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History Education in Divided Cyprus:
A Comparison of Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot Schoolbooks on the "History of Cyprus"

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HISTORY EDUCATION
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YIANNIS PAPADAKIS

PRIO Report 2/2008

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FOREWORD

PRIO's mission in Cyprus is to contribute to an informed public debate on key issues relevant to an eventual settlement of the Cyprus problem. We hope to achieve this by disseminating information, providing new analysis and facilitating dialogue. The PRIO Cyprus Centre wishes to stimulate research cooperation and debates between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots, as well as within each of the two communities, and in the international society.

PRIO is therefore pleased to present PRIO Report 2/2008, written by Dr. Yiannis Papadakis, the author of *Echoes from the Dead Zone: Across the Cyprus Divide* (2005). Papadakis has studied history text books, both Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot, and has engaged with history teachers from the island's two main communities during his research. His comparisons are eminently interesting from both an academic and a political point of view. With a solution to the Cyprus problem once more in sight, at least as a distinct possibility, there are a range of challenges for peaceful coexistence that require attention and debate. Cultures of education need to be seriously studied, and educational reform may play a fundamental role in Cyprus's approach to globalization, and in the relationship between the communities on the island. History education today and tomorrow will influence how the coming generations in Cyprus will understand themselves and their relations to others for many decades to come.

This is the seventh report from the PRIO Cyprus Centre since it opened in 2005, but the first to specifically address education and how history is taught in the two parts of Cyprus. The report builds on our tradition of critical examination and comparison of the situation in the Cypriot communities.

The draft for this report went through an extensive peer review process to ensure that it met the highest factual and academic standards. However, as always, the views expressed in the PRIO Report are the author's own. They do not engage PRIO as an institution.

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INTRODUCTION

Depending on the sociohistorical context, the goals of history education may range from the inculcation of national identity to the propagation of moral and political positions, the exploration of otherness, the creation of empathy and presentation of diverse viewpoints, or historical analysis and the promotion of critical thinking, among others.[1] However, in many societies, especially those divided through ethnonational conflicts, history is often used to propagate a narrative focusing on the suffering of the nation and to legitimate its political goals. The suffering of others is silenced, their historical existence is questioned, and socio-cultural interactions are ignored. This has been how the "History of Cyprus" has been presented in the history schoolbooks of the two parts of the island. A new approach to history teaching has been undertaken since 2004 by a newly elected to power Turkish Cypriot leftist party (CTP), an approach that (it states) aims to develop a culture of peace while highlighting cultural interactions, internal divisions, and discontinuities. This is an interesting development for reasons both theoretical and political. How is a history that includes internal divisions to be written? And especially one that would indicate internal violence within each side – in contrast to standard approaches presenting monolithic constructions of Self and Other, where the Other is always the aggressor? What events, periods, principles and perspectives ignored in earlier approaches are highlighted now? Can there be a meaningful story from the perspective of more than one protagonist?

The standard nationalist historical narrative posits the nation as a homogeneous primordial entity, while, significantly, the new Turkish Cypriot approach traces the emergence of national identity in Cyprus during the 19th and 20th centuries following a social-constructivist paradigm.[2] This historical model has interesting implications for the notions of memory and trauma, blame and retribution, as well as for allowing for the possibility of making choices regarding political allegiance in the present. In contrast, the standard model of history education employed in both parts of Cyprus has been obsessively pursuing what has been called an "identification stance," that is, "stories of national origins and historic

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An earlier, shorter version of this report was published as: Yiannis Papadakis, "Narrative, Memory and History Education in Divided Cyprus: A Comparison of History Books on the 'History of Cyprus,'" *History and Memory,* 20, no. 2, 2008: 128-148.

[1] For comprehensive analyses of the methods and aims of history education see: Keith Barton and Linda Levstik, *Teaching History for the Common Good* (New Jersey, 2004); Peter Seixas, ed., *Theorizing Historical Consciousness* (Toronto, 2004); Peter Sterns, Peter Seixas and Sam Wineburg, eds., *Knowing, Teaching and Learning History: National and International Perspectives* (New York, 2000).

[2] For a comprehensive discussion of the primordialist and social-constructivist models see Anthony Smith, *The Nation in History: Historiographical Debates about Ethnicity and Nationalism* (Hanover, 2000).

turning points [that] can create a sense of group membership and allegiance and historic societal achievements [that] can be used to justify contemporary social arrangements or political actions."[3] This entails the use of the narrative form whereby a single actor, the nation, is present from beginning to end as the story's protagonist, which students are called to identify with in all its glory or suffering. History is presented as a grand narrative of national achievements and struggles, with the national community emerging as the only possible choice of political allegiance. As will be more fully argued in the conclusion, this approach collapses the vital (in historical terms) distinction between past and present and denies the possibility of choosing the political community one can belong to in the present.[4]

The recent history of Cyprus has been marked by multiple conflicts and foreign interventions, which provide the socio-political context within which the books under discussion were produced. A basic outline of the island's recent political history, highly contested though it is, is necessary as background. A word of caution regarding the limitations and methodology of this study is equally necessary. Discussing the history of Cyprus is akin to stepping into a political and academic minefield, given that most works were written by Greek Cypriot, Turkish Cypriot, Greek, Turkish or British authors in periods of intense violence. Most authors, implicitly or explicitly, used history for the legitimation of their own side's political objectives, and the rejection of others' objectives.[5] That I am not a historian, but a Greek Cypriot social anthropologist, poses additional challenges. In this report I employ a comparative approach as a critical device of defamiliarisation, and I use a theoretical discussion to indicate the structural problems and limitations of the historical narratives presented in history books by focusing on the *underlying ideological principles* guiding their representations of history. For analysis of the history books, I have drawn on UNESCO's guidelines for textbook research, which stress the importance of qualitative analysis to "reveal underlying assumptions."[6] For this reason, this study focuses more on books that present the whole of history from "beginning to end," since this enables

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[3]   Barton and Levstik, *Teaching History,* 45.

[4]   Barton and Levstik, *Teaching History,* 49, 62-63.

[5]   For general critiques of the British and Greek Cypriot approaches to the history of Cyprus see: Michael Given, *Symbols, Power and the Construction of City-Kingdoms of Archaic and Classical Cyprus* (Ph.D. diss., University of Cambridge, 1991); Michael Given, "Star of the Parthenon, Cypriot Melange: Education and Representation in Colonial Cyprus," *Journal of Mediterranean Studies* 7, no. 1 (1997): 59-82; Yiannis Papadakis, *Perceptions of History and Collective Identity: A Study of Contemporary Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot Nationalism* (Ph.D. diss., University of Cambridge, 1993), 25-51. For general critiques of Greek Cypriot schoolbooks on the history of Cyprus see: Loris Koullapis, "*Ideologikoi Prosanatolismoi tis Ellinokypriakis Ekpaidevsis me Emphasi sto Mathima tis Istorias*"[Ideological Orientations of Greek Cypriot Education with Emphasis on the Lesson of History], *Syghrona Themata,* nos. 68-69-70 (1998-1999): 276-296; Loris Koullapis, "The Subject of History in the Greek Cypriot Educational System: A Subset of the Greek Nation," in Christina Koullouri, ed., *Clio in the Balkans: The Politics of History Education* (Thessaloniki, 2002), 406-422; AKTI, *Ekthesi gia ta Vivlia Istorias kai Logotechnias tis Ektis Dimotikou se Schesi me tin Proothisi tis Vias kai tou Ethnikismou* [Report on History and Literature Books of 6th Grade Primary Schools in Relation to Issues of Violence and Nationalism] (Nicosia, 2004). For general critiques of Turkish Cypriot approaches to history and of schoolbooks see: Niyazi Kizilyürek, "National Memory and Turkish Cypriot Textbooks," in Christina Koullouri, ed., *Clio in the Balkans: The Politics of History Education* (Thessaloniki, 2002), 431-442; POST, *Pilot Application for the History and Literature Books of the 5th Grade of the Elementary School* (Nicosia, 2004); POST, *Textual and Visual Analyses of Lower Secondary School History Textbooks: Comparative Analysis of the Old and the New Textbooks* (Nicosia, 2007).

[6]   Falk Pingel, *UNESCO Guidebook on Textbook Research and Textbook Revision* (Hannover, 1999), 45.

examination of (the whole) narrative, the key analytical tool employed here.[7] The key principles of analysis adopted from the UNESCO handbook involve the examination of: terms, context and boundaries; the representation of group identity; continuity, legitimacy and exclusion; and history's characters/protagonists.[8]

Three centuries of Ottoman rule in Cyprus were succeeded by British colonialism in 1878. The 20th century witnessed the gradual rise, first, of Greek nationalism and, later, of Turkish nationalism, with Greek Cypriots supporting *enosis*, the Union of Cyprus with Greece, and Turkish Cypriots demanding *taksim*, the partition of Cyprus. From 1955 the Greek Cypriot struggle was led by an armed organization called EOKA [National Organisation of Cypriot Fighters], and in 1958 Turkish Cypriots set up their own armed group called TMT [Turkish Resistance Organization]. In 1960, Cyprus became an independent state, the Republic of Cyprus, with a population of 80% Greek Cypriots and 18% Turkish Cypriots, an outcome that frustrated both communities' political goals. Both ethnic groups continued to pursue their separate objectives and in 1963 inter-ethnic fighting broke out in Cyprus. This continued intermittently until 1967, with Turkish Cypriots bearing the heavier cost in terms of casualties and around a fifth of their population being displaced. With the rise to power in Greece of a military junta, the Greek Cypriot leadership gradually edged away from Union with Greece and sought instead to preserve the independence of Cyprus from attempts by Athens to dictate politics, and to solve the inter-communal dispute. While armed confrontations between Turkish and Greek Cypriots ceased after 1967, a new conflict developed – this time among Greek Cypriots. With the support of the Greek junta, a small group of right-wing extremists calling itself EOKA B staged a coup in 1974 against the island's President, Archbishop Makarios, in order to bring about Union. This led to a military offensive by Turkey dividing the island, followed by population displacements of most Greek Cypriots to the south and Turkish Cypriots northwards. Greek Cypriots suffered the most in terms of people killed, missing and all other social traumas of war and dislocation, with around one-third of a total of 600,000 Greek Cypriots displaced to the southern side. Around 45,000 Turkish Cypriots were also displaced to the northern side. In 1983, the Turkish Cypriot authorities unilaterally declared the establishment of their own state in northern Cyprus, the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC), which has since remained internationally unrecognized except by Turkey. For much of the 20th century another conflict persisted, this time within each ethnic group between forces of the Right and the Left, each with its own record of violence against the Left.

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[7] All major Turkish Cypriot schoolbooks on the history of Cyprus in use until 2006 when this study ends are discussed here. The main Greek Cypriot schoolbooks discussed are the primary level schoolbooks for 5th and 6th grade aimed at eleven- and twelve-year-old students and the secondary level book for high school (Gymnasium). This book is a summary of all the other secondary level schoolbooks that cover specific periods: Koullapis, "Ideologikoi Prosanatolismoi," 281.

[8] Pingel, *UNESCO Guidebook,* 24, 26, 27, 47.

Chapter 1

GREEK CYPRIOT AND TURKISH CYPRIOT SCHOOLBOOKS: REFLECTIONS OF ETHNIC NATIONALISM

Despite their different political goals, the two nationalisms that emerged in Cyprus shared the same form, namely, an ethnic nationalism[9] stressing common history, descent, language, culture and religion with the people of the "motherlands" Turkey and Greece. Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots were only taught the history of Greece and the history of Turkey respectively, while the history of Cyprus was only relatively recently introduced and with considerably less time allotted.[10] On the Greek Cypriot side, the history of Cyprus has been presented as an extension of the history of Greece, and on the Turkish Cypriot side as an extension of the history of Turkey.[11]

Greek Cypriot Schoolbooks

The general framework and basic principles of the Greek Cypriot schoolbooks are derived from the dominant model of the history of Greece. This model posits three key periods: ancient Greece, medieval Greece (the "glorious Byzantine Empire"), and modern Greece (the creation of the Greek state during the 19th and 20th centuries). Emphasis is placed on ancient Greece as the beginning of history, succeeded by "foreign domination" until the rise of the Byzantine Empire (treated as a glorious "Greek" empire) and finally liberation from the "Turkish yoke."[12] "Hellenism" is the transcendental, transhistorical category informing this historical discourse, which posits the historical continuity of Hellenism from ancient to modern times. Turks emerge as Hellenism's barbaric archenemy according to this historical narrative. The cover of the Greek primary school history textbook (Image 1) on the history of Greece starkly illustrates this. It presents a group of Greek fighters against a background of Turks holding Greeks captive, while one Turk wields a curved sword ready to behead them.

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[9] Anthony Smith, *National Identity* (London, 1991).

[10] See Koullapis, *"Ideologikoi Prosanatolismoi";* and Kizilyrek, "National Memory."

[11] See Koullapis, "The Subject of History"; and Kizilyrek, "National Memory."

[12] For comprehensive critical discussions of Greek history schoolbooks see Anna Frangoudaki and Thalia Dragona, eds, *"Ti ein' i Patrida mas?" Ethnokentrismos stin Ekpaidevsi* "[What is Our Country? Ethnocentrism in Education"] (Athens, 1997). For critical comparative discussions of Greek and Turkish schoolbooks see: Iraklis Millas, *Eikones Ellinon kai Tourkon: Scholika Vivlia, Istoriografia, Logotechnia kai Ethnika Stereotypa* [Images of Greeks and Turks: Schoolbooks, Historiography, Literature and National Stereotypes] (Athens, 2001); Loris Koullapis, "The Presentation of the Period 1071-1923 in Greek and Turkish Textbooks Between 1950-2000," *International Textbook Research* 24, no. 3 (2002): 279-304.

Image 1. Source: OEDB, Sta Neotera Hronia- Istoria St Dimotikou,
(Athens, n.d.), front cover.

"Cyprus is and has been Greek and nothing but Greek" is the message conveyed by the cover of the major Greek Cypriot primary-level schoolbook on the history of Cyprus, which shows a row of ancient columns (Image 2); as for its people: "Cypriots were and are Christian Orthodox."[13] This book covers the Roman period to the present, thus presenting the most complete narrative of the whole of the history of Cyprus in primary school.[14] From the start it subsumes the history of Cyprus within the history of Greece with the two first sections entitled "The Conquest of Greece by the Romans" followed by "The Conquest of Cyprus by the Romans." This and the other Greek Cypriot schoolbooks to be discussed follow the periodisation of history, a precedent established for recounting the history of Greece, by presenting history "from above" as a succession of empires/rulers with the

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[13] Andreas Polydorou, *Istoria tis Kyprou* [History of Cyprus] (Nicosia, 1991), 58. That the cover photo actually shows Roman columns (as the book indicates inside) is a point that primary school students could hardly grasp since columns are immediately associated with ancient Greek monuments. For the most detailed critiques of this book, which also support the findings presented here see: AKTI, *Ekthesi gia ta Vivlia Istorias;* Kalypso Charalampous and Elena Mihi, *O Ethnikos Eaftos kai o Ethnikos Allos sto Egheiridio Istorias Andrea Polydorou* [The National Self and National Other in the History Schoolbook of Andreas Polydorou], unpublished study for the requirements of the MA in Education, University of Cyprus (Nicosia, 2006). I would like to note that this and all other translations from Greek or Turkish are my own.

[14] Earlier historical periods are covered in previous primary school classes.

adjective –*kratia* (domination) signifying oppression, used for everyone but (ancient) Greeks or Byzantines, as in *Frangokratia, Enetokratia, Tourkokratia, Agglokratia* (Frankish, Venetian, Turkish, and English Domination). In all the books, "Cypriot Hellenism" is the central actor of history from beginning to end.
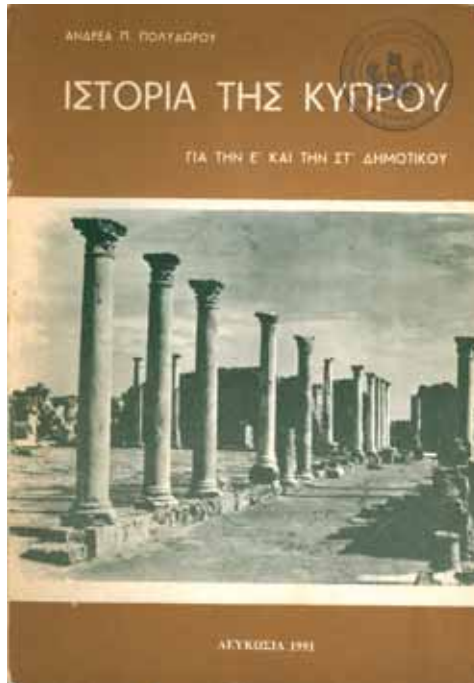

Image 2. Source: Andreas Polydorou,
Istoria tis Kyprou (Nicosia, 1991), front cover.

All the books employ the term Cypriots *(Kyprioi)* as equivalent to Greeks *(Ellines),* often within the same sentence or paragraph. As Koullapis rightly argued, "this practice inculcates in the historical consciousness of Greek Cypriots the belief that from the period of the Mycenaeans to the present there have never been any other indigenous population groups except the Greeks or, at the very least, that the presence of any Others was and is parasitic."[15] As a secondary-level schoolbook states in the foreword: "Many peoples passed over Cyprus or conquered her… But its inhabitants safeguarded its Hellenic character created since the Mycenaeans settled in Cyprus…"[16] This "Hellenisation thesis," reproduced in all relevant schoolbooks, has attracted considerable academic critique, although mainly

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[15] Koullapis, *"Ideologikoi Prosanatolismoi,"* 283. As Koullapis also argues, this practice has been employed in all history books. For examples of this practice see Polydorou, *Istoria tis Kyprou,* 91, 107, 108, 110.

[16] YAP *(Ypiresia Anaptyxis Programmaton), Istoria tis Kyprou, Neolithiki –Romaiki* [History of Cyprus, Neolithic-Roman] (Nicosia, 2005), 2.

from outside Cyprus.[17] According to the logic of this model, others (Turkish Cypriots, for example) have (historically speaking) no rightful place in Cyprus; hence the category "Cypriots" is constantly used in a manner that excludes them. As the previous quote indicates, the arrival of the Mycenaeans is considered the most important historical event that has sealed the Hellenic character of Cyprus.

Image 3. Source: YAP, *Istoria tis Kyprou- Gymnasio*
(Nicosia, 2005), p.105.

Just as, according to the logic of ethnic nationalism, the Byzantines are treated as Greeks, the Ottomans are presented as Turks, with the primary-level schoolbook containing a section on "The Conquest of Nicosia by the Turks" – beginning as follows: "It was obvious that one day the Turks would try to grab Cyprus. The way that the state of the Sultan expanded, little Cyprus appeared like a weak mouse in the claws of a wild lion."[18] This sets the tone regarding the Turks, who appear as an expansionist and bestially savage people. The Ottoman period is presented in this and other schoolbooks in exclusively negative terms: "As a part of the Ottoman Empire, Cyprus followed the fate of the rest of Hellenism.

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[17] For a general outline of the arguments and critiques see Natasha Leriou, "Constructing an Archaeological Narrative: The Hellenisation of Cyprus," *Stanford Journal of Archaeology,* 1 (2002):1-32.

[18] Polydorou, *Istoria tis Kyprou,* 69.

Insults, humiliations, oppression."[19] Numerous pages of gruesomely detailed descriptions and graphic images of torture and slaughter are provided in the books, like the one showing a "Turk" impaling a "Greek" (Image 3). The primary-level schoolbook subsequently asks the students: "What kinds of torture did the Cypriots suffer at the hands of the Turks?"[20] In contrast, the Byzantine administration is shown in a positive light with "Byzantine civilization flourishing."[21] Given that for Turkish Cypriots the ascription "Turks" is constantly employed,[22] this presents them as part of the larger historical category of Turks, who are shown as a bloodthirsty, hostile and barbaric people. The structure of the Greek Cypriot narrative is summarized in Table 1. History begins with the arrival of "Greeks" in Cyprus; "Greeks (of Cyprus)" emerge as the protagonist and moral center of the story from whose perspective events are evaluated,[23] and 1974 subsequently emerges as the tragic end for the "Greeks of Cyprus." As White argues, the use of the narrative form is predicated on a notion of continuity, in this case of the presence of a single central actor, namely the (Greek) nation from beginning to end. The use of a narrative form presents history as a moral story from which stem moral injunctions that members of the (national) community ought to obey. In other words, the narrative form presents didactic stories. When history is presented in this form, it claims total objectivity since the events appear to tell themselves.[24]

The period of interethnic violence in the 1960s is described only briefly, and from an exclusively Greek Cypriot viewpoint. Turkish Cypriots are described as "mutineer Turks" staging provocations, and are held responsible for the conflict. This period is presented as a period of aggression by "Turks"[25] (Turkey and Turkish Cypriots) against the "Greeks" and shown as a period of mostly "Greek" suffering, when Turkish fighter planes "spread catastrophe and death among the civilian population" (meaning the Greek Cypriots),[26] even if the Turkish Cypriot suffering then was by any measure far greater than that of Greek Cypriots.[27] Nonetheless, the primary education schoolbook later describes the period of 1960-1974 as follows: "From 1960 when the Republic was created to 1974 Cyprus enjoyed unprecedented development in all sectors. The population had full employment and its life

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[19] YAP, *Istoria tis Kyprou, Gymnasio* [History of Cyprus, Gymnasium] (Nicosia, 2005), 92.

[20] Polydorou, *Istoria tis Kyprou,* 91.

[21] YAP, *Istoria tis Kyprou, Gymnasio,* 66. On the contrasting presentations of the Byzantine period and Ottoman period in Greek schoolbooks as "paradise" and "hell" and vice versa in Turkish schoolbooks, see Koullapis, "The Presentation of the Period 1071-1923."

[22] With the exception that there are rare mentions of "Turkish Cypriots" at the very end of the books.

[23] Hayden White, *The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation* (Baltimore and London, 1990), 1-25.

[24] White, *The Content of the Form,* 3, 10, 25.

[25] Polydorou, *Istoria tis Kyprou,* 116.

[26] Ibid., 116.

[27] For the most exhaustive academic discussion of the 1960s with statistics of those killed, missing and displaced in both communities see Richard Patrick, *Political Geography and the Cyprus Problem* (Waterloo, 1976).

constantly improved."[28] This statement ignores the living conditions of Turkish Cypriots, a fifth of whom were displaced and lived in poverty, fear and isolation during much of the 1960s. For the same period, the Turkish Cypriot leadership is (correctly) presented as pursuing a partitionist policy, but, with the exception of a brief mention in one book,[29] the Greek Cypriot insistence on Union with Greece culminating in a unanimous pro-Union vote at the Parliament during 1967 is not discussed.

As for other religious and ethnic groups, the primary-level schoolbook presents numerous racist stereotypes. The Arabs "had to follow their herds of sheep, and camels and horses in search of food. They lived nomadic lives. That is how most of them live today." Of Muslims, it is said that "blind with religious fanaticism, they rush out like lightning against the neighboring countries."[30] According to a study employing content analysis, this book includes 100 negative references to "national others" (the bulk of which refer to Turks) and only two negative references to the "national self,"[31] as well as five positive references to "national others" and 35 to the "national self." In order to establish Greek supremacy, the author has no qualms in collapsing the crucial distinction between legend/myth and history, the foundational distinction of the discipline of history. In a section presenting the legends of Digenis Akritas, a legendary guardian of the Byzantine borders, the author constantly slides between legend and history, past and present, by presenting legends as history only to exclaim in the end: "So what if these stories are legend! So what if Digenis never set foot in Cyprus! He was the new Hercules of the Greeks. His persona embodies Bravery and Virtue… and with his fearless brave young men he guards Greeks from all evil."[32]

For the Ottoman Period all relevant books discuss the practice of *"exislamismoi"* (forced islamization). More attention is given to this issue in the secondary schoolbook on Medieval/ Modern history, which employs a number of secondary sources with titles like "The Greek Origin of Turkish Cypriots" arguing that Turkish Cypriots are primarily descendants of islamicized Greeks in Cyprus and that even the people initially brought over from Anatolia by the Ottoman authorities were themselves originally of Greek stock.[33] Irrespective of the historical extent of conversions, this is an essentialist argument that relies on principles of racial descent as determining identity, with the term "race *(phyli)*" being uncritically presented in a number of cases in the schoolbooks.[34] This argument denies identity to Turkish Cypriots and consequently it denies them the possibility of positing any political claims since they do

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[28] Polydorou, *Istoria tis Kyprou,* 117.

[29] YAP, *Istoria tis Kyprou, Mesaioniki-Neoteri* ([History of Cyprus, Medieval-Modern] (Nicosia, 2005), 285.

[30] Polydorou, *Istoria tis Kyprou,* 35, 36.

[31] Kalypso Charalampous and Elena Mihi, *O Ethnikos Eaftos,* 38.

[32] Polydorou, *Istoria tis Kyprou,* 42. On the merging of myth and history in the history schoolbooks of Greece see Yannis Hamilakis, "Learn History! Antiquity, National Narrative, and History in Greek Educational Textbooks," in K.S. Brown and Yannis Hamilakis, eds., *The Usable Past: Greek Metahistories* (Oxford, 2003), 39-67.

[33] YAP, *Istoria tis Kyprou Mesaioniki-Neoteri,* 154-163. See also: Polydorou, Istoria tis Kyprou, 101; YAP, Istoria tis Kyprou, Gymnasio, 98.

[34] YAP, *Istoria tis Kyprou, Mesaioniki-Neoteri,* 162, 234.

not exist as a "real" ethnic group. The interest in the descent of Turkish Cypriots emerged among Greek Cypriot historians during the tumultuous period of the 1960s and, once their "Greek origin" was established, it was argued that they should be "incorporated *(afomoiothoun)*" back into the Greek community and that, given that they too were in reality Greeks, then Union with Greece was absolutely legitimate.[35] Needless to say, the "Greeks of Cyprus" are presented as unproblematically Greek throughout history and no questions regarding their descent/origin are ever raised.[36] Unsurprisingly, they are pressingly raised in the Turkish Cypriot schoolbooks.

The 2004 Report of the Committee for Educational Reform, which examined the entire Greek Cypriot educational system, confirms the major findings presented above noting that these pervade not just history teaching but the educational system overall. This is described as "*Hellenoethnocentric* and religious in character" noting that "the ideologico-political framework of contemporary Cypriot [sic] education remains Greek-Cypriot centered, narrowly ethnocentric and culturally monolithic."[37] Occasional remarks made by Greek Cypriot officials on multiculturalism, critical inquiry and a democratic, interactive educational framework are rejected as rhetorical and not followed through in actual educational practices, neither in the general "educational system, the curriculum or the books."[38] The Council of Europe Recommendation 2001 (15) on the teaching of history in 21st century Europe calls for the adoption of the following principles: "… a history-teaching syllabus intended to eliminate prejudice and emphasizing positive mutual influences between different countries… develop respect for all kinds of differences… be a decisive factor in reconciliation, recognition, understanding and mutual trust between peoples…to analyse critically and responsibly …through open debate based on multiperspectivity, especially on controversial and sensitive issues… must not be an instrument of ideological manipulation, of propaganda or used for the promotion of xenophobic, racist or anti-Semitic ideals." Despite the adoption of this recommendation by the Republic of Cyprus, the current history books oppose rather than endorse its principles.

After 1974, the reunification of Cyprus and the expulsion of Turkish settlers and immigrants from the north became the unanimously supported Greek Cypriot aims. A new historical

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[35] Papadakis, *Perceptions of History,* 34-41.

[36] On this point see also Koullapis, *Ideologikoi Prosanatolismo,* 284-285.

[37] EEM *(Epitropi Ekpaideftikis Metarrythmisis), Demokratiki kai Anthropini Paideia stin Evrokypriaki Politia* [Democratic and Humanistic Education in the Eurocypriot Polity] (Nicosia, 2004), 36, 63. See also similar comments made on pp. 94-96.

[38] Ibid., 102. It is an open question whether the recommendations of this report, which has come under major attack, will be implemented. The current left-wing AKEL government of the Republic of Cyprus appears determined to proceed with significant changes, while Andreas Demetriou, the current Minister of Education , has stated that changing history books and reforming history education, as part of a wider reform of the educational system, is one of his priorities: Stefanos Evripidou, "Fighting Inertia in Our Schools," *Sunday Mail* (Nicosia, Cyprus), July 6, 2008. Some NGOs are also engaged with issues related to history education, the most active being the multi-communal *Association for Historical Dialogue and Research* (www.hisdialresearch.org).

outlook was officially propagated that now posited Turkish Cypriots as "Turkish Cypriots" with whom "Greek Cypriots" had formerly coexisted. This version of history proposed that the past proved that reunification was possible since the two communities had peacefully coexisted in the past.[39] The shift in ascriptions (from Greeks to Greek Cypriots and Turks to Turkish Cypriots) was employed to indicate their commonality and to sharply distinguish Turkish Cypriots from both Turkish settlers and immigrants, and Turks in general who were the 1974 aggressors, designated as the "Turkish Attila." This has not been translated into educational practice as far as the books examined are concerned, where mentions of events of coexistence and cooperation are highly exceptional and where Turkish Cypriots are presented as "Turks," as part of the historic enemy and the opposite of "Greeks." Rather, the current schoolbooks follow the historical model dominant among Greek Cypriot historians before 1960 when they sought to legitimate Union with Greece.[40] Recent studies conducted on primary-level schoolchildren's attitudes find that they express strongly negative stereotypes for both Turks and Turkish Cypriots, that they have difficulty in distinguishing between them, and that teachers do not try to draw any distinction during teaching practices.[41] Strong negative stereotypes are also expressed for all other ethnonational groups examined except Western Europeans, while affinity with the Greeks is justified as based on literally sharing the same blood.[42] A study of Greek Cypriot youth (15-23 years old) *as well as their high school teachers and headmasters,* indicated that Turkish Cypriots emerged as the most rejected category by all, with categories like Gypsies (Roma), Arab workers, foreign *artistes* (a euphemism for prostitutes), and Asian domestic workers following behind.[43]

Turkish Cypriot Schoolbooks

The Turkish Cypriot school textbooks used until recently (2004) follow the same logic of ethnic nationalism, with the problems previously identified for Greek Cypriot books now amplified, to the extent that these textbooks could themselves provide textbook examples of all that can go wrong with a history textbook. Vehbi Serter, author and co-author of two of the three major books discussed, was an active member of TMT and subsequently member of the nationalist right-wing party UBP (National Unity Party). The books were produced at periods when the Right monopolized power on the Turkish Cypriot side with the

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[39] Papadakis, *Perceptions of History,* 42-51.

[40] Ibid., 27-34.

[41] See: Chara Makriyianni, *History, Museums and National Identity in a Divided Country: Greek Cypriot Children's Experience of Museum Visits* (Unpublished PhD Diss., University of Cambridge, 2006); Spyros Spyrou, "Those on the Other Side: Ethnic Identity and Imagination in Greek Cypriot Children's Lives," in Helen Schwartzman, ed., *Children and Anthropology: Perspectives for the 21st Century*, 167-185 (Westport, 2001); Spyros Spyrou, "Images of the 'Other': 'The Turk' in Greek Cypriot Children's Imagination," *Race, Ethnicity and Education* 5, no. 3 (2002): 255-272.

[42] Stavroula Philippou, "*Anaparastontas Ethnikes Exoomades: Oi Alloi Mesa apo ta Matia Dekahronon Ellinokyprion Paidion*" (Representing National Out-groups: The Others Through the Eyes of Ten-Year-Old Greek Cypriot Children), in Eleni Phtiaka *et al.* eds., *Proceedings of the 9th Conference of the Pedagogical Society of Cyprus* (Nicosia, 2006), 905-919.

[43] Kristis Harakis, ed., *Antikoinoniki Symperifora ton Neon tis Kyprou: Ratsistikes Taseis* [Antisocial Behavior of the Young of Cyprus: Racist Trends] (Athens, 2005), 617.

explicit aim of preserving the *de facto* partition of Cyprus. These books present the history of Cyprus as nothing but part of Turkish history. In primary school, children were taught history as part of "Social Sciences." The relevant book features Atatürk, the founder of modern Turkey, on the cover. It opens with the flags of Turkey and the self-declared TRNC superimposed over the national anthem of Turkey, followed by a photo of Atatürk, a practice incidentally also followed in the new books due to its enforcement by law. The book begins with a chapter on the history of Cyprus (beginning with the Ottoman conquest), followed by a much longer section on the history of Turkey, thus making the link clear.[44] As the secondary-level school book argues, "from historical-geographical, strategic and economic perspectives, Cyprus is connected to Anatolia," while "for Greece, Cyprus has no significance at all neither from a historical nor from a strategic perspective."[45] History begins with the arrival of the Ottomans in Cyprus, the most important historical event as it was the event that sealed its character, "to such an extent that Cyprus with today's numerous Turkish monuments has preserved its 'Turkish Character.'"[46] If history begins with the Ottoman conquest of Cyprus in 1571, then according to this logic Cyprus has been Turkish for three quarters of its history (until the British take-over in 1878). The Ottoman period is glorified as a time of freedom and progress, with long lists and descriptions of Ottoman public works and monuments in Cyprus. The Ottomans are presented as coming to Cyprus in order to save the Greek Cypriots from Venetian cruelty, while revolts against the Ottomans are subsequently described as ungrateful Greek Cypriot actions betraying the gracious Ottoman tolerance, a thesis common to the presentation of the Ottomans in Turkish schoolbooks on the history of Turkey.[47]

For Turkey, the phrase "Our Motherland Turkey" is used throughout the books. Turkish Cypriots are throughout presented as "Turks" or "Turks of Cyprus" and are the protagonist and moral center of this narrative (Table 1). From the perspective of this protagonist, namely the "Turks of Cyprus," 1974 emerges as the time of a glorious victory, thus providing a happy end to this story; in the Greek Cypriot narrative it emerges as a tragic ending, since here it is the "Greeks of Cyprus" who are the narrative's moral center from whose perspective events are evaluated. In the Turkish Cypriot schoolbooks, Greek Cypriots are designated as "Rum," a term that in Turkish is currently usually employed to refer to three categories: the Greek Orthodox community *(Rum millet)* living in the Ottoman Empire, present-day Greeks living in Turkey and to Greek Cypriots. For Greeks living in Greece, the term *"Yunan* (Ionian)" is employed. The use of "Rum" for Greek Cypriots implicitly identifies them as former subjects of the Ottoman Empire, and certainly different to Greeks, thus denying them their claim to a

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[44] MEKB (*Milli Eğitim ve Kültür Bakanlığı), İlkokullar İçin Sosyal Bilgiler 5. Sinif* [Social Sciences for the 5th Class] (Nicosia, 1999).

[45] Vehbi Serter, *Kıbrıs Tarihi* [History of Cyprus] (Nicosia, 1990), 7. This book was used virtually unchanged since the early 1970s. A revised version was only briefly employed before the 2004 schoolbook changes, which is why the older version that was used for decades is discussed here.

[46] Ibid., 7.

[47] Niyazi Kizilyürek, "National Memory," 438; Koullapis, "The Presentation of the Period 1071-1923."

Greek identity and delegitimating their political demands for Union with Greece. As the secondary level schoolbook declares, "Present day Rums in Cyprus are not Greek," but a mixture of various previous rulers of Cyprus and "from this perspective it can be seen that Cyprus has no importance for Greece."[48]

The period that receives most emphasis in the books is 1963-1974, presented as a homogeneous barbaric onslaught of "Rums" against the "Turks" in Cyprus, all part of a plan (the Akritas Plan, a Greek Cypriot-inspired plan which aimed to bring about Union with Greece, by force if necessary, whose origins and implementation are still disputed) aiming to eradicate the "Turks," this being a period when the "Rums" displayed "such savagery and barbarism that the world has seldom seen."[49] This period is presented in great detail, village by village and day by day when battles, killings, mass graves or displacements took place, illustrated with gruesome photographs and graphic descriptions. One photograph, for example, presents a Turkish Cypriot man kneeling in front of charred corpses unearthed from a mass grave (Image 4). An additional secondary education schoolbook, "The History of the Struggle of the Turks of Cyprus," is devoted almost exclusively to these years.[50] The events of 1974 are described in all books as the "Happy Peace Operation" when the "Heroic Turkish Army" came to safeguard the "Turks of Cyprus." Greek Cypriot suffering is never mentioned for this or any other period. As others have also observed, this version of the history of Cyprus legitimated the partitionist aims of the Right through the argument that history *proves* that the two communities can never live together.[51]

Image 4. Source: Vehbi Serter, *Kıbrıs Tarihi* (Nicosia, 1990), p. 171.

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[48] Serter, Kıbrıs Tarihi, 8.

[49] Ibid., 114.

[50] Vehbi Serter and Ozan Fikretoğlu, *Kıbrıs Türk Mücadele Tarihi* [History of the Struggle of the Turks of Cyprus] (Nicosia, 1982).

[51] Kizilyürek, "National Memory"; POST, *Pilot Application for the History and Literature Books.*

Since the same model of ethnic nationalism is followed, the two histories share the same structure and underlying assumptions (Table 1). Both uncritically treat the nation as ever-present while the historical and, following this logic, the political existence of others is disputed. History is constructed through manichean, black and white, good and evil, homogeneous categories. And as Orwell commented long ago: "The nationalist not only does not disapprove of atrocities committed by his own side, but he has a remarkable capacity for not even hearing about them."[52] Both are histories "from above," male-centered, and focusing more on the change of dynasties, on diplomatic and political history, and giving scant attention to social history, internal differences (whether political, class or gender ones) or internal violence, interactions and cooperation. War is so pervasive that it emerges as the motor of history to the point where it becomes naturalized as an immutable human characteristic. Both approaches are monoethnic and ethnocentric; both reject the conceptualization of Cyprus as a multicultural and multiethnic space in the past and the present.

Table 1. Narratives of the History of Cyprus

	Beginning	Self (Moral Center)	Major Enemy (Other)	Plot	End
Greek Cypriot Narrative	Arrival of Greeks (14th century BC) *Hellenisation of Cyprus*	Greeks (of Cyprus)	Turks	A struggle for survival by Cypriot Hellenism against foreign conquerors	1974 Tragic ("Barbaric Turkish Invasion")
Turkish Cypriot Narrative	Arrival of Turks (1571 AD) *Turkification of Cyprus*	Turks (of Cyprus)	Rums (Greek Cypriots)	A struggle for survival by the Turks of Cyprus against Greek Cypriot aggression	1974 Happy ("Happy Peace Operation")

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[52] George Orwell, *Essays* (London, 2000), 307.

Chapter 2

THE NEW TURKISH CYPRIOT SCHOOLBOOKS: A PARADIGM SHIFT?

Immediately following its 2003 election victory, the left-wing CTP (Republican Turkish Party) called for a complete rewrite of school history books. Accordingly, in 2004 (and revised in 2005), three new books covering the history of Cyprus from the arrival of its first inhabitants to the present were published. This party as well as its supporters were in favor of reunification and critical of Turkey[53] – which is why it soon changed the history books that clearly promoted the opposite goals. In contrast to the Turko-centrism of the Right, the Left was Cypro-centric and leaned more towards a model of *civic nationalism*[54] prioritizing the geopolitical space of Cyprus and expressing affinity with all its inhabitants, in the hope that a joint state would one day materialize. This is clear from the cover of the books showing Cyprus in outline, on its own, with no dividing line (image 5), in contrast to the Right's maps of Cyprus, which always portray a divided island with a part or the whole of Turkey included in the map. The new books even critique the older ones for "teaching that Cyprus was a Turkish homeland."[55] Despite strong initial objections by the Right and far Right, the new books, which aimed for "a change of the whole approach to history," were embraced by the public and students alike.[56] The prefaces to the books state that they aim "… to show the place of Cyprus in world history…creating thinking, questioning, responsible and active citizens… getting students interested in researching influences between different cultures and communities…viewing history from different sources, perspectives and facts… creating peace-loving citizens… ." The contrast with the older books is striking: appearance, content, underlying assumptions and pedagogical approach are all markedly different.

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[53] Yiannis Papadakis, *Echoes from the Dead Zone: Across the Cyprus Divide* (London, 2005), 185-206.

[54] Smith, *National Identity.* It should be noted that ethnic and civic nationalism are ideal-type descriptions and there may often be common ground between the two. The latter, for example, may include an ethnic emphasis on indigenous populations corresponding to a territory, thus excluding migrants.

[55] MEKB, *Kıbrıs Tarihi 2* [History of Cyprus 2] (Nicosia, 2005), 65.

[56] For a detailed account of the sociopolitical context and reactions see POST, *Textual and Visual Analyses.* This is also the most detailed comparison of the new and old Turkish Cypriot schoolbooks, whose findings are in broad agreement with the points presented here. It also provides a detailed discussion of the significance of iconography in schoolbooks.
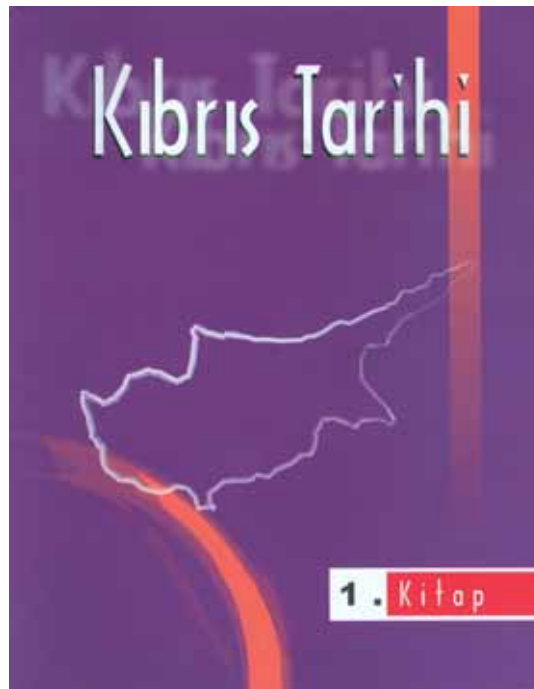
Image 5. Source: MEKB, *Kıbrıs Tarihi 1* (Nicosia, 2005),
front cover.

The most important difference lies in their approach to the concepts nation, nationalism and identity. The term "motherland" is now never used for Turkey, while the terms "our island" or "our country" are often used for Cyprus.[57] The more generic identifiers "Cypriots" and "people," words that can include both Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots, are now also used.[58] It is explained that Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots had many similarities and that what divided them were the forces of nationalism and the British "Divide and Rule" policies (Image 6).[59] Indeed, various caricatures showing "a Turkish Cypriot" and "a Greek Cypriot" often present them as exactly the same (Image 7).[60] The word "Turks" is now almost never used for Turkish Cypriots, employing instead "Turkish Cypriots" *(Kıbrıslı Türkler)* throughout, a term placing more semantic emphasis on the -Cypriot part. The problematic term "Rum" is still used for Greek Cypriots but in a different form, as *Kıbrıslı Rumlar (Rumcypriots,* is the closest translation), which is analogous to the term "Turkish Cypriots". These new terms of identity now share the designation "-Cypriots."

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[57] MEKB, Kıbrıs Tarihi 2,59, 69, 75.

[58] Ibid., 59.

[59] Ibid., 59.

[60] Ibid, 58, 59, 72.

Image 6. Source: MEKB, *Kıbrıs Tarihi 3* (Nicosia, 2005), p. 59.

Image 7. Source: MEKB, *Kıbrıs Tarihi 2* (Nicosia, 2005), p. 58.

In the new history books, Turkish Cypriots do not emerge as a monolithic category nor as part of an eternal nation. Instead, the books point out that gradually, and due to the influences of Turkish and Greek nationalisms (themselves part of the wider forces of nationalism sweeping the globe), the Muslims came to identify themselves as Turks and the Orthodox Christians as Greeks, with teachers and schoolbooks sent from Turkey and Greece playing a crucial role.[61] Nationalism is presented negatively, as a divisive and conflictual ideology. A particularly apt example expressing the general spirit of the books is an illustration (Image 8) personifying (the whole of) Cyprus (with no dividing line) as weeping, with the question "How has it come to this [sad situation]?" referring to the 1960s.[62] The reply is provided as a set of causes:

- From the activities of the fighters in the secret organizations.
- From one-sided presentations of events in the press.
- From the nationalist messages that came from the peoples of Turkey and Greece.
- From the impact of the Cold War on Cyprus.
- From the speeches of politicians.
- From the aims of the Akritas Plan that became publicly known in 1966.
- From the mistrust that was created by many Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots loyal to the nationalist discourses.

Image 8. Source: MEKB, *Kıbrıs Tarihi 3* (Nicosia, 2005), p. 90.

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[61] Ibid., 56, 65.
[62] MEKB, *Kıbrıs Tarihi 3* [History of Cyprus 3] (Nicosia, 2005), 90.

This kind of analysis is characteristic of the new books; also characteristic is that, while the two communities are shown as sharing the blame, a larger portion is allocated to the Greek Cypriots. All apart from one of the reasons provided are symmetrical, but the sixth point holds Greek Cypriots responsible for the Akritas Plan, with no mention of the partitionist goals of the Turkish Cypriot leadership at the time. Yet, the overall difference between the new books and the previous books where Greek Cypriots alone were blamed for everything is striking.

The period 1963-1974, which the earlier books presented in a uniform manner as a period of Greek Cypriot barbarism ("Dark Years"), is now broken into two sections, with 1963-1967 as the "Difficult Years" and 1967-1974 up to the coup as "A New Period for Cyprus."[63] This period now emerges as only a small part of the whole (three-volume) History of Cyprus, in contrast to the previous books where it was the most emphasized. Gruesome descriptions are now avoided, and where violence against Turkish Cypriots is indicated, it is noted that it was carried out by "certain" Greek Cypriots.[64] Similarly, throughout the books, ethnic groups are not portrayed as homogeneous, but rather internal divides and conflicts are often presented. For the 20th century for example, Greek Cypriots are shown as split between the Right (including the Church) and Left (especially AKEL),[65] or later between those supporting Makarios and the EOKA B.[66] Turkish Cypriots, likewise, are shown as having been divided into two groups, the Traditionalists and the Kemalists.[67] Also included are indications of internal violence among Turkish Cypriots, with TMT described as having sometimes been used "for the settlement of personal scores and some of its activities caused reactions among Turkish Cypriots."[68] TMT is no longer presented as an organization of glorious heroes, but more as a necessary evil to counter EOKA and Greek nationalism and to protect Turkish Cypriots. Similarly, Turkish nationalism in Cyprus is presented in a negative light but as a historical reaction to Greek nationalism.

History is no longer presented as a monolithic story of conflict; instead, conscious emphasis is placed on examples of coexistence and cooperation, and there is a shift from political and diplomatic history towards social, cultural and economic history.[69] Many examples are presented, from the Ottoman period to the present, when cooperation was an aspect of daily life – from common workers' struggles (Image 9) to music, football and trade, and mundane events like simply eating and drinking together (Image 10).[70] Greek Cypriots

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[63] Ibid., 92-113, 114-121.

[64] Ibid., 126.

[65] AKEL (Progressive Party of the Working People) is a communist party that has commanded significant popular support among Greek Cypriots and was often critical of the nationalist policies of the Greek Cypriot Right.

[66] MEKB, *Kıbrıs Tarihi 3*, 54, 84, 118-119.

[67] MEKB, *Kıbrıs Tarihi 2*, 76-77.

[68] MEKB, *Kıbrıs Tarihi 3*, 64.

[69] POST, *Textual and Visual Analyses.*

[70] MEKB, *Kıbrıs Tarihi 2*, 32, 39; MEKB, *Kıbrıs Tarihi 3*, 22, 32, 46-48, 51, 110-111.

and Turkish Cypriots are shown to suffer together, from heavy taxation imposed by the British for example,[71] and as dying together when they served in the joint Cypriot contingent of the British Army during World War II.[72] Muslims and Christians are presented as staging joint revolts during the Ottoman period, while instances of cooperation between the leadership of the Orthodox Church and the Ottoman authorities are also highlighted.[73] The 1962 murders of two Turkish Cypriot journalists supporting cooperation between Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots are castigated as violent attacks against voices for peace and cooperation.[74] The period of rapprochement between Atatürk and Venizelos, the prime minister of Greece, is presented in these books, in contrast to previous ones, as an exemplary time,[75] with Atatürk's dictum "Peace at Home, Peace in the World" also prominently displayed at the beginning of each book under his photograph.

Image 9. Source: MEKB, *Kıbrıs Tarihi 3* (Nicosia, 2005), p. 32.

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[71] MEKB, *Kıbrıs Tarihi 3,* 19.

[72] Ibid., 21.

[73] MEKB, *Kıbrıs Tarihi 2, 3*1-32.

[74] MEKB, *Kıbrıs Tarihi 3,* 86.

[75] MEKB, *Kıbrıs Tarihi 2,* 74.

Image 10. Source: MEKB, *Kıbrıs Tarihi 2* (Nicosia, 2005), p. 32.

Regarding the events of 1974, the following comment is made: "Now for the first time Greek Cypriots tasted the bitterness that Turkish Cypriots had experienced for many years before. They, like Turkish Cypriots for years previously, were forced to abandon their homes and villages, and due to the war they also lost their loved ones like Turkish Cypriots did."[76] This could be interpreted as brushing away Greek Cypriot suffering by saying that it was now their turn to suffer. Yet it could also be interpreted as attempting to create empathy with Greek Cypriots through the Turkish Cypriots' own painful experiences. According to the book's authors their aim was precisely this, i.e., the creation of empathy with Greek Cypriot suffering.[77] In any case, the presentation of Greek Cypriot suffering that was previously absent is significant. This is not given the same coverage however, as, for example, Turkish Cypriot suffering during the 1960s, which is extensively described with photographs, memoirs and other accounts.

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[76] MEKB, *Kıbrıs Tarihi 3,* 126.
[77] Personal Communication with Gül Barkay (11-11-2006).

The books remain to a significant extent ethnocentric, though now from a Turkish Cypriot rather than Turkish perspective, due to more coverage of issues like social life, monuments and culture, press and political personalities provided for the Turkish Cypriot community. As the preface states: "In Cyprus, with centuries of coming and going the Turkish Cypriot community has created its own history. So we, ourselves, should write the history we created and teach it to the new generations." The term "Peace Operation," for example, is still employed (though no longer as "1974 Happy Peace Operation"), a description that does not represent but denies the Greek Cypriot experience. Almost all primary sources presented in the text are from Turkish Cypriot authors, even if left-wing writers, like the assassinated Kutlu Adalı,[78] previously considered as pro-Greek Cypriot and akin to traitors, are now included. Gender differences are still not adequately accounted for; nor are the smaller communities of Armenians, Maronites and Latins (Roman Catholics), and past and present migration movements.

Despite these general weaknesses, and others that a team of historical specialists on different periods could potentially identify, the new books, based on contemporary trends of historical analysis and teaching, represent a positive and subversive move away from the old model. The reasons for these changes are academic, ideological and political. These books were created by teams of teachers with young academics versed in recent theoretical trends that consider the nation as a historical construct (and not as a suprahistorical natural entity), avoid treating groups as homogeneous, and pay considerable attention to social history. Various Greek Cypriot authors are referenced in the bibliographies, a practice that did not take place with the previous ones, nor does the equivalent occur in Greek Cypriot schoolbooks. The cooperation with teachers has rendered the books more lively, fun and user friendly; moreover, the books include many photographs, sketches and primary sources, and students are often encouraged to adopt a critical approach towards history.[79] These considerations could explain the convergence of the aims and practices of these books with the Council of Europe's recommendations and the similar principles endorsed by the (Greek Cypriot) Committee for Educational Reform that others have also noted.[80] The ideological reasons include the Left's more pronounced interest in the "lower" classes, internal differentiations, social history and "history from below," as well as its own experiences of violence from the Right of their own side, making it obvious that violence was never the monopoly of Greek Cypriots. It is not surprising for a numerical minority to first firmly place multiculturalism on the agenda, given that the majoritarian "(one) nation-(one) state" perspective excludes it, as the Greek Cypriot school books so blatantly do.

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[78] MEKB, *Kıbrıs Tarihi 3,* 66.

[79] Ibid., 14, 19, 21, 22, 30, 46.

[80] Olga Demetriou, "Catalysis, Catachreisis: The EU's Impact on the Cyprus Conflict," in Thomas Diez, Mathias Albert and Stephan Stetter, eds., The European Union and Border *Conflicts: The Power of Integration and Association* (Cambridge, 2008).

The pronounced shift in the political orientation of the new Turkish Cypriot leadership, itself a reflection of a more general sociopolitical change, was a highly significant factor; there are other similar cases, like the change in Israeli history textbooks towards a more inclusive and multi-cultural model in the aftermath of the hopeful political climate created by the 1993 Oslo agreement.[81] The emergent Turkish Cypriot political aim of reunification led to an avoidance of a narrative of pure conflict, and because the aim was to be in a joint state with Greek Cypriots there was an effort, limited and incomplete though it has been, to include their perspective as well. If identity is no longer presented in essentialist terms (as "in the blood" and unchanging), but rather shown to be a historical process of choice and change, this leaves the way open for a reformulation within a future joint state.

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[81] Elie Podeh, "History and Memory in the Israeli Educational System," *History and Memory 12,* no. 1(2000): 65-100.

MEMORY, NARRATIVE AND HISTORY

The new Turkish Cypriot books, unlike those previously discussed, cannot be fitted into a narrative schema, primarily because they lack a clearly defined central character (i.e., the nation) present from beginning to end. Not only is identity shown to change throughout history, but ascriptions of identity now emerge as simplifications since they refer to internally differentiated groups with diverse political goals. This is a break with Anderson's paradigmatic model of national history as the narrative "biography of nations" and with the tendency of "reading nationalism *genealogically.*"[82] Put in different terms, this new way that Turkish Cypriot history books present history does not accord with Handler's point regarding the common perception of the nation as a collective individual (the story's protagonist),[83] nor does it conform to Michael Herzfeld's discussion regarding the primacy of a familial metaphor for the nation.[84] Notions of genealogy and family can well apply to the model of ethnic nationalism based on notions of common descent and kinship (often blatantly emphasizing continuity and ties through blood); in the new books this view is now subverted. As Anderson further argues, the model he describes "records a certain apparent continuity and simultaneously emphasizes its loss from memory,"[85] which is precisely what the traditional role of history teaching is deemed to be according to this logic, i.e., to recover the memories and transfer them to future generations, much like a family transfers its own memories and past grievances or animosities to the young. Instead, the new books suggest that the past is indeed "a foreign country," as British novelist L. P. Hartley opines, and they might well add "…and foreign people lived there then".

The change of historical model attempted in the new books has interesting implications for the notions of blame and trauma. According to the old model, if the Self (and the Enemy) were the same persona through history, any injury to the National Self in the past is an injury to the current Self too, calling for revenge or retribution against those currently designated as descendants and hence part of the Enemy. In the new model, this no longer applies, thus breaking the chain of recrimination and demand for retribution. Internal differentiations

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[82] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (London, 1991), 204, 195.

[83] Richard Handler, *Nationalism and the Politics of Culture in Quebec* (Wisconsin, 1988).

[84] Michael Herzfeld, *Cultural Intimacy: Social Poetics in the Nation-State* (London and New York, 1997).

[85] Anderson, *Imagined Communities,* 204.

reinforce this point by breaking down the notion of homogeneity, even when one discusses recent events where a stronger notion of continuity with current political communities may apply. Moreover, it now becomes possible to become more critical of distant pasts previously treated as the past of one's own nation. The new Turkish Cypriot books, for example, can now engage more critically with the Ottoman period, which they do by refraining from the previous outright glorification and by indicating mismanagement and corruption.[86]   The beginning of history also ceases to be a determining factor if it was "others" who were around then, leading to the abandonment of the often used argument in ethnic disputes that "we were here first" or "historically this land is ours."

The abandonment of the narrative form, that is, of history as a story of the nation, also entails a rejection of the notion that history has a single meaning and of history as primarily a moral story. No single meaning, like "Cyprus is Turkish/Greek" or "the past shows that people can/cannot not live together," can now be derived from history as presented in the new Turkish Cypriot books. This means that the future can no longer emerge as preordained, but is left open as a political choice. The new Turkish Cypriot books close with the results of the 2004 referendum when a majority of Greek Cypriots voted against the jointly negotiated, UN-finalized plan for a federal polity, while a majority of Turkish Cypriots accepted it, an ending that leaves the future uncertain. If change (of the *status-quo* of division) was the primary aim of the Turkish Cypriot Left, history is now presented as a story of change and of possible change in any direction. It does not foreclose the possibility of choosing division either, the point here being that it creates space for a reasoned political choice in the present. The same applies with respect to the future political identity (better *identities*, as the new books suggest by noting internal differentiations) of Turkish Cypriots (and Greek Cypriots). This kind of choice was disallowed in the previous primordialist model based on the "identification stance." This is not to deny that the new Turkish Cypriot books clearly propose a new identity as "Turkish Cypriots" and/or "Cypriots" (instead of "Turks"). The novelty lies in their understanding of the concept of *identity* as internally diverse, historically changing and a result of political choice, rather than as homogeneous, unchanging and historically determined, with the political community emerging as preordained from the deep historical past. The preclusion of political choices in the present is precisely the reason why a model of history based on the "identification stance" has been criticized as undemocratic.[87]

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86 MEKB, Kıbrıs Tarihi 2, 23.

87 Barton and Levstik, *Teaching History,* 49, 63.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. It is important to rethink and reevaluate the aims, contents and methodologies of history education on both sides of Cyprus in toto. This necessity is not only linked to social and political issues arising locally in Cyprus, but also to wider considerations related to globalization and migration, as well as to the emergence of new orientations and methodologies to history research and history teaching. The Council of Europe Recommendation 2001 (15) on the teaching of history in 21st century Europe is one, among other, sets of recommendations that could be consulted.

2. It would be useful to examine and reflect upon various models: from models where "history" is immediately associated with "national history" (as in Cyprus); to others where emphasis is also, or even primarily, placed on teaching about various other peoples and civilizations; to models, endorsed in some Nordic societies, where the idea of teaching "national history" has been largely abandoned in favor of teaching world history with inserts at appropriate points on how their society's history fits in – or diverges from, as the case may be – global developments.

3. New technologies such as the internet and the use of computers/CD-ROMs/DVDs can be employed to enhance history teaching. This may have implications regarding both content and methodology. In many societies, the idea of one state- produced history textbook has been abandoned, in favor of offering educators a variety of books, sources and materials to choose from. In some cases, these are privately produced under state-issued directives and then approved by the relevant educational authorities for school use.

4. For an effective reform of history teaching, it is necessary to establish collaborations on multiple levels: from local NGOs and stakeholders, to centers or institutes with experience in such reforms, to collaborations between academic historians and educators so that the new history teaching material can work effectively for teaching per se, as well as for teaching different age groups.

5. In the case of Cyprus, it would be important for such collaborations to include members of at least the major, if not all, the communities on the island. The simple fact that among the two major communities, history in general, as well as school history books, have been written by persons who could not read sources in the others' language can only mean that such historical accounts are, at best, incomplete.

6. Introduce and support teacher training on epistemological and methodological issues in the study of history and in history teaching which draws upon local and international expertise in the field.

History Education in Divided Cyprus: A Comparison of Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot Schoolbooks on the "History of Cyprus"

This report comprises a comparative study of schoolbooks used to teach the history of Cyprus in primary and secondary education on the two sides of the divided island, with study material being analyzed according to guidelines outlined in UNESCO's handbook on textbook research.

The study finds that Greek-Cypriot schoolbooks currently in use on the island and older Turkish-Cypriot schoolbooks employed until 2004 employ similar models of ethnic nationalism. Both present history 'from above', focusing on dynastic change and diplomatic and political history; both are male-centred, with little attention being paid to social history, internal differences, interaction and cooperation. Both sets of textbooks espouse mono-ethnic and ethnocentric approaches to the subject matter, rejecting any conceptualization of Cyprus as a multicultural and multi-ethnic space in past and present. The view of history they contain is strongly dualistic, depicted in terms of black and white, good and evil.

In contrast, a substantial revision of history schoolbooks took place on the Turkish-Cypriot side after the left-wing party CTP came to power in 2003, leading to the production of new textbooks during 2004. Despite their limitations, these represent a radical change in terms of content and methodology, highlighting not just conflict, internal divisions and discontinuities, but also social and cultural interactions and cooperation. The new model of history presented has noteworthy implications regarding the notions of memory and trauma, blame and retribution, as well as allowing for the possibility of making one's own choices regarding political allegiance in the present.

The report concludes with a set of recommendations.

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