current ideological changes reflected in the programme of studies on the one hand, and unchanging 'format' of the MOEC, and the state structures behind it, on the other.

### **8.3 Emergent themes**

The examination of schooling practices relating to school celebrations of national days and commemorative events gave rise to a number of themes which contribute to the understanding of the process of national identity construction in the schooling context in the TRNC.

#### **(1) National memory**

A political biography of the state, the TRNC, is marked through celebrations of national holidays and commemorative events at school.

What is often called 'myths of origin' (Barrett 2007, p. 7) of the state is a tangible reality in the TRNC, as a fairly recent date of the state's foundation, 1983, still has living witnesses. The visits to school by the veterans of the Turkish Cypriot resistance organizations and by members of martyrs' families, reported in this chapter, are important in that respect. These people can relay their stories that authenticate the foundational myths of the state. The birth of the state is shown to be necessitated by the hardships experienced by the Turkish Cypriot community. As was pointed out by a Turkish Language teacher, the visitors inform students of 'the years of sufferings' (Narina, 24) of Turkish Cypriot community. Endorsed in official speeches at the memorial ceremonies, the stories of Turkish Cypriots being in danger, and of Turkish Cypriots fighting for their existence, can be seen as validation for the actuality of the state, a guarantor of peace and security of the Turkish Cypriot community.

National memory of the state is narrated through the school practices as the students participate in memorial rituals and lay wreaths at the martyrs' monuments. These practices are all 'mindful' (Billig 1995) reminders of the

TRNC's origins. Anderson (1983) assigns particular significance to 'the public ceremonial reverence' (p. 9) accorded to national memorials and monuments in the process of national invention. He notes that the tombs which contain 'mortal remains or immortal souls... are nonetheless saturated with ghostly *national* imaginings' (Anderson 1983, p. 9), and, further, emphasizes that 'the deaths that structure the nation's biography are of special kind' (p. 205) in that they 'must be remembered as "our own"... to serve the narrative purpose' (p. 205).

In the context of the data presented in this chapter, it means that the deaths of the Turkish fighters in Cyprus are remembered as its 'own' (Anderson 1983, p. 205) in the TRNC, along the deaths of Turkish Cypriots. Collective remembering of the martyrs at school position the students as members of the collective – the state of the TRNC – whose 'national imaginings' (Anderson 1983, p. 9) are linked to all those sacrifices of human life that made possible the existence of the state. The students themselves participate in the process of national invention as they join in the 'communion' (Anderson 1983, p. 6) with Turkish Cypriots who suffered in the years pre-dating the establishment of the TRNC, the current community living under the protection of the TRNC, and also with the Turkish fighters who defended the Turkish Cypriots throughout the years of hardships.

This explains why Turkish military and civilian officials are guests of honour at the national celebrations of the TRNC. Reported in this chapter, students' visits to the Ambassador of Turkey during the National Struggle and Martyrs' Week (21-25 December) is a reminder that the national struggle of Turkish Cypriots has been sustained by the Republic of Turkey. The kinship is congealed by 'poignant martyrdoms' (Anderson 1983, p. 206) of joint sacrifices of Turkish Cypriots and nationals of the Republic of Turkey.

The relevance of the commemorated events to the life of this group of students is highlighted as the students are asked to reflect on the reasons for their remembering of the martyrs, and on their own contribution to the

Republic, the TRNC. Tied to the dates of the National Struggle and Martyrs' Week (21-25 December), such essay writing requires reviewing of landmarks of the national memory by the students and also positions them as belonging to the TRNC, the Republic expecting their personal contribution towards its wellbeing.

## **(2) The style of national imaginings**

Introducing his conceptualization of nations as imagined political communities, Anderson (1983) notes that 'communities are to be distinguished, not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style, in which they are imagined' (Anderson 1983, p. 6).

The distinguishing style of national imagining, as revealed through the examination of national celebrations and commemorative events at school, is simultaneous flagging of two states – the TRNC and Turkey.

The state of the TRNC, the location of the school where students receive their education, is explicitly marked as a sovereign political entity. Celebrations of life and death of Dr Küçük, paying tribute to Rauf Denktaş, stories of veterans and witnesses of Turkish Cypriots' national struggle for survival, all relate specifically to the TRNC, the state of its own. Dr Küçük and Rauf Denktaş, whose life and deeds are celebrated at school in the context of the Republic Day of the TRNC, are two Cypriots who serve as symbols of sovereign state and sovereign nationhood of Northern Cyprus. The fact that Dr Küçük has his own commemoration day, and even his own memorial in Cyprus, 'just like to Atatürk in Turkey' (36), is an indicator of Dr Küçük's elevated position in the TRNC's own national particularity. Thus, apart from holidays and national 'idols' (e.g. Atatürk) shared with Turkey, the TRNC has its own 'fathers of the nation' of high standing, its own 'conventional symbols of particularity' (Billig 1995, p. 85) that make the TRNC look like any other nation.

Yet, celebrations of national holidays of Turkey as TRNC's own national holidays, constant presence of Turkey's officials as guests of honour at various state celebrations and students' visits to Turkish military sites all contribute to the national imagining where Turkey is firmly embedded.

The two Republic Days in the school calendar, and the celebrations themselves, are reminiscent of flag displays at school – always a set – one of Turkey and one of the TRNC. Such unconventionality of what Billig (1995) calls 'conventional symbols of particularity' (p. 85) for a sovereign state is a recurring pattern in a schooling context, as was visible in the data presented in Chapters Six and Seven, and in this chapter as well. This is the style in which the TRNC is imagined.

### **(3) Practicing state rituals at school**

The examination of school celebrations of national days and commemorative events revealed that the students were well trained in performing rituals, required for the occasions. The texts of the national anthem (the two first verses of it), of *Izmir March*, and of other songs based on the theme of the Turkish War of Independence, were performed diligently at every observed instance 'when the state celebrat[ed] itself' (Billig 1995, p. 44-45). Students were shown to follow the protocol when participating in such celebrations. For example, the students could line up in the right location without any specific prompting from their teachers, when visiting memorial sites. They displayed veneration to the memory of the martyrs during commemorative ceremonies, and could sound earnest in their national anthem singing on solemn occasions. Even more so, the students could relay the scenario of the celebrations in which they did not participate. In their descriptions of procedures taking place on the day of commemoration of Dr. Küçük's death, and on the 23 April (National Sovereignty and Children's Day, established by Atatürk), the students showed to know exactly what kind of rituals would be appropriate for each event.



Evidence of learned behaviour (mainly, performance of rituals celebrating the state), described in this chapter, supports Billig's (1995) observation that 'what is loosely called national identity' (p. 45) is sustained by social norms practiced in society. Referring to national days as occasions for displaying of 'surplus emotion' (Billig 1995, p. 45), he, then, notes that 'the suitable emotion is not an ineffable impulse, which mysteriously impels the social actor in unforeseeable directions. It is dependent upon, and is sustained by, social forms...' (p. 45).

Different social norms in performing rituals could be observed in singing of the national anthem. It looks like there are two versions of the anthem at school: one casual, for the everyday use, and the other one is solemn, accompanied by an orchestra and a choir, reserved for special occasions. The first one is like a rote recitation of a prayer, the words of which nobody understands; that one is murmured hastily at regular school assemblies, which focus on routine school business, football matches, and planning of field trips. The second version is what Billig (1995) would call 'mindful' (p. 41); this anthem calls for attention and is meant to stir the national pride. These are the social norms that are practiced at school, and the students are shown to recognize the occasions which require certain practiced behaviour. Similarly, students' awareness of how to act on solemn occasions of collective rememberings, when paying tribute to the memory of Atatürk or to Dr Küçük, and the like, are modelled at school. In this way, the school site was shown to be the practicing ground of social norms which relate to the rituals performed on the national days celebrating the *state*.

Whilst state rituals are systematically practiced at school, religious holidays, marked as national holidays in a school calendar, do not receive such attention at school. Celebrations of three religious holidays - *Mevlid Kandili* (*Birthday of Prophet Muhammed*) and two *Bayrams* – go unnoticed at school. Uncertain of how precisely to mark these dates, the students reported on their families' activities during the religious holidays. As conveyed by the

students, quoted in this chapter, the holidays were mainly treated as days off and occasions to spend time with families.

Such contrasting treatment of events ‘flagging’ the state, and of traditional religious holidays, might be indicative of the fact that the state and its education are secular in nature, and any traditional religious customs remain outside schooling context. This also emphasizes the point that the task of the school is ‘to teach kids about the state’, as was noted by a Music teacher, Maha (23), in the previous chapter. Repertoire of songs, sayings and rituals, incorporated in the programme of different subjects at school (e.g. Music, Turkish Language and Literature, and Kemalism curricula) are all practiced systematically on the occasions of celebrating the state – the two Republic Days, Atatürks’ Day of Sports and Youth, National Sovereignty and Children’s Day, and at collective rememberings of martyrs, Atatürk and Dr Küçük.

#### **8.4 Construction of national identity at school**

As visible in the data presented in this chapter, the school appears to actively promote the state through national celebrations.

Amidst all the holidays, marked as national holidays in school calendar, it is the dates when the ‘state celebrates itself’ (Billig 1995, pp. 44-45) that receive particular attention at school. Traditional Muslim holidays, which are marked as national holidays, are left to the students’ families, or other social institutions outside schooling. The occasions to consciously wave the national flag ‘both metaphorically and literally’ (Billig 1995, p. 45) at school unambiguously point at the state – its foundation, its ideology, its national memory and its ‘conventional symbols of particularity’ (Billig 1995, p. 85).

There is a prescribed manner in which to celebrate the state. As it was noted in Chapter Three, the types of activities for school celebrations are recommended by the MOEC. The evidence presented in this chapter indicated that the prescribed norms of performing state rituals are diligently

practiced at school, so that the totality of the student population know by heart how to act on each occasion.

Through their schooling experience of collective rememberings and state days, the students are positioned as belonging to the same national group. All members in this group are united through their communion with other fellow-members who share the same 'poignant martyrdoms' (Anderson 1983, p. 206) and national memories, and who, as the members of the same group, can enact similar kind of emotions and follow the same kind of protocol when celebrating the existence of the TRNC and Turkey. The very fact that everyone in this totality of students has a chance to be included in an official visit to the Ambassador of Turkey to the TRNC, or to a Turkey's military official, indicates that the students are on equal footing in this national group, and the visits themselves are a rewarding experience for the group members of coming face-to-face with the state, through its high stately appointments.

## **8.5 Summary**

This chapter examined the set of practices pertaining to school celebrations of national days and commemorative events, with the focus on national identity issues. Particular contribution of this chapter to the study is that it looked at the instances of planned school activities, explicitly marked as *national events*, and thus overtly positioning the school within a certain kind of national context. General findings of this chapter indicate that the school actively promotes the state. The school models the social forms of highly ritualized and homogenized behaviour through systematic practicing of state rituals that follow prescribed patterns. By doing this, the school sustains social forms of national affiliations which reproduce the state. The students at school were shown to belong to the same national group through their participation in joint state rituals at school. This chapter presented the final set of data and analysis which complete the findings of the previous two chapters. The following chapter will address the findings of the study in relation to each research question.

## **CHAPTER NINE**

### **FINDINGS OF THE STUDY**

#### **9.0 Introduction**

In this research, I set out to investigate the relationship between students' construction of national identity and their educational experience, and specifically, how students are positioned and position themselves in relation to the world of states and nations in the context of schooling. An investigative critical case study in one lower secondary school in the TRNC was undertaken to explore such a relationship, and the data illuminating the issues of interest to this investigation were presented in the three previous chapters.

This chapter presents the findings of the study. First, the central argument of the study, the role of schooling in the construction of national identity, is addressed. This first section will theorize the findings through the use of Foucault's analytic concepts of technologies and his view of a social process of meaning construction as an interplay of various technologies. The following two sections will organize the findings in relation to each research question. The summary of the findings, the theoretical and practical implications of the study will then be discussed. The chapter, and the thesis, conclude with recommendations for further research.

#### **9.1 The role of schooling in the construction of national identity**

The study findings indicate that the schooling experience plays a distinct role in shaping national identities of students. The school was shown to actively promote the state, in this case the TRNC, where the school was located. The patterns of state affiliations reflected political conditions in the state. The state rituals and state ideology were reproduced through school practices which modeled prescriptive patterns of state structures, but were also seen

as 'school-specific'. Viewed as such, school practices, through which the students were positioned as belonging to their state, reproduced and sustained social norms practiced in society.

Through their schooling experience, the students were positioned as belonging to the same national group. At the same time, the students were shown to strategize in making their individual choices of self-positioning in relationship to the world of states and nations.

Several interrelated factors contributing to the process of national identity construction were identified as education policies, schooling environment, teachers' agency and students' agency.

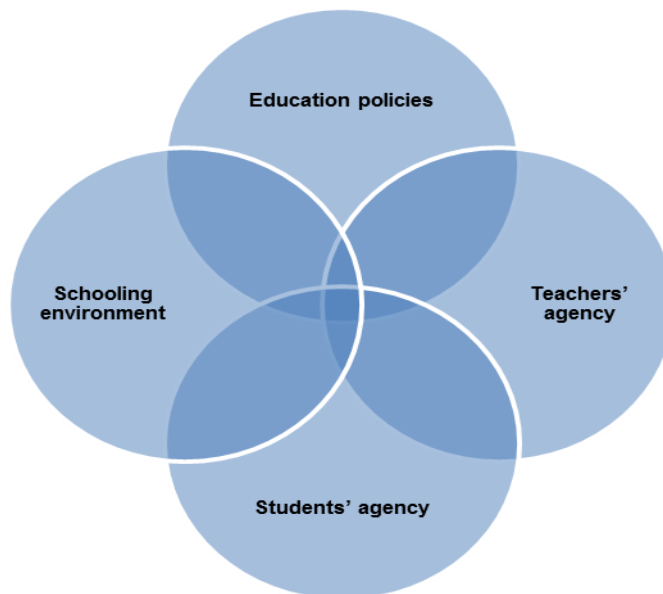
Rooted in Foucault's analytic approach to social processes of knowledge construction, my analysis approached the process of national identity construction as revealed in a set of practices in the context of schooling in the TRNC. In order to make sense of these practices, and how they are revealing of students' construction of their national selves, several stages of analysis of the data were undertaken. Initial coding provided a list of categories which were registered as national identity markers, based on the definition of the notion of national identity as positioning in relation to states and nations. The next stage identified recurring patterns and themes, which cut across different types of data.

Foucault's theorizing on the constitution of the subject was integral to the critical reading of the data. Conception of the process of national identity construction as the interplay of various technologies, conceptualized as the interplay of structure and agency, allowed reading of the data in terms of interaction of different technologies as I was moving back and forth through the emerging themes and patterns.

The technologies of power, that is technologies which are revealed through the structural setting of schooling, were identified as education policies and the schooling environment. Teachers' agency and agency of the students,

who are actively and variously involved in the construction of national identities, were identified as the technologies of the self. Strict separation between these technologies cannot adequately account for the complex process of national identity construction. Students' positioning towards states and nations was shown to be intertwined with several technologies partaking in the process. It is only through the interplay of the different technologies that the construction of national identity of students can be described and explained.

Viewing the process of national identity construction through the lens of Foucault's analytic investigations of social practices allowed me to connect the emerging patterns into a cluster of interrelated factors, and also to investigate the inter-relationship between the factors. The most prominent technologies – technologies of power, framed as education policies and schooling environment, and technologies of the self, framed as teachers' agency and students' agency – were clustered into a diagram mapping the technologies in relation to one another as four interrelated factors (Diagram 9.1).



**Diagram 9.1 Configuration of interrelated technologies as parts of the process of national identity construction in the context of schooling**

As visible on the Diagram 9.1, agency (technologies of the self) permeates the process through and through, and similarly, structural components (technologies of power) are shown to overlap with activity - teachers' and students' agency - as it is structures that empower, shape and limit activity of teachers and students.

The Diagram 9.1 can serve as a map for further presentation of findings of the study. However, the diagram does not account for the complexities of the relationships between various levels in the educational process. Specific nature of identified technologies, and their inter-relationships, will be addressed in detail in relation to each research question, in order to adequately represent the multifarious process of the constitution of national subjects in the educational context.

## **9.2 Research Question 1**

### ***How do students of lower secondary school in the TRNC construct their national identity?***

This research question will be addressed in terms of students' positioning in relation to their immediate community and broader geo-political space, as based on the definition of the notion of national identity, conceptualized in this study as positioning in relationship to the world of states and nations.

#### **9.2.1 Students' positioning in relation to their immediate community**

Belonging to Northern Cyprus, and to the state of the TRNC, was one salient pattern of national identification which was found to be common to the students involved in the study. Students expressed their attachment to the island of Cyprus, and specifically to the northern part of Cyprus, as all children could relate to the place where they were receiving their education as to *their country* and *their home*. As far as the particular referential term for the location is concerned – whether it was 'TRNC' or 'Northern Cyprus' – no specific preferences were observed. The data showed that the entities of the

TRNC and of the Northern Cyprus were both linked to the island of Cyprus by the students, and were referred to as their immediate community.

Even though the students' attachment to the territory of Northern Cyprus could be seen as stemming from their experiences outside school (family, friends, home), the students' self-positioning as belonging to Northern Cyprus also reflected the emphases made through their schooling experience. Instances presented in Chapter Seven indicated that, throughout the programme of history and geography, the prominence was given to the location where students received their education. Presented material made references to economic activities, nature, and customs in Northern Cyprus. Introductory notes to the TRNC-produced textbooks also highlighted the fact that the programme was designed for Turkish Cypriot youth who attended school in Northern Cyprus. A number of school celebrations, described in Chapter Eight, pointed at the sovereign status of the Northern Cypriot state, the TRNC. The students' belonging to the Northern Cypriot state was established as they paid tribute to the memory of Dr Fazil Küçük, and to Rauf Denктаş, two founders of the Turkish Cypriot state, and as they celebrated the existence of the state itself (15 November, TRNC's Republic Day). Evidence presented in Chapters Six, Seven and Eight indicated that teachers at school placed emphasis on students' belonging to the schooling community - the community of a school in Northern Cyprus.

Overall, attachment to the territory of Northern Cyprus and belonging to the state of the TRNC appeared to be the most salient link in students' positioning in relation to their immediate community.

### **9.2.2 Students positioning in relation to broader geo-political space**

The students were positioned, and positioned themselves, towards states and nations through their immediate affiliation with their own state, the TRNC, and with their own territory, the island of Cyprus. Students' positioning in relation to states and nations lying beyond their immediate community was



shown to point in two directions; each direction was revealed as positioning in a set – a set of TRNC-Turkey or a set of *K.K.T.C.-G.K.R.Y.*

### **(1) 'TRNC-Turkey' set**

Through their association with the state of the TRNC, the students were positioned, and positioned themselves, as belonging to the alliance of the TRNC-Turkey.

Affinity of the TRNC with Turkey is visible through displays of 'conventional symbols of particularity' (Billig 1995, p. 85), the symbols of statehood and nationhood. As a political entity, the TRNC always appears as a part of the TRNC-Turkey political alliance. The national flag of the TRNC, as it appears in the schooling context, is never posted on its own but comes as a tandem display of two flags – the TRNC and Turkey. The national anthem of the TRNC is that of Turkey and is a dedication to the red banner of the Republic of Turkey. The two Republic Days celebrated at school – one of the TRNC and one of Turkey – is another instance of the TRNC-Turkey set and are reminiscent of all other symbolic representations of the state at school.

The use of the textbooks and parts of curriculum of the Republic of Turkey in several subjects - *Turkish Language, History of the Establishment of the Republic of Turkey and Kemalism, and Religious Culture and Morals* – in TRNC schools is indicative of the direct links between the two education systems – Turkey and the TRNC. A well-supported argument can be made that teaching of the main principles of Kemalism in the TRNC schools is a distinctively Turkish Cypriot feature of the TRNC' education system, and not just a mere replication of the Turkish curriculum. As was mentioned earlier, in Chapter Three, the principles of Kemalism, adopted by the Turkish Cypriot society in the 1930s as their basic ideology, are still the underlying ideological principles of the current state established in 1983. A MOEC official (Birsen, 01, Chapter Seven) confirmed that inclusion of the *History of the Republic of Turkey and Kemalism* in TRNC's programme of studies was

TRNC's own policy. Yet, the fact that teaching materials for the course are supplied by Turkey, and the course content and structure follow to the letter the Turkey-made design, is indicative of the link in the TRNC's education with Turkey.

The language of studies in TRNC's schools, Turkish, naturally locates the TRNC and Turkey within the same linguistic union. All the textbooks in use in the TRNC schools are written in accordance with the norms of the Turkish Language Institute of Turkey. All teachers at school are educated speakers of the standard literary norm of the Turkish language. According to the teachers, the standard literary norm of Turkish is the common language at school, and it surpasses all dialectal differences that children might have had prior to going through schooling in the TRNC. The common language of communication and of studies which, according to Balsera (2005), is 'where the construction of national identities is best observed' (p. 40), is a common national identity marker of students at school.

Through shared language, supplemented with 'shared culture' comprising of shared anthem, shared knowledge of *History of the Establishment of the Republic of Turkey and Kemalism* and shared knowledge of Atatürk's speeches, the students are positioned within the national set TRNC-Turkey. And it was through their positioning within that set that the students related to a broader social and geo-political space. The students reported on the ease of visiting Turkey, and the possibility to travel outside the territorial borders of Turkey and the TRNC, on the passports of the Republic of Turkey. The students' projections of their further education in institutions in Turkey also indicated that they saw themselves as belonging to a high culture of learning extending beyond the borders of the TRNC to a wider Turkish-speaking world.

## **(2) 'K.K.T.C.-G.K.R.Y.' set**

Through their association with Northern Cypriot state, the students were positioned, and positioned themselves, as belonging to the island of Cyprus.

As a territorial entity, the TRNC is presented on all school maps as a section of Cyprus, with a clear division of the island into two entities – *K.K.T.C.* and *G.K.R.Y.* The review of various maps used in the programme of studies creates an impression that *K.K.T.C.-G.K.R.Y.* appears as a 'binary opposition', where each unit is defined against another unit in a set. Whether positioned in relation to the immediate region of the Mediterranean, or in relation to the rest of the world, the TRNC is featured as a slice of a 'binary' island.

The Republic of Cyprus is a missing reference in the programme of studies at lower secondary level in the TRNC. The Republic of Cyprus, the internationally recognized state of Cyprus, does not feature in the official texts used in the programme of studies, other than as a historical construct in the textbook *Cyprus History*, volume 3 (8 grade). The text describes the events leading to the establishment of the Republic of Cyprus in 1960 and the events leading to the Republic's dissolution in 1963. Following that historical landmark, references are made to the two communities of Cyprus – *Rumlar* and *Türkler* – and to the history of negotiations between the two communities. From 1963 on, the Greek-Cypriot community features in the programmes of studies as *G.K.R.Y.*

Students' reports on their visits to the South, and their interactions with *Rumlar* (via English), as well as learning *Rumca* 'as a code language' (35, Chapter Seven), pointed to the existing relationship with the other side of the island, yet were indicative of the lines of separation between the two communities. Visits and interactions invariably involved crossing the border, and the communication was mediated by the third party (the English language). Despite the reality of island's division, the students could relate to

the broader geo-political space as holders of the passports of the Republic of Cyprus, and plan their movements in the world of states and nations as belonging to the Republic of Cyprus, an EU member-state.

### **9.2.3 Strategies**

The findings of this study indicate that students drew selectively on the resources of national identification provided by their schooling experience and that children's constructs of their national selves varied. Two common strategies for students' selective drawing from available national affiliations were identified in this study as: (1) relevance of national affiliations to students' personal experience and (2) perceptible benefits of national affiliations to students.

#### **9.2.3.1 Relevance of national affiliations to personal experience of students**

The study showed that in making individual choices when positioning themselves towards states and nations, students more readily affiliated themselves with the constructs which related to their personal experience.

One salient pattern of national identification, which was found to be common to all the children involved in the study, was attachment to the island of Cyprus, and specifically to the northern part of Cyprus, as all students could relate to the place where they were receiving their education as to their primary national affiliation, their immediate community.

As revealed in the data, attempts to find ethnic and cultural roots of the students in distant lands and times did not leave much impression on students' national image of themselves if they could not relate information to their more immediate experience. Thus, children expressed skepticism towards their lineage to masses of people moving from Central Asia centuries ago. They also expressed doubts of possessing distinct Turkic character – the character of a brave fighter – however positively this

character was presented in the programme of studies. Rather than identifying with the 'noble blood', described in the course of history, and glorified in the anthem and Atatürk's *Address to the Youth*, the students found similarities between their character and observed characteristics of typical Cypriot behavior (32, Chapter Seven).

In regards to the knowledge they acquired at school, students expressed obvious separation between knowledge that counted simply as information, and knowledge which was adopted by them in their constructs of their own national identities. The following few instances are illustrative of the choices students made in their own positioning towards various national affiliations.

Children related to *Bayram* holidays as an affiliation with Muslim culture, since they had their school holidays during *Bayrams* and the celebrations were part of their living. Apart from *Bayram*-related links to Muslim heritage, students revealed their alignment with secular nature of their living, which was also characteristic of the Northern Cypriot society in general. Few basic facts of the history of Islam taught in the programme of studies at school were perceived merely as a sum of knowledge with no relevance to students' own national affiliations.

Literary creations, for instance *Dede Korkut* or *Orkhon Papers* – did not prompt children to side with that literary heritage, or the place of its origin, despite its world fame. Students noted that they preferred reading *Harry Potter* to old legends (Chapter Six) and explicitly stated that they did not connect themselves to the times of those legends, or the legends themselves.

Although children were knowledgeable of the geographical and cultural description of the entire island of Cyprus, in their description of 'homeland' students included the sites which had relevance to their experiences in Cyprus. Thus, the students who ordinarily referred to the sites in Southern Cyprus as familiar (e.g. Troodos Mountains), reported on their experience of

traveling to the South. Children who showed to be mainly familiar with the northern part of Cyprus, did not include sites in the South when describing their immediate location; they counted the mountain range Beshparmak in the northern part of Cyprus and various other sites in the North, including 'traces' of Aphrodite, the Greek goddess of love, and Crusaders' castles, as significant landmarks of *their* Cyprus.

### **9.2.3.2 Perceptible benefits of national affiliations to students**

As revealed in the data, students chose to position themselves as belonging to the states and nations if they could find that belonging beneficial.

A few students saw themselves as belonging to the Republic of Cyprus; these children knew they could obtain European passports through their claimed citizenship of the Republic of Cyprus. The controversy of having the Republic of Cyprus eliminated as a legitimate political entity from the geo-political space of the TRNC's educational programme, and of holding physical passports of the Republic of Cyprus, did not seem to cause any confusion among the students. The children referred to the state in the south of Cyprus as *G.K.R. Y.* or the state of *Rumlar*, but saw their citizenship in *The Republic of Cyprus* as realistic and useful to gain access to the outer world, lying beyond the territory of Cyprus.

Students referred to themselves as 'Northern Cypriots' but also as tied to Turkey, and reported on the ease of their movement between the TRNC and Turkey. Some students also noted that they could easily obtain passport of the Republic of Turkey if they wanted to travel outside the TRNC-Turkey political space.

Overall, individual choices of national affiliations made by students were within the range of the resources available through their personal experience at school, their immediate community, and as reflecting social and historical conditions of their state, the TRNC.

#### **9.2.4 Summary and discussion of the findings in relation to Research Question 1**

A general finding that students drew strategically on available resources in constructing their national selves in the context of schooling supports the view of national identity as a social construct and ‘as “an event” rather than a social group’ (Breuille 2006, p. L). Whereas the view of national identity as a social construct, and as ‘imagined’ or ‘invented’ social construct, has already received wide support in existing literature dealing with national identity issues (Anderson 1983; Billig 1995; Gellner 1983, 1987; Giddens 1987; Hall 1996; Smith 1991, 1994), this study highlights that the social process of national identity construction is of an individualized nature. In addition to the commonly accepted thesis that different versions of national identity constructs can serve ‘political goals’ of various groups (Billig 1995; Reicher & Hopkins 2001), this study indicates that different versions of national identity constructs can serve personal goals of individuals.

The findings of the study support Gellner’s (1983) observation that ‘the cultural shreds and patches’ or ‘arbitrary historical inventions’ (p. 55), which become a shared culture of society through school-mediated, ‘academy-supervised idiom’ (p. 55), form a basis for national identification. As revealed in the present study, in their positioning towards the states and nations, students relied on the resources provided by their schooling experience. Some modification to Gellner’s proposition is, however, required. If Gellner (1983) suggests that ‘high culture’, which is transmitted through centralized education, promotes a unified sense of identity which safeguards national unity and loyalty to the national state, the findings of this study indicate that ‘high culture’ of national education can also promote varied senses of national loyalties, which can be matters of individuals’ choice.

The finding that students are capable of strategizing supports Foucault’s proposition that a human individual is not a passive product of existing power relations who merely follows the model set by the structures. An individual is

capable of choosing how to act and what choices to make among the models available in his or her environment. It is the agency of individuals which 'permit individuals to effect by their own means or with the help of others a certain number of operations on their bodies and souls, thoughts, conduct, and the way of being, so as to transform themselves...' (Foucault 1988a, p. 18).

The findings of this study, which point at children's strategic behaviour in choosing their national affiliations, correspond with the observation that national membership is important because it constitutes the basis of various entitlements (Billig 1995; Chrysochoou 2004; Gellner 1987). If Billig (1995) mainly talks about political entitlements 'which are presumed to follow from being a nation' (p. 63) and Chrysochoou (2004) focuses on the issues of justice, where justice is conferred only on those who share the same national membership (p. 101), Gellner (1997) extends the worth of national membership to a degree where 'this membership or set of qualifications becomes a person's most valuable possession, for it is virtually the precondition of the enjoyment of or access to all other goals' (p. 95). The students indeed displayed their awareness of having access to various goals through affiliating themselves with different states and nations. These affiliations were not with abstract 'unattainable' memberships; to the contrary, students showed to be well aware of which affiliation was most promising for each individual occasion. It is debatable whether the reality of the TRNC's political isolation makes the children in TRNC schools tuned to all the possibilities open to them based on their national membership. However, it is possible to draw a conclusion that the pragmatism of leaning towards a particular national or state affiliation is frequently combined in the eyes of students with their plans for future educational possibilities and, consequently, mobility within local and international space.

Following Gellner's (1983) discussion of the mobility of individuals, made possible through access to 'viable high culture' (p. 86), which Gellner equates



with education, the concept of *educational mobility* is proposed in the present study to account for students' positioning in relation to states and nations. As revealed in this study, students' constructs of their national selves operate on two different levels – one of *descriptive constructs*, which are based on the students' understanding of their national selves in terms of 'shreds and patches' (Gellner 1983, p. 55) tied to specific states and nations, and the second one of *educational mobility*, which are based on the students' choices (and possibilities) of movement within national and inter-national space.

As revealed in the data, the framework of the TRNC's national education system was a salient feature of students' national identification. Students tended to position themselves in relation to other states and nations in terms of their further educational opportunities that would follow the completion of their secondary education in the TRNC. Definite projections of their further moves to educational institutions in the TRNC, Turkey and Britain were expressed by the students. The theme of further education, always with reference to the country of its location, emerged frequently in various contexts, even without prompting. Students expressed confidence in having good chances to pursue their further studies in the countries other than the TRNC, based on their linguistic fluency and the adequate preparation they received through schooling in the TRNC.

Viewing national education as a means of moving in the world of states and nations supports Gellner's (1983) observation that 'viable high culture' (p. 86), or literate culture, is transmitted by means of state-sanctioned popular education and allows mobility within society due to the 'generic' nature of training in state-sponsored education (pp. 26-27). Gellner's (1983) own theorizing was placed in the context of industrialized societies, which required cultural homogenization within the boundaries of one state. The findings of this study extend applicability of Gellner's (1983) proposition of gaining mobility through education to the possibility of international mobility.

## 9.3 Research Question 2

### ***What factors contribute to the process of the construction of national identity by students of lower secondary school in the TRNC and why?***

Several interrelated factors contributing to the process of students' construction of national identity were identified in this study as education policies, schooling environment, teachers' agency and students' agency. A model showing the interactive nature of these factors was presented in a Diagram 9.1. The configuration of the overlapping factors was explained through Foucault's theorizing on the process of the constitution of the subject, and specifically through his view of a social process of meaning construction as the interplay of various technologies.

The model in Diagram 9.1 allows perception of the process of national identity construction as an outcome of interrelationships between various factors. Yet, it is a simplified model of a very complex process. In order to address the complexities of the process, this section will consider in detail the specific nature of each factor (or *technology*, in Foucault's terms) and their inter-relationships. The *why*-part of Research Question 2 will then be addressed in order to explain the reasons behind the contradictions and tensions which emerged at and between various levels of the educational process.

#### **9.3.1 Education policies**

The study findings indicate that education policies contribute to national identification in schooling context.

By offering a variety of study plans in a standard curriculum of state-run schools, rather than offering a variety of selective schools, education policies impact on students' positioning in relation to states and nations through educational possibilities coming out of state-sanctioned education. Provision of an alternative, English-language programme, which is accessible to all the students attending state lower secondary school, alongside Turkish-language

programme, offers similar educational choices, and hence, educational mobility, to all the students attending this level of schooling. School practices indicated that the policies' promise of 'equality of opportunity' (Education Policies 2005, p. 3) was met in that there was no competition in form of selective examinations and all students were allowed several re-examinations in order to reach satisfactory results in their studies. Linguistic 'sameness' of all students at school was also indicative of the fact that students received homogenized 'generic training' (Gellner 2006 [1983], p. 26) through their schooling.

Overall, education policies can be seen as positioning students in the same national group through their equal access to and training in a standardized high culture – shared culture - which was proposed in this study as forming the foundation of national unity, and being 'the medium and emblem of a "nation"' (Gellner 2006 [1983], p. 75).

Education policies themselves were shown to be far from being some monolithic structure, but as composed of various strands. Authorized by the MOEC - state executive in education - the policies reflected ongoing changes in the state ideology and yet, unwavering rigid state structures behind them.

As the new programme of studies foresaw the offer of Turkish-English study options within the same curriculum, the state practice of permanent hires of teachers did not allow for the supply of properly-trained teaching staff in the subjects offered in English. Whilst considerable alterations to the entire educational structure, and to the content of curriculum, were introduced, a highly prescriptive format of state rituals and symbolic representations of the state – referred to as 'format of the MOEC' in this study - reflected unchanging structures on the state level.

Diverse projections of national identification, found in the programme of studies, and in education policies in general, can be explained by political conditions in the country as determining education policies. Education

policies, in particular, reflected political uncertainty in terms of further developments in the Turkish Cypriot community. The TRNC's attempts to circumnavigate international isolation and facilitate European integration were visible in the policies and in the programme of studies. Focus on territorial attachment to Cyprus and on Cypriotism, as well as allusions to the European Union, were indicative of the conscious move of the Turkish Cypriot community towards establishing its place among European nations as a part of a united island. The TRNC's current attachment to the Republic of Turkey in terms of economic and political dependence was also reflected in education policies and the programme of studies. Parts of the TRNC's curriculum were tied to the curriculum of Turkey, despite the move towards harmonization of TRNC's education with education in other European countries. In addition to directing the Turkish Cypriot community towards Turkey and Europe, the programme of studies also supplied students with information which drew their attention to their own unique character of being members of the TRNC, and being tied to the land of Cyprus as the homeland of the Turkish Cypriot community.

### **9.3.2 Schooling environment**

The schooling environment was shown to be the place where constant reminders of national belonging surrounded daily lives of the students. National symbols displayed on school premises, at the opening of the textbooks, and displays of clichéd mottoes and slogans taken out of Atatürk's speeches (i.e. commitment to Kemalist ideology), marked the school as a distinct national place. Linguistic patterns observed at school also could be viewed as a daily flagging of the nationhood. Alongside these ever present reminders of nationhood, which were 'absorbed into the environment' of schooling (Billig 1995, p. 41), the school was shown to be the site where joint celebrations of national days and commemorative events, which 'disrupt the normal routines' (Billig 1995, p. 45), clearly positioned students within the same national group.

Amidst all instances of marking nationhood, flagging of the *state* emerged as the most obvious national association built into the schooling environment. The students were positioned as belonging to the same state through their constant drilling and joint participation in the same rituals, which were shown to be executed in a highly prescriptive manner.

The school was shown to be the locale where social norms, pertaining to performance of state rituals, were mastered. In addition to their good knowledge of state-related information, the students displayed acute awareness of the norms of behaviour attached to such information. Typically displaying reverence towards state-related rites on solemn occasions (e.g. commemorative events during the National Struggle and Martyrs' Week), the students behaved differently at times of routine school assemblies. Two different versions of anthem singing was just one instance of different expectations of students' behaviour at school. Students' ability to read the scripts of state celebrations 'by heart' was also indicative of students' good knowledge of typical scenarios of state-related customs, systematically practiced at school.

Obviously endowed with the task to promote the state, the school was shown to carry out this promoting in its own, school-specific manner, and had its own 'custom-designed' kits of state affiliations. Overall, the significance of the schooling environment emerged as an important factor in positioning the students as belonging to their state, and as sustaining social norms, practiced in society.

### **9.3.3 Agency of teachers**

Agency of the teachers was acknowledged by the state as vital in delivering state's aspirations for its national subjects through education. Trying to bring the teachers to its side, the MOEC, with the assistance of state- and EU-funded projects, invested in intensive teacher-training and, in some cases, saw the training as substituting for teacher manuals (as, for example, in the

case of the new course on Cyprus History). Teachers were shown to have their own views on the proposed training and reported to 'go to class and teach the way we can teach in our conditions' (Ersoy, 19, Chapter Seven). This confirms the observation made by a textbook writer who noted that 'once they [teachers] close the door, they can teach whatever they want' (Gülşen, 06, Chapter Seven). In most cases, teachers justified their dismissing attitude towards training as it did not 'apply to [their] situation' (Ersoy, 19, Chapter Seven). Thus, the choices made by the teachers in relation to their daily teaching practices were mainly based on their experience of schooling reality.

Teachers at school were seen as influencing the effectiveness of the policies on various levels. Whereas teachers colluded with the prescribed policies in promoting inclusive schooling experience for all students at school, they reported their modifications of proposed material and activities included in the programme of studies. Specifically, with reference to national identification issues, the teachers were observed, and also reported, to offer their own interpretation of historical events and to focus on affiliations with states and nations as they deemed appropriate.

Teachers' resistance to introduced changes in education was observed as a few teachers expressed skepticism over the intent of education policies and the programme of studies to 're-write history'. The teachers claimed they had enough experience to know that the programme would change again with the change of the government. One teacher appealed to the authority of Rauf Denktaş – an esteemed politician from the previous government – who proclaimed that the textbooks would end up in a dustbin as soon as the current government is replaced. These teachers admitted that they continued to stick to the 'old stories' because they did not see good reason to replace them with 'new stories' (Ersoy, 19, Chapter Seven). Other teachers reported to 'get around the text' or 'to ignore some things' (Merve, 18, Chapter Seven) with reference to imposed format of the MOEC. Their approach to rendering

history and other information relevant to national identification issues was shown to be more aligned with the vision of the reformed education, promoting change and openness. As reported by several teachers, the entire unit in Geography course (Social Studies, 7, 2005), which related to the EU and, in particular, the description of benefits to the young people within its space, was touched upon very briefly, and even omitted by one teacher, as it was seen to be irrelevant to the current reality of students. The focus of Cyprus History on the two communities of Cyprus – Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot – was supplemented by teachers' effort to inform students of the existing diversity in Cyprus, which goes well beyond bi-communal structure.

Consistent evidence of teachers' attempts to promote the feeling of 'sameness' among school children in terms of their educational opportunities was revealed in the data. The teachers of English reported their effort 'to bring all students to a good level in studies' (Hessa, 10, Chapter Seven) despite varying levels of proficiency in English. Teachers also reported their avoidance of themes which might be 'divisive' in terms of national positioning of school children and showed to treat all school children as equal members of the same schooling community in terms of their national belonging.

#### **9.3.4 Agency of students**

The findings of the study indicate that there was no systemic conformity among students to one unified vision of national identification. The students drew selectively on the resources provided by their schooling context in constructing their national selves, and the students' choices of national affiliations were seen mainly to be within the constraints of the structural environment of schooling.

The study indicated that students' positioning towards states and nations was revealed at two different levels: descriptive positioning and positioning in terms of educational opportunities the schooling in the TRNC provided them

with. If 'sentimental' attachments to Northern Cyprus were frequently pronounced in terms of students' attachment to their home, families – their experiences outside the schooling context – practical, 'rational', associations with states and nations were seen to reflect the school projections of state's self-positioning as a sovereign state, closely affiliated with Turkey, as positioned on the island of Cyprus, and as striving for international integration.

The students showed to have a good understanding of their movements outside the state borders within the world of states when it concerned their further educational possibilities. The students noted, and also were reported by their teachers, to aim at further studies in Turkish universities of high academic standing. This was seen as possible not simply because they were Turkish-speakers, but mainly because they were masters of a standard Turkish-language idiom, and because their training in TRNC schools would allow them passage through highly competitive entrance examinations to these institutions. Students also used the opportunity to gain a good level of English proficiency through an intensive schedule of English language studies offered by the educational programme. Proficiency in English was seen as facilitating communication with the neighbouring community of Greek Cypriots, wider English-speaking world, and also allowed for making plans for further studies in English-language higher educational institutions.

Students' awareness of social norms, particularly with reference to state-related rites, was mastered at school, as it was visible through instances of patterned behaviour practiced at school. Other than expressing 'sentiments of patriotic emotion' (Billig 1995, p. 45) on the occasions of mandatory participation in national rituals, students showed a certain degree of pragmatism in their choices of 'useful' affiliations and showed they had their own way out of international isolation of the TRNC as they chose to affiliate with further moves up the educational structure outside territorial borders of the TRNC.



### **9.3.5 Interplay of various technologies**

The findings of the study point at the constant interaction between various technologies as part of the same process. The effectiveness of education policies was seen to be actuated through the action of teachers. The mediating role of the teachers between state's projections of national positionings of students, and the students' experiences at school, was visible. For example, it was the teachers' choice of how projections of national identification in the programme of studies reached the students, through teachers' presentation of material and selection of learning activities. The schooling environment revealed to be the site where education policies were activated through a mastering of prescribed social norms, which positioned all students as belonging to the state where they received their education. The schooling environment, as well as implementation of education policies at school, which were permeated to a great degree by the agency of teachers, created a space where students could move among the resources provided as they were making sense of their national selves. The students showed to be capable of strategizing in making their choices of self-positioning towards their immediate community and wider geo-political space. The action of teachers and students was shown to be constrained by the structural educational setting, and it was the structures that empowered, shaped and limited the activity of teachers and students.

### **9.3.6 Summary and discussion of the findings in relation to Research Question 2**

The examination of the inter-relationships between the various factors contributing to the process of students' national identity construction raised a number of issues and revealed significant areas of contradiction and tension at and between various levels in the educational process. The purpose of this section is to address these issues and ambiguities, and to provide understanding and explanation of the processes taking place in education as reflecting social and historical developments in the TRNC.

The analytic framing proposed in this study approached the process of construction of national subjects as the outcome of outside events and actions undertaken by individuals. The view of the subject as a historical and context-dependent category suggested that this process was examined within the social and historical context of the developments in Northern Cyprus. Following Foucault, it was assumed that ‘a body of determined practices and discourses’ (Foucault 1987, p. 49), which functioned as true in this particular socio-historical moment, enabled, shaped and constrained the activity of individuals. Foucault’s (1980) notion of the ‘regimes of truth’ (p. 131), which he proposed as setting ‘the ensemble of rules according to which the true and the false are separated...’ (Foucault 1977 quoted in O’Farrell 2005, p. 65), was introduced in Chapter Four to account for the mechanisms determining the content of the *technologies of power and domination* accepted in a society as *true* at a given moment.

Whereas Foucault (1980) suggests that ‘each society has its regime of truth, its “general politics” of truth’ (p. 131), the findings of this study indicate the lack of a regime of truth which the TRNC’s society ‘accepts and makes function as true’ (p. 131). The school was shown to be the ground where different ‘ensembles of rules’ were brought into action, as revealed through sets of practices.

This lack of a regime of truth can be explained by the uncertainty of the political situation in Cyprus, and by the continuing conflicting circumstances of existence of the two separated communities on the island. The Northern Cypriot society is in transition, with a number of possibilities open for the future. It is difficult to predict which direction this future will take, but the continuing conditions of inequality (currently manifested as international non-recognition of the Northern Cyprus community), and the division of the island along the ethnic lines, are reflected in the TRNC’s attempts to find the solution to a very unsettling situation.

One visible route of development, proposed on the educational level in the TRNC, is a movement towards integration with the community of Greek Cypriots in the South, and towards European integration. The schooling practices examined in this study indicated that educational programme aimed at a social cohesion between students attending Turkish Cypriot schools and other communities in Cyprus and beyond. Emphasis on commonalities, rather than on differences, between Greek Cypriot and the Turkish Cypriot communities in the programme of studies promoted an inclusive reconciliatory spirit among TRNC's students with relation to the Greek Cypriot community. Inclusion of Modern Greek (*Rumca*) in the programme of studies was also indicative of the state's attempts not only to acknowledge the presence of a different community in Cyprus, but also to encourage the students' familiarity with their neighbouring community of Greek Cypriots. Proficiency in English, as a language playing a mediating role between the various communities of Cyprus, and the broader world, was seen as contributing to social cohesion. Inclusion of French and German, as part of 'The European Language Passport' (Education Policies 2005, p. 15) in the programme of studies, and alignment of TRNC's education system with other European education systems, are also indicative of TRNC's attempts to be counted as a member of European community.

Alongside the programme of Cyprus History, which explicitly promotes *Cypriotism*, a parallel course in General History points the students in the direction of Turkey, and emphasizes commonalities between Turkish Cypriots and other Turkic people. The content of the General History should not be seen as a relic, an incidental survivor of a previous 'regime of truth'. The narrative presented in the programme of General History is reinforced through school celebrations of national days and commemorative events, which position the Northern Cyprus community as closely tied to the Republic of Turkey. Various other attributes of national affiliations with Turkey (*Atatürk's Address to the Youth*, national anthem, flag-set) maintain their presence in the physical surroundings of the students and in the curriculum

of studies. Disillusionment of the Turkish Cypriot community with the results of the Referendum in April 2004, when the majority of Greek Cypriot community voted against the re-unification of the island, confirmed the feelings of distrust which had existed between the two communities for years. The following comment made by a teacher is very symbolic in this respect: '*Denaktaş will stay, Talat will go*' (Mehmet, 12, Chapter Six). The President of the TRNC, Talat, who initiated the changes in education and its move towards greater integration between the two communities of Cyprus, is seen as a transient figure. This means that further changes in politics and ideology in the state can offer different possibilities for further developments in the TRNC.

It is noteworthy that a textbook (Cyprus History, volume 3, 2005) openly admits that the revision of history is a regular occurrence and instructs students that once 'new facts about historical events surface up' (Chapter Six, *Afterwards* on p. 207 of this thesis), history will be revised. The future 'left open as a political choice' (Papadakis 2008, p. 28) is also left open as an individual choice to the students. All the possibilities available to the students through their educational experience suggest a variety of options the students can draw on in making sense of their national selves.

Alongside a realm of possibilities, suggested by the lack of one regime of truth at this point in the development in the TRNC, the data also attested to a number of contradictions, as the relationship between education and the construction of national subjects was examined.

One obvious contradiction, which emerged in the data, is an omission from the programme of studies of the Republic of Cyprus as an existing political entity and yet, students' awareness of the benefits of having passports of that 'non-existent' entity. The students encounter their neighbouring community (Greek Cypriots, or *Rumlar*) on various levels through their schooling experience: through their learning of *Rumca* (a language of neighbouring society), through their learning about joint living on a shared island in

previous years, and through their ability to use English as the means of communication with *Rumlar* in the South. Whilst they refer to the state of their neighbours, living across the border, as *G.K.R.Y.*, the students cross the border to obtain the passports of the Republic of Cyprus.

The unusual nature of the existence of the TRNC, which was discussed in Chapter Three, was reflected in schooling practices, which, in turn, replicated the conditions of the state. The fact that the sovereign state, the TRNC, frequently appears in the textbooks as a part of a 'set' (e.g. TRNC-Turkey or *K.K.T.C.-G.K.R.Y.*) of national and political entities, is indicative of the conflicting visions of TRNC's positioning towards its surroundings and towards its own self. The metaphor of being 'sandwiched between the EU and Turkey', used in a UK Foreign Office report (2006-2007, clause 94) to describe the placement of the Turkish Cypriot community in the context of the 'Cyprus conflict' could apply to the image of the TRNC and the national positioning of this group of students, as projected through their schooling practices.

As it was noted in Chapter Three, non-recognition of TRNC's citizenship outside its borders has forced TRNC citizens to acquire 'supplementary citizenship'. Parallel to the acquisition of supplementary citizenship, supplementary educational routes (English-Turkish programme options, leading to British-based curriculum schools, and Turkish-language educational institutions as well), and supplementary language (English) were offered to the students by the programme of studies in the state-run schools.

The attempts of the programme of studies to bring the two conflicting communities – Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot – closer to each other point at yet another contradiction, which needs to be addressed in the context of this study. Being critical of nationalist discourses, which proved to be divisive between the communities of Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots (*Cyprus History*, volume 3, 2005; Field notes 25 November 2008 in Chapter Seven), the new programme of studies perpetuates the same kind of nationalist

discourse, that is *Cypriotism* which excludes existing ethnic diversity on the island, and only acknowledges the presence of two ethnic groups within the notion of *Cypriotism*. This issue was highlighted by a textbook writer (Gülşen, 06, Chapter Seven) who expressed her dissatisfaction with the Textbook Commission's decision to eliminate from the textbooks activities which acknowledged the cosmopolitan culture of Cyprus. The issue was shown to be addressed by some teachers, who explicitly raised their concern with the omissions in the new programme of studies (in particular, exclusion of diverse ethnic groups from the demographics of Cyprus). The teachers rectified the situation on their own initiative (Merve, 18, Chapter Seven). The actions of isolated teachers in this respect are commendable, however, they remain isolated. It seems that the narrow focus on the two specific communities in conflict may not be as effective in overcoming nationalistic attitudes in society; the move towards broader diversity might be more conducive for social cohesion of various ethnic groups in a cosmopolitan society. This specific recommendation is not only relevant to the local Cyprus situation, but is germane to education in general.

One of the issues that emerged out of this examination of revealed contradictions in the educational process is of the role of the teacher in the implementation of the prescriptive norms of educational structures. In the context of the present study, it concerns the mediating role of the teacher in shaping the national identities of students, as identity constructs are projected by education policies and the programme of studies.

The study findings demonstrated that the content of the programme of studies and pedagogical approaches to teaching, built into education policies, undergo considerable modifications as they interact with human agency, agency of the teachers. Thus, for example, teachers at school chose to omit a number of activities included in the programme of studies, despite the teachers' continuous training in advanced methodology at various workshops, and despite the insistence of the policy texts on the obvious

benefits of those activities. The mismatch between the expectations of education policies and the realities of the teaching/learning process at school was seen as one reason for the teachers' modifications of the programme of studies. Teachers indicated that activities requiring students' archival research, reflection on the controversial historical and political issues, and finding obscure information outside schooling resources were simply impractical as the time allocated for completion of such activities was insufficient. Teachers also indicated that they were not in a position to check the requested information since they did not have the appropriate teachers' manuals and did not have time to conduct their own research to find answers. Teachers also referred to their lack of time for grading 'creative' assignments; this is why teachers reported that their preferred choice of assessment questions were questions testing factual information (with one correct answer possible). According to the teachers, lack of resources (e.g. computers and other technology) and overcrowded classrooms did not leave much space for the implementation of 'unrealistic projections' (12, Chapter Seven) written into the education policies and included in the textbooks. An intensive schedule of teacher training workshops, which aimed at enabling teachers 'to use the materials in the new textbooks in new forms of teaching to attain new skills and societal goals' (İnanç & Kızılyurek 2008, p. 41), did not produce the desired results. As revealed in the data, one obvious reason of the ineffectiveness of teacher training was that the training was loaded on top of a very demanding schedule of teaching assignments, and this situation was not conducive to a comprehensive shift in teachers' performance.

The data presented in Chapters Six, Seven and Eight revealed that changes in education policies, and in the content of the programme of studies, did not necessarily change the teacher's views of historical constructs, current realities, or the teacher's ideology. Teachers had their previous knowledge, experience, pedagogical approaches to teaching, and personal attitudes; these showed to have been maintained by a number of teachers despite changes that occurred on the state level. The practice of the permanent hires

of teachers for the TRNC's schools guaranteed a high retention rate among teaching staff (e.g. the length of service of teachers in the Orange Grove School ranged within 7-25 years, with 35 teachers out of the total number being at school longer than fifteen years).

In view of the above findings, this study argues for the necessity to acknowledge teachers' agency when proposing changes in education policies. This observation has a direct implication to the circumstances when education initiatives aim at creating conditions for better social cohesion in societies affected by the consequences of nationalistic disputes. The island of Cyprus is a location where the success of such education initiatives is of particular relevance. A concerted effort of local and international institutions to achieve conflict resolution through the intensive training of teachers in 'the development of new trends in history teaching for reconciliation and stability in Cyprus' (Project Fiche 2006) is commendable in this respect, but it requires the support of other factors impacting on the desirable goals of such training.

This study suggests that the changes to the content of education policies and the programme of studies require the ensuing changes of schooling realities and of teaching conditions. Policy changes and the re-training of teachers have a limited effect if the conditions of teaching remain stagnant.

The findings of this study also indicate that the changes implemented on the level of education policies should receive the support of the structures operating on the state level. The prescriptive scenarios of school celebrations of national days and commemorative events, which revealed the unchanging format of the MOEC, approached the issues of conflict in Cyprus rather differently from the approach adopted in new Cyprus History. Whereas the rendering of the historical events surrounding the conflict in Cyprus by the new Cyprus History programme were praised as promising further social cohesion between conflicting communities (İnanç & Kızılyurek 2008; Papadakis 2008; POST 2007; POST 2010), school celebrations of



commemorative events focused on confrontation between the communities, and reproduced the very nationalistic discourse, which was presented by the history programme, and by some teachers as well, as divisive. This raises a question of deliverance of the goals of education, as it has to operate within firmly-established and a rigid structural setting of the state. This, again, points at the inter-relation of various factors in the process of national identity construction in the context of schooling. Changes to one factor do not achieve a desirable intent if other factors in the process do not align with the changes, and thus, various structural components should be viewed as parts of the same process.

Another issue raised by the examination of the inter-relationship between factors contributing to the process of national identity construction is of the role of education in achieving the desirable political goals of the state.

The links between education and the political goals of the state have been thoroughly examined in existing literature (Balsera 2005; Gallagher 2005; Gellner 1983; Gündüz 2009; Pingel 2010; Shibata 2004). Connection between education and state politics is well expressed by Pingel (2010) in UNESCO guide for textbook research:

It is impossible, in the long run, to teach insights or disseminate knowledge through textbooks that do not correspond with the general political context. The relationship between politics and education, however, is not one-sided. They influence each other. Education can supply new aims that will be propagated in schools and textbooks before they are implemented and fully realized on the political level. Education can lay the foundations for forming attitudes and opinions which are essential to policies that promote peace and mutual understanding. Through education, we can legitimately instill a sense of global responsibility in the students' minds, although in reality students are confronted with violations of this principle almost every day (p. 62).

In the context of the political isolation of the TRNC, the significance of the educational effort in pursuing the political goals of the state takes on a completely different meaning. Among the findings of this study is that education in the TRNC is being used to break through international barriers.

The choices made by the TRNC government and the educational authorities reveal the attempts of the Turkish Cypriot community to establish its own unique system of education, which maintains continuity with its own educational traditions, but which is also striving to take its rightful place among other education systems. The present study showed that explicit goals of the education system in the TRNC to achieve European and global integration, and to enable 'the Cyprus Turkish Community to take its position among other communities in Information Age' (Education Policies 2005, p. 4), are attempted through the provision of a national, state-run, education which allows students to move within the global space of states and nations with regards to their further educational opportunities. Inclusion of a two-language programme within the same curriculum in state-run schools, and preparing students for a high level of mobility within various educational systems (e.g. inclusion of GCE/IGCES programmes for smooth transition to English-speaking educational institutions in Britain and other European states, alongside preparation of students for studies in educational institutions in Turkey or TRNC) surpasses the achievements of the TRNC's government in finding ways of integration into European and global markets through political and economic channels.

So far, the political endeavours of the TRNC to take their society out of isolation have failed, however, education seems to be an engine which has been used to lead the way out of such isolation. The education system and schooling practices in the TRNC proved to be more interested in the education for future international mobility than in fostering 'national spirit' based on national exclusivity. Thus, this study argues that the *educational mobility* of the students going through the schooling in the TRNC is an essential component of their national identity, defined in this study as positioning towards the world of states and nations. It is this component of national identity which holds promise for future generations in finding ways towards societal integration across the national borders of one state.

Schooling, seen as instrumental in facilitating educational mobility within international space, is a way of overcoming the political isolation imposed on TRNC's residents. Not allowing physical movement outside TRNC's borders *per se*, schooling nevertheless provides a basis in terms of language communication skills and a quality of education which can be viewed as easing the integration of TRNC's students in other societies, provided students obtain proper documentation to exit the TRNC. Drastic changes to the conflicting conditions would only be possible when the TRNC will pass, what Billig (1995) calls 'the major test' (p. 85) of nationhood, its international recognition. Until it happens, schooling is seen as a possible means of resolving existing conditions of inequality imposed by the political isolation of the Northern Cyprus community through orientation of its students towards educational mobility within the world of states and nations.

#### **9.4 Implications of the study**

The examination of the process of national identity construction through Foucault's analytic concepts of technologies identified a range of factors which contributed to the process of national identity construction in the context of schooling in the TRNC. Viewed as the interplay of various technologies, the process of national identity construction has been shown to be a complex process, where various technologies interrelate and are seen as parts of the same complex process. The model showing configuration of interrelated technologies as part of the process of national identity construction in the context of schooling was proposed (Diagram 9.1).

The present study has made a methodological contribution to how research and theorizing on the process of national identity construction, indeed any identity construction, can be undertaken using the analytic tools provided by Foucault's theorizing on the process of the constitution of the subject. Using Foucault's approach to the examination of social processes of how humans develop knowledge of themselves opens up possibilities for approaching a wide range of issues in the context of schooling. Such an approach allows

one to see how the structural environment of the individuals and their agency are parts of the same process.

The type of investigation undertaken in the present study enabled me to approach the social process of how individuals construct knowledge of themselves without giving particular emphasis to structure or to agency, but to view the process as an integration of multiple contributions in a constant interplay of structure and agency. As was suggested by the analytic framework, developed in Chapter Four, it is only through the interaction of structures and actions of individuals that social processes gain meaning. The examination of the workings of the programme of studies in the TRNC's lower secondary schools suggested that this interaction was far from straightforward. The issues of disparity between educational structures in their 'design' form and the schooling reality, operation of the new education system within existing rigid structures of the state system, the role of teachers in educational process, and, in particular, their mediating role between the state policies and the students, all seemed to be in a complex interrelation with each other.

The study demonstrated that the education experience of students of a lower secondary school in the TRNC played a distinct role in the students' construction of their national selves. The study revealed that students drew selectively and strategically on the resources available to them through their schooling. Students' individual positioning towards states and nations varied, however, children positioned themselves towards the states and nations within the constraints of their schooling experience, and the entire educational experience of students was an important component of their national identity.

Among the factors that influence the students' construction of their national identities, teachers' agency was shown to play a prominent role. The research project reported here raises an important question of teacher's agency not only specifically with reference to the shaping of national selves

by children at school, but with reference to a wider range of issues which concern the teachers' role in a framework of a national education system. The findings of the study revealed that changes made to education policies and programmes of studies need to be coordinated with the realities of schooling. A mismatch between the expectations of education policies and the study programme on one hand, and the working conditions of teachers at school on the other, obstructs the smooth implementation of education policies and the content of studies. The study would thus recommend that those who are involved in reforming the education programme should view the changes beyond the content level and consider how the changes in the content of the programme could be realized in real schooling conditions.

The examination of the process of national identity construction in the context of schooling proved to be a rich resource for uncovering complex links between the different aspects of students' educational experience and their strategic actions in making sense of that experience. Ultimately, studies such as this can better inform our current understanding of the role education plays in shaping students' knowledge of themselves, and supplying the resources for the practical purposes in life.

## **9.5 Recommendations for further research**

The present study does not claim to provide an exhaustive understanding and explanation of the process of national identity construction in the context of schooling. There are further areas which could be examined in future research.

One logical extension of this research would be a further exploration of other contributing factors to the construction of national identity in the context of schooling. This study has shown how structure and agency of the individuals are interrelated parts of the same complex process. The present study provided an analysis and interpretation of only a few intersecting factors in that process – education policies, schooling environment, teachers' agency

and students' agency. It is more than likely that there are other factors that have yet to be unearthed, which contribute to the process of the constitution of national subjects in the context of schooling.

In the further exploration of contributing factors to constructing national identity in the context of schooling, an attempt could be made to account for the various stages of the educational structure, and also for the schools in the private sector, within the same education system. A multiple case study could explore how differences in schooling culture are reflected in the process of students' national identity construction. It is unknown at the present time whether the findings of this study could be replicated or refuted in a different context of schooling. The desirable goal of this type of study, with wider participant sample, would be to develop the most complete list possible of patterns and themes that cut across individual school contexts.

Future research could also include the further development of the concept of 'educational mobility' as an important marker of students' national identity. The development of the concept of 'educational mobility' which positions students in relation to a limited (or unlimited) number of states and nations would be a worthwhile pursuit for the advancement of our theoretical understanding of the notion of national identity and its value at the time of transnational living.

Located in the educational context of the TRNC - one of the two states on the island of Cyprus, which is officially rated in international discourse as a conflict zone - the study naturally touched on the theme of education in conflict societies. In the further exploration of the issues raised in the present study, it would be interesting to see how education in two different sides of the conflict is affected by their placement in that conflict. The example of Cyprus, with two very unbalanced sides in the conflict in terms of political and economic status of each side, suggests that the concept of 'educational mobility' with reference to national identification will be rendered differently by the students on two different sides of the conflicting society. Another

implication of the present study could include a closer examination of how the findings of research into national identity construction in the context of schooling could contribute to the ultimate goal of the Cyprus conflict resolution.

Further to looking into the application of research on national identity construction in the context of Cyprus conflict, similar studies could be conducted in other conflict and post-conflict societies with the aim of augmenting our understanding of how education can be best used to promote the goals that can benefit society at large, rather than the interests of selective groups of people.

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## APPENDICES

## Appendix 1 A

### Sample of Application Letter to the MOEC Requesting Permission to Conduct Fieldwork in Lower Secondary Schools in the TRNC (Turkish Original)



19/01/2009

Genel Ortaöğretim Dairesi Müdürlüğü'ne  
Milli Eğitim ve Kültür Bakanlığı  
Lefkoşa

İlgili Makama,

Ben Olga Campbell-Thomson, İngiltere'de Manchester Üniversitesi'nde yapmakta olduğum Yüksek Lisans Doktora Tezimi için hazırladığım "Ulusal Kimliğin Oluşmasında Okulun Rolü" konulu araştırmam ile ilgili veri toplamak için KKTC ortaokullarını ziyaret etmem gerekiyor. Ziyaretim sırasında çeşitli ders ve okul faaliyetlerini gözlemlemeyi planlıyorum. Ayrıca, öğrenciler, öğretmenler ve okul müdürleriyle, araştırmam ile ilgili olarak görüşme yapabilmek için izin rica ediyorum. Tarafınızca uygunsa, ziyaretimi Şubat ve Nisan 2009 arasında, üç ay olmak üzere, gerçekleştirmek düşüncesindeyim.

Saygılarımla

Olga Campbell-Thomson  
Doktora Öğrencisi  
Eğitim Fakültesi  
Manchester Üniversitesi, İngiltere  
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School of Education, The University of Manchester, Oxford Road M13 9PL  
Tel. +44(0) 161 275 3466

## Appendix 1 B

### Sample of Application Letter to the MOEC Requesting Permission to Conduct Fieldwork in a Lower Secondary School in the TRNC (English Translation)



19/01/2009

General Directorate of Secondary Education  
Ministry of National Education and Culture  
Nicosia

To whom it may concern,

With reference to my doctoral research for The University of Manchester, UK, specifically on the subject 'National identity construction in the context of schooling in the TRNC', I would be obliged for the opportunity to visit secondary schools in the TRNC to gather information related to my research. I am planning to conduct observations of lessons and various school activities. My intention is also to interview school children, teachers and school principals on the issues relating to my research. With your permission, I would plan to visit schools during the months of February, March and April, 2009.

Sincerely yours,

Olga Campbell-Thomson  
PhD Research, Education  
School of Education  
The University of Manchester, UK  
Oxford Road M13 9PL  
Tel. +44(0) 161 275 3466  
E-mail: [olga.thomson@postgrad.manchester.ac.uk](mailto:olga.thomson@postgrad.manchester.ac.uk)

**Appendix 2 A**  
**MOEC's Official Letter of Approval**  
**(Turkish Original)**



**KUZEY KIBRIS TÜRK CUMHURİYETİ**  
**MİLLİ EĞİTİM VE KÜLTÜR BAKANLIĞI**  
**GENEL ORTAÖĞRETİM DAİRESİ MÜDÜRLÜĞÜ**

Sayı: GOÖ.0.00.35/08/09/A- 492

20.01.2009

Sayın Olga Campbell Thomson  
9, Eylül Cad. 18 Lefke.

**İlgi:** 19.01.2009 tarihli yazınız.

İlgi başvurunuz Talim ve Terbiye Dairesi tarafından incelenmiş olup KKTC. Milli Eğitim ve Kültür Bakanlığı'na bağlı okullarda görev yapan yöneticilere, öğretmenlere ve öğrenim gören öğrencilere yönelik hazırlanan anket sorularının uygulanması müdürlüğümüzce uygun görülmüştür.

Ancak anket uygulanmadan önce anketin uygulanacağı okulların bağlı bulunduğu müdürlükle istişarede bulunulup anketin hangi okulda ne zaman uygulanacağı birlikte saptanmalıdır.

Anket uygulandıktan sonra sonuçlarının Talim ve Terbiye Dairesi Müdürlüğüne ulaştırılması gerektiğini bilgilerinize saygı ile rica ederim.

**Tülin Murat**  
**Müdür**

**Eki:** Anket

**TM/SK**

Tel (90) (392) 228 3136 – 228 8187  
Fax (90) (392) 227 8639  
E-mail meb@mebnet.net

Lefkoşa-KIBRIS

**Appendix 2 B**  
**MOEC's Official Letter of Approval**  
**(English Translation)**

**TURKISH REPUBLIC OF NORTHERN CYPRUS**  
**MINISTRY OF NATIONAL EDUCATION AND CULTURE**  
**GENERAL DIRECTORATE OF SECONDARY EDUCATION**

**Number: GOÖ.0.00-35/08/09/A- 4192**

**20.01.2009**

**Dear Olga Campbell-Thomson**  
**9, Eylül Cad. 18 Lefke**

**Re: Your letter dated 19.01.2009.**

Your related application has been examined by the Department of Educational Planning and Programme Development, TRNC, and the conducting of the research, which targets the students and the teachers at the schools under the Directorship of the Ministry of National Education and Culture, has been deemed suitable.

However, prior to the implementation of the research, it is necessary to agree with the administration of the school on the dates of research implementation.

I kindly request that you share the findings of the research with the Department of Educational Planning and Programme Development, following the implementation of the research.

Signature

Tülin Murat  
Director

TM/SK

---

Tel (90) (392) 228 3136 – 228 8187

Fax (90) (392) 227 8639

E-mail meb@mebnet.net

Nicosia - CYPRUS

**Appendix 3 A**  
**Sample Letter to the School Principal**  
**(English original)**



Date \_\_\_\_\_

Dear \_\_\_\_\_,

I requested and was granted permission by the Ministry of National Education and Culture to conduct my fieldwork in your school.

With your permission, I intend to collect data for a research project which explores the process of national identity construction in the context of schooling. The methods of data collection I propose include interviews with teachers and students, and observation of lessons and various school activities.

With your permission I would like to visit your school during the period of my fieldwork in February, March and April 2009, as confirmed in my letter to the Ministry of Education (attached).

With your permission, I would like to discuss a schedule of interviews and observations with teachers at school.

I attach for your approval information sheet informing participants about the research and consent forms for the participants, should they agree to be included in the research. I also attach a consent form for parents of the students who will be asked to participate in this research. All the attached forms are prepared in accordance with the ethical guidelines established by the University of Manchester, UK.

Sincerely yours,

Olga Campbell-Thomson  
PhD Research, Education  
School of Education  
The University of Manchester, UK  
Oxford Road M13 9PL  
Tel. +44(0) 161 275 3466  
E-mail: [olga.thomson@postgrad.manchester.ac.uk](mailto:olga.thomson@postgrad.manchester.ac.uk)

**Appendix 3 B**  
**Sample Letter to the School Principal**  
**(Turkish Translation)**



Tarih \_\_\_\_\_

Değerli \_\_\_\_\_,

Saha çalışmamı sizin okulunuzda uygulamak için Milli Eğitim ve Kültür Bakanlığına başvuruda bulunup onların müsadelerini aldım.

Sizin müsademizle, okul bağlamında ulusal kimlik inşası sürecini inceleyen bir araştırma projesi için veri toplamak istiyorum. Tasarladığım veri toplama metodları, öğretmen ve öğrencilerle mülakat, ve derslerin ve farklı okul aktivitelerinin gözlemlenmesini içermektedir.

Sizin müsademizle, ekte bulunan Milli Eğitim Bakanlığına gönderdiğim mektupta da belirtildiği gibi, okulunuzu saha çalışmamın süresi olan Şubat, Mart ve Nisan 2009 zaman diliminde ziyaret etmek istiyorum.

Sizin müsademizle, okulunuzdaki öğretmenlerle mülakat ve gözlemler için randevu tarihi konusunu görüşmek istiyorum.

Bu mektuba, onaylamanız için, katılımcıları bilgilendirme formları ve araştırmaya dahil olmayı kabul ederlerse, katılımcılar için araştırmaya katılım rıza formlarını ekliyorum. Araştırmaya katılacak öğrencilerin aileleri tarafından doldurulacak izin formunu ilişikte bulabilirsiniz. Ekteki tüm formlar, Manchester Üniversitesi (UK) tarafından belirlenmiş etik kurallarına uygun bir şekilde hazırlanmıştır.

Saygılarımla

Olga Campbell-Thomson  
Doktora Öğrencisi  
Eğitim Fakültesi  
Manchester Üniversitesi, İngiltere  
E-mail: olga.thomson@postgrad.manchester.ac.uk

School of Education, The University of Manchester, Oxford Road M13 9PL  
Tel. +44(0) 161 275 3466

## Appendix 4 A

### Sample Letter to Teachers Informing Them of the Research and Asking Them to Allow Observations in Their Classrooms (English Original)



Date \_\_\_\_\_

Dear \_\_\_\_\_,

I requested and was granted permission by the Ministry of National Education and Culture to conduct my fieldwork in your school. I also obtained permission from the School Principal to arrange meetings with teachers and to ask them for interviews and/or lesson observations.

My research project explores national identity construction by school children in the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus. In order to explore the relationship between school children's construction of national identity and their education experience, I intend to conduct observations of lessons, school activities and to interview teachers and school children.

With your permission, I would like to observe your lesson. The notes of my observation will be kept strictly confidential. The information I will obtain during observation is for the purpose of my doctoral dissertation project only. I might refer to notes of my observation in my thesis if I decide that the information is relevant to my study. I will take all reasonable steps to protect your identity, should references to observation notes are made in the text of the thesis.

Your participation in this study is voluntary; refusal to participate will involve no prejudice and you may discontinue participation at any time without penalty.

If you have any questions about this research, feel free to contact me, Olga Campbell-Thomson, School of Education, The University of Manchester, e-mail [olga.thomson@postgrad.manchester.ac.uk](mailto:olga.thomson@postgrad.manchester.ac.uk).



## Appendix 4 B

### Sample Letter to Teachers Informing Them of the Research and Asking Them to Allow Observations in Their Classrooms (Turkish Translation)



Tarih \_\_\_\_\_

Değerli \_\_\_\_\_,

Saha çalışmamı sizin okulunuzda uygulamak için Milli Eğitim ve Kültür Bakanlığına başvuruda bulunup onların müsadesini aldım. Ayrıca okul müdüründen de öğretmenlerle mülakat ve ders gözlemleri ayarlayabilmek için müsade aldım.

Araştırma projem Kuzey Kıbrıs Türk Cumhuriyeti'ndeki eğitim bağlamında öğrencilerin ulusal kimlik inşası sürecini incelenmektedir. Öğrencilerin ulusal kimlik insanlarının onların eğitim deneyimleriyle ilgili ilişkisini incelemek için, ders ve okul aktivitelerini gözlemek ve öğretmen ve öğrencilerle mülakat yapmayı planlamaktayım.

Sizin müsadenizle, dersinizi gözlemek istiyorum. Gözlem notlarım katı bir şekilde gizli kalacaktır. Gözlem sırasında edindiğim bilgiler sadece doktora tezime içindir. Çalışmayla ilgili olabilecek bazı alıntılara tezimde yer verebilirim. Gözlem notlarının tez metninde kullanılması durumunda sizin kimliğinizi korumak için gerekli tüm adımları alacağım.

Bu çalışmaya katılımınız gönüllülük esasına dayanmaktadır: katılmayı reddiniz herhangi bir önyargı içermeyecek ve istediğiniz zaman bu çalışmaya katılımınızı sorunsuz bir şekilde sonlandırabilirsiniz.

Bu araştırmayla ilgili herhangi bir sorunuz olması durumunda benimle rahatlıkla iletişime geçebilirsiniz. İletişim bilgilerim: Olga Campbell-Thomson, Eğitim Fakültesi, Manchester Üniversitesi, e-posta: olga.thomson@postgrad.manchester.ac.uk.

**Appendix 5 A**  
**Information Sheet for Participants of Interviews**  
**(English Original)**



**Title of the Project:** Exploring the process of national identity construction in the context of schooling in the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus

**Researcher:** Olga Campbell-Thomson  
School of Education, The University of Manchester, UK

In this research, I am looking at the process of students' national identity construction in the context of schooling in the TRNC.

In my interview, I will ask questions which relate to the issues of national identity, e.g., knowledge of the national geographical territory, national emblems, national history, positioning of self in relation to states and nations, and the like.

If you agree to participate in this study, I will request to interview you individually or will ask you to participate in a group interview. Your participation in this study is voluntary; refusal to participate will involve no prejudice and you may discontinue participation at any time without penalty. The interviews will be audio-taped and I will take all reasonable steps to protect your identity; no names will be used and no identifiable descriptors or characteristics will be used or retained. All audio-tapes will be destroyed upon completion of this study.

The information I will obtain during our interview is for the purpose of my doctoral dissertation project only. I might refer to some quotes from the interview if I decide that the quotes are relevant to my study.

You will keep a copy of this information sheet and a copy of the consent form.

This project has been reviewed and approved by the Ethics Committee at the School of Education, The University of Manchester. Questions concerning your rights as a participant in this research may be addressed to the Ethics Committee, Office of Research Development and Administration, School of Education, The University of Manchester, UK.

If you have any questions about this research, feel free to contact me, Olga Campbell-Thomson, School of Education, The University of Manchester, e-mail [olga.thomson@postgrad.manchester.ac.uk](mailto:olga.thomson@postgrad.manchester.ac.uk).

**Appendix 5 B**  
**Information Sheet for Participants of Interviews**  
**(Turkish Translation)**



**Bilgi Formu**

**Proje Başlığı:** Kuzey Kıbrıs Türk Cumhuriyeti'ndeki eğitim bağlamında ulusal kimlik inşası sürecinin incelenmesi

**Araştırmacı:** Olga Campbell-Thomson  
Eğitim Fakültesi, Manchester Üniversitesi, İngiltere

Bu araştırma projesinde, okuldaki öğrencilerin ulusal kimliğini oluşturma süreci ile ilgileniyorum.

Mülakatımda, ulusal kimlikle ilgili meseleler üzerine sorular soracağım. Örneğin, ulusal coğrafi alan bilgisi, ulusal semboller, ulusal tarih, uluslar ve devletler bağlamında kişinin konumlanması vb.

Eğer bu çalışmaya katılmayı kabul ederseniz, sizden ya bireysel olarak yada bir grup mülakatına katılmanızı rica edeceğim. Bu çalışmaya katılımınız gönüllülük esasına dayanmaktadır: katılmayı reddiniz herhangi bir önyargı içermeyecek ve istediğiniz zaman bu çalışmaya katılımınızı sorunsuz bir şekilde sonlandırabilirsiniz. Mülakatlar kayıt altına alınacak ve sizin kimliğinizi korumak için gerekli tüm adımları araştırmacı alacaktır. Herhangi bir isim ve kimliği açığa çıkarabilecek herhangi bir tanımlayıcı kullanılmayacak. Kullanılan tüm ses kayıtları çalışmanın tamamlanmasından sonar yok edilecektir.

Mülakatlar sırasında elde edilecek bilgiler sadece benim doktora tezime için kullanılacaktır. Çalışmayla ilgili olabilecek bazı alıntılara tezimde yer verebilirim.

Bu bilgi formunun ve rıza formunun bir kopyası tarafınızda kalacaktır.

Bu proje Manchester Üniversitesi, Eğitim Fakültesi Etik Komitesi tarafından incelenmiş ve onaylanmıştır. Bu projenin bir katılımcısı olarak haklarınızla ilgili sorularınızı Etik Komitesi, Araştırma Geliştirme ve Yönetimi Ofisi, Eğitim Fakültesi, Manchester Üniversitesi, Manchester, İngiltere, adresine iletebilirsiniz.

Bu araştırmayla ilgili herhangi bir sorunuz olması durumunda benimle rahatlıkla iletişime geçebilirsiniz. İletişim bilgilerim: Olga Campbell-Thomson, Eğitim Fakültesi, Manchester Üniversitesi, e-posta: olga.thomson@postgrad.manchester.ac.uk.

**Appendix 6 A**  
**Consent Form for Participants Taking Part in the Research**  
**(English Original)**



**Title of Project:** Exploring the process of national identity construction in the context of schooling in the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus

**Researcher:** Olga Campbell-Thomson  
School of Education, The University of Manchester, UK

**Participant:** .....

Please read this and if you are happy to proceed, sign below.

The researcher has given me my own copy of the information sheet which I have read and understood. The information sheet explains the nature of the research and what I would be asked to do as a participant. I understand that the research is for a student project and that the confidentiality of the information I provide will be safeguarded. The researcher has discussed the contents of the information sheet with me and given me the opportunity to ask questions about it.

I agree to take part as a participant in this research and I understand that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason and without detriment to myself.

Signed: .....

Date: .....

Name: .....

**Researcher**

I, the researcher, confirm that I have discussed with the participant the contents of the information sheet.

Signed: .....

Date: .....

**Appendix 6 B**  
**Consent Form for Participants Taking Part in the Research**  
**(Turkish Translation)**



**Öğrenci Araştırma Projesine Katılan Katılımcılar İçin İzin Formu**

**Projenin Başlığı:** Kuzey Kıbrıs Türk Cumhuriyeti'ndeki eğitim bağlamında ulusal kimlik inşası sürecinin incelenmesi

**Araştırmacı:** Olga Campbell-Thomson  
Eğitim Fakültesi, Manchester Üniversitesi, İngiltere

**Katılımcı:** .....

Lütfen aşağıdakileri okuyunuz, kabul ediyorsanız imzalayınız.

Araştırmacı bilgi veren belgenin bir kopyasını bana verdi, ben de bu belgeyi okudum ve anladım. Bu belge araştırma konusunu ve özelliklerini, hem de katılımcı olarak bana sorulacak soruları açıklıyor. Araştırmanın bir öğrenci projesi olduğunu ve verdiğim bilgilerin güvenlik içinde korunacağına inanıyorum. Araştırmacı bilgi veren belgenin içeriğini bana anlattı ve konuyla ilgili soru sormama olanak tanıdı.

Bu araştırmaya katılımcı olarak iştirak etmeyi ve istediğim zaman hiçbir açıklama yapmadan ve kendine zarar vermeden katılımdan çekilmekte serbest olduğumu kabul ediyorum.

İmza:.....

Tarih:.....

Adı, Soyadı:.....

**Araştırmacı**

Araştırmacı olarak bilgi bilgesinin içeriğini katılımcıya anlattığımı beyan ederim.

İmza:.....

Tarih:.....

**Appendix 7 A**  
**Consent Form for the Parents of Students Taking Part in the Research**  
**(English Original)**



**Title of Project:** Exploring the process of national identity construction in the context of schooling in the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus

**Researcher:** Olga Campbell-Thomson  
School of Education, The University of Manchester, UK

I am interested in the issues related to students' national identity construction. The Ministry of National Education and Culture allowed me to collect data for my dissertation project in this school.

I intend to interview your son/daughter, as well as observe various school activities where your child might be involved. In my interview, I will ask questions which relate to the issues of national identity, e.g., what languages do you learn at school, which language do you consider your native, what songs do you learn at school, which events do you celebrate at school, do you consider Cyprus your home, and the like. Your child will be interviewed in a group with other school children from this school.

My observations will be limited to public school events, such as school assembly, lessons and extra-curricular activities.

Your child's participation in this research is voluntary; refusal to participate will involve no prejudice or penalty. The interviews will be audio-taped and I will take all reasonable steps to protect your child's identity; no names will be used and no identifiable descriptors or characteristics will be used or retained. All audio-tapes will be destroyed upon completion of this study.

The information I will obtain during my interviews and observations is for the purpose of my doctoral dissertation project only. I might refer to some quotes from the interviews if I decide that the quotes are relevant to my study.

Please read the following and, if you give your permission to the researcher to include your son/daughter in the research, sign below.

I give my permission to the researcher to interview my son/daughter and to observe school activities in which my son/daughter participates. I understand that the school authorities gave their permission to the researcher to collect her data at this school and will monitor researcher's activities during her data collection.

Parent: ..... Signed: ..... Date: .....

## Appendix 7 B

### Consent Form for the Parents of Students Taking Part in the Research (Turkish Translation)



**Proje Başlığı:** Kuzey Kıbrıs Türk Cumhuriyeti'ndeki eğitim bağlamında ulusal kimlik inşası sürecinin incelenmesi

**Araştırmacı:** Olga Campbell-Thomson  
Eğitim Fakültesi, Manchester Üniversitesi, İngiltere

Bu okuldaki öğrencilerin ulusal kimliğini oluşturma süreci ile ilgileniyorum. Milli Eğitim ve Kültür Bakanlığı, bu okulun müdürü ve öğretmenleri doktora tez projem için bu okulda veri toplamama izin verdi.

Kızınız/oğlunuzla mülakat yapmak ve çocuğunuzun katıldığı okul aktivitelerini gözlemlemek istiyorum. Mülakatımda, ulusal kimlikle ilgili meseleler üzerine sorular soracağım. Örneğin, okulda hangi dilleri öğreniyorsunuz, hangi dili ana diliniz olarak benimsiyorsunuz, hangi şarkıları öğreniyorsunuz, hangi olayları kutluyorsunuz, Kıbrısı kendi eviniz olarak görüyor musunuz vb. Çocuğunuzla, bu okuldaki diğer öğrencilerle birlikte grup olarak mülakata yapılacaktır.

Gözlemlerim, ders öncesi okul merasimi, dersler, ve müfredat harici aktiviteler gibi umumi okul olaylarıyla sınırlı kalacaktır.

Bu çalışmaya çocuğunuzun katılımı gönüllülük esasına dayanmaktadır: çocuğunuzun katılmayı reddi herhangi bir önyargı ve ceza içermeyecek. Mülakatlar kayıt altına alınacak ve çocuğunuzun kimliğini korumak için gerekli tüm adımları araştırmacı olarak ben alacağım. Herhangi bir isim ve kimliği açığa çıkarabilecek herhangi bir tanımlayıcı kullanılmayacak. Kullanılan tüm ses kayıtları çalışmanın tamamlanmasından sonra yok edilecektir.

Mülakatlar sırasında elde edilecek bilgiler sadece benim doktora tezime için kullanılacaktır. Çalışmayla ilgili olabilecek bazı alıntılara tezimde yer verebilirim.

Lütfen aşağıdaki yazıyı okuyunuz ve eğer kızınız/oğlunuzun araştırmaya katılmasına izin verirseniz yazının altındaki kısmı imzalayınız.

Araştırmacıya, kızım/oğlumla mülakat yapması ve onun katıldığı okul aktivitelerini gözlemlemesi için izin veriyorum. Biliyorum ki okul yetkilileri araştırmacıya bu okulda veri toplaması için izin verdiler ve veri toplama sürecinde araştırmacıyı denetleyeceklerdir.

Veli: ..... İmza: ..... Tarih .....

**Appendix 8**  
**Sample Letter to Textbook Writers Asking for an Interview**



Date \_\_\_\_\_

Dear \_\_\_\_\_,

I am collecting data for my doctoral project which explores the process of national identity construction in the context of schooling in the TRNC. Among my data are the primary texts, which include the textbooks for the lower secondary school level, commissioned by the Education Reform 2004 in the TRNC.

I would like to ask you for an interview, as you are one of the writers of the textbooks which I include in my database. I would be interested in the circumstances surrounding the textbook production, as well as background information on the reform and the new curriculum introduced by the reformed education system. I would also be interested in various aspects of the textbook writing, types of activities included, pedagogical approach, content selection, presentation and the like.

If you agree on an interview, I am willing to meet at a time and location convenient to you.

The information I hope to obtain during the interview is for the purposes of my doctoral dissertation project only. I may refer to information from this interview in my thesis if I decide that it is relevant to my study. I will take all reasonable steps to protect your identity should references to the interview transcript are made in the text of the thesis.

If you have any questions about this research, please feel free to contact me, Olga Campbell-Thomson, by e-mail: [olga.thomson@postgrad.manchester.ac.uk](mailto:olga.thomson@postgrad.manchester.ac.uk), or telephone +90 (0)392-7288-046.

Sincerely,

Olga Campbell-Thomson  
PhD Research, Education  
School of Education  
The University of Manchester  
Oxford Road M13 9PL Tel. +44(0) 161 275 3466



**Appendix 9**  
**General Structure of the Turkish Cypriot Education System**

Higher Education	Age	Grade	Bachelor's Degree				
			Fine Arts High School	College	Multi-programme Modern High School	Modern Vocational Technical High School	Apprenticeship Education
Secondary Education	17-18	12	Fine Arts High School	Anatolian High School	Multi-programme Modern High School	Modern Vocational Technical High School	Apprenticeship Education
	16-17	11					
	15-16	10					
Compulsory Basic Education	14-15	9	<i>Attached to the next level schools at the time of the fieldwork in 2008-2009</i>				
	13-14	8	<b>Basic Education</b>				
	12-13	7	<b>Lower Secondary School</b>				
	11-12	6	<b>(Ortaokul I)</b>				
	10-11	5	Basic Education Primary School				
	9-10	4					
	8-9	3					
7-8	2						
6-7	1	Pre-School Class Basic-Education Pre-School					
5-6							

## Appendix 10

### Vision and Mission of the New Education System

With the vision of quality lifelong education for everyone, and with a social awareness and an understanding of improving itself continuously, and appreciating each individual boundlessly, Cyprus Turkish Education system aims at providing individuals with appropriate environment to improve themselves in all respects and raising generations WHO:

- Are open to new ideas
- Give priority to humanistic values
- Are peaceful and conciliatory
- Have committed themselves to freedom, democracy, peace, social justice and superiority of jurisprudence
- Have assimilated scientific thought and study
- Are able to use information technology
- Are continuously able to improve themselves
- Are able to express their ideas freely
- Inquire, investigate, know how to access information
- Are able to establish friendly relations with the individuals of Turkey and other neighbouring communities
- Adopt Atatürk's peaceful, innovative, contemporary, secular principles
- Are mentally and physically healthy, have an advanced aesthetic sense
- Are virtuous and creative
- Bear the human qualities of the 21<sup>st</sup> century

Education Policies 2005, p. 5

## Appendix 11

### Objectives of Basic Education

Basic education primarily aims to equip children with necessary skills, attitudes and behaviours in order to raise them as useful citizens for the society, prepare them for life and for their further education by developing their interests, inclinations and abilities. In this sense, it is aimed to provide the child with the following acquisitions and skills. He

1. improves himself aesthetically, morally, socially, personally, technically and economically,
2. learns how to use computer and how to benefit from it consciously,
3. improves his enquiry, problem solving, analysis and synthesis skills,
4. learns how to work in a team and develops an awareness of team working, gives emphasis on friendship,
5. constantly improves his mother tongue, uses it in every area of his life, develops critical literacy skills,
6. acquires communication skills in a second language apart from English in accordance with "The European Language Portfolio,"
7. develops an approach that Greek (Modern Greek) is "the language of neighbouring society,"
8. acquaints himself with a range of different art and sport forms, expresses his artistic and sporting talents,
9. progressively forms his own professional interests and approaches,
10. becomes self aware of his potential in terms of skills, interests and talents,
11. finds out how to learn and appreciates lifelong learning,
12. appreciates the importance of intellectual and professional viewpoints,
13. becomes aware of his own culture, demonstrates an approach to different cultures in a concerned, tolerant and conscious manner,
14. develops skills in contributing to planning and orientation of his life freely,
15. acquires an awareness of healthy living,
16. acquires scientific and coherent thinking skills,
17. bases the information development on understanding and consistent thinking, not on rote learning,
18. uses and shares information and adapts it to the new situations,
19. learns how to use information and communication technologies and makes use of them,
20. has a desire to struggle for improving his personal abilities constantly,
21. adopts humanistic values of democracy, peace, justice and human equality and respect them, is aware of the contribution of Atatürk revolutions to these values,
22. acquires individual and social responsibility awareness,
23. establishes friendly relations and communication with the individuals of Turkey and other neighbouring countries,
24. regards Cyprus as his homeland, loves his country entirely with its geography and culture
25. becomes aware of his national, cultural and contemporary identities,
26. has an advanced sense of empathy and a tolerant and conscious approach to cultural differences,
27. has the feeling of respect for human and human rights as a virtue,
28. acquires awareness of environment and traffic,
29. defends his personal and social rights through peaceful and conciliatory approaches.

Education Policies 2005, p. 11

## Appendix 12

### Textbooks

- İlköğretim Türkçe 6 Ders Kitabı.* [Turkish Language, 6<sup>th</sup> grade] Ankara: TC Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, 2006
- İlköğretim Türkçe 7 Ders Kitabı.* [Turkish Language, 7<sup>th</sup> grade] Ankara: TC Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, 2006
- İlköğretim Türkçe 8 Ders Kitabı.* [Turkish Language, 8<sup>th</sup> grade]. Ankara: TC Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, 2006
- İlköğretim 6 Din Kültürü ve Ahlak Kitabı.* [Religious Culture and Moral Principles, 6<sup>th</sup> grade]. Ankara: TC Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, 2006
- İlköğretim 7 Din Kültürü ve Ahlak Kitabı.* [Religious Culture and Moral Principles, 7<sup>th</sup> grade]. Ankara: TC Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, 2006
- Kıbrıs Tarihi, 1. Kitap: Ortaokullar İçin Tarih Kitabı.* [Cyprus History, Volume 1: History Book for the Secondary Schools]. Lefkoşa: KKTC Milli Eğitim ve Kültür Bakanlığı, 2005.
- Kıbrıs Tarihi, 2. Kitap: Ortaokullar İçin Tarih Kitabı.* [Cyprus History, Volume 2: History Book for the Secondary Schools]. Lefkoşa: KKTC Milli Eğitim ve Kültür Bakanlığı, 2005.
- Kıbrıs Tarihi, 3. Kitap: Ortaokullar İçin Tarih Kitabı.* [Cyprus History, Volume 3: History Book for the Secondary Schools]. Lefkoşa: KKTC Milli Eğitim ve Kültür Bakanlığı, 2005.
- Kıbrıs Tarihi, 3. Kitap: Ortaokullar İçin Tarih Kitabı.* [Cyprus History, Volume 3: History Book for the Secondary Schools]. Lefkoşa: KKTC Milli Eğitim ve Kültür Bakanlığı, 2004.
- T.C. İnkılap Tarihi ve Atatürkçülük 8 Ders Kitabı* [History of the Establishment of the Turkish Republic and Kemalism, 8<sup>th</sup> grade]. Ankara: TC Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, 2006
- Sosyal Bilgiler 6 (Coğrafya).* [Social Studies, 6<sup>th</sup> grade: Geography]. Lefkoşa: KKTC Milli Eğitim ve Kültür Bakanlığı, 2005.
- Sosyal Bilgiler 6 (Tarih).* [Social Studies, 6<sup>th</sup> grade: History]. Lefkoşa: KKTC Milli Eğitim ve Kültür Bakanlığı, 2005.
- Sosyal Bilgiler 7 (Coğrafya).* [Social Studies, 7<sup>th</sup> grade: Geography]. Lefkoşa: KKTC Milli Eğitim ve Kültür Bakanlığı, 2005.
- Sosyal Bilgiler 7 (Tarih).* [Social Studies, 7<sup>th</sup> grade: History]. Lefkoşa: KKTC Milli Eğitim ve Kültür Bakanlığı, 2005.

**Appendix 13 A**  
**Weekly Distribution of Lessons in the Lower Secondary School**  
**(Turkish Original)**

**Ortaokullar Haftalık Ders Çizelgesi**

Dersler		Sınıflar		
		6	7	8
<b>ZORUNLU DERSLER</b>	Türkçe	5	5	5
	Matematik	4	4	4
	Fen ve Teknoloji	4	4	4
	Sosyal Bilgiler (Tarih/Coğrafya)	2	2	-
	Kıbrıs Tarihi	1	1	1
	TC İnkılap Tarihi ve Atatürkçülük	-	-	1
	Din Kültürü Ve Ahlak Bilgisi	1	1	1
	İngilizce	6	6	6
	Resim	1	1	1
	Müzik	1	1	1
	Beden Eğitimi	2	2	2
	Teknoloji ve Tasarımı (İş Teknik - Ev Ekonomisi - Tarım - Ticaret)	2	2	2
	Bilgi ve İletişim Teknolojisi	1	1	1
	Sınıf Saati ve Rehberlik	1	1	1
<b>Zorunlu Ders Saati Toplamı</b>		<b>31</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>31</b>
<b>SEÇMELİ DERSLER</b>	İngilizce(2)			
	Almanca/Fransızca(2)			
	Teknoloji ve Tasarım(2)			
	Doğal Afetler ve İnsan (2)			
	Resim(2)			
	Müzik(2)			
	Drama(2)			
	Tiyatro (Türkçe/İng/Fr/Al)(2)			
	Etüt(2 veya 1+1)			
	Satranç(1)			
	Din Kültürü ve Ahlak Bilgisi(1)			
	Düşünme Eğitimi(1)			
	İngilizce Matematik			
	İngilizce Fen ve Teknoloji			
<b>Seçmeli Dersler Toplamı</b>		<b>4</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>TOPLAM</b>		<b>35</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>35</b>
<b>Eğitsel Kol Etkinlikleri</b>		<b>3</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3</b>

**Appendix 13 B**  
**Weekly Distribution of Lessons in the Lower Secondary School**  
**(English Translation)**

SUBJECTS		Grades		
		6	7	8
<b>COMPULSORY SUBJECTS</b>	Turkish Language	5	5	5
	Mathematics	4	4	4
	Science and Technology	4	4	4
	Social Studies (History/Geography)	2	2	-
	History of Cyprus	1	1	1
	History of the Establishment of the Republic of Turkey and Kemalism <sup>29</sup>	-	-	2
	Religious Culture and Moral Principles	1	1	1
	English	6	6	6
	Art	1	1	1
	Music	1	1	1
	Physical Education	2	2	2
	Technological Design (Technology in the Workplace - Home Economics - Agriculture - Commerce)	2	2	2
	Information and Communication Technology	1	1	1
	Guidance and Counseling	1	1	1
	<b>Total Hours of Compulsory Subjects</b>		<b>31</b>	<b>31</b>
<b>ELECTIVES</b>	Academic English (2)			
	German/French (2)			
	Technological Design (2)			
	Natural Disasters and Human Beings (2)			
	Art (2)			
	Music (2)			
	Drama (2)			
	Theatre (2)			
	Tutoring for any required subject (2 or 1+1)			
	Chess (1)			
	Religious Culture and Moral Principles (1)			
	Critical Thinking (1)			
	Mathematics in English			
Science and Technology in English				
<b>Total Hours of Electives</b>		<b>4</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>35</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>35</b>
<b>Extra-Curricular Activities</b>		<b>3</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3</b>

<sup>29</sup> Kemalism – Atatürk’s political doctrine; the system of reforms and developments introduced by Atatürk in the Republic of Turkey

## Appendix 14 A

### Academic Calendar 2008-2009 School Year (Turkish Original)

<b>KKTC MİLLİ EĞİTİM VE KÜLTÜR BAKANLIĞI GENEL ORTAÖĞRETİM DAİRESİ VE MESLEKİ TEKNİK ÖĞRETİM DAİRESİ 2008-2009 ÖĞRETİM YILI AKADEMİK TAKVİM</b>			
2-5 Eylül	2008	Salı-Cuma	Sorumluluk sınavları
<b>16 Eylül</b>	<b>2008</b>	<b>Salı</b>	<b>2008 - 2009 Öğretim Yılıının Birinci Döneminin Başlaması</b>
30 Eylül - 2 Ekim	2008	Salı-Perşembe	Ramazan Bayramı (Arife dahil 4 gün tatil)
5 Ekim	2008	Pazar	Dünya Öğretmenler Günü
<b>27 – 31 Ekim</b>	<b>2008</b>	<b>Pazartesi-Cuma</b>	<b>"Spor ve Sağlık Günleri" Etkinlikleri</b>
29 Ekim	2008	Çarşamba	Cumhuriyet Bayramı (1 gün tatil)
3 – 11 Kasım	2008	Pazartesi-Salı	Birinci Dönem Ara Sınavları (7 gün)
10 Kasım	2008	Pazartesi	Atatürk'ü Anma ve Atatürk Haftası
15 Kasım	2008	Cumartesi	KKTC'nin Kuruluşu ve Cumhuriyet Bayramı (1 gün tatil)
<b>17 – 21 Kasım</b>	<b>2008</b>	<b>Pazartesi-Cuma</b>	<b>"Çevre Günleri" etkinliği</b>
24 Kasım	2008	Pazartesi	Öğretmenler Günü "TBMM'nin Atatürk'e Başöğretmen ünvanı verdiği gün"
8 – 11 Aralık	2008	Pazartesi - Perşembe	Kurban Bayramı (4 gün tatil)
<b>15 – 19 Aralık</b>	<b>2008</b>	<b>Pazartesi-Cuma</b>	<b>"Genç Yetenekler (Müzik ve Resim) Günleri" etkinliği</b>
21 – 25 Aralık	2008	Pazar - Perşembe	Milli Mücadele ve Şehitleri Anma Haftası
1 Ocak	2009	Perşembe	Yılbaşı (1 gün tatil)
<b>5 – 9 Ocak</b>	<b>2009</b>	<b>Pazartesi - Cuma</b>	<b>"Kitap Günleri" etkinlikleri</b>
15 Ocak	2009	Perşembe	Dr. Fazıl Küçük'ün ölüm yıldönümü
16 – 26 Ocak	2009	Cuma - Pazartesi	Birinci Dönem Sonu Sınavları (7 gün)

27-28 Ocak		Salı-Perşembe	Sorumluluk sınavları
1 – 15 Şubat	2009	Pazar-Pazar	Yarı yıl tatili
<b>16 Şubat</b>	<b>2009</b>	<b>Pazartesi</b>	<b>2008 - 2009 Öğretim Yılı'nın İkinci Döneminin Başlaması</b>
9 Mart	2009	Pazartesi	Mevlid Kandili (1gün tatil)
<b>16 – 20 Mart</b>	<b>2009</b>	<b>Pazartesi - Cuma</b>	<b>"Yabancı Diller Günleri" etkinlikleri</b>
30 Mart – 7 Nisan	2009	Pazartesi - Salı	İkinci dönem ara sınavları (7 gün)
<b>13 – 17 Nisan</b>	<b>2009</b>	<b>Pazartesi - Cuma</b>	<b>"Kültür ve Sanat Günleri" etkinliği</b>
<b>15 - 17 Nisan</b>	<b>2009</b>	<b>Çarşamba-Cuma</b>	<b>Mesleki teknik eğitim fuarı ve okullarının tanıtım etkinlikleri</b>
23 Nisan	2009	Perşembe	Ulusal Egemenlik ve Çocuk Bayramı (1 gün tatil)
<b>27 – 30 Nisan</b>	<b>2009</b>	<b>Pazartesi - Perşembe</b>	<b>"Bilim Şenliği Günleri" etkinlikleri</b>
1 Mayıs	2009	Cuma	İşçi Bayramı (1 gün tatil)
<b>11 – 15 Mayıs</b>	<b>2009</b>	<b>Pazartesi – Cuma</b>	<b>"Felsefe Günleri" etkinlikleri</b>
19-20 Mayıs	2009	Salı - Çarşamba	Atatürk'ü Anma Gençlik ve Spor Bayramı etkinlikleri (1 gün tatil)
21 Mayıs– 29 Mayıs	2009	Perşembe - Cuma	İkinci dönem sonu sınavları (7 gün)
17-18-19 Haziran	2009	Çarşamba-Cuma	I. Sorumluluk sınavı
<b>1 Temmuz</b>	<b>2009</b>	<b>Çarşamba</b>	<b>Yaz tatilinin başlaması</b>
1 Eylül 2-8 Eylül	2009	Salı Çarşamba-Salı	II. Sorumluluk sınavı



**Appendix 14 B**  
**Academic Calendar 2008-2009 School Year**  
**(English Translation)**

<b>THE MINISTRY OF NATIONAL EDUCATION AND CULTURE TRNC</b> <b>OFFICE OF THE GENERAL DIRECTORATE OF SECONDARY EDUCATION AND</b> <b>OFFICE OF OFFICE OF VOCATIONAL TRAINING</b> <b>2008-2009 ACADEMIC YEAR CALENDAR</b>			
2-5 September	2008	Tuesday-Friday	Make-up exams for the previous year
<b>16 September</b>	<b>2008</b>	<b>Tuesday</b>	<b>Beginning of the school year 2008-2009</b>
30 September- 2 October	2008	Tuesday-Monday	Ramadan (Religious Holiday) <i>Arife</i> (the day before a religious holiday) + 4 days holiday
5 October	2008	Sunday	World Teachers' Day
<b>27-31 October</b>	<b>2008</b>	<b>Monday-Friday</b>	<b>"Sport and Health Days" activities</b>
29 October	2008	Wednesday	Republic Day (1 day holiday)
3-11 November	2008	Monday-Tuesday	Mid-term examinations (first term) (7 days)
10 November	2008	Monday	Atatürk Remembrance Day and Atatürk Week
15 November	2008	Saturday	Foundation of the TRNC and Republic Day (1 day holiday)
<b>17-21 November</b>	<b>2008</b>	<b>Monday-Friday</b>	<b>"Environment Days" Activities</b>
24 November	2008	Monday	Teachers' Day The date when Atatürk was named the Prime Teacher ( <i>Başöğretmen</i> ) by the Grand National Assembly
8-11 December	2008	Monday-Thursday	Bayram (4-day holiday) [religious holiday, literal translation of <i>Kurban Bayramı</i> means <i>Sacrifice Holiday</i> ]
<b>15-19 December</b>	<b>2008</b>	<b>Monday-Friday</b>	<b>"Youth Talent Days (Music and Art)" activities</b>
21-25 December	2008	Sunday-Thursday	National Struggle and Martyrs' Week
1 January	2009	Wednesday	New Year Day (1-day holiday)
<b>5-9 January</b>	<b>2009</b>	<b>Monday-Friday</b>	<b>"Book Days" activities</b>

15 January	2009	Thursday	Death anniversary of Dr. Fazıl Küçük
16-26 January	2009	Monday-Friday	Final Exams First Semester (7 days)
27-28 January	2009	Tuesday-Wednesday	Make-up exams
1-15 February	2009		Mid-year break (2 weeks)
<b>16 February</b>	<b>2009</b>	<b>Monday</b>	<b>The beginning of the second semester of 2008-2009 academic year</b>
9 March	2009	Monday	Mevlid Kandili (1-day holiday)
<b>16-20 March</b>	<b>2009</b>	<b>Monday-Friday</b>	<b>“Foreign Languages Days” activities</b>
30 March – 7 April	2009	Monday-Tuesday	Mid-term exams second semester
<b>13-17 April</b>	<b>2009</b>	<b>Monday-Friday</b>	<b>“Days of Culture and Art” activities</b>
<b>15-17 April</b>	<b>2009</b>	<b>Wednesday-Friday</b>	<b>Technology and Science Fair and School Show Case</b>
23 April	2009	Thursday	National Sovereignty and Children’s Day (1 day holiday)
<b>27-30 April</b>	<b>2009</b>	<b>Monday-Thursday</b>	<b>“Festival of Sciences” activities</b>
1 May	2009	Friday	Labor Day (1 day holiday)
<b>11-15 May</b>	<b>2009</b>	<b>Monday-Friday</b>	<b>“Days of Philosophy” activities</b>
19-20 May	2009	Tuesday-Wednesday	Atatürk’s Day of Sports and Youth Activities (1 day holiday)
21-29 May	2009	Thursday-Friday	Final Exams second semester (7 days)
1-2 June	2009	Monday-Tuesday	Make-up exams I.
1 July 2009	2009	Wednesday	The beginning of summer vacation
1 September-8 September	2009	Tuesday Thursday-Tuesday	Make-up exams II.

## Appendix 15 A

### Opening Section of a Textbook. Atatürk's Address to the Youth (Turkish Original)

#### ATATÜRK'ÜN GENÇLİĞE SÖYLEVİ

Ey Türk gençliği! Birinci vazifen, Türk istiklâlini, Türk cumhuriyetini, ilelebet muhafaza ve müdafaa etmektir.

Mevcudiyetinin ve istikbalinin yegâne temeli budur. Bu temel, senin, en kıymetli hazinendir. İstikbalde dahi, seni bu hazineden, mahrum etmek isteyecek, dahili ve harici, bedhahların olacaktır. Bir gün, istiklâl ve cumhuriyeti müdafaa mecburiyetine düşersen, vazifeye atılmak için, içinde bulunacağın vaziyetin imkân ve şeraitini düşünmeyeceksin! Bu imkân ve şerait, çok nâmüsait bir mahiyette tezahür edebilir. İstiklâl ve cumhuriyetine kastedecek düşmanlar, bütün dünyada emsali görülmemiş bir galibiyetin mümessili olabilirler. Cebren ve hile ile aziz vatanın, bütün kaleleri zapt edilmiş, bütün tersanelerine girilmiş, bütün orduları dağıtılmış ve memleketin her köşesi bilfiil işgal edilmiş olabilir. Bütün bu şeraitten daha elim ve daha vahim olmak üzere, memleketin dahilinde, iktidara sahip olanlar gaflet ve dalâlet ve hatta hıyanet içinde bulunabilirler. Hatta bu iktidar sahipleri şahsi menfaatlerini, müstevlilerin siyasi emelleriyle tevhit edebilirler. Millet, fakr u zaruret içinde harap ve bitap düşmüş olabilir.

Ey Türk istikbalinin evlâdı! İşte, bu ahval ve şerait içinde dahi, vazifen; Türk istiklâl ve cumhuriyetini kurtarmaktır! Muhtaç olduğun kudret, damarlarındaki asil kanda, mevcuttur!

## Appendix 15 B

### Opening Section of a Textbook. Atatürk's *Address to the Youth* (English Translation)

Turkish youth!

Your first duty is to protect and preserve the Turkish independence and the Turkish Republic forever. This is the very foundation of your existence and your future. This foundation is your most precious treasure. In the future, too, there may be malevolent people at home and abroad, who wish to deprive you of this treasure. If some day you are compelled to defend your independence and your republic, you must not tarry to weigh the possibilities and circumstances of the situation before taking up your duty. These possibilities and circumstances may turn out to be extremely unfavorable. The enemies conspiring against your independence and your Republic may have behind them a victory unprecedented in the annals of the world. By violence and ruse, all the fortresses of your beloved fatherland may be captured, all its shipyards occupied, all its armies dispersed and every part of the country invaded. And sadder and graver than all these circumstances, those who hold power within the country may be in error, misguided and may even be traitors. Furthermore, they may identify their personal interests with the political designs of the invaders. The country may be impoverished, ruined and exhausted.

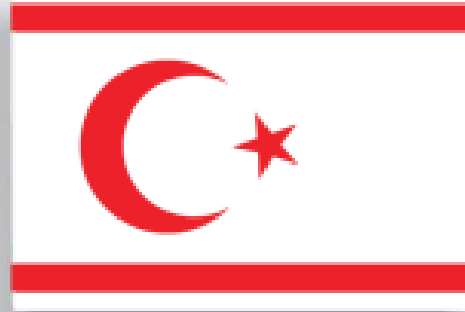
You, the youth of Turkey's future, even in such circumstances, it is your duty to save the Turkish independence and Republic. The strength you need is in the noble blood within your veins.

Note: Atatürk's famous inspirational speech to the nation's youth was delivered by Atatürk on 20 October 1927 in Ankara, The Republic of Turkey

## Appendix 16 A

### Opening Section of a Textbook. National Anthem of Turkey and the TRNC *March of Independence* (Turkish Original)

#### İSTİKLÂL MARŞI



Korkma, sönmez bu şafaklarda yüzen al sancak;  
Sönmeden yurdumun üstünde tüten en son ocak.  
Ö benim milletimin yıldızdır, parlayacak,  
Ö benimdir, o benim milletimindir ancak.

Çatma, kurban olayım, çehreni ey nazî hilâl!  
Kahraman imına bir gül! Ne bu şiddet, bu celâl?  
Sana olmaz dökülen kanlarımız sonra helâl...  
Hakkıdır, Hakk'a tapan, milletimin istiklâl!

Ben ezelden beridir hür yaşadım, hür yaşarım.  
Hangî çılgın bana zincir vuracakmış? Şaşarım!  
Kükremiş sel gibiyim, bendimi çiğner, aşarım.  
Yırtarım dağları, enginlere sığmam, taşarım.

Garbin âfâkı sarmışsa çelik zırhlı duvar,  
Benim iman dolu göğsüm gibi serhaddim var!  
Ulusun, korkma! Nasıl böyle bir imanı boğar,  
"Medeniyet!" dediğin tek dişi kalmış canavar?

Arkadaş! Yurduma alçakları uğratma, sakın.  
Siper et gövdeni, dursun bu hayâsızca akın.  
Doğacaktır sana vâdettiği günler Hakk'ın...  
Kim bilir, belki yarın, belki yarından da yakın.

Başöğün yerleri "toprak" diyerek geçme, tanı:  
Düşün aliındaki binlerce kefensiz yatanı.  
Sen şehit oğlusun, incitme, yazıktır, atanı:  
Verme, dünyaları alsan da, bu cennet vatanı.

Kim bu cennet vatanın uğruna olmaz ki feda?  
Şüheda fışkıracak toprağı sıksan, şüheda!  
Canı, cananı, bütün varımı alsan da Huda,  
Elmesin tek vatanımdan beni dünyada cüda.

Ruhumun senden, İlahî, şudur ancak emeli:  
Değmesin mabedimin göğsüne namahrum eli.  
Bu ezanlar -ki şehadetleri dinin temeli-  
Ebedî yurdumun üstünde benim inlemeli.

O zaman vedâ ile bin seode eder -vansa- taşım,  
Her cerhâmdan, İlahî, boşanıp kanlı yaşım,  
Fışkırt ruh-ı mücerred gibi yerdan nâşım;  
O zaman yükselerek arşa değer belki başım.

Dağları sen de şafaklar gibi ey şanlı hilâl  
Olsun artık dökülen kanlarının hepsi helâl.  
İbâdiyen sana yok, ırkıma yok izmihâl!  
Hakkıdır, hür yaşamış, bayrağımın hürriyet;  
Hakkıdır, Hakk'a tapan, milletimin istiklâl!

Mehmet Âkif ERSOY

## Appendix 16 B

### Opening Section of a Textbook. National Anthem of Turkey and the TRNC *March of Independence* (English Translation)

<p>Fear not! For the crimson banner that proudly ripples in this glorious dawn, shall never fade, Before the last fiery hearth that is ablaze within my homeland is extinguished. For that is the star of my people, and it will forever shine; It is mine; and solely belongs to my valiant nation.</p> <p>Frown not, I beseech you, oh thou coy crescent, Smile upon my heroic nation! Why the anger? Why the rage? Our blood which we shed for you might not be worthy otherwise; For freedom is the absolute right of my God-worshipping nation.</p> <p>I have been free since the beginning and forever shall be so. What madman shall put me in chains! I defy the very idea! I am like the roaring flood; trampling and overflowing my dyke, I'll tear apart the mountains, fill up the open seas and still gush out!</p> <p>The lands are surrounded by Westerners and they are armoured with walls of steel, But I have borders guarded by the mighty chest of a believer, Let it howl, do not be afraid! And think: how can this fiery faith ever be killed, By that battered, single-fanged monster you call 'civilization'?</p> <p>My friend! Leave not my homeland to the hands of villainous men! Render your chest as armour and your body as trench! Stop this disgraceful rush! For soon shall come the joyous days of divine promise... Who knows? Perhaps tomorrow? Perhaps even sooner!</p>	<p>View not the soil you tread on as mere earth – recognize it! And think about the shroudless thousands who lie so nobly beneath you. You are the noble son of a martyr, take shame, hurt not your ancestor! Unhand not, even when you are promised worlds, this paradise of a homeland.</p> <p>What man would not die for this heavenly piece of land? Martyrs should gush out should one simply squeeze the soil! Martyrs! May God take my life, all my loved ones and possessions from me if He will, But may he not deprive me of my one true homeland for the world.</p> <p>Oh glorious God, the sole wish of my pain-stricken heart is that, No heathen's hand should ever touch the bosom of my sacred Temples. These adhans, whose shahadahs are the foundations of my religion, May their noble sound last loud and wide over my eternal homeland.</p> <p>For only then, shall my fatigued tombstone, if there is one, prostrate a thousand times in ecstasy, And tears of fiery blood shall flow out of my every wound, And my lifeless body shall gush out from the earth like an eternal spirit, Perhaps only then, shall I peacefully ascend and at long last reach the heavens.</p> <p>So ripple and wave like the bright dawning sky, oh thou glorious crescent, So that our every last drop of blood may finally be blessed and worthy! Neither you nor my race shall ever be extinguished! For freedom is the absolute right of my ever-free flag; For independence is the absolute right of my God-worshipping nation!</p>
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## Appendix 17 A

### Opening Section of a Textbook. About the New Programme of Studies in Cyprus History (Turkish Original)

#### YENİ TARİH PROGRAMI VE KİTAPLAR HAKKINDA

Kıbrıs'ta, yüzyıllardır akıp giden zamanda Kıbrıs Türk toplumu kendi tarihini yaratmıştır. Öyle ise kendi yarattığımız tarihi, kendimiz yazmalı ve yeni nesillere öğretmeliyiz.

Öte yandan, 21. yüzyılda, bilgi temelinde oluşan yeni bir dünya düzeni ve toplumsal yapılarla karşı karşıyayız. Yeni dünya düzeninde, Kıbrıs Türk toplumu ancak kendi toplumsal, siyasal, kültürel... tarih bilinci ile yetiştireceği gençlerle varolabilecektir. Bu bilinç aynı zamanda dünya tarihindeki yerimizi de belirleyecektir. Kendi kültürel kimliğinin farkında olan, düşünen, sorgulayan, sorumlu ve toplumsal yaşama faal olarak katılan vatandaşlar yetiştirmek amacıyla tarih ders programları ve kitapları yeniden düzenlenmiştir. Milli eğitimin genel amaçları çerçevesinde yeni program ve kitapların amaçlarını şöyle sıralayabiliriz:

1. Kıbrıs'ın Dünya tarihindeki yerini, uygarlığın gelişmesindeki payını ve önemini öğretip kavratmak,
2. Ulusal, kültürel ve çağcıl kimlikleri biliçli kılmak,
3. Yurt, ulus, insan ve toplum sevgisini kazandırmak,
4. Düşünen, sorgulayan, sorumlu ve faal vatandaşlar yetiştirilmesini sağlamak,
5. Hoşgörü ve kimlik anlayışı temelinde, her türlü farklılığa saygının geliştirilmesini sağlamak,
6. Uluslararası barış, insan hakları ve demokrasi gibi temel değerlerin kavratılmasını sağlamak,
7. Yerel, bölgesel, ulusal ve uluslararası düzlemler arasındaki kesintisiz tarihsel ilişkiyi kavratmak,
8. Kıbrıs tarihini Dünya tarihi perspetifinde algılanmasını sağlamak,
9. Toplum ve kültürlerarası etkileşim açısından tarih mirasının incelenmesi ve araştırma merakının geliştirilmesini sağlamak,
10. Farklı olgu, kanaat ve bakış açılarını dikkate alarak incelenmesini sağlamak,
11. Tarihsel olguları aktarırken eleştirel ve analitik öğrenmeyi teşvik etmek,
12. Kişilerin akıl, öngörü, cesaret ve fedakarlıkla tarihi olaylarına yön vermesi ve tarihin akışını nasıl etkilediklerini göstermek,
13. Barışçı, ancak bireysel ve toplumsal haklarını korumasını bilen yurttaşlar olarak yetiştirilmesini sağlamak.

Belirtilen bu amaçlar çerçevesinde, öğrenci merkezli bir anlayışla ortaya konulan program ve kitabın başarıya ulaşmasında idarecilere, öğretmenlere önemli görevler düşmektedir. Derslerin işlenmesinde soru-cevap, tartışma, araştırma, psikodrama, buluş, ironi, gösteri, gezi, gözlem ve inceleme... yöntemlerine sıklıkla yer verilmesi gerekmektedir. Tarihi olayların günlük yaşamla ilişkilendirilmesi öğrenilenleri daha anlamlı hale getirecektir. Kitapların yazımında Türk Dil Kurumu'nun "İmla Klavuzu" na uygun olarak yazılmıştır.

Bu ders kitapları ve programlar içeriklerin belirlenmesi yönünde ortaya konulan ilk denemedir. Gelecek eleştiriler ve yazarların çalışmalarıyla daha da geliştirilecektir. Eğitim-öğretim ortamlarının dinamikliği de bunu gerektirmektedir.

**KOMİSYON**

**Appendix 17 B**  
**Opening Section of a Textbook. About the New Programme of Studies**  
**in Cyprus History**  
**(English Translation)**

**ABOUT THE NEW HISTORY PROGRAMME AND BOOKS**

The Turkish Cypriots have created their own history in Cyprus, but in the 21st century, we are faced with a communal structure and a new world system which is based on information. The Society of Turkish Cypriots will only be able to exist in this new world system if young people grow up with an awareness of their own social, political and cultural history. This awareness will also determine their place in the world history. The curriculum of history lessons and course books are rearranged with the aim of training citizens who are aware of their own cultural identity, who are thinking, inquisitive, conscientious citizens taking an active part in social life. The following are the aims of new programme and books. The listed aims are within the framework of the general aims of national education:

1. To teach the place of Cyprus in world history, the importance and role of Cyprus in the development of civilization.
2. To teach national, cultural and modern consciousness.
3. To teach the love of country, nation, humanity and the community.
4. To educate people who are responsible, thinking, inquisitive and active.
5. To develop respect for all kinds of differences in a perspective of tolerance and identity recognition.
6. To comprehend the basic values such as international peace, human rights and democracy.
7. To comprehend the continuous historical relationship among local, regional, national and international platforms.
8. To let the history of Cyprus be known in the perspective of world history.
9. To enable searching curiosity and an examination of historical heritage in the aspect of interaction between community and cultures.
10. To enable history to be examined considering different facts, opinions and contentions.
11. To encourage critical and analytical learning while teaching historical facts.
12. To illustrate how people shaped their history with their wisdom, foresight, bravery and devotion.
13. To encourage people to develop as peaceful citizens who know how to protect their individual and social rights.

Within the framework of these aims, school administration and teachers play an important role in realizing the student-centred approach of the book and the programme of studies. Techniques such as question-answer, discussion, psychodrama, research, invention, irony, demonstration, tour, observation and examination should take place frequently. Making connections between daily life and historical events makes information, which is taught, more meaningful. Books are written in accordance with the regulations of the Turkish Language Institute.

These course books and the programme are the first examples of pedagogical approach defining the content. The books are expected to improved with the help of invited criticism and efforts of the writers, which is essential for the dynamics of teaching and learning.

**COMMISSION**



## **Appendix 18**

### **Historical Overview of the Turkish Cypriot Education. Adoption of Atatürk's Reforms. Images of Atatürk**

Since the establishment of the Ottoman administration in Cyprus (1571-1878), the two prominent communities, Greek Orthodox and Moslem, were in charge of their community education. The Orthodox Christian tradition permeated the Greek Cypriot education. Moslem Cypriots followed educational traditions established in the Ottoman Moslem educational centres.

Despite a few changes, which effected funding of schools and administrative control over education matters during the British Colonial period (1878-1959), the dual education system on the island was retained. Upon the establishment of the Republic of Cyprus in 1960, the two Communal Chambers - Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot – acquired legislative power with regard to all educational, cultural and teaching matters. Following the Constitutional Crises (1963), Communal Chambers were dissolved and, as the two political entities were established on the island of Cyprus, the Ministries of Education in the two states took over all educational matters in the two communities.

It was merely a matter of fact that the two education systems in Cyprus continued their existence as autonomous from each other when new political arrangements on the island took place. It has also been a matter of fact that the two education systems of Cyprus – Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot – have maintained close ties with educational centres in Greece and Turkey, respectively, as they have done so for centuries.

#### **Adoption of Atatürk's reforms**

Closely tied to education in mainland Turkey, Turkish Cypriot education was influenced over the years by reforms and transformations occurring in education in Turkey. The most radical changes in Turkish education, as in all other areas of social, political and economic life, took place soon after the establishment of the Republic of Turkey, first in Turkey itself, and soon afterwards, in the Turkish Cypriot community.

In 1923, the Republic of Turkey emerged as a new political entity. Upon assuming his office as the first President of the Republic, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (1881-1938) initiated a series of radical reforms that were aimed at transforming Turkey into a modern Western state. The newly established Republic rejected Ottoman heritage. Rapid changes ensued: in 1924 the Caliphate was officially abolished and Moslem customs were banned; in 1925 'The Hat Law' introduced the use of Western style hats instead of the *fez*, traditional headwear worn by Moslems elsewhere in the Ottoman Empire; in 1926 the Islamic courts and Islamic canon law were replaced by a secular law based on the Swiss Civil Code; in 1928 Islam was abolished as a

state religion and in the same year the decree was issued to teach the Roman alphabet instead of the Arabic; in 1933 prayers and use of 'Allah' were banned, and in 1934 Mustafa Kemal ordered Turks to adopt surnames<sup>30</sup>.

The ideological foundations of Atatürk's reform programme became known as Kemalism. Its main points were enumerated in the "Six Arrows" of Kemalism: republicanism, nationalism, populism, reformism, etatism (statism), and secularism. These were regarded as 'fundamental and unchanging principles' guiding the republic, and were written into its constitution.

Radical secularism became one of the key principles of Kemalism. Religious expression came under strict government supervision and control. The abolition of the Caliphate ended any connection between the state and religion. The Islamic religious orders were suppressed, religious schools were closed, public education was secularized.

In 1924, "Unification of Education Law" was put in force in the Republic of Turkey. Under that law, all state schools established a common curriculum. American educational reformer John Dewey was invited to Turkey in summer 1924 to advise educators on educational reforms. Turkish education became a state-supervised system, which was designed to create a skill base for the social and economic progress of the country.

The Moslem community in Cyprus followed the changes that took place in the Turkish Republic. Following Turkey's hat reform, the fez disappeared in Cyprus. Alphabet reform was adopted in Cyprus in 1928 and implemented immediately in education. By the end of 1930s, education was secularized and Kemalist principles were introduced in education. The Turkish Cypriot education, which followed the curriculum of schools in Turkey, insured that the new ideology took deep roots among Turkish Cypriots.

According to Nevzat (2005), already during the mid-1920s majority of the teachers at the *i'dadî* school (roughly, an equivalent of secondary school) were Kemalists; this secondary school followed the curriculum of schools in Turkey. Many teachers in Turkish Cypriot schools were educated in Turkey and they were most instrumental in promoting Kemalist ideas in Turkish Cypriot schools.

Nevzat (2005) writes:

by the end of the 1920s a new generation was rising, educated and socialized in institutions where they were imbued with nationalist sentiments, sometimes by schoolmasters from Turkey itself. Always

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<sup>30</sup> When the surnames were introduced in the Republic of Turkey, the National Assembly awarded a surname *Atatürk*, meaning 'father of Turks', to their leader Gazi Pasha Mustafa Kemal. The first President of the Republic of Turkey has been since known as Atatürk.

paralleling in education the curriculum of Turkey, this ascendant generation that gained progressive voice in the populace at large represented the greatest challenge to the traditional Turkish Cypriot elite... This new generation was led both by those who had been pioneers of Turkish nationalism on the island in the past and by now, younger leaders...who themselves matured and first gained political prominence in the Kemalist era (p. 431).

Traditional elements – such as Islam and the Ottoman past – were gradually excluded from the Moslem Cypriot society. The identifier, ‘Moslem’, itself was replaced by ‘Turkish’. Various scholars (Ateşin 2006; Hill 1952; Nevzat 2005) state that by the end of 1930s Moslem community of Cyprus ceased to exist as ‘Moslem’ and changed its identification to ‘Turkish’. The transformation of the Moslems of Cyprus to the Turks of Cyprus took place. The newly emerged identity of Turkish Cypriots was accompanied by total secularization of the society of Turkish Cypriots. The Turkish nationalist modernist outlook and Kemalist republican principles were appropriated by the community of Turkish Cypriots and became their own. These foundational principles of the ideology of the community of Turkish Cypriots shaped Turkish Cypriot education for the years to come.

### **Images of Atatürk**

It was already in the 1920s that Mustafa Kemal Atatürk – the founder of the Republic of Turkey and its first President – was adopted as a national symbol of the Turkish Cypriot community (Nevzat 2005). Portraits of Atatürk gradually became commonplace in Turkish Cypriot houses and coffee-houses as Atatürk’s reforms were adopted by the Turkish Cypriot community, mainly during the 1930s.<sup>31</sup>

In the 1930s, the significance of having a pictorial image of Atatürk on display in both Turkey and Cyprus went further than the image itself. It symbolized the replacement of ‘non-pictorial’ Muslim culture by a new order. According to Mango (1999), Atatürk explicitly addressed the issue of the Islamic ban on human representation in his speech in Bursa in 1923. Atatürk (then Mustafa Kemal) proclaimed that ‘the Islamic ban on human representation was no longer relevant’ (Mango 1999, p. 371). He stated that Turkey would put up statues to its heroes and that public figural representation would be one of the signs of Turkey being ‘on the high road of civilization’ (Mango 1999, p. 371).

Review of scholarship on the developments in the Turkish Cypriot community in the twentieth century indicates that images of Atatürk were very popular

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<sup>31</sup> Nevzat (2005, p. 419) refers to a British report which noted that by the end of the 1930s the Cyprus Turks were buying up portraits of Atatürk and other leading statesmen of Turkey and that a publication about Atatürk entitled ‘Our Great Loss’, imported by a Nicosia merchant, had sold out within an hour.

among Turkish Cypriots during the 1930-1950s (Adil 2007; Hill 1952; Nevzat 2005). The main reason why Atatürk portraits were mostly confined to private spaces (not public!) in those years was because the British administration tried to curtail nationalist sentiments in the two communities, especially after the Greek Cypriot revolt and burning of the Governor's house in 1931. Among strict measures taken by the British administration there was prohibition on the use of teaching materials, maps and various national symbols produced in Greece or Turkey<sup>32</sup>. The British administration ordered delivery of portraits of the British Royal family<sup>33</sup> and those adorned schools and other public places until at least mid-1950s.

Popular among Turkish Cypriots during the 1930s-1950s (Adil 2007; Hill 1952; Nevzat 2005), the presence of images of Atatürk would increase in the 1950s-1960s (Adil 2007). Referring to an instance from his own childhood in a Cypriot village in the 1950s, Adil (2007) writes:

In our village primary school, as in any other Turkish school, there hung above the blackboard a picture of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. Our particular school photograph was one of Atatürk dressed in a formal dark suit, statesman's dress, as he publicly demonstrated the new Turkish alphabet introduced in 1928. As well as busts of Atatürk in most school gardens... his portrait is at least in every school principal's office...and most likely is still to be found in every classroom (pp. 54-55).

According to Bryant (2004) and Nevzat (2005), there was steadily increasing saturation of public spaces, including schools, with national symbols since the 1960s. Among those national symbols were national symbols of Greece and Turkey, as well as local national symbols of the communities.

It was also during the 1960s that the busts of Atatürk would appear. Adil (2007) refers to the time period 1963-1974 in Turkish Cypriot community as 'period of the busts and silhouettes' (p. 88). No large monuments were erected during this time (apart from one large statue of Atatürk inaugurated in

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<sup>32</sup> With reference to an official document (Enclosure in Palmer to Secretary of State, 6<sup>th</sup> April 1939, CO 67/295/4, 79), Nevzat (2005) notes that free exercise books which were distributed to Turkish Cypriot students were prohibited for use in elementary school by the British Director of Education because 'national emblem of Turkey' was imprinted on them (p. 419).

<sup>33</sup> Hill (1952) states that in 1934 an anonymous donor provided a consignment of 1050 of portraits of King George V and Queen Mary which were sent to Cyprus for distribution among the schools. Nevzat (2005) speculates that it was Hill himself who 'anonymously' and personally funded the printing of portraits of the British sovereign to be displayed in Turkish and Greek Cypriot schools, as Hill complained in 1934 to the authorities about the presence of pictures of 'foreign' leaders in Cypriot classrooms.

October 1963<sup>34</sup>) but 'small bronze Atatürk busts, heads mostly, had begun to appear in the Turkish villages and municipalities about the island. Popular locations were (are) schools, especially high schools...and municipal forecourts' (p. 56). Adil (2007) recalls the arrival of one such bust in his village around 1969-1970 and surmises an association with 'the second major bout of inter-communal violence in 1967/68, when Turkish Cypriots in parts of the island came under attack from Greek Cypriot militias, and when Turkey's economic support of the community scattered in enclaves had enabled the basic functioning of a social system to become organized' (p. 88).

The images of Atatürk proliferated following official territorial separation of the two communities in 1975. And yet, omnipresence of Atatürk images long predates the events of 1974-1975 and the establishment of the TRNC (1983) and reflects dramatic transformations of social, cultural and political life of the Turkish Cypriot society that took place in the 1930s.

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<sup>34</sup> This first (and for a long time, the only) statue of Atatürk is larger than life figure in suit and overcoat, Atatürk the statesman. The statue was made in Turkey and transported to Cyprus (Adil 2007). It was placed in the capital, Nicosia, and is still there.