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■■■■ EDITÖRDEN ■■■■

Değerli Okuyucu,

Dergimizin bu sayısı çok acı bir olay sonrasında elinize geçecek: Değerli sanatçı, gazeteci-yazar Kutlu Adalı'nın öldürülmesinden söz ediyorum.

21inci yüzyılın eşiğinde, hâlâ daha "düşünce"yi cezalandırabileceklerini ya da yokedebileceklerini sananların var olması ne kadar acı! Oysa şimdiye kadar, tarihte hiçbir kimse ve hiçbir şey düşünceye gem vuramamıştır. Bu saptama toplumumuz için de geçerlidir.

Kutlu Adalı, geride adını ölümsüzleştiren kitaplar bıraktı. Bunlardan biri; "Dağarcık", toplumumuzdaki araştırmacı-yazarlığın ilk örneklerindedir. Araştırmacılar için eşsiz bir kaynaktır.

Olayı şiddetle kınıyor, Kutlu Adalı'nın anısı önünde saygı ile eğiliyoruz.

İsmail Bozkurt

■■■■ FROM THE EDITOR ■■■■

Dear readers,

This issue of our journal is published after a recent attack. I am referring to the assasination of Kutlu Adalı - A journalist and author.

It is rather painful to observe that, at the threshold of 21st Century, there still exist people who believe the suppression of ideas and thoughts by force is possible. History reveals just the opposite. Until now, nobody under any circumstances could forcefully curb man's right to voice his thoughts and ideas. This is a fact, also true of our society.

Kutlu Adalı left invaluable books and works behind him. One of his books "Dağarcık" is of particular importance. "Dağarcık", one of the first examples of research studies about Turkish Cypriot social life and customs, constitutes a valuable reference book to those who wish to work in the field.

We very strongly condemn the murder and shall keep his memory in high esteem.

İsmail Bozkurt

CAREERISM IN THE NORTH CYPRUS PARLIAMENT

Ahmet SÖZEN*

ABSTRACT

This paper reviews the careerism in the North Cyprus Parliament.

The growing trend of careerism in the British House of Commons and the US Congress is by no means authentic to only the British and American politics.

The reviews about North Cyprus Parliament also shows very similar results that the careerism has been growing. In close relation to careerism, the empirical tests show that the MP's in North Cyprus Parliament, whose occupation before election are the ones which give them opportunity to be in close contact with the citizens are likely to have longer term in the parliament.

The empirical tests of author shows that legislators who are elected from the districts where they are born and have a homogeneous supporting community are likely to have longer term in the parliament, too.

I INTRODUCTION

Anthony King, in his *"The Rise of the Career Politician in Britain - And its Consequences"*¹ argues that there is a rise in the number of career politicians in the British House of Commons and in the high government posts. Those posts were occupied by both career and non-career politicians in the past. However, in the late 1970s and the early 1980s, as King argues, "non-career politicians have largely disappeared from the scene; with a few exceptions, only career politicians remain."²

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Who is the career politician?

He is a person committed to politics. He regards politics as his vocation, he seeks fulfillment in politics, he sees his future in politics, he would be deeply upset if circumstances forced him to retire politics. In short, he is hooked. Politics is his life... Weber distinguished between people who live 'for' politics and people who live 'off' politics. The person being described here clearly lives for politics; indeed that is how he is being defined.³

Buck (1963) argues that "the widening sphere of government activity and the insistent demands of party politics in the twentieth century required all... (the) ... time and energy"⁴ for the British MPs. Therefore politics is their full-time job, their profession, as well as their career.

Donald R. Matthews⁵ reviews the literature on careerism and professionalism on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean. Price (1971, 1975, 1977), Polsby (1968), Witmer (1964) and Polsby, Gallaher and Rundquist (1969) are among the few who studied careerism and professionalism in the US Congress. The comparative studies of the US Congress in the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries clearly show a rise in the number of career politicians in the US Congress in the twentieth century.

In this paper, I analyze the Parliament of North Cyprus⁶ in a "diachronic comparison"⁷ as Patterson suggests. This is also in parallel to Mezey's⁸ argument that comparing legislators across space and time should be the fashion of holding research on legislative politics. Election results of 1976, 1981, 1985 and 1993 are analyzed, basically focusing on the career of the legislators of the first parliament (1976). Three hypotheses are analyzed in this paper:

Hypothesis 1: There has been a growing careerism in the North Cyprus Parliament since 1976 (both in general, as well as in every ideological faction within the parliament).

Hypothesis 2: Legislators whose occupation before the election are the ones which give them the opportunity to be in close contact with the people/citizens (so that they can develop a strong "home-style"⁹ and a strong "personal vote"¹⁰) are likely to have longer term in the parliament.

Hypothesis 3: Legislators are likely to have longer term in the parliament if they are elected from the districts where

they were born and have a homogeneous supporting community (i.e., where there is high regionalism¹¹).

I DATA

I Data Collection:

The data used in this paper came from the North Cyprus Parliament Albums¹². They contain biographical data about the legislators, such as their date of birth, education level, education type, occupation before the election, previous legislative experience, party name and ideology and so on.

I Data Processing:

Once the data started to arrive, I created a database and several categories based on the legislator biographies for each election (1976, 1981, 1985 and 1993)¹³. The categories created from the biographical information of the legislators are: age of entry into the parliament, education level, education type, occupation before the election, party and ideology, district name and birth place.

I METHODOLOGY

I used SAS program to calculate simple statistical operations, such as means (e.g., average age of entry into the parliament), percentage and frequency calculations (e.g., percentage of college/ university graduates, or number and percentage of medical doctors, teachers etc. in the parliament). The most frequently used methodological technique in this paper is the cross-tabulation, which gives a good opportunity to the researcher to make comparisons between two or more variables:

I did not use regression analysis, or Chi-Square test for the cross-tabulation tables due to the small number of legislators in the above mentioned categories.¹⁴

I TESTING THE HYPOTHESES (WITH EMPIRICAL DATA)

Testing Hypothesis 1: There has been a growing careerism in the North

Cyprus Parliament since 1976 (both in general, as well as in every ideological faction within the parliament).

TABLE 1 shows legislators' average age of entry into the parliament and the ages of both the youngest and the oldest legislators, for every ideological faction ¹⁵ (see TABLE in Appendix), as well as in general.

TABLE 1				
Average Age of Entry into the Parliament (and Youngest-Oldest Age)				
IDEOLOGY	1976	1981	1985	1993
Left	33.50 (31-36)	38.17 (36-41)	39.50 (33-45)	43.15 (35-53)
Social Democrat	37.56 (30-51)	38.81 (34-64)	43.70 (38-66)	44.80 (40-49)
Right	39.62 (25-55)	44.76 (34-64)	43.18 (32-54)	47.56 (34-58)
Overall Parliament	38.85 (25-55)	41.68 (34-64)	42.40 (32-66)	46.14 (34-58)

*n=40 for 1976 and 1981, n=50 in 1985 and 1993.

It is clear that the average age of entry into the parliament in general has increased since 1976 from 38.85 to 46.14. The age of the youngest members of the parliament also increased from 25 to 35, while the age of the oldest members do not show a definite trend in general.

However, the average age of entry and the age of the youngest legislators for each ideological faction (i.e., right, social democrat and left) clearly show an increasing trend - indicating a growing careerism (Hypothesis 1).

TABLE 2 also shows a dramatic increase in the percentage (and number) of legislators who had previous legislative experience (i.e., 47.5% in 1976 and 68% in 1993). This also supports the hypothesis (1) that there

has been a growing careerism in the North Cyprus Parliament since 1976. The idea of previous occupation of the legislators has an effect on the careerism of the legislators is not a new one. It has been used by many scholars before, such as Buck (1963)¹⁶, Putnam(1976)¹⁷ and King (1981)¹⁸.

TABLE 2				
Occupation of the MPs Before They were Elected in % and Numbers (n)				
OCCUPATION	1976	1981	1985	1993
Bureaucrat	20% (8)	29% (8)	6 % (3)	2 % (1)
Engineer	2.5% (1)	0 % (0)	0 % (0)	4 % (2)
Farmer	2.5 % (1)	2.5 % (1)	0 % (0)	0 % (0)
Journalist	2.5 % (1)	0 % (0)	0 % (0)	0 % (0)
Lawyer	10 % (4)	5 % (2)	2 % (1)	2 % (1)
Legislator	47.5 % (19)	52.5 % (21)	58 % (29)	68 % (34)
Med. Doctor	5 % (2)	2.5 % (1)	8 % (4)	14 % (7)
Municipal Service	0 % (0)	0 % (0)	4 % (2)	2 % (1)
Pharmacist	5 % (2)	0 % (0)	2 % (1)	0 % (0)
Private Sector	0 % (0)	7.5 % (3)	8 % (4)	2 % (1)
Public Sector	0 % (0)	0 % (0)	2 % (1)	0 % (0)
Retired	0 % (0)	0 % (0)	2 % (1)	0 % (0)
Teacher	0 % (0)	2.5 % (1)	2 % (1)	4 % (2)
Unionist	5 % (2)	7.5 % (3)	6 % (3)	0 % (0)

*n=40 for 1976 and 1981, n=50 in 1985 and 1993.

TABLE 3 shows that it is the 30 -39 age group who has the largest chance to be re-elected (i.e., 73.94% re-elected). Also the 30 -39 and 40 -49 age groups are the two age groups where most of the MPs are elected to the parliament (i.e.,37.5% for 30 -39 and 37.5% for 40 -49). Both Buck's (1963) and King's (1981) findings are very similar to this (i.e., 30 - 39 and 4 - 49 age groups make up around 70% of the members of the British House of Commons).

Small number of 20 -29 age group and its small (or, in our case, no)

chance of re-election shows that the legislators in this group have to undergo certain experiences (or rather steps) before they can be elected to the parliament, (e.g., such as working as a bureaucrat, or as a medical doctor to develop a home-style and a personal vote before running for the parliament membership).

TABLE 3 Age of Entry into the Parliament vs. Number of Re-election of the MPs after 1976.					
Row % Col % (No)	20 -29	30 -39	40 -49	50-59	60-Above
0	12.50%	37.50%	37.50%	12.50%	0%
	100%	26.06%	54.55%	50%	0%
	(2)	(6)	(6)	(2)	(0)
1	0%	63.54%	18.18%	18.18%	0%
	0%	30.43%	18.18%	50%	0%
	(0)	(7)	(2)	(2)	(0)
2	0%	85.71%	14.29%	05	0%
	0%	26.09%	9.09%	0%	0%
	(0)	(6)	(1)	(0)	(0)
3	0%	66.675	33.33%	0%	0%
	0%	17.39%	18.18%	0%	0%
	(0)	(4)	(2)	(0)	(0)

* n=40.

TABLE 4 supports the findings in TABLE 3 by indicating that legislators who are re-elected are likely to have at least a college/university degree.¹⁹ Among those who are re-elected, 95.83% have college or above degrees, while among those who were not re-elected, 86.67% have college or above degrees. Among those who have less than college education, only 33.33% were re-elected, while among those who have college or above degrees, 64.86% were re-elected.

Testing Hypothesis 2: Legislators whose occupation before the election are the ones which give them the opportunity to be in close contact with the people/citizens (so that they can develop a strong "home-style" and a strong "personal vote") are likely to have longer term in the parliament.

TABLE 4		
Education Level vs. Number of Re-election of the MPs after 1976.		
Row % Col % (No)	Less than College	College or More
0	13.34% 66.67% (2)	86.64% 35.14% (13)
1	0% 0% (0)	100% 35.14% (13)
2	14.29% 33.33% (1)	85.71% 16.22% (6)
3	0% 0% (0)	100% 13.51% (5)

* n=40.

TABLE 5 shows that lawyers, medical doctors, unionists, pharmacists and people with previous legislative experience are more likely to be re-elected (or have longer term in the parliament) than the engineers, bureaucrats, farmers and so on, (i.e., 75% of the lawyers, 63.16% of the people with previous legislative experience, and 100% of the medical doctors, pharmacists and unionists in the 1976 parliament were re-elected).

TABLE 2 above also shows that during the 1976-1993 period certain occupations, such as medicine and teaching show an increasing trend

TABLE 5
Occupation Type vs. Number of Re-election of the MPs After 1976

Row % Col% (No)	Bureaucrat	Engineer	Farmer	Journalist	Lawyer	Legislator	Med. Doctor	Pharmacist	Unionist
0	26.67%	6.67%	6.67%	6.67%	6.67%	46.67%	0%	0%	0%
	50% (4)	100% (1)	100% (1)	100% (1)	25% (1)	36.84% (7)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)
1	7.69%	0%	0%	0%	15.38%	17.50%	7.69%	0%	15.38%
	25% (1)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	50% (2)	53.85% (7)	50% (1)	0% (0)	100% (2)
2	28.57%	0%	0%	0%	14.29%	42.86%	0%	14.29%	0%
	25% (2)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	25% (1)	15.79% (3)	0% (0)	50% (1)	0% (0)
3	20%	0%	0%	0%	0%	40%	20%	20%	0%
	12.50% (1)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	0% (0)	10.53% (2)	50% (10)	50% (1)	0% (0)

* n=40.

among the legislators before they were elected. This supports the idea that those occupations give more opportunity to the candidates than such occupations as bureaucracy, engineering, farming etc., to form a home-style and develop a personal vote, which, in return, help the legislators to have longer term in the parliament (Hypothesis 2).

Testing Hypothesis 3: Legislators are likely to have longer term in the parliament if they are elected from the districts where they were born and have a homogeneous supporting community (i.e., where there is high regionalism).

TABLE 6 shows that legislators born in Girne, Mağusa, Larnaka and Limasol have better chance for re-election, i.e., 100% of the legislators from Girne, 73.33% from Mağusa, 66.67% from Larnaka and 75% from Limasol were re-elected after the 1976 election. Percentage of legislators born in Lefkoşa and Baf who were re-elected are 35.5% and 50% , respectively.

Before I move on, some clarification is necessary about the districts.

TABLE 6						
Birth Place vs. Number of Re-election After 1976						
Row % Col % (No)	BAF	GİRNE	LARNAKA	LEFKOŞA	LİMASOL	MAGUSA
0	26.67% 50% (4)	0% 0% (0)	6.67% 33.33% (1)	33.33% 62.50% (5)	6.67% 25% (1)	26.67% 26.67% (4)
1	15.38% 25% (2)	0% 0% (0)	7.69% 33.33% (1)	15.38% 25% (2)	23.08% 75% (3)	38.46% 33.33% (5)
2	0% 0% (0)	28.57% 100% (2)	14.29% 33.33% (1)	14.29% 12.50% (1)	0% 0% (0)	42.86% 20% (3)
3	40% 25% (2)	0% 0% (0)	0% 0% (0)	0% 0% (0)	0% 0% (0)	60% 20% (3)

* n=40.

I Assumptions

**Legislators who were born in Limasol will be considered as born in Girne since the majority of the Limasol immigrants were placed in Girne district after the 1974 War.²⁰*

**Legislators who were born in Larnaka will be considered as born in Mağusa since the majority of the Larnaka immigrants were placed in Mağusa after the war in 1974.*

**One can not assume the same argument (above) for the Baf immigrants since they were placed in all districts in the North after 1974. Also, many people from Baf moved (migrated) to big cities, especially to the capital Lefkoşa, during the period 1930-1960 to find better jobs, and during 1963-1974 for protection.²¹*

In that sense, since the people from Baf area are scattered among all the districts they couldn't form a cohesive community in a particular geographic area, (i.e., no particular homogeneous region for people from Baf).

The situation is similar for people who are born in Lefkoşa. Lefkoşa is the most cosmopolitan city (and district). Many people from the rural areas had migrated to Lefkoşa for better jobs until the 1970s. In addition, since most of the governmental offices are there (in the capital), it has been the civil servants' city. So, Lefkoşa indeed, has the least regionalism in North Cyprus, while the other districts (i.e., Girne and Mağusa) are very much homogeneous in terms of the people's birth places.

After taking the above assumptions into consideration, the percentage of the legislators born in Girne (including Limasol), Mağusa (including Larnaka) and Lefkoşa who were re-elected are 83% , 73% and 37.5%, respectively. (calculated from **TABLE 6**).

TABLE 7 also supports the hypothesis in terms of regionalism. Here, the percentage of the legislators from Girne, Mağusa and Lefkoşa who were re-elected are 67.67%, 66.67% and 57.89%, respectively - indicating that re-election rate in cosmopolitan Lefkoşa is lower than in Girne and Mağusa which are more regionalized.

TABLE 8 and **TABLE 9**²² show re-election and birth places (locality) of the legislators.

TABLE 7

District vs. Number of Re-election of the MPs after 1976

Row % Col % (No)	GİRNE	LEFKOŞA	MAĞUSA
0	13.33% 33.33% (2)	53.33% 42.11% (8)	33.33% 33.33% (5)
1	23.08% 50% (3)	38.46% 26.32% (5)	38.46% 33.33% (5)
2	14.29% 16.67% (1)	42.86% 15.79% (3)	42.86% 20% (3)
3	0% 0% (0)	60% 15.79% (3)	40% 13.33% (2)

n=40.

TABLE 8

Col % (n)	LOCAL	NON-LOCAL
Re-elected	66.7% (18)	69.2% (9)
Not Re-elected	33.3% (9)	30.8% (4)
* n=40.	100%	100%

TABLE 9			
Row % (n)	LOCAL	NON-LOCAL	
Re-elected	66.7% (18)	33.3% (9)	100%
Not Re-elected	69.2% (9)	30.8% (4)	100%

* n=40.

From TABLE 8 the findings are

- (1) Those who were locals, 66.7% were re-elected.
- (2) those who were non-locals, 69.2% were re-elected.

From TABLE 9, the findings are

- (3) Those who were re-elected, 66.7% were locals.
- (4) Those who were not re-elected, 69.2% were locals.

It seems that Hypothesis 3 is only partially proved, and that to be nominated from the district one is born in doesn't mean the candidate has more chance for re-election. However, if we look at the legislators from Lefkoşa district (which is the most cosmopolitan and the least regionalized district), 7 out of 13 legislators who were not re-elected were first nominated from Lefkoşa (53.8%), while 9 out of 27 legislators who were re-elected were nominated from Lefkoşa district (which is the most cosmopolitan and the least regionalized district), 7 out of 13 legislators who were not re-elected were first nominated from Lefkoşa (53.8%), while 9 out of 27 legislators who were re-elected were nominated from Lefkoşa district (33.33%). In addition, among those who were nominated from Lefkoşa, 56.25% were re-elected, while among those who were nominated outside Lefkoşa, 75% were re-elected (see TABLE 10). This shows that more than half of the MPs who were not re-elected are from Lefkoşa district, and that the re-election success of the candidates from Lefkoşa are lower than the candidates nominated outside Lefkoşa-showing that where one is born and where one is nominated are important factors for re-election.

TABLE 10
Re-election vs. Nomination from Lefkoşa

Row % Col % (No)	Nominated from Lefkoşa	Nominated outside of Lefkoşa
Re-elected	33.33% 56.25 % (9)	66.67% 75% (18)
Not Re-elected	53.84% 43.75% (7)	46.16% 25% (6)

If a candidate's birth place and nominated district where the candidates have their original supporting community, then they are more likely to from a strong home-style and a strong personal vote, hence, more chance to be re-elected than the ones who are nominated in more heterogeneous districts (such as Lefkoşa), or where they were not born.

I CONCLUSION

The growing trend of careerism in the British House of Commons and the US Congress is by no means authentic to only the British or the American politics. Research in this area show that there is a general trend of rise in the number of career politicians in many democratic countries (i.e., where free elections are held), such as Germany, India, and Japan, besides the US and Great Britain.

The study that I undertook on the North Cyprus Parliament also shows very similar results. **Hypothesis 1** is supported by the empirical tests that there has been growing careerism in the North Cyprus Parliament since 1976 in general, as well as in every ideological faction (parties) within the parliament: age of entry into the parliament increased; percentage of MPs with previous legislative experienced increased; 30-39 and 40-49 age groups became the majority of those who first entered the parliament (similar to Buck's (1963) and King's (1981) findings).

In close relation to careerism, the empirical tests (for **Hypothesis 2**) show that the MPs whose occupation before the election are the ones

which give them the opportunity to be in close contact with the citizens are likely to have longer term in the parliament.

My main argument here is that occupations which necessitate close contact with the people/citizens give more opportunity to the candidate to form a strong home style and a strong personal vote, which in return help him/her to win the election. My findings on the North Cyprus Parliament show that legislators whose occupation before the election were as such had a better chance for re-election. In that regard, lawyers, medical doctors, pharmacists, unionists and teachers (as well as people with previous legislative experience) performed much better in getting re-elected than engineers, bureaucrats, farmers etc., in North Cyprus. This is also very similar to King's (1981) findings for the British House of Commons.

Finally, the results of my empirical test (for **Hypothesis 3**) shows that legislators who are elected from the districts where they are born and have a homogeneous supporting community (i.e., where there is high regionalism) are likely to have longer term in the parliament.

All three hypotheses are supported by the empirical tests using the data from North Cyprus. **Hypothesis 1** and **Hypothesis 2** are also supported by similar findings of other scholars (such as Buck and King). However, other (or further) comparative studies are necessary for testing the wider applicability (validity) of **Hypothesis 3**: importance of birth place for re-election, especially in cosmopolitan areas (i.e., where there is very low regionalism). That is, what the relationship between one's birth place and forming a strong home style and a personal vote. My findings indicate that a candidate has more chance for re-election if he is/she is born in a highly regionalised area, than in a cosmopolitan area (such as Lefkoşa). However, other comparative research, and even case studies are needed to test the wider applicability of this hypothesis.

I APPENDIX

TABLE					
Three Major Parties and Their Election Results in Terms of % of the Votes and Number of Seats (n) during 1976-1993.					
PARTY	IDEOLOGY	1976	1981	1985	1993
CTP	Left	12.9 % (2)	15.1 % (6)	21.4 % (12)	24.2 % (13)
TKP	Social Democrat	20.2 % (8)	28.5 % (13)	15.8 % (10)	13.3 % (5)
UBP	Right	53.9 % (22)	42.5 % (18)	36.7 % (24)	29.8 % (17)
DP*	Right	-	-	-	29.2 % (15)
Other Parties Including Independent MPs	-	13 % (8)	13.9 % (3)	16.1 % (4)	3.5 % (0)

* DP was established during the early 1990s.

n=40 for 1976 and 1981, n=50 in 1985 and 1993.

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2. KING *ibid.*, p.250.
3. KING *ibid.*, p.250.
4. BUCK, Philip W.. *Amateurs and Professionals in British Politics 1918-59* Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1963, p. 2.
5. MATTHEWS, Donald R.. "Legislative Recruitment and Legislative Careers", in Gerhard Loewenberg, Samuel C. Patterson, and Malcom E. Jewell, eds. *Handbook of Legislative Research*, Cambridge, Mass., and London: Harvard University Press, 1985.

6. Ethnic conflict between the Greek and Turkish Cypriots resulted in the split between the two partners of the Cyprus Republic in 1963. Since then, and especially after 1974, the two communities have been living separately in their own states - one on the South and the other one on the North. The Parliament of North Cyprus under this study was first formed as the Parliament of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus in 1975, and later named as the Parliament of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC) after the declaration of independence by the Turkish Cypriots on November, 1983.

Although the TRNC is not recognized internationally, other than by Turkey, it possesses all the institutional characteristics that a nation state has. In that regard, its parliament also has all the necessary features to operate in the fashion that other European parliaments do.

7. Patterson suggests that political science research on parliaments should be carried out in a "diachronic comparison" fashion. See PATTERSON, Samuel C.. "Understanding the British Parliament", *Political Studies* 37 (1989): p. 449-462.
8. For further details, see MEZEY, Michael L.. "Legislatures: Individual Purpose and Institutional Performance", in Ada Finifter, ed., *Political Science: The State of the Discipline*, 2nd ed. (Washington: APSA, 1993), pp. 335-364.
9. Fenno, in describing "home-style, talks about the formation of personal constituency, primary constituency, reelection constituency, and geographical constituency by the US congressman and how each of these levels affect his pursuit of re-election. See FENNO, Richard F. Jr., *Home Style: House Members in their Districts* (Boston and Toronto, Little, Brown, 1978).
10. Cain at all defined "personal vote" as "that proportion of a candidate's electoral support which originates in his or her personal qualities, qualifications, activities and record." (p. 9). See CAIN Bruce, FERREJOHN John and FIORINA Morris, *The Personal : Constituency Service and Electoral Independence*, Cambridge, Mass., and London: Harvard University Press, 1987, pp.9-21.
11. I defined Regionalism as a district where most of its population are born and raised or moved there due to migration etc., or lived there for a long time (such as 10-15 years) so that a feeling of "regional community" is formed. In that sense, the district is homogeneous or is formed of a few homogeneous communities, unlike a cosmopolitan area where there are people that there are too many small "regional communities" whose vote is not usually sufficient to elect a candidate for legislator.
12. I would like to thank my previous student, Özgür Ezel, from the Department of International Relations in Eastern Mediterranean University, and the North Cyprus Parliament Reporter Mr. Avkan for their excellent work in gathering all the data and mailing these huge data directly to me. I also want to thank Mr. Zeki Bayram who is an attorney of the opposition party UBP, for faxing the missing data to me. Without his personal efforts, it would be quite difficult to get the information about the current parliament (1993).

13. The 1990 election data is omitted since the opposition to the incumbent government boycotted the parliament, leaving the incumbent ruling party to fill all the seats in the parliament. In that case, the 1990 parliament is no way close to having the accurate representation of the voters.
14. In some instances when I tried to use Chi-Square, the test result for my sample (n=40, or n=50) was: "Warning: 89% of the cells have expected counts less than 5. Chi-Square may not be a valid test."
15. Each party in North Cyprus has a specific ideology. There are three major parties: Rightist UBP, social democrat TKP, and leftist CTP. Another major rightist party DP was established in the early 1990s. DP consists of some of the UBP legislators who fell into conflict with the party policies, and resigned from UBP to form DP as a protest. See Table 1 in Appendix for more details.
16. BUCK, Philip W.. *Amateurs and Professionals in British Politics 1918-59*, Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1963.
17. PUTNAM, Robert D.. *The Comparative Study of Political Elites*, ed. Joseph La Palombara, Pentice-Hall Contemporary Comparative Politics Series, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1976.
18. KING, *ibid*, p. 249-285.
19. A candidate with a college degree who finished his two-year military service is at least 24 years old. Considering that he works at least 5-10 years to form a home-style and develop a personal vote, put him into thirty-some years old age for the entry into the parliament.
20. Baf, Girne, Larnaka, Lefkoşa, Limasol and Mağusa were the biggest districts in the Cyprus Republic in 1960. After the island is divided ethnically into two geographic regions - North and South - Baf, Larnaka and Limasol remained in the southern Cyprus, while Girne, Lefkoşa and Mağusa remained in North Cyprus.
21. Baf was a relatively poorer region compared to the other districts mentioned. It was heavily an agricultural region and heavily populated by the Greek Cypriots. Ethnic violence of the 1960s forced many Turkish Cypriots to move other areas where there were Turkish enclaves where they would feel safer.
22. In the first parliament (1976) 11 of the 15 not re-elected legislators are born in the districts where they were nominated. However, two of the legislators died during the 1980s (one due to heart attack, and the other in a car accident). Both of them were prominent in their parties. One was one of the founders of TKP and the other was a prominent figure in UBP which his father (the President) established. Therefore, we can not assume that they would have not been elected if they had lived. So, I counted them as potentially re-elected in the cross tabulations (TABLE 8 and TABLE 9).

KUZEY KIBRIS PARLAMENTOSUNDA KARIYERİZM

ÖZET

Yazıda, Kuzey Kıbrıs Parlamentosu'ndaki kariyerizm irdelenmektedir.

İngiliz Avam Kamarası ile Amerikan Kongresi'ndeki büyüyen kariyerizm eğilimi yalnızca İngiliz ve Amerikan politik yaşamına özgü değildir.

Kuzey Kıbrıs Parlamentosu ile ilgili incelemeler, kariyerizmin büyümesi bakımından benzer sonuçlar göstermektedir. Kariyerizmle bağlantılı olarak verilere dayalı irdemeler, seçimden önce meslekleri yurttaşlarla ilişkiye fırsat veren Kuzey Kıbrıs Parlamentosu'ndaki milletvekillerinin daha uzun süre parlamenterliklerini sürdürdüğünü göstermektedir.

Yazarın verilere dayalı incelemeleri, doğdukları bölgeden seçilen ve homojen bir destekleyici kitlesi olan parlamenterlerin parlamentoda daha uzun süre görev yaptıklarını da göstermektedir.

KIBRIS TÜRK EDEBİYATINDA ROMAN

İsmail BOZKURT*

ÖZET

Bir ülkenin toplumsal ve kültürel koşullarını yansıtan bir yazın türü olarak roman, bugünkü anlamıyla 17. yüzyılda ortaya çıktı, gerçek kişiliğine ise 18. ve 19. yüzyıllarda kavuştu.

Türkiye'de ilk roman Tanzimat Dönemi'nde ortaya çıktı. Kıbrıs'taki ilk Türkçe roman ise 1893'te yayımlandı.

Kıbrıs Türk romanı nicel ve nitel olarak önemli bir gelişme göstermedi. Romancı niteliği kazanmış yazar olarak Hikmet Afif Mapolar, göreceli olarak da Özker Yaşın sayılabilir. Bu ikisinin dışında roman yazmayı sürekli bir uğraş haline getiren yazar yoktur.

İ GİRİŞ

"Edebi türlerin en bağımsız"¹ olan romanın açık seçik bir tanımı yoktur². Bu bakımdan bu yazıda bir tanım vermek istemiyorum. Ancak edebiyat türü olarak romanın, mevcut toplumsal ve ekonomik yapı ile yakın ilişkisi olduğunu vurgulamak gerekir. Günlük yaşayış ve toplumsal koşullar edebiyata daha çok romanla girer. Başka bir anlatımla roman, yaşamın ta kendisidir; bir ülkenin toplumsal ve kültürel koşullarını yansıtan bir araç durumundadır.

Bu yazımızda, Kıbrıs Türk Romanı'nın içeriğine girmeyeceğiz. Amacımız, "roman" olarak yayımlanmış yapıtlar, roman yazarları; başka bir deyişle Kıbrıs Türk Romanı ile ilgili bir "saptama" yapmaktır. Bu romanın, toplumsal ve kültürel koşullarımızı edebiyata ne denli yansıttığı, başka bir konudur. Daha değişik geniş ve derin bir çalışma gerektirir.

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I ROMANIN GELİŞMESİ

Bu girişi yaptıkları sonra romanın gelişmesine kısaca göz atalım.

Latince yazılmamış tüm edebiyat eserlerine başlangıçta "roman" deniyordu.³

"Romanın, Eskiçağ düzyazısına, eski doğu masallarına, şövalye edebiyatına, Rönesans hikâyesine, destana bağlı olduğu"ve "Eskiçağ, Ortaçağ ve Rönesans edebiyatının kimi roman prototiplerini yarattığı kabul edilse bile, bu, ancak burjuva öncesi dönemin burjuva toplumunun belirli ekonomik ve toplumsal temellerini atması ölçüsünde olmuştur."⁴

Başka bir anlatımla yukarıda sözünü ettiğimiz anlatı türleri başka şeydir, roman başka şey.

Romanın kişiliğini kazanması 17. yüzyıl başlarında Cervantes'le olmuştur⁵ ve gerçek roman, yani onsekizinci ve ondokuzuncu yüzyıl romanı ise ancak "bir burjuva yaşama biçiminin yetesiye açık seçicikle belirmesiyle ortaya çıkmıştır."⁶ Bu bakımdan roman sanatı, genellikle burjuvazinin ortaya çıkışı ile gelişen bir edebiyat türü olarak nitelendirilebilir.⁷

I TÜRK ROMANI'NA KISA BİR BAKIŞ

Çok genel olarak romandaki gelişmeyi anlattıktan sonra Türk Romanı'nın gelişmesine de kısaca bir göz atmak istiyoruz; çünkü Kıbrıs Türk Edebiyatı, Türk Edebiyatı'ndaki gelişmeleri izleyerek gelişti.

Binbir Gece Masalları, Yusuf ile Züleyha, Leyla ile Mecnun, Tahir ile Zühre, Aşık Garib, Hüsrev ile Şirin, Kerem ile Aslı, Emrah ile Selvi, Arzu ile Kamber, Dede Korkut gibi anonim yapıtlar, *Koroğlu* menkıbeleri, *Nasreddin Hoca* fıkraları Türk Edebiyatı'nda anlatı türünün örnekleridir. Buna karşın Türkiye'de roman türünün ilk örnekleri, Tanzimat Dönemi'nde görüldü.⁸

Türk Edebiyatı'nda Batılı anlamda görülen ilk roman, çeviridir. Bu çeviri roman, Yusuf Kâmil Paşa'nın Fenelon'dan çevirdiği *Terceme-i Telemak*'tır. 1859'da çevrilen bu eser özetlenerek 1862, 1863, 1867 ve 1870'de basılmıştır.⁹ İkinci çeviri roman ise Victor Hugo'nun *Sefiller*'inden özetlenerek *Mağdurin Hikâyesi* adıyla 1862'de yayınlanan romandır.¹⁰

İlk telif Türk romanı, 1872'de yayınlanan Şemsettin Sami'nin *Taaşşuk-u Talât vü Fitnat (Talat ile Fitnat'ın Sevişmesi)* adlı romanıdır.¹¹

Türk Romanı çeşitli aşamalardan geçerek bugüne geldi.¹²

Türk Romanı'nın gelişmesi, Batı Edebiyatı'ndan değişiktir. Roman sanatı Batı'da toplumsal-sınıfsal gelişme ve değişimlere paralel olarak gelişmiştir. Türk Romanı'nda ise zaman dilimi zorunlu olarak kısalmıştır.¹³

I KIBRIS TÜRK EDEBİYATINDA ROMAN

Kıbrıs Türk Edebiyatı'nda, roman öncesi anlatı türünün örnekleri daha çok manzum destan, efsane ve halk fıkraları biçimindedir. Bu arada Türk Edebiyatı'ndaki roman öncesi anlatı türündeki (yukarıda sayılan) örneklerin Kıbrıs Türkleri'nde de yaygın olduğu söylenebilir.

Destanların İngiliz Sömürge Yönetimi döneminde daha yoğun biçimde ortaya çıktığını, bu arada vurgulamak gerekir.¹⁴

Romana gelince... Kıbrıs Türk Edebiyatı'ndan genelde bir şiir edebiyatı olarak söz edilir. Bu, bizim de yadsıyamıyacağımız bir yargıdır. Bunun doğal sonucu olarak Kıbrıs Türk Edebiyatı'nda roman, hatta genelde düzyazı, şiire göre fazla gelişmemiştir.

Başka bir anlatımla Kıbrıs Türk Edebiyatı'nda roman geleneği yoktur. Nicel olarak da roman yetersizdir.

Bu değerlendirmeden sonra Kıbrıs Türk Edebiyatı'nda romanın gelişmesine kısaca bir göz atalım:

Kıbrıs Türk Edebiyatı'nda bilinen ilk roman Kaytazzade Mehmet Nazım'ın "*Yadigâr-ı Muhabbet*"idir.¹⁵ İstanbul'da ilk çeviri roman yayımlandıktan 31, ilk Türk romanı yayımlandıktan 21 yıl sonra 1893'te Lefkoşa'da yayımlanmıştır. Konusu İstanbul'da geçmektedir. Yazarının Kıbrıslı Türk olması dışında Kıbrısla bir ilgisi yoktur. Kaytazzade'nin *Leyle-i Visal (Kavuşma Gecesi)* adlı başka bir romanı daha vardır; ancak bitmemiştir. İlk 12 bölümü tefrika edilmiştir.¹⁶ *Leyle-i Visal*'in bugünkü dile çevirisi, Sayın Harid Fedai tarafından Ortam Sanat'ın 1.-4. sayılarında yayımlanmıştır.

Bu arada 8 Ocak, 1892 yılında, yani Kaytazzade'nin romanından önce Muzafferredin Galib'in "*Bir Bakış*" adlı romanının Zaman gazetesinde yayımlanmağa başlandığını ancak tamamlanmamış olduğunu belirtmemiz gerek.¹⁷ Aynı şekilde M. Sadrettin'in de *Saika-i Sevda* adlı bir romanının 8 Ağustos 1897'de Zaman gazetesinde tefrika edilmeğe başlandığı ancak tamamlanmadığı biliniyor.¹⁸

Kıbrıs Türk Edebiyatı'nda romancı olarak nitelendirilebilecek, daha doğrusu "romancı" niteliği ön plana çıkan ilk yazar Hikmet Afif Mapolar'dır.¹⁹ Mapolar'ın kitap olarak yayımlanmış romanları şunlardır: *Kahraman Kaplan* (1936), *Son Damla* (1937), *Diken Çiçeği* (1939), *Son Çıldırış* (1939), *Kendime Dönüyorum* (1943), *Kök Nal* (1953), *Beyaz Gül* (1953), *Üçümüz* (1956). Gazetelerde tefrika edilip de kitaplaştırılmayan romanları ise şunlardır: *Mermer Kadın* (İstiklâl Gazetesi, 28 Ekim 1949 - 3 Şubat 1950), *Aşk Vadisi* (İstiklâl Gazetesi, 14 Şubat 1950 - 20 Mayıs 1950), *Sabah Sambaları* (Hürsöz Gazetesi, 19 Mayıs 1952 - 3 Ekim 1952), *Şantöz* (Kıbrıs Postası, 25 Ekim 1982 - 12 Mart 1983) *Potuğun Pembesi* (Kıbrıs Postası 14 Temmuz 1984 - 16 Aralık 1984) *Asu'nun Dönüşü* (Kıbrıs Postası, 13 Şubat

1986 -14 Mart 1987), *Özgürlük Savaşçıları* (Kıbrıs Postası 25 Aralık 1987 - 21 Temmuz 1988).

Milli Eğitim ve Kültür Bakanlığı yayını *Kıbrıs Türk Edebiyatı-Başlangıcından Bugüne* adlı eserde Mapolar'ın *Kan Gecesi* ve *Asu (?)* adlı iki romanından da söz ediliyor. Böylece Mapolar'ın kitaplaşmış veya tefrika edilmiş romanlarının sayısı 16'yı buluyor.

Daha çok ozan olarak bilinen Özker Yaşın'ın, da yayımlanmış dört romanı ile "romancı" niteliğinin olduğu vurgulanmalıdır.²⁰

Özker Yaşın'ın romanları şunlardır: *Bütün Kapılar Kapandı* (1954), *Mücahitler* (1970), *Girne'den Yol Bağladık* (1976), *Kıbrıslı Kâzım* (1978). *Mücahitler*, 1974'te *Kıbrıs'ta Vuruşanlar-Mücahidin Romanı* adıyla yeniden yayımlandı.

Roman yazan diğer Kıbrıslı Türk yazarlar bu işi ya "bir çeşni olsun" ya da "benim de bir romanım olsun" kabilinden yapmışlar , bir-iki roman yazıp gerisini getirmemişler ya da getirememişlerdir.

Bu yazarlar ve romanları, saptayabildiğimiz kadarıyla şunlardır:²¹

- 1) İsmail Karagözlü, *Saadet Yolcuları*, 1940; *Sarı Mektuplar*, 1942 (Halkın Sesi Gazetesinde tefrika).
- 2) Rauf R. Denктаş, *Ateşsiz Cehennem*, 1944.²²
- 3) Argun Korkut; *Kore Yollarında*,1951; *Sönen Yıldız*, 1952.
- 4) Orbay Deliceirmak, *El Kapılarında*, 1960.
- 5) Fikret Demirağ , *Yağmur Ağaçları*, 1963 ve *Şu Müthiş Savaş Yılları*, 1985.
- 6) Konur Alp, *Aşkına İthaf*, 1969 ve *Kıbrıs Anemonları*, 1966.
- 7) Ahmet Gazioğlu, *Kıbrıs'ta Aşk ve Barış*, 1975.
- 8) Çetin Kasaboğlu, *Umudumu İkiye Böldüler*, 1976.
- 9) Sami Alhun, *Uyumsuzlar* (Yayımlanmadı)²³
- 10) Ahmet Tolgay. *Kıbrıs Çarımhtan İnerken* (Bozkurt Gazetesinde tefrika).²⁴
- 11) Sabahattin İsmail, *(Savaşların Gölgesinde*, 1986).
- 12) Kutlu Adalı, *Kağrı Yolu* (Yayımlanmadı).²⁵
- 13) Bekir Kara, *Yemin* (Yayımlanmadı).²⁶
- 14) Sevim Baran, *İki Halkın Hikayesi*, 1993.
- 15) Mehmet Yaşın (*Soydaşım Balık Burcu*, 1994)²⁷
- 16) Derviş Zaim (*Ares Harikalar Ülkesinde*, 1995.

Bu arada, bu makalenin yazarının da *Yusufoçuklar Oldu Mu* (1987) ve *Mangal* (1995) adları ile yayımlanmış iki romanı olduğunu ekleyelim.²⁸

I KISA BİR DEĞERLENDİRME

Yukarıda görüldüğü gibi, Kıbrıs Türk Edebiyatı'nda "roman" sayılabilecek eserler, bir anda sayılabilecek kadar azdır ve genellikle başka edebiyat türlerinde yazan yazar-ozanların, ya da bir-iki roman yazıp bu işi bırakanların eserleridir. Tek istisna, yukarıda da belirttiğimiz gibi Hikmet Afif Mapolar, göreceli olarak da Özker Yaşın'dır.

Nicel olarak Kıbrıs Türk Romanı'nda görülen zayıflık, nitel açıdan da vardır.

Nicel ve nitel olarak zayıf olan Kıbrıs Türk Romanı; bugüne kadar edebiyat bilimi açısından ele alınıp incelenmiş ve hakkında tezler hazırlanmış değildir.

Bunun bir boşluk olduğu kanısındayım. Romansız bir edebiyatın tam bir edebiyat olması mümkün değildir.

Kıbrıs ve Kıbrıs Türk insanının aynası olabilecek bir Kıbrıs Türk Romanı'nın gelişmesi için KKTC Anayasa'sının öngördüğü "koruyucu, destekleyici, özendirici ve ödüllendirici" önlemlere gereksinim vardır.

Öte yandan, geçmişte yazılmış ve yukarıda sözünü ettiğimiz romanları bugün bulmak olanaksızdır. Romancı olarak Mapolar'ın ve Özker Yaşın'ın romanları için de aynı şey söylenebilir.

Bana göre bu romanların topluma yeniden kazandırılması gerekir. Bunun, Kıbrıs Türk roman geleneğinin yaratılıp yaşatılmasında da önemli katkısı olacağı inancındayım.

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18. FEDAİ, Harid. (b) a.g.m.
19. Hikmet Afif Mapolar (19.9.1919-5.3.1989), düzenli bir eğitim görmemiş, kendi kendini yetiştirmiştir. Yazı hayatına *Masum Millet*'te muhabir olarak başlamış; çeşitli gazetelerde köşe yazarlığı yapmış; siyasal polemiklere girmiş; gazete ve dergiler çıkarmış; şiir, öykü, oyun ve roman dallarında eserler vermiştir. Şiirlerinde Akdenizli Ozan, Hulki Sözer; düzyazılarında Muzaffer Gökmen takma adlarını kullanmıştır. Yayınlanmış eserleri yanında gazete ve dergi sayfalarında yayınlanmış ya da hiç yayınlanmamış eserleri de vardır.
20. Özker Yaşın (1932-.....), İstanbul Vefa Lisesini bitirdikten sonra Kıbrıs'a dönerek gazetecilik ve radyo-tv programcılığı, matbaacılık yaptı. *Savaş* gazetesini yayımladı. 1970-76 döneminde milletvekilliği yaptı. Kıbrıs'ın hemen hemen bütün gazete ve dergilerinde, Türkiye'de ise özellikle *Varlık*'ta yazıları, şiirleri yayımlandı. Kıbrıs Türk şiirine yeni bir ses getirdi ve "ulusal şair" olarak ün yaptı. Şair olarak bilinmesine karşın oyunları ve 4 romanı da yayımlandı. 1986'dan beri İstanbul'da yaşayan Yaşın'ın yeni romanlar yayımlamağa hazırlandığı da bilinmektedir.
21. Kıbrıs Türk Romanlarını saptarken özel kütüphanemiz dışında aşağıdaki yapıtlarından da yararlandık: *Kıbrıs Türk Edebiyatı - Başlangıcından Bugüne*, KKTC Milli Eğitim ve Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1989; NESİM Ali, *Kıbrıs Türk Edebiyatında Sosyal Konular*, Kıbrıs, 1986; *Edebiyatta Kıbrıslı Türk Kimliği*, Varlık Yayınları, 1987.
22. Sayın Rauf Denктаş'ın bu romanından aşağıdaki yapıtta siz ediliyor: NESİM, a.g.e., s.28 - 29.

23. Sami Alhun'un bu romanı, Lefkoşa Belediyesi'nin 1985 roman yarışmasında mansiyon almış, ancak yayınlanmamıştır.
24. TOLGAY, Ahmet. *Çelik Güvercin*, KTMD Yayını, 1996, arka kapak.
25. Bkz. *Kıbrıs Türk Edebiyatı - Başlangıcından Bugüne* - KKTC Milli Eğitim ve Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1989, s. 58.
26. KARA, Bekir. *Sırlar Ölümsüzdür* (Öyküler) Lefkoşa, 1996, arka kapak..
27. Mehmet Yaşın, bu eseri için "ne anı, ne roman, ne deneme, hepsi hikâyedir" demektedir. Bkz. YAŞIN, Mehmet. *Soydaşım Balık Burcu*, İstanbul, İletişim Yayınları, 1944, s.5 ve arka kapak.
28. Bkz. *Yusuçuklar Oldu Mu?* İstanbul, Cem Yayınevi, 1987; *Mangal*, Lefkoşa, Galeri Kültür Yayınları, 1995.

THE NOVEL IN TURKISH CYPRIOT LITERATURE

ABSTRACT

The novel in the modern sense emerged in the XVIIth century as a literary genre reflecting the social and cultural conditions of a country, and gained its true personality in the XVIIIth and XIXth centuries.

The first novel in Turkey emerged during the Tanzimat (Political Reformation - 1839) Period. In Cyprus, the first novel in Turkish was published in 1893.

The Turkish Cypriot novel has manifested no important development either in qualitative or in quantitative terms. Hikmet Afif Mapolar, and to certain degree, Ozker Yasin, can be considered real novelists, but apart from these two writers, no others have adopted the writing of novels as a permanent endeavor.

CHRYSOSTOMOS AND PAPACHRYSOSTOMOU V. TURKEY: SOME ASPECTS OF STATE RESPONSIBILITY

Zaim M. NECATİGİL*

ABSTRACT

This article is an evaluation of the report of the European Commission of Human Rights of 8 July 1993 in the case of *Chrysostomos and Papachrysostomou v. Turkey*. In earlier cases against Turkey the Commission had found that Turkey had "jurisdiction" in northern Cyprus under Article 1 of the European Convention on Human Rights. In the *Chrysostomos* case, however, a distinction has been drawn between "jurisdiction" and "responsibility" for alleged violations of the Convention in northern Cyprus. The Commission has found that the detention of the Greek Cypriot applicants in northern Cyprus, after certain border incidents, and their subsequent trial and sentence by a Turkish Cypriot court, were not acts imputable to Turkey. The author examines the implications of the relevant findings of the European Commission from the point of view of State responsibility, both as regards the exercise of substantial authority by the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, and Turkey's responsibility under the European Convention in northern Cyprus.

I 1. INTRODUCTION

The European Commission of Human Rights ruled in *Cyprus v. Turkey*¹ that the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus could not be regarded as an entity which exercises jurisdiction within the meaning of Article 1 of the European Convention on Human Rights. The Commission then concluded that "Turkey's jurisdiction in the north of the Republic of Cyprus, existing by reason of the presence of her armed forces there which prevents exercise of jurisdiction by the applicant Government, cannot be excluded on the

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ground that jurisdiction in that area is allegedly exercised by the 'Turkish Federated State of Cyprus'². The Commission added that this conclusion "does not prejudice the imputability to Turkey of any particular violation of the Convention which may be established in an examination of the merits of the application".³

In declaring admissible the above application, by its decision of 10 July 1978, the European Commission followed very closely the reasoning and often the terminology of its decision on admissibility of 26 May 1975 in earlier similar complaints against Turkey.⁴ However, Turkey did not appear before the European Commission at those stages of the application which followed the decision on admissibility. The decision of Turkey not to participate further in the proceedings before the Commission was explained to be due to a fundamental consideration that Turkey does not recognise the "Greek Cypriot administration as the legal Government of the Republic of Cyprus", and that Turkey's continued involvement in the proceedings would have required active contact with that administration in its capacity as the Government of Cyprus.⁵

In view of the above attitude of the respondent Government, the European Commission examined the merits of the joint Application Nos. 6780/74 and 6950/75, as well as Appl. No. 8007/77, in the absence of that Government. In its respective reports of 10 July 1976 and 4 October 1983, the Commission found that Turkey was responsible for violations of the Convention in Northern Cyprus. The reports of the Commission were transmitted to the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe under Article 31 of the European Convention. The Committee of Ministers, however, preferred to urge the two communities in Cyprus to resume intercommunal talks to agree upon solutions on all aspects of the Cyprus dispute, as the effective protection and full enjoyment of human rights in Cyprus depended on the solution of the political problems in the island.⁶

In *Chrysostomos v. Turkey* and *Papachrysostomou v. Turkey*⁷ the respondent Government appeared in all stages of the proceedings, including the examination of the merits, and raised the issue of responsibility for acts of the authorities in northern Cyprus (that is, the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus), which the Turkish Government argued were not imputable to Turkey.

The Report of the Commission of 8 July 1993, the publication of which was authorised by resolution of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe on 19 October 1995,⁸ raises interesting issues as to the extent of responsibility of Turkey for alleged violations of the Convention in the northern part of Cyprus. It would appear that the European Commission has qualified its earlier jurisprudence on the question of actual

control or responsibility of Turkey in that area. Despite the broad finding of "jurisdiction" of Turkey under Article 1 of the Convention, the Commission has tackled the issue of actual responsibility in relation to the circumstances of each particular complaint so as to ascertain whether the alleged violations of the Convention in Cyprus are imputable to Turkey.

2. THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE CASE

The applications before the European Commission of Human Rights of Metropolitan Chrysostomos, Bishop of Kitium (first applicant), and Archimandrite Papachrysostomou (second applicant), which were directed against Turkey, arose out of incidents at the demarcation line and the UN buffer zone in Cyprus. The applicants participated as clergymen in a demonstration of some 1,000 Greek Cypriots, mostly women, which took place in the Ayios Kassaianos area of Nicosia on 19 July 1989. The demonstration was organised by the Women's Pancyprian Movement aiming at proclaiming the rights of Greek Cypriots to return to their homes in the northern part of Cyprus. The two applicants conducted a religious service in the derelict church of Ayios Kassianos, before they were arrested, according to the respondent Government, by Turkish Cypriot police inside the territory of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus.⁹ The applicants were detained on the northern part of Cyprus, brought before the Turkish Cypriot Court of Nicosia, charged for illegal entry into northern Cyprus and tried and sentenced to short terms of imprisonment. The applicants alleged that they were tried and sentenced by a "court" which had no legitimate existence or jurisdiction over them. They also alleged that they were not arrested or detained "in accordance with a procedure prescribed by law", and that the alleged offence was of an artificial character relating to the "frontiers of an illegal entity".¹⁰ The applications concerned the applicants' deprivation of liberty and their subsequent conditions of detention and proceedings against them in the northern part of Cyprus in July 1989. The applicants alleged violations of Articles 1,3,5,6,7,9 and 13 of the Convention.

In his report of 7 December 1989 to the Security Council on the United Nations Operation in Cyprus¹¹ the UN Secretary-General referred to the demonstration of 19 July. He said that in Nicosia, the unmanning of positions implemented in May 1989¹² had a positive effect and the number of incidents was the lowest since 1974.¹³ The Secretary-General said, however, that "a serious situation arose in July as a result of a demonstration by Greek Cypriots in Nicosia".¹⁴ He described the demonstration in the

following words:

“(a) In the evening of 19 July, some 1,000 Greek Cypriot demonstrators, mostly women, forced their way into the United Nations buffer zone in the Ayios Kassianos area of Nicosia. The demonstrators broke through the line formed by UNFICYP soldiers and entered a school complex where UNFICYP reinforcements regrouped to prevent them from proceeding further. A short while later, Turkish Cypriot police and security forces elements forced their way into the area and apprehended 111 persons, 101 of them women.

(b) The Ayios Kassianos school complex is situated in the United Nations buffer zone. However, the Turkish forces claim it to be on their side of the cease-fire line. Under working arrangements with UNFICYP, the Turkish Cypriot security forces have patrolled the school grounds for several years within specific restrictions. This patrolling ceased altogether as part of the unmanning agreement implemented last May”.¹⁵

The UN Secretary-General also referred to the Security Council’s “deep concern at the tense situation created by the incidents of 19 July” and stressed the “need strictly to respect the United Nations buffer zone”. The Secretary-General said that, under UNFICYP’s mandate the United Nations was obliged “to oppose activities in the buffer zone that were bound to provoke the other side and that entailed the risk of incidents.”¹⁶

I 3. FINDINGS OF THE COMMISSION

At the admissibility stage the Commission found that Turkey’s purported territorial limitation in her declaration of 28 January 1978 could not be permitted under Article 25 of the Convention and therefore the Commission was competent *ratione loci* to deal with the application.¹⁷

During the hearing on the merits Turkey submitted that no involvement of Turkish military forces in the border incident on 19 July 1989 had been established and that any act of jurisdiction exercised by the authorities of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus is attributable to that *de facto* regime.¹⁸

As regards overall control of the arrest operation, the Commission recalled that “the application of the Convention extends beyond national frontiers of the Contracting States and includes acts of State organs abroad”, and that “the term ‘jurisdiction’ in Article 1 is not equivalent to or limited to the national territory”.¹⁹ The Commission also recalled that “the Government of the Republic of Cyprus have since 1974 been prevented from exercising their jurisdiction in the north of the island”, and that “this restriction is due to the presence of Turkish armed forces in northern Cyprus”.²⁰

However, the Commission specifically referred to Turkey’s responsibility in northern Cyprus in the border area. The Commission found that “given the overall control exercised by Turkish forces in the border area, the applicants’ arrest in that area is imputable to Turkey”.²¹ It may be deduced from this that, under certain circumstances, Turkey’s responsibility may not extend beyond the border area for acts of state of the authorities of northern Cyprus.

The limitation of Turkey’s responsibility in northern Cyprus is clearly stated in the following words:

“the factual situation is different as regards the subsequent detention of the applicants and the proceedings against them. The Commission has found no indication of control exercised by Turkish authorities over the prison administration or the administration of justice by Turkish Cypriot authorities in the applicants’ case. It further notes, as regards the legal basis of the applicants’ detention and the proceedings against them, that the Prison Rules applied were enacted in Cyprus under British rule in 1959 (cf. para.38 above) and that the judicial system in northern Cyprus is based on the English system of procedure and evidence as it stood for the whole of Cyprus (cf. para.66 above).”²²

In view of the above, the Commission found no “direct involvement of Turkish authorities in the applicants’ detention, and the proceedings against them, after their arrest on 19 July 1989”, and saw “no basis under the Convention for imputing these acts to Turkey”.²³ The applicants’ detention, trial and imprisonment were not, therefore, acts imputable to Turkey. The Commission held, albeit by majority, that such acts were lawful under Article 5 of the Convention as having been “in accordance with a procedure prescribed by law”, that is, domestic law applicable in northern Cyprus.²⁴ Therefore, the Commission found no violation of Articles, 3,5 and 13 of

the Convention in relation to both applicants, found no violation of Article 8 in relation to the first applicant, but found a violation of Article 8 in relation to the second applicant.²⁵

I 4. IMPUTABILITY

The Commission has examined in some detail the issue of imputability of the acts complained of. Even though the Commission stated that it was not "in this connection required to examine the status of the 'Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus',²⁶ it proceeded to recall the recent history of Cyprus and the evolutionary administrative developments in northern Cyprus. The Commission examined the main characteristics and the bi-communal nature of the 1960 Constitution and observed that in 1963 the administration of Cyprus "ceased to function on a bi-communal basis".²⁷ Then the Commission noted

"that intercommunal talks between the Greek-Cypriot community and the Turkish-Cypriot community began under the auspices of the United Nations in 1968; that a coup d'etat under the leadership of Greek officers took place in Cyprus on 15 July 1974; that Turkish armed forces intervened on 20 July 1974 and that a cease-fire line was agreed on the same day; that the Foreign Ministers of Greece, Turkey and the United Kingdom at their First Geneva Conference on 30 July 1974, 'noted the existence in practice in the Republic of Cyprus of two autonomous administrations, that of the Greek Cypriot community and that of the Turkish-Cypriot community'; that the Second Geneva Conference having been abortive, the Turkish forces on 14 August 1974 resumed their armed action and that on 15 August a new cease-fire line was declared; that on 13 February 1975 a constituent assembly set up by the Turkish Cypriot community declared the area north of this demarcation line to constitute a 'Turkish Federated State of Cyprus', and that on 8 June a constitution for it was promulgated (see *ibid.* pp.5-9, paras.10-17, and Appendix IV); that the 'Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus', proclaimed on 15 November 1983, has so far only been recognised by Turkey".²⁸

The Commission found that "the applicants were committing the offence

of unlawful entry" into northern Cyprus and "were arrested by officers of the Turkish Cypriot police, i.e. the police force controlling the area of northern Cyprus".²⁹ Moreover, the Commission took into consideration the status of the UN buffer zone dividing north and south Cyprus, and found that "the criminal provisions under which the applicants were charged served to protect this very area".³⁰

15. CONCLUSIONS

In considering whether the arrest of the applicants was "lawful" under domestic law the Commission had to consider the laws applicable in northern Cyprus. Even though the substantive laws in question dated from the British Colonial period, they had been supplemented by laws of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus (TFSC) and its successor the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC). The Commission referred to the Criminal Procedure Law (Cap.155), the Aliens and Immigration Law (1952), and the Prohibited Military Areas Decree of 1979, as the "relevant domestic law".³¹

The conviction of the applicants before the Turkish Cypriot court was on the

"charge of unauthorised entry into the territory of the TRNC contrary to section 20 of the Criminal Code, chapter 154 and sections 2, 8 and 9 of Act No.5/72 as amended by Act No.14/73 and Regulation No. 119, issued in March 1989 under section 11 of the Act and the Prohibited Military Areas Decree of 1979; and on the charge of entry into the territory of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus' at an unauthorised crossing point, contrary to section 20 of the Criminal Code, chapter 105 and section 12 (1) (5) of the Aliens and Immigration Acts, as amended by Act No. 21/82 and the Notification No.267/49 under sections 3 and 21 of the same act".³²

One may reasonably conclude that by limiting Turkey's responsibility to the border area and by its finding that subsequent acts of detention and trial of applicants were not imputable to Turkey, the Commission took into cognisance the *de facto* situation in the island and the exercise of substantial jurisdiction in northern Cyprus by Turkish Cypriot authorities. The more so because the applicants had put up the argument that their detention was not "in accordance with a procedure prescribed by law",

and that the alleged offence was of an artificial character relating to the "frontiers of an illegal entity".³³

It may be said that the Commission has, by implication, acknowledged the existence of a political entity in northern Cyprus and attributed to the Turkish Cypriot community a certain status which has a weight in the sphere of international law, and hence, in the application of the European Convention on Human Rights, which operates at this level.³⁴

It is submitted that the Commission was right in considering the factual situation in the island, especially since it had found earlier that the administration of Cyprus had "ceased to function on a bi-communal basis" as envisaged under the 1960 Constitution.³⁵

This attitude of the Commission gives support to the view that non-recognition does not mean denial of the existence of the unrecognised entity, or exercise of jurisdiction by authorities thereof.³⁶

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Appl. No.8007/77, Decision on admissibility of 10 July 1979, D.R.13, p.85.
2. *Ibid*, paras.24 and 25.
3. Para.26.
4. Appl. Nos.6780/74 and 6950/75, D.R. 2, p.125. These cases were filed after the Turkish military intervention in Cyprus in July and August 1974.
5. This view was put forward in the memorials submitted to the Committee of Ministers on 1 September 1986 and 16 April 1987.
6. Resolution DH(79) 1 of 19 January 1979. In the third application the Committee of Ministers simply decided to authorise publication of the Commission's Report, thus completing the consideration of the case: Resolution DH(92) 12 of 2 April 1992.
7. Appl. Nos.15299/89 and 15300/89 (joined).
8. DH(95)245. By this decision the Committee of Ministers not only disposes of the case, but does so in "agreeing with the opinion expressed by the Commission". This is the first time the Committee of Ministers has taken a stand as to the merits in a Cyprus related matter, and it has done so by approving the opinion of the Commission. In all previous Cyprus resolutions, namely DH(79) 1 and DH(92) 12, the Committee had carefully avoided endorsing the opinion of the Commission.
9. Report of the Commission of 8 July, 1993, paras. 30 and 32.

10. *Ibid*, paras. 39 and 151.
11. S/21010.
12. S/20663, para. 14.
13. S/21010, para. 10.
14. *Ibid*, para. 11.
15. Para. 11.
16. Para. 13.
17. Decision on admissibility of 7 March 1991, paras.20-29 and 42. Turkey's declaration under Article 25 of the Convention contained a paragraph to the effect that Turkey's "recognition of the right of petition extends only to allegations concerning acts and omissions of public authorities in Turkey performed within the boundaries of the territory to which the Constitution of the Republic of Turkey is applicable".
18. Report of the Commission of 8 July 1993, para.91.
19. *Ibid*, para.96.
20. Para. 98.
21. Para.168.
22. Para. 169.
23. Para. 170.
24. Paras.149 and 155.
25. Paras.176-183.
26. Para. 151.
27. Paras.164 and 165.
28. Para. 165.
29. Para.148.
30. Para. 151.
31. Paras. 82-84. The Commission also referred to the domestic law in paras. 146-148 and 151-155. The "decree" referred to was in fact an order of the Council of Ministers of the TFSC, issued under s.3 of the Prohibited Military Areas Law, No. 5 of 1979.
32. The underlined are the laws and subsidiary legislation of the TFSC and its successor, the TRNC.
33. Para.151. The applicants refused to recognise the judicial authorities in northern

Cyprus and did not avail themselves of remedies that might have been available there (para.174).

34. See the dissenting opinion of the Greek member of the Commission, Mr C. I. Rozakis, pp.37-41, at p.39 of the report of the Commission.
35. See notes 27 and 28 (above).
36. Judgment of Lord Denning MR in *Hesperides Hotels and Another v. Aegean Turkish Holidays and Another* (1977) 3 WLR 656; (1978) 1 All E.R.277, at p.285, and *Polly Peck International Plc. v. Asil Nadir and Others* (1992) 2 LIR 238 (CA). See also the author's article "Acts of Unrecognised Governments" in the Apr. 1981 (Vol.30, Part 2) issue of the *International and Comparative Law Quarterly*, pp. 388-415.

CHRYSOSTOMOS VE PAPACHRYSOSTOMOU V. TÜRKİYE'YE KARŞI: DEVLETLERİN SORUMLULUK İLKESİNİN BAZI BOYUTLARI

ÖZET

Bu makale İnsan Hakları Avrupa Komisyonunun *Chrysostomos and Papachrysostomou v. Turkey* başvurusundaki 8 Temmuz 1993 tarihli raporunun bir değerlendirmesini içermektedir. Türkiye aleyhine daha önceki başvurularda Komisyon, İnsan Hakları Avrupa Sözleşmesinin 1'inci maddesi altında Sözleşmede öngörülen hakları Kuzey Kıbrıs'ta sağlamakla Türkiye'nin "yetkili" olduğu bulgusuna varmıştı. Ancak, Komisyon, ilgili raporunda, "yetki" ve "sorumluluk" arasında bir ayrım gözetmiştir. Bir takım hudut olaylarının sonucu olarak KKTC makamlarınca tutuklanıp yargılanan ve mahkum edilen sanıkların Sözleşmenin ihlal edildiğine dair Türkiye aleyhine yapmış oldukları şikayeti dinlemiş olan Komisyon, söz konusu eylemlerin Türkiye'ye atfedilemeyeceği ve bunlardan Türkiye'nin sorumlu tutulamayacağı görüşüne varmıştır. Yazar, Komisyonun bulgularını dikkate alarak, gerek KKTC olgusu, gerekse Türkiye açısından Avrupa Sözleşmesi altında "yetki" ve "sorumluluk" ilkelerini ve inceleyerek bazı sonuçları varmaktadır.

SIR GEORGE HILL KIBRIS TARİHİ'NİN YAZARI

Taçgey DEBEŞ*

ÖZET

Yazıda, Kıbrıs'la ilgili 4 ciltlik bir eser yazan Sir George Hill tanıtılmaktadır.

Hindistan doğumlu bir İngiliz olan Hill, sikke ve madalyon uzmanı idi. Uzun yıllar British Museum'da çalışmış ve oranın müdürlüğünü yapmıştır.

Hill, 4 ciltlik *Kıbrıs Tarihi*'ni, British Museum'un sayısız kaynaklarından yararlanarak yazmıştır. Eserin 4. cildi Osmanlı ve İngiliz dönemlerini kapsamaktadır.

Hill'in eseri, genellikle en başarılı Kıbrıs Tarihi olarak kabul edilir.

I GİRİŞ

Kıbrıs tarihine ilgi duyanların tümünün birleştikleri belki de tek nokta, bu tarihi en bilimsel ve geniş kapsamlı yazan kişinin Sir George Hill olduğudur. Dört ciltlik ve anıtsal olarak nitelendirilen büyük eseri '*A History of Cyprus*' , (*Bir Kıbrıs Tarihi*) başlığını taşır.¹ Hill kelimenin tam anlamıyla çok titiz ve metodolojik ya da ilmi bir tarihçidir. Eserinde ana kısmı oluşturan yazı miktarından ziyade dipnotlar ve notlar var. Yazar vardığı her yargının kaynaklarını ve sebeplerini bu dipnotlar aracılığıyla açıklar. Alternatif görüşlerin hiçbiri de yabana atılmaz. Her paragraf adeta mukayeseli bir etüddür ve yazar bu konuda yazılı birinci el kaynaklarının tüketilmesine değin araştırmalarını durdurmaz. Kaynak ve görüş seçimlerindeki insiyatifini o derece titizlikle kullanır ki objektif olduğuna kimsenin şüphesi kalmaz. Bu, o kadar zor bir meseledir ki ancak çok küçük bir tarihçi gurubu tarafından başarılabilmiştir. O sebebledir ki Kıbrıs tarihinin en kesin, güvenilir ve kapsamlı tarihi Hill'inki olarak kabul edilir.

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■ HILL HAKKINDA KISA BİLGİ

1867 de İngiliz İmparatorluğuna bağlı Hindistan'da doğan Hill daha ziyade sikke ve madalyon uzmanı olarak bilinir. Ünlü British Museum'a 1893 yılında Para ve Madalyon Bölümü asistanı olarak giren Hill başarılı bir şekilde tüm kademelerden geçerek bu mümtaz kuruluşun başına yerleşir ve emekli olana kadar British Museum direktörlüğünde kalır. Buradaki ilk çalışmaları tarihi para ve madalyonlar üzerinedir. Bu müzedeki Grek sikkeleri üzerine yazdığı seri eser bu konuda tam bir otoritedir. Yazarın Kıbrıs'la ilgisinin ilk somut örneğini bu seride bastırdığı *Catalogue Of The Greek Coins Of Cyprus* (1904),² (*Kıbrıs Grek Sikkeleri Kataloğu*) isimli eserde buluruz. Ancak *Kıbrıs Tarihi*'nin ilk cildinin basımı için daha aradan 36 yıllık bir sürenin geçmesi gerekecektir.

Çok ilginçtir ki diğer Kıbrıs'a hizmet veren tarihçilerin aksine Hill Kıbrıs'ta hiç görev yapmamış ve hatta iki kısa seyahati hariç (1934 ve 1938 yıllarında) adada hiç kalmamıştır. Eserini kontrolü altında bulunan British Museum'un sınırsız kaynak imkânlarıyla hep masa başında hazırlamıştır. 1934 yılındaki kısa seyahatinde bizzat hazırladığı eski eserlerle ilgili yasa taslağı Kıbrıs hükümetince aynen kabul edilmiştir. Zamanına göre örnek sayılan yasa yine de eski eserlerin yurt dışına çıkartılmasını tamamen yasaklamıyor, günümüze kadar gelen antika sorununa o güne ve yapımcısının karakterine uygun ilmi bir hüviyet veriyordu. Bu Yasa'yla adada arkeolojik kazıların düzeni ve sorumluluğunu üstlenen bir Antikalar (Eski Eserler) Dairesi kuruluyor, yoğun şekilde sürmekte olan kazılarda bulunan eserlerin dağıtımı bu Daire'ye bırakılıyordu. Modern anlamda ilk Antikalar Yasası'nın bu olduğuna inanılır. Bu konuda Kıbrıs Yasama Meclisi bir türlü kesin bir yasa geçiremiyordu. Yerli üyeler, bilhassa Rumlar eski eser ihracatının tamamen yasaklanmasını isterken hükümet bunun, zaten mevcut kaçakçılığı daha da körükleyeceğini, dolayısıyla izne tabi olmasını savunuyordu.

1938 ziyaretini, artık hazır durumda olan *Kıbrıs Tarihi*'nin bazı eksikliklerini tamamlamak niyetiyle yapmıştı. British Museum'daki halefiyle birlikte Kıbrıs'tan ayrılışını Nisan 1938'in Söz gazetesi iki küçük haberiyle okuyucularına duyurmuştu. Haberde "bu, adada pek bulunmayışı göz önünde tutulursa Hill'in kitabındaki yer tasvir ve tanımları şaşılacak derecede doğrudur. Bu tür yer isimleri hatalarının bugün iletişimin çok ilerlediği bir dönemde bile halen yapılıyor olması ve Hill'deki bu titizlik eserine olan takdirimizi daha da artırmaktadır" deniyordu.

I HILL'İN KIBRIS TARİHİ

Hill'in en önemli eseri olan *Kıbrıs Tarihi*'nin 1. cildi, ada tarihini başlangıcından İngilizler için önem taşıyan Aslan Yürekli Richard'ın Kıbrıs'ı işgaline kadar getirir. En geniş zaman dilimini kapsıyan bu cilt, herhalde yazarın en çok zorlayan bölüm olsa gerektir. Zira arkeolojik kazıların yoğun olarak devam ettiği ve henüz sonuçlandırılmadığı bir dönemde kaleme alınmıştır. Kendi ifadesiyle bu konudaki "çalkantılar henüz dinmemiştir"³. Fakat Hill profesyonel bir tarihçi olarak günün verilerini, eserin tümünde olduğu gibi büyük bir ustalıkla kullanmış, seçkin bulguları bizzat tetkik ederek onlara belki bir arkeologdan daha fazla canlılık kazandırmıştır. Herşeye rağmen Hill'in kitabı genel bir Kıbrıs tarihidir ve doğal olarak bazı konularda örnek olarak adanın iktisadî (Özellikle de Osmanlı Dönemi iktisadî) geçmişi hakkında zayıftır. Bu zayıflık büyük ölçüde, Osmanlı arzivlerinin henüz tam anlamıyla kullanılmamasından kaynaklanmaktadır.

Eserinde benimsediği metod çağına göre oldukça ileridir. İlgili dönemin en çarpıcı ve önemli konusunu bulur ve o başlığı kullanarak dönemi okuyucuya aktarır. Örneğin ilk cildin 12. bölümünün bazıları Eski Kıbrıs Dinleri, Cyrus'dan İskender'e, Ptolemiler, Roma Eyaleti, Roma Öncesi Kıbrıs'ta Sanatlar' ile Bizans ve İslam gibi ara başlıklar ile verilmiştir. Her biri başlı başına bir monograf da sayılan yazılar çok doyurucudur. Hill'in vardığı sonuçlar eğer genel içinde alınmazsa, bazen yalnız anlaşılabilir. Adanın hiçbir zaman Yunan Hellenizm'inin bir parçası olmadığı ilk kez onun tarafından tesbit edilmiştir. Bu tesbit sonraları çok kullanıldı. Oysa eserin diğer ciltlerinde "bir Rum eğer kendini Helen sayıyorsa hiçbir ilmi savunmanın onu bu inancından vazgeçiremeyeceği" fikri de yine onundur. Eserinin son cildini basıma hazırlayan Sir Harry Luke'a göre, 1948'e kadar Enosis konusunda nesnel bir etüd yapmak bir yana buna teşebbüs etmeğe bile kimsenin cesareti olmamıştı. Gerçekten de *A History Of Cyprus*'un 4. cildindeki ilgili madde halen tektir. Haçlı Seferleri, Lusignan ve Venedik dönemlerini ele alan 2 ve 3. ciltlerinden sonra Hill'in eserin 4. cildini Türk ve İngiliz dönemine ayırması da bu konuda büyük bir yeniliktir. Osmanlı-Türk dönemini bir bütün olarak değerlendiren en geniş eser yine budur. Bazı noksanlıklar yazarın bu konuda kaynak sıkıntısı çektiğini kanıtlar; ancak eksik dahi olsa Türk kaynaklarını da ilk olarak sistematik bir şekilde kullanan ve yorumlayan yabancı yazar yine Hill olmuştur. Bu çerçevede, iki Osmanlı tarihi uzmanı olan Dr. P. Wittek ve Dr. Bilewis'ten yararlanmıştı.

Hill'in bu büyük eseri klasik tarihçiliğin son başarılı örneklerinden biridir. Artık bu ölçülerde tarih eseri kaleme almaktan çoktan vazgeçilmiştir. Öyle görülüyor ki bu eser yoğun ve titiz bir çalışmanın ürünü olarak klasikleşmiş ve her yönüyle de uzun yıllar yol gösterici bir yapıt olma

özelliğini koruyacaktır. Sir Harry Luke'a göre lüzumsuz bir alçakgönüllülükle "eserimin derlemeden öte birşey olduğunu iddia ediyorum" diyen Sir George Hill gerçekte anıtsal bir yapıtı ortaya çıkarmıştır.⁴ İlk baskısından bugüne 50 yıldan fazla geçmesine rağmen Kıbrıs tarihleri arasında Hill'in "*A History Of Cyprus*"u anıtsallığını korumayı sürdürmektedir.

Eserin Türk dönemiyle ilgili kısımlarını en iyi şekilde kullanıp, Türkçeye aktaran yazar ve araştırmacı Beria Remzi Özaran olmuştur. Bu araştırmacı yazarın pekçok makalesi 1960-1990 yıllarını kapsayan döneminde Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü tarafından yayımlanan Türk Kültürü dergisinde çıkmıştır.

I KIBRIS TARİHİ'NDEN BİR BÖLÜM

Yazımızı 1919 yılında Kıbrıs'ta yer alan bir siyasi hareketle ilgili olarak Hill'in 4. Cildindeki (Sayfa 529) kısa bir bölümün çevirisi ile bitiriyoruz.⁵

"Rum delegasyonunun aktiviteleri Müslüman toplumu arasında tedirginlik yaratmış ve amacı adanın tekrar Türkiye'ye verilmesi olan küçük bir parti oluşumuna sebebiyet vermişti. Müslüman ileri gelenlerinden İrfan Bey ve Hami Bey'in bu oluşumla hiçbir ilişkisi olmazken, Said Efendi olaya gönülsüz bir destek sağlıyordu. Partinin liderleri biri Genç Türklerden olan Dr. Esad, Dr. Behiç ve Hasan Karabardak, Hristiyan Rumların Easter yortusunda Türklere karşı toplu bir saldırı plânladıkları söylentisini çıkarmışlardı. Bu şekilde bir ayaklanma planlanmış ve Mağusa'daki Türk savaş esirlerinin kurtarılması teşebbüsüne girilecekti. Hükümet yönetimindeki memur Malcolm Steverson'un kararlı tutumuyla bunlar anında tutuklanmış ve kaleye hapsedilmişlerdi....

"Bu arada İngiltere'de Kıbrıs Müslüman delegeşi; Ağa Han tarafından kabul edilmiş ve Londra İslam Ligi, Devlet Bakanı'na 25 Temmuzda Kıbrıs ve Yunanistan'daki kışkırtıcı hareketlerini protesto eden bir tebliğ sunmuştu. Aynı gün basında çıkan haberlerde hükümetin kararının Kıbrıs'ın İngiliz bayrağı altında kalacağı doğrultusunda idi. Birkaç gün sonra Başbakan Bonar Law bir açıklama yaparak konunun bir karara bağlanmadığını bildirmişti. Adanın Yunanistan'a verileceği daha önce yalanlanmıştı. Bir ay kadar sonra, Müslümanlar

Times gazetesine gönderdikleri bir yazıda adanın terkedilmesine karşı tepkilerini bir kez daha duyuruyordu. Bazı sebeplerden İngiliz-İsrail Dünya Federasyonu da aynı görüşte idi.”

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SIR GEORGE HILL, AUTHOR OF “A HISTORY OF CYPRUS”

ABSTRACT

In this article the author introduces Sir George Hill, whose four volume book entitled *A History of Cyprus*, published between 1940-1952 is, in the author's opinion, the most comprehensive history book about Cyprus. Hill was born in India in 1867. He worked as Director of The British Museum for many years. He utilised the unlimited material of the institution well whilst writing his history. Hill's history book, in the author's opinion, is the most successful one. Hill died in 1948.

THE ECONOMIC IMPACT OF THE OVERSEAS STUDENTS ON THE NORTH CYPRUS ECONOMY*

Salih KATIRCIOĞLU** & Hasan A. BIÇAK***

ABSTRACT

North Cyprus, experiencing the disadvantages of being small, based its development on services sector. In recent years, higher education sector has developed rapidly and contributed to the growth of the economy significantly. In this study, using the 1990 input-output tables and the input-output technique, the impact of the expenditures of the Turkish students (TS), other overseas students (OOS) studying at the Eastern Mediterranean University (EMU) in the academic year of 1994-95 and their relatives visiting North Cyprus, on the gross output, income and imports is calculated. Their expenditures on goods and services are obtained through a survey. Using the results obtained from the study, the total impact of the expenditures of the total overseas students studying in all of the universities in North Cyprus are estimated. The findings showed the importance of the higher education sector in the development of the North Cyprus economy. Thus, priority should be given by the government to solve the problems faced by the universities in North Cyprus.

1. INTRODUCTION

Cyprus is a small island in the Mediterranean Sea which possesses the main characteristics of small island states. It has limited natural resources and a small domestic market which prevents it from making use of econo-

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mies of scale. Thus, producing for internal market and very little for exports, agricultural and industrial sectors have only a modest contribution to the economic development of the island.

Like many other small island states, North Cyprus based its development on the services sector. Tourism and higher education were chosen as the leading sectors which have been contributing to the economic development of the island significantly.

In North Cyprus there are five universities: the Eastern Mediterranean University (the oldest and the biggest one), the Near East University, the Lefke University, the Girne American University, and the International American University. In these five universities there were 11,249 students at the beginning of 1994-95 academic year, of which 28% were Turkish Cypriots, 66% were Turks from the mainland Turkey, and 6% were from various overseas countries.¹ The expenditures of 8,082 overseas students and their visiting relatives have been contributing to the economic life in North Cyprus substantially.

In this study, the economic contributions of the expenditures of the Turkish students from mainland Turkey (TS) and the other overseas students (OOS) are assessed. In this respect, 180 questionnaires were given at the Eastern Mediterranean University in order to find out the expenditure patterns of 4,007 overseas students (OS) (both Turkish and non-Turkish) and their relatives. These expenditures together with the expenditures of the relatives obtained from the study are placed into the 16 sectors of the North Cyprus economy, as they exist in the input-output table. By making use of the 1990 input-output tables of North Cyprus and the expenditures obtained from the survey, the contributions of the TS and the OOS studying at the EMU and their relatives are calculated. Using these results, the contribution of the total overseas students studying at five universities in North Cyprus (8,082) and their relatives are calculated. Thus the study is based on survey results and makes use of the input-output theory. (See Appendix)

In Section 2, Keynesian and sectoral multipliers are analyzed, and theoretical background of the study is presented. The Section 3 provides information about the survey and the findings. The expenditures of the TS, and the OOS and their relatives are distinguished as domestic and imported goods and services, and are placed into the 16 sectors of the North Cyprus economy as given in the input-output tables. In Section 4, the economic impact of the expenditures of the TS, the OOS, and their relatives on gross output, income, and imports are calculated and output, income, and imports creation per unit expenditure are derived. Based on the survey findings, the impact of the expenditures of the TS, and the

OOS studying in all five universities and their relatives are calculated in Section 5. In the final section, the main findings of the study are summarized and policy implications are derived.

2. MULTIPLIERS AND THEIR APPLICATIONS

2.1 Keynesian and Sectoral Multipliers

Income and employment multipliers of Keynes are important tools of macroeconomic analysis but they are highly aggregative in nature as they are based on the assumption of one sector economy.² It is also possible to derive a set of multipliers within the framework of the input-output model that gives a summary of the total repercussions in terms of output, income, employment and imports generated as a result of a unit change in the final demand of a sector (sectoral multipliers). In an inter-industrial framework output, income, employment and imports multipliers of a sector may be defined as the ratio of the total (direct, indirect and sometimes induced as well) to direct additions to output, income, employment and imports in response to an initial one unit increase in its final demand.³

Sectoral multipliers calculated from input-output tables for an open model are called type I multipliers and they consider only the direct and indirect effects while excluding the induced effects, as the household is taken exogenous to the system. On the other hand, type II multipliers obtained from a closed input-output model include both the direct, indirect and induced effects; they include the household consumption as an additional column and household income as an additional row into the inter-industry transactions of the input-output table. Thus, type I multipliers excluding the induced effects underestimate while type II multipliers assuming linear-homogeneous production function overestimate a given impact.⁴

In calculating the economic impact (output, income, employment, imports changes) of the expenditures of the TS, the OOS and their relatives, input-output technique will be used rather than the Keynesian multiplier within an econometric model.

2.2 Calculating the Economic Impact through Multipliers

In order to capture the induced effects, besides the direct and indirect effects, type II multipliers can be used. Type II multipliers for output, income, employment and imports derived for each industry from input-

TABLE 1
Type II Multipliers for Output, Income, Imports, and Employment.⁵

Industry	Output	Income	Imports	Employment
1. Agriculture	1.535	1.035	0.216	0.115
2. Animal Husbandry	1.900	1.102	0.131	0.069
3. Forestry	2.558	1.805	0.293	0.283
4. Fishing	1.238	1.075	0.086	0.149
5. Stone Quarrying	2.985	1.947	0.229	0.116
6. Industry	2.097	1.183	0.375	0.044
7. Electricity and Water	2.084	1.232	0.517	0.077
8. Construction	2.165	1.232	0.428	0.073
9. Trade	1.955	1.428	0.214	0.043
10. Hotel and Restaurants	2.122	1.472	0.177	0.048
11. Transportation	1.864	1.300	0.248	0.047
12. Communication	2.616	1.801	0.286	0.128
13. Financial Institutions	1.904	1.502	0.131	0.050
14. Personnel & Professional Services	1.716	1.346	0.130	0.089
15. Public	3.024	2.284	0.287	0.118
16. Housing	1.222	1.022	0.041	0.009

In calculating the economic impact of the expenditures of the TS, OOS and their relatives, the expenditures placed in the 16 sectors can be multiplied with the output, income, employment and imports multipliers obtained from input-output tables. In the case of the calculation of output impact, this can be shown as:

$$\begin{bmatrix} O_{m1} \\ O_{m2} \\ - \\ - \\ - \\ O_{m16} \end{bmatrix} \times \begin{bmatrix} e_1 \\ e_2 \\ - \\ - \\ - \\ e_{16} \end{bmatrix} = \begin{bmatrix} O_{g1} \\ O_{g2} \\ - \\ - \\ - \\ O_{g16} \end{bmatrix}$$

Where O_{m1} is the output multiplier for sector 1, e_1 is the domestic expenditures made in sector 1 and O_{g1} is the total output generated in the economy. Adding O_{g1} , O_{g2} , ..., O_{g16} gives the total output generated in

the economy as a result of the total expenditures of the TS, the OOS, and their relatives ($e_1 + e_2 + \dots + e_{16}$).

It is possible to calculate the income, employment and imports generated in the economy as a result of the expenditures of the TS, the OOS, and their relatives by multiplying these expenditures with the income, employment and imports multipliers respectively as explained above.

Employment generated by the expenditures of the students and their relatives will not be calculated in this study, because the assumption of having a constant employment coefficient (employment/output ratio) does not hold. Output increasing due to an increase in the final demand may not increase the employment in the assumed ratio. However, it may increase by reasons other than the increase in employment⁶ i.e. increase in productivity.

The economic impact of a given set of expenditures to 16 sectors, can also be calculated through post multiplying the Leontief inverse (closed model) with the expenditures to the 16 sectors. Here each item gives the impact to that sector, while the total gives the impact for the whole economy (output, income, employment, imports). Although the individual items (impact) are not the same, the total impact (output, income, employment, imports) are the same for both approaches.⁷ In this study, the second approach is used and it is explained further in the next section.

2.3 The Model Used in the Study

The model (equations) used to determine the impact of the expenditures of the overseas students and their relatives on gross output, income and imports can be summarized as follows:

a. Gross Output Impact

The gross output generated by the expenditures of the students and their relatives is given by:

$$X = (I - D)^{-1} Fd \quad (1)$$

where X is the column vector of the output generated in the North Cyprus economy by the expenditures of the TS, OOS, and their relatives, and Fd is the column vector of the expenditures on domestic products. In theory, $(I - D)^{-1}$ is known as the Leontief inverse matrix and it is used to find the gross output obtained from another set of final demand (impact analysis), as well as in linkage and multiplier analysis.⁸ In carrying out these analyses, it is assumed

that the input coefficients remain constant, i.e. technology remains unchanged and there are constant returns to scale.

b. Income Impact

Income which is generated by the expenditures of the TS, OOS, and their relatives in North Cyprus can be obtained by pre-multiplying the Leontief inverse matrix with the value-added coefficients (value added/output ratios) and multiplying the result with the column vector of the expenditures of the TS, OOS, and their relatives (Fd). This is formulated as follows:

$$Y = v \cdot (I - D)^{-1} Fd \quad (2)$$

where Y is the the income generated by the expenditures of the TS, OOS, and their relatives and v is the column vector of the value added coefficients.

c. Imports Impact

In order to calculate the imports which are generated by the expenditures of the TS, OOS, and their relatives, value added coefficients used in eq. 2 are replaced by the vector of import coefficients (import/output ratios). Thus the imports generated in North Cyprus by the expenditures of the TS, OOS, and their relatives can be obtained as follows:

$$M = m \cdot (I - D)^{-1} Fd \quad (3)$$

where M is the imports generated in North Cyprus economy by the expenditures of the TS, OOS, and their relatives and m is the column vector of the import coefficients.

3. SURVEY AND RESULTS

3.1 Survey

The questionnaires prepared to find out the expenditure patterns of the TS, OOS, and their relatives benefited quite a lot from the questionnaires given in 1992 for the same purpose. Due to the limited time and resources the survey was restricted only to the EMU students and excluded the TS

and the OOS in the other universities in North Cyprus. At the time the questionnaires were given, there were 3,545 TS and 462 OOS studying at EMU. Among the questionnaires given, 120 for the TS and 60 for the OOS are found worth evaluating. This resulted in a sample size of 3.4% for the TS and 12.9% for the OOS (TABLE 2). The questionnaires were given randomly to students of different nationalities in all faculties of the University.

The objective of the questionnaires were to find out the expenditures of the OS and their relatives in the 1994-95 academic year rather than in a calendar year. The questions asked aimed to find out their lumpsum expenditures in the year, i.e. travelling, fees, repairing, and the routine monthly expenditures, i.e. rents, restaurants, travelling. Monthly expenditures are turned to annual expenditures by multiplying them with the number of months stayed in North Cyprus. All the expenditures recorded are calculated to give the annual expenditures and are placed into the 16 sectors specified in the input-output tables of North Cyprus.

TABLE 2
Samples Used in the Study.

	Turkish Students	Other Overseas Students	Total
N (population size)	3,545	462	4,007
n (sample size)	120	60	180
% of n (n/N)	3.4%	12.9%	4.5%

3.2 Results

It is important to note that the direct expenditures made on agricultural goods and manufacturing goods contain trade and transportation shares which need to be extracted and this varies in domestic and imported products (TABLE 3). Out of any amount of expenditures made on domestic agricultural products, 42% goes to the trade and transportation sector; while only 58% stays within the agricultural sector. The amount taken for trade and transportation sectors is shared in the proportion of 62.9% for trade and 37.1% for transportation.

Sectors	Domestic	Imported
1. Agriculture	0.42	0.45
2. Animal Husbandry	0.15	0.45
3. Manufacturing	0.24	0.45
Trade Sector	62.9%	
Transportation Sector	37.1%	

Using the distributive shares on the direct expenditures of the TS and their relatives, their expenditures on the domestic goods and services are obtained and recorded in **TABLE 4**.

In obtaining the expenditures in **TABLE 4**, first, average expenditures of the TS and OOS obtained from the survey are multiplied with their total number of the TS and OOS in the University in order to find the total expenditures. The total expenditures on domestic and imported goods are allocated to their own sectors and to trade and transportation sectors by using the distributive shares. It is through this application that **TABLE 4** is constructed.

As it can be seen from the **TABLE 4**, the personnel and professional services sector represents the highest share in the total expenditures of the students with 47.8% which includes the fees paid to the university. The total expenditures of the TS constituted 4.7% of the GNP while this ratio is only 0.25% for the expenditures of their relatives. The total expenditures of the TS and their relatives constituted 4.94% of the GNP for the year 1994.

The expenditures of the OOS and their relatives are given in **TABLE 5**. Again, the personal and professional services sector has the highest share out of the total expenditures of the OOS with 52.5%. Their total expenditures constituted 0.7% of the GNP and the total expenditures of their relatives constitute 0.01%. The total share of both expenditures in the GNP is 0.71%.

TABLE 4

Total Expenditures of the TS and their Relatives on Domestic Goods and Services (m. TL).

SECTORS	STUDENTS	(%)	RELATIVES	(%)	TOTAL	(%)
1. Agriculture	31,375.8	4.1	1,817.6	4.5	33,193.4	4.0
2. Animal Husbandry	20,474.7	2.6	1,145.0	2.8	21,619.7	2.6
3. Forestry	-	-	-	-	-	-
4. Fishing	-	-	-	-	-	-
5. Stone Quarrying	-	-	-	-	-	-
6. Industry	11,170.6	1.4	906.6	2.2	12,077.2	1.5
7. Electricity & Water	16,716.7	2.2	283.6	0.7	17,000.3	2.1
8. Construction	-	-	-	-	-	-
9. Trade	24,472.9	3.1	1,525.1	3.7	25,998.0	3.2
10. Hotel & Restaurants	82,405.7	10.6	5,246.6	12.9	87,652.3	0.7
11. Transportation	76,595.1	9.8	13,139.3	32.3	89,734.4	0.9
12. Communication	30,680.3	3.9	921.7	2.3	31,602.0	3.9
13. Financial Institutions	-	-	-	-	-	-
14. Per. & Prof. Services	372,409.3	47.8	833.1	2.0	373,242.4	5.5
15. Public	-	-	-	-	-	-
16. Housing	112,660.1	14.5	14,924.5	36.6	127,584.6	5.6
TOTALS	778,961.3	100.0	40,743.0	100.0	819,704.3	100.0
m.US \$	26.04		1.36		27.40	
% of GNP	4.70		0.25		4.94	
Aver. Expenditure m.TL.	219.7		11.5		231.2	
US \$	7,343.9		384.4		7,728.4	

Note: GNP in 1994 was \$ 554.3 m.

TABLE 5
Total Expenditures of the OOS and their Relatives
on Domestic Goods and Services (m.TL).

SECTORS	STUDENTS	(%)	RELATIVES	(%)	TOTAL	(%)
1. Agriculture	3,309.3	2.9	136.7	6.1	3,445.9	2.9
2. Animal Husbandry	2,923.9	2.5	119.4	5.3	3,043.3	2.6
3. Forestry	-	-	-	-	-	-
4. Fishing	-	-	-	-	-	-
5. Stone Quarrying	-	-	-	-	-	-
6. Industry	2,155.4	1.9	67.9	3.1	2,223.4	1.9
7. Electricity & Water	3,006.1	2.6	13.9	0.6	3,019.9	2.6
8. Construction	-	-	-	-	-	-
9. Trade	3,103.6	2.7	118.9	5.3	3,222.4	2.8
10. Hotel & Restaurants	9,126.4	7.9	535.9	23.9	9,662.4	8.2
11. Transportation	6,333.8	5.5	685.2	30.6	7,019.0	5.9
12. Communication	4,235.0	3.6	152.5	6.8	4,387.5	3.7
13. Financial Institutions	-	-	-	-	-	-
14. Per. & Prof. Services	60,917.9	52.5	7.9	0.4	60,925.8	1.5
15. Public	-	-	-	-	-	-
16. Housing	20,868.5	17.9	401.9	17.9	21,270.5	17.9
TOTALS	115,979.9	100.0	2,240.0	100.0	118,220.0	100.0
m.US \$	3.88		0.07		3.95	
% of GNP	0.70		0.01		0.71	
Aver. Expenditure						
m.TL	251.0		4.9		255.9	
US \$	8,390.3		163.8		8,554.0	

As expected, the share of the total expenditures of the TS and their relatives in the GNP is higher than the share of the expenditures of the OOS and their relatives. On the other hand, the average annual expenditure of the OOS and their relatives (\$ 8,554.0) is higher than the average annual expenditure of the TS and their relatives (\$ 7,728.4). This is due to the longer stay of the OOS than the TS in North Cyprus within a year. Aggregating the expenditures of the TS with their relatives and the OOS with their relatives, TABLE 6 is obtained.

The total expenditures of the OS and their relatives constitute 5.66% of the GNP of North Cyprus. The fees paid to the university are effective in the personnel and professional services to possess the highest share out of the total expenditures of both groups (45.5% and 51.5%).

■ 4. ECONOMIC IMPACT OF THE STUDENTS AND THEIR RELATIVES

4.1 Gross Output, Income and Imports Effects

a) Gross Output Effect

In calculating the impact of the expenditures of the TS and their relatives, and the OOS and their relatives, Equ.1 is used. The output generated by the expenditures of the TS and their relatives constitute 8.66% of the GNP while this percentage is only 1.23% for the OOS and their relatives. The total output generated by the expenditures of the TS and their relatives is \$ 48.01 m., and this is \$ 6.82 m. for the OOS and their relatives. The personnel and professional services sector has the highest share in the total output generated by the total expenditures of the students and their relatives (30.3% and 34.2%). (TABLE 7)

On the average, an OOS with his (or her) family generates \$ 14,761.5 output compared to a TS with his (or her) family which generates \$ 13,544.7. This is due to the higher average expenditure of an OOS, as they stay more than the TS on the average in North Cyprus in a year.

TABLE 6
Total Expenditures of the TS and their Relatives, and the OOS and their Relatives on Domestic Goods and Services (m. TL).

SECTORS	TS	(%)	OOS	(%)	TOTAL	(%)
1. Agriculture	33,193.4	4.0	3,445.9	2.9	36,639.3	3.9
2. Animal Husbandry	21,619.7	2.6	3,043.3	2.6	24,663.0	2.6
3. Forestry	-	-	-	-	-	-
4. Fishing	-	-	-	-	-	-
5. Stone Quarrying	-	-	-	-	-	-
6. Industry	12,077.2	1.5	2,223.4	1.9	14,300.6	1.5
7. Electricity & Water	17,000.3	2.1	3,019.9	2.6	20,020.3	2.1
8. Construction	-	-	-	-	-	-
9. Trade	25,998.0	3.2	3,222.4	2.8	29,220.4	3.1
10. Hotel & Restaurants	87,652.3	10.7	9,662.4	8.2	97,314.7	10.4
11. Transportation	89,734.4	10.9	7,019.0	5.9	96,753.3	10.3
12. Communication	31,602.0	3.9	4,387.5	3.7	35,989.5	3.9
13. Financial Institutions	-	-	-	-	-	-
14. Per. & Prof. Services	373,242.4	45.5	60,925.8	51.5	434,168.2	46.3
15. Public	-	-	-	-	-	-
16. Housing	127,584.6	15.6	21,270.5	17.9	148,855.0	15.9
TOTALS	819,704.3	100.0	118,220.0	100.0	937,924.3	100.0
m.US \$	27.4		3.95		31.35	
% of GNP	4.94		0.71		5.66	
Aver. Expenditure						
m.TL	231.2		255.9		234.1	
US \$	7,728.4		8,554.0		7,825.3	

TABLE 7
Total Output Generated by the Expenditures of the TS and their Relatives, and the OOS and their Relatives (m.TL).

SECTORS	TS	(%)	OOS	(%)	TOTAL	(%)
1. Agriculture	87,727.7	6.1	10,981.0	5.4	98,708.7	6.0
2. Animal Husbandry	66,783.1	4.7	9,258.0	4.5	76,041.1	4.7
3. Forestry	676.7	0.0	95.4	0.0	772.1	0.0
4. Fishing	3,893.4	0.3	537.8	0.3	4,431.2	0.3
5. Stone Quarrying	3,525.9	0.3	500.2	0.3	4,026.1	0.3
6. Industry	241,823.4	16.8	34,205.9	16.8	276,029.3	16.8
7. Electricity & Water	32,923.3	2.3	5,325.9	2.6	38,249.2	2.3
8. Construction	-	-	-	-	-	-
9. Trade	113,316.0	7.9	15,365.8	7.5	128,681.8	7.8
10. Hotel & Restaurants	109,516.0	7.6	12,740.3	6.3	122,256.3	7.5
11. Transportation	122,142.0	8.5	11,287.4	5.5	133,429.4	8.1
12. Communication	39,380.6	2.7	5,464.7	2.7	44,845.3	2.7
13. Financial Institutions	41,302.3	2.9	5,722.5	2.8	47,024.8	2.9
14. Per. & Prof. Services	435,432.4	30.3	69,798.6	34.2	505,231.0	30.8
15. Public	-	-	-	-	-	-
16. Housing	137,971.5	9.6	22,718.8	11.1	160,690.3	9.8
TOTALS	1,436,414.3	100.0	204,002.3	100.0	1,640,416.6	100.0
m.US \$	48.01		6.82		54.83	
% of GNP*	8.66		1.23		9.89	
Aver. Output						
m.TL	405.2		441.6		409.4	
US \$	13,544.7		14,761.5		13,685.1	

* GNP in 1994 was \$554.3.

TABLE 9
Total Imports Generated by the Expenditures of the TS and their Relatives, and the OOS and their Relatives (m.TL).

SECTORS	TS	(%)	OOS	(%)	TOTAL	(%)
1. Agriculture	12,828.4	9.8	1,605.7	9.0	14,434.1	9.8
2. Animal Husbandry	1.5	0.0	0.2	0.0	1.7	0.0
3. Forestry	52.4	0.0	7.4	0.1	59.8	0.0
4. Fishing	205.6	0.2	28.4	0.2	234.0	0.2
5. Stone Quarrying	25.2	0.0	3.6	0.0	28.8	0.0
6. Industry	56,653.9	43.6	8,013.7	45.0	64,667.6	43.8
7. Electricity & Water	11,974.9	9.2	1,937.1	10.9	13,912.0	9.4
8. Construction	-	-	-	-	-	-
9. Trade	9,707.0	7.5	1,316.3	7.4	11,023.3	7.5
10. Hotel & Restaurants	3,054.5	2.4	355.3	2.0	3,409.8	2.3
11. Transportation	16,221.7	12.5	1,499.0	8.4	17,720.7	12.0
12. Communication	2,313.0	1.8	320.9	1.8	2,633.9	1.8
13. Financial Institutions	315.1	0.2	43.6	0.2	358.7	0.2
14. Per. & Prof. Services	13,883.7	10.7	2,225.5	12.5	16,109.2	10.9
15. Public	-	-	-	-	-	-
16. Housing	2,712.0	2.1	446.6	2.5	3,158.6	2.1
TOTALS	129,948.9	100.0	17,803.3	100.0	147,752.2	100.0
m.US \$	4.34		0.60		4.94	
% of GNP	0.78		0.11		0.89	
% of Imports*	1.5		0.21		1.71	
Aver. Imports m.TL	36.7		38.5		36.9	
Generated US \$	1,226.8		1,286.9		1,233.5	

* Total imports in 1994 were \$286.6 m.

4.2 Output, Income, and Imports Generated by One Unit of Expenditure

In order to have a better understanding of the impact of the expenditures of the students and their relatives, average gross output, income, and imports generated by their expenditures are calculated. These are obtained by dividing the gross output, income and imports generated by the expenditures made. The results are given in TABLE 10.

TABLE 10 Output, Income, and Imports Expenditures Generated by One Unit of Expenditure.						
	Turkish			Other Overseas		
	Students	Relatives	Total	Students	Relatives	Total
Output Generated	1.76	1.67	1.75	1.72	1.86	1.73
Income Generated	1.31	1.22	1.30	1.29	1.30	1.29
Imports Generated	0.16	0.16	0.16	0.15	0.19	0.15

TABLE 10 Continued.			
	Totals		
	Students	Relatives	Total
Output Generated	1.75	1.68	1.75
Income Generated	1.30	1.22	1.30
Imports Generated	0.16	0.16	0.16

According to the findings, one \$ expenditure made by a TS generated \$ 1.76 of gross output, \$ 1.31 income and resulted in \$ 0.16 of imports. On the other hand, one \$ of expenditure of an OOS generated \$ 1.72 gross output, \$ 1.29 income and resulted in \$ 0.15 of imports. These statistics show that one \$ expenditure of a TS generates slightly more gross output, more income and more imports compared with a one \$ expenditure of an OOS.

4.3 Comparison of the Findings With Other Findings

In assessing the impact of the overseas students to the North Cyprus economy a similar study was carried out for the year 1991.¹⁰ In this study, the expenditures of the overseas students and their relatives were obtained for the 1991 calendar year rather than the academic year. Besides, the survey was extended to other universities so that the results could be generalized for the whole North Cyprus. As stated previously our survey considers the expenditures of the overseas students studying at EMU and their relatives for the 1994-95 academic year.

The survey carried out for 1991 was recorded in such a detailed way that it made it possible to extract the information for the overseas students studying at EMU and compare these findings with the findings of this survey. The basic findings of the two surveys are given in TABLE 11 and 12.

TABLE 11
Total Expenditures of the TS and their Relatives, and the OOS and their Relatives.

	Student Numbers at EMU		Total Expenditures Students & Relatives		Average Expenditures Students & Relatives	
	TS	OOS	TS	OOS	TS	OOS
1991	2,137	547	13.5 m.\$	4.3 m.\$	6,317.3 \$	7,861.1 \$
1994-95	3,545	462	27.4 m.\$	3.95 m.\$	7,728.4 \$	8,554.0 \$

In 1991, a total of 2,654 overseas studying at EMU spent \$ 17.8 m. The average annual spending of a TS with his or her relative was \$ 6,317.3 and for an OOS it was \$ 7,861.1. The average annual expenditure for both categories of students in 1994-95 academic year are higher, with \$ 7,728.4 and \$ 8,554.0 respectively.

In 1991, the spendings of the OS and their relatives generated \$ 31.0 m. of gross output, \$ 22.8 m. income and resulted in \$ 2.8 m. imports.

These values were 5.73%, 4.21% and 0.51% of the GNP in 1991. As expected in line with the increase in the number of students at the EMU, the spendings and the contribution to the North Cyprus economy increased. Thus in 1994-95 academic year, the gross output generated was 9.9%, income was 7.4% and imports were 0.9% of the GNP of 1994 (\$ 554.3 m.).

Average output, income and imports generation in the two studies

were almost the same, indicating that there has not been any significant change in the pattern of expenditures of the overseas students in the concerned years.

TABLE 12
Gross Output, Income and Imports Generated in 1991 and in 1994-95 Academic Year.

	Output Effect	Income Effect	Imports Effect	Output Effect	% of GNP	Income Effect	% of GNP	Imports Effect	GNP % of
1991	1.73	1.27	0.16	31.0m.\$	5.73%	22.8m.\$	4.21%	2.8m.\$	0.51%
1994-95	1.75	1.30	0.16	54.8m.\$	9.9 %	40.8m.\$	7.4%	4.9m.\$	0.9%

Note:

In 1991, GNP of the TRNC was 541.4 m.\$ and in 1994 554.3 m.\$. The exchange rates were 4,199.67 TL. and 29,915.67 TL. for the concerned years.

5. THE IMPACT OF ALL THE OVERSEAS STUDENTS ON THE NORTH CYPRUS ECONOMY

The study was carried out at the Eastern Mediterranean University and the results can be generalized for the overseas students studying at the EMU. Thus the results presented in the previous section cover only the impact of the expenditures of the overseas students studying at the EMU and their relatives. In this section, assuming that on the average the OS studying in other universities in North Cyprus and their relatives had the same average annual expenditures and their average gross output, income and imports generation are the same.

With the above assumption 7,424 TS and 675 OOS studying in all of the universities in North Cyprus and their relatives with an average annual expenditure of \$ 7,728.4 and \$ 8,554.0 respectively are estimated to spend \$ 57.4 m. and \$ 5.8 m. respectively, making a total of \$ 63.2 m. (TABLE 13). This is 11.5% of the GNP in 1994.

Using the average gross output, income and imports generation values given in Table 12, and using the total estimated expenditures of the overseas students in all the Universities of North Cyprus given in Table 13, it is possible to calculate the total gross output, income and imports generated by all of the universities (TABLE 14).

TABLE 13

Total Expenditures of the Overseas Students in All of the Universities of North Cyprus.

	Average Expenditures (including relatives)	Number	Total Expenditures	% of GNP
TS	7,728.4	7,424	57,375,641.0	10.4
OOS	8,554.0	675	5,773,950.0	1.1
Total		8,099	63,149,591.0	11.5

TABLE 14

Total Output, Income and Imports Generated by the Overseas Students Studying in All the Universities in North Cyprus.

	Output		Income		Imports	
	Average	Total	Average	Total	Average	Total
TS	1.75	100,555,852.8	1.30	74,647,577.6	0.16	9,107,763.2
OOS	1.75	9,964,012.5	1.29	7,468,470.0	0.15	868,657.5
Total	1.75	110,519,865.3	1.30	82,116,047.6	0.16	9,976,420.7
% of GNP		19.9 (%)		14.8 (%)		1.8 (%)

According to the calculations, total overseas students studying in all of the Universities in North Cyprus are estimated to generate \$ 110.5 m. gross output, \$ 82.1 m. income and \$ 9.9 m. imports. Gross output, income and imports generated are 19.9%, 14.8% and 1.8% of the GNP of North Cyprus (\$554.3 m.) in 1994, respectively. In the study carried out for the year 1991, the output, income and imports generated by the total overseas students were 9.3%, 6.9% and 0.9% of the GNP of the same year.¹¹ The increase in the share of the impact in the GNP from 1991 to 1994 can be accounted mainly by the increase in the total overseas students from 4,004 in 1991 to 8,099 in 1994.

6. CONCLUSION

6.1 Summary of the Findings

The expenditures of the OS studying at the EMU and their relatives visiting North Cyprus in 1994-95 academic year was determined through a survey. The domestic expenditures of the TS, the OOS, and their relatives were put into the 16 sectors as given in the 1990 input-output tables of North Cyprus. Using the Leontief inverse the impact of the expenditures of OS and their relatives on the gross output, income and imports of North Cyprus was calculated. As the model used in the study was a closed model the impact captured not only the direct and indirect effects but also the induced effects as well. A summary of the results are given in TABLE 15.

	Turkish			Other Overseas		
	Students	Relatives	Total	Students	Relatives	Total
Total Expenditures	778,961.3 (26.04)	40,743.0 (1.36)	819,704.3 (27.40)	115,979.9 (3.88)	2,240.0 (0.07)	118,219.9 (3.95)
Output Generated	1,368,252.4 (45.74)	68,162.1 (2.28)	1,436,414.5 (48.02)	199,842.8 (6.68)	4,159.3 (0.14)	204,002.1 (6.82)
Income Generated	1,016,622.5 (33.98)	49,597.0 (1.66)	1,066,219.5 (35.64)	149,991.8 (5.01)	2,916.7 (0.10)	152,908.5 (5.11)
Imports Generated	123,402.2 (4.13)	6,546.7 (0.22)	129,948.9 (4.34)	17,373.4 (0.58)	429.9 (0.01)	17,803.3 (0.60)

* Figures in parantheses are in m. US \$.

OS studying at EMU and their relatives spent a total of 31.35 m.\$ on domestic goods in North Cyprus. This expenditure generated 54.83 m.\$ gross output, 40.75 m.\$ income and 3.70 m.\$ of imports.

For a better understanding of the effect of the impact, gross output, income and imports generated as a result of the expenditures are expressed as a percentage of the GNP in 1994. According to this the gross output, income and imports generated as a result of the domestic expenditures of the OS and their relatives are 9.89%, 7.35% and 0.89% of the

GNP of North Cyprus in 1994.

TABLE 15 Continued			
	Overall		
	Students	Relatives	Total
Total Expenditures	894,941.2 (29.92)	42,983.0 (1.44)	937,924.2 (31.35)
Output Generated	1,568,095.2 (52.41)	72,321.4 (2.42)	1,640,416.6 (54.83)
Income Generated	1,166,614.3 (38.99)	52,513.7 (1.76)	1,219,128.0 (40.75)
Imports Generated	140,775.6 (4.71)	6,976.6 (0.23)	147,752.2 (4.94)

* Figures in parantheses are in m.US \$.

Total income generated is 76.31% of the exports and 14.22% of the imports in the same year (TABLE 16). It is calculated that the expenditures of the TS, the OOS studying at EMU, and their relatives visiting North Cyprus, added 227.38 \$ to the income per head of the North Cyprus.

Using the findings from the survey carried out at EMU, the impact of the expenditures of all the overseas students studying in all the Universities in North Cyprus is estimated. According to these findings, overseas students with their relatives spent \$ 63.1 m. in North Cyprus in 1994-95 academic year. This expenditure generated \$ 110.5 m. gross output, \$ 82.1 m. income and \$ 9.9 m. imports which are 19.9%, 14.8% and 1.8% of the GNP in 1994, respectively.

TABLE 16
Importance of the Income Generated by OS and Their Relatives.

	Turkish	Other Overseas	TOTAL
Income Generated (m.\$)	35.64	5.11	40.75
% of GNP	6.43%	0.92%	7.35%
% of exports	66.74%	9.57%	76.31%
% of imports	12.44%	1.78%	14.22%
Per head of population	\$ 198.87	\$ 28.51	\$ 227.38

* In 1994, GNP of the TRNC was \$ 554.3 m. exports \$ 53.4 m., imports \$ 286.6 m., and population 179,216.

6.2 Policy Implications

The results summarized in the previous section show the importance of institutions of higher education in the development of the North Cyprus economy. Although the importance of higher education is admitted by the government authorities, its extent could not be realized as expected. It is hoped that the findings of this study will be useful to emphasize the contribution of the overseas students studying in North Cyprus Universities to the economic development.

As North Cyprus experiences the disadvantages of being small, the government should give more weight to the services sector in the economic development through providing incentives to these sectors. They have to be more sensitive to the problems of the universities. Three elements are important in the success of a university; the infrastructure, the lecturers and the students. Government can help the universities in building up their infrastructure by giving grants and soft loans (long term with low interest rates). Through tax exemptions to the lecturers, the government can enable the universities to pay higher salaries, through which they can attract better, qualified lecturers from the world market.

It is important to meet the expectations of the students and provide them with a good environment. In this respect the living expenses can be reduced, by building dormitories and shopping centers for the students. Besides, the government can provide incentives to the private sector to build flats at the university sites by exempting them from various taxes.

The government can reduce the travelling expenditures by air or by ferry between North Cyprus and Turkey for the students. This is expected to attract more students and more visits by relatives and more expenditures. Total benefit of reducing the travelling expenditures is expected to

be positive.

In order to specify the problems faced by the students a survey can be carried out. Besides their problems, their expectations before coming to the universities and their findings can be compared. The results will lead to policy implications which will improve the services provided by the universities in North Cyprus.

Another important survey can target the graduates of the university. Through this survey one may expect to find out what sort of work the graduates get, their difficulties in finding a job, deficiencies in the qualifying examinations, their standards against the graduates of rival universities, etc.. These findings will enable universities to update and improve their curriculum to meet the requirements of the market. Such an attempt will bring important attention to the universities in North Cyprus in the long term.

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I APPENDIX

QUESTIONNAIRE

THE EXPENDITURES OF STUDENTS AT
EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN UNIVERSITY (EMU)

A. PERSONAL INFORMATION

1. Student No:
2. Nationality:
- a. Turkish b. Pakistan c. Jordan/Palestine
- d. Sudan e. Other
3. Department: 4. Class (Year):
5. Where do you stay?
- a. Private House b. Hotel c. Dormitory
6. Did your any relative visit Cyprus in 1994-95?
- a. Yes b. No. ...
7. How many days did they stay altogether (all of them)?
8. Where did they stay?
- a. With me b. Hotel c. Other
9. Did you travel abroad in 1994-95 academic year?
- a. Yes b. No. ...
10. How many days did you spend altogether in abroad during the
1994-95 academic year (including the summer holiday)?
.....

B. ANNUAL EXPENDITURES

1. Did you buy any furniture or electrical equipment in 1994-95?

- a. Yes b. No. ...

2. What kind of furniture did you buy?

Furniture	Cyprus Made/Imported	Price
1.
2.
3.
4.

3. Did you have any maintenance expenditure on accommodation or furnitures in 1994-95? If yes, how much did you spend?

- a. For services b. For materials

4. Did you pay any deposit for the house?

- a. Yes b. No

If yes, how much?

5. If you have a car, explain the expenditures on the followings during 1994-95?

a. Do you have a car?

- i. Yes ii. No

b. Did you buy a car in Cyprus?

- i. Yes ii. No

c. How much money did you pay for the car (including stopaj)?

.....

6. Payments to the Government:

- a. Residence permit
- b. Payment to municipality for cleaning and lightening (per head)
.....

7. Fees paid to the University in the academic year of 1994-95?

- a. Fall b. Spring
- c. Summer (\$250/course)

8. Did you have any reduction in fees due to your GPA>3.5 or due to other reason? State the amount of reduction?

- a. Fall b. Spring c. Summer

9. Did you take any private lessons in the academic year of 1994-95? How much did you spend?

- a. Fall b. Spring c. Summer

10. Did you have anything typed (project)? How much did you spend?

- a. Fall b. Spring c. Summer

11. How much money did you spend on equipment for the University in 1994 - 95?

	Books	Stationary	Photocopying	Other (lab coat, T-square, etc.)
a. Fall
b. Spring
c. Summer

12. Did you spend any money on clothing in Cyprus during 1994 - 95?
(Shoes, trousers, jakets, etc.)

	Clothing		Cyprus		Price
	(name)		made	Imported	
a.
b.

13. How much did you pay for the doctor services during 1994-95?

	Payment to doctor		Payment to Medicine		Extra Check-Up	
	Public	Private	Public	Private	Public	Private
Total Payment

14. How much money did you spend on gifts and other purchases in your
all travels to abroad in 1994 - 95?

Things Bought	Cyprus Made	Imported Goods	Payment
a. Glass/Plates
b. Electrical Equipment
c. Cigarette/ Whisky
d. Other:
e. Other:

15. How much did your relatives spend on gifts and other purchases on their departure from Cyprus in 1994-95? (In their total visits)

Things Bought	Cyprus Made	Imported Goods	Payment
a. Glass/Plates
b. Electrical Equipment
c. Cigarette/Whisky
d. Other:
.....
e. Other:
.....

15. Did you travel by air or by sea to abroad in 1994-95?

	By Air	Price (Total)	Payment to taxi (Total)
CTA
Other (TA, IA)
	By Sea	Price (Total)	Payment to taxi (Total)

16. Did your relatives travel by air or by sea in 1994-95?

	By Air	Price (Total)	Payment to taxi (Total)
CTA
Other (THY, IA)
	By Sea	Price (Total)	Payment to taxi (Total)

17. Did you pay any money for club membership? If you did not become a member, what amount of expenditures did you make in one year in 1994-95? (includes payment for football pitch)

Name of the Club	Amount of payment (annual)
1.....
2.....

18. Total payments made to newspaper or magazine or any books?

Amount of payment (per year)

Local

Foreign

C. MONTHLY EXPENDITURES

1. Please try to allocate your average monthly expenditures to the following sectors:

a. How much money did you spend per month on the average in 1994-95? (excluding the rent, the fees and travelling expenditures to abroad)?

b. How many days (month) did you stay outside Cyprus in 1994-95 academic year?

c. How much money did you spend in 1994-95 (the whole year) in Cyprus, including accommodation, food, travelling and fees?

Monthly Average Expenditures

- 1. Food (fruit, potatoes, vegetables)
- 2. Meat and Fish
- 3. Cigarette and drinks
- 4. Petrol for your car
- 5. Soap, shampoo,
washing powder, etc.
- 6. Electricity and water
- 7. Restaurants (including expenditures
in University cafeteria)
- 8. Transportation
- 9. Communication (telephone calls)
- 10. Entertainment
(disco, club and other)
- 11. Accommodation (rent of the
house/dormitory) (average)
- Total money you paid in
 - 1994-95 for rent
- Total monthly expenditures
 (including rent)

2. If any of your relative visited Cyprus in 1994-95, what was the total expenditure of your relatives in Cyprus including the gifts they bought on their return but excluding the travelling expenses?

Please try to allocate this total amount:

TOTAL

- 1. Food (fruit, potatoes, vegetables)
- 2. Meat and Fish
- 3. Cigarette and drinks
- 4. Total payment for hiring the car
- 5. Petrol for the car
- 6. Soap, shampoo,
washing powder, etc.
- 7. Electricity and water
- 8. Restaurants (including expenditures
in University cafeteria)
- 9. Transportation
- 10. Communication (telephone calls)
- 11. Entertainment (disco, club & other)
- 12. Accommodation (rent of the house
or hotel) (total)

TOTAL EXPENDITURES

YABANCI ÖĞRENCİLERİN KUZEY KIBRIS EKONOMİSİNE ETKİSİ

ÖZET

Kuzey Kıbrıs, küçük olmanın verdiği dezavantajlar dolayısıyla gelişmesini hizmet sektörüne dayandırmıştır. Geçtiğimiz yıllarda, yüksek eğitim sektörü hızlı bir gelişme göstermiş ve belirgin bir şekilde ekonominin gelişmesine katkıda bulunmuştur. Bu çalışmada, 1990 Girdi-Çıktı tablolarını ve tekniklerini kullanarak, Doğu Akdeniz Üniversitesi'nde öğrenim gören yabancı uyruklu TC ve diğer yabancı ülkelere gelen öğrencilerin ve onları ziyaret eden ailelerinin veya yakınlarının 1994-95 akademik yılında; Kuzey Kıbrıs üretimine, gelirin ve ithalatına yapmış oldukları etki tahmin edilmeye çalışılmıştır. Mal ve hizmetler üzerinde yapmış oldukları harcamalar bir anket ile tespit edilmiş, bu harcamalar ışığında, KKTC'deki bütün üniversitelerde öğrenim gören toplam yabancı uyruklu öğrencilerin toplam etkileri tahmin edilmiştir. Bulgular, yüksek eğitim sektörünün KKTC ekonomisi için ne kadar önemli olduğunu açıkça ortaya koymuştur. Dolayısıyla, hükümet de KKTC'deki üniversitelerin karşılaştıkları sorunları ele almalı ve öncelik hakkı da tanınmalıdır.

KIBRIS'TA TÜRKÇE YER ADLARI VE VERİLİŞ YÖNTEMLERİ ÜZERİNE BİR ARAŞTIRMA

Oğuz YORGANCIOĞLU*

ÖZET

Yazıda, Türkler tarafından fethedilmesinden sonra Kıbrıs'ta yer adlarının Türkçeleştirilmesi ve bu adların verilmiş yöntemleri irdelenmektedir. Buna göre sözü edilen Türkçeleştirme işleminde on beş değişik yöntem uygulanmıştır.

1955 yılından sonra da, Kıbrıs Türkleri yer adlarını Türkçeleştirmek için yeni bir çabaya girdiler. 1974 Barış Harekâtı sonrasında ise bu iş Devlet'in kurduğu "Coğrafi İsimlerin Standartlaştırılması Sürekli Komitesi" eliyle resmen yapılmaya başlandı. Yazar, bu bağlamda beş yöntem kullanıldığını ve 1980'den sonra yer adlarının Türkçeleştirme işleminin büyük oranda tamamlandığını söylüyor.

I GİRİŞ:

Adanın fethinden sonra, Kıbrıs'ı vatan edinen Türkler, yerleştikleri köylerin ve bu köylerdeki bölge, tarla, tepe, dere, çeşme ve ovaların isimlerini değiştirdiler. Kendi kurdukları köylerin ve yerleşim birimlerinin isimlerini ise kendileri verdiler. Böylece yaşadıkları toprakları kendi kültürleri ile yoğurup bütünleştirdiler. Bu isimlendirmede hangi yollara başvurdular, hangi yöntemleri kullandılar?¹ Bu çalışmanın amacı bu sorulara yanıt aramaktır.

I TÜRKÇE ADLARIN VERİLİŞ YÖNTEMLERİ :

Yaptığım çalışmalar ve değerlendirmeler sonucunda, Kıbrıs'ta Türkçe yer

*Doğu Akdeniz Üniversitesi Kıbrıs Araştırmaları Merkezi Yayın Kurulu Üyesi, Emekli Öğretmen.

adları ve veriliş yöntemleri ile ilgili olarak vardığım sonuçlar ve yaptığım saptamalar aşağıdaki gibidir:

1. Eski isimlerin sonundaki bazı sesleri atarak veya esasını bozmadan bazı ses değişiklikleri yapıldı:
(Bafos) Baf; (Lemosos) Limasol, Leymosun; (Bolis) Poli ... gibi.
2. Eski ismin yerine onun Türkçedeki karşılığı (tercümesi) kullanıldı.
(Karavostasi) Gemikonağı; (Ktima) Kasaba; (Monastiri) Manastır;
(Ambeligu) Bağlıköy, ... gibi.
3. İsmi esasını bozmadan değiştirerek kullanıldı. (C e r i n y a)
Girne; (Ammohosto) Mağusa; (İskala) İskele; (Lefka) Lefke ... gibi.
4. Kurulan köy ve yerleşim birimlerine, coğrafi birimi, kuranın adına, kuruluş amacına, içindeki belirgin özelliğine göre isimler verildi.
Akar-su, Çatal-köy, Yenice-köy, Minareli-köy, Zeybek-köy, Zeytinlik ... gibi.
5. Tarla ve bölgelere içindeki bitkilere göre isim verildi. Bunları dört grupta özetleyebiliriz:
 - a) Belli bir bitki türü ile tanınan yerler:

Alıç Tarlası	Hurma Tarlası
Armut Tarlası	İncir Tarlası
Çaltı Ovası	Selvi Dağı
Darı Tarlası	Tesbih Tarlası
	Zeytin Tarlası ... gibi.
 - b) İçinde tek ve belli özellik taşıyan ağaç olan yerler:

Acıpadem	Cevizli	Kavaklı
Alıçlı	Çatal Zeytin	Koca Alıç
Altıntop	Çifte Alıç	Koca Çalı
Armutlu	Dikenli Hurmalı	Meşeli
Asmalı	İncirli	Pamuklu
Bademli	İncirli Mağara	Şamdudu ... gibi.
 - c) Dağınık halde ve aynı türden bitkisi olan yerler:

Ağılı Pınar	Dut Deresi	Mergizli Kaya
Azganlı Belen	Dutlu Akar	Mergizli Ova
Azganlı Dere	Eğerli	Pademli Ova ... gibi.
Boncuklu Tarla	Hurmalı Tarla	
Çamlı Belen	Kekikli Kıraç	

d) Aynı tür bitkileri her zaman kapsayan yer isimleri:

Ağılık	Hostezlik	Susamlık
Ayvalık Hayıtlık	İncirlik Susamyeri	Tülumbelik
Azganlık	Kamışlık	Valensiyalık
Bostanlık	Mersincikler	Yafalık Fidanlık
Buğday Yeri	Mersinlik	Yusufluk
Çaltılık	Narlık	Zeytinlik ... gibi.
Ekşilik	Papatyalık	
Harnıplık	Sazlık	

6. Bölgedeki tabiat şekillerine göre isimler verildi.

Değirmişam, Dumanlı Mağara, Durumtaş, Göleklik, İncirli Mağara, Merdiventaşı, İnlibelen, Karaçukur, Kocatepe... gibi.

7. Sahibinin adına göre yer isimleri verildi:

Abdullah Yeri	Harmanbaşı	Kel Kadın
Ahmet Beyin Yeri	Hasanın Mandrası	Kel Osman
Ahmet Tahta Sakal	Hasan Kâhya Evlekleri	Kenanın Su
Arap Deresi	Hasekiler	Kocabaşı
Arap Tarlası	Haseki Tepesi	Koca SüleymanArif
Bey'in Çiftliği	Hesna	Kör Hilmi
Arnavut Düzü	Hoca Kızları	Köse Kayası
Celâl Efendi	Hulûsi Yeri	Kulağı Belen
Civanlar	İbrahim Tarlası	Kurtlu Mandrası
Çangar Ali	İbrahim Yeri	Küçük Birgen
Çömlekçi Çiftliği	İrya Boğazı	Mahmut Düzü
Davulcu Bendi	İsmail Deresi	Manizade
Deli Yorgi	İsmail Uçurumu	Mediha
Domuzcular Burnu	İşkembeci Çukuru	Mediha Çiftlik
Durali Tepesi	Kara Ömer	Meduş Ovası
Fatma Ana	Kadın	Menteşin Kuyusu
Fatti Tarlası	Kadıncık	Meryem Abla
Fellâhın Eşiği	Kambur Evleği	Mirasyedi
Hacı Ali	Kâni Yeri	Misli Hanım
Hacı Dede	Kara Fatma Çukuru	Mumcu Tepe
Hacı Hasan Mandrası	Karamanlı	Musa Tarlası
Hacı Küçük Tümseği	Kara Mustafa	Mustafacık
Hacı Mercan Ovası	Kasap Deresi	Mustafa Çelebi
Hacı Mustafa	Kavuklu	Mustafanın Kumluğu
Haliloğlu Yolu	Kazancılar	Mülâzim Yeri

Neyime Hanım	Paşa Tepesi	Topçu
Osman Mandrası	Paşa Yeri	Tosun Bahçesi
Ömerin Alıçları	Sefer Ağa	Tüccarbaşı Çukuru
Papaz Deresi	Şeruze Yeri	Yakup Mevkii
Papaz Tarlası	Tahirin İnciri	Yakup Yeri
Paşa Belen	Tembel Bağı	Yalçıcılar Deresi
Paşa Tarlası	Tembel Tarlası	Yemeniciler
		Yusuf Arap ... gibi.

8. Tarihi bir olayı anlatan isimler kullanıldı:

Akkule, Afrodit Hamamları, Çömlekçi Çiftliği, Değirmendere, Esirler Mağrası, Eskihamam, Eskikuyu, Frenkgöleği, Hisarboyu, Kırklar, Kuruhavuz, Kurumanastır, Papazderesi, Sırakuyular, Softalar, Sukemerleri, Surlarıçi, Topyatağı, Yeniçarşı,... gibi.

9. İşlevlere göre isimlendirme yapıldı.

Bu kategorideki isimlendirmeleri iki grupta ele alabiliriz.

a) İçindeki/Yanındaki binaya göre isim alan yerler:

Belediye Evleri	İkiz Evler	Tekke
Beş Evler	Kasaphane	Tuzhane
Dokuz Evler	Kırklar	Sıra Evler
Göçmenevleri	Mahkemeler	Viranevler
Hükümet Konağı	Millet Bahçesi	Ziyaret ... gibi.
Hacı Bayramın Evi	Tabakhane	

b) Yerin/Tarlanın/Bölgenin gördüğü göreve göre yapılan isimlendirmeler:

Alan Yeri	Çeşme Yolu	Kocakarı Mezarı
Alçitepe	Çoban Yeri	Koyun Yalağı
Anittepe	Davar Yolu	Kuyu Tarlası
Araba Yolu	Destaban Tepesi	Manastır Yolu
Aşklar Tepesi	Deveci Geçidi	Mehmetçik Poligonu
Aşıklar Yolu	Dolap Kuyusu	Mermerlik
Babutsa Mahallesi	Döküntülük	Mesire
Bayanlar Yolu	Ejder Pınarı	Meyhane Boğazı
Bayanlar Tepesi	Evliya Tepesi	Mezarlık
Bayram Yeri	Harmanlar	Viranlık
Beylik Tarla	İnçatal	Yataklar ... gibi.
Çan Tepesi	Kalif Tarlası	
Çeşme Tarlası	Kireçlik	

10. Yerin bulunduğu konuma göre isimlendirme yapıldı:
- | | | |
|------------------|-----------------|--------------------------|
| Akaraltı | Eski Yol | Konak Bahçesi |
| Alan Yeri | Ev Bahçesi | Kovalık Yolu |
| Alan Yeri Üstü | Gıraathane | Mağara Önü |
| Baf Yolu | Gölbaşı | Mahkeme |
| Bağın Önü | Gölyeri | Manastır Önü |
| Boğaz Arkası | Görneç Yolu | Mergizli Yaka |
| Burun Ucu | Harmanaltı | Millet Bahçesi |
| Büyük Belen Ardı | Harman Yeri | Saraylar |
| Cami Çeşmesi | İkidere Arası | Sөгütlerin Önü |
| Çamlığın Altı | İkidere Arkası | Şehir Yolu |
| Çingizli Yolu | İkiztepe Arkası | Şehere Bakan |
| Çukurova Yolu | İrakbahçe | Tepealtı |
| Dağyolu | Kayaaltı | Yeniyol |
| Dağın Altı | Kayanın Önü | Yolüstü |
| Değirmen Önü | Kemerönü | Zeytincik Ardı ... gibi. |
| Dere Bahçesi | | |

11. Tarlanın/Bölgenin yapısına veya rengine göre isimlendirme yapıldı:

a) Tarlanın/Bölgenin yapısına göre yer isimleri:

Acı Kabuk Tarlası	Çakıllı Tümsek	Kuru Dere
Acı Kuyu	Çakmak Taşı	Küçük Kıraç
Ağı Suyu	Çeşmeli	Küllü Tepe
Büyük Bahçe	İki Kapılı	Mağaralı
Daş Tarlası	Karlı	Sivri Tepe
Daşlı Tarla	Kel Dere	Subasan
Değirmen Taşı	Kum(Kumluk)	Tatlı Dere
Derin Boğaz	Kumsal	Tuzlu Dere
Çakıllı Diyar	Kör Dere	Uçansu
Çakıllık	Kör Kuyu	Yaz Suyu
Çakıllı Tepe	Kör Kuyular	Yeni Tarla ... gibi.

b) Tarlanın/Bölgenin rengine göre yer isimleri:

Akbayır	Aksu	Karabalen
Akbelen	Aktaş	Karaburun
Akburun	Beyaztepe	Kradağ
Akdere	Bozova	Karakatır
Akkaya	Donukkaya	Karaköse
Akmağara	Kanlıdere	Karataş

Karataş Tarlası	Karazeytin	Kırmızı Tarla
Karatepe	Kırmızı Kıraç	Kırmızı Tepe
Karatoprak	Kırmızı Köyler	Yanikkaya ... gibi.

12. Bazı bölgelerde kuş/hayvan/böcek adı ile isimlendirmeler yapıldı:

Bu kategorideki isimlendirmeleri üç gruba ayırabiliriz.

a) Kuş adı taşıyan yerler:

Baykuş Tarlası	Kanarya	Kartal Tepesi
Doğan Burnu	Karga	Kuşhanı
Güvercinlik	Kartal	Turna
Hindi Yeri	Kartal Tarlası	

b) Hayvan adı taşıyan yerler:

Köpekdere	Toklu	Yılan Boğazı
Tilki Deliği	Toklu Ovası	
Tilkilik	Toklu Tarlası	

c) Böcek adı taşıyan yerler:

Arılık	Arı Tepesi	Karıncalık
Arı Dağı	Ateş Böceği	

13. Bazı bölgelerde tarlanın alan birimine veya sıralanışına göre isimlendirme yapıldı.

Altı Dönüm	İkinci Dere	Parçalar
Altıca Tepe	İkinci Ova	Seksen Dönüm
Altıncı (Tarla)	Kırlık	Urup
Beş Dönüm	Kırk Dönüm	Yedi Dönüm
Beşevlek	On Dönüm	Yirmi Dönüm
Dokuz Dönüm	Oniki Dönüm	Yüzdönümler ... gibi.
Elli Dönüm	Otuz Dönüm	

14. Bazı bölgelerde tarlanın şekline/görünüşüne göre isimlendirme yapıldı:

Çatal Dere	Dikili	Memmeler Dağı
Çatal Tarlası	Dikili Taş	Muska Dağı
Çatal Tepe	Düz Kıraç	Muska Tarlası
Çukurluk	Eğri Belen	Sivrice
Davul Tepesi	Gedik (Kedik)	Tümsek(ler)
Değirmi Tepe	İki Tepe	Uzun Belen

Uzun Dere	Uzun Vadi	Yamuk
Uzun Eşik	Uzun Yokuş	Yassı Tepe
Uzun Tarla	Üçgen	Yırtıklar... gibi.
Uzun Tepe	Yamaç(lar)	

16. Sahibinin köyüne/ülkesine (nereli olduğuna) göre isimlendirme yapıldı. Bu kategorideki isimler seyrek olmakla birlikte zikretmeğe değer düşüncesi ile örnekler aşağıda sunulmuştur:

Çingirli Tarlası	Payaslı Deresi
Lembalılar	Şcherli ... gibi.
Mısırlı	

■ 1955'DEN SONRA YAPILAN İSİMLENDİRMELER:

Kıbrıs'ta içharbin başladığı 1955 yılından sonra Türklerde milli bilinç daha da gelişti. Fetihden beri ismini değiştirmeden yaşadıkları Türk köylerini olduğu kadar, Türk-Rum karma köylerinin de isimlerini değiştirmeye, en azından aynı köye bir de Türkçe isim vermeğe başladılar. Mektup zarflarının üzerine hem Türkçe, hem de Rumca isim parantez içinde yazılmağa başlandı. Rum posta memurlar başlangıçta tepki göstermekle beraber 5/6 ay içinde bu, alışkanlık haline geldi ve üzerine Türkçe isim yazılan zarflar da hedeflerine kolayca varır oldu. Yani Türkçeleştirme girişimi başarıya ulaştı. 1960 ta Kıbrıs Cumhuriyeti ilân edildiğinde olay kendiliğinden kapanmış bulunuyordu.

1963 te başlayan ve tüm Kıbrıs'ı yerinden oynatan Türk-Rum savaşı 1974 Kıbrıs Barış Harekâtı ile noktalandı.

Bu savaşın sonunda Güney'deki Türkler Kuzey'e, Kuzey'deki Rumlar da Güney'e göç durumunda kaldılar. 1975 te Viyana anlaşmalarına göre nüfus mübadelesi yapılıncaya nüfus yapısı tamamen değişti. Türk köylerine Rumlar, Rum köylerine de Türkler yerleşti. Rumlar gittikleri yerlere 1960 öncesi isimlerini yenilerken; Türkler de yeni yerleştikleri köy ve kasabaların isimlerini Türkçeleştirmeğe başladılar. Bu işlem devlet eliyle kurulan "Coğrafi İsimlerin Standartlaştırılması Sürekli Komitesi" tarafından yapılmaya başlandı. Belli yerleşim birimlerinin isimleri aynı bırakıldı.² Bu işlem yapılırken aşağıdaki yöntemler uygulandı.

- 1) Oraya getirilenlerin güneydeki yerleşim birimlerinin adının önüne (yeni) sıfatı getirilerek isimlendirildi: Trikomo'ya İskeleliler yerleştirildiği için adına İskele, Yalusa'ya Yeni Erenköylüler yerleştirildiği için adına Erenköy dendi.

- 2) Bazı yerleşim birimlerine orada şehit düşenlerin isimleri verildi:
Karaođlanođlu, Ercan, Ömerli ... gibi.
- 3) Bazı yerleşim birimlerine Rumca ismin söylenişine uyan isimler verildi:
Trihon-Demirhan, Komma du Yalu-Kumyalı, ... gibi.
- 4) Bazı yerleşim birimlerine Rumca isimlerinin Türkçe tercümesi verildi:
Livatya-Sazlıköy, Litrangomi-Boltaşlı, Makrasiga(Uzaktaki İncir)-İncirli ... gibi.
- 5) Bazı yerleşim birimlerine cođrafî özelliklerini yansıtan isimler verildi:
Turnalar, Altinkum, Kayalar, Bođazköy ... gibi.

Bu isimlendirme işlemi 1980'li yıllara kadar büyük ölçüde tamamlandı. 1980 den ise Türklerin tümü Kuzey'e geçtiđi için toplumun yapısı deđiştii. Bu deđişiklik nüfusun artması ile sonuçlandı. Göç bir yandan devam etmekle birlikte, nüfus artışı da devam ediyor. Bu da, yapılaşmayı gerektiriyor. Yani yeni yerleşim birimleri inşa ediliyor ve şehir varoşlarında durmadan yeni yerleşim alanları oluşuyor. Tabii, bu yeni alanlara birer de isim gerekiyor. Bu isimler kuşkusuz Türkçe oluyor. Türkçe olmasına Türkçe oluyor da kimlerin isimleri veya nasıl isimler oluyor?

Göçmenevleri, Öğretmenevleri, Sosyal Konutlar, Sanayi Bölgesi örnekleri bu evlerin yapılış amaçlarına göre; Levent Sitesi, Kaynak Sitesi ... gibi örnekler ise yapan firmaların adına göre isimlendirildiklerini gösteriyor. Bundan sonra da aynı yöntemin kullanılmasına devam edileceđini söylemek mümkün.

NOTLAR VE KAYNAKLAR:

1. Köyleri bizzat dolaşarak yaptığım araştırmalar esnasında tesbit ettiğim isimler, ve gazetelerden derlenen köy isimleri çalışmanın esasını teşkil eder.

Ayrıca aşağıdaki kaynaklardan yararlandım.

Fedai, Harid; 1994 Haziran, Uluslararası Türk Dünyası, Kişi ve Yer Adları Sempozyumu, (Lefke Bölgesi Üzerine Yayınlanmamış Araştırma) Paşaođlu, Cevdet; Emekli Öğretmen, Çatoz. (Kaynak kişi olarak başvurulmuştur.)

2. KKTC Cođrafî İsimler Katalođu, Cilt 1, Lefkoşa.

TURKISH PLACE NAMES AND NAME-GIVING TO PLACES AT CYPRUS

ABSTRACT

This paper provides information about Turkish place names and name-giving to the places at Cyprus.

After the Ottoman occupation Turks, gave Turkish names to places with fifteen different methods.

After 1955, the inter-communal conflict between Turks and Greeks in Cyprus, Turkish Cypriots begun to give Turkish names to the places again. After 1974 an official committee established, for the same purpose. This committee used five methods for re-nameting. Now in Northern Cyprus, most of the place names are Turkish.

NOTICE TO CONTRIBUTORS

1. Papers either in English or Turkish are accepted. Papers for publication should be sent in triplicate to:

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2. a) Dergiye gönderilen yazılar, başka bir yerde yayınlanmamış veya yayınlanmak üzere gönderilmemiş olmalıdır. Yazılar yayınlanmak üzere kabul edildiği takdirde, Kıbrıs Araştırmaları Dergisi bütün yayın haklarına sahip olur.

b) Gönderilen yazılar yayımlansın ya da yayınlanmasın geri verilmez.

c) Yazılardaki düşünce, görüş, varsayım, tez ya da savlar yazarlarına aittir. Doğu Akdeniz Üniversitesi ile Kıbrıs Araştırmaları Merkezini bağlamaz.

d) Yazılar, kaynak gösterilerek (Yazar, başlık, cilt, sayı, yıl ile derginin, Merkez'in ve Üniversite'nin adları) aktarılabilir.

3. Yazılar kağıdın bir yüzüne çift aralıklı yazılmalıdır. Başlıklar ve alt başlıklar kısa olmalıdır. Notlar, kaynaklar, tablolar ve şekiller ayrı sayfalara yazılmalıdır. Yazının ilk sayfasında şu bilgiler olmalıdır: (i) yazının başlığı; (ii) yazar(lar)ın bağlı oldukları kuruluşlar; (iii) en çok 100 kelimelik Türkçe özet; (iv) en çok 150 kelimelik İngilizce özet; ve (v) varsa, yazar(lar)ın yardımlarını gördüğü kişi ve/veya kurumlara teşekkür. Aynı sayfadaki bir dipnotunda, iletişim kurulacak yazarın adı, kurumu belirtilmelidir.

4. Tablo ve figürlere başlık ve sıra numarası verilmeli, başlıklar tablo ve figürlerin üzerinde yer almalı, kaynaklar ve figürlerle ilgili notlar ise alta yazılmalıdır. Denklemlere sıra numarası verilmelidir. Sıra numarası parantez içinde ve sayfanın sağ tarafında yer almalıdır. Denklemlerin türetilişi kısa olarak gösteriliyorsa, hakemlere verilmek üzere türetme işlemi bütün basamaklarıyla ayrı bir sayfada gösterilmelidir.

Yazılarda dipnotlarına yer vermektan olabildiğine kaçınılması ve burada söyleneceklerin metin içine yedirilmesi yeğlenmelidir. Zorunlu olarak verilecek dipnotlarla kaynakların numaralanması ve ayrı bir sayfada "Notlar" veya "Notlar ve Kaynaklar" başlığı altında toplanması gereklidir.

Dipnotlar az sayıda ise, sayfa altında da verilebilir. Gönderme yapılan dergi ve derlemelerdeki makalelerin sayfa numaraları kesinlikle belirtilmelidir.

Kaynaklarda aşağıda örneklenen biçim kurallarına uyulmalıdır:

■ Kitaplar

Yazarın Soyadı (büyük harflerle), Adı. Kitabın Adı, Yayınlandığı Kent, Yayınevi Tarihi (Eğer ilk baskı değilse önce ilk baskı tarihi ve parantez içinde kullanılan nüshanın baskı tarihi)

■ Dergiler

Yazarın Soyadı (büyük harflerle), Adı. Yazının Başlığı, Derginin Adı Derginin cildi/sayısı, Yayınlandığı Yer, Yayınevi, Tarihi.Sayfa numarası her iki halde de en sonda verilir.

Aynı kaynak ikinci kez verildiği zaman,yazarın soyadı ve a.g.e. (kitap için) veya a.g.m. (yazı için) ile sayfa numarası (gerekirse), İngilizce olarak da ibid sözcüğü yazılır.

6. Yayına kabul edilen yazıların bir kopyasının bilgisayar dosyası şeklinde gönderilmesi tercih edilmektedir. Dosya tercihen DOS formatında, 5.25" veya 3.5" diskete kopya edilmelidir. Disketteki dosya ile yazının aynı olması gerekmektedir. Disket ile birlikte kullanılan yazılım programı, bilgisayar ismi ve dosya ismi gönderilmelidir.
7. Bu duyuruda belirtilen kurallara uymayan yazılar, gerekli düzeltmelerin yapılması için yazar(lar)a geri gönderilebilir.