

RE-WRITING HISTORY TEXTBOOKS

HISTORY EDUCATION: AS A TOOL FOR POLARISATION OR RECONCILIATION?

PART I

EDUCATION FOR PEACE III

**TEXTUAL AND VISUAL ANALYSIS OF THE UPPER SECONDARY SCHOOL
CYPRUS HISTORY TEXTBOOKS**

**COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE OLD AND NEW CYPRUS HISTORY
TEXTBOOKS**

PART II

EDUCATION FOR PEACE II

**TEXTUAL AND VISUAL ANALYSIS OF THE LOWER SECONDARY
SCHOOL CYPRUS HISTORY TEXTBOOKS**

STUDIED BETWEEN 2004 AND 2009

NICOSIA, 2010

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Foreword

This book comprises of two parts which is the combination of two peace education projects implemented by POST Research Institute (POST RI) since 2006. Part I is the report conducted under “*Education for Peace III*” project, a one-year project funded by the European Commission. This report is a comparative analysis of the Cyprus history textbooks introduced in upper secondary schools in the northern part of Cyprus in the fall of 2009 Part II consists of the “*Education for Peace II*” report which is a comparative analysis of the old and the new Cyprus history textbooks studied in lower secondary schools from 2004 until 2009. This report was written by the POST RI researchers in 2007 through the financial assistance of the UNDP-ACT/USAID.

In the conclusion of the “*Education for Peace II*” project, it is stated that the revised textbooks could be considered as a step towards reconciliation for a united Federal Cyprus, as at the time of writing, the textbooks used in schools were written from the perspective of stressing the commonality between the communities of Cyprus. It is also expressed that although an important step had been taken (in 2004) in terms of peace education, more work was required in order to strengthen the use of student-centred approaches in history teaching in developing a multicultural environment and critical thinking for new generations. However, in 2009, the history textbooks were re-written once again but from an ethno-centric perspective based on the notion of the “other”.

Initially it was the ideal of POST RI that the positive revision of Cyprus history textbooks used in schools in the northern part of Cyprus would continue, and as such POST RI would prepare a series of supplementary educational materials that could be used in schools in correlation with the revised textbooks. However, due to the changes that occurred in the re-writing of Cyprus history textbooks in 2009, the POST RI team

decided to instead conduct a comparative analysis of the old history textbooks written in 2004 with the newly re-written textbooks of 2009 in order to seek the answer to the question: history education: a tool for polarisation or reconciliation?

The other major motivation of bringing the two studies together was to combine the research findings of “Education for Peace II & III” in one book; therefore, providing a comprehensive study of the Cyprus history textbooks used in the northern part of Cyprus.

POST RI Team

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We would like to thank the Cyprus Turkish Secondary Education Teachers’ Union (KTOEÖS), Cyprus Turkish Teachers’ Union (KTOS), and KTOS Historical Research Centre in assisting us in reaching out to teachers and disseminating the work of POST RI to educators.

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We especially acknowledge the incredible efforts of the “*Education for Peace III*” Project Coordinator Ms. Shirin Jetha-Dađseven and “*Education for Peace II*” Project Coordinator Mr. Murat Kanatlı during the projects and in the preparation of this book.

This book is dedicated to the children of Cyprus.

The POST RI Team

PART I
EDUCATION FOR PEACE III

**TEXTUAL AND VISUAL ANALYSIS OF THE UPPER
SECONDARY SCHOOL CYPRUS HISTORY
TEXTBOOKS**

**COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE OLD AND NEW CYPRUS
HISTORY TEXTBOOKS**

Written by

Hakan Karahasan and Dilek Latif



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Abbreviations

TCc	Turkish Cypriot Community
G/C	Greek Cypriots
T/C	Turkish Cypriots
CTP	Republican Turkish Party
UBP	National Unity Party
TDP	Social Democracy Party
UN	United Nations
EU	European Union
TMT	Turkish Resistance Organisation
EOKA	National Organization of Cypriot Fighters
KTÖS	Turkish Cypriot Teachers' Union
KTOEÖS	Turkish Cypriot Secondary School Teachers' Union
UNFICYP	United Nations Force in Cyprus

References of the Analysed History Textbooks in EFP Reports

The textbook	Grade	Publication Year	Years studied
Kıbrıs Türk Tarihi 1: Liseler İçin Tarih Kitabı [Turkish Cypriot History 1: Textbook for High Schools]	9	2006	2006- Spring 2009
Kıbrıs Tarihi (1878 – 1960): Kıbrıs'ta İngiliz Dönemi Siyasi Tarihi [Cyprus History (1878-1960): Political History of the British Period]	10	2008	2006- Spring 2009
Kıbrıs Tarihi (1960 – 1968) [Cyprus History (1960-1968)]	11	2007	2007- Spring 2009
Kıbrıs Tarihi (1968 -2005) [Cyprus History (1968-2005)]	12	January 2009	Spring 2009
Kıbrıs Türk Tarihi [Turkish Cypriot History] 9	9-10	August 2010	Current textbook
Kıbrıs Türk Tarihi [Turkish Cypriot History]10	11-12	August 2010	Current textbook

Introduction

Zvi Bekerman, Hebrew University, Jerusalem

This report joins a rather long tradition of history textbook analysis which has contributed much to our understanding of official efforts to shape national collective memory. It shows the textbook genre to involve a peculiar mix of inspirational narratives and flat facts geared towards the manipulation of the young citizen's beliefs; in our specific case, those of those in the Turkish Cypriot community. Moreover, it shows how these textbooks change shape according to the immediate socio-political needs perceived as urgent by changing political forces. The report exposes tensions between collective memory and analytic historical versions of past constitutive events and also some of the discursive strategies which support the shaping of historical events as these are dictated by hegemonic visions.

This should come as no surprise. The nation state is the definite product of modernity; a modernity which has produced a distinct social form, radically different from that of the traditional order of the past. This modernity is characterised by very specific forms of territoriality and surveillance capabilities that monopolise effective control over social relations across definite time-space distances and over the means of violence. The nation state can be viewed as a political socio-economic phenomenon that seeks to exercise its control over the populations comprising it by establishing a culture which is at once homogeneous, anonymous (all the members of the polity, irrespective of their personal sub-group affiliations, are called upon to uphold this culture) and universally literate (all members share the culture the state has canonised).

‘Official history’ is determined by the dominant group and is used to perpetuate its cultural hegemony.¹ Official history thus leaves little space for alternative narratives, recognised as a major part of a group’s cultural rights.

National narratives are produced in order to justify the nations’s necessary existence. In countries in conflict, these narratives tend to be partial and explain the conflict from narrow particularistic perspectives of what truth is and from a position of indisputable morality. These narratives also tend to exclude, dehumanise, and devalue the enemy and their narrative. If at all present, the narrative of the enemy is judged as morally inferior and the enemy is depicted as being immoral and holding to irrational and manipulative views.² Since the society’s ideology and its ethos are formally represented in textbooks for massive educational consumption in the homogenising efforts of the nation State, they are assumed to stand in a dialectical relationship with schooling and violent conflict.³ This dialogue needs to be recognised and explored for the process of post-conflict reconciliation to start so as not to replicate what educational structures might have contributed to the conflict.⁴ The report is an exploration of this dialogue in the context of the Turkish Cypriot community and as such offers an outstanding critical contribution to that which needs to be

¹ Crawford, K. (1995). 'A History of the Right: The Battle for Control of National Curriculum History 1989-1994'. *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 33(4), 433-456.

² S. Opatow (2001). 'Moral Inclusion and the Process of Social Reconciliation'. *Social Justice Research* 14(2), 149-170.

³ M. Apple (1979). *Ideology and Curriculum*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul; P. Bourdieu (1973). 'Cultural Reproduction and Social Reproduction'. In R. Brown (Ed.), *Knowledge, Education, and Cultural Change*. London: Tavistock, 71-112; A. Luke (1998). *Literacy, Booklet and Ideology*. London: Falmer Press.

⁴ Tawil, S., Harley, A., and Porteous, L. (2003). *Curriculum Change and Social Cohesion in Conflict-affected Societies*. Geneva: UNESCO.

attended to if we are really interested in bettering the world or at least bettering its educational system.

But in this short introduction, without negating the above, I want to call the reader's attention to a wider context which envelops historical curricula/textbooks and their teaching. I fear that leaving these contexts unattended will not allow for serious reform efforts to be undertaken even by willing educators and policy makers.

Recent studies on the relationship between textbook accounts and students' historical memory show that students comprehend textbooks with the help of previously acquired knowledge combined with their perceptions of the surrounding cultural milieu. Students also try to reduce any possible tensions created by perceived disparities between them.⁵ Textbooks do not seem to help redefine the cultural and historical perspectives that are shaped in concert with the wider socio-cultural context.⁶

In spite of the expectations set on textbooks to secure certain types of historical memory, culture at large and its multiple mediational tools embodied in a wide gamut of communicational technologies seem to set the parameters and the potential motions of 'individual' memory. Indeed, textbooks are one of these tools but their influence is not necessarily greater than that of other mass media apparatus. Moreover, given the context in which they function—schools—they lose a force that in another context might have

⁵ Porat, D. A. (2004). 'It's Not Written Here, But This Is What Happened: Students' Cultural Comprehension of Textbook Narratives on the Israeli-Arab Conflict'. *American Educational Research Journal*, 41(4), 963.

⁶ Wertsch, J. V. (2002). *Voices of Collective Remembering*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Wertsch, J. V., and Polman, J. L. (2001). 'The Intuitive Mind and Knowledge About History'. In B. Torff and R. J. Sternberg (Eds.), *Understanding and Teaching the Intuitive Mind: Student and Teacher Learning*. Nahwah, NJ: Lawrence Earlbaum Associates.

been noticed. Halbwachs rightfully points out the lightness of individual memories and their tendency to vanish if they are not supported through social interaction within a material cultural framework.⁷ From his perspective, memories are not individual but social. They are collective not because there is a collective psychology to societies but because they are practised, acted and re-enacted in the social sphere through multiple venues of activity. Many are involved in what we ultimately identify as historical knowledge, popular culture, official activities, family agents, friends and foes.

Moreover, building on Umberto Eco's dictum that 'Texts are lazy machines that ask someone to do part of their job' we assume textbooks to be lazy tools in need of teachers and students to do some type of (educational/learning) job for them to become active in any meaning-making process.⁸

The report findings do indeed further our understanding of the massive efforts invested by modern states to control the production of memory and remembrance through their educational systems. However, it might not do enough in terms of explaining the complex interactional activity through which these text are brought to life. As mentioned above text(book)s are lazy machines asking for some one to do the work; all by themselves they, if at all, can do little.

Future research efforts should try to bring to light the multiple agents (and their activities) involved in bringing these text(book)s to life in educational contexts. This new focus is critical in order to help clarify our thoughts regarding both potential pedagogical tools and their ability to serve peace educational efforts, and how to secure the mobilisation of social, cultural, and educational systems within a given society

⁷ Halbwachs, M. (1980). *The Collective Memory*. Trans. F. J. Ditter and V. Y. Ditter. Chicago: Chicago University Press.

⁸ Eco, U. (1979). *The Role of the Reader: Explorations in the Semiotics of Texts*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 214.

so as to create environments which foster co-existence and reconciliation.

Last but not least, I would encourage us all to seriously consider Jorge Luis Borges approach to memory as it evolves in his short story 'Funes el Memorioso'.⁹ Borges doubted whether Funes could think. Thinking has to do with forgetting, he thought, and forgetting was the one thing Funes could not do. In Funes' world, there were only immediate details and he died trapped in memory. When considering the potential traps of memory we should recall that remembrance of traumatic histories cannot be justified logically. True: no memory no self, but this still does not imply an imperative to remain attached to traumatic recollections. When we chose to do so, when we organise our institutional and public spheres in remembrance of past tragedies, we may be suspected of an attempt to rally support for particular interests, not necessarily those which support accommodation. Too much memory seems to have a monologic character; it seems not to recognise other recollections or the recollections of others and, if at all able to enter into dialogue, it does so through denial. The partial amnesia I am suggesting implies shrinking memory into the individual sphere so as first to allow for the presence of other memories , hoping later to enter into dialogue with them. When flooded by memory, Funes lost his ability to think, to reflect; he drowned in almost immediate-past details. If we want to escape Funes' destiny, we need to do some forgetting. Without this, reconciliation and co-existence seem to be unattainable.

⁹ Borges, J. L. (Ed.). (1996). *Funes el memorioso* (Vol. 1). Barcelona, Spain: EMECE.

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General Introduction to History Education

[Humanbeing] make their own history, but they do not make it as they please; they do not make it under self-selected circumstances, but under circumstances existing already, given and transmitted from the past. The tradition of all dead generations weighs like a nightmare on the brains of the living.
– Karl Marx- *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*

'History', Stephen said, 'is a nightmare which I'm trying to awake.' – James Joyce, *Ulysses*

Even though writers such as Francis Fukuyama have argued that we are at the end of history, it is not unusual to talk about history education.¹⁰ Although capitalism has declared its victory in terms of economic systems and that globalisation has become a fact, there is still much to discuss when it comes to education. Globalisation, as a phenomenon, cannot change the fact that we are still living in between modernism and postmodernism, which creates a very problematic picture for the world around us. Places, communities and countries that did not have the experience of 'national awakening' are trying to implement their 'national consciousness.' In this regard, it is not a surprise to see that history education plays a key role in

¹⁰ For a discussion of the 'end of history', see Fukuyama's *The End of History and the Last Man*. New York: Avon Books, 2006. In his work, Fukuyama argues that capitalism is the most advanced system we live in and since there are no better alternatives to it, we reached the end of history. Slavoj Žižek has also spoken about the 'victory of capitalism' as an economic system on 'Hardtalk' on *BBC World News*. Excerpts from the interview can be seen online:

<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/programmes/hardtalk/8374940.stm> (accessed 5/12/09).

this ‘national awakening.’¹¹ Nonetheless, this is not the only reason why history education has been used. We can say that the Sumerians, who ‘discovered’ writing, were also the first to create education in order to train/educate scribes, and they became one of the most important social classes in Sumerian society, legitimising their king through writing. This shows how significant education has been since the beginning of history – it has been used to create subjects that the dominant classes can easily manipulate.¹² In this sense, education is not only a tool that helps people to ‘learn’ about something, but a tool that perpetuates the ideas of the dominant classes.

Of course, the case of Cyprus is not so different from the rest of the world. Consideration of the fact that Cyprus received its independence in 1960 tells us many things about the situation. While Cyprus was a colony of the British Empire, there were two different communities (Orthodox and Muslim) and each of them used the language of their ‘respective motherlands’. These languages then led to national identities in these communities.¹³ Greek Cypriots (hereafter G/C) were the first to ‘awaken from the dream’ and became conscious of their Greekness.¹⁴

¹¹ As Ernest Gellner says, ‘Nationalism is not the awakening of nations to self-consciousness: it invents nations where they do not exist.’ Quoted in Benedict Anderson (2006). *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Revised Edition. London: Verso, 6.

¹² See Oya Tokgöz (2008). ‘Tarihsel Gelişim Süreci içinde Siyasal İletişimin Anlam Kazanması’ in *Siyasal İletişimi Anlamak*, Ankara: İmge Yayınları, 21-56.

¹³ For a detailed account about how each community is being perceived, see Zenon Stavrinides (1999). *The Cyprus Conflict: National Identity and Statehood*. 2nd edition. Lefkosia: Cyprus Research and Publishing Centre, 12-13.

¹⁴ There are many reasons why G/Cs firstly became aware of their Greekness than Turkish Cypriots (T/Cs). As Zemon Stavrinides (1999) argues, from the very beginning Greek education in Cyprus followed faithfully the organisation and curricula of the education system in Greece,

As Niyazi Kızılyürek suggests, ‘the 1821 Greek liberation movement gave birth to the nationalism of the Christian bourgeoisie in Cyprus, who having declared themselves Greek, insisted on the struggle for union with the Greek national state.’¹⁵ According to Kızılyürek, national identity became an issue for G/Cs after Greece obtained its independence from the Ottoman Empire.¹⁶ Turkish Cypriots (hereafter T/Cs), on the other hand, became ‘aware’ of their Turkishness mostly as a counter reaction to the G/Cs. As Zenon Stavrinides points out, ‘there was no institution, for example, among the Turkish Cypriot community corresponding to the Greek Orthodox Church’.¹⁷ Another factor is that the idea of nationalism did not become an issue for T/Cs until the establishment of the modern Turkish national state.¹⁸

The ‘awakening’ of the ‘two nations’ on the same island resulted in the creation of an independent republic in Cyprus in 1960. Interestingly, the problem of becoming a nation has not ended. One of the reasons for this problem was due to there being no common educational system, even though people lived in the same republic. During the British Administration, both communities used textbooks from their ‘respective motherlands’, and this, in turn, helped to ‘cultivate’

which concentrated heavily on Greek literature, historical and cultural tradition and the Orthodox religion. This fact has had a definite formative influence on the kind of language with which Greek Cypriots came later to express their political ideas and discuss the situation of their island (15).

¹⁵ Niyazi Kızılyürek, (1990). ‘The Turkish Cypriot Upper Class and the Question of Identity’. In *Turkish Cypriot Identity in Literature*. Trans. Aydın Mehmet Ali. London: Fatal Publications, 21.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Stavrinides, 18.

¹⁸ For more information, see Meltem Onurkan Samani (1999). *Kıbrıs Türk Milliyetçiliği*. Lefke: n.p., 21.

Greek and Turkish nationalism in Cyprus.¹⁹ Another reason for this rise in nationalism was that during both the British rule and the Republic of Cyprus period, the two communities had separate schools. In other words, Turkish Cypriots went to Turkish schools and mainly followed the textbooks from Turkey, whereas, Greek Cypriots went to Greek schools and followed textbooks from Greece. Especially after 1963, the time that can be seen as the official beginning of interethnic violence, both parties separated more and more from each other, leading to each community ‘establishing’ their own ‘national narrative’ where each side demonised the ‘other’. Of course, another ‘problem’ has been that history textbooks in general are ‘imported’ from the respective ‘motherlands’.²⁰

Nevertheless, a quick survey of the official narratives of both sides, shows that each side has used history as a way to construct its own national identity as being the only one, thus marginalising the ‘other’. Of course, marginalising or demonising the ‘other’ is not specific to Cyprus but is one of the ‘characteristics’ of nationalism. As Loring M. Danforth claims, ‘nationalist movements... are twofold in nature. First they define and reject a national other, then they define and

¹⁹ For more information, see POST-Research Institute (2007). *Textual and Visual Analyses of the Lower Secondary School History Textbooks: Comparative Analysis of the Old and the New History Textbooks – Education for Peace 2*. Nicosia: POST, 37. See also the *Cyprus History 2* textbook, written during the CTP government: *Kıbrıs Tarihi, 2. Kitap: Ortaokullar İçin Tarih Kitabı*. [Cyprus History, Volume 2: History Book for the Secondary Schools] (2005). Lefkoşa: KKTC Milli Eğitim ve Kültür Bakanlığı, 65.

²⁰ For a detailed account of the textbooks that come from the ‘mainland’, see AKTI-Project and Research Centre (2004). *Report on the History and Literature Textbooks of 6th Grade in Terms of Promoting Violence and Nationalism*. Nicosia, AKTI; POST-Research Institute (2004); POST-Research Institutes (2007).

create national self.’²¹ Given Danforth’s definition, history textbooks could be used as instruments for ‘each nation’ to ‘define’ and ‘re-define’ the ‘other’ through their own historical narrative. The case of the former Yugoslavia is a very good example of this narrative and its projection of the ‘other’. As Falk Pingel suggests,

Textbook authors have not always been critical enough towards the society in which they live. With the emergence of the nation states in the last century it became quite obvious that schoolbooks contain statements glorifying their own nation and disparaging others, glorifying the ruling groups within one nation or society and disparaging so-called minority groups. At that time concerned educationalists and politicians had already noticed that textbooks, especially history textbooks, do not only convey facts but also spread ideologies, follow political trends and, by investing them with historical legitimacy, try to justify them.²²

As Pingel suggests, the writers of these textbooks mostly focus on ‘their national glories’, not the ‘others’, who are human beings as well. If one looks at how history textbooks were written in Cyprus, it can be seen that both sides have used history and history education to legitimise their own official policies.²³ As Karahasan and Latif have claimed elsewhere,

²¹ Quoted in Panayote E. Dimitras. ‘Writing and Rewriting History in the Context of Balkan Nationalisms’. . *Southeast European Politics*. 1(1), 41.

²² Falk Pingel (1999). *UNESCO Guidebook on Textbook Research and Textbook Revision*. Paris: UNESCO, 5-6.

²³ For more information on how the politics of memory and forgetting is used, see Yiannis Papadakis’ *Perceptions of History and Collective Identity: A Comparison of Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot Perspectives*. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Cambridge; Hakan Karahasan’s ‘Different Narratives, Different Stories: The Language of Narrative and Interpretation’. *Journal of Cyprus Studies*. 11(28-29), 115-127. For the ways that the history textbooks are being used, see AKTI (2004); POST-Research Institute (2004); POST-Research Institute (2007); Niyazi

History education is seen as a significant tool for ‘creating’ national identity. In this regard, history education in Cyprus can be seen as an instrument that legitimises official discourse. If history education itself is seen as an ‘ideological tool’ that creates national identity, then the Turkish Cypriot experience can be seen as an interesting ‘experiment’ which allows us to document how and why it is ideological.²⁴

Although Karahasan and Latif’s aim was to document the current debates on history education on the northern part of Cyprus, these debates are good examples of how history education is seen in Cyprus (especially in the northern part) at present. Cyprus history textbooks have been replaced twice since 2004: once during the Republican Turkish Party (CTP) authority and a second time following the election of the UBP party in 2009.²⁵ The promise made by the new National Unity Party (UBP) to ‘change history textbooks that are far away from our national identity’ is a good example how history education is seen at present moment. In this sense, one can say that Cyprus history education is still regarded as a determinant factor that ‘creates’ the national self. However, as mentioned above, the case of Cyprus is not ‘unique’. Recent attempts to change the curriculum and write new history textbooks have occurred in other nations, especially in the Balkans, but also in

Kızılyürek (1999). ‘National Memory and Turkish-Cypriot Textbooks’. *International Textbook Research / Internationale Schulbuchforschung*. 21(4), 387-395.

²⁴Karahasan, Hakan and Dilek Latif (2009). ‘The Current debates and dilemmas on history and reconciliation amongst the Turkish-Cypriots’. *PRIO Cyprus Center Annual Conference: Learning from Comparing Conflicts and Reconciliation Process: A Holistic Approach*. Nicosia, Cyprus, 18-20 June 2009.

²⁵See ‘Özgürün: Tarih kitapları değişecek’ (2009). *Kıbrıs Postası*, 4th June.

the common history textbooks of Germany and France.²⁶ For example, former Yugoslavian countries have attempted to ‘reform’ their history education for the same reason: they want to support mutual trust and understanding, and history education is still an important tool in the creation of national identity, as well as the promotion of peace and reconciliation.²⁷

This report is a comparative study of the upper secondary *Cyprus (Turkish) History* textbooks. Four ‘Cyprus History’ textbooks prepared under the Republican Turkish Party (CTP) authority for Grades 9, 10, 11 and 12 will be analysed and compared with the two ‘Cyprus History’ textbooks created by the current (National Unity Party – UBP) authority. A peace education approach is being used as a method of analysing the ‘discursive strategy’ of the textbooks, as well as the visual aspects of the books. However, a historical perspective will also be given in order to show how and why textbooks have changed, and why it is that the issue is still a ‘hot debate’ in the politics of Cyprus. Whilst analysing the textbooks, theoretical information will be given to show how texts, as well as pictures were analysed. The use of language,

²⁶ For the common history textbooks of Germany and France, see www.klett.de/projekte/geschichte/dfgb/index_k.html (accessed 20/12/09); www.goethe.de/Ins/jp/lp/prj/wza/defr/en2281618.htm (accessed 20/12/09); www.gei.de/en/publications/eckert-dossiers/europa-und-die-welt/europe-and-the-world.html (accessed 20/12/09). See also POST Research Institute (2004).

²⁷ For the educational ‘reform’ in Bosnia and Herzegovina, see Dilek Latif ‘Tarihi Yeniden Yazmak’, *Kuzey*, Volume 8, 15 Kasım- 15 Aralık 2009; ‘Etnik Çatışma Sonrası Barış İnşası Ne Kadar Mümkün? Dayton Sonrası Bosna ve Hersek’, *Kıbrıs Yazıları*, vol (sayı) 3-4, Summer –Spring (Yaz-Güz) 2006. For more information about history education in the Balkans, see Christina Koulouri (ed). *Teaching the history of south-eastern Europe*. Thessaloniki: Center for Democracy and Reconciliation in Southeast Europe (2001).

descriptions of historical events, utilization of visual images, photos and maps will all be analysed from this angle.

I) The Process of Revising the Cyprus History Textbooks

The school curricula and the textbooks employed on both sides in Cyprus have traditionally reflected the ongoing ethnic conflict. In particular, the history textbooks developed by both parties portrayed history according to their own interpretations, official narratives and preconceptions. On the other hand, visible changes have been taken place in the education system on the northern part of the island over the last five years. The first visible change involved the re-writing of Cyprus history textbooks used in the lower secondary schools in 2004, shortly after the Annan Plan referenda.

The old history textbook, used constantly since 1971, mirrored nationalist policies with an ethnocentric perception of history. In contrast, the new history books, written in 2004, denied this ethnocentric approach and removed the content with obvious indication of a national enemy or the 'other'. A discussion of traditional teaching methodologies followed as the new textbooks tried to adopt a student-centred approach, including critical thinking and multiperspectivity. After this, new history books were prepared by a committee of local experts and historians for the upper secondary schools.

Nevertheless, while the role of textbooks in shaping students historical knowledge and memory can not be denied, we also should not forget the role of teachers in giving them a meaning. The historical perspectives of the students are also influenced by the 'wider socio-historical context': dominant ideologies of a society, the mass media and their peer group.²⁸

²⁸ For more information see Zvi Bekerman(2009). 'The Complexities of Teaching Historical Conflictual Narratives in Integrated Palestinian-Jewish

I a) Incentives for Change

The year 2003 proved to be full of challenges and changes on the northern part of the island. It was an ardent period with intensive debates on the Annan Plan and the prospects of a solution. At the time, a majority of Turkish Cypriots began to react against former Turkish Cypriot Community (TCC) leader Denktaş's policy of no solution to the 'Cyprus problem' and actively became involved in a mass movement to bring peace to Cyprus. Civil society organisations such as the 'This Country is Ours' platform and 'Common Vision' challenged the old regime and demanded an immediate solution to the Cyprus conflict. The role of the teachers unions (KTÖS, the Turkish Cypriot Teachers' Union, and KTOEÖS, the Turkish Cypriot Secondary School Teachers' Union) in this process was also of great importance. During the Annan Plan negotiations, the teachers' unions played a major role as promoters of non-violent mass demonstrations. They also have played an active role in promoting a new curriculum.

Concern about how we teach history, how we make connections between past and present, and how represent the past in history teaching, deepened during the peace process. This concern enabled the new administration to make substantial changes to the traditional history textbooks. When the Republican Turkish Party (CTP) came to power, one of its major tasks was to undertake the revision of history textbooks. The process began with the re-writing of the secondary school

Schools in Israel'. *International Review of Education*, 55(2-3), 235-250; Michalinos Zembylas and Zvi Bekerman (2008). 'Dilemmas of Justice in Peace/Coexistence Education: Affect and the Politics of Identity'. *Review of Education, Pedagogy and Cultural Studies*, 30(5), 399-419.

history textbooks. When the new semester began in September 2004, the new history textbooks were used in all secondary schools in the northern part of Cyprus.

I b) Review of the Old and Revised Cyprus History Textbooks

Following the employment of the new textbooks in schools, a project entitled ‘Textual and Visual Analysis of the Lower Secondary School History Textbooks Comparative Analysis of the Old and the New History Textbooks’ was started in June 2006 by a Turkish Cypriot NGO, the POST-Research Institute. A research team consisting of Hakan Karahasan, Dilek Latif, Mehveş Beyidođlu Önen and Shirin Jetha-Dağseven analysed the revised history textbooks used in lower secondary schools in relation to textual and visual materials, and noted the differences between the old and newly revised textbooks.²⁹ The main findings of the comparative analysis of the first three grades of secondary schools shows that the old books (written by Dr. Vehbi Zeki Serter) described the history of Cyprus in a subjective manner, legitimising the ‘national goal’ of the Turkish Cypriot community and denying the legitimacy of the ‘other’. The old history textbooks can be viewed as a simple reflection of nationalistic policies, which are based on an ethnocentric perception of history. Moreover, the books were written in a manner that justifies and legitimises the nationalist policy of partition by instrumentalising the past.³⁰

By contrast, the new history textbooks are essentially far removed from the ethnocentric approaches used in the old textbooks. Instead, the new books evaluate historical issues

²⁹ See POST-Research Institute (2007).

³⁰ Ibid, 14.

from a humanistic perspective. Moreover, there is no obvious indication of a national enemy or the ‘other’ in the new books. One of the most fundamental characteristics of the new books is the emphasis on social history and its role in general history.³¹ By emphasising the importance of social history, the new history textbooks did not demonise the ‘other’, but instead ‘normalised’ it. As the ‘Textual and Visual Analysis of the Lower Secondary School History Textbooks’ report suggests, the revised textbooks see the ‘other’ as people like ‘us’, who have the same needs, such as food, shelter, clothing and a place/land to live. The report also argues that social history is an essential instrument for de-nationalising history. In this way, social history challenges the military and political history that only refers to the conflicts and tensions of the past.³²

II) Revising the Revised Textbooks: Competing Paradigms?

The decision to replace the Cyprus history textbooks in 2004 was not celebrated by all and started a huge discussion in the northern part of the island. When the textbooks were published five years ago, right wing political parties, journalists and historians reacted strongly against the changes. In view of the fact that teaching history is seen as an instrument for ‘creating national identity’ it is not surprising to see that the revised history textbooks occupy a significant space both in media as well as on the public’s agenda.³³

³¹ Ibid, 17.

³² Dilek Latif and Mehves Beyidoglu, (2009). ‘Analysis of the History Textbooks: The Present and the Past’. *Taking the Perspective of the Others: Intercultural Dialogue, Learning and Teaching of History*. EUROCLIO (European Association of History Educators)16th Annual Conference and Professional Development Course. Nicosia, Cyprus. 5-11th April, 2009.

³³ See Yiannis Papadakis (2008). *History Education in Divided Cyprus: A Comparison of Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot Schoolbooks on the*

The question ‘why is changing the history textbooks still an issue in Cyprus?’ is crucial. It reflects the vision of the authority and politicians, and the ways they see the future and the past.³⁴ Vehbi Zeki Serter’s *Kıbrıs Tarihi* was the only Cyprus history textbook on the northern part of the island that was taught in lower secondary schools for nearly 30 years. There might be a number of reasons for the revision of the textbooks and history education generally, but one can say that the main reason depends on ideology.³⁵ Contrary to the ‘old’ ideology, which was completely opposed to the European Union, as well as any kind of reunification with the Greek-Cypriots, the 2004 textbooks promoted “Cypriotness”, the idea of ‘Cyprus as homeland’, and mutual respect between the two communities by emphasising social history. These textbooks, which that were employed from autumn 2004 to spring 2009, followed ‘new pedagogical methods’ that encouraged students to think, criticise, and discuss issues, whereas Serter’s book does not follow such pedagogical thinking.³⁶

‘History of Cyprus’. Oslo: PRIO; Michalinos Zembylas and Hakan Karahasan. (2006). ‘The Politics of Memory and Forgetting in Pedagogical Practices: Towards Pedagogies of Reconciliation and Peace in Divided Cyprus’. *The Cyprus Review*, 18(2), 15-35; Yücel Vural and Evrim Özüyanık (2008). ‘Redefining Identity in the Turkish-Cypriot School History Textbooks: A Step Towards a United Federal Cyprus’. *South European Society and Politics*, 13(2), 133-154; Kizilyurek, Niyazi (1999). ‘National Memory and Turkish-Cypriot Textbooks’. *International Textbook Research/Internationale Schulbuchforschung*. 21(4), 387-395.

³⁴ Hakan Karahasan and Dilek Latif (2009). ‘The Current debates and dilemmas on history and reconciliation amongst the Turkish-Cypriots’. *PRIO Cyprus Center Annual Conference: Learning from Comparing Conflicts and Reconciliation Process: A Holistic Approach*. Nicosia, Cyprus, 18-20 June 2009.

³⁵ See POST-Research Institute (2007); Papadakis (2008).

³⁶ POST-Research Institute (2007), 24-30.

The 2004 textbooks can therefore be seen as a step towards reconciliation or a united federal Cyprus because stressing commonality throughout history inevitably contributes to peace in Cyprus.³⁷ In this sense, revising history textbooks can be seen as an effort towards speaking the same language, which, as Derrida argues, is an important part of reconciliation.³⁸ Prominent thinkers such as Yiannis Papadakis have described the 2004 textbooks a ‘paradigm shift’, despite some general weaknesses, summarising the reasons as academic, ideological and political.³⁹ Similarly, Yücel Vural and Evrim Özuyanık have described the books as a new interpretation of history that claims ‘Turkish Cypriotness’ rather than ‘Turkishness’, ‘unification’ rather than ‘separation’, and ‘cooperation’ rather than ‘competition’.⁴⁰

II a) Current Political Use of History Education and the April 2009 Elections

History textbooks were one of the hottest subjects during the more recent election campaign, following the economic crisis in early 2009. The revised textbooks formed a significant part of the election campaign of right wing conservative parties and groups. The right-wing National Unity Party (UBP) announced that if they were re-elected, they would re-write the Turkish Cypriot history books. They argued that ‘there are tangible mistakes in the books. If we take power, our experts will review the history syllabus and make the

³⁷ Vural and Özuyanık, p.149.

³⁸ Jacques Derrida. “On Forgiveness”. In *On Cosmopolitanism and Forgiveness*. London & New York Routledge, 2001, pp. 25-61.

³⁹ Papadakis (2008), 24.

⁴⁰ Vural and Özuyanık. 149.

appropriate corrections'. They added, 'we'll do exactly the same as the CTP [Republican Turkish Party] did when they came to power'. The Democratic Party made similar announcements, saying that the new books did not reflect the history of Turkish Cypriots and that they were textbooks on culture rather than history. Conversely, centre-left parties such as CTP and TDP supported the new textbooks and argued that the change from the old books was inevitable.

As the *Cyprus Mail* reported, a group called the National Struggle Council's Historical Technical Committee revealed that they had meetings with all political parties in order to convince them to review the updated history syllabus. One of the committee's members said the current Turkish Cypriot history textbooks attempted to present Greek and Turkish Cypriots as if they were 'as similar as eggs in a basket; but the truth is that we are different in every way'. They also declared that 'the aim of the books is to divert people and turn them into Cypriots who forget their "Turkishness". They are brainwashing our children'.⁴¹

In response to the UBP's criticism of the books, former Turkish Cypriot Education minister Canan Öztoprak said 'these books were not written by ministry officials or by politicians; they were written by historians and educationalists'.⁴² Another strong reaction against the use of history books as an instrument in the election campaign came from Şener Elcil, the Secretary General of the Turkish Cypriot Teacher's Union (KTÖS). Elcil said that the ones who based their politics for years on the blood and tears of this society were trying to come forward with their chauvinistic explanations of history textbooks and history education. He

⁴¹ Simon Bahceli (2009). 'Threat to revert to old version of Turkish Cypriot history books'. *Cyprus Mail*, 12th March.

⁴² Canan Öztoprak, "Kin ve Nefret Aşılıyor", Kıbrıs Gazetesi, 21 March 2009.

added, ‘the racist understanding has indoctrinated young brains with hatred and prejudices which have risen from the grave’. He declared that ‘it is unacceptable to support going backward and teaching history with blood, tears, enmity, chauvinism and biases. It should be known that we will stand up harshly against the ones trying to prevent change.’⁴³

Shortly before the elections, Mr. Dervis Erođlu, who was re-elected as the chairperson of National Unity Party, announced that when they come to power they would revise the history books again. The history textbooks became a topic on the political agenda. Concurrently, TCc Leader Rauf Denktař stated that our history books should be reviewed by patriotic, nationalist, libertarian historians. He said we should not be proud of writing the history books required by European Union, because what the EU wants is to cut our ties with Turkey. At that time, there was concern that if the right-wing parties were elected there could be a risk of going backward by throwing away the new books and replacing them with more nationalistic ones.

II b) The Change of Authority and the Withdrawal of the Revised Textbooks

As can be seen, the arguments and criticisms regarding the reformation of history education were not free from the political context in the northern part of the island. Following the victory of the National Unity Party (UBP) in the last elections, a new authority came to power in the northern part of Cyprus. Replacing the textbooks was among the first declarations made by the present Council of Ministers. The

⁴³ ‘Yeni Beyaz Sayfa Açılmalı’ [‘A New Page Shall be Opened’] (2009). *Kıbrıs Gazetesi*, 30th April.

Cabinet spokesperson announced that changing the CTP period history textbooks was one of the issues on the agenda of the new authority for the first hundred days.⁴⁴ This declaration indicates that history education was, and is still seen as, the primary element that can be used to ‘create’ national consciousness, and hence identity.

The right wing UBP authority cancelled the printing of the CTP period history textbooks for the subsequent semester and produced brand new history textbooks. The new authorities notion of replacing the Cyprus history textbooks failed to materialise over the summer. It was not even clear whether any new textbooks would be ready for the 2009 semester. But quite unexpectedly, Mr. Dervis Eroğlu revealed the new history textbooks to the public during a press conference on the 8th of September 2009.⁴⁵ He said that the history textbooks had been changed following discussions. Eroğlu showed a picture of Atatürk following the cover page and explained that from now on our students would learn the true history from these books.⁴⁶

III) Comparison of the Cyprus History Textbooks

III a) Comparison of Kıbrıs Türk Tarihi 1 [Turkish Cypriot History 1] and Kıbrıs Tarihi (1878-1960): Kıbrıs'ta İngiliz Dönemi Siyasal Tarihi [Cyprus History (1878-1960): Political History of the British Period] with the current Kıbrıs Türk Tarihi [Turkish Cypriot History] 9

One of the ‘big’ differences between the withdrawn *Cyprus History* textbooks and the 2009 versions is that,

⁴⁴ For more information, see ‘Özgürün: Tarih kitapları değişecek’ (2009). *Kıbrıs Postası*, 4th June.

⁴⁵ ‘Accomplishments of the new authority in 100 days’ (2009). *BRT News*, 8 September.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

according to the curriculum, pupils previously had four textbooks for one year. The more recent books, in terms of size, are shorter. At present, the ninth grade *Turkish Cypriot History* textbook covers the same subjects included in the *Kıbrıs Türk Tarihi 1* [Turkish Cypriot History 1] and *Kıbrıs Tarihi (1878-1960): Kıbrıs'ta İngiliz Dönemi Siyasal Tarihi* [Cyprus History (1878-1960): Political History of the British Period] textbooks.⁴⁷ A first glance at the textbooks shows that the number of pages that pupils now study has been cut down. In that sense, it is quite clear the 2004 books contained much more information than the 2009 books. For example, here are the chapter headings that the withdrawn and the 2009 textbooks use:

<i>Kıbrıs Türk Tarihi 1</i>	<i>Kıbrıs Türk Tarihi 9. Sınıf (2009)</i>
Chapter 1. <i>Osmanlılar Öncesi Kıbrıs</i> [Cyprus Before the Ottomans]	Chapter 1. <i>İlk ve Ortaçağ'da Kıbrıs</i> [Prehistory of Cyprus and the Middle Ages]

Although both textbooks cover the same subjects, the title of each chapter is a significant sign of the perspective of the writers and the textbooks. The 2009 textbook for grade 9 covers the subjects ‘İlk ve Ortaçağ'da Kıbrıs’ [Cyprus in the Prehistory and the Middle Ages] up to ‘Dr. Fazıl Küçük’ün Hayatı, Milli Mücadelemizdeki Yeri ve Önemi’ [The Life of Dr. Fazıl Küçük and his Significance in Our National Struggle], whereas the *Kıbrıs Türk Tarihi 1* [Turkish Cypriot History 1] textbook covers the subjects ‘Osmanlılar Öncesi

47 *Kıbrıs Türk Tarihi 1: Liseler için Tarih Kitabı* [Turkish Cypriot History: Textbook for High Schools], KKTC Milli Eğitim ve Kültür Bakanlığı [TCC Education Authority], hereafter *Kıbrıs Türk Tarihi 1* [Turkish Cypriot History 1] and *Kıbrıs Tarihi (1878-1960): Kıbrıs'ta İngiliz Dönemi Siyasal Tarihi*. Lefkoşa: K.T. Eğitim Vakfı Yayınları, 2008. as KT 2.

Kıbrıs' [Cyprus Before the Ottomans], 'Kıbrıs'ta Osmanlılar' [the Ottomans in Cyprus] and 'Sosyo-Ekonomik Hayat' [Socio-economic Life during the Ottoman Era]. As mentioned above, the withdrawn textbooks were divided into two years and for the first year of the high school pupils read only these subjects. The subjects that concern the period of British administration and the establishment of the Republic of Cyprus were studied in another textbook, interestingly with a different title: *Kıbrıs Tarihi (1878-1960): Kıbrıs'ta İngiliz Dönemi Siyasi Tarihi* [Cyprus History (1878-1960): The Political History of Cyprus during the British Era].

In other words, *Kıbrıs Tarihi (1878-1960)* [Cyprus History (1878-1960)] was the sequel to *Kıbrıs Türk Tarihi 1* [Turkish Cypriot History 1] and it is unclear why they gave different names for the same course. Here, again, a survey of the titles reveals the different perspective of the withdrawn and the current 2009 textbooks. The former textbook begins with the title 'The History of Cyprus' 82 Years of Colonisation' and ends with the establishment of the Republic of Cyprus. Before giving specific information from the textbooks, it is necessary to compare the titles as they reveal the fact that there is a big difference in terms of the discourse between the withdrawn and the 2009 textbooks. The former textbooks try to not to see the 'other' in a negative sense but to take a humanistic stance. In the 'preface' of *Kıbrıs Türk Tarihi 1* [Turkish Cypriot History 1], the writers of the textbook say that:

Contemporary history education aims to encourage critical thinking and to show a way for youngsters that develop their own ideas. Nowadays, history not only deals with political issues but also social and cultural changes that are holistic and critical in principle. One of the aims of contemporary history

is not to deny the existence of the other but to look the events from a multicultural perspective.⁴⁸

If one looks the preface of the older Vehbi Zeki Serter 9th grade textbook, which is entitled ‘About the New Turkish Cypriot Textbooks,’ one can see that it reflects a completely different ideology. In that sense, it is not difficult to argue that the textbooks have changed in terms of page design and in the way that they narrate events, which is another significant element in history discourse because it is commonly argued that history can be produced through narration. As the ‘new commission’ say in their preface to the 2009 book:

As the Commission of History of the Education Authority, we would like to emphasise that the reason we wrote this history book was to provide historical facts, to say that Turkish Cypriots are a sovereign power on this island; and to educate youngsters who appreciate their own republic and the state, who are peaceful, and who are bonded to Atatürk’s revolutions, principles and the notion of ‘Peace at home, peace in the world.’⁴⁹

III a.1) Narrating the Past, but How? A Comparative Analysis of the Discourses of the withdrawn textbooks and the 2009 textbook

⁴⁸ Özkul, Ali Eftal, Yurdağül Akcansoy and Aysun Tuzcu. ‘Önsöz [Preface]’ (2006). In *Kıbrıs Türk Tarihi 1: Liseler için Tarih Kitabı* [Turkish Cypriot History: Textbook for High Schools], KKTC Milli Eğitim ve Kültür Bakanlığı [TCC Education Authority], vi.

⁴⁹ Komisyon [Commission]. ‘Yenilenen Tarih Kitapları Hakkında’ [Preface: About the Renewed History Textbooks] (2009). In *Kıbrıs Türk Tarihi 9* [Turkish Cypriot History]. KKTC Milli Eğitim, Gençlik ve Spor Bakanlığı [TCC Education Authority], vi

It is well known that narration is an important element not only in history education but also in other fields, since it is the way that one make utterances, and that people 'learn' or 'understand.' Since being a part of the nation something that we 'learn', narration becomes more and more significant while 'establishing' the national self. In Homi Bhabha's words:

Nations, like narratives, lose their origins in the myths of time and only fully realise their horizons in the mind's eye. Such an image of the nation - or narration - might seem impossibly romantic and excessively metaphorical, but it is from those traditions of political thought and literary language that the nation emerges as a powerful historical idea in the west. An idea whose cultural compulsion lies in the impossible unity of the nation as a symbolic force.⁵⁰

According to Bhabha, although narrative might seem impossibly romantic, it is very powerful because it is through these narratives that nations are 'created.' History education is an important site for the implantation of the official narrative. Nevertheless, these narratives are not fictions in the sense that they belong to the unreal. As Jacques Rancière argues, one does not need to 'create' 'new history.' The 'real' (namely facts) can be used in a way that is based on a narrative of the linear form of the story/history that historians want to create. In Rancière's words:

It is clear that a model for the fabrication of stories is linked to a certain idea of history as common destiny, with an idea of those who 'make history', and that this interpretation of the logic of facts and the logic of stories is specific to an age when anyone and everyone is considered to be participating in the task of 'making' history. Thus, it is not a matter of claiming that History' is only made up stories that we tell ourselves, but

⁵⁰ Homi Bhabha (1990). 'Introduction: Narrating the Nation'. In Bhabha (ed.) *Nation and Narration*. New York: Routledge.

simply the ‘logic of stories’ and the ability to act as historical agents go together. Politics and art, like forms of knowledge, construct ‘fictions’, that is to say *material* rearrangements of signs and images, relationships between what is seen and what is said, between what is done and what can be done.⁵¹

In other words, ‘creating’ or ‘making’ history through narrative is not only a possibility for art but also for history, as a field, too. That is what one witnesses in Cyprus now. The withdrawn textbooks that were written during the CTP authority ‘revealed new facts’ in the history of Cyprus based on peace, social history, as well as the idea of universality. They tried to reach their aim by explaining the history of Cyprus by always showing the connection between the history of Cyprus and the rest of the world. For example, while talking about the Ottoman Era, a small section is reserved for the ‘events of the world’, chronological information about what was happening elsewhere. However, the 2009 textbooks, which were written right after UBP authority was elected, are different in many aspects. Even the cover page of the new textbooks shows this difference: the cover page of *Kıbrıs Türk Tarihi 1* [Turkish Cypriot History 1] has a picture of Kyrenia with a sailing boat. There is no indication about any nationality or any other thing but the certain connotation is of Cyprus, since it is a view from Kyrenia Harbour. On the other hand, the cover page of the 2009 *Turkish Cypriot History* (9th Grade) shows four pictures: the biggest one is Atatürk, and near to his picture on the left side, the coat of arms of the Ottoman Empire; below of the coat of arms, there is a view of the Arab Ahmet, and just next to it a picture of the Ottoman Sultan Selim II. Even simply looking at

⁵¹ Jacques Rancière (2006). *The Politics of Aesthetics: The Distribution of the Sensible*. Trans. Gabriel Rockhill. London: Continuum, 38-39. Emphasis in the original.

covers shows how the discourses of the two textbooks are different.

The *Kıbrıs Türk Tarihi 1* [Turkish Cypriot History 1] book can be seen to be more neutral, whereas the 2009 book seems to aim to show that ‘Cyprus is a Turkish island’. The cover page of the second history book (History of Cyprus 1878-1960) is closely related to the contemporary history of Cyprus through its use of pictures from the Ottoman period, the British period, as well as the establishment of the Republic of Cyprus. Again, the content of the two books shows that the former talks about the issues in a broad perspective, whereas the latter is more Turkish-centric in its approach. An example of this can be seen the presentation of the handover of Cyprus to British administration. The (History of Cyprus 1878-1960) textbook begins by giving information about the history of the world, mercantilism and colonialism (pp.1-12), while the 2009 book talks about the issue in a much more ‘local perspective’, which means that instead of giving background information about the issue, the book looks at the British Empire in terms of its relationship with Ottoman history (pp.70-72).

Using Rancière’s ideas on history, then, one can say that history is a bricolage inscribed by historians. However, this does not mean that history textbooks are the only ‘tools’ from which we learn history. Instead, as Ranciere argues, ‘certain facts’ are used to legitimise the ‘intended policy’. Narratives, in this sense, are important because they can be used to ‘fabricate’ certain kind of history as a common destiny, and history textbooks and teaching are materials that instrumentalise this ‘logic of facts.’ Rancière’s claim is significant because ‘history as logic of stories’ is not only relevant for the arts but also in the field of history.

III a.2) Comparison of the Cyprus History Textbooks, Grade 9 and 10

(Kıbrıs Türk Tarihi 1 [Turkish Cypriot History 1] and Kıbrıs Türk Tarihi [Turkish Cypriot History] 9)

One of the first big differences between (Kıbrıs Türk Tarihi 1 [Turkish Cypriot History 1] and 2009 textbooks lies in the fact that the former curriculum was divided into four books, whereas the new one is only two. This, of course, leads to a visible change in terms of many things: the new textbooks written under the auspices of the new authority have fewer pages than the old ones. For example, *Kıbrıs Türk Tarihi 1* [Turkish Cypriot History 1] for the 9th grade is covered in only three chapters in the 2009 version: ‘Cyprus before the Ottomans’ (14 pages long), ‘The Ottomans in Cyprus (39 pages long), and ‘Socio-Economic Life During the Ottoman Era (47 pages long). For the 10th grade, pupils read *History of Cyprus (1878-1960)*, which covers the British period in Cyprus as well as contemporary political history of Cyprus. The subjects in this book were: ‘The Handover of the Administration of Cyprus’ (30 pages long), ‘Cyprus between the Era of two Global Wars’ (23 pages long), and ‘The Path towards an Independent Cyprus’ (25 pages long). The book ends with the establishment of the Republic of Cyprus in 1960.

The 2009 textbook, entitled ‘Turkish Cypriot History, 9th Grade’ begins with ‘Cyprus in the Prehistory and in the Middle Ages’ (8 pages long), ‘The Conquest of Cyprus by the Ottoman State’ (22 pages long), ‘Cyprus during the Ottoman Administration’ (35 pages long), ‘British Colonial Administration in Cyprus (1878-1960) (33 pages long), and ‘The Life of Dr. Fazıl Küçük and his Significance in our National Struggle’ (7 pages long). To compare the books in

terms of page numbers, the 2009 textbook is 116 pages long, including references. The *Kıbrıs Türk Tarihi 1* [Turkish Cypriot History 1] book is 109 pages with references, while the second is 85 pages.

It is obvious that the former textbooks contained much more information than the new one. One can say that it contained a great deal of detail, especially the *Kıbrıs Türk Tarihi 1* [Turkish Cypriot History 1] volume. This can be seen in the many columns on the pages in sections named ‘Key words’. Some examples are ‘the Templar’s Knights’ (p.7), ‘Brief History of the Crusades’ (p.5), ‘Firman’ (p.27), ‘Sancak’ (p.37) and ‘Community’ (p.58). The ‘Events in the World’ section contains information about what was happening elsewhere in the world at the time, and there is a small section giving biographical information about famous historical figures (in relation to Cyprus of course), such as Richard the Lionheart (p.7), Pierre I, a Lusignan King (p.8), Selim II (p.15) and Lala Mustafa Paşa (p.20).

However, the new textbook contains less information. *Kıbrıs Türk Tarihi 1* [Turkish Cypriot History 1] heavily focused on social history during the Ottomans, which again reflected the perspective of the old CTP authority. In fact, social history was the most strongly emphasised element in the 2004 textbooks.⁵² In contrast, given the content and the pages that covered, the most important element in the new textbooks written under the UBP authority is the significance of the national struggle of the Turkish Cypriots. As the ‘Preface’ states,

At the history commission, we would like emphasise the aim of writing our history books as this: to light on historical truths, to state that Turkish Cypriots are sovereign on this

⁵² For more information about this thing, see POST Research Institute (2007).

island, and to educate enlightened young people who appreciate their republic and state, are peaceful, devoted to Atatürk's revolutions and principles, and the notion of 'Peace at home, peace in the world' (p.vi).

The book has several sections in addition to the main narrative. The section 'historical notes' can be considered as more or less the same thing as the 'key words' section in the *Kıbrıs Türk Tarihi 1* [Turkish Cypriot History 1] and *History of Cyprus (1878-1960)*. Like the 'activities' part in the former books, the new book contains some questions under the title 'let's research'. 'Let's research' basically consists of a question for pupils to research. There are also small amounts of information under the title 'Let's know this.' All these small sections can be found within the chapters, as with the *Kıbrıs Türk Tarihi 1* [Turkish Cypriot History 1]. One difference can be found at the beginning of the each chapter. The new textbook has a separate page for each chapter and asks several questions before the beginning of the chapter. The old one did the same thing under the section 'activities.' One can say that the main difference between the 'old' and the 'new' textbook resides in the notion that in the former textbooks, the writers had a much 'global perspective'. This can be seen in the way they explain each chapter. For example, in every chapter they begin with general information and then go on to its relation with Cyprus, whereas, the latter textbook mostly talks about the issues in relation to Cyprus and/or Turkishness (in Turkey).⁵³

⁵³ For example, in *KT2*, the beginning of each section begins with a much more global perspective. For example, the section talks about the handover of the administration from the Ottomans to the British. It begins by giving information about colonialism as well as the situation of the British Empire and the world (pp. 1-12). The second section which talks about the situation of Turkish Cypriots and Cyprus between 1915-1945 begins with information regarding the 1st and the 2nd World Wars (pp. 31-34), and the section about the independence of the Republic of Cyprus begins with some

In the chapter about the Ottomans in Cyprus, the old textbook asks the questions,

1. Research the reasons why the Ottomans conquered the island of Cyprus
2. What were the aims of the Ottoman State when they were conquering the East Mediterranean and its periphery?
3. Before conquering Cyprus, where else did the Ottomans conquer in the Mediterranean? (*Kıbrıs Türk Tarihi 1* [Turkish Cypriot History 1], p.15).

On the other hand, the 2009 textbook asks questions such as,

1. What was the position of the Ottoman State in the world politics during they conquered Cyprus?
2. Examine the geopolitical and geostrategic position of Cyprus.
3. What is the meaning of Cyprus for the Christian world?
4. Study the behaviours of the local people of Cyprus while the Ottomans were conquering the island (p. 9).

information about the situation in the world after the 2nd World War (pp. 55-60) and then moves to Cyprus. However, the new textbook, directly begins by giving information regarding the significance of the events and their relation with the Ottomans/Turks or Turkish Cypriots. In that sense, one can say that it has a more ‘local perspective’ since the book sees events mostly regarding its relation with Cyprus. For example, in *Kıbrıs Türk Tarihi, 9. Kitap*, the section that talks about the British Colonial Regime, directly begins by giving information about the Ottomans and the British Empire in 19th century (p. 70). The subsection that talks about the 1st World War again is mostly limited to Cyprus but not the reasons of the war in general (p. 75). On pages 84-85, information is given about what happened during and after the 2nd World War but again, it is very limited. In brief, one can say that there is a ‘big difference’ in terms of the perspective of the writers of the textbook.

The questions in the textbooks lead pupils in different directions. The questions in the former book can be seen as neutral, since they are more about general information regarding the Ottoman Empire and its relation with their interest to Cyprus. But the new textbook's questions take the Ottoman Empire as their centre, and ask questions with an ethno-centric approach. Also, although both textbooks talk about the same events, the narration is constructed differently. For example, both textbooks talk about how the Ottomans conquered the island and the assistance that the local people of Cyprus gave while capturing the island. However, the 2009 textbook repeatedly emphasises that the Turks were always peaceful and never wanted to make war (p. 14). In contrast, *Kıbrıs Türk Tarihi 1* [Turkish Cypriot History 1] textbook talks about the conquest of Cyprus as being a quite normal thing in the history of the island, as well as the history of the Ottoman Empire. The subsection that talks about the 'results of the conquest' is a summary of the succession of the Ottomans after the conquest of Cyprus (p. 18).

Another example of telling 'the same story' using a different narrative is the account of the riots against the Ottoman administration. Both textbooks talk about the support of Archbishop Kyprianos for the Greek independence riots, but the new textbook gives almost three pages for this subject and the writers give information about the *Megali Idea* of the Greeks. The former book also indicates that the Archbishop Kyprianos aimed to connect the island with Greece, but it does not state that all Greeks wanted to unify the island with Greece. One can say that the new textbook, through its language, inevitably suggests that Greeks and Greek Cypriots are the same and the 'other' in a negative sense. In the last paragraph before the section 'works of the Ottomans in Cyprus', the book

talks about how the Greeks' idea of *Enosis* had been prevented in 1974.⁵⁴

In the old book, social history features heavily, whereas the new book mostly gives information about the things that the Ottomans did. For example, in order to show the relationship between the Muslims and the Christians (mostly Greek Orthodox), the 2004 book claims that especially in Nicosia, Muslims and Christians always co-existed (p. 68). In the 2009 book, there is nothing about the things that Muslims and Christians (Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots) had in common.

III a.3) Comparison of the Cyprus History Textbooks, Grade 9 and 10

(Cyprus History 1878-1960 and Kıbrıs Türk Tarihi [Turkish Cypriot History] 9)

Both textbooks begin by giving some information regarding the British Empire and its relationship with the Ottoman Empire. However, the biggest difference is that the Cyprus History 1878-1960 book gives a detailed accounts of mercantilism, colonialism, and how British Empire became interested in Cyprus (the Suez canal and European imperialism) (pp.1-12). The 2009 book gives information putting the Ottoman Empire at its centre (pp.70-71). The old book talks about the changing of administration as being a 'normal' thing, which suggests that in the history of Cyprus, many different civilisations took administration of the island. On the other hand, the new book presents the handover as 'how

⁵⁴ The political meaning of *Enosis* is the unification of Cyprus with Greece. It was used mostly by the Greek Cypriot nationalists.

the sufferings of the Turkish Cypriots began' (p. 72). The former book was Cyprus-centric, whereas the new one is Turko-centric. In the section 'The Handover of Cyprus to Britain' there is a quote from Winston Churchill, who says that the 'people who live in Cyprus are not Greeks but local people who are a mixture of the Egyptians who migrated to the island and the local people of Cyprus. Only the Greek language made them [Greek Cypriots] feel that they are following the Greek culture' (p. 73). This is a nice example of Rancière's point: the 'real' is used in a way that constructs a completely different narrative.

The new textbook prefers to use a narrative that is based on the difference between Turkish and Greek Cypriots, but the old textbook prefers to construct a narrative that is based on the view that all the incidents of the past were bad, but considering the experiences of the rest of the world, they were not unusual. In other words, although there were 'struggles' against colonialism and a rise of nationalism, similar things happened in other parts of the world too. The new textbook gives many examples about how Greek Cypriots wanted Enosis so that pupils indirectly create the image of the 'other' in their minds (p. 73; p. 74; p. 75; p. 76; p. 80). The new textbook also contains some 'new information' that has never been published before: for example, on page 75, the book talks about the 'Meclis-i Millî [National Parliament]' and its significance. Page 78 gives information about when Turkey signed the Lausanne Agreement and Turkish Cypriots were given a chance to choose between British or Turkish citizenship: those who preferred Turkish citizenship went to Turkey. For the first time, writers say that 'Atatürk thought that if many Turkish Cypriots migrated to Turkey, it would be harmful [for Turkey as well as Britain], so he sent delegates to Cyprus and finished the procedure' (p. 78).

Under the title ‘İnkılâplar ve Kıbrıs Türkleri [Revolutions and the Turkish Cypriots],’ the 2009 book states that Turkish Cypriots followed the Turkish revolutions, and in order to learn the situation the new Republic of Turkey sent printing machines to the island (p. 82). In order to show how Turkish Cypriots appreciated Turkey from the beginning, the visit of the Hamidiye ship from Turkey is given as an example. The last paragraph of the section is about how Turkish Cypriots suffered during British rule in terms of their culture and national identity. New information is given here: ‘Several months after Atatürk’s death, a film about the life of Atatürk arrived to the island but the colonial governor banned the screening of the film’ (p. 83). The section ‘Our Culture’ is composed of two parts: ‘Kıbrıs Türklerinin Sinemayla Tanışması [The Acquaintance of Turkish Cypriots with Cinema]’ and ‘Darül-Elhan’ın Kurulması [Establishing Darül-Elhan Turkish Music Group]’ (pp. 100-101). These two pages are the only parts in the book that talk about the culture of Turkish Cypriots in addition to the conflict and politics. In that sense, it can be seen as a ‘new thing’ for the ‘old discourse.’ Before the 2004 books, there were no references to Turkish Cypriot culture in any way, but in these two pages some changes have been made, although in terms of language, narrative, and through the usage of pictures, both books are very different from each other.

The 2009 book can perhaps be summarised with one sentence. In the section ‘The 1950 Plebiscite of Greek Cypriots’, it is stated that according to the plebiscite which was done by the Orthodox Church of Cyprus, 96% of the Greek Cypriots said ‘Yes’ to enosis. However, in order to indicate the discontent of the Turkish Cypriots towards this issue, it is stated that: ‘there is not one nation but two different nations in Cyprus: [these are] Turks and Greeks’ (p. 90). One can say that this sentence has a particular significance because all of the

things, details and ‘facts’ that are used to construct the narrative can be fitted into this sentence. Lots of events, mostly bad things, have happened in the history of Cyprus. It is also ‘true’ to say that an interethnic violence took place. Regarding these, Rancière gives the example of a documentary:

Documentary film, film devoted to the ‘real’, is in this sense capable of greater fictional invention than ‘fiction’ film, readily devoted to a certain stereotype of actions and characters. Chris Marker’s *Le Tombeau d’Alexandre* (The Last Bolshevik), the object of the article you refer to fictionalises the history of Russia from the time of the czars to the post-communist period through the destiny of a film maker, Alexander Medvedkin. Marker does not make him into a fictional character; he does not tell fabricated stories about the USSR. He plays off of the combination of different types of traces (interviews, significant faces, archival documents, extracts from documentary and fictional films, etc.) in order to suggest possibilities for thinking this story or history.⁵⁵

Rancière’s arguments can be made not for only the new history book but also for all history books. To put it another way, Rancière basically talks about the *bricolagisation of history*, a history that is constructed, not ‘fiction’ because there is no need to ‘fictionalise’ history. The very way of using ‘facts’ and combining them according to the narrative that one want to use inevitably ‘changes’ history. In that sense, it becomes almost impossible to talk about one factual history, not *the* history, but *a* history that is multiple, open to debate, used/played according to one’s wishes.

The textbook written during the CTP authority also ‘proves’ this: writing history itself inevitably ‘creates’ a kind of narrative that ‘nations, like narratives, lose their origins in the myths of time and only fully realise their horizons in the mind’s

⁵⁵ Rancière, 38.

eye.⁵⁶ In contrast to the new textbook, the old book has a different perspective, although they talk about the same time periods in Cyprus. The old book is more Cypro-centric than the new one. The new book shows Greek Cypriots as the ‘other’, but the old book does not have the same point of view. On the contrary, it can be read as more anti-British in its discussion of the ‘divide and rule policy’ of the British (p.19, p.21, p.24, p.69). The handover of administration from the Ottomans to the British is narrated not in a way that ‘creates’ opposition, but as a ‘normal’ thing, since the administration of Cyprus changed many times because of its geographical location. In chapter 2, entitled ‘İki Küresel Savaş Arasında Kıbrıs (1914-1945) [Cyprus between two Global Wars (1914-1945)]’, when nationalism is explained, the writers claim that ‘inevitably, Cyprus was influenced by the changes going on in the world’ (p. 32). The part about the ‘1931 Riot’ gives a different ‘story’ of the events. In the old book, it is stated as a ‘fact’ that Mısrılızade Necati Efendi [Necati Özkan] collaborated with the Greek Cypriot members of the parliament against the new taxation law. However, although the old book also mentions the fact that the ‘1931 riot is known in history as the 1931 Enosis riot’ and they also indicate that ‘both communities were thinking alike, except in Enosis’ (p. 46).

III b) Comparison of the Cyprus History Textbooks, Grade 11 and Grade 12

III b.1) Cyprus History 1960- 1968

Cyprus History textbook for Grade 11 covers the period between 1960 and 1968. It is the third book out of the four set of books written for the upper secondary schools. The subtitle

⁵⁶ Bhabha.

of the book is ‘Cyprus Political history’. The authors and the research committee members were Mete Oğuz, Koral Özen and Zühal Mustafaoğulları. The first page of the textbook includes the text of Turkish national anthem, as determined by the Turkish Cypriot constitution. Turkish and Turkish Cypriot flags, as usual, stand together above the text. The next page features Atatürk’s ‘Gençliğe Söylevi’, his celebrated speech to Turkish youth, asking them to preserve the Turkish republic and its future despite the hardships and confrontations they might face. The following page is the authors’ foreword, stating their objectives for the teaching the modern history of Cyprus: encouraging critical thinking and inquiry, contributing to the establishment of a connection between the political developments of the 1960-8 period with the developments in the world, enabling students to freely express their opinions and assumptions, and improving multi-perspectivity. The authors explain that they considered new teaching methodologies in teaching history and ask for positive criticisms for the further improvement of the textbook. The textbooks consist of three main chapters. The introduction is ‘a short glance to the British period’, chapter one covers ‘the establishment of the Republic of Cyprus and after’, chapter two deals with ‘life in Cyprus the early years of the Republic’ and the last chapter covers ‘disputes in the Republic and inter-communal conflict’.

The British period in Cyprus is briefly explained in the first chapter. The British Empire’s desire to be a dominant power in the Middle East was strengthened by its possession of Cyprus. Although the local communities of Cyprus were not initially against the British rule, the changing balance of power and the ideology of nationalism during the twentieth century led to mobilisation against the British. Cyprus was loaned to the British Empire in 1878 and annexed unilaterally in 1914.

In the Lausanne Peace Treaty of 1923 Turkey accepted

that Cyprus was a British territory. The biggest trouble during the British period is explained as the Greek Cypriot riots of 1931. These were the years that Turkish and Greek nationalist ideas were developed. Unlike the previous textbooks, the 2004 textbook mentions the existence of Turkish nationalism in this period. In this way, Turkish Cypriots are shown to share responsibility for the eventual war and the division of the island. After briefly referring to Enosis and the 1950 plebiscite for self-determination, the authors of the textbook talk about the internalisation of the Cyprus conflict. The 1955-58 inter-communal conflicts and related incidents are mentioned in just one sentence on page 3. Next, they mention the military organisations established by the Turkish Cypriots to fight against Enosis and EOKA, such as Karaçete, 9 Eylül çetesi, Volkan and TMT. Here the authors again share the responsibility for the military organisation of the two main communities of Cyprus. There are two pictures illustrating the opposing nationalisms in the island: the TMT emblem with its wolf symbol and a picture representing Greek *Megali Idea*, with the eagle as a background motif.⁵⁷ A question at the end of the chapter asks the students to analyse both pictures.

Before moving on to the chapter covering the establishment of the Republic of Cyprus and after, there is a timeline from 1959 to 1968 with pictures of the leaders of both communities, maps, newspaper archives and soldiers. This chapter begins with a huge picture showing the signing of the Zurich and London Agreements for the establishment of the Republic of Cyprus. There is a quotation from the *Ethnos*

⁵⁷ The Megali Idea or the Great Idea desired the reconstruction of a Byzantine past, with the capital of the future state in Constantinople. The territories united under a Hellenic state would be Macedonia, Thrace, Aegean islands, Crete, Cyprus, parts of Balkans and Eastern Rumelia. These territories considered Hellenic in character.

newspaper celebrating the election of Dr. Küçük as Vice-President. The message is a gesture of good will for the start of the new state. Section A, while explaining the road to the signing of the Republic of Cyprus Agreements portrays the international political context of the time and refers to the Greek, Turkish and British membership of NATO. The Establishment Agreement, the Guarantee Agreement, the Military Alliance Agreement and the constitution are named without further information. However, the Guarantee Agreement was much debated and was exposed to various interpretations by the involved parties, and the Military Alliance Agreement signed by the Republic of Cyprus, Turkey and Greece is included in the chapter in their original form. There is also a short summary of both agreements with discussion questions such as, ‘why do you think Guarantee Agreement was needed? Do you think it was necessary? Discuss it!, Evaluate the second and fourth articles.’ These questions encourage critical thinking, and they also touch upon the very core of the Cyprus conflict. The next question asks why Britain maintains two military bases in Cyprus and then encourages a discussion.

Following the Zurich-London Agreements, the textbook mentions the elections for the formation of the legislative and executive organs of the Republic of Cyprus. This part talks about the Greek and Turkish Cypriot electorate, adding that Armenian, Maronite and Latin communities of Cyprus decided to join the Greek Cypriot community. It also provides the names of the candidates and refers to Ayla Halit Kazım’s election to the Council of Representatives as the only Turkish Cypriot woman Member of Parliament. The history of women is not mentioned in the previous textbooks in this way. There is also a picture of Dr. Küçük carried on the shoulders of the people, with a quotation from the *Ethnos* Greek Cypriot newspaper congratulating Turkish Cypriots for achieving

communal consensus in his election. There is a discussion question here again for the students to evaluate the Greek Cypriot news story on Dr. Küçük's election by considering the realities of the period. Like the beginning of the textbook, another timeline is used to describe the administrative structure of the Republic of Cyprus. This is a simple and creative way of teaching such a complicated administrative system. After this, short biographies of the six elected representatives and ministers are given, including Orhan Müderrisoğlu, Glafkos Klerides, Niyazi Manyera, Polikarpos Yorgacis, Mustafa Fazıl Plümer and Osman Örek. There are not equal numbers of the T/C and G/C leaders, but it is a shift from previous practices. Students had traditionally learned only the names of the main Turkish Cypriot leaders: first Dr. Fazıl Küçük and then Rauf Denktaş. During his Presidency, Denktaş was praised as the liberator of the Turkish Cypriots. Including the names of other Turkish Cypriot figures is important to challenge this 'leader of a nation' concept. This section ends with a picture of President Makarios and Vice-President Dr. Küçük in a village visit listening the citizens' complaints, which is a very positive image of past co-operation between the two communities' leaders.

Section B describes the Constitution of the Republic of Cyprus. It summarises the significant articles of the Constitution and poses many questions at the end that supports critical thinking, guiding students to investigate issues that caused tension and fighting in Cyprus. The next subject is how the declaration of the Republic was received by the people of Cyprus. Reflection on the declaration is shown in the coverage of various newspapers from the Turkish Cypriot, Greek Cypriot, Turkish and Greek press. It reveals that Turkish Cypriots were more excited about the independence of Cyprus than their Greek counterparts. Discussion questions and a homework exercise follow the text, helping the students to

inquire into the expectations of the Turkish and Greek communities regarding the Republic.

After the establishment of the Republic of Cyprus, the next subject is the international relations of the new state. It starts with the membership of the Republic of Cyprus in many international organisations, such as the United Nations, NATO, the European Economic Community and the Commonwealth of Nations. This is followed by the history of the European Union and Cyprus' relations within it. An unusual question asking students to 'discuss the issue of the Republic of Cyprus' full membership to EU without the consent of the Turkish Cypriots' is tacked on to the end. The expression of students' opinions on political matters, especially regarding the Cyprus problem, has traditionally been one of the closed areas of education in the northern part of Cyprus. Encouraging students to state their personal opinions on a political matter is a dramatic shift from the traditional approach, and this is one of the merits of this textbook.

Prior to explaining the sensitive period of the inter-communal fighting, the textbook talks about the establishment of NATO, NATO-Cyprus relations and the position of Cyprus in the Non-Aligned Movement. In this way, the international political situation surrounding Cyprus is highlighted to enable students to have a broader perspective on the local troubles.

Section D has the subtitle 'Rising Issues in the World' and covers the Cold War period, the Warsaw Pact, the Cuban Missile Crises, the Berlin Wall, the Greek military junta, and May 27th Coup in Turkey. The opening statement proposes that during the years following the declaration of independence of Cyprus, there were important developments in the world. These developments influenced the Republic of Cyprus and its guarantor powers in different ways. In this part, a research topic asks students to compare the economic and political systems of the West with Eastern block countries. This chapter

depicts the military takeovers in the two ‘motherlands’ and the interruption of democracy as having negative repercussions for Cyprus, making the resolution of the conflicts among the two communities in Cyprus more difficult. This chapter finishes with a homework exercise asking students to search for other significant political developments in the world during the 1960s. An important note following the ‘Rising Issues in the World’ section explains that events ‘have been placed according to their importance, the Greek coup d’état and the 27th May coup were the most important incidents affecting the motherlands of the Turkish and Greek Cypriots’. There is a blank page after this with instructions to attach three newspaper articles regarding the chapter and to provide information about them.

Chapter two is entitled ‘Life in Cyprus during the Early Years of the Republic’. Part A commences with the social and economic life of Cypriots in the 1960s and describes economic hardships such as famine, unemployment, and migration abroad, especially to the UK. The authors add a piece of oral history about the occupations of the 1960s, using the memories a shoe maker, a quilt maker (yorgancı), a circumciser (sünnetçi), a sweet maker, a drummer (davulcu) and others to explain the relationships between the communities of Cyprus at the time. There are two research topics at the end of this part. The first is to investigate reasons for immigration to the UK and asks students to interview their relatives. The second question is very interesting. It asks which communities (ethnic and religious groups) lived in Cyprus in the 1960s and in the present. It asks students to give examples of the common cultural aspects of people who spoke different languages and belonged to different religions. This research question encourages critical thinking, targets continuity and change with regard to past and present, and supports multiperspectivity.

Part B covers educational affairs in the years 1957-58 under British colonial rule just before independence. It continues with the reorganisation of education and schools during the inter-communal conflicts and goes on to look at the education system in the early years of the Republic of Cyprus. After briefly referring to the interruption of education due to the 1963 incidents, Part C moves on to the Turkish and Greek Cypriot press in the early years of the Republic. This section names the newspapers of the time and states their political positions. Among other newspapers, it emphasises the *Cumhuriyet* (Republic) newspaper, which took an unusual position by 'taking up the mission to support the Republic despite dozens of news stories from the Greek Cypriot press against the Republic' (p.60). Two writers for the *Cumhuriyet* newspaper Ayhan Hikmet and Ahmet Muzaffer Gürkan were killed by unknown people in 1962. This information has been erased in the 2009 textbooks.⁵⁸ This section also includes three major Greek Cypriot newspapers. However, it uses divisive language while talking about the political principles and goals of newspapers on both sides, creating the usual us-versus-them dichotomy.

The final section of the chapter covers the other religious groups of Cyprus, the Armenians and Maronites, and their rights in the 1960 Constitution. There are anecdotes about the Armenians and Maronites. The absence of these minority groups and their history in the old Cyprus textbooks has been criticised by some progressive historians and educators. Until recently, the textbooks referred only to the two major communities of Cyprus and their political history and struggles for power in the island. Within this context, this volume breaks

⁵⁸ There has been a silence about this incidence for a long time due to the rumours that radical Turkish Cypriots were behind the murder of these journalists.

away from the traditional approach and can be considered to be progressive.

Chapter three covers one of the most sensitive periods of the history of Cyprus: disagreements over the Constitution between 1960-63, the 1963 incidents, the failure of constitutional order, warfare, the ‘martyrs’, the division of the island and the separation of the two communities. The title ‘Disputes in the Republic and Greek Cypriot Aggression’ seems to contradict the general approach of the textbook. Part A tackles the contested issues of the Constitution. Complicated administrative structures caused problems that the authors list as ‘voting in the Council of Ministers, the predicament of separate municipalities, Constitutional Court, veto rights, the ethnic ratio of the public services, army crisis, and the problem of tax law’. These problems are primarily demonstrated to be the consequence of the complex structure of the Republic of Cyprus, but nonetheless they are presented from a Turkish Cypriot point of view. The thirteen Provisions for the amendment of the Constitution proposed by President Makarios are also explained from the Turkish Cypriot official historical perspective. On the other hand, there is a classroom activity dividing the class into two groups and asking one group to find out why Makarios wanted to amend the constitution and asking the other group to present the positive and negative results of the amendments for Turkish Cypriots. With this activity students may develop a critical approach towards one of the most heated topics in Cyprus’ history.

Part B is entitled ‘Greek Aggression and Migration/Exile’. It starts with the establishment of EOKA and its secret agenda for destroying the Republic of Cyprus. There is a poster illustrating the *Megali Idea* aspiration of the Greeks and three different photos showing soldiers from both sides. After this, the reasons for the establishment of the TMT are explained as defending the Turkish Cypriot community against

EOKA military resistance and uniting various defence units under one umbrella. There is only one statement about the 'secret' Akritas Plan, which is another disputed subject in Cyprus' history. A study question appears right away asking students what this plan was and what it aimed for. Instead of teaching that this secret plan was designed to wipe out the Turkish Cypriots from Cyprus, as in the previous textbooks, this volume simply spells it out and leaves the rest to classroom discussion. The 1963 incidents are narrated objectively. The visual images include pictures of UN soldiers. There are no bloody pictures of murdered children, as in the previous textbooks. Without going much into the details of the 1963 struggles, it moves on the foundation of the BRT radio. The next theme explains the British request to organise the London Conference, which failed to achieve a solution and resulted in Turkey's application to the UN and the arrival of UNFICYP troops in 1964. The legendary Erenköy Resistance follows this, depicting the importance of the region for Turkish Cypriot defence and the sacrifice of university students to protect the area and the people there. The 1963-68 period is described as 'the period of struggle for equality, liberty and peace, and in this struggle many of our people lost their lives and many people have been missing since then' (p.53). After this, the work of the Committee of the Missing Persons in Cyprus, which began in 2006, is mentioned. The section mentions not only the Turkish Cypriot missing persons of the 1963-1974 era, but also the Greek Cypriot missing persons of the 1974 Cyprus war. However, we still have two different versions of the same incidents in Cyprus. The 1974 war is described as a 'Peace Operation', but at least not as the 'Happy Peace Operation', as it has been before.

Under the title '1963 Aftermath and Turkish Cypriots' the next section covers the economic siege of Turkish Cypriots organised by the Makarios regime, and the expulsion of

Turkish Cypriots. In this period, ‘4000 Turkish Cypriots were dismissed, 527 houses were destroyed and 2000 houses were damaged; thus, 25,000 Turks had to emigrate’. The section adds that the Greek Cypriot administration even tried to hold back aid provided by the Turkish and Pakistani Red-Crescent and the UN. Turkish Cypriot representatives of the Council of Ministers could not partake in the meetings due to the lack of safety until 1965. Subsequently, the chapter includes the Geçitkale-Boğaziçi incidents using very descriptive language devoid of fierce words and bloody pictures. It then refers to the Provisional Turkish Cypriot administration for people living in the enclaves, listing the names of the various Turkish Cypriot administrations established between the years 1963-83. This section proceeds to cover the fruitless negotiations that started in 1968 in Beirut and continued with intervals until 1974.

In conclusion, this volume covers a contentious period – the period of interethnic violence in the 1960s – which tend to be told by opposing Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot official narratives and viewpoints. In previous textbooks, this used to be described as the period of Greek Cypriot aggression against Turkish Cypriots; dark, hopeless and full of dispute. In contrast, this textbook draws a very different picture with its textual and visual features. There is an extensive social history element, highlighting common concerns and hardships of both communities in Cyprus. Traditionally neglected matters of Cyprus history, such as the educational affairs of the time and the evolution of Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot media, are also incorporated.

III b.2) Cyprus History 1968-2005

The last volume of the *Cyprus History* textbooks for Grade 12 covers the period between 1968 and 2005. The author is Ahmet Billuroğlu. The first page of the textbook, as with the previous volumes, includes the Turkish national anthem, the Turkish and Turkish Cypriot flags standing together, and Atatürk's 'Gençliğe Söylevi'. The following page is the authors' foreword, which states that one of the duties of historians is to teach history of the geography and society students belong to: the 'fundamental principle of education is to develop a younger generation who have contemporary values under the guidance of science, and who are capable of critical thinking and inquiry'. The authors' aim in this volume is to teach students about continuity in the layers of local, regional, national and international historical incidents, and to help students to understand Cyprus history, especially its political dimensions, from the perspective of world history. This volume covers the most recent history of Cyprus: its transition from a communal group to society, the institutionalisation of the Turkish Cypriots and the significant diplomatic turning points. The author argues that we need to learn about the other parties involved to understand historical processes and thus political developments. The institutionalisation of the Greek Cypriots and Turkish and Greek relations are briefly discussed in every chapter. The book is composed of four main chapters. Each chapter deals primarily with the domestic political and economic developments of Turkish Cypriots and the institutionalisation processes in parallel to Greek Cypriots' political institutionalisation.⁵⁹ This volume is a pioneering study with respect to the period it reviews.

⁵⁹ Economic developments of the Turkish Cypriots in relation to their political institutionalisation has been absent in the previous textbooks.

The first chapter covers the inter-communal negotiations and the 'peace operation' in 1974. It states that the negotiations started in Beirut continued in Nicosia for six years without any result. The position of both sides is described as rigid. While the Greek Cypriot stance was to reduce the Turkish Cypriots to minority status by insisting on Constitutional amendments, Turkish Cypriots demanded to have more rights than the 1960 Constitution allowed in order to preserve their existence. There is a reference to Glafkos Klerides' book *My Deposition* which puts the blame on Makarios for stopping the progress of the negotiations. A timeline featured in the book shows two sides: Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots. The timeline illustrates the opposing positions of the sides during the negotiations and the struggles for leadership on both sides. It also shows the first and the second 'peace operations' and the reaction of the international community.

The second part of the chapter focuses on the contest for leadership among the Turkish Cypriots, the switch from Dr. Küçük to Rauf Denктаş and the personal candidacy for the election of the Council of Representatives due to the prevention of political parties' involvement. The third section is entitled 'Developments Before and After the Peace Operation', the most sensitive and contested phase of Cyprus' history. It commences with the 15 July 1974 coup d'état against Makarios regime, the polarisation of Greek Cypriot society, the overthrow of Makarios by Nikos Sampson and the establishment of the Hellene Republic of Cyprus. The reason for the split between Makarios and the Junta regime in Greece is explained from the official Turkish Cypriot point of view, which is 'the immediate desire for Enosis (union with Greece) by the secret organisation EOKA 'B', versus Makarios'

aspiration for Enosis to occur under more favourable conditions.’⁶⁰

Three sources are provided within the text: a Turkish newspaper reporting of the coup by the Greek Junta, Makarios’s speech at the UN Security Council in 19 July 1974, and Sampson’s radio message to the public. This section further explains that Turkey arranged a military operation based on the Guarantee Agreements to restore the constitutional order in Cyprus (p.8). The language used is not aggressive. There is a picture of Turkish Prime Minister Bülent Ecevit announcing the ‘Peace Operation’ and Turkish naval forces arriving in Cyprus. The next source shows the map of the route of Turkish soldiers from Kyrenia to Nicosia. The text includes Rauf Denктаş’s speech on BRT radio on the 20th of July, 1974. The textbook outlines a class discussion based on the three historical resources provided. Students are asked to find similar reasons for the necessity of the Turkish intervention in the speeches of Makarios, Sampson and Denктаş. This is an example of encouraging students to develop a comparative perspective and to pinpoint divergent and parallel arguments within different sources.

The remaining part of the chapter covers the first and second round of the Geneva negotiations and the subsequent declaration, the second ‘Peace Operation’ between 14 and 16 August 1974, the massacres of the four Turkish villages Atlılar, Muratağa, Sandallar and Taşkent by the Greek Cypriot members of EOKA B, the rescue of the Turkish cantons, the eventual ceasefire and the population shift. This volume does not use a divisive and antagonistic narrative when describing the most contested period of the Cyprus history. On the other hand, we can observe the influence of the Turkish official narration in some passages. There is no space covering either

⁶⁰ For more information see POST-Research Institute (2004).

the suffering of the Turkish Cypriots or the Greek Cypriots during the 1974 war. Yiannis Papadakis has criticised the revised lower secondary textbooks for denying the pain of the Greek Cypriots and stressing only the Turkish Cypriot grief.⁶¹ This volume has no coverage of the tragedy of people and uses very descriptive language. It ends with an evaluation of the reaction of the international community in response to the first and second 'Peace Operations', the United Nations General Assembly decision, the USA's military embargo against Turkey and the positions of the UK and the USSR.

The second chapter covers Cyprus in the new period and the re-structuring of the 1974-1983 era. Due to the growing population of Turkish Cypriots and the new political situation in the northern part of Cyprus, it is stated that the Turkish Cypriot Administration evolved to a higher level with the Autonomous Turkish Cypriot Administration on October 1, 1974. Turkey and the Turkish Cypriot side proposed a federal solution for the Cyprus problem on the basis of the bi-zonal configuration following the 1974 'Peace Operation'. Along these lines, the proclamation of the Turkish Cypriot Federal State and its final goal is explained. Another timeline is used to illustrating the restructuring in Cyprus between the years 1974-83. It has four lines: Turkish Cypriots, the Cyprus conflict, Greek Cypriots and Turkish-Greek relations. Turkish Cypriot restructuring is described as: Autonomous Turkish Cypriot Administration, Cyprus Turkish Federal State, bi-zonal federation proposal, establishment of the political parties, founding of public enterprises. Under this, the Cyprus conflict is described: Vienna negotiations, exchange of population, Summit Meetings of Denktaş and Makarios independent bi-communal federal state thesis, Nimets Plan, Denktaş-Kiprianou Summit Meetings, fruitless negotiations, 13 May 1983 UN

⁶¹ Papadakis. (2008).

General Assembly decision, self-determination decision of the Cyprus Turkish Federal State. After this, the Greek Cypriot line is shorter: the Republic of Cyprus rather than Hellenism, acceptance of Federation thesis out of necessity, the National Council, the death of Makarios and the election of Spiros Kiprianou. Turkish-Greek relations are at the bottom: the 1980 coup d'état in Turkey, Turkey's approval of Greece's return to NATO, the Rogers Plan, Greece's membership of the European Economic Community and Papandreu's manipulation of the EEC against Turkey.

The next subject in the *Cyprus History* (1968-2005) textbook contends with the Parliament and the Constitution of the 'Cyprus Turkish Federal State'. It stresses again that the 'Cyprus Turkish Federal State's' Constitution aimed at a political solution that was to prepare the ground for a Federal Cyprus Republic. The textbook tries to underline is that the 'Cyprus Turkish Federal State' was not a secession attempt, which is part of the Turkish Cypriot official narrative. After this, the formation of political parties, the institutionalisation of the 'Cyprus Turkish Federal State', elections for the Presidency and Parliament, the coalition authority, the political elite of the time and economic developments are explained. The economic history of the Turkish Cypriots has not been studied in the previous history textbooks. In this respect, this volume fills a missing link.

The second section of this chapter deals with the political developments of the Greek Cypriots during 1974-1983. It states that due to the new conditions, Greek Cypriot and Greek leadership gave up the Enosis aspiration and reached consensus on a 'territorial federation' as the only formula for a solution (p.23). In this period the author argues that there has been a shift from Hellene nationalism to support of the Republic of Cyprus. Steps included raising the Cypriot flag for the first time, celebrating the independence of Cyprus,

starting to teach Cyprus history at schools and renaming the football team the Cyprus National Football Team. Subsequently, he refers to the polarisation of the Greek Cypriot society and the shaping of two separate systematic thoughts: the pro-Klerides bi-communal and bi-zonal instant federation thesis known as the ‘realist faction’, versus the pro-Makarios internationalisation of Cyprus conflict as a long term struggle. The victory of Makarios in the 1976 elections, the policies followed till his death in 1978 and the election of Spiros Kiprianous as the new Greek Cypriot leader are touched upon after this. The consecutive handling of Turkish and Greek Cypriot political developments is another novelty of this volume.

The third section focuses on the progress of the Cyprus conflict and the Summit Meetings. The five rounds of the Vienna negotiations, the Exchange of Population Agreement, the Denktaş-Makarios Summit Meetings and the four guidelines, the Common USA, Canada and UK Plan (Nimetz Plan), the Denktaş-Kiprianou Summit Meetings, and the fruitless negotiations of the 1979-83 era are explained in a descriptive way. The research question in this section is to interview a refugee who immigrated to the northern part of the island after 1974 about his/her experience. The last two sections of the chapter return to Turkish-Greek relations from 1974-1983, the UN General Assembly decision of 13 May 1983, the reaction of the Cyprus Turkish Federal State to the self-determination decision, and the UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar’s unsuccessful guidelines.

Chapter three covers another sensitive phase of Cyprus history, the proclamation of the “Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus” “(TRNC)”, political developments and the new resolution proposals. The reasons for claiming self-determination, the rejection of this claim by the opposition, cooperation with Turkey and the declaration of “TRNC” are

briefly explained. It is once again stated that the declaration would ease the establishment of a bi-zonal, bi-communal, independent and non-aligned federal state. At the end of this section, the author poses a discussion topic: ‘how would the establishment of an independent authority ease the formation of a federal state?’ This is another example of the critical thinking methodology adopted by the textbook. The same timeline with four lines – Turkish Cypriots, Cyprus conflict, Greek Cypriots and Turkish-Greek relations – used in the previous chapters is employed here too, covering the period 1983-2000.

The next section tackles the founding of the “Parliament”, the referenda for the new Constitution, the Republican Turkish Party’s refusal of the proposed Constitution and the endorsement of the Constitution with a 70.1% affirmative vote by the people. The textbook provides a research topic for the students to explore the political parties’ and journalists’ opinions in favour and against the Constitution and to evaluate their reasons. In this manner, while dealing with such a contested topic, the author leads the students to obtain multiple views and multiple perspectives. After this the book moves to the assessment of the declaration of the “TRNC” by the international community, respectively the Security Council of the UN, Greece and the ‘Greek Cypriot Administration’⁶², the Council of Europe, the USA, the UK, the USSR, and the Organisation of Islamic Conference. Again, the language used is very technical and descriptive.

The second part of the chapter looks at domestic politics and the economy of the TCc from 1983 to 1990. At the same time, political developments of the Greek Cypriots in the same period are covered. The third part concentrates on developments regarding the Cyprus conflict and the resolution

⁶² This is the term normally used for the Republic of Cyprus by Turkish and Turkish Cypriot authorities.

proposals of the UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar from 1983-1990. Rejection of the Cuellar initiatives by the Turkish and Greek Cypriot authorities is explained in an objective and technical manner once again. Greek and Turkish relations at the time and the domestic politics and economy of the Turkish Cypriot authority are covered in the next section. Political rivalries, harsh competitions in the elections and the split of the right wing UBP party are mentioned. Showing divisions among the Turkish Cypriots is an alternative to the nationalistic rhetoric, which is a monolithic construction of one nation against the 'other' in Cyprus. A similar approach is used to cover the political developments of the Greek Cypriots from 1990-2003. As in the preceding chapters, the progress of the Cyprus conflict and new resolution attempts, the UN Secretary General Butros Gali's Road Map, the Set of Ideas and Confidence Building Measures are discussed in the 1990-1994 period. After this, the author covers the three major reasons for inter-communal tension from 1994-1997: the Greek Cypriot application to the EU, border demonstrations and the S-300 missiles. He preserves the cautious language, avoids comments when referring to the violence during the border demonstrations and sticks to the same technical and descriptive wording as in the rest of the textbook.

The last chapter covers the European Union and the Annan Plan. It commences with the historical background to Cyprus' EU relations, the membership application of the 'Greek Cypriot Administration', the shifting attitudes of the EU regarding Cyprus, the Cyprus Turkish Memorandum, the European Community Court of Justice decisions, the response of the Parliament and the Turkey-northern part of Cyprus Common Declaration and the policy shift of the Turkish side toward the confederation thesis. The second part of the chapter covers one of the most important domestic predicaments of the northern part of Cyprus: the economic problems; aggravation at

the lack a civil, democratic and free political environment; the bankruptcy of thirteen banks (known as the ‘Banking Crises’), and the ensuing formation of the ‘This Country is Ours Platform’ to facilitate a solution to the Cyprus problem.

The most recent and comprehensive resolution attempt, the Annan Plan for Cyprus, is covered in the next section. In brief and impartial terms, the book explains Kofi Annan’s negotiation rounds in 1997-2001, face-to-face negotiations and the production of five versions of the Plan as Annan I, II, III, IV, and V in 2002-2004, mass demonstrations, the polarisation of Turkish Cypriots into two camps (pro-Annan Plan/pro-solution and anti-Annan Plan/anti-solution), the partial opening of the borders, the change of authority after the December 2003 election, the final round of negotiations in Burgenstock, the basic framework of the Plan, the April 2004 referendum, and the unilateral entrance of the Greek Cypriot side to the EU. The last subject of the volume includes the early general elections and the ‘presidential’ elections following the aftermath of the referendum, which led to the change of leadership from Rauf Denктаş to Mehmet Ali Talat. In his last statement, the author describes this change of leadership after 45 years as the end of an era.

This volume tackles the most sensitive period of Cyprus history, starting from the inter-communal negotiations in 1960s, moving on to the 1974 War in Cyprus, the declaration of the “TRNC”, and the latest Annan Plan negotiations. All of these topics are critical turning points in the history of Cyprus. Throughout the volume, the author employs an impartial approach, avoiding judgments and using technical language. He also has an innovative style, such as his use of diagrams, his presentation of Turkish and Greek Cypriot political processes consecutively and including economic history. Another novelty in this volume is the dictionary within the text explaining specific vocabulary such as embargo, autonomy, federation,

coalition authority, Rogers Plan, 12 September coup d'état, self-determination, devaluation, doctrine, ECU, memorandum, declaration, integration, confederation and shuttle diplomacy. In addition, it adopts an interactive teaching method and a student-centred approach, using a research and discussion question after every disputed subject in Cyprus' history.

III b.3) Kıbrıs Türk Tarihi [Turkish Cypriot History] 10-Cyprus Turkish History is Re-Revised: Is it a step forward?

Both of the textbooks analysed above were written during the CTP government and used until the spring 2009 semester. Shortly after the new UBP authority came to power in April 2009, they were replaced by brand new *Cyprus Turkish History* textbooks. The new textbooks were prepared over the summer break. The *Cyprus Turkish History* textbook for Grade 10 is designed to be taught for Grade 11 as well. The Cyprus history class is cancelled for Grade 12. The Academic Advisory and Writing committee was headed by Mehmet Korkmaz and it was composed of a number of Professors from universities in Turkey. Unlike the previous textbooks, local academics were not used. The Commission's foreword states that,

It is inevitable that nations who do not know their history will disperse in time... We, as Turkish Cypriots, should learn and teach the unique efforts of our ancestors in our national struggle, the surviving incidents and their consequences and how we arrived today. Thus, learning our correct history is very important for the survival of Turkish Cypriots. The duty of the History Commission of the Turkish Cypriot Community Education Authority is to show that the aim of history textbook writing is to shed light on the historical facts, to mention that Turkish Cypriots are a sovereign

power on this island and to give rise to new generations who are loyal to Atatürk's principles of 'peace at home peace in the world', loving of their republic and state, peaceful and progressive... We should not forget that the nations who do not know their past cannot confidently move forward'.

These messages are strikingly different than the in the previous textbooks.

The first chapter of the textbook examines the establishment of the Republic of Cyprus. It starts with the decolonisation era after the Second World War, describing the Enosis thesis of the Greek Cypriots and the foundation of the EOKA resistance organisation against the British, which turned later against the Turkish Cypriots. It is argued that Turkish Cypriots had to defend themselves and thus founded many defence organisations. The following research question asks students to find organisations of Turkish Cypriots founded in response to EOKA. While this topic has been very briefly touched upon in the previous textbook, this volume gives it much more room. NATO's futile efforts to bring a solution are also covered in the text.

The second part of the chapter deals with the establishment agreements for the Republic of Cyprus: the Zurich and London Agreements, the Guarantee Agreements and the Military Alliance Agreement. Pictures from the London Conference, the signing of the Republic of Cyprus Constitution, the Turkish and Greek Presidents and Foreign Ministers, the Turkish newspaper Hürriyet's archive and a map showing the British military bases are used. Two information boxes explain what a 'guarantor' and what veto rights are. This is followed by the importance of the Agreements for Turkish Cypriots, such as the prevention of Enosis, veto rights, separate municipalities and Turkey's guarantee. We may observe the Turkish Cypriot-centric approach here.

The chapter continues with the establishment of the Republic of Cyprus and its administrative structure: the commissions, the common committee (council of five), the appointments of the Council of Ministers and the elections and the conclusion of the committee's work for the declaration of the Republic. A picture of Turkish Cypriots at Famagusta castle waiting for the arrival of Turkish troops, a newspaper article reporting 'we embraced the Metmetçik', and the slogan 'Turkish soldiers are back in Cyprus after 82 years' are employed in the text. The book asserts that a Republic, whose state structures and foundation processes do not resemble those of other states, has been established in this way.

After this, the content of the Constitution and the perception by both communities of the new configuration are explained. The volume claims that while Turkish Cypriots perceived the Republic as a final solution, Greek Cypriots saw it as a manoeuvre to realise Enosis. This narrative is parallel to the former official line. There is an assessment for the students in the last part. A portrait of Makarios grasping the Greek flag with the Cyprus flag behind is followed by the question: 'what do you understand from this picture?' At the end of the chapter there are six evaluation questions regarding the content, which is not the case in the previous textbook.

The following chapter portrays the process from the establishment of Republic until December 1963. It begins with the sphere of influence of the House of Representatives and House of Peoples, and the responsibilities of the five municipalities. The foreign relations of the Republic are handled differently to the previous textbook. Only membership to the British Commonwealth of Nations and the Non-Aligned Movement referred to. It is stated that Turkey was against Cyprus' membership to Non-Aligned Movement as it was regarded as a communist trick. Despite this, Makarios joined the movement and influenced the member states voting at the

UN in favour of the Greek Cypriots (p.21). The information box briefly introduces the UN. The third section refers to the disagreements that led to inter-communal fighting after foundation of the Republic. These are listed as renouncing the 70-30 % ratio in public services, troubles in the Council of Ministers and the House of Representatives, problems in the army and police forces, the dilemma of separate municipalities, and the thirteen proposals of Makarios for the amendment of the Constitution. The textbook lays the blame on Greek Cypriots for these troubles and insinuates a hidden agenda behind their acts. The next discussion question for the students argues that even though the 13 amendment points seem to give Turkish Cypriots some rights, they were full of traps. It asks, 'What are the dangers they pose for the Turkish Cypriots?' On the same page there is a picture of Makarios greeting two soldiers and a subtitle states that Makarios did not give up the idea of Enosis during the Republic of Cyprus (p.25).

The third chapter is entitled 'Actions of the Greek Cypriots to Destroy the Republic of Cyprus, Turkish Cypriot Resistance and Political Developments (1963-67)'. Two pictures on the title page feature women: one is a woman escaping with a baby in her arms, in the other women are holding each other and crying. Makarios' photo greeting a group of people from a car in an atmosphere of celebration is placed under the two images. Preparation questions before the chapter ask: 'Who were the leaders and designers of the Akritas Plan? Examine the mission of UN in Cyprus and evaluate whether it served its mission. Research the importance of the Kumsal area for the Turkish Cypriot struggle.' Already, at the beginning of such a sensitive period, the pictures used and the homework questions raised prepare the ground for feelings of resentment.

Section A gives an account of ‘Greek Cypriot Aggression’; the Lefkoşa, Ayvasıl, Boğaz, Larnaka, Lefke, Limasol and Baf battles; the Erenköy resistance and the Mağusa district combat. It claims that in response to the Turkish Cypriot reactions to the Constitutional amendments proposal, Greek Cypriots put forward the Akritas Plan to annihilate Turkish Cypriots and began hostilities in December 1963. Greek Cypriot atrocities in these battles, as well as names and the pictures of ‘martyrs’ are covered. As in the original history textbooks, a photograph of Turkish Cypriot Forces General Nihat İlhan’s murdered children is shown. However, it is not the well-known bloody bathroom picture, which has been said to have a bad impact on the psychology of pupils. The hardship of the Turkish Cypriots, the way they were attacked by Greek Cypriots and their heroic resistance are explained in an emotional and vivid way. Pictures of the ‘martyrs’, war monuments, cemeteries, warriors with guns, fleeing women and children taking refuge in Turkish schools are used abundantly. Section B explains the establishment of the Bayrak radio station, its importance in the Turkish Cypriot history of struggle and the ways it boosted the morale of the people. Section C covers the London Conference, the UN Security Council Resolution of March 1964, and the prohibition of Denктаş’ return to Cyprus by Makarios. The last part describes the 1967 Geçitkale and Boğaziçi incidents and Turkey’s ultimatum against the Greek junta regime. The contested issues that are very briefly explained in the withdrawn textbook are covered in detail in this section. The moral centre of the historical narrative is shown to be the Turkish Cypriots. Only their resistance, losses and hardships are touched upon.

Chapter four focuses on the 1963-1974 period of political developments and the social life of the Turkish Cypriots. The first topic mentions the reasons for the start of

inter-communal negotiations and moves on to the bi-lateral negotiations and intermittent talks until 1974. The second topic is domestic politics among the Turkish Cypriots in the post-1963 period. The formation of the General Committee Administration, the Provisional Turkish Cypriot Administration, the return of the Head of the Turkish House of People (Türk Cemaat Meclisi), the elections and the reorganisation of the legislative and executive organs are covered. The writing uses an ‘us’ versus ‘them’ dichotomy in to describe this disputed period.

The second part of the chapter consists of the social, cultural and economic life of the Turkish Cypriots. The inclusion of social history has been regarded as an important element of the 2004 textbooks and a very significant improvement. Military and political history inevitably exposes conflicts and tensions, whereas social history reveals the space that the communities share and helps to promote the idea of empathy between the two communities.⁶³ Nevertheless, in this volume social history is utilised differently. The book begins with the social and cultural life of the Turkish Cypriots in the enclaves, under the harsh circumstances of poverty, hunger and Greek Cypriot embargoes. ‘Migration and difficult years’ is written in capital letters with a picture of Turkish Cypriot women living in a tent in the middle of the page. A number of musicians and music groups who boosted the morale of the people in those ‘dark years’ are also presented. This is followed by the subtitle, ‘Turkish Cypriot Culture under Isolation’. It stresses that despite the Greek Cypriot embargos on the economy, sport and communication, Turkish Cypriot culture was not eroded, and loyalty to their ‘motherland’ was strengthened. Turkish artists and theatre groups boosted morale, local music groups supported people, and local radio

⁶³ POST-Research Institute (2007), 10.

stations raised national spirit (p.52). The subsequent economic life section lists the goods and products regarded as 'strategic commodities' and banned by the Greek Cypriot leadership. Unlike the revised textbooks, social, cultural and economic history is not covered separately but integrated into the military and political history.

The fifth chapter talks about the causes and the consequences of the 1974 'Peace Operation'. Pictures of Bülent Ecevit, troops disembarking from Turkish vessels and Denктаş kissing an Army General are placed along with the title. Section A, covers the background of the 'Peace Operation': the Greek junta and the rift with Makarios, the July 15 coup against Makarios, the repercussions of the coup and the position of the Guarantor Powers. The reason for the division between Makarios and the Greek junta is explained from the Turkish official point of view: Makarios's plan for Enosis was to devastate Turkish Cypriots in the long term and assimilate them, while EOKA-B supporters wanted to realise Enosis in the short term using violent means (p.56). Section B covers the 'Peace Operation' Era: the reasons and justifications for the military operation, the first 'peace operation', the Geneva negotiations, the second 'peace operation' and the overall consequences of the operation. Visual images such as pictures of Turkish vessels, troops, parachutes, helicopters, tanks, maps showing the progression of the Turkish army, and children watching Turkish soldiers are employed in a militaristic tone.

The Greek massacres of the Turkish villages Athılar, Muratağa, Sandallar and Taşkent during the second operation have are explained with these words: Greek Cypriots murdered women, men, children, and elderly without distinction and buried them in mass graves. Pictures of the murdered children,

monuments and mass graves are shown within the text.⁶⁴ There is a diagram weighing the scale of Greek and Turkish troops in the Famagusta region, showing the overwhelming supremacy of the Greek troops. Below the diagram, a picture of the Turkish Cypriot Peace Forces and the Turkish Security Forces is presented as ‘our safeguard’. Only the positive consequences of the ‘peace operation’ are mentioned. The last two sections of the chapter cover population exchanges and the prisoners of war, the military and civilian missing persons, and the problem of Turkish Cypriot missing persons. The long term silence of Greek Cypriots about the fate of the missing persons is harshly criticised. There is only one sentence in this section referring to Greek Cypriots missing people. At the end of the chapter there is an anecdote entitled ‘drops from history’ narrated by a retired Colonel on the bad living conditions in the Greek camps for the prisoners of war in Limasol, Baf and Larnaka.

The next chapter focuses on the political position of the Turkish Cypriots in the post-‘peace operation’ period. The formation of the Autonomous Turkish Administration, the declaration of the ‘Cyprus Turkish Federal State’ and the course of inter-communal negotiations in 1974-1983 are explained. There are two research questions in this chapter. The first one asks students to find out ‘what a federal state is’ and the second one is to discover ‘what constituent assembly is’. This is relatively a short chapter.

The seventh chapter of the book is devoted to the establishment of the “Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus”, its’ flag, a map of Cyprus and a picture of the gigantic flag on the Beşparmak Mountains are featured at the start of the

⁶⁴ National monuments, war monuments, mass graves become important sites of memory (politics), remembrance and conflict especially in war torn societies such as in the post-Yugoslav context, Latin America, Middle East and Africa.

section. The book explains the reasons for the declaration of the “TRNC”, the proclamation of the Republic, Prof. Suat Bilge’s opinions on the legitimacy of the new TCc authority, the formation of the Parliament, the approval of the Constitution and the elections. Later, the repercussions of the declaration in the international arena are described. At the end of the chapter, the concept of self-determination is explained in a circle and a research question asks students to collect information regarding the declaration from different sources.

The final chapter covers political, social and economic developments from 1983 to the present day. The first topic covers “Turkish Cypriot Community”-Turkish relations and points out the support undertaken by the ‘motherland’ contributing to development in economic, educational, cultural, tourism and health sectors. Projects aimed at solving the water problem, plus infrastructures and aid financed by Turkey are pointed out. Economic developments in the public sector, trade, agriculture, tourism and the role of universities are described in the following section. Section C refers to the impact of the embargoes on the TCc. It states that after the Annan Plan referendum, Kofi Annan urged the Security Council to end the isolation of Turkish Cypriots. This was vetoed by Russia. In addition, it is stated that the European Union did not keep its promise to lift the embargoes in two days following the referendum (p.95).

The next section reviews negotiations following the declaration of the “TRNC” to the present day: Ghali’s Set of Ideas, the process started by Kofi Annan, the Annan Plan and the consequent Referendum. This chapter asserts that resolution attempts and the negotiations between the parties failed due to the Greek Cypriots rejection of the plan. There are two pictures from the mass demonstrations in the last part: Turkish Cypriots holding the EU flag and YES posters, and

Greek Cypriots holding the Greek and Cyprus flags and NO posters. The European Union and Cyprus relations from 1962 to 2004 are briefly explained with a final statement that the Greek Cypriots' EU membership is illegal according to the Guarantee Agreement. The textbook ends with domestic political developments from 1983 to the present day. Political parities in power, coalition authorities, elected TCc leaders are identified. On the last page of the textbook, photos of the various leaders are placed in a row.

In conclusion, this new volume depicts Cyprus Turkish History from the official Turkish point of view. The influence of ethnic nationalism can be observed throughout the textbook. Unlike the withdrawn textbooks, there is no reference to the common past and common experiences of the Turkish and Greek Cypriot communities in Cyprus. Social and cultural history is approached from a completely different angle and integrated into political and military history in order to exemplify daily hardships. The inclusion of the political developments of the Greek Cypriots in parallel with Turkish Cypriots has been abandoned. In addition, there is no reference to the minority groups of Cyprus, such as the Armenians and the Maronites. Reference to the Greek Cypriots' loss, pain or suffering in contested periods is avoided. In terms of the teaching methodology, it does not adopt the student-centred approach to the extent the withdrawn textbooks did. There are very few study questions and the style of the volume does not support interactive teaching. Moreover, the graphic design of the textbook overall is not user friendly.

The former Head of the Turkish Cypriot Educational Planning and Programme Development department, Dr. Hasan Alicik analyzed the textbook, set up statistics, and published them in the *Yenidüzen* newspaper. According to his analysis, this volume has 49 Turkish and Turkish Cypriot flags, 27 images of fighting and migration, 20 photos of Rauf Denktaş,

19 images of ‘martyrs’, 16 of Dr. Fazıl Küçük, 7 of war monuments and cemeteries, and 3 pictures of Atatürk. The vocabulary used includes 44 references to Rauf R. Denктаş, 34 to ‘battle’, 32 uses of ‘assault’, 27 of ‘defence’ or ‘resistance’ and 27 uses of ‘martyrs’.⁶⁵ The most important handicap of the textbook for Alicik was the confusion it creates regarding the perception of identity. The textbook generally refers to the ‘Turks of Cyprus’, but occasionally it also uses the ‘Turkish Cypriot’ identification as well. In addition, ‘our’ identity is based on hostility towards ‘theirs’.⁶⁶

⁶⁵ Hasan Alicik (2009). ‘UBP’nin Yeni Tarih Kitapları’ [‘UBP’s new history textbooks’]. *Yenidüzen Gazetesi*, 23rd September.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

IV) *Visual Analysis of the Textbooks*

It is well known that pictures are not as ‘innocent’ as they seem. They are always accompanied by certain kind of ideas that make the pictures meaningful. As Roland Barthes claims in ‘Myth Today’,

A tree is a tree. Yes, of course. But a tree as expressed by Minou Drouet is no longer quite a tree, it is a tree which is decorated, adapted to a certain type of consumption, laden with literary self-indulgence, revolt, images, in short with a type of social *usage* which is added to pure matter.⁶⁷

Following Barthes, pictures in history textbooks are used in the same manner: they are not just pictures that show ‘historical facts’, Rather, the ‘facts’ are used to ‘create’ the kind of history that the writers want. Pictures can be used to create ‘myth’, as Barthes suggests. However, one should note that fact that since ‘myth is a type of speech’, ‘facts’ can be used in a way so that they becomes mythical.⁶⁸ However, one can also ask how pictures, which are considered to be ‘facts’, can be used to become mythical. According to Roland Barthes,

Mythical speech is made of a material which has *already* been worked on so as to make it suitable for communication: it is because all the materials of myth (whether pictorial or written) presuppose a signifying consciousness, that one can reason about them while discounting their substance. This substance is not unimportant: pictures, to be sure, are more imperative than writing, they impose meaning at one stroke, without

⁶⁷ Roland Barthes (1972). ‘Myth Today’. In *Mythologies*. Trans. Annette Lavers. New York: Noonday Press, 107-108.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* The notion of facts can be used to ‘create’ history is taken from Rancière, 38-39. Emphasis in the original.

analysing or diluting it. But this is no longer a constitutive difference. Pictures become a kind of writing as soon as they are meaningful: like writing, they call for a *lexis*.⁶⁹

As Barthes indicates, the way mythical speech works depends on people's stereotypes or assumptions so that one can 'get the intended meaning' without understanding that they get the meaning because 'they' constitute a kind of grammar, or language, that cannot be separated from the signifier.

IV a) Visual Analysis of the 9th Grade Turkish Cypriot History Textbook

While 'reading' the pictures of the 9th grade textbook, ideas such as 'myth making' as well as 'using facts to construct the intended history' may be considered. A glance at the cover pages of the three books (the newest one as well as the old ones) shows that there is a big gap in terms of ideology. The 2009 textbook, without any hesitation, emphasises one thing: the Turkishness of Turkish Cypriots. The whole cover page is divided into four pictures: the biggest one is a portrait picture of Atatürk in a suit looking into the distance. The picture that he is looking at is interesting: the coat of arms of the Ottomans. When Atatürk led the revolution and established the Republic of Turkey, the history of the new Turkey depended upon the denial of Ottoman history. However, it is also common for nationalists to use Atatürk and the Ottoman Empire together to create a 'new nationalist discourse' that emphasises Turkishness. In this sense, the writers are constructing an interesting language from the beginning. Below Atatürk's picture is a picture of the Ottoman Sultan, Selim II. Next to his picture, there is a view of the minaret of Arab Ahmet Mosque.

⁶⁹ Barthes, 108-109. Emphasis in the original.

From the very beginning, the new textbook is related to the notion of Turkishness, since all of these pictures are signifiers of Turkishness. Pictures work exactly in the way Barthes argues: ‘pictures, to be sure, are more imperative than writing; they impose meaning at one stroke, without analysing or diluting it.’⁷⁰

However, the cover pages of the 2004 books are quite different: the cover page shows a ship in Kyrenia Harbour. There is no indication about the ‘nationality’ of the ship or any other detail that would signify national identity. Indeed, although the title is *Kıbrıs Türk Tarihi 1*, one can say that it seems more neutral in its approach because Kyrenia is a city in Cyprus, and through showing a ship in the harbour of Kyrenia, pupils are not directed towards the national identity that they may have but rather a cultural identity, which can be seen as a much neutral in terms of its approach. *Cyprus History (1878-1960)* can also be seen as more neutral by comparison with the 2009 book, although the background colour is quite similar to the colour used by the CTP (Republican Turkish Party). Further down the centre of the page, some pictures are arranged in the manner of a photographic film (actually, it is not how the picture looks, it is the signifier that make one think in this way). The pictures on the front point to some phases in the political history of Cyprus, since this is what the book is all about. Looking the pictures from right to left:

- a) The Republic of Cyprus flag and, in the background of the flag, Dr. Fazıl Küçük announcing the establishment of the Republic of Cyprus. The same picture is also used on page 79.
- b) ‘A view from one of the Taksim protests in Turkey’. The same picture is also used on page 75.
- c) A picture of a group of Turkish Cypriots during the 1930s. On page 41, the book explains who these people are: ‘The

⁷⁰ Ibid.

Kemalist group who took in part in the 1930 elections of the Kavanin Meclisi' [Legislative Council].

- d) A picture of Atatürk and his friends during the Turkish war of independence. The same picture is also used on page 37.
- e) This picture is on the back cover. It is a view of an Ottoman coffee house (Kıraathan-i Osmani). The same picture is also used on page 29.
- f) Members of the Kavanin Meclisi [Legislative Council] in 1900. The same picture is also used on page 20.
- g) An illustration of British hoisting the Union flag in Cyprus. The same picture is also used on pages 1 and 19.

On the back cover there are two more pictures in the background: the big one is a picture of a protest march by Turkish Cypriots against Enosis and as unemployment in Cyprus (p.61). Another one, below of the back cover, is a picture of the Cyprus Parade – a bi-communal parade that Turkish and Greek Cypriots joined during the Second World War (p.50). On the back cover of the textbooks, a paragraph from the preface is inscribed:

Contemporary history education aims to encourage critical thinking and to show a way for youngsters to develop their own ideas. Nowadays, history not only deals with political issues but also social and cultural developments that are holistic and critical in principle. One of the aims of contemporary history is not to deny the existence of the other but to look the events from a multicultural perspective... Of course, this book will be successful only if it makes young people enjoy Cyprus' history. This success will only be continued if other contemporary books follow this book.

According to the writers, the success of this book is only possible if others follow the same perspective. However, in these terms, it is difficult say that the book was successful because while the new books that followed this one in using some contemporary methods, like asking questions and directing pupils to undertake research, they are different in

other respects. Nonetheless, the back cover of the 2009 book has four pictures again, the same as on the front cover. Starting from the top-right, there is a view of the main Post Office, ‘a view from a Taksim Demonstration (p.96), a map of Cyprus, and the emblem of the TMT (Turkish Resistance Organisation). The post office picture is the most neutral picture on the cover. The view of the Taksim Demonstration is black and white; there are soldiers in the picture and it gives one the idea that a kind of war or similar event was taking place. Inevitably, one thinks about war or violence. Below of the post office picture, the map of Cyprus is shown, although it is clear that the aim is to show the connection between Cyprus and Turkey, geographically, which goes back to Vehbi Zeki Serter’s book, which states that ‘one can say that Cyprus is historically, geographically, strategically and economically tied to Anatolia and is a part of Asia Minor’.⁷¹ Turkey covers the biggest part of the illustration and Cyprus is shown as consisting of the ‘Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus’ and the ‘GKRY’ [the South Cyprus Greek Cypriot Administration].⁷² Next to the illustrated map, from right to left, is the emblem of the TMT, an important image in the struggle of Turkish Cypriots against Greek Cypriots during the period of interethnic violence. On the whole, even a quick look at the cover pages shows that new textbook, from the beginning, is written with the aim to emphasise the Turkishness of Turkish Cypriots, both in terms of nationality as well as culture.

After the cover page, pictures in the 2009 book are mainly used to support the narrative. For example, when talking about the TMT, important figures in the TMT as well as

⁷¹ Kızılyürek. (1999), 390.

⁷² The ‘South Cyprus Greek Cypriot Administration’ is the term that the TCc officials use when they mean Republic of Cyprus.

the TMT insignia and the TMT statue are shown. The book does not contain pictures that depict violence, especially when it comes to contemporary political history. However, this does not mean that the book follows a neutral approach. On the contrary, as indicated above, the main idea of the book resides in the notion of a binary opposition (us and them) and the legitimisation of the “TRNC” through Turkish nationalism.

Nonetheless, the new textbook does contain what might be regarded as a major ‘structural mistake’. On page 19, there is a picture of ‘people who are migrating to Cyprus from Anatolia’. However, if one looks at the picture carefully, one can see that it in fact shows Native Americans, not Turks from Anatolia. This can be seen as a good example of Barthes’ idea that ‘pictures can be used to create myth.’ Here, an image of Native American Indians (perhaps it is an illustration of the exodus of American Indians, who knows?) is used to ‘show’ the migration from Anatolia to Cyprus. Most probably, the writers mistakenly submitted the picture to the printing house. However, even if they noticed the error after the publication of the book, they did not say anything about it in public, so one cannot know whether this was a mistake or whether they included the picture consciously.

IV b) Visual Analysis of *Cyprus History 1960-1968*, *Cyprus History 1968-2005* and the 2009 10th Grade Turkish Cypriot History Textbook

The visual images, diagrams and maps used in the 2009 Cyprus History Textbook for Grade 10 noticeably differs from the older textbooks, *Cyprus History 1960-1968* and its subsequent volume *Cyprus History 1968-2005*. The *Cyprus History 1960-1968* cover page includes four photos: a Halkın Sesi newspaper article with a headline about the rejection of Makarios’ 13 amendments proposal for the 1960 Constitution,

an adjacent picture of the UN soldiers with barbed wire, an adjoining photo of Turkish Cypriots living in the tents and another picture with Denктаş and Klerides during the negotiations. These pictures on the cover greatly represent the content of the textbook. The back page of the textbook has a big photo of President Makarios and Vice-President Dr. Küçük visiting a village in the early 1960s and listening to the citizens' complaints, a very positive image of past co-operation between the two communities' leaders. The same photo is used inside the textbook on the first page of the chapter on social and economic life in the early years of the Republic. At the bottom of this big picture there are five small pictures adjacent to each other. The first one represents the Greek *Megali Idea*, using the eagle as a background motif, the second picture shows the signing of the Zurich and London Agreements for the establishment of the Republic of Cyprus, the third is a picture of Dr. Küçük raised on the shoulders of the people after his election as the Vice-President, and the last is a Halkin Sesi newspaper article about the Council of Ministers meeting. All of the four pictures used on the back cover are also used within the text but in bigger format.

In the first chapter there are two pictures illustrating the opposing nationalisms in the island: the TMT emblem with the wolf as a symbol and a picture representing the Greek *Megali Idea* with the eagle as a background motif. After this there is a timeline from 1959 to 1968 with the pictures of the leaders of both communities, maps, newspaper archives, and soldiers. In the last chapter, which deals with one of the most sensitive periods, 'Greek Aggression and Migration/Exile', there is a poster illustrating the *Megali Idea* aspiration of the Greeks and three different photos showing the soldiers of both sides. The visual images are utilised in a way which attempts to be balanced. The visual images depicting the 1963 incidents

include pictures of UN soldiers. There are no bloody pictures of the murdered children as in the previous textbooks.

The *Cyprus History 1968-2005* textbook has four small pictures in the middle of the cover page. These are, respectively, a picture of the vote for the declaration of “TRNC” in Parliament, a photo of Denktaş and Klerides shaking hands beside UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar, a picture from the mass demonstrations in favour of the Annan Plan, and the current TCc Leader Mehmet Ali Talat, illustrating the change in Turkish Cypriot political leadership. The back cover has also four different pictures in the middle. Two of them are from the 1974 Turkish military operation: Turkish Prime Minister Bülent Ecevit announcing the ‘Peace Operation’ and a picture of the Turkish military forces advancing. The third is also from the Parliament during the declaration and the last is an old bus full of Turkish Cypriots migrating from the South to the north in 1975. This picture takes up half of the background of the back page, divided by the four small pictures, and the background of the other half of the page is a picture from the peace rallies during the Annan Plan negotiations. Pictures have been presented in chronological order, symbolising the turning points of the period covered in the textbook. One of the prominent characteristics of this volume is the use of human beings as the basis of the visual imagery. There are many pictures of the political elite both from the Cyprus Republic and the northern part of the island, as well as from Turkey, Greece and the United Nations. Newspaper articles are the other main source, but this volume has no place for any pictures showing the conflict between the two communities: no flags, monuments or cemeteries.

On the other hand the new *Cyprus Turkish History* textbook for Grade 10 has a very different approach. At the top of the cover page there is a picture of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk

on a red platform. More than half of the cover page features pictures of scenes from the 1974 war, such as Turkish parachutes landing, Turkish naval forces and foot-soldiers, women and children escaping from the bombardment, and a big “TRNC” flag on the ground. The back page uses the Kyrenia harbour, a monument with Turkish and “TRNC” flags, a power station and a picture of tree. On top of the Turkish national anthem on the next page are the same flags, representing togetherness as usual. There are two pictures of Atatürk in the following pages.

The first chapter of the textbook covers the establishment of the Republic of Cyprus. There is a picture of Turkish Cypriots at Famagusta castle waiting for the arrival of Turkish troops, a newspaper article reporting that ‘we embraced the Metmetçik’, and the slogan ‘Turkish soldiers are back in Cyprus after 82 years’. The subsequent part concerns the perception of both communities with the new configuration. There is a portrayal of Makarios holding the Greek flag with the Cyprus flag behind him. A question follows: ‘what do you understand from this picture?’

The troublesome period of the Republic and the 13 amendment proposals to the Constitution is supplemented with a picture of Makarios greeting two soldiers. A subtitle states that Makarios did not give up the idea of Enosis during the Republic of Cyprus. The 1963-67 inter-communal tensions chapter has two pictures of women on the title page: one is escaping with a baby in her arms, in the other women are holding each other and crying. A photo of Makarios greeting a group of people from a car in an atmosphere of celebration is placed under the two. Regarding the hostilities in December 1963, photos of Greek Cypriot atrocities in these battles and the names and pictures of the ‘martyrs’ are used. Like the original textbooks, a photograph of the murdered children of Turkish Cypriot Forces General Nihat İlhan’s is used.

However, as explained above, this is not the well-known bloody bathroom picture showing where the children were killed. Throughout this section, pictures of the ‘martyrs’, war monuments, cemeteries, warriors with guns, fleeing women and children taking refuge in Turkish schools are used abundantly.

In the next part, social life in enclaves is covered with the words ‘migration and difficult years’ written in capital letters. A picture of Turkish Cypriot women living in a tent is shown in the middle. Pictures of the musicians and music groups who boosted the morale of the people in those ‘dark years’ are presented as well. The 1974 ‘peace operation’ is portrayed with pictures of Bülent Ecevit, troops disembarking from Turkish vessels, and Denktaş’s kissing an Army General. In this part, visual images such as pictures of the Turkish vessels, troops, parachutes, helicopters, tanks, maps showing the progression of the Turkish army and children watching Turkish soldiers are utilised along with militaristic language. Photographs of murdered children, monuments and mass graves are shown throughout the text. Towards the end of this chapter, there is a diagram weighing the scale of Greek and Turkish troops in the Famagusta region, showing the overwhelming supremacy of the Greek troops. Below the diagram, pictures of the Turkish Cypriot Peace Forces and the Turkish Security Forces are presented as ‘our safeguards’.

The chapter on the declaration of the ‘Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus’ begins with the “TRNC” flag, a map of Cyprus and a picture of the gigantic flag on the Beşparmak Mountains. In the last part the book, where the Annan Plan negotiations and the referendum are covered, there are two pictures from the mass demonstrations: Turkish Cypriots holding the EU flag and YES posters, and Greek Cypriots holding the Greek and Cyprus flags and NO posters. In these pictures Greek Cypriots are presented as anti-peace and anti-

reconciliation. To conclude, it is worth repeating the analysis of the former Head of the Turkish Cypriot Educational Planning and Programme Development department, Dr. Hasan Alicik. He has stated that this volume features 49 Turkish and Turkish Cypriot flags, 27 images of fighting and migration, 20 images of Rauf R. Denктаş, 19 of ‘martyrs’, 16 photos of Dr. Fazıl Küçük, 7 of war monuments and cemeteries, and 3 showing Atatürk.⁷³

⁷³ Hasan Alicik (2009). ‘UBP’nin Yeni Tarih Kitapları’ [‘UBP’s new history textbooks’]. *Yenidüzen Gazetesi*, 23rd September.

V) *Conclusion*

In their long history of living together, Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots came into conflict and created 'nationalist histories'. As a result, a number of generations have been raised with fixed ideas regarding the 'other'. Nevertheless, the election of the pro-solution Turkish Cypriot Republican Turkish Party (CTP) after the endorsement of the Annan Plan's federal solution by a majority of Turkish Cypriots indicated that the narrative of conflict might be avoided for the sake of future reunification. This perspective was reflected in the revised Cyprus history textbooks, although they generated fierce debate in the northern part of the island. However, following the victory of the National Unity Party (UBP) in the April 2009 general elections, the Cyprus history textbooks were replaced by the new authority with a new book which was distributed to all public schools for the fall 2009 semester.

In this report, the four 'Cyprus History' textbooks prepared under the CTP authority for upper secondary schools (Grade 9, 10, 11 and 12) have been analyzed and compared with the two 'Cyprus Turkish History' textbooks created by the current UBP authority. The content and the visual images of the textbooks have been evaluated from a peace education perspective. According to the findings of this comparative study, the current Cyprus Turkish History textbooks have reverted to an ethno-centric approach, using more nationalist and militaristic discourse and visual images.

The textbooks written during the CTP authority period, tried to look at events from a multicultural perspective, using history as a way to learn mutual understanding and

tolerance.⁷⁴ That is why *Kıbrıs Türk Tarihi 1* [Turkish Cypriot History 1], which covers the period of Cyprus from its prehistory to the end of the Ottomans, focused not only on Ottoman or Turkish history, but also on history of the world and the history of Cyprus. To put it another way, the textbooks written under the CTP authority tried to provide information regarding Cyprus' relationship to the world. This could be seen especially in the small columns on every page in the book entitled 'events of the world'. Although the book talks about Ottoman history, it also gives chronological information about what was going on in the rest of world during the time.

In *Cyprus History (1878-1960)*, the same idea remains: that is, explaining the history of Cyprus but without detaching it from the history of the world. In other words, it aims to show that whatever happened in Cyprus is not unique and that Cyprus is just one place in the world that experienced conflicts, wars etc., the same as other parts of the world. However, in the 2009 textbook, which was written straight after the election of the new UBP authority, one can see that there has been a 'slight change.' This 'change' mostly depends on the notion that history education remains a determinant factor that creates national subjects, which is a 'gift' of modernism. The writers of the new textbook used 'facts' to 'create' a 'new kind of narrative' that is not based on tolerance, multiculturalism, but based on the notion that Turkish Cypriots have struggled since they arrived to the island and that Turkish Cypriots are Turks that came from Anatolia. However, one should also note the fact that although the main narrative sounds much like Vehbi Zeki Serter's original history 'striking back', some changes have also taken place. For example, in *Cyprus History (1878-1960)*, there is a section entitled 'Our

⁷⁴ For more information about the vision of the textbooks that were written during the CTP authority, see the prefaces of these textbooks.

Culture’ (pp.100-101) which can be seen as a ‘slight shift’ from the narrative of Vehbi Zeki Serter’s book, because in Serter’s book there was no such a thing as Turkish Cypriot culture, only Turkish culture. The 2009 textbook mainly shares the same notion as the old book, written by Serter, but it has a small differences and this might be seen to reflect the fact that after the Annan Plan, Turkish Cypriotism became an issue and maybe – we use the term in a speculative manner because there is no strong evidence for this – the writers ‘realised’ that some things needed alteration due to the political atmosphere on the northern part of the island.⁷⁵

Cyprus History Textbook (1960- 1968) for Grade 11 covers a contested period – the period of interethnic violence in the 1960s, in which we have opposing Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot official narratives and viewpoints. The previous textbooks, used from 1974 to 2004, described it as the period of Greek Cypriot aggression against Turkish Cypriots: dark, hopeless and full of dispute. On the contrary, this textbook draws a very different picture with its textual and visual features. There is an extensive social history element highlighting the common concerns and hardships of both communities in Cyprus. Traditionally neglected matters of Cyprus history, such as the educational affairs of the time and the evolution of Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot media, have been incorporated. The most challenging issue for the Cyprus history textbooks, albeit the moderately revised ones, is to avoid nationalism (notwithstanding the most sensitive periods of 1963 and 1974) and to support critical thinking.

The last volume of *Cyprus History Textbooks (1968-2005)* for Grade 12 tackles another disputed period: starting from the inter-communal negotiations in the 1960s, it moves on

⁷⁵ For the discussion of the rise of Cypriotism and the Annan Plan, see: Vural and Özuyanık, 149.

to the 1974 War in Cyprus, and proceeds to the declaration of “TRNC” and the latest Annan Plan negotiations. Each of these events has been a critical turning point in the history of Cyprus. This volume tries to employ an impartial approach, avoiding judgments and the use of technical language. It has an innovative style, such as its use of timelines, showing Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot political processes consecutively and including economic history. Another novelty of this volume is the dictionary within the text explaining the specific vocabulary. It also adopts an interactive teaching method and a student-centred approach with research and discussion questions following every disputed subject in Cyprus’ history.

On the other hand, the 2009 *Cyprus Turkish History* for Grade 10 depicts the past from the Turkish ‘official memory’ or historical point of view. The influence of ethnic nationalism can be observed throughout the textbook and in contrast to the withdrawn textbooks, there is no reference to the common past and common experiences of the two communities. Social and cultural history is approached from a different angle and is integrated into the political and military history, for exemplifying daily hardships of the Turkish Cypriots throughout the Cyprus conflict. The inclusion of the political developments of the Greek Cypriots parallel with Turkish Cypriots has been abandoned. Moreover, there is no reference to the minorities of Cyprus, such as the Armenians and the Maronites. The representation of any Greek Cypriot loss, pain or suffering in the contested periods is avoided. In terms of teaching methodology, it does not adopt the student-centred approach to the extent that the previous textbooks did.

Nevertheless, although the national curricula and textbooks are vital, students also learn through other channels, such as the mass media, their family or their peer groups. In some cases, students come to school with manipulated views and historical perceptions even before they see the textbooks

and are exposed to the curriculum. Both ‘students and teachers bring different emotional histories with them to school [...] which are embedded in a wider context of socio-political forces, needs and interests’.⁷⁶ Moreover, teachers are the ones who implement the textbooks and adopt the curricula, and they therefore influence the way materials are taught. In this respect, teacher training is an essential part of peace education.

It should also be noted that when we undertook the textbook analysis of the revised and re-revised textbooks, our aim was not to insinuate which textbook represents a better history. In any case, there has not been any scientific research to measure the impact of the textbooks, nor an agreed historical account regarding the disputed period of Cyprus history. It can also be said that the major objective for teaching history is to produce future citizens rather than providing a true account of the past in divided societies. Thus, the basic concern of peace education is not ‘good’ as opposed to ‘bad’ history, but history as a tool for achieving peace and reconciliation. We cannot deny that a nationalist historical narration certainly justifies past conflicts between the two communities. However, should history and its memory be the central issue for Cypriots, or should our future count more than our past?

This is a debatable question. Learning history need not be a negative experience, nor a education that teaches the young about the conflicts and competing nationalism of the world, and more importantly their own society. On the contrary, the learning of history can enable students to make sense of past events, to question, analyse and strive for a better future. As previously mentioned in the introduction, by including more issues related to social history, rather than simply the wars or struggles of each community, history

⁷⁶ Michalinos Zembylas and Zvi Bekerman, (2008). ‘Dilemmas of Justice in Peace/Coexistence Education: Affect and the Politics of Identity’. *Review of Education, Pedagogy and Cultural Studies*, 30(5), 415.

education can in fact be used as a tool that promotes mutual trust between communities. By focussing on interaction between everyday people in society and not just political figures, and allowing students to understand matters of cooperation as well as the differences and struggles, students can then form a more balanced view of history. Thus, it is essential that future steps are taken in the writing history textbooks, as well as teaching methods, in order for history education to be used as a 'positive tool' to promote peace and understanding for our future generations.

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PART II
EDUCATION FOR PEACE II

**TEXTUAL AND VISUAL ANALYSIS OF THE LOWER
SECONDARY SCHOOL CYPRUS HISTORY
TEXTBOOKS**

STUDIED BETWEEN 2004 AND 2009

Written by

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“The views expressed in this publication are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily represent those of the United Nations or its Member States, UNDP or USAID.”

“The Turkish Cypriot community over the passing centuries created its own history. Hence, we should write and teach the history that is being created by the Turkish Cypriot community to new generations.”

**Introduction of the Revision Commission on the new
history programme and the new textbooks**

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Abbreviations

TCc	Turkish Cypriot Community
G/C	Greek Cypriots
T/C	Turkish Cypriots
CTP	Republican Turkish Party
UBP	National Unity Party
TDP	Social Democracy Party
UN	United Nations
EU	European Union
TMT	Turkish Resistance Organisation
EOKA	National Organization of Cypriot Fighters
KTÖS	Turkish Cypriot Teachers' Union
KTOEÖS	Turkish Cypriot Secondary School Teachers' Union
UNFICYP	United Nations Force in Cyprus

References of the Analysed History Textbooks in EFP II Report

The textbook	Grade	Publication Year	Years studied
Kıbrıs Tarihi 1: Ortaokullar için Tarih Kitabı [Cyprus History: History Textbooks for Lower Secondary Schools]	1	2004	2004-2009
Kıbrıs Tarihi 2: Ortaokullar için Tarih Kitabı [Cyprus History: History Textbooks for Lower Secondary Schools]	2	2004	2004-2009
Kıbrıs Tarihi 3: Ortaokullar için Tarih Kitabı [Cyprus History: History Textbooks for Lower Secondary Schools]	3	2004	2004-2009
Kıbrıs Tarihi, Vehbi Zeki Serter	1-3	1971	1971-2003

Foreword by Niyazi Kizilyurek

In fact, history is dealing rather with the future, not with the past. To explain what we mean by this further, let us say that the terms “past” and “history” is not the same thing. History is produced from the past, but it is a narrative for the future. That is why, we never say “the past won’t forgive you” but always utter “history won’t forgive you.” This sentence clearly shows us that history is about the future; from the past for the future. Therefore, it is not a coincidence (as in other societies) that the Turkish Cypriot community has changed its history books in circumstances in which she imagined a different future for herself.

Nevertheless, what we mentioned above does not mean that one can change the events that happened in the past haphazardly. What already happened cannot be changed. However, a historical narrative that is produced from the past can always be produced in a different way. This is because history is not the past itself, but the “meaning” that we produce from the past. Thus, it is important to take into account the time and context of an event. In other words, one must consider the events in the right context and evaluate them in the “historical time.”

Let us explain what has been discussed above with an example: Archbishop Kiprianos and many religious functionaries were murdered by the Ottoman Governor Kucuk Mehmet in Cyprus in 1821. This is a fact. History books that were written in a nationalistic manner used to talk about this event as either “barbarian Turks murdered innocent Greeks” or “unthankful Greeks rebelled against the just Ottoman administration and hence had to be punished for that.” These narratives neither considered the “historical period, nor evaluated the events in the right context. For this reason, the

meanings that these narratives produced in the minds of the people, will not proceed further than the notion of “barbarian Turks” or “ungrateful Greeks”. Nonetheless, it is possible to produce a different meaning without rejecting the facts. If we think of the events in the context of the 19th century, then, we can come to the conclusion that: “right after the French Revolution, people discovered some concepts such as national sovereignty and nationalism”. This new idea resulted in the idea of rebelling against the empires and feudal states. After the French Revolution, each society was attempting to establish its own nation-state, based on the notion of nationalist ideology. Within this framework, the Greek nation rebelled against the Ottoman Empire in 1821 and the independence struggle began. Similarly (as all other empires), the Ottoman Empire wanted to protect itself against nationalist movements, and for this reason, tried to suppress the incident (the independence struggle). Because the Governor feared that the Greek nationalist movement was capable of reaching out to Cyprus, he murdered the Archbishop Kiprianos and other religious functionaries.”

There is neither the notion of “barbarian Turks” nor “ungrateful Greeks” in the narrative above. This is because it considers the events in a different context. In this narrative there are “actors” who on the one hand struggle for national sovereignty and on the other hand for the protection of an empire. If one does not consider the events within the context of the 19th century, then one can talk of “barbarian Turks because they are Turks” and similarly, of “the ungrateful Greeks because they are Greeks.” If we do not consider the historical events within their own historical period, then inevitably, one can assume that the Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots of today are responsible for the incidents of the past. It is very important that we eliminate the biases and enmity in history books but not the enmity that happened in the past.

(This is because history is not the facts themselves, but the meaning created from facts). In doing so, one should not forget that the main objective is not simply to establish a communication which is liberated from biases, but also to develop a community of the democratic and open minded citizens.

In Cyprus, there are two kinds of misunderstanding concerning the issue of history books. The first misunderstanding is that when the contents of the history books change, nationalistic ideas and biases will disappear. However, this is not as easy as it seems. Changing the history books will have a limited effect if biases and nationalistic ideas are widespread amongst society. Even changing the contents of the history books is not enough to reach this limited success. The significant issue (along with the revision of the textbooks), is the training of educators and assisting them in being able to use the materials in the new textbooks in new forms of teaching. This is because history books, along with history teachers and teaching techniques, construct the foundation of history education within a mutual interaction. In fact in some instances, changing the contents of the history books may be less important, than improving teaching techniques.

Another mistaken interpretation is the belief that by changing history books, an attack on the national identity and national consciousness will take place. This notion is very common within both the Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot communities. Moreover, this incorrect notion is also widespread in Greece and Turkey. The main reason behind this perception is the damage that widespread nationalistic writings have created (on society) in the past.

Generally speaking, nationalist narrative of history is very much like a Hollywood film. According to this, there are “goodies” and “baddies” in history –and Yiannis Papadakis adds “uglies” to this – and the goodies are “us”, whereas the

baddies are “them”, and the uglies are considered as the “foreign conspirators.” Nationalist history writing is based on the notion of “we-right” and “them-wrong.” According to all narratives that are based on this idea, everyone’s nation is either “victorious” or “conceited” and never does anything wrong. This story-like historical narrative, not only makes it difficult to develop a critical way of thinking amongst citizens, but also creates an awry kind of national identity. This is because an identity that is based on the idea of defining itself systematically against the “other” cannot be in peace with itself. At most, it creates a kind of citizen who only boasts with the “greatness” of his/her nation but at the same time believes that his/her nation is always in danger.

The history books that have previously been taught in Turkish Cypriot schools were based on this idea. As this analysis shows, the history books that were taught for many years (and were written by a single author), were written with the idea of “we the Turks are right and just” and “the Greeks are unjust.” The author considered the whole Greek Cypriot community as a homogenous entity and used the term “Greek” as the third singular person to describe the whole community. Moreover, he attempted to legitimise the division of Cyprus by presenting the Greeks as the “other.” Yet, it is significant to cease the dichotomy of right and wrong. It is also important to help the memory exchange through the history books. If we consider the importance of the history books in construction of the collective memory in any country, it becomes evident that Cyprus more than any other country needs to undergo through a process of exchange of memory. Only by doing this, can we free ourselves from dichotomies such as “right and wrong”, “just and unjust”.

The revised history textbooks that were prepared to be taught in Turkish Cypriot schools are very different to the old books in many ways. As the analysis points out, the revised

history books do not see the Greek Cypriots as the “other” but try to understand them within the “historical time.” For example, the rise of nationalism in the Greek Cypriot community is seen from a world-historical perspective and it is seen within the context of the rising nationalist movements of the 19th century. Furthermore, the Greek Cypriot community is not seen as homogenous and considerable attention has been paid to underline the differences within the community. For example the differences and conflicts between AKEL and the Church of Cyprus are well presented.

Another important element of the revised textbooks is the inclusion of social history and events life. This is a very significant improvement. History that talks only about military and political history, inevitably only exposes conflicts and tensions. Whereas social history, reveals the social space that the communities are living in, in Cyprus (in daily life). This in turn, helps to promote the idea of empathy between the two communities. Promotion of the religious bayrams and common strikes show us a different dimension in the history of the two communities whereas ethno-centric approaches present history only in terms of conflicts.

It is also important to mention the visual materials that are used in the revised textbooks. Pictures and caricatures have integrity with the text, and this helps students to be more interested in the books.

However, this does not mean that there are no issues to discuss in the revised textbooks. For example, we see that the history books have changed in the Turkish Cypriot community, but no significant training for teachers has been given. The workshops that we conducted with teachers helped us to identify this as an important issue.

Another significant point is the fact that Turkish Cypriot educational decision-makers prepared the new history books. At this point, it is believed that more pluralistic and

‘civil’ solutions, instead of current centralistic preparation methods should be undertaken. For example, the writing of more than one history book should be encouraged, and a bid for a contract should be proposed.

In order to promote this pluralistic way of thinking, the history books should provide more than one interpretation of the same event. In doing so, many common events could be interpreted in different ways. For example, Christians talk about the “fall” of Istanbul, whereas Muslim Turks talk about the “conquest.” Nowadays in Cyprus, concepts such as Invasion/Peace Operation or Turkish Rebel/Bloody Christmas are being used to describe the same events. Including some of the interpretations of the Greek Cypriot historians in the Turkish Cypriot history books may help both to establish pluralism, but also to encourage a common history textbook in the future.

Another issue surrounding the revision of history textbooks is the fact that sometimes revising the history books in a “good” way, could involve the rejection of some facts in order to prevent enmity. It is not a correct way to hide what happened in the past in order to be “Politically Correct” or “pointing the finger” to the “outsiders”, as is the case with some conspiracy theories. It is true that some teachers have this tendency. This makes the teachers training even more urgent.

It is also a fact that the new history books are rather books of “history of the Turkish Cypriots” and not as titled “history of Cyprus”. We find here is a serious gap not to have included any information on the other Cypriot communities beyond Turkish and Greek Cypriots. This is something which should be considered and corrected as soon as possible.

In closing, I would like to point that history books in general reflect the academic history research record of a country. It is a well-known fact that history research could influence the preparation of textbooks in both positive and

negative ways. Considering the limited size of scientific research in the Turkish Cypriot community, the history textbooks that were written should be seen as a great success. The new textbooks were written using contemporary methods in an efficient way. This success is even greater considering the limited institutionalised history research within the Turkish Cypriot community.

“Far from creating independent thinkers, schools have always, throughout history, played an important role in system of control and coercion. And once you are educated, you have already been socialized in ways that support the power structure, which, in turn, rewards you immensely.”

Noam Chomsky

Introduction

It is a well-known phenomenon that the education system does not always promote independent thought and critical thinking. Students are not encouraged to search out the truth for themselves, but are instead indoctrinated according to government policies. History teaching can be the most important part of this indoctrination and is used as a tool for propaganda in order to impose the ‘official’ view of the state. Distortion, negative judgements, misinformation, fixing the problems, the omission of facts and the use of information for their (the state) own goals, are some of the methods that are often seen in history books.⁷⁷

A prime example of the above can be seen in the old history textbooks used in lower secondary schools in northern Cyprus. The books which were written by Dr. Vehbi Zeki Serter, subjectively describe the history of Cyprus by legitimising the “national goal” of the Turkish Cypriot community and denying the legitimacy of the “other”. According to Vehbi Zeki Serter’s books, (which was the only history textbooks used in Turkish Cypriot schools for many years), ‘Cyprus was never Greek and Greek Cypriots are in fact

⁷⁷ *Symposium on Facing the Methods of Misuses of History*, Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 28-30 June 1999, pp. 37-57.

not Greek but the remaining of different nations who passed through Cyprus throughout history'.⁷⁸

Serter claims that Cyprus is a geographical extension of Anatolia and emphasizes the importance of Cyprus for Turkey. This, as a matter of fact, is a good indicator to view the intention behind that 'fact'.⁷⁹ The notion of Cyprus being Turkish and always remaining as such is a fundamental ideology that runs consistently throughout the old history textbooks (which were part of the curricula of lower secondary schools until 2005). Moreover, the division of the island in 1974 is described as a victory for the Turkish army (in Cyprus).

“During the operations [of the Turkish army] towards East and West, the Greek and Greek-Cypriot forces knelt in front of Mehmetcik’s [a word for sympathetic, smooth and a humanist description of Turkish soldiers] sharp sword, diffused, and collapsed. These were coward Levant herds, what Grivas and Makarios called the grandchildren of Greeks and considered invincible, who could kill only defenceless Turks. Hadn’t the grandfathers of the same nation been thrown into the sea, on the 9th of September 1922 in Izmir? History is repeating itself. This time, the Turkish Armed Forces were defeating the Hellenic imperialism in Turkish Cyprus.”⁸⁰

Similarly, the author does not hesitate to warn the Greek Cypriots of the potential use of force: “I tell the Greeks, who are threatening world peace, that because of Cyprus someone will be bleeding. However, this will not be the Turks but the Greek nation, which once spoiled the fields of Izmir with their blood.”⁸¹

⁷⁸ Cited from Kızılyürek, Niyazi. “National Memory and Turkish-Cypriot Textbooks”. *International Textbook Research*. 21(4), 1999, p. 394.

⁷⁹ Serter, Vehbi Zeki. *Kıbrıs Tarihi* (The History of Cyprus). Nicosia: n.p. 1999, p. 7.

⁸⁰ Ibid, p. 135. Also, cited from Kızılyürek, Niyazi. “National Memory and Turkish-Cypriot Textbooks”. *International Textbook Research*. 21(4), 1999, p. 392.

⁸¹ Serter, Vehbi Zeki. *Kıbrıs Türk Mücadele Tarihi* (The History of Turkish Cypriot Struggle), Nicosia: n.p., 1981, p. 63.

In Serter's second volume, the book continuously refers to the 'spoiled Greeks' who killed the Turks in order to achieve Enosis. Moreover, he describes the Turks as 'Turkish heroes', who bravely resisted Enosis. The writer says the following:

Greeks are dreamers and liars because the Greek throughout the history is asking for something. He demands Dollars from America, and Pounds from England. He demands money, he demands territory. For example, from his neighbour Albania, he wants the Epiros, from Bulgaria, demands Macedonia. In the past, he wanted from Turkey the whole western Asia Minor. Now, he demands Cyprus. If he tomorrow wants Egypt because of some Greek element in Egypt, do not get surprised [...]. In order to defend our rights and freedoms, we will resist to you. And, for this aim, if we don't find a piece of stick or stone, we will take in hand the bones of our 80.000 martyrs who died for this land, and resisted to you.⁸²

Such statements are examples of a method of history teaching which is far from contemporary. In fact the old history textbooks can be viewed as a mere reflection of nationalistic policies which are based on an ethnocentric perception of history. Moreover, the books have been written in a manner to justify and legitimise the nationalist policy of partition, by instrumentalising the past. As stated in *Milliyetçilik Kıskaçında Kıbrıs*, "Turkish nationalists began to re-establish a 'past' rather than establishing a 'future' for the Turkish Cypriot Community. [Therefore], they tried to create a non-nostalgic 'past' and the 'future' was presented in a way of servicing the 'past' through the Unknown Soldier Monuments, Martyrs Week, the Museum of Barbarism, remembrance campaigns, God Bless Motherland Days and the education system (through

⁸² Ibid, pp. 80-81.

schoolbooks that do not have contemporary education vision).⁸³

A significant political change occurred in late 1990s, in which the Turkish Cypriot Community witnessed the rise of ‘Cyprus-centred’ thinking which in turn allowed for the reconstruction of certain social and cultural elements. (For a detailed account of this change, please see Chapter I). “The year of 1999 can be considered as a turning point for the Turkish Cypriot Community.”⁸⁴ Many members of the Turkish Cypriot community turned their face to the European Union and expressed a strong desire (and support) for the accession of the island in to the EU. In fact, a u turn of political and nationalistic thinking took place. The Turkish Cypriot community began to reject Turkish nationalism and its proposal of a permanent divided Cyprus, in search of a ‘peaceful European Cyprus’. 41 different non-governmental organisations and opposition parties formed ‘This Country is Ours Platform’, in order to increase the grassroots movements in search of a solution to the “Cyprus problem”. According to the movement, a lasting peace could only be achieved through a federal solution and EU membership. This movement gained impetus through the UN solution Plan which was presented to the leaders of northern and southern Cyprus in November 2002, by the former UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan. “The Plan is a ‘lengthy, complex, and comprehensive’ proposal ... which was presented as the latest international attempt to reach a settlement on the island. The major aim of the Plan was to find a solution for the settlement of the ongoing Cyprus

⁸³ Kızılyürek, Niyazi. *Milliyetçilik Kışkırcısında Kıbrıs*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002, p. 293.

⁸⁴ Kızılyürek, Niyazi. *Doğmamış bir Devletin Tarihi: Birleşik Kıbrıs Cumhuriyeti*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2005, p. 266.

question and to allow a Unitary State of Cyprus to become members of the European Union.”⁸⁵

This idea was particularly supported by the left-wing political parties and NGOs. Following the proposal of the Annan Plan, the Platforms’ representatives increased to 91 and they then went on to develop a “Common Vision”. The notion of a “Common Vision” equated to ‘Peace in Cyprus and ‘yes’ to the EU’ and was supported by the majority of various groups in the community. A cross section of society such as businessmen, trade unionists, teachers, working/middle class came together to fight for a common cause, namely a solution to the ongoing “Cyprus Problem”. Although these groups each held their own ideology, they developed a common aim in order to bring peace to Cyprus. Cyprus now began to be perceived as the homeland of all (including Greek Cypriots) the population living on the island, a fact which radically challenged the ruling ideas of the nationalist elite at the time.

Talking in a conference in Ankara, Rauf Denktaş, former Turkish Cypriot Community leader, was asked to reply to the following question “wouldn’t be better for the Turkish Cypriot Community to struggle with Greek Cypriots for a Federal Republic of Cyprus?”

My ancestors come from Anatolia. From top to toe I am a Turk and my origins come from Central Asia. I am a Turk with all my culture, language, history and identity. I have a state and a motherland. All the words such as Turkish Cypriot, Greek Cypriot, and Common Nation are nonsense. They have their Greece and we have our Turkey. So, why do we need to live under one republic? Some circles tend to say that there are Cypriots, some Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots. They tend to say stories about a common culture. However, there is neither Turkish Cypriot nor Greek Cypriot nor Cypriot. You should never ask us whether we

⁸⁵ Beyidođlu, Mehveř. *South Tyrol and Cyprus: Autonomy and/or Integration?* Unpublished MES thesis, University of Graz, 2005, p. 31.

are Cypriot or not. This may cause misunderstanding. You know why? Because there is one and only Cypriot thing in Cyprus and that is the Cypriot donkey.⁸⁶

As one can see in the words of Denktash, the once prevailing idea of the ruling elite negated all local cultural elements of the Turkish Cypriots and promoted an abstract sense of nation. The growing oppositional movement in the Turkish Cypriot community began to challenge the ruling ideas, such as Turkism and Turkish nationalism and instead advocated the cultural uniqueness of the Turkish Cypriot community. This emphasis on difference was in fact an effort to differentiate the Turkish Cypriot community from the Turkish nation, which in turn led to a political change during the election of 2003. A new government formed by Mehmet Ali Talat in 2003, immediately began to reconsider the history textbooks and the educational policy in general. According to Dr. Hasan Alicik, (head of the Turkish Cypriot Educational Planning and Programme Development), it was the Turkish Cypriot government who decided to review the education system and to make changes to the curriculum taught in all the Turkish Cypriot schools. The newly elected government agreed that the old history textbooks impose chauvinism and nationalistic perceptions. Dr. Alicik also gave an example by saying that Serter's books describe the EU as a 'rotten apple' and a 'poisoned carrot'. "This was not an idea which was in line with 65% of the Turkish Cypriot community which said yes to the EU. Therefore they (the government) decided to change the methodology used. Dr. Alicik described the new methodology of the textbooks as 'student-centred' because it aims to motivate students by involving them in the education process."⁸⁷

⁸⁶ - Cited from Kızılyürek, Niyazi. *Milliyetçilik Kısıracında Kıbrıs*. p. 293.

⁸⁷ Personal Interview with Dr. Hasan Alicik, 6 September 2006, Nicosia.

Once the Turkish Cypriot authorities made the decision to modify the history books, the authorities responsible for education invited teachers and academicians to come together to completely re-write the textbooks used by the first three grades of lower secondary school students. Thus, a group of volunteer teachers began working on a new style of history textbook. All three books were completed before the new semester began in 2005.

It should be noted that the Primary and Secondary School Teachers Trade Union (KTÖS and KTOEÖS) played a crucial role in ‘This Country is Ours Platform’. They were the pioneers of change towards “Cyprus-Centred” form thinking and this naturally influenced the process of change, and consequently the contents of the textbooks.

In order to fully understand the differences between the old and the new textbooks, it is important to undertake a qualitative comparison: Is there a shift from an ethnocentric approach to a humanist approach?; what is the image of the ‘other’?; is the image of Greek Cypriots always negative?; are there any other enemies (apart from the Greek Cypriots) named and described in the textbooks?; what kind of visual materials are used and what messages do they omit?

According to research conducted amongst 1,413 lower secondary schools pupils: 92% of pupils expressed positive views on the revised books. Furthermore, during an interview, Dr. Alicik, stated that the pupil’s families’ also displayed a positive response to the modified books.

In general, the new history textbooks are far from the ethnocentric approaches used in the old textbooks. Instead, the new books evaluate historical issues from a humanistic perspective. Moreover, there is no obvious indication of a national enemy or the “other” in the new books. One of the most fundamental characteristics of the new books is the emphasis on social history and its role in general history.

Reference to social events during various historical periods help the reader to make sense of his/her common social space and identify with the Greek Cypriot community. Caricatures and pictures are also given great precedence and enrich the books further. Such visual imagery helps to further engage the reader into the subject matter and hold their attention. In fact the caricatures and pictures are so well placed that they are become an integral part of the books. Another important aspect of the books is the use of Turkish Cypriot dialect. Until recently, Turkish Cypriot dialect was often viewed as a ‘local cultural characteristic’ and has been strongly snubbed by various dominant Turkish nationalistic groups. However, the authors of the new textbooks have attempted to introduce (although limited) Turkish Cypriot dialect and in doing so promote a sense of pride in the ‘Cypriotness of the Turkish Cypriot community’. Furthermore, the authors of the new textbooks were keen to refer to Greek Cypriot writers and as such recognising the importance of their work.

During the process of educational reform, The Turkish Cypriot Educational Planning and Programme Department set up 147 commissions comprising of teachers and academicians which were involved in the revision of the history textbooks and teaching materials. In total 350,000 books will be published in the northern part of Cyprus. Previously, all the textbooks were printed in Turkey. This is a positive advancement for numerous reasons. Firstly, it allows the Turkish Cypriot community to have greater control and responsibility over the teaching of their history. Furthermore, it enhanced the economy of the northern part of Cyprus as new businesses were set up and thus jobs were created. Entrepreneurs began to open new printing houses and installed new technology. Additionally, graphic designers, academicians and writers were recruited to undertake this heavy task.

Although the majority of the Turkish Cypriot community welcomed the change in the educational curriculum and the new history textbooks were widely appreciated, the matter did stir up controversial discussions among nationalist circles. Rauf Denktash publicly denounced the new textbooks and criticized the authors of the books. Denktash's main complaint was that the new textbooks would weaken the national consciousness of the new generation. In reference to the Greek Cypriot education system, Rauf Denktash proposed that the Turkish Cypriot education system should also be based on a nationalistic understanding. He expressed concern that because of a possible governmental change in the Turkish Cypriot community, the new textbooks will most probably end up in the dustbin.

I) Dynamics of Change

The revision of the history textbooks in the northern part of Cyprus was not free from the political debate in early 2000s. In order to fully comprehend the revision of the books and the consequent responses, it is important to understand the political atmosphere of the period. At the time, the majority of Turkish Cypriot's began to react against Denktash's policy of a no solution to the "Cyprus problem", and actively become involved in mass movements to bring peace to Cyprus. Organizations such as 'This Country is Ours Platform' and the 'Common Vision', challenged the old regime and demanded an immediate solution to the Cyprus conflict. The role of the teachers unions (KTÖS: Turkish Cypriot Teachers' Union; and, KTOEÖS: Turkish Cypriot Secondary School Teachers' Union) in this process was of great importance. The dynamic involvement of the teachers unions in the aspiration for a unified Cyprus is vital when considering the background of events that led to the revision of the history textbooks in the northern part of the Island.

I a) Growing Reactions towards Denktash and Mobilisation against the Status Quo

In 2000, Rauf Denktash sent a letter to Glafkos Klerides inviting him to begin negotiations regarding the “Cyprus problem”, (defined as proximity talks). However, during the fifth round of negotiations, Denktash leaves the table, which instigated strong reactions among the Turkish Cypriot community. Subsequently, the banking and finance sector faced a huge crisis, which resulted in the collapse of many private banks in 2000. The resulting economic crisis was the final straw, and negative reactions against the Turkish Cypriot administration gained momentum. A widespread belief developed among a cross section of Turkish Cypriot society: that economic dependency on Turkey was having a negative impact on the local economy. Moreover, Turkey and Turkish bureaucrats were strongly criticized by various civil society activists during the period of 2000 to 2004.

Representatives of KTÖS and KTOEÖS, who were angry with the policies of the Bülent Ecevit and Devlet Bahçeli government in Turkey, publicly stated on 30th January 2001 “Ankara we do not want your money or support, nor the advice of your bureaucrats. We refuse to be enslaved”. ‘Peace and solution’ emerged as a popular slogan against the Turkish controlled governance structure in the northern part of the island. Following the arrest of Afrika newspaper’s editor, Şener Levent, Mustafa Akıncı (former chief of the Communal Liberation Party-TKP) expressed in an interview with The Guardian newspaper that “Cyprus is an open air prison”.⁸⁸ Akıncı conveyed the desire for Turkey to leave Cyprus and talked about “real sovereignty”.

⁸⁸ *Guardian*, “Northern Cypriots turn against Turkey”, September 25, 2001.

Up until this point, civil society activists had held an important role in establishing ad hoc umbrella associations in order to gain support against the so called “status quo” government in the north. Furthermore, these associations outwardly supported a solution to the Cyprus conflict. The Turkish Cypriot Chamber of Commerce initiated the formation of “The Common Vision of Turkish Cypriot Civil Society”. The Common Vision brought to the forefront the urgent need of solving the Cyprus problem before the Republic of Cyprus joined the EU. However, before the creation of the Common Vision, the “This Country is Ours Platform” had already gained the support of various civil society organizations and political parties, against an economic package scheduled by Ankara and approved by the previous local government. The economic package introduced a number of severe measures in 2000.

(...) “This Country is Ours” called for self-governance of the Turkish Cypriots and demilitarization, as well as a negotiated settlement to the Cyprus problem. The Platform leaders were loyal to the idea that Cypriot communities could share the same political entity on the basis ‘inter-communal peace’ which has been the historical objective of Turkish Cypriot leftist movement.⁸⁹

Soon after the Plan published in November 2002, the aforementioned associations and the Platform prompted many Turkish Cypriots to take to the streets and demonstrate in favour of the Annan Plan. Nevertheless, “This Country is Ours” came forward as the “more influential mobilizing Platform”. Due to the characteristics of civil society in northern Cyprus, professional syndicates and unions hold a prominent position and possess great influence. Essentially, “among the

⁸⁹ Vural, Yücel. “Kıbrıs Sorunu ve Kıbrıs Türk Solu” (Cyprus problem and the Turkish Cypriot left). *Birikim*, March 2003, pp. 39-43, Cited in CIVICUS. *Civil Society Index Report for Cyprus: An Assessment of Civil society in Cyprus, A Map for the Future*, 2005, p. 114.

more than fifty organizations in the ‘This Country is Ours’ movement, the teachers’ unions (KTÖS and KTOEÖS) and civil servants’ union (KTAMS) played a crucial role in intensifying and maintaining civil society actions because of their strong organizational structures.”⁹⁰

Moreover, during the mass demonstrations in support of the Annan Plan, thousands of people called for the resignation of the so called status quo government and particularly the nationalist leader Rauf Denktash, who was the chief negotiator and Turkish Cypriot representative in the Cyprus talks. Numerous leaflets and brochures which highlighted the main points of the Anan Plan and its advantages were printed and widely disseminated. Many pro-solution intellectuals attended TV and radio programmes and journalists wrote intensively about the positive aspects of the Plan for the Turkish Cypriots. Following these events, the border in Nicosia which had separated the two communities for more then 30 years, was opened.

I b) Change of the Status Quo Administration

Ultimately, the right wing nationalist government (once seen as the status quo government), lost the subsequent 2003 and 2005 general elections. The old government was replaced with the left wing political party, the Republican Turkish Party (CTP). CTP increased its popularity and subsequently won the last election, by gaining 45% of the total votes. This dramatic shift was partly due to the influence of the peace movement on local politics and the situation of the “Cyprus problem” at that time.

Rauf Denktash, the communal leader of Turkish Cypriots since the early 1970s, was increasingly challenged by his various opponents in different political circles. The

⁹⁰ CIVICUS. *Civil Society Index Report for Cyprus*. p. 115.

appearance of the Annan Plan saw the dawn of a new era and reversed political configuration in the north. Denktash was unable to use his previous legitimacy and failed to convince the masses for a “no” vote, as trust for Denktash declined. According to research, which “asked how much Turkish Cypriots trust the Turkish Cypriot leader (Rauf Denktash) as far as the Cyprus negotiations are concerned, 39.2% said they had ‘complete trust,’ 13.2% said they had ‘little trust’ and 35.5% said they had ‘no trust at all.’ Those who said they did not have enough trust totalled 9.1%. 3.1% said, I do not know/no reply.”⁹¹

I c) Role of the Teachers Union over the Revision of the Textbooks Process

During the Annan Plan negotiations, the teachers’ unions played an important role as promoters of non-violent mass demonstrations. A significant number of youngsters were mobilized to participate in demonstrations supporting the Annan Plan. This was aided by the striking of teachers during these demonstrations. Anti-Annan Plan and right wing circles used the media to strongly criticize the participation of students at these demonstrations. Volkan newspaper attacked the teachers unions and described them as “militant teachers organizations” and “syndicate *ağ’a’s*”⁹². Volkan newspaper in the front pages of 14-15 January 2003 issues condemned the government for not stopping the abuse of students by the “militant teachers” and their syndicates, and students’ exploitation in favour of the CTP policies.

Once the CTP government came to power, one of its major tasks was to undertake the revision of history textbooks. The process began with the revision/re-writing of the

⁹¹ FBIS Translated Text Document ID: GMP20030124000106 Version Number: 1
Source-Date: 01/23/2003.

⁹² For more information, see *Volkan* newspaper. Front page, 14 Ocak (January) 2003.

secondary school history textbooks. Preceding this, the revision of 5th grade social sciences book followed.

However, the modification of the education system and teaching materials is not a new phenomenon. Discussions regarding this issue have been taking place within the Turkish Cypriot community since 1970s. The official line was based on “maintaining a nationalistic perspective in secondary school education and encouraging and extolling ethnocentrism. However, civil society has been supportive of a more universalistic education system according to the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.”⁹³

Concern on how we teach history, how we make linkages between past and present, and how we connect past and present in history teaching, deepened in the northern part of the island during the peace process. This concern enabled the new administration to make substantial changes to the traditional history textbooks. With the start of the new semester in September 2004, the new history textbooks started to be used in all secondary schools.

In accordance with the conclusions of the Civil Society Impact Study on Secondary Education, the teachers’ unions have played an active role in promoting a new curriculum. The new government responded by preparing revised history textbooks with an altogether deeper understanding than the previous ones. The Turkish Cypriot Primary and Secondary School Teachers’ Trade Unions (KTÖS and KTÖEÖS) gave their own account of this change.

There had been an ideological confrontation between the then ‘government’ and the teachers' trade unions about the content of curriculum. While the former had usually been supportive of a curriculum stressing the 'historical enmity' between Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots, the latter

⁹³ - CIVICUS. *Civil Society Index Report for Cyprus*, p. 159.

stressed the necessity of universal principles such as friendship, anti-chauvinism and mutual understanding as the basic values on which school curriculum should be based. The teachers' trade unions and their leading members published strong anti-chauvinist polemics but could not exert any meaningful impact on the education policy till the December 2003 elections through which the CTP came to power. In September 2004 history textbooks were replaced by new ones which were ostensibly more empathetic than the predecessor.⁹⁴

II) The Renewed History Books and the New Discursive Strategy

What is it that must precede the conveying of history? Must there not be the declaration of a double passion, an eros for the past an ardour for the others in whose name there is a felt urgency to speak? ... Nietzsche may have been right in proclaiming that remembering the past is a sick passion; yet without necrophilia of the historian who gives herself over to overcoming the past's passing into oblivion, there would be only the finality of death.

Edith Wyschogrod- An Ethics of Remembering

As is evident from the previous sections of the report, the issue of revising the history textbooks (in particular) and re-designing the curricula is a complicated process. The formation of a new government, the general dynamics of change, and the search for a solution to the Cyprus conflict are all interrelated matters in the decision making and writing process of the new textbooks.

With this in mind and having surveyed the revised textbooks, it is apparent that there are huge differences between the old and new textbooks. This section, will deal with this

⁹⁴ - Ibid, p. 159.

differences in relation to the discursive strategy. Is there any difference between the old and the new textbooks? If so, how and why has the discursive strategy changed? What is the relationship between the “newly formed” administration and the ‘change’ in history textbooks and the general curricula? In order to fully appreciate the new textbooks and highlight the differences between the old and new books, it is imperative that the old textbooks are also examined.

As Niyazi Kizilyurek states, the old textbook, written by Vehbi Zeki Serter begins with the emphasis that “...Cyprus is a geographical extension of Anatolia...”⁹⁵ As Vehbi Zeki Serter claims,

Cyprus controls the Southern ports of Turkey. In case of a Russian threat, the Turkish army can be attacked from different fronts and can ask for help only from the Southern ports of Turkey. Cyprus for Turkey is for the point of history, also very important. Our ancestors conquered Cyprus in 1571 for the cost of 80000 martyrs’ lives. The Turks ruled Cyprus until 1878, for three centuries, and treated the native population in a very good manner. They brought freedom and justice to the island. The Turks have developed Cyprus and built so many monuments, which gave Cyprus the Turkish Character. *In short, one can say that Cyprus is historically, geographically, strategically, and economically tied to Anatolia and a part of Asia Minor.*⁹⁶

Kizilyurek (1999) goes on to point out that, the last sentence of the paragraph is a good example of the discursive strategy of the old textbook, written by Vehbi Zeki Serter. In Kizilyurek’s (1999) words,

The “discursive strategy” of the author is evident through the emphasis on the “80.000 martyrs”, in Turkish “şehit” – deriving

⁹⁵ Kizilyürek, Niyazi. “National Memory and Turkish-Cypriot Textbooks”, *International Textbook Research / Internationale Schulbuchforschung*, Vol. 21(4), 1999, p. 390.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 390.

from Jihad, holy war in Arabic – which attaches a “holy meaning” to the fact of the Ottoman conquest of Cyprus by using the political language of Islam.⁹⁷

However, contrary to the old textbook which emphasised ‘Cyprus’ ties to Anatolia’, the new Cyprus History textbook (vol. 1), begins by providing the reader with some general information about Cyprus and how Cyprus took its name – ‘Kıbrıs’ (in Turkish). Following this, the geographical location of Cyprus is discussed, after which information regarding the prehistoric period through to the arrival of the Venetians in Cyprus are the main points of the book.

The old textbook did not provide students with any space to think, analyse, and interpret events from different perspective. However, the new books are strikingly different. (Meltem Onurkan highlights these differences using the following example.) The new textbook asks questions –such as ‘having conquered Cyprus three times, why did the Egyptians not have much effect on the civilisation of the island?’ Onurkan stresses that such questions– encourage students to think, analyse, and understand different points of view.⁹⁸

In addition, the new textbooks present the names of places using both the Greek and Turkish name, which indirectly acknowledges that Greek Cypriots/Greeks are also living on the island and share in Cypriot culture. However, in the old textbook, this was not the case. Examples of the place names stated are as follows (from the first volume of the *Cyprus History* book): p. 13 – Akrotiri (Ağrotur), Aetokremnos

⁹⁷ Ibid, p. 391.

⁹⁸ This can be a “new wave” in history education. As, one of the members of the Cyprus History book commission, Meltem Onurkan Samani claims that with the decision of Planning and Programme Department, a new history education method is promoted in the writing of the new history books, which based on contemporary ideas, encourage students to think critically, open to interpretation and analysis, and multiperspectival way of thinking. (Meltem Onurkan Samani, personal interview, 29/8/06 in Lefka).

(Kartal Yuvası), Akdeniz Köyü, Dragontovounari (Ejderha Tepesi); p. 14 – Tathısu-Çiftlikdüzü (Akanthou); p. 18 – Petratou Limnidi (Limnidi Kayalığı), and p. 21 – Cape Andreas Kastros (Zafer Burnu).

The aforementioned examples are also important in highlighting: “the new discursive strategy” of the revised history books.

II a) New Discursive Strategy and its Relation with Critical Pedagogy

Another important detail regarding the new discursive strategy of the revised textbooks lies in the fact that, “It is also important to encourage teachers and students to evaluate the textbooks that they are using and discover better ways to learn about the world’s problems.”⁹⁹ The new *Cyprus History* textbooks actually encourage a different way of thinking to the mainstream pedagogical approach: Paulo Freire’s “transmission” or “banking” model¹⁰⁰, in which the teacher “knows everything” and the students “know nothing”.

According to mainstream pedagogy, the ‘teacher speaks and the students listen’.¹⁰¹ There are many instances in the new textbooks in which students are encouraged to think, analyse the given information and discuss the subject matter further. This is aided by the careful use of caricatures. The caricature draws the reader’s attention in a manner that is not “dull”. Instead, the message is clear and simple: people can have fun

⁹⁹ Quoted from Pingel, Falk. *Ders Kitaplarını Araştırma ve Düzeltme Rehberi UNESCO* [UNESCO Guidebook on Textbook Research and Textbook Revision]. Trans. Nurettin Elhüseyni. İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 2003, p. 14 (my translation). The “International Conference on Combating Stereotypes and Prejudice in History Textbooks of South-East Europe” Conference at George Eckert Institute in 1988.

¹⁰⁰ Bailie, Mashoed. “Critical Communication Pedagogy: Teaching and Learning for Democratic Life”. *Democratizing Communication: Comparative Perspectives on Information and Power*. NJ: Hampton Press, 1997, p. 39.

¹⁰¹ This phrase is a changed version of “the West speaks and the rest listens”. Morley, David & Robins, Kevin. *Spaces of Identity*. London & New York: Routledge, 1995.

whilst studying history.¹⁰² Moreover, students are encouraged (with their teachers) to think and visualise past situations. For example, in the first volume of the history book, the book talks about the first settlements in Cyprus and the caricature asks “how the first settlers of the island came to Cyprus and what types of ships they used?”¹⁰³ Questions such as these are important because they provide an actual space (both metaphorically and literally) for students to learn. By encouraging student participation, pupils are more able to enjoy the history lesson and subject matter.

Critical pedagogy in education is very significant, as Mashoed Bailie asserts in “Critical Communication Pedagogy: Teaching and Learning for Democratic Life”,

Critical education, then, embraces a concept of education that challenges students to take their responsibility as moral citizens seriously: to participate in the development conditions and critiques that promote social transformation while uncovering, resisting, and challenging, the supposed “naturalness” or “neutrality” of the way things are. Education for democracy must provide the conditions for critical reflection, social critique and the possibility for change.¹⁰⁴

Although Bailie discusses education in general, a history book that not only “teaches” so called “only” facts but also encourages students to think and question the given information in a very significant progression. Questioning the given information not only “happens” by asking questions in the book, but also in the way teachers teach history. Contrary

¹⁰² This idea also mentioned indirectly by Meltem Onurkan Samani, personal interview, 29/8/06 in Lefke.

¹⁰³ *Kıbrıs Tarihi, 1. Kitap: Ortaokullar İçin Tarih Kitabı*. [Cyprus History, Volume 1: History Book for the Secondary Schools]. Nicosia: KKTC Milli Eğitim ve Kültür Bakanlığı, 2005, p. 16.

¹⁰⁴ Bailie, p. 39.

to the “transmission” or “banking” model, as Paulo Freire claims, (or the hypodermic needle approach in communication models) critical education pedagogy is important because “what is at issue is the process, the content, and the context within which students struggle, and the development of a curriculum that includes the voices and the visions of multiple communities of persons.”¹⁰⁵ With the new textbooks, students will be able to see that “they” are not the only people that talk about the “truth” but there are also other people, who are living on the same island, who have other “truths.” Furthermore, by emphasising the importance of social history, the new history textbooks does not demonise the “other” but “normalises” it.¹⁰⁶ By using the term “normalise”, it is being suggested that the new textbooks see the “other” as people like “us”, who have the same needs, such as food, shelter, clothing and a place/land to live.

II b) New Textbooks in Terms of Colour and Bibliography

The new textbooks also differ from the old books in terms of their visual presentation, especially in the use of colour. The old textbooks were printed in black and white, the paper quality was poor and the books contained very few pictures. The pictures that were used mainly focused on the contemporary (interethnic violence) period. In contrast, the new textbooks use many bright colours and the paper (and the print) is of good quality. Cyprus (as a geographical place) stands in the centre of the front cover of all three textbooks. Furthermore, in terms of discursive strategy, the new history book has been divided into three volumes, whereas previously one book was used by all students in the first three years of

¹⁰⁵ Bailie, p. 39.

¹⁰⁶ For example, *Cyprus History Volume III* talks about the Cypriots (both Turkish and Greek Cypriots) who served as soldiers during the Second World War in British period.

lower secondary school. The first volume is concerned with general information about the island of Cyprus, the Prehistoric period, Cyprus during the Egyptians rule, Hittites, Greek colonies, Persians, Alexander the Great, Roman Empire, and Cyprus during the Middle Ages (Lusignans & Venetians). The second volume of the book focuses on the Ottoman Period, and the third volume primarily concentrates on the contemporary history of Cyprus (from the British Administration till now).¹⁰⁷

Last but not least, there is a vast difference between the old books' approach and the new ones, in terms of references. The new textbooks' draw on more up to date references, and interestingly, the writers of the new textbooks were not apprehensive in using Greek and/or Greek Cypriot writers. In contrast, Vehbi Zeki Serter's book did not contain many references from different authors. Instead, Vehbi Zeki used only one Greek Cypriot writer as a reference. Additionally, the new textbooks contain a greater number of references than the old one.

In brief, one can say that the main difference between the old and the new textbooks lies in the very idea of seeing Cyprus as a mainland versus 'Cyprus as a geographical extension of Anatolia'.¹⁰⁸ The new textbooks talk in terms of the former, whilst the old book attempted to prove the latter. Furthermore, the old books use of bland and poor printing quality, subscribes to mainstream pedagogy, as no discussion points appear throughout the chapters (until the end of the units). However, the new textbooks regard the student as an individual, and encourage him/her to think and understand

¹⁰⁷ The old textbook has been divided into three main sections: a) Introduction, Prehistoric Periods, and Cyprus in the Middle Ages (till Venetians period), b) Venetian and Turkish dominance in Cyprus, c) The struggle of the existence of the Turkish Cypriots (from British Administration till now). Even a comparison between the parts of the old textbook and the new ones clearly shows the difference in terms of discursive strategy.

¹⁰⁸ Kızılyürek, "National Memory and Turkish-Cypriot Textbooks". p. 390.

events from the past. Moreover, the new textbooks place a greater emphasis on social history, rather than solely providing the reader with information about who conquered Cyprus. Although the discursive strategy of the new textbooks reveals that the new books contain many positive changes, it can be claimed that more work needs to be done. As Michalinos Zembylas and Hakan Karahasan (2006) claim, ...we want to suggest that in addition to revising textbooks or writing common textbooks for both communities in Cyprus, it is equally important to develop pedagogies that promote *reconciliation* and *peace*. We view reconciliation and peace not as states but as ongoing processes of respecting *difference* and seeking alternatives to hatred.¹⁰⁹

Consequently, the change in discursive strategy in the north will only be of use if efforts like this take into account the pedagogical aspects of education. However, in order to do this we urgently need to have a common pedagogy that promotes reconciliation and peace.¹¹⁰ Only by doing this, will the new curricula in Cyprus be able to achieve its main goal.

¹⁰⁹ Karahasan, Hakan & Zembylas, Michalinos. "The Politics of Memory and Forgetting in History Textbooks: Towards a Pedagogy of Reconciliation and Peace in Divided Cyprus." Alistair Ross (ed). *Citizenship Education, Europe and the World: Proceedings of the Eighth Conference of the Children's Identity and Citizenship in Europe Thematic Network, Riga 2006*. London: CiCe Publications, 2006, p. 706.

¹¹⁰ Karahasan, Hakan & Zembylas, Michalinos. "The Politics of Memory and Forgetting in History Textbooks". p. 706.

III) Textual Evaluation of the Cyprus History Textbooks

III a) Cyprus History Book, Volume I¹¹¹

As previously mentioned, (contrary to the old history books) the new textbooks do not project the ‘other’ as an enemy, or cultivate mutual distrust between the two main communities living in Cyprus. (POST 2004). The most significant development in terms of the new textbooks lies in the discursive strategy of the books. The old textbooks primary aim was to prove that ‘Cyprus is part of Anatolia’ (Kizilyurek 1999) and that “we-Turkish Cypriots” are the grandchildren of the Ottomans, who conquered Cyprus in 1571.

This section of the report is an analysis of the *Cyprus History Textbook Volume I*. It will become apparent in the pending paragraphs that the new textbook is a positive initiative in terms of print quality, page design, and narrative.

The main subject headings of the Cyprus history textbook, volume I are as follows: a) The island of Cyprus, b) Prehistoric periods, c) Cyprus in historical periods (information is given about the Egyptians, the Hittites, Greek colonies, the Assyrians, the Persians, Alexander the Great, and the Roman Empire), d) Cyprus in the Middle Ages (covers the periods of the Byzantine Empire, Isaac Commeneus, British Kingdom, Lusignan Kingdom, and Venetians).

An outline of Cyprus is located in the centre of the front cover and is shown without borders. This in itself displays a vast difference in terms of discursive strategy, compared to the previous textbook. Furthermore, the exclusion of borders on the diagram can be interpreted as an attempt by the authors, to show students that Cyprus is an island (as a whole). By presenting Cyprus as a whole entity (rather than divided), the

¹¹¹ *Kıbrıs Tarihi, 1. Kitap: Ortaokullar İçin Tarih Kitabı*. KKTC Milli Eğitim ve Kültür Bakanlığı. Nicosia: 2005.

old discourse is fundamentally challenged. Furthermore, the background colour of the front and back cover is purple, which is neither the colour of the Greek or the Republic of Cyprus nor Turkish Republic or the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus flag. The title of the book and subject matter (*Kıbrıs Tarihi*) is situated in the middle of the front page.

The back cover of the book continues with the ideology that ‘Cyprus is our homeland’ (rather than being part of Anatolia), by inscribing ‘Kıbrıs Tarihi’ in the background several times. In the centre of the back cover, a Carretta turtle can be seen, which is greatly connected to Cyprus. Again by doing this, the emphasis of ‘Cyprus as our mainland’ is stressed.

As mentioned above, contrary to the old book, the new textbook stresses the fact that Cyprus is an island from the very start. One can see that the old discourse is replaced with ‘Cyprus is our mainland.’ This is further emphasised on page 7: “Cyprus has arisen from the bottom of the sea, and because of this, the island of Cyprus has no connection with any continent”.

Whilst explaining the history of Cyprus before and after various historic periods, the book provides general information about Cyprus during that particular era and a variety of visual materials are used to reinforce the text. This in itself is a new concept, in terms of history textbooks in the northern part of Cyprus.

Another significant difference in terms of the narrative (again related with the main theme of ‘Cyprus is our mainland’) is in relation to the Cypriot language. The old textbook did not attempt to acknowledge the existence of a Cypriot language, despite it being one of the oldest languages in the world. However, the revised textbook refers to and gives examples of this language.

As previously stated in “the renewed history books and the new discursive strategy” section, the use of caricatures in the new textbook are also important in terms of pedagogy and narrative strategy.¹¹² The caricatures in the new books are often used as tool for posing questions to students, which encourages them to evaluate, think, and criticise the given information. It also prompts the teacher to prepare himself/herself for the lesson; otherwise s/he may experience difficulties, as the book does not subscribe to mainstream pedagogy. Instead, it encourages students to think freely (given the boundaries of course), criticise and/or evaluate the given information. It also drives teachers to improve themselves and their teaching methods.

Moreover, there are many points in the book that prompt the students to discuss the subject matter further, by using their imagination and analytically thinking about the given information. For example, ‘having conquered Cyprus three times, why did the Egyptians not have much effect on the civilisation of the island?’ (p. 37), “Let’s discuss why Cyprus has been named ‘the green island’ throughout history?” (p. 41), “Let’s talk about the Trojan Wars” (p. 40), “Let’s discuss the terms empire and province” (p. 45).

In addition to prompting further discussion, the caricatures also provide important information about the given subject. Whilst the book talks about the Hittites, one of the characters asks a wise man “Does Hittite civilisation come from Anatolia?” and he answers “Yes, they are also called Etilis – Etiler” (p. 38). Another example of such questions and answers are as follows: “What is the race of Mycenae?” Answer, “It is said that they belong to the Indo-European, East Asia group” (p. 39). Additionally the caricatures often summarise a particular whole event in a brief and visual way,

¹¹² For more information about the “new discursive strategy and pedagogy” in history textbooks, see “The Renewed History Books and the New Discursive Strategy” parts.

making it easy for the student to remember the most crucial points of a subject area.

Upon examination of the first volume of the new history textbook, chapter 1 begins with a general account of the history of Cyprus and explains how Cyprus got its name. The following pages briefly discuss the geography of Cyprus. One of the most interesting sentences in the textbook can be found at the very beginning of the book: ‘having conquered Cyprus three times, why did the Egyptians not have much effect on the civilisation of the island?’ (p. 7). This sentence cannot be separated from the main philosophy of the book, which is previously explained in the “new discursive strategy” section. The final part of the 1st chapter ends by providing information about the climate and vegetation of Cyprus.

The second chapter of the book deals with the prehistoric period of Cyprus. It begins by explaining how Cyprus became an island and the island’s geologic structure. Once again, “the new discursive strategy” of the book is quite visible: what is being said on page 7 is repeated in a different way on page 10. In other words, contrary to the “old discursive strategy” (found in Serter’s books), which were based on the notion of togetherness with Anatolia, here, the idea of ‘Cyprus as our homeland’ is re-emphasised.

As stated previously, another significant element of the new textbook is related with the practice of ‘naming’. Places are named in a bi-lingual way (Greek and Turkish), which promotes the notion of bi-linguality and multiculturalism. Although the book does mention how the first settlers to Cyprus came from Anatolia, it does not promote the idea that “...*Cyprus is historically, geographically, strategically, and economically tied to Anatolia and a part of Asia Minor.*”¹¹³ Instead, the book presents this as a normal detail. At the end of

¹¹³ Kızılyürek, Niyazi. “National Memory and Turkish-Cypriot Textbooks”. p. 390.

chapter 2, the first languages and scripts used in Cyprus are explained.

Chapter 3 discusses the Egyptians, the Hittites, the Greek colonies, the Phoenicians, the Assyrians, the Persians, Alexander the Great, and the Roman Empire in Cyprus. While the book examines these civilisations, the reader is continuously encouraged to think and analyse the information presented to them. However, in the old textbook, students were only invited to answer questions after the end of each chapter.

The final chapter of volume 1 begins with the Byzantine Empire in Cyprus and provides a general background as to how the Roman Empire was divided into two. Later, the book goes on to talk about the Orthodox Church in Cyprus and various Arab attacks. The following pages briefly explain the Isaac Commeneus in Cyprus, the British Empire, the Lusignans, and the Venetians in Cyprus. The book concludes with the Venetians.

The “new discursive strategy” is excellently highlighted at the end of the first volume. On page 73, a diagram illustrates “Who ruled Cyprus from 15 AD till the end of ancient times”. The diagram commences from 1450 AD and progresses onwards. As the diagram moves from one era to the next, the civilisation which ruled Cyprus during that period is stated. Hence, the Ottomans rule is presented as simply one of many civilisations that ruled Cyprus. In other words, the normalisation of the Ottomans rule in Cyprus signifies the fact that the new textbook does not ‘try to prove that’ “...*Cyprus is historically, geographically, strategically, and economically tied to Anatolia and a part of Asia Minor*¹¹⁴ as did the old book. Instead, the Ottomans rule is simply seen as an empire which once came to Cyprus and ruled the Island, as did other civilisations previously.

¹¹⁴ Kızılyürek, Niyazi. “National Memory and Turkish-Cypriot Textbooks”. p. 390.

In conclusion, on examination of the first volume of the *Cyprus History* textbook, it can be seen that the new book is better in terms of print quality, colour and page design. Pedagogically speaking, the new textbook does not follow the mainstream ‘teacher knows everything’ idea (Bailie 1997). Instead, there are many points in the book that students are encouraged to discuss amongst themselves, evaluate, and combine the taught subject with their ‘past’ information. The use of caricatures and other visual materials (i.e. pictures) assist in the learning process and allow for the students to gain a better understanding of the subject matter.

III b) Cyprus History Book, Volume II¹¹⁵

The second volume of the Cyprus history textbook consists of five chapters. Chapter One covers the Ottoman Empire in Cyprus and begins by explaining the motive behind the Ottomans arrival in Cyprus. Unlike the previous textbook, the reasons are presented in an objective way (pages 2-4). The book claims that the ‘major reason’ for the conquest of Cyprus (by the Ottomans), was a direct result of the pleading of the Orthodox Bishops to be saved from Venetian cruelty. This unit also mentions the dispute between the Grand Vezier Sokollu Mehmet Paşa and Vezier Lala Mustafa Paşa concerning the advantages of a conquest in Cyprus (p. 5).

Throughout pages 6 to 12, the necessary groundwork required by the Ottomans for the conquest of Cyprus is explained: The different ports from where the invasion was launched are illustrated using old maps and pictures and the settlement of the Ottomans is also explained in pages 13 and 14. A great majority of the Ottoman settlers were forced to leave their country and the notion of deportation as a method of settlement is discussed more comprehensively than in the

¹¹⁵ *Kıbrıs Tarihi, 2. Kitap: Ortaokullar İçin Tarih Kitabı*. KKTC Milli Eğitim ve Kültür Bakanlığı. Nicosia: 2005.

previous textbooks. The expulsion of Turkish criminals to Cyprus in subsequent years is also examined.

Chapter two describes the Administration and Social Life in Ottoman Cyprus, paying particular attention to the administrative divisions during various historical periods. Locus attacks, hunger and starvation are examples given to describe the hardships of Cypriots at that time (p. 18). The legal system that was adopted by the Ottomans is presented as fair due to the equal numbers of Muslim and non-Muslims representatives in the Sheria courts (p. 20). Furthermore, the Land and Tax Order is explained in pages 22 to 23 and the Öşür/Muslim tax and cizye/non-Muslim tax are illustrated with the use of caricatures (p. 23). The dialogue poses the question; ‘why does a Christian pay a different tax to a Muslim?’ This is a good example of the books attempt to highlight the discrepancies during the Ottoman era. This unit also reveals the corruption of the Ottoman officials in relation to tax collection, thus encouraging students to have a critical mind. In contrast, the previous textbooks were one-sided, referring only to the positive aspects of the Ottoman administration.

Educational and religious institutions and the functions of the Vakıfs are explained in the following section (pp. 24-29). Furthermore, Christian institutions and their religious representatives are also examined. The next section describes the common uprisings and rebellions by Turkish and Greek Cypriots, against the Ottoman rule (p. 31). In doing so, the textbook demonstrates a shared history, involving common concerns and cooperation between the two communities.

Chapter two portrays Cypriot society as a multicultural society, by addressing the social lives of Cypriots. The book goes on to explain that the religious, ethnic, cultural and linguistic differences of people did not lead to conflict. Family life, marriages, crimes and their punishments, property matters and relationships amongst different communities are discussed

on pages 32 to 36. Societal and religious objections to mixed marriages are also cited (p. 37). The textbook attempts to highlight the importance of mutual respect towards one another's culture and beliefs, and stresses the importance of a peaceful co-existence of the people of Cyprus. These messages are in striking contrast to the messages found in the old textbooks. The position of women in society is also given attention. Often, women and their own personal history are not addressed in history books.

Moreover, unlike the old book, the new textbook gives great precedence to the issue of social history. This is of fundamental importance because social history is a vital tool in de-nationalizing history. Instead of simply addressing the goal of building national identity (by simply teaching the history of one's nation), social history contributes to students' understanding of how people used to live in the past.

Volume II only contains two chapters relating to the Ottoman rule in Cyprus. Contrary to the former textbook, this theme does not dominate the whole book. Chapter Three proceeds to discuss the British rule and the role of Cyprus in the British Empire. The history of colonialism and the geo-strategic interests of the British Empire are stated in the beginning of this unit (pp. 41-45). The decrease in power of the Ottoman Empire and the Great Powers balance of power struggle are explained excellently by the use of interesting caricatures (pp. 46-47). Within this context, the importance of Cyprus for the British Empire is highlighted (pp. 48-49). Subsequently, the Congress of Berlin and the agreement of the Ottoman Empire with the British Empire (concerning the future of Cyprus) are addressed (pp. 50-51).

The next chapter concentrates on the arrival of the British to the island. Despite their (the British) fears there was no resistance from the locals (pp. 54-55). The nationalism movement in Europe and its manifestation in Cyprus; the

desire of some Greek nationalists to unite all Greek lands; ENOSIS and its so-called '*Megali Idea*' ambition are all explained within an international context. In doing so, the subject matter is normalized. Interesting, previously Turkish Cypriot textbooks purposely used the grammatically incorrect word MEGALO IDEA, which is more aggressive in its meaning. However, this book uses the correct word MEGALI IDEA (p. 55).

This section of the textbook (chapter 4), discusses the rise of nationalism as a global issue and not simply an ideology that was limited to Cyprus. This is strikingly different from the previous textbook. Moreover, Greek Cypriot/ Greek nationalism is not described as evil (pp. 55-56). Furthermore, the Greek and Turkish flags are presented side by side (p. 56), suggesting an equality of the two countries.

The divide and rule policy which was used in Cyprus in order to avoid any common struggle by the Cypriots against the British; the so-called democratization of Legislative Council (Kavanin Meclisi) in 1882 and its implication on the equality of the Cypriot communities are all explained with the use of caricatures. Moreover, on page 57 a diagram using scales proves an interesting way to explain the changing balance of power in the Kavanin Meclisi. By drawing on visual materials, students are encouraged to use critical thinking rather than absorbing various imposing ideas (p. 57).

The socio-economic conditions of Turkish and Greek Cypriots and the effect on Cypriot social life are described in the next section. Everyday experiences, common food, culture, music, customs, and common entertainments are highlighted. Furthermore, shared sufferings such as famine, epidemics, earthquakes, corrupt administrations and heavy taxes are also cited. The unit concludes by explaining that the real problem between the two communities did not emerge due to

differences in religion and language, but due to the political abuse of the communities by nationalist movements, as well as the divide and rule policy of the British (pp. 58-59). In addition, examples of various professions undertaken by Cypriots are illustrated with the aid of pictures, and no distinction between Greek or Turkish Cypriots is made (pp. 60-61).

The education system during the British rule, the role of the teachers, textbooks being produced in the respective motherlands and their contribution to the rising nationalism and conflict in Cyprus, are also highlighted (p. 65). The book goes on to illustrate Turkish Cypriot society and the development of a Turkish Cypriot identity. Furthermore, Turkish music and art, the Turkish Cypriot family structure, marriage ceremonies and rituals are portrayed on pages from 66 to 68. The contribution of the British to the island's infrastructure, railroad, harbour, road building, forestation, establishment of village cooperatives, department of Antiquities and the first press office are also described. In doing so the positive aspects of British colonialism are stated, this is a good example of multi-perspective history teaching.

The last chapter covers the First World War (WWI) and Cyprus. Reasons for WWI, the annexation of Cyprus by the British and the consequences of the war are discussed and explained throughout pages 72 and 73. The negative impact of the war on Cyprus, such as the emergency measures of the Colonial government and the deprivation of the economy are indicated. Unlike the previous textbook, the War of Independence in Turkey is only briefly mentioned in one paragraph. In the old textbook, the subject was given great coverage, including details of how the war was conducted. Instead, the new textbook discusses the position of Turkish Cypriots and their support by means of donations, therefore placing Cyprus at the core of the subject matter. The textbook

proceeds to explain how the “Greek Cypriots celebrated the Greek invasion of the Ottoman territories and that the Turkish Cypriots celebrated Mustafa Kemal’s victory” (p. 74). Even though the contrasting standpoints of the Turkish and Greek Cypriots are revealed, the book does so in a non provocative way.

Following this unit, the book discusses the conditions of the Lausanne Peace Treaty, Atatürk’s, “peace at home, peace in the world” policy and the rapprochement between Atatürk and Venizelos (p. 74). An open ended question is posed: “Do you think that this friendship would come to an end due to the Cyprus conflict?”, therefore, encouraging the reader to consider the topic further. The book also attempts to deal with the matter of whether Cyprus was negotiated in Lausanne and it points out that Turkey agreed to give up all its rights over Cyprus and accepted British sovereignty (p. 75).

Consequently, around 5,000 Turkish Cypriots immigrated to Turkey during the period 1924-1927. The Turkish Cypriots which remained in Cyprus demanded to rule Vakıfs, as well as their educational and religious institutions. Therefore, the need for organisation was paramount. Thus, the next topic of the textbook focuses on the leadership and organisation of Turkish Cypriots (p. 76). After Lausanne, the island fell solely into the British legislation. Due to these changing conditions, Turkish Cypriot members of the Legislative Council fell into conflict and divided into Kemalists and Conservatives (Evkafçılar). In contrast to the previous textbook, the new book exposes the dispute amongst the Turkish Cypriot elite at that time, instead of merely concentrating on the dispute between the Turkish and Greek Cypriots (pp. 76-79).

Following this, the 1931 Riot in Cyprus is described. The common social and economic hardships of the Cypriots are explained, as well as their joint vote in the Legislative

Council and the punishment of both communities by the British. However, the previous textbook had a completely different approach to this subject matter and placed all of the blame on the British administration in Cyprus. Furthermore, the old textbook suggested that the British treated the Turkish Cypriots unfairly, as they had not taken part in the riot. The previous textbook went on to accuse the Greek Cypriots for the heavy sentence imposed on the Turkish Cypriots. In contrast, the new textbook focuses on the common position and suffering of the two communities regarding the 1931 Riot.

III c) Cyprus History Book, Volume III¹¹⁶

Volume III of the Cyprus history textbooks, consists of 7 units including “The Second World War”; “The Cold War and Cyprus”; “The Big Problem in the Small World”; “A Solution for Cyprus Problem: The Republic of Cyprus”; “Difficult Years”; “New Era in Cyprus”; and, “The Cyprus Peace Movement”.

The first chapter explains the situation in Europe during the Second World War period and relates the issue to Cyprus by describing the social life of Cypriots at that time. The countries partaking in the War and the economic crisis that European countries faced are explained objectively. The words in the text are chosen and described carefully, such as totalitarianism, Nazism and fascism. Furthermore, the reader can understand how the people of Cyprus experienced the War. For example, in a caricature on page 15, a young Cypriot man decides to go and fight in the War and explains to his mother the reasons why he wants to go. Interestingly, this conversation takes place in Cypriot dialect, which was not even a matter for discussion in the old textbooks. Similarly, other examples

¹¹⁶ *Kıbrıs Tarihi, 3. Kitap: Ortaokullar İçin Tarih Kitabı*. KKTC Milli Eğitim ve Kültür Bakanlığı. Nicosia: 2005.

presented in the book, such as letters written by a Cypriot mother to her son, Cypriot women soldiers joining the Auxiliary Territorial Service of the British government, and a Cypriot man suffering due to the effects of war (p. 19, Resource 1), provide a general overview of the bitter experiences Cypriot people faced. Moreover, the Cypriot people are shown as a whole, rather than being divided into Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots.

Up until page 27, the textbook addresses the common experiences of the two communities (Turkish and Greek Cypriots) living in Cyprus. The book then turns its attention to the political situation during World War II. One can see how politics becomes a divisionary force. The subject matter is now largely explained from the Turkish Cypriot point of view. Resource 7, (p. 29) for example, shows a group of Turkish Cypriot people asking how Enosis could be prevented, however the concerns of Greek Cypriots are not taken into consideration. Yet, it should be noted that unlike the old textbooks, different sections of the Greek Cypriot community are described in this chapter. On page 30, one can see that the Greek Cypriots were not a uniform group, but in fact quite diverse: the different perspectives of AKEL and the Church are explained and this point is further illustrated through a caricature in resource 9. The textbook also features information regarding the Cypriot workers' organisations (including PEO), which were formed by the two main communities of Cyprus, and this common experience is highlighted with a picture in resource 11-13 (p. 31-32).

Chapter 2 discusses "The Cold War and Cyprus". Here, the Cold War is the main topic; however attention soon turns to Cyprus. On page 40, the main ideology of the Turkish and Greek Cypriots are explained without 'romanticising' the issue. Instead, the different political ideas of people are presented and examples are given highlighting the common social life of the

two communities; such as sports, cultural lives and social clubs. The discussion of sporting activities does not solely focus on the Turkish Cypriot community but also addresses the Greek Cypriot community. An example of this can be found on page 46, resource 1, which illustrates the bi-communal football team. The textbook goes on to explain how political tensions on the island affected sports. Interestingly, at the end of the chapter, pupils are asked whether or not it was a good thing that the political problems of the time intervened in sports activities. The question is posed in a very neutral way and encourages the pupils to think by asking to what extent they agree, don't agree and partly agree. Furthermore the students are asked to give reasons for their answers.

“The Big Problem in the Small World” is the title of the third chapter of the textbook. This section comparatively discusses the Turkish and Greek Cypriots as two separate ethnic communities and highlights their political differences. The textbook states that the major problems in Cyprus started after 1974. It then goes on to explain that the problems in Cyprus were not based on ethnic differences, but political differences. Turkish Cypriot nationalism is explained in a self-critical way. For example resource 11, page 66 shows how village names were changed to Turkish after 1974. The second half of the chapter discusses the social life of the Turkish Cypriot people, such as traditional weddings (p. 71); life in the villages (p. 74); eating traditions (p. 75); city life (p. 77); ceremonies at schools and bairams (p. 77-78).

Chapter 4 discusses the Republic of Cyprus. It begins with the Treaty of Guarantee and goes on to highlight the most important articles of the 1960 Constitution. In doing so, the textbook describes the experiences of the two main groups of people (in Cyprus) until 1963 and then attempts to verbalise the political views of the Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots separately (p. 84). It is interesting to note, that while explaining

the role of the media in this complex environment, the book gives the example of two Turkish Cypriot journalists, namely; Ayhan Hikmet and Ahmet Muzaffer Gurkan of the daily 'Republic'. These journalists were strong believers in the notion that the two main groups of people in Cyprus must live together in peace. Sadly, these journalists were killed by unknown persons. At the end of the chapter on page 90, a drawing illustrates the map of Cyprus crying and pondering 'why are we in this situation?' This emotional picture highlights the suffering of all Cypriots (Turkish and Greek). Furthermore, the reasons given do not lay blame solely with the Greek Cypriot, therefore not creating the idea of a single enemy.

When we come to Chapter 5, titled the "Difficult Years", the post-Republic years are explained from the Turkish point of view. This unit discusses the bitter experiences of the Turkish Cypriots, the political position of their leaders, and plans for a solution. Although the words have been carefully chosen in order not to trigger nationalistic feelings, the experiences of the Greek Cypriot people are not mentioned whatsoever. Nevertheless, the chapter does not only focus on the political issues of Cyprus, but also addresses the social life of the ordinary Cypriot people. For example, a sketch depicted by two Turkish Cypriot actors, explains what people were listening to on the radio on Sunday mornings. This sketch takes place using Karpasian dialect and the Cypriot words used are explained in a glossary (p. 109). The textbook goes on to discuss Cypriot musicians and the music clubs of the time. Therefore, in contrast to the old book, which was very biased in favour of the Turks and their experiences, the revised textbook addresses the social life of all Cypriots. Nevertheless, the period between 1964 and 1974 is described as particularly bad for the Turkish Cypriots.

Chapter 6 is titled “A New Era in Cyprus”. This chapter describes ‘the new era’ in Cyprus but not just in terms of Turkish Cypriots, but also acknowledges the lives of Greek Cypriots.

The last chapter deals with the “Cyprus Peace Movement”. This chapter describes how Turkey ‘saved’ the Turkish Cypriots (from the Greek Cypriots) and the subject matter is addressed from the Turkish point of view. Although the authors of the textbook appear to have attempted to remain as objective as possible, this may not be sufficient as the textbook still discusses the 1974 intervention from one perspective. Nevertheless, this chapter neither promotes hatred nor portrays the ‘other’ as the enemy. However, the very last chapter of the textbook bombards the reader with nationalistic feelings and sentiments.

To conclude, the third volume of the textbook begins by explaining the history of Cyprus from World War II in a very animated way. Many examples of the social lives of Cypriots and other Cypriot things such as common eating traditions; common sports clubs, workers’ solidarity and Cypriot dialect are presented to the reader. However, the textbook concludes with great emphasis on the Turkish Cypriot point of view, especially in term of describing the 1974 intervention of Cyprus by Turkey. Last but by no means least, it can be argued that the book does not use triggering words such as “the motherland Turkey”; “Greeks”; “Mehmetcik, the hero”, but instead attempts to explain plans for a solution of the two communities. Moreover, the textbook does attempt to address the suffering of Greek Cypriots. Whilst discussing the “movement”, the book explains that Greek Cypriots lost their relatives and loved ones; had to leave their homes and villages, highlighting the similarities of the suffering experienced by Turkish Cypriots in the 1960s.

IV) Visual Evaluation of the Cyprus History Textbooks: Talking Pictures

Children are often drawn to visual images rather than text; therefore the pictures in the revised textbooks are of fundamental importance. They should not be viewed as meaningless images or pretty pictures but rather as an additional method of transmitting a particular message. It is these messages that we must be concerned with. Thus, it is important to understand the purpose of the pictures in the textbooks and the possible effects they may have on their readers.

The revised textbooks contain many visual images including photographs, drawings and caricatures. The pictures are used as an additional learning tool and help to further explain and highlight important points. For example:

Book 1, P.35: There is a diagram illustrating the process involved in constructing a pyramid. A caricature of a girl accompanies the picture and asks “why did the Egyptians build pyramids?” An Egyptian looking caricature answers her, and explains that they were used to bury Emperors in.

The textbooks use of imagery is also a way of further engaging the young reader into the subject area. A caricature of a child asking questions or stating particular points, appear frequently. As a result, questions are placed in the child’s mind, therefore encouraging further reflection on a particular topic. The fact that the caricature is portrayed as a child also helps the young reader to identify with the image. Such imagery is not presented in a passive format but rather as a method of interacting with the reader. Interestingly, in Book 3 the child caricature does not appear. Instead, discussion points are raised and the reader is asked to discuss why they may agree, not agree or partially agree with a particular statement. In doing so, the child is encouraged to think for himself/herself

about a particular issue and consider the various arguments surrounding the subject matter. Thus the contents of the textbooks mature along with the readers.

Unlike written information, visual images allow for greater personal translation of a subject matter. For instance, when looking at a piece of art work, each individual will have his/her own interpretation of the art and what it means to them personally. However, the pictures in the textbooks are often accompanied by relevant text, therefore steering the reader towards a particular way of thinking about the image and as a result, partially restricting personal translation.

The front cover page of all three textbooks illustrates an outline of the map of Cyprus, therefore laying the groundwork of what the book involves. Furthermore, the reader is immediately able to identify with his/her homeland. This is further emphasised with the photographs on the back of the textbooks in which social aspects of Cyprus are presented.

Book 1: a turtle; Book 2: a Cypriot flower, Book 3: the central square in north Nicosia. All of the above exemplify “Cypriot-ness” and immediately create a sense of relationship with the subject matter.

However, once the textbook is open the child is introduced to the subject matter by way of the Turkish and ‘TRNC’ flag. The flags are presented side by side, implying that the two countries continually stand side by side in a natural sense of togetherness. Interestingly, the Turkish flag is presented first, thus ensuring the reader never forgets who is leading the northern part of Cyprus and further emphasizing the importance of the “motherland”. Directly under the flags is the National Anthem (which is the same for both the northern part of Cyprus and Turkey). This evokes feelings of nationalism and belonging to all things Turkish. This Turkish nationalism is further enhanced with a picture of Ataturk who portrays the image of real “Turkish-ness” to many Turkish

Cypriots. Interestingly, Ataturk never visited Cyprus during his life time. These nationalistic messages play on the consciousness of the child's mind and when reading the book he/she remembers that they are a Turk first and foremost and as such, should be proud to be one.

Despite the introductory nationalistic overtones, by and large the pictures contained in all three books attempt to provide a balanced view of Cyprus and are very informative.

The books contain numerous visual images portraying the social features of Cyprus, such as geographical aspects, nature and social activities. Such subject matters are presented using a variety of diagrams and photographs. As a result the child is able to make sense of Cyprus and its natural space and to identify with familiar features presented to them. For example:

Book 1, pp. 5-6: diagrams of various mountain formations are illustrated. Book 1 also contains many photographs of artefacts and archaeological discoveries in Cyprus which assist in explaining the history of Cyprus and how the history of the young reader's country has not always been concerned with the issue of Greek versus Turk.

Moreover, such geographical and social illustrations are linked with the national identity of Cyprus and not Turkey. Therefore, such visual images hold similar meanings to both Greek and Turkish school children as they can mutually identify with them.

Book 1, p. 2: Cyprus is shown in terms of its position on the world map, therefore placing it in a world context. Cyprus' proximity to Turkey or Greece is not highlighted as an important aspect.

The visual images used in the textbooks use a less ethnocentric approach than the previous textbooks. The premise of one culture and/or its people as being superior is less dominant. In fact, the revised textbooks attempt to portray

the Turkish and Greek culture as equally important. For example;

Book 1, pp. 56-57: A diagram stating the structure of the Orthodox Church in Cyprus during the middle ages. On the opposite side of the page a photograph of Hala Sultan Tekkesi with accompanying text is shown. Such visual presentations imply that the two religions (although different) are of equal importance.

Book 1, p 4: A map of Cyprus is presented highlighting various places using both Turkish and Greek names for certain areas.

Images such as those mentioned above highlight an important notion; that although Turks and Greeks may have differences in their culture, (such as religion and language) this does not mean that one culture is more superior to the other. Instead, the textbooks use of imagery implies that these differences should be understood and respected.

As well as highlighting the differences between Turkish and Greek culture and people, the pictures in the textbooks also endeavour to draw attention to the similarities between the two communities.

Book 2, p.60–62: Photographs illustrating Cypriots performing various occupations (such as a grape seller and a musician).

The people photographed are not identified as being either Turkish or Greek but as Cypriot. Thus, the notion of “us” (Turks) and “those” Greeks is not depicted and feelings of nationalism are not steered towards being Turkish, but instead being Cypriot. Moreover, a typically Cypriot way of life is presented and the activities and experiences of Cypriot people are illustrated. Thus the cooperation amongst Turks and Greeks in everyday life is given greater precedence than the political conflict between the two communities

Furthermore, the textbooks go one step further in terms of illustrating Turks and Greeks living and working together.

Book 3, p. 22: A photograph of Turkish and Greek men serving in the Cyprus army.

Book 3, p. 31: A photograph illustrating Turkish and Greek Cypriots working in the coal mines in Lefke together.

Book 3, p. 46: A photograph of a Cypriot football team in 1955 having both Turkish and Greek players.

Such photographs verbalise not only that the two communities worked and lived together, but they actually fought on the same side against the “other” i.e. in war and in football.

The notion of the “other” in the old textbooks was of principle importance in terms placing the two communities against each other. However, although there still is an element of the “other” in the revised textbooks, the “other” now seems to be depicted as the English. Furthermore, the English are portrayed as the enemy of the Cypriots, thus placing Turks and Greeks as being on the same side.

Book 2, p. 72: A Turkish Cypriot and Greek are shown having the same thought about Cyprus and Britain; “What is going to happen now?”

From the onset, the subject of Cyprus and Great Britain presents the English as “bad”.

Book 2, p. 42: An illustration of a “white” man holding a whip with two “darker skinned” men in chains carrying barrels. Such an image presents the English as the “enemy” and a nation which treats others badly. Furthermore it portrays the English as racist and suggests a new conflict; “white” versus “dark”.

Although it is true that the English did have slaves, the picture is not shown in context to the issue of slavery and is not relevant to the text on the page. Secondly, the aforementioned

illustration is the first picture to be shown of the English, thus establishing the notion of the English as “evil” from the onset.

Book 2, p. 58: A picture of an English man standing in a dominating fashion in what appears to be a uniform, addresses both a Turkish and Greek man. The positioning of the three men is important as the English man is portrayed as commanding the discussion. Furthermore, the visual appearance of the Turkish and Greek man is the same (both physically and in dress) and the only way to differentiate between them is by the text labelling them “Rum” and “Turk”. Hence, from a visual perspective the notion of being a Cypriot is given greater precedence than the political agenda of the two communities. The Greek man is shown to be wishing for Enosis and declaring the desire to have more Greeks in parliament (and the proportion should be calculated on the basis of the population). On the other hand the Turkish man is thinking that the ideal scenario would be for the English to leave Cyprus and that the Island be given back to its real owners (the Ottomans). Furthermore, the Turkish man is saying that he wants equality. Although the two men are thinking different things, they are presented as looking the same because they are Cypriots. Again the diagram is highlighting the similarities between Turks and Greeks because they are Cypriots, as well as identifying their differences. Furthermore, the English man is presented as the “enemy” of both men, as he is shown to be the manipulator of the two communities as he sympathises with the Greeks desire for Enosis whilst expressing a desire for the Turks to collaborate with the English to minimise the Greeks’ power. Thus both the Turks and Greeks are portrayed as being in the position of the “victim”.

This premise of the English being the reason for the division between the Turkish and Greek communities (in Cyprus) is further enhanced in;

Book 3, p. 59: A diagram of a hand with the British flag on its sleeve dividing two groups of people in the middle.

The Turks are also presented as victims in other visual images in the textbooks;

Book 2, p. 45: An Osmanli figure is being pulled on one arm by the English and on the other by the Russians. Furthermore, this once again emphasises the notion of the “enemy” (English).

In the previous textbooks the imagery used was very emotive e.g. soldiers, tanks, dead bodies, graveyards etc. This led to a clear division of “us” (Turks) and “those” Greeks, “good” versus “evil”. Thus, children learnt to fear the enemy (Greeks) and in doing so, feelings of nationalism were formed.

The images in the new textbooks are very different. Although the books contain some images of the suffering incurred by the Turks, (due to conflict between Turks and Greeks, the imagery used is not as emotive and the pictures are very few. Examples of such imagery are;

Book 3, p. 55: A photograph showing a building on fire and the accompanying text explains that this is due to the activities of EOKA. Interestingly, this photograph is quite small and has not been enlarged, which perhaps would have had a greater psychological effect on the young readers mind.

Book 3, p 57: A picture with accompanying text which explains that the incidents in Izmir and Istanbul led to several Greek citizens of Turkey having to leave Turkey. Hence the suffering of the Greeks is also presented. Interestingly this photograph is larger than the photograph mentioned above.

Book 3, p. 92: A photograph depicting an event that took place on 21st December 1963. Blood can be seen on the pavement but no dead bodies are shown.

Book 3, p. 93: A photograph with accompanying text shows people having to live in tents in Küçük Kaymaklı.

Although the image illustrates the displacement of some of the Turkish people, it does not show the destruction of their previous homes, which perhaps may have had a more profound psychological effect on a child's mind.

Book 3, p. 63: Two pictures depict a demonstration by Turks in which they shouted "Divide or Die". The text explains that the English police attacked the demonstrators with tear gas and seven people were killed. It goes on to explain that the English police were wearing protective clothing. Yet again the English are presented as "evil" and the enemy of the Turks.

In fact, some of the most emotive visual images to feature in the textbooks are those of wars which took place in other parts of the world and are not related with Cyprus.

Book 3, p. 12: There are two photographs depicting people's lives in England during World War II. One photograph shows two women wearing gas masks as they talk and carry out domestic chores. The other photograph highlights numerous people sleeping on the floor of an underground station.

Book 3, p. 13: A photograph shows a scene from Hiroshima after an atom bomb has exploded.

Book 3, p. 14: A photograph illustrates the devastation caused in Germany after an air bomb.

These photographs assist the child in understanding that people suffered all over the world because of war and that the issue of war and conflict is not specific to Cyprus.

As mentioned previously, the notion of commonality between the Turks and Greeks is greatly emphasised in the textbooks, especially in a social context. However, the idea of commonality is further enhanced in relation to the issue of war. War is presented as being a common experience shared by Cypriots and as such the effects of war are shown to affect all Cypriot people. Cypriots are presented as a collective group

and Cyprus is placed in the centre of the subject matter.

Furthermore, the textbooks approach to the issue of war uses a humanist approach.

Book 3, p. 18: A photograph illustrating Cypriot women soldiers looking eagerly at a newspaper for news of peace. This photograph highlights a common desire amongst Cypriots regardless of being Turkish or Greek.

Book 3, p. 19: An illustration shows a man (not identified as being either Turkish or Greek) sitting and contemplating the effects of war. He is presented as being a victim of war and he worries “war, destitution, unemployment...where will it end?”

Book 3, p. 15: A drawing depicts a conversation between a mother and her son. The woman is portrayed as being a typical Cypriot village woman, thus not restricting the image to being Turkish or Greek. Furthermore the language in the text uses Cypriot dialect. The nature of the conversation is also not specific to being Turkish or Greek, but being Cypriot. The woman asks her son if he is stupid to want to go and fight in the war and the son replies that he is not stupid as the English are providing many benefits to those who decide to join the army, and he goes on to list them. For example: a good wage, free room and board, a uniform, medical and dentistry care. The mother replies, asking her son if it is worth it. Depending on one’s personal interpretation of the text, the English can either be viewed as being “good or “bad”. If the text is taken literally then the benefits may be interpreted as being very positive. However, some readers may see this illustration as another example of the English as the “enemy”. Firstly, the conversation is emotionally driven and this is further enhanced as the conversation takes place between a mother and her son. Moreover, the previous illustrations of the English in the textbooks have generally not presented them in a positive light. Hence the reader may see the list of benefits as a

bribe by the English to recruit Cypriot men to fight “their” war, thus not risking the lives of English men.

Nevertheless, perhaps one of the most fascinating visual images to be found in the revised textbooks can be found in;

Book 3, p. 90: A drawing illustrates the map of Cyprus crying and pondering “Why are we in this situation?” Several reasons are given; secret gangs, biased press, nationalistic messages by Turkey and Greece, speeches from politicians, the 1966 Akritas Plan and its aims and nationalistic Turks and Greeks which caused distrust between the two communities.

Firstly, the crying map of Cyprus suggests that all the people of Cyprus have suffered, not just the Turkish Cypriots. Furthermore, the reasons given do not lay blame with a single group and as such do not create the idea of a single enemy. The old notion of “us” (Turks) versus “them” (Greeks) is not addressed. Moreover, specific segments of both the Turkish and Greek population and their establishments are held responsible for the current problems in Cyprus today. Thus, countries (Turkey, Greece and England) political agendas and political figures are presented as the main cause of the division of Cyprus. Therefore, stressing that the majority of Cypriot people are not to blame for the “Cyprus Problem.”

Interestingly, the textbooks highlight a prominent division in Greek politics by stressing the division between The Greek Church and AKEL.

Book 3, p. 30: A diagram presents an Orthodox bishop and a man from AKEL in conflict. The bishop proclaims that the Church wants Enosis and the man from AKEL says that they also want Enosis, and asks why they are fighting then?

Book 3, p. 54: A drawing of a bishop beating a man from AKEL with a stick. The man from AKEL is shown to have been hit on the head and to have a black eye. The bishop is standing behind a door labelled Enosis. The drawing stresses the importance and power of the Greek Cypriot Church in

politics. Furthermore the man from AKEL is shown as the “victim” due to his injuries. Thus, the textbooks highlight the notion of division amongst the “other” and hence the differentiation of the “other” is suggested.

In conclusion, the imagery used in the revised textbooks has been thoughtfully chosen in order to cover many aspects of Cyprus and Cypriot studies (social, geography and history). Furthermore, much care seems to have been taken in order to utilize visual images which present a balanced view of the “Cyprus problem”, as well as being informative. The aforementioned changes go a long way in assisting peace and understanding between the Turkish and Greek Cypriot communities. This is a vital step in the right direction in terms of educating the young people of Cyprus; textbooks which highlight the similarities between the Turkish and Greek communities but also attempt to explain and make sense of their differences. As a result the children of Cyprus will learn respect and tolerance, instead of fear and hostility.

V) Conclusions

History is an important subject in any country's national curriculum. But its significance is even greater in countries where ethnic tension is still present. The essence of good history teaching should involve the respect, tolerance and understanding of others - as well as creating an awareness of one's identity. Whilst studying history, pupils have the opportunity to understand their past, which in turn helps them to make sense of their present situation. History (if taught well) should also promote an analytical form of thinking and encourage a questioning approach to society.

Having conducted a textual and visual analysis of the old and new history textbooks used in lower secondary schools in the Turkish Cypriot Community, it is apparent that history textbooks have gone through a fundamental change. The previous textbooks (written by Dr. Vehbi Zeki Serter) contained many nationalistic themes that encouraged students to view the "other" (Greek Cypriots) as the "enemy". The head of the Turkish Cypriot Education Planning and Programme Development department, Dr Hasan Alicik pointed out in an interview with Simon Bahceli for the Cyprus Mail newspaper, that "in one part of the book (the old history textbook), it describes how the Greek Cypriots gouged out the eyes, filled bodies with holes etc. This kind of language, as well as breeding hatred, can also cause lasting psychological damage to the young reader"¹¹⁷. Such emotive language and descriptions of brutality (by Greek Cypriots towards Turkish Cypriots) are not found in the new books. Moreover, the old textbooks did not allow for the questioning of events, nor did they make allowances for the "other's" point of view.

¹¹⁷ For more information see the Cyprus Mail (archive article – Thursday, 15 July 2004) *Making History* by Simon Bahceli.

One of the most significant changes in the new textbooks is the promotion of Cyprus as the country of all Cypriots. Serter's book was written from the ideological perspective that 'Cyprus is a geographical extension of Anatolia'. In Serter's book, Cypriot history would always be tied to Turkey, thereby rejecting the idea of Cyprus having its own personal history from the onset. However, the new books are written from a different perspective: The different ethnic communities of Cyprus are presented as communities whose history, culture and even language is tied to the island of Cyprus, rather than Turkey (or Greece). This paves the way for a new form of thinking, which is vital if students are to fully understand their past and present situation, while at the same time enabling them to empathise with other communities on the island. The new textbooks talk in terms of the former, whilst the old book attempted to prove the latter.

Moreover, the new textbooks provide students with an opportunity to make sense of their social history, which we see as imperative if they are to form an identity for themselves based on the country that they live in. Despite the conflicts that have occurred in the past, students are encouraged to feel proud of their homeland and to learn about their own culture.

It is not only the subject content that is strikingly different in the new textbooks, but also the teaching style – a factor paramount to the approach and content of the textbooks. The old books were written and used in a style where the teacher simply reads from the book, and students listen and digest the information. However, the new textbooks are written from a student-centred perspective. Information is provided to students, but they are encouraged to formulate their own perspective of events. This is important for various reasons. Firstly, it represents an important step in terms of peace education by helping students form an objective view of history (personal interpretation of events is given greater

precedence). Secondly, by encouraging students to question events from differing perspectives, they develop an analytical and critical way of thinking about the world they live in.

The student centred approach found in the new textbooks is supported through the use of visual materials. Pictures, photographs and caricatures help to engage the reader further into the subject matter and emphasise important points. Moreover, the caricatures in the books are presented in the form of a question and answer conversation, which again promotes an analytical approach.

However, we felt that the contents of new textbooks failed in one very important aspect, and that is that there is no mention of other minorities living in Cyprus, such as the Cypriot Armenians, Maronities and Latin populations. Therefore, their experiences are not considered, which risks the interpretation that they are of lesser importance.

Findings from the workshops

From the analysis, it is clear that the revised history textbooks are a positive step towards peace education and a more balanced approach to history. However, the revision of history textbooks is only one element of a much greater challenge. Therefore, the research team organized three workshops (in Nicosia, Famagusta and Kyrenia) in order to fully grasp how the textbooks have been received in schools. Although the majority of teachers that attended the workshops saw the revised textbooks as a positive change, they also spoke of the various problems that they had experienced in terms of using them.

Positive responses from teachers included: “In the old books, one would see blood and hatred. In the new textbooks, one can see examples of joint demonstrations by Greek and Turkish Cypriot workers at the Lefke mines. And pupils are shocked when they hear this story. Students are also surprised

to hear that the population of the Island experienced bad economic conditions in the past. Therefore, we must teach common events and experiences to our pupils.” Another teacher expressed; “I as a higher secondary school teacher (11th grade), taught the 6th grade lower secondary school history textbook in my class. Through this book, pupils learnt that Cyprus history does not start in 1571, but in 9000 BC. They also learnt that Cyprus history is a compact matter and not separate for both communities living on the island.”

However, the teachers spoke mainly of the problems they experienced in terms of using the revised textbooks. One of the major problems was in relation to the limited time allocated to the teaching of Cyprus history. “We don’t have much time to teach the book. We have only 40 minutes a week and we don’t have a chance to use the caricatures and the other exercises in the textbooks,” one teacher commented, adding that because the education ministry had drastically reduced the amount of curriculum time for teaching history, teachers had been forced to “complete 4 chapters in a limited time period. Because of this, most teachers simply highlight the most important parts of the book.”

Thus, although the books are intended to be taught using a student-centred approach, time constraints mean that such an approach is not actually possible in the classroom. Instead, a teacher centred style of education is still taking place.

Moreover, important subject matters are being omitted because it is not possible for teachers to discuss all the information contained in the books. Therefore, teachers use their autonomy to select subject areas they personally believe to be the most important. This is problematic, as the teachers themselves have their own viewpoint of Cyprus history. Some may be very conservative in their approach, while others may be too eager for change.

As such, the information contained in the textbooks actually goes through a screening process before it is transmitted to the pupils. Moreover, the subject matter is not free from the personal perspectives of the teachers. However, if more time was allocated to the teaching of Cyprus history, then the entire content of the books could be covered, allowing students to formulate their own perspective on varying events.

From the workshops it also became apparent that teachers had received no training in light of the new textbooks. Neither was a manual provided. The teachers, being more used to teacher centered teaching methods; prefer to stick to the old ways, which are obviously not in line with the revised textbooks. Therefore, although teachers have been equipped with an important tool (the revised textbooks) they do not have the technique to be able to use the books effectively.

Moreover, the teachers complained that no supplementary materials had been provided to them (such as maps and videos), which they believe would be most beneficial in supporting the courses. As one teacher pointed out; “the books are well written, but the physical infrastructure is not sufficient“.

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