Nostalgia for the British Era: Poststructuralist Critique of the Modernist Discourse of 'Civilization' in the Turkish Cypriot Media

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ABSTRACT

This study opens up a vista onto the notion popular among a growing number of Turkish Cypriots that the British colonial period brought modernist enlightenment to Turkish Cypriots. Turkish Cypriots were subject to heavy Turkish immigration from 1974 onwards as well as Turkish authorities mandating Turkish nationalism over the native politics and value system. In response, Turkish Cypriots have harkened back nostalgically to the British inheritance in their search for the universal standards of a "metahistoric" civilization. In doing so, Turkish Cypriots constructed a nostalgic nationalist movement called Cypriotism, an "identity of difference" that stands in binary opposition to the so-called "backward" immigrants to the island from Turkey, and to Turkish nationalism. Using postcolonial theory, this study critically analyses the media constructions of nostalgic nationalism in local Turkish-Cypriot media in the light of historic landmarks and milestones.

Keywords: Nostalgia, Colonialism, Post-colonialism, Nostalgia, Nostalgic Media Constructions, Modernist Thought, White Mythology, the Turkish Cypriots, Textuality.

ÖZ

Bu çalışma, giderek artan sayıda Kıbrıslı Türk arasında popülerlik kazanan İngiliz sömürge döneminin Kıbrıslı Türklere aydınlanma getirdiğini varsayan modernist metinsel dokuma üzerine kavramsal ve analitik bir pencere açar. 1974 sonrası deneyimlenen Türkiyeli göçmenlerle yaşanan iletişim sıkıntıları ve adanın yerlileri ve değer sistemleri ile etkileşime geçen "buyurgan" Türk milliyetçiliği söylemleri, bu durumdan rahatsız birçok Kıbrıslı Türk'ün "tarihötesi" olduğu düşünülen İngiliz sömürge uygarlığı ve mirasının evrensel standartlarına nostaljik bir "geri dönüş" yapmasına yol açtı. Bu minvalde, geniş bir politik ve kültürel yelpazeye yayılan Kıbrıslı Türk Kıbrıslılık adlı nostaljik milliyetçi bir yapıyı, "bir ayırıcı hüviyeti" inşa edip söz konusu kimliği Türkiye'den gelip adaya yerleşen göçmenlere ve Türk milliyetçi söylemine karşı ikili zıtlık zemininde konuşlandırdı. Postkolonyal teoriyi kullanan bu tez sömürge-sonrası Kıbrıs Türk medyasının nostaljik milliyetçilik kurgularını, tarihi dönüm noktalarını ve kilometre taşlarını da gözden kaçırmadan, eleştirel bir incelemeye tabi tutar.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Nostalji, Sömürge, Sömürge-Sonrası, Nostaljik Medya Kurguları, Modernist Düşünce, Beyaz Mitoloji, Kıbrıslı Türkler, Metinsellik.

This thesis is dedicated to

Eran the little man and my saintly friend

Hakan Karahasan.

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INTRODUCTION

This thesis opens up a vista onto the notion popular among a growing number of Turkish Cypriots that the British colonial period (*İngiliz'in zamanında*) brought modernist enlightenment to Turkish Cypriots. Having been subject to heavy Turkish immigration from 1974 onwards as well as the imposition of Turkish nationalism by Turkish authorities in favour of the native politics and value system, Turkish Cypriots have harkened back nostalgically to a British inheritance of "universal standards" belonging to a "metahistoric" civilization. In doing so, Turkish Cypriots constructed a nostalgic nationalist movement called Cypriotism, an 'identity of difference distinguishing themselves' from "backward" immigrants from Turkey (*Türkiyeliler*) and from Turkish nationalism. Using postcolonial theory's study of nationalism, this thesis critically analyses the constructions of nostalgic nationalism in local Turkish-Cypriot media in the light of historic landmarks and milestones.

Today, a large body of cultural elements of the "civilization"[1] discourse of Turkish Cypriots lies deep in the "inheritance" that came with British Colonialism in 1878 following the Ottoman rule in Cyprus. Following this framework, this study investigates the relationship of the older Turkish Cypriot media professionals with their colonial past. This thesis thus is an attempt to explore and to offer an analytical work on the discourse of modernity in the Turkish Cypriot community in the aftermath of the colonial experience. To put it another way, this thesis highlights how

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[1] Here, the concept of civilization is a dynamic process of becoming rather than being. The gist of the critique here is that this is not civilization in general but a particular understanding/perspective of civilization.

colonialism continues to play an important part in creating self-awareness among the Turkish Cypriots of the island. To this end, this thesis analyses the civilizational discourse of the modernist thinking prevalent among media professionals, which animates their colonial nostalgia, as itself an example of colonial inheritance. A theoretical concept pertinent to the British influence on the Cypriot imagination is the notion of "inheritance" (Derrida, 2006). Unlike the customary understanding of inheritance as acquiring something passively from the dead, Derridean "inheritance" does not emerge in a rupture between the past and the present, because what is inherited is identity itself. As such, the inheritor is a dynamic agent in the process of inheritance and the inheritance received from the past articulates into different meanings; temporally it *defers* and spatially it *differs from* the past. By contrast, through the project of the Turkish-Cypriot media, the British inheritance was wilfully construed in tandem with nostalgia. As Jacques Derrida (2006) puts it:

> Inheritance is never a given, it is always a task. It remains before us just as unquestionably as we are heirs... To be, this word in which we earlier saw the word of the spirit, means, for the same reason, to inherit. All the questions on the subject of being or of what is to be (or not to be) are questions of inheritance. That we are heirs does not mean that we have or that we receive this or that, some inheritance that enriches us one day with this or that, but that the being of what we are is first of all inheritance … whether we like it or know it or not ... To bear witness would be to bear witness to what we are insofar as we inherit (pp. 67-68).

This thesis further problematizes the contradictions and ambivalences in Turkish Cypriot postcolonial discourse, in relation to the texture of modernist thinking. Here the usage of the word "postcolonialism" in a Turkish Cypriot context must be made clear. The prefix *post-* does not denote a level or a state of advancement (Hall 1996; Kearney 2002). Kearney writes "we shall never reach the end of the story. We shall never arrive at a point, even in our most 'post' of postmodern cultures, where we

could credibly declare a moratorium" (p. 137). What this means is that, just like in the *post* of *postmodern*, so the "postcolonial" does not designate times "after" colonial era, contrary to "teleological myths of progress" (Deckard, 2010, p. 6). In the case of the Turkish Cypriots, the prefix "post" of the colonial and colonizing relationship with the past continues. Therefore, Turkish Cypriots are not "postcolonial" in the sense that postcolonial texture refers to an immediate break from the colonial textuality. Here, although "postcolonial" in one sense merely means "post-independence", "postcolonial" does not signify a moving post the colonial and colonizing mind-set. As Stuart Hall (1998) puts it:

> We're not yet in some other language, and we may never be ... that is exactly what the notion post means for me. So, postcolonial is not the end of colonialism. It is after a certain kind of colonialism, after a certain moment of high imperialism and colonial occupation – in the wake of it, in the shadow of it, inflected by it – it is what it is because something else has happened before, but it is also something new (p. 189).

In this context, the following textures in the Turkish Cypriot media point to the impact of British colonial discourse as internalized by the Turkish Cypriots:

The texture whereby Turkish Cypriot media have an affinity for the British colonial period, which can be termed as "colonial nostalgia";

1. The texture whereby Turkish Cypriot media have an affinity for the British Imperialism which can be defined as imperial nostalgia;

2. The Turkish Cypriot press retains elements of modernist colonial understandings.

Following the three main textures, three "sub"-textures take place within them. These "sub"textures are as follows:

3. The texture whereby Turkish Cypriot media is representative of the discourse

of British colonial times;

4. The texture whereby Cypriotist Turkish Cypriot media are critical of Turkey's presence on the island;

5. The texture whereby Cypriotist Turkish Cypriot media confront Turkey by harking back to the prestigious British colonial era.

Though the period of British colonialism has a predominant influence over Turkish Cypriots, very little attention has been paid to the British Colonial nostalgia in this vein. More importantly, less is known about the effects of British Colonial rule. Walder (2014) writes that nostalgia's "role in relation to the former colonies seems to have been of limited interest" (p. 144). Such postcolonial narratives in Northern Cyprus are ripe for research as there is no "systematic assessment of the relations between Cyprus and its former ruler since independence" (Faustman & Peristianis 2006, p. 7). In the academic literature, it is very hard to talk in an immediate and propaedeutic academic work about the direct relations between the influence of British Colonialism on the Turkish Cypriot way of life on the one hand, and their news coverage on the other. For instance, Bryant (2004, 2006) imparts understanding about experience of modern enlightenment and postcolonial reason among Turkish Cypriots. The significance of Bryant's work to this thesis lies in her historicizing of Turkish Cypriot modernity where, as we will see, she intersects modernist discourse (progress towards future civilization) with continuing post-colonial rubric. Hitherto, astute research has been implemented with regard to the crossroads where memory, nostalgia, postcolonialism, nationalism and modernist orientalism converged. Navaro-Yashin (2006), broadly speaking, shows how Turkish Cypriots have detached themselves from "Turkish contamination" after 1974. In the opinion of

Navaro-Yashin in "De-ethnicizing the Ethnography of Cyprus", xenophobia towards settlers from Turkey acquires an orientalist character. What makes her work essential is not only that locals on the island reject socialization with "backward" immigrants, but that they also imply the values of the British. Similar problems are highlighted in Mete Hatay's research. In a more profound manner, Hatay (2009) analyzed the ways in which Turkish Cypriots heavily orientalized immigrants from Turkey in Nicosia. Hatay persuasively argued that locals of Nicosia resorted to orientalism both to express a nostalgia via popular media about the "good old days" in Nicosia before settlers occupied there, and to scapegoat the "intruders". In Hatay's view, nostalgic news coverage against the settlers corresponds to racist undertones up to a certain degree. Then, in their "The Jasmine Scent of Nicosia: Of Returns, Revolutions, and the Longing for Forbidden Pasts", Bryant and Hatay (2008) laid emphasis on how Turkish Cypriots felt nostalgia for hardships and sufferings during the inter-ethnic killings between 1963 and 1967. Turkish Cypriots nostalgically looked to the enclave communities of the past to feel a sense of belonging and unity. The jasmine had become the symbolic expression for such a nostalgic solidarity. İlter and Alankuş (2010) belabor the Turkish Cypriot and Turkey relations in the postcolonial island within the framework of relationships between self and other. The article 'The Changing Configurations of Self-(M)other Dialogue in North Cyprus' combines the brand new Cypriot nationalism (Cypriotism) with the authorized Turkish nationalism on North Cyprus. İlter and Alankuş also cast light on Turkish Cypriots' "secondary" position in the dualistic hierarchy of Turkey vs. TRNC relations in postcolonial texture. With a deconstructive flavour, İlter and Alankuş point to how Turkish Cypriots are envisioned as "immature" to Turkish tutelage. Even though there are occasional references by Turkish Cypriots to British colonialism, the academic works

are few and scattered. Therefore, the absence of a "direct" focus while examining a discourse which supposedly exists at a subterranean level, as all legacies of a psychological and political nature usually are, constitutes one of the challenges of this thesis.

In his recent study "Postcolonial Nostalgias", Dennis Walder (2011) captures the nature of this nostalgia and what it means at the level of modernity. He suggests that "nostalgia is a feature of what is loosely called modernity" (p. 10). We might safely assume from the above line that this "in the time of the British" narrative of the Turkish Cypriot media cannot be divorced from the fabric of modernity discourse as such, as has been said. A powerful connectedness with the colonial past among Turkish Cypriots seems to be pointing to a deeply rooted colonial nostalgia,[2] whatever one may choose to call it, which emerges through the phrase "in the time of the British". This powerful colonial nostalgia, which is due partly to cultural and political discontents of today, manifested by older Turkish Cypriots articulating their identity through phrases like "in the time of British" or "good old days", is the main perspective that is investigated in this thesis.

For the purposes of this thesis, the term 'nostalgia' is used to mean a state of mind employed by Turkish Cypriots to constitute their selfhood against the non-self "other" in the colonial nostalgia discourse employed by the Turkish Cypriot media professionals. For a long time, Turkish Cypriot modernity has been based on an essentialist notion, defined by the parameters of the abovementioned colonial nostalgia. Therefore it's not uncommon to find an orientalist ethos and derived nationalist reaction "in the face of the other" or against the "outsider". Turkish

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[2] Colonial nostalgia does not mean or have a single charachteristic.

Cypriots allege that they are displeased at what they view as cultural and political discontent. The seasonal workers and immigrants from Turkey, for example, are held to be responsible for political and cultural frustration. In mutually exclusive processes involved in the shaping of Turkish Cypriot identity, according to "Western" (*Batılı*) or "Europeanized" (*Avrupalı*) Turkish Cypriot discourse, the already "civilized" (*medeni*) Turkish Cypriots are those who previously entered into a "safe" European stronghold owing to the British colonial epoch.

Additionally, references made by Turkish Cypriot media doyens to British rule (*İngiliz*[3]) explain the modern self-construction of a native Turkish Cypriot identity on the basis of Cypriot nostalgic nationalism, or, to put it another way, Cypriotism. The nostalgic nationalism for the British Colonial moment (*İngiliz'in zamanında*) contrasts with postcolonial Turkish Cypriot discontent with the Turkish (*Türkiyeliler*) immigrant society – as if this immigrant society were a monolithic entity – and resentment at the Turkish politics on the island. The longevity of the colonial memory ("in the time of British" or "good old days") has always served as an orientalist[4] discourse through which Turkish Cypriots can define their modern Cypriot selves in the face of the "backward" and "animal" Turkish immigrant (*Türkiyeliler*) population and assimilating official Turkish nationalist presence (alternatively known as Turkification, Turkeyification, or the Anatolianization process) since 1974. Taking everything into account, it is not easy, for a great deal of Turkish Cypriots, to think about Turkish Cypriot modernity without reference to

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[3] Though English (*İngiliz*) is used as third-person singular by many Turkish Cypriots, it is an overarching term and covers the British Empire (or third person plural). Sometimes, anything or any foreign westerner was deemed English by many Turkish Cypriots.
[4] We used the discourse of orientalism within the context of Edward Said's work. More specifically, orientalism refers to the discourse that irreversible modernist progress is a plank against "backward self" within the Turkish Cypriot self. In a similar vein, Rebecca Bryant (2006) argues that "Civilization was defined in contrast to the backward ... In the Turkish [Cypriot] case … Backwardness implies a self-critique and a need to move forward" (59-60).

British Colonial times. Even today, the Turkish Cypriot press, almost invariably gravitates towards the British Empire and its legacy. For Turkish Cypriot newspapers which imagine history and modernity as a "competition", the colonial era is generally associated with a British modernity which is "the furthest point" of the Western civilization "after" a victorious progress of history. In this line of reflexively modernist thinking, the Turkish population's "backwardness" is merely the result of its historic failure. Also, the Turkish Cypriot media sphere here appreciates a British modernity which "stands" for a "big/significant other" in the Lacanian sense, in whose presence Turkish Cypriots are sometimes awed and sometimes offended. Lacan's (1991) distinction between the radical Other and the little other is suggestive for our purposes (p. 321).[5] According to Lacan, the little other is anything which can threaten the unity of self/us. As for the big/significant Other, it is the source of awe and inspiration. Besides, it is the very Other that we/us/self much desire to be (one with) within the symbolic system. However, the radical other "is most inaccessible" and "hidden" (Lacan p. 324) and here lies its power. In terms of the "truth", the significant other, as Johnston (2014) puts it, is an "authoritative power and/or knowledge". Because the big Other can be conceived as the logos or absolute signifier. Glynos and Stavrakakis (2008) persuasively argue that the 'lifestyle fantasies' are fantasies of jealously desired lifestyles shaped by the gaze of a radical Other (p. 258-9). Glynos and Stavrakakis (2008) are also of the opinion that the fantasy for the radical Other can be devised to be a theoretical toolbox to look into ideologies. Following Glynos and Stavrakakis (2008), the other can be said to be the immigrant and "backward" population. The position of the Western Turkish and especially the British amounts to significant/radical Other because unlike the

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[5] B. Evre (personal communication, Jun 19, 2016).

immigrant population, the radical Other is the one which is "the longed for, coveted and unattainable significant other, the memory of our past idealized object of choice" (Demir, p. 9). To get a grasp of the prevailing mental climate in Turkish Cyprus, the response of Ali Tekman, a columnist at the newspaper *Kıbrıs Postası*, is "paradigmatic". Tekman (2012), concerning the situation of British expats in Girne, writes that "without the British presence, Girne would turn into a hell". He is sternly of the opinion that the British population "imparts civilized, contemporary social and human values" to the island. A similar attitude, the British as a sign of the culturally superior, can be perceived in Gazioğlu's (2012) caricature. The cartoon evokes the nostalgic situation because it lambasts postcolonial Northern Cyprus by means of "better" colonial past.

Figure 1: Caricature describing "Aziz Bey of Vuda" who was "medical chief supervisor of British colonial era". He was credited to be the "Cypriot who ended the malaria disease" (Afrika, 2012, p. 9).

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Gazioğlu laments the erosion of colonial legacy. In the past, in Gazioğlu's drawing, the island is imagined as enjoying colonial wealth and order. However, he implies that colonial civilization vanished in a "corrupted" postcolonial era where Turkish nationalism and Islamic religiosity surge in concert with the Justice and Development Party (AKP), and mosquitos now abound. What is visible in the background of the caricature are Islam, the Ottomanism of AKP, and Turkish nationalist figures on the one hand, and mosquitos swarming Vudalı Aziz Bey's sculpture on the other. For Gazioğlu (2012), postcoloniality under Turkish effect is a "regression". Therefore, he puts colonial modernity before postcolonial deterioration. So, the message coded here by Gazioğlu can be alternatively decoded as postcoloniality making Aziz Bey of Vuda turn in his grave.

The supposed supremacy of British civilization has always been a sanctuary for Turkish Cypriots in a context where they felt exasperation towards Rauf Raif Denktaş, the Turkish Cypriot leader, and the Turkish military and Kemalist bureaucracy on the island. The imperial themes that run throughout the nostalgia for the British fall into the dominant sentiments of peace, order, discipline, freedom and safety. The examples of freedom of speech and religious liberty in the Turkish Cypriot press generally clash with Ankara's attempts to solidify its control over the northern side of the island.

The enthusiasm of Turkish Cypriots for British colonial nostalgia is an effect of their modernist mind-set. In this context, attention was drawn to the powerful Western myth-making process which underpins the textuality of the discourses of both British nostalgia and modernity. Furthermore, this thesis can be considered an attempt to disclose the epistemological premises of modernist thinking which advocates the

"inevitable" scientific progress and a linear temporal view of civilization. Big words about progress have long been revered. That the progress, thanks to positivist science, made human life more comfortable, civilized, safer, orderly and prosperous than those "backward" populations is a widespread idea (Köker 1984; Minh-ha 1989; Sahlins 1997; Shanin 1997). The word *development* has been deployed as a west-centric criterion for "evaluating" the civilizational "level" and the future prospects of peoples and nations. As Shanin puts it, following scientific imperialism, lives and experiences were given "metaphysical meanings" and "the knowledge of the world was classified accordingly: some societies as developed, others as underdeveloped", in need of help, tutelage, and so on (1997, p. 68). The discourse of "development" has had its share of effects on Turkish Cypriots in the form of British colonial nostalgia. For the purposes of this thesis, the term "modernity" is used to denote the idea that history is a one-way, unremitting progression, a meliorisation, from darkness to light. From the perspective of the colonial modernist view of progress, "every society is condemned to enter into that history and pass through the stages which lead from savagery to civilization" (Clastres, 1989, p. 190). "A more positive attitude toward the colonizing mission," as the basis of civilization, is the bedrock of the Turkish Cypriot modern enlightenment ethos (Said, 1994, p. 11). Since colonial times, the discourses of British colonialism and "Europeanization" have been two sides of the same coin in the mind-set of the Turkish Cypriots. Europeanization here is "equal" to progress and civilization and a protective shield. For that very reason Rebecca Bryant makes the following apt statement with reference to the assumptions underlying the colonial modernity of Turkish Cypriots:

> Turkish Cypriot notions of progress were clearly modernist, even before the establishment of the Turkish Republic. They reflected a sense of a weakness in the social body that had to be corrected, leading both to a greater acceptance of colonial mandates and to an

understanding of "civilization" that was quite different from that of their Greek compatriots (2006, p. 56).

What is more, the average Turkish Cypriot considers it to be a matter of pride to use a hostile, orientalising language of superiority and exclusion while making reference to Turkish seasonal workers and settlers from Turkey who are framed as "an offence to civilization" or a scourge to progress. Referring to Roland Barthes (1972a), one can maintain that it is no longer necessary to take on the epic myths or heroic narratives in modern times to perpetuate the hegemonic ideology. Instead, Barthes (1972a) argues, cultural and political structures can be subtly undergirded by modern myths. To him, popular culture serves to shore up official realities. Specifically, newspapers help underwrite and optimize the value systems of the social structure, and the subjective qualities of modern society, by means of myths (Bennett 1980; Burke, 1966; Campbell 1995; Derrida, 1982; Gans 1979; Hartley 1995; Lule 2001, 2002; Lawrence & Timberg 1979, Steiner 1971).[6] Stated differently, "As modern myth, news proclaims and promotes social order" (Lule, 2002, p. 287). To further understand the role of newspapers in modern times, it is important to note bond between the media and society: media professionals and newsmakers bear the characteristics of their society (Hjarvard, 2013). Media are always influenced and shaped by the culture around them and in turn the media can shape that culture (Lundby & Ronning, 1991). In the context of North Cyprus, Turkish Cypriot newspapers play a powerful role in the maintenance of this mythically structured colonial nostalgia discourse. By myth, here we refer to deeply running discourses

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[6] The subtle but powerful relationship between myth and prevalent ideology take different modes. In this work, the focus is either on the "negative" or pro-established order content of the myth. For example, obviously, Roland Barthes (1972a) and to a certain extent Warner (1994) are important names, but especially Barthes does not allow for the emancipatory dimension of myth in his works. This is something that Paul Ricoeur emphasises. For him, the myth serves to complement and compose a human condition (Ricoeur 1984, 1985, 1988). For instance, Burke (1966; 1970) and Warner (1994) are two of the most valuable theorists in this area.

such as the idea of the civilizing mission of the triumphant British Empire, or the modernist colonial lifestyle which helped Turkish Cypriots to attain modern, universal standards of civilization. In the press, this myth runs like a connecting thread through Turkish Cypriot modernity. It is important to say that these mythic narratives are being produced by the Turkish Cypriots by constituting the audience/rival for themselves. The following question must therefore be asked: who do Turkish Cypriot media take to be their rivals, and what rival myths do the media pundits produce and consume? Turkish Cypriots, according to this modernist narrative, should be in competition with non-Cypriot Turks (put simply, the immigrant population from Turkey). From the above, it is clear that, if one is to study the way Turkish Cypriots narrate the period of British domination in Cyprus, it is important to understand that myths in Turkish Cypriot usage serve to advance certain kinds of interests, positions, and groups, at the expense of others, whom the narrators, media pundits and audience of myth experience as their rivals. Print media in northern Cyprus adopt a very predictable style of news construction by borrowing western narratives of development, a logocentric view which portrays the "longstanding" cultural "supremacy" of Turkish Cypriots over immigrants from Turkey. Derrida, in one of his memorable critiques of such modernist myths, developed extremely useful and challenging lines of analysis in "White Mythologies" that elaborate specific instances and styles that have particular currency, power, and importance. Derrida, for his part, focused on the way myth develops asymmetric binary oppositions, which it naturalizes and reinforces in multiple ways, with the result that dominant groups of the present can experience, represent, and defend their position of privilege as the product of divine favour,[7]

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[7] B. Lincoln (personal communication, February 2, 2015).

historical necessity, and/or nature itself. Derrida's view tallies with the situation of Turkish Cypriots because Turkish Cypriots used a British colonial lifestyle, a nostalgically structured opprobrium, to legitimize and naturalize their "prestigious" position, indicating that Derrida's approach is a valuable one in a Cypriot context. Though the population from Turkey exhibits clear and instructive diversity, such logocentricity painted a uniform picture. However, not all Turkish Cypriots are uniform either, whether holding pro-Turkey or anti-Turkey views. Certainly, it cannot be denied that nostalgic nationalism can also be read as a resentment in the present moment towards the Turkish nationalist presence on the island since the late 1960s. Şerif Mardin (1999) has discussed the way mythic discourse repeatedly has recourse to a primordial, authoritative past onto which is projected an ideal image of particular utility to specific groups and actors facing problems and struggles in the present. In similar fashion, then, "myth based communication" (Bennett, p. 171) can provide "a formidable array of strategies" to tackle the discontents of the present (Burke, quoted in Lule, p. 286). Given that nostalgia in Turkish Cypriot print media is a nativist and nostalgic movement – though at times latent – in the guise of political vision, it can find a contextual expression in what Bennett (1980) calls "the political implications of … the myth-based communication process" (p. 173).

In the light of the above, then, this thesis analyses Turkish Cypriot newspapers, mainly the print media, which has since the rise of the modern press almost always relied on a logocentric language, a form of nationalism, to produce homogenous identities. In the present study, priority has been given to mainstream Turkish-Cypriot news media, especially print-media and the work of recognized professional

journalists, because print media historically went along with nostalgia in Cyprus.[8] As a matter of fact, newspapers and nationalisms are compatible, because, increasingly, "print-capitalism gave a new fixity to language" to naturalize the "continuity" of national identity (Anderson, 1983, p. 47). Benedict Anderson's view of print can be applied in this thesis in order to provide a context to the nostalgic nationalism known as Cypriotism. Accordingly, an intertextual understanding of the relations between the media and the former Empire is useful in examining the media's tendency to rely on nationalist (and orientalist) language directed at Turks and pro-Turkey Cypriots in order to produce culturally self-same identities in the new information society. Departing from Anderson, and given the fact that the postcolonial Turkish-Cypriot newspapers (16 dailies) are influential in differentiating native Cypriotness from Turkishness, the media-constructed nostalgia discursively consolidates and justifies the modern Turkish-Cypriot self on the basis of Cypriotism. The key newspapers in this research fall into two groups: on the centre right there are the widely read and gatekeeping *Kıbrıs* (Cyprus) and *Havadis* (News). Ranged against these are the self-professed Cypriotist newspapers such as *Yenidüzen* (The New Order) along with *Kıbrıslı* (The Cypriot) and *Afrika* (Africa).

Postcolonial discourses of Turkish Cypriots are potentially ripe for postcolonial scholarship. Sometimes the Turkish Cypriots and their colonial pasts (which have been constructed in binary oppositions) exist in an ambivalent relationship. For this very reason, encountering postcolonial ambivalences today should not amaze the

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[8] In addition, I myself as a professional journalist have been involved in such a situation of colonial nostalgia while working for certain organizations from 2007-2011 when I have been an accredited journalist for major Turkish Cypriot newspapers. I was thus involved in such a nostalgic discourse which purportedly adopts a West-centric tone. Being a journalist has provided me with a chance to undestand the media here "from within," what Bernard Lewis & Churchill (2013) term as "intimate knowledge" (p. 4). Such intimate knowledge connected me to more personal, critical, and subtle aspects of the media relations in Cyprus which are otherwise generally obscured from the general public.

researcher. As Bhabha says, colonial discourse is ambivalent and hybrid at its very core (2005). Given the multiple thresholds of postcolonial memory in its current form in northern Cyprus, Turkish Cyprus's postcolonial memory is consistent with Bhabha's (2005) qualification on postcolonial imbroglio. There is no single theory exactly corresponding to the requirements of the present postcolonial ambivalences of Turkish Cypriot media. So here emerges a need for a more flexible and applicable approach to the postcolonial discourse. Such approach is expected to combine history and the discourse of nationalisms and must also be unpacking and analysing implications. For this nuanced reason, in approaching inextricably intertwined epistemologies of postcolonial texture of the Turkish Cypriots, we utilized Derrida and Derrida-influenced scholars such as Homi Bhabha, Gayatri Spivak and Edward Said, who have been held by Robert Young (1995) to be the 'Holy Trinity' of postcolonial theory (p.163) and cultural studies. Postcolonial scholarship and the critique of logocentism are but a footnote to Derrida. There are, in fact, changing contexts and tensions in every post-colonial condition and Turkish Cypriot media's colonial nostalgia too is to some extent ambivalent when it comes to notions of British power. Especially in the context of communication studies, the contingent aspects underlying the textuality of the post-colonial Turkish Cypriot case made it necessary to deploy a varied theoretical toolbox. As Stuart Hall writes, the communication field "is not a self-sustaining discipline" (1989, p. 43). Communication studies is appropriate for such commitment because it is not one, unified thing (Craig 1999, 2009). Rather it is a "'productive fragmentation' " (Craig, 2009, p. 7). Like Hall, Robert T. Craig (1999) writes that "communication theory is enormously rich [and] there is no canon of general theory" (p.119). "The potential of communication theory as a field can best be realized, however, not in a unified

theory of communication" (Craig, 1999, p. 120). But rather it moves "toward the problem centred dialogical-dialectical" enterprise (Craig, 2009, p. 7). Therefore, communication studies, both theoretically and methodologically, can carry intertextuality – rather than insularity or unrealistic "sterile eclecticism" – and can be inherently connected to different networks of research (Craig, 1999, p.123). In fact, "No active field of inquiry has a fully unified theory" at all (Craig, 1999, p.123). Lastly, drawing on postcolonialism for the analysis of the discourses of nationalism is the closest theoretical and "interdisciplinary clearinghouse" (Craig, 1999, p.121) to understand the controversial and uncertain qualities lying deep in modernist post-colonial Turkish Cypriot print media and communication.

This study mainly focuses on the time-frame from 2000 to April 2015. This is a key period for Cypriotists as a reflection of a "new" chapter in history during the first decades of the twenty-first century. Coming into the new millennium, nostalgia metamorphosed into a grassroots movement and a disobedient Cypriot ethno-centrism with an implicit respective gaze towards the western past (British colonial inheritance). During the 2000s Turkish Cypriots extended themselves to anti-Turkish institutionalization for the first time after 1974.

The methodology of this work is qualitative and includes textual analysis. In order to call attention to the cultural signs and historical traces of the colonial nostalgia of Turkish Cypriots that I have outlined, my work draws on Edward Said's (1983) idea that "texts are worldly" and that they are "part of the social world"[9] (p. 4) and the

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[9] One must realize that Said's approach to text/uality is quite a paradoxical. Said, specifically criticizes Derrida's statement on texts and textuality. While Said believes in the worldliness of the textuality of texts, he also faults Derrida for misreading the texts. The central problem with Said's claim is that he equivocally envisions a metaphysical binary opposition between the "inside" versus

Derridean dictum that "There is nothing outside the text" (1967, p.163). Methodologically, my thesis analyses daily newspapers, written documents and newspaper columns in order to identify the growing evidence of a texture which indicates that Turkish Cypriot media is representative of the colonial discourse and its colonial ambivalences. To a large extent, besides communication institutions and their relation to the construction of the colonial discourse, selective interviews based on memory-based narratives with Turkish Cypriot journalists are vital to this study in pointing towards the ontological and epistemological elements embedded in the cultural construction of modern colonial texts. At this point, Teun A. van Dijk suggests that discourse analysis "requires true multidisciplinarity" (1993, p. 253). The analytical tools exercised in the colonial discourse analysis are drawn from textual analysis in a dialogue with Derrida and poststructuralist theory. In view of these facts, in the textual analysis that follows, the following questions will be born in mind: Within what kind of textuality is the text being textured? With what other elements is the textuality under magnifying glass being woven? Therefore, textuality "is not as ontologically given but … historically constituted" (Said, 1989a, p. 225). Moreover, "what we call our data are really constructions of other people's constructions of what they and their compatriots are up to" (Geertz, 2000, p. 9).

"outside" of the text/uality and he erroneously goes on attack on Derrida's textuality for being abstracted from the "outside" material reality. In short, "for Spivak" Said goes against the grain when he "constructs a false dichotomy between the text and the world" (Morton, 2003, p. 17) in which we live. In addition, Said severely contrasts Foucault with Derrida, maintaining that the textuality of Foucault is concrete but just the "opposite" can be said about Derrida's text-immersed "intangibility": "Derrida's criticism moves us *into* the text, Foucault's *in* and *out*" (Said, 1983, p. 183). But Said here falls into the trap of what Derrida calls "metaphysics of presence", which means the state of affairs, such as texts, signs and meaning, exist by themselves, and it further assumes that there is a transcendental absolute presence outside the mediated reality of this world and life. For this reason, Said's engagement with the idea of text receives the criticism of "misapprehension of the notion of 'textuality'" (Spivak, 1988, p. 292). Because, the text/uality and life world is one and cannot be separated—as Derrida says above everything is textually woven and there is nothing outside the text. When all is said and done the text in this respect is where we are spatially and historically immersed, therefore "we seem to be in an area where we can't talk about moving *out* of the text back into society, because the text and social power are identified" (Salusinszky, 2003, p. 138). However, all things considered, Said's articulation of worldliness is useful for this work because in our context by worldliness we mean that text/uality and signs overlap and are woven into history, culture and society.

The analytical qualitative methodology used in this study focuses, to a large extent, on columns by Turkish Cypriot journalists. Beside sifting through the daily newspapers and written documents for texts by the chosen Turkish Cypriot journalists, the columnists' colonial perception based on memory-based narratives will be vital to this work. In the following analysis, the remarks of the Turkish Cypriot journalists about British Colonialism will be further interpreted with the help of textual analysis. In no way can this work be defined simply as historical documentary research into the textual traces of British Colonialism: rather it investigates the ways in which journalists attribute qualities to it. In this sense, this work doesn't undertake to provide the historical narrative about the colonial experience of the media professionals.

Chapter 2

METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH

2.1 Introduction

The analytical section of the thesis includes various perspectives across postcolonial, cultural studies and poststructuralism with textual analysis to give insight into how Turkish Cypriot media make intertextual allusions to modernist colonial myths in their nostalgic news constructions. The methodological approach of our thesis is qualitative. To be more specific, it is "qualitative textual analysis" with a critical scholarship on poststructuralist theory (Fürsich, 2009, p. 238). Here it is worth emphasizing that theoretical scholarship used in our work – such as cultural studies and postcolonial theory – is a derivative of poststructuralism, or better put, a ramification of the textual turn. Especially, poststructuralist Derrida's major works are, not only about colonial reason but equally about communication studies too. His stance "is strongly and directly linked to communication ... was on communication or almost a kind of philosophy of communication" (de Beer 2005, p.156). The work, in a sense, establishes an attempt to work within empirical[10] textuality. In the analysis

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[10] By empirical, we don't ascribe a "direct" or "unmediated" reality to empiricism. As it is claimed by positivist viewpoint, empirical facts don't speak by themselves, they do not point to signs. At best, empirical is yet another sign of its own reality. In a sense, the researcher is part and parcel of the text and traces s/he analyses. The main problem with positivism is that the positivist researcher chooses to equate the method as the truth of empirical reality. Problem on this point is the primacy of the method over reality and the equation of method with truth. Reality here is forced to fit into the methodological mould. Reducing the research object to a method, then to knowledge is a methodological and theoretical mistake. It also cannot escape from totalizing ethical and metaphysical flaws. Therefore the logical and factual problem with the hegemonic positivist methodology of the communication research is that it "has put the methodological cart ahead of the theoretical horse" (Gitlin, 1978, p. 206). Positivist unification of the method and facts, under the guise of a hypothetical step, offer a positivist model for hardening such a researcher's predetermined results which suppose an already unearthed object of study. So the method and research process in this tradition were crafted "preset". In addition to the above metalepsis, positivism fancies about a non-represented, non-mediated reality.

of the British colonial nostalgia, instead of "secondary" texts such as literature

review and personal reflections on the history of Cyprus, we generally focused on the

nostalgic rubric by sifting through "primary" texts such as newspaper columns,

online newspapers, hard news, soft news, videos (broadcast news), documents,

reports, archival evidences, photographs and historical recordings.

Before we begin to elaborate on the word "text", it is necessary to delineate the use

and context of what we understand by "text" to make sure it does not cause

conceptual misunderstanding. Text" here is "anything" contextually and structurally

useful. In short, anything could count as text: columns, local and international news

stories, archival texts, history books, scholarly theoretical works and videos. The

modernist colonial view we analyse appears to have grown roots in news-paper

columns that are significantly more durable than other types of text. Columns may

seem to outweigh oher type of texts in the colonial modernist web. Nonetheless, in

holistic use, it does not seem to matter whether the column or news story is prior.

There is yet another critical caution needed to avoid theoretical and methodological

fallibility: in performing textual analysis on modernist nostalgic texture this work

doesn't take on the "facts" and opinions of the columnists and newsmakers. Instead,

the thesis tracks down the way modernist narratives are being interpreted in the

present and it pursues the constructions of myths/discourses in them. In this vein, for

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Because positivist frame of mind is based on the traditional assumption that the "objective" researcher and "self-evident" empirical reality are "detached". Nonetheless, as Laclau (1996) says, "truth" in the symbolic nature of knowledge and representation "is fabricated rather than found" (p. 65), and, in the same vein, Critchley (1996) warns us that "truth is something created rather than discovered" (p. 21-22). Textual approach, unlike "one method-one truth-one reality" doesn't lean towards "produced transparency" (Spivak, p. 280). Ontological situation of text, the intertextuality of the signifiers "assumes that in principle, no distinction can be made between the collection, analysis and interpretation of 'data'" (Jensen and and Rosengren 2005, p. 61). To be precise, signs signify intertextually without a self-present meaning. To avoid a unifying epistemology of the modernist discourses, we draw in our work on Edward Said's above-mentioned idea of the worldliness of signs.

instance, such textuality is most powerfully and visibly woven by pundit opinions/columnists. What really matters for our purposes isn't the characteristic of the evidence, but the very ways in which texts are woven together into a larger postcolonial textuality – simply how textualization of the texts come into intertextual circulation – and "intended" messages constructed by spin doctors.

Of course this isn't all there is to textual analysis, and we will have a look at much more of the above-mentioned constructions of nostalgic memory in the coming pages of this work. It suffices to say that colonial nostalgia isn't a unified narrative and it also harbours counter, equivocal and self-contradictory positions in it. The postcolonial texture is knit with different coloured threads to constitute multi-positions. For instance the ambivalence is clear in the following extraction. As the old saying has it, "if you are going to be hanged, get hanged with a British rope." It is, at the same time, not surprising to find a counter British colonial example. Seen in such a way, there is a contextual and "fertile" potential to test the ambivalent tensions of Turkish Cypriots with British colonialism also. Yet, colonial and postcolonial discourses, such as that of the "nation," are unavoidably ambivalent at heart (Bhabha 2005). Bhabha points to an intricate postcolonial spatio-temporality invested with constituting ambivalences and cautions against the notion of "the on-going colonial present" together with "its contradictory articulations of power and cultural knowledge" (1994, p. 128). Postcolonial reasoning, Bhabha argues, is not an after-life but a historicity woven into the colonial inheritance. Though the colonizer-colonized relationship is binary and hierarchical, the postcolonial discourse is dis/similarly ambivalent for both the colonizer and ex-colonized. This inherited ambivalence finds its way into discourse after decolonization. Thus in postcolonial

Cyprus, Turkish Cypriot media bears a resemblance to the colonizer's index and has the capacity to evoke feelings of nostalgia for the Empire. There are controversial and uncertain areas in Turkish Cypriot postcoloniality. While Turkish Cypriots marched under the banner of western civilization via colonialism, Turkish Cypriots also never failed to emphasize the negative sides of the British colonial administration with reference to values of nationalism on certain occasions. Thus, it is sometimes "notable" to see nationalist elements – even in the left wing publicists – clashing with the colonial rule. Even though, ambivalence (or the split consciousness) seems to have been addressed in psychoanalysis, it is an issue on which postcolonial scholars elaborated as well, especially after decolonization started gaining interest worldwide. Ambivalence, from a post-colonial standpoint, then is "a term first developed in psychoanalysis to describe a continual fluctuation between wanting one thing and wanting its opposite. It also refers to a simultaneous attraction toward and repulsion from an object, person or action" (Ashcroft, 2006, p.12). When expressed by Sigmund Freud, ambivalent emotions referred to complex relations such as love and hate relations for the thing. Indeed, Freud notes in "Totem and Taboo" "an ambivalent feeling would reveal that their veneration, their very deification, is opposed in the unconscious by an intense hostile tendency, so that, as we had expected, the situation of an ambivalent feeling is here realized" (2009, p.66). As Albert Memmi (2003), Frantz Fanon (1963, 2004), later Partha Chatterjee (1993) and Homi Bhabha (1994) argue, the "going against the grain" reflex between the colonizers and colonized isn't something new. Even Memmi (2003), stresses the deep existence of the ambivalence: "how could the colonized deny himself so cruelly yet make such excessive demands? How could he hate the colonizers and yet admire

them so passionately? (I too felt this admiration in spite of myself[11])" (p. 6). For example, in his column titled, "Kutlanacak Ne Var Ki?" (Which translates as "What's the Point of Celebrating?" in English) on 30 September 2012, *Afrika* newspaper editor Şener Levent refuses to celebrate the birthday of the British Queen. The columns reads as follows: "Let alone uprising against the [British] colonizer, we had very close collaboration with them … especially we Turkish Cypriots. We joined the colonial forces as commandos to fight against anti-colonial fighters … I am not celebrating it. What is the point of celebrating?" (p.). The same pundit, in an interview with another Turkish Cypriot, anchor Hasan Hastürer on 28 February 2014, equivocally praises the colonial order, education standards and physical characteristics of public schools:

> Our previous colonizer (by the way you know we have our new colonizers[12]) made smart moves here also. As the British were leaving the island, I vividly remember how retired native colonial personnel lamented: "the British are leaving the island now but in the days to come, we will badly need the British here" … before anything else, there had been the British discipline. Especially in the public schools. English governors as well used to visit our schools for our shows at the end of the year. I remember Governor Harding. He had visited our show in Haydarpaşa at the end of the year and he sat down there. At times, governors used to visit our classrooms. They had closely inspected our education. Definitely, at that time, we had gone through very hard education. … Our education in those times – I mean our high school and junior high school education – had much higher standards than present day university education, it was much superior over our education level (Kamalı, 2014).

Alongside previous examples, the late Turkish Cypriot publicist Con Rifat sets another ambivalent example towards the British Empire in colonial times. The case of Con Rifat, the historic figure in Turkish Cypriot modernization, is revealing about

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[11] In Memmi's words in "The Colonizer and the Colonized", the colonizer goes through the same ambivalent feeling like the colonized in the colonial relationship. Memmi gives the name "Nero Complex" to this ambivalent relation (Memmi, 2003, pp.7, 21, 96 -97).

[12] Here Şener Levent refers to Turkey as the new colonizer.

the tense relation with the Empire from the earlier dates. The example of Rifat is significant and demands reading intertextually with the postcolonial conjuncture. Rifat's stance further shows the striking historic resemblance between colonial and postcolonial historicity among in Turkish Cypriot media. Con Rifat, as a *persona non grata*[13] for the British authorities in Cyprus, had been blacklisted by the colonial administration and he was expected to be deported by the colonial government at the first chance due to his "dissident" acts. Though Con Rifat Effendi – his true name is Cengizzade M. Rifat – throughout his life anathematized "reactionary" Ottoman supporters of Cyprus, he paradoxically never failed to champion the British colonial administration. Bearing the forename Con (pronounced John) came to signify confrontation with the authorities in the early 20th Century as in the case of *Jeune Turcs* (Young Turks in French) who were against the Ottoman Sultanate. As waves of *Jeune Turcs* and Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's command "to catch up with the standards of contemporary civilization" swept through some circles of Muslim and Turkish notables under colonial rule since the 1920s, Rifat Effendi adopted the adjective Con (as an Anglicized version of *Jeune*) in the following tradition to oppose the "backwardness" of the Ottoman inheritance. Being a zealous Kemalist, he ambivalently wrote in 1931, in his newspaper the Masum Millet's (Innocent Nation) main editorial that Turkish Cypriot community can't survive in Cyprus without the British, and he went on to glorify the colonial rule: "If we have to live under colonial rule, we prefer the British from the outset … The British rule is a crystal clear golden coin on both sides. The possibility to survive in Cyprus in the absence of the British cannot take any effect. After the occupation of Cyprus by the

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[13] A. Nevzat. (personal communication, November 27, 2014). Nevzat writes that "Rifat was no stranger to trouble with the authorities, having previously run into trouble with the Ottoman authorities for his association with the Young Turks. It was from this association that he gained the nickname "Con" (or, "Jön", as in "Jön Türk,"or, 'Young Turk'), that he was to carry for the rest of his life" (2005, p. 246).

British, we know that the only difference between our ancestors and the British is Islam" (An, 2006, p. 48). In the above-mentioned main editorial, he elaborated on his dialogue with the British Colonial Commissary Mr. Tompkins in Paphos about Sir Malcolm Stevenson, the First Colonial Governor of the island. The commissary told Con Rifat that he had nothing to fear from the First Colonial Governor Sir Malcolm Stevenson. Quick at repartee, Con Rifat gave the following answer: "I am afraid of the Cyprus Governor more than I am afraid of God; because British governors are always righteous and also because they are the representative of the supreme and paramount source of justice that have us living here" (An, 2006, p. 49). The anecdote of the publicist Con Rifat, must be read alongside the work of Şener Levent, to illustrate the long-held and still sometimes lingering "love and hate" memory of the British Colonial past as well. The colonial presence of the Empire is not always all sweetness and light in Cyprus and there is strong evidence of discontent directed towards the colonial past. For example, on every January 27, Turkish Cypriot media covers officials commemorating "Turkish Cypriot martyrs" who "sacrificed" their lives in fighting against the British in 1958. The commemoration of the victims of 1958 – alternatively they are known as the Martyrs of January 27/28 – is laden with negative nostalgia. In a different context, with the combined "pro", "anti" and "ambivalent" relation with the British colonial past, a complex postcolonial nostalgia has begun to take form among Turkish Cypriot news presentations today.

In the light of the above-mentioned complex postcolonial texture, the textual analysis here further displays and criticises the popular colonial narratives with which the Turkish-Cypriot media weave colonial nostalgia into the present. So now, not only characteristics of ideologies are immanent in such nostalgia, but more importantly,

deeply running ambivalences and duplicities playing within colonial nostalgia are the casework for this postcolonial media analysis. The following image portrays how different spaces and historic temporalities can become inextricably mixed and continue to coexist:

Figure 2: Today's Evkaf foundation building in Nicosia is inherited from British administration. Turkish and TRNC flags, Atatürk bust and casino exist together within imperial legacy (Source: Beyazoğlu 2011).

As can be seen from the examples, the influence of the colonial era over Turkish Cypriots on the island and press is not a single phenomenon to be addressed alone through individual media representations in the Turkish Cypriot press. The theoretical toolbox used here is drawn from postcolonial literature and from various discourses of nationalism. For this very reason, in ascertaining the textual background of colonial elements, the theoretical paraphernalia gives major importance to post-colonialism, post-structuralism and post-modernist stances that have changed the conventional approaches to theory and methodology. In this

respect, post-structuralism tallies with post-colonial history and theory because poststructuralists who are pivotal to this work have colonial backgrounds. As Young forcefully argues, post-structuralist theory is inevitably an upshot of colonial settings, especially Africa: "certain aspects of poststructuralism, for example the work of Derrida, can be related to the political perspectives of colonized Algerians," and "poststructuralism could be better named Franco-Maghrebian theory" (2004, p.7). To sum up, theoretical derivatives of the textual turn such as poststructuralism, cultural studies and postcolonial theory are contextual in the attempts to explain the complex cultural texts with regard to the colonial discourse on the island.

All in all, the aim of this theoretico-methodological part is to draw attention to the multiple meanings and connections within the nostalgic fabric of these media texts and their deconstruction. But, before analysing, we firstly need to explain textual analysis.

2.2 Text, Textuality and Textual Analysis

The textual analysis text-based methodological approach is cut out for communication and media studies (McKee 2003, Bainbridge, J., Goc, N. & Tynan, L. 2011, and Hartley 2004). Because as we will see, "once the pattern was set almost anything could be a text, or be subjected to textual analysis, including live events and actions" (Hartley, 2004, p. 227). Moreover, it is growing popular alongside other qualitative content analysis methods. Also, there are different analyses falling "under" the rubric of textual analysis, such as discourse analysis, quantitative discourse analyses, etc. But for the sake of clarity, it must be mentioned that this work understands textual analysis in as broad a way as possible, instead of reducing it to a methodological schemata. Some scholars might try to formalize textual

analysis, to lay it down on the Procrustean bed. Casting textual analysis in a mould doesn't serve a critical purpose. For this reason, shaping a textual analysis into the theoretico-methodological frame of reference limits the prospective findings of this research. The reason for this irreducibility is the deconstructive nature of the texts and textualization. In the light of this caution, textual analysis in this thesis leaves scope for the deconstruction at work, reminiscent of what George Steiner calls "the otherness of the world" (1996, p.9).

In its conventional usage, text means something written: a note, newspaper, book, shopping list, etc. But from a poststructuralist perspective it's not like that at all. Texts can come to mean "films, television programmes, magazines, advertisements, clothes, graffiti, and so on" (McKee, 2003, p.1). In post-structuralism, text refers to anything. To be more specific for our theoretico-methodological purposes, textual analysis is a flexible methodological approach "about how other human beings make sense of the world" (McKee, 2003, p.1). Differently put, in the media sphere, "the meaning is made from media texts" (Bainbridge et al., 2011, p. 224). Fairclough (2004) also says in this vein that "texts are not just effects of linguistic structures and orders of discourse, they are also effects of other social structures, and of social practices in all their aspects" (p. 25). Following from the idea of text, then textuality can be conceived as a way of existence because in the poststructuralist theory, "humans only know anything by *textualising* the world" and for this reason "there is nothing 'beyond' the text (as) contemporary life is promiscuously textual" (Hartley, 2004, pp. 226-227). As a matter of fact, as we already said, one cardinal characteristic of textuality, our web of reality, is that it is continuously text-bound:

> Even the Latin derivation of the word "text" (n. *textus*)-which
> means woven, as in a fabric or structure-further suggests that the

composition of any text is interwoven with previous resources that give it a particular texture, pile, and grain, As an ideogram, the text is a kind of "textile," with the threads of the warp trailing off in one direction and those of the woof in another. And although the text itself is a woven network of codified threads in progress that fill a particular time and space, the threads are all anchored elsewhere (Hartman, 1992, p. 297).

Additionally, all things considered until this point, then, "textual analysis should mean analysis of the texture of texts" (Fairclough, 1995, p.4). In textual analysis every media text is bound together and this is where textual analysis gains its strength because as will be explained below, irrespective to the "subject" matter, the *modus operandi* of textual analysis embraces a broad spectrum of methodologies (McKee, 2003). It is generally agreed today that, "ultimately, textual analysis is a toolkit for examining the media … applicable to complex forms such as news narratives" (Bainbridge et al., p. 224):

> Because of the variety of texts, we also need specialised tools designed for particular texts. Some texts are primarily written (such as newspapers, novels or letters) and some are primarily image based (such as films, television programs or computer games). Others are combinations of the two (such as comic books or websites). Just as you would select a screwdriver for some household jobs and a hammer for others, you should use these specific tools for some specific textual jobs and not others (pp. 231-232).

Furthermore, one should not forget that, as Deleuze adds: "a theory is, exactly like a tool box. It has nothing to do with the signifier ... A theory has to be used, it has to work. And not just for itself" (2004, p. 208). Also its flexibility and rigor is "particularist, empirical, analytical methodology" and is open to various theories such as critical theory, cultural studies and postcolonial theory (Hartley, 2004, p. 227). To illustrate this point one can only refer to the woven web of "language and meaning, ideology, myth, and historicity" as a rich theoretical reserve of textual

analysis (Curtin, 1995, p.6). By and large, textual analysis dwells on various areas – especially the combination of the critical theory and cultural/linguistic turn – including Gramsci's notion of hegemony, critical theory of the Frankfurt School, Althusser's problematization of Marxism, Roland Barthes' elaboration on structural linguistics, and Foucault's analysis of power, knowledge and discourse relationship (Curtin, 1995, p.6). The abovementioned theoretical legacies converged on the Cultural Studies movement and the figure of Stuart Hall by the end of 1970s (Curtin, 1995, p.6).

In the absence of interdisciplinary theories, and spectrum of alternative methodologies and conceptual apparatuses to aptly "read"[14] ambivalently – but that much richly - tapestried postcoloniality, any effort to take on postcolonial epistemology would prove partial and demanding. As we will throw a light on it in the rest of this chapter, textual analysis is about reading the "forgotten" meanings or gaps in the texts. As a rule of thumb, then, qualitative research such as textual analysis must be seen as a flexible ongoing process rather than as an end/thing in itself. Especially given that the Swiss cheese sort of texture of the communication process, the inter-textual approach to the object of study renders the research progress more flexible, safer and productive in the face of the time and space parameters. When Bouma and Atkinson (1995) say, "to do research is to be involved in a process ... The research process is not a rigid process" they mean to suggest that research as an in-the-making process is a future leeway and renders more retroactive permutation and combination when its further development is necessary (p.9). That

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[14] In post-structuralist derived terminology, the text is a key word. But the concept of "reading" is as significant as the word "text": "It is also why we sometimes use the word 'read' instead of 'interpret' when we are talking about culture; rather than writing 'how do people interpret this text?', we use, 'how do people read this text?'—Even if it's a film or TV programme, we talk about reading it. Again, the word has post-structuralist implications" (McKee, 2003, p. 12).

being said, a methodological approach towards problematical cultural fabrics such as Cyprus, is desperate for other theories and the analytical part must be executed hand in hand with a collage of theories and methodologies, especially poststructuralist theory. In approaching this issue, one should alternatively see this methodology as bricolage. Bricolage here is part and parcel of textual analysis. Most important, seen in poststructuralist ways, "every discourse is bricoleur" (Derrida, 2007, p. 360). Within an expression that deconstruction is open to the unknown; some fresh space is attributed to bricolage for a mobility during an extended research processes. Bricolage as *hodos* breeds dazzling unexpected consequences. Because, when it is coherent, it is a crossroads that meet a variety of methods, theories and networks of narratives in mutual interaction. It is very clear from these observations that bricolage allows communication, expands the possibilities in terms of unexpected results and effects. Lévi-Strauss (2004) holds that a bricoleur "expresses" himself or herself "by means of heterogeneous repertoire which, even if extensive, is nevertheless limited" (p. 17). And he goes on to explicate details of what is "intellectual 'bricolage'" (p. 17) and how versatile it is by saying that one "has to use this repertoire, however, whatever the test in hand because it has nothing else at its disposal … 'bricolage on the technical plane can reach brilliant unforeseen results on the intellectual plane … The 'bricoleur'is adept at performing a large number of diverse tasks … the rules of his [bricoleur] game are always to make do with 'whatever is at hand', that is to say with a set of tools and materials which is always finite and is also heterogeneous because what it contains bears no relation to the current project, or indeed to any particular project, but it is the contingent result of the occasions" (Lévi-Strauss, p. 17).

In this way, like Claude Lévi-Strauss, Michel De Certeau (1984) draws attention to the burdensome nature of the given methodological implications in the pursuit of a calculated methodological scientific-objectivity. De Certeau (1984) stresses that the bricoleur makes innumerable and infinitesimal transformations to adapt the conditions to their own interests and their own rules (pp. xiii-ix). Lévi-Strauss (2004) as well, in like fashion, has shown how bricolage provides an insight into the uninvited which has a great deal to do with the ethical concerns of the research. Minh-ha (1989) maintains that it's a mistake to suppose that the method is divorced from bricolage. She writes that; "a discourse that legitimizes itself as scientific unavoidably bears within it a critique of bricolage; yet whatever the 'brilliant unforeseen results' arrived at, there is not one single anthropological study that does not proceed from and does not take on the form of an intellectual bricolage whose information may always be re-ordered, completed, or refuted by further research" (p. 63).

In short, as textual analysis comes in many different forms, also theory, methodology and intersubjectivity of the researcher should fit together to weave a network to be capacious enough to connect with the wider textuality. For contingent reasons, because postcolonial rubric "is qualitatively different" (Phillipov, p. 220), this work will utilize the "Symptomatic Reading" of Louis Althusser and Étienne Balibar (1970), "Contrapuntal Reading" of Edward Said (1994) and Derridean deconstruction to develop "a type of textual analysis. Because, a postcolonial take on the post-independence media structure and narrative "brings into a focus of range of questions and highlights hidden assumptions" (Wasserman, 2010, p. 81). For this reason, textual analysis must take account of the deconstructive "reading" as an

"approach". In a Derridean sense, what is sometimes forgotten about any undertaken research process is that it is necessary and important to deconstruct the "object" of study to show the traces to be tracked elsewhere - hence denying and displacing the essential, singular or binary economy of the "object" itself. The deconstructive approach to research, requires the researcher, but not the theologian, to open the self to whatever is to come during the research process (Royle, 2000; Rorty, 2005). As Bennington (2008) says, deconstruction has a way of working, as things are in deconstruction themselves, and he further succinctly phrases that "deconstruction is not what you think" (p. 1) because deconstruction can also differ and defer from itself. But every research is simply a necessary risk, given the discursive limits of the language. The important point to realize about the intermixture of Said, Althusser and Balibar is that both approaches have methodological and theoretical ties with textual analysis. Both unite in the need for critically discerning connotative and repressed meanings in the text. According to Althusser and Balibar (1970), symptomatical reading includes multiple and creative readings to go "beyond" the palpable meanings within the text to problematize connotations and intertextuality:

> As we have seen and as we understand, the theoretical and practical consequences are not so *innocent*. In an epistemological and critical reading, on the contrary, we cannot but hear behind the proferred word the *silence* it *conceals*, see the blank of suspended rigour, scarcely the time of a lightning-flash in the darkness of the text: correlatively, we cannot but hear behind this discourse which seems continuous but is really interrupted and governed by the threatened irruption of a *repressive discourse, the silent voice* of the real discourse, we cannot but restore its text, in order to re-establish its profound continuity (pp. 143-144) (*Italics* mine).

This simply means "to read a text symptomatically, therefore, is to perform a double reading: reading first the manifest text, and then, through the lapses, distortions, silences and absences" (Storey, 2015, p. 76). Much the same can be remarked about

Said. Said's contrapuntal reading (1994) offers the researcher a polyvalent tool to realize unseen self-contradictions and multi-languages in colonial and postcolonial texts. Besides, contrapuntal reading is appropriate for looking to a political and cultural dialogue between the present and the larger colonial historicity. Briefly, reading contrapuntally enables a researcher to make intertextual reference to postcolonial textuality in a wider historical context: "contrapuntal reading is a form of 'reading back' from the perspective of the colonised, to show how the submerged but crucial presence of the empire emerges in canonical texts [and] as a way of showing the dense interrelationship of imperial and colonial societies" (Ashcroft & Ahluwalia pp. 89-91). Textual reading, then normally entails talking about power and asks who is privileged in a text and who is silenced. And power always remains linked to the hegemonic ideologies. So Said and Althusser's approaches fairly dovetail with what Wasserman's (2010) postcolonial media ethics proposes as "the search for hidden knowledge, that which is left out" (p. 81). Especially given that the newspapers function in support of the official reality by hiding or obscuring matters, Althusser and Said's approaches acquire further significance. As Connerton (2009) puts it, "the function of the news media [is] not to produce, but rather to consign recent historical experience to oblivion as rapidly as possible" (2009, p. 84). Then, here what Saidian and Althusserian approaches offer is close to Hartman's (1992) use of "intertextuality as a kind of 'strategic devise' for seeing the assumed meanings and views of the text" (p. 295). Given the hardships of the postcolonial seam, it is unlikely to handle the post-independence in the former colony with empirical, quantitative content analysis or political economy. The postcolonial rubric aside, as a matter of fact, textual networks sometimes have "moments of inarticulacy" (Phillipov p. 219), or "deep play" (Fürsich p. 245). As we are going to see, text is

knit together with deconstructive factors. This is because, "some forms of media and culture can be particularly resistant to empirical enquiry" (Phillipov p. 211). As Phillipov (2012) powerfully further argues, "text-based methods can continue to make … contributions to the understanding of media and culture. Because they find creative ways to articulate experiences that would otherwise be inaccessible to empirical research methods, the use of text-based approaches can improve … other understanding of popular media and culture" (Phillipov p. 211).

Althuser, Derrida and Said, then, unite in the versatile and useful form of interpretative textual analysis in taking on the texture of postcolonial textuality. With regards to textual analysis, as an approach towards texts, one must know that every text – therefore media texts - hides as much as it "speaks" in its production and dissemination. Thus, in approaching this issue, one should realize that textual analysis principally aims at calling attention to what is "latent", "implicit", "unsaid", "neglected" in signs or "structural absences" within the text. (Bainbridge, et al. p. 230). So when ideologies, relations, meanings are intertextually textured, the textual analyst must try to be aware of "which relevant 'external' texts and voices are included in a text, and which are (significantly) excluded" (Fairclough, 2004, p. 61). And doubtless, media professionals aren't exempt from this exclusion/inclusion mechanism. Especially, journalists are in the business of including some things which were said and excluding others (which often means excluding certain voices (Fairclough, 2004, p. 85). Equally relevant to the issue, also, is the attempt to "unfold or unpack meaning from the text by examining the unseen, unconscious ideology" in the texture (Curtin, p. 23). Textual analysis requires methodological and theoretical engagement to focus on potential meanings in texts and also a palimpsestic dialogue

between texts, that is to say how such textures are being woven into extended ideological networks. And, for our purposes, it goes without saying that, for instance, the postcolonial North Cyprus also bristles with palpable hybridities inscribed on the everyday spatio-temporalities. Everyday postcoloniality cannot be insulated from the media sphere. Like newspaper articles and monuments are texts in time and space. This means, the hybrid inheritance is not separated by time and space and it defies linear narrative. The photo below instantiates the inherited, membranous but inchoate past of the island.

Figure 3: British colonial mail system (pillar post office box) in English language lies beside postcolonial communication systems inscribed with Turkish letters in Nicosia. In the background, one can see the building of football association, TRNC and Turkey flags near the palm tree (Courtesy of Erol Uysal, 2013).

Nevertheless, one should accept that what textual analysis is after is not truth, reality or specifics of the text "because no approach tells us the 'truth' about a culture" (McKee, 2003, p. 2). For Barthes (1972b), "criticism is something other than making correct statements in the light of 'true' principles" and critique's "task is not to discover forms of 'truth' but forms of 'validity'" (pp. 648-649). Therefore, in textual analysis "researchers are not interested in finding how reductionist or biased journalist represents the world [but] instead textual analysis has the goal to explain which cultural sensibilities prevail that allow such a text at this specific point in time (…) The flexible but critical use of methodologies and research strategies should remain a tool not an answer to understanding how meaning is created and circulated in a media-saturated environment" (Fürsich, pp. 247, 250).

Along with these qualities, there is no single methodological approach to cultural texts[15]. No cultural approach is self-sufficient. So moving to a textual analysis asks for another step. If the researcher isn't a fortune-teller or a visionary prophet, then multi-disciplinary characteristic of research must render the research process sensitive to a wider textuality of culture, language and ideology. Because the "western" and "modern" textuality are both postcolonial constructions emerging from a specific social and economic context along with a specific set of power relations. Beyond the manifest discursive strategies in a media text, the researcher must look at

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[15] Furthermore, continuing from this idea, there is a relation between textuality and Bakhtinian dialogic. For Bakhtin, always more than one way to read the texts is inherent. Because, the intertextuality of any text, as we pointed out earlier, makes is always open to other texts. For Bakhtin, there "is no first and last discourse. Dialogical context knows no limits (it disappears into an unlimited past and in our unlimited future). Even past meanings, that is those that have arisen in the dialogue of past centuries can never be stable (completed once and for all, finished), they always change (renewing themselves) in the dialogue's subsequent, and yet to come. At every moment of the dialogue, there are immense and unlimited masses of forgotten meanings, but, in some subsequent moments, as the dialogue moves forward, they will return to memory and live in a renewed form (in a new context)" (Bakhtin, quoted in Todorov, 1984, p.110).

the "underlying" cultural and ideological assumptions. So, qualitative analysis as such has to move "beyond" themes in media textuality to establish connections between various themes and categories and critically interpret the "texture of text" in the context of the literature review. Also, textuality isn't just themes, frame of reference or topics; but presents a specific world view which could be better understood with a view to a set of theories. In this sense, the idea of textuality comes close to what poststructuralists call a discourse. So emerges a need for a multi-theory. Again, another point that deserves elaboration is the difficulties of cultural texts after the independence. As it was maintained above, texts are not consistent and "paradigmatically coherent" with clearly defined borders. The difficulty of postcolonial text is because they are evasive and constituted as a ragbag and their meaning is made of gaps, patches, binaries, disparities, absences, contradictions as well. Though the nostalgia for the colonial times is abundant in our casework, anti-colonial feelings or ambivalence towards the colonial presence is also a case. Postcolonial rubric isn't pure and always retains its different constituencies. This situation in dealing with the "cultural nostalgia" poses a hardship (In Grossberg 1996, Hall p. 158). But still a researcher must start off somewhere. The dialogic or intertextual approach to texts frustrates the fancy of "original point" of methodological launch. For that reason, Derrida objects to the idea of origin because there are only provisional beginnings. Yet, against the fixation of origin, we would even go so far as to say that the method of possibilities in textual analysis can further be opened by the suggestive extract of Derrida in "Of Grammatology": "We must begin wherever we are and the thought of the trace, which cannot not take the scent into account, has already taught us that it was impossible to justify a point of departure absolutely. Wherever we are: in a text where we already believe ourselves

to be" (1967, p. 162). One should note here that, right after taking any starting point, combination of cultural studies - which feeds from postcolonial theory and poststructural theory - can yield a critical perspectives on the difficulties in the postcoloniality. In broad terms, all three theories are text embedded. In our theoretical standpoint, "the text is never isolatable" (Grossberg, 1996, p. 157). Again theoretical toolbox we use here takes up a position in favour of text but it assumes that "meaning is not [only] in the text itself but is the active product of the text's social articulation, of the web of connotations and codes into which it is inserted (Grossberg, 1996, p. 157).

To repeat, casting textual analysis in a mould does not serve a critical purpose. For this reason, moulding textual analysis into one absolute theoretico-methodological frame of reference limits the prospective findings of this research. The reason for this irreducibility is the deconstructive nature of texts and textualization. In its own right, textual analysis of postcolonial media texts displays a good deal of advantage over traditional discourse methods in certain critical matters. In a way, its advantage runs deep in its difference from prescribed forms of analyses. From the early stages of discourse analysis methods in media studies, there has been an emphasis on "the speech". Literally, the concept discourse emanates from the "sound" or "speech" and it precedes "writing". In discourse analysis of the media texts, the valuation of speech (the voice, conversation, verbal communication, the discourse) over different other forms of communication (such as writing) undermined the holism in approaches to the text. Prioritizing speech and putting it "above" writing subjected discourse analysis to the critique of phonocentrism, which is a form of

logocentrism[16]. The reason why writing is rejected is logocentrism. Because, as Paul Ricoeur holds, "the text is more than a work of discourse, it is also a written work. In confronting this fact, Ricoeur emphasizes that the text is not simply a speech written down, because speaking and writing are alternative and equally fundamental modes of the realization of discourse" (Moore, 1990, p. 93). By the same token, rejecting writing is as much logocentric as championing speech (discourse). Such a metaphysical distinction between the sound-centred speech and writing necessitated some adherents of discourse analysis to privilege the concept of discourse. In fact, whatever defects are attributed to writing to claim this privilege for speech, speech is marked by the same "defects," as will be explained below. Derrida in "Of Grammatology" demonstrates how speech itself is a type of writing, as it is characterized by the very defects attributed to writing by logocentrism, unlike erstwhile or sporadic phonocentrism of discourse analysis, textual analysis doesn't have to continuously improve or qualify a mishap or defect in it. Furthermore textual analysis, as previously said, is deconstructive in the sense that it faults sound/speech driven logocentric and phonocentric approaches to texts for failing to accommodate deconstruction dynamics in texts. In Derrida, "it is a metaphysical requirement that speech has to come before writing ... it's possible to think of speech coming before writing only because writing must come before speech" (Lucy, 2004, pp. 119, 121). Shortly, by imagining or "fleshing out" speech paradoxically out of the metaphysics of presence is the biggest feebleness in methodologies revolving around speech. Taking everything into account, this work deals with written and verbal sources at

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[16] The binary vision between present speech and absent writing is established through the absence of the subject/author of the written word. So if the word is valuable, its value has to do with the presence of the utterer of the speech/word. Phonocentrism, which can be treated as logocentrism in this vein, fancies a sharp simultaneity between already speaking and written word as an inferior form of the speech.

the same time.

Chapter 3

A COLONIAL TRIPARTITE: LOGOCENTRISM, POSITIVISM AND MODERNIST THINKING

3.1 Introduction: The Anatomy of Logocentric Reason

The aim of this chapter is to impart an introductory understanding about logocentric and modernist discourses. Given that modernism discourse constitutes the ambivalence of Turkish Cypriot colonial nostalgia claims, the underpinnings of modernity need to be explained (both of which terms "modernism" and "modernity" being used interchangeably). After analysing the theoretical and methodological approaches that logocenterism and modernity take on, this work will present a critique of logocentric philosophy based upon poststructural and postcolonial theories.

Logocentrism and the practices of logocentrism are as grounded as history. Put simply, logocentrism is built on the monist idea that the meaning is stable in time and space and it leaves no room for difference. The logocentric mind-set shows itself as the context to epistemological (truth) and ontological (reality) issues. Logocentrism bases its notions of truth and reality on a transparent language which revolves around the notion of metaphysical unity. Therefore, an assumption of transparency is essential to the linguistic dimension of logocentrism. In westernphilosophy, the claim to reality and truth has been historically speaking logocentric. According to the logocentric way of seeing the world, a/the meaning is a present by itself and it is

independent of the material culture. In view of that, this absolute truth and reality transcends our spatio-temporal texture.   To follow Elizabeth Grosz (1989), logocentrocentrism is derived from the distilled Logos:

> Represents a singular and unified conceptual order, one which seems to grasp the presence or immediacy of things. Logocentrism is a system of thought centred around the dominance of this singular logic of presence. It is a system which seeks, beyond signs and representation, the real and the true, the presence of being, of knowing and reality, to the mind—an access to concepts and things in their pure, unmediated form (p. xix).

One of the reasons reinforcing logocentric presentism comes from the traditional tendency towards the use of language. At the level of language, according to Kenneth Burke, the "language is rotten with perfection" which means that human language gives rise to absolutism. Or, the nature of the words/language is to propose one, unity, perfect, absolute, ideal or universal "Word" (1970, p. 7). The similar approximation to meaning, simply the attempt at underpinning *a* meaning is a mark of the modernist characterization of language, as Zygmunt Bauman (1998) maintains:

> Through its naming/classifying function, language posits itself between a solidly founded, orderly world fit for human habitation, and a contingent world of randomness, in which human survival weapons -- memory, the capacity for learning -- would be useless, if not downright suicidal. Language strives to sustain the order and to deny or suppress randomness and contingency. An orderly world is a world in which `one knows how to go on' (or, what amounts to the same, one knows how to find out -- and find out for sure -- how to go on), in which one knows how to calculate the probability of an event and how to increase or decrease that probability; a world in which links between certain situations and the affectivity of certain actions remain by and large constant, so that one can rely on past successes as guides for future ones. Because of our learning/memorizing ability we have vested interests in maintaining the orderliness of the world. For the same reason, we experience ambivalence as discomfort and a threat. Ambivalence confounds calculation of events and confuses the relevance of memorized action patterns (pp. 1-2).

We can see this in the chapters which follow that the circuitous drive towards perfection had proven dangerous in symmetric or totalitarian orders because what really attracts the modern "undivided" western subject is the illusion of purity and unity in the self.

According to Derrida such problems are in the western philosophical discourse where the sound/speech as originator of thinking is supreme to writing as writing fails to converge with the logos (Derrida 1997, Hartley 2004). In this mode, "Speech versus Writing" binary opposition can provide an appropriate example to the nature of logocentrism over modern western thinking today. The meaning is centred on the logos. The very idea of logocentrism supposes a binary polarization. There is speech (logos) at one pole and writing at the other pole. However, in this "speech vs. writing" binary construction, the phonic qualities of speech (logos) are supreme in comparison to the writing. In the same way, the first term of the binary opposition has always been favoured in comparison to the second (underplayed) term. Plato, in this context, favours the presence of the speaker (speech) to the absence of the writer (writing). Therefore the writer and his writing are always secondary to the presence of speech and speaker. The priority of the former, in the binary pole, appears at the expense of the latter/other in many different guises. This notion remains within the heritage of logocentrism which is also called phonocentrism by Derrida. He states that "absolute proximity of voice and being, of voice and the meaning of being, of voice and the ideality of the meaning ... The epoch of the logos thus debases writing considered as mediation of mediation and as a fall into the exteriority of meaning" (Derrida, 1997, pp. 10-12). It is on this very logocentric and binary basis that the white is always primary to the black. Binary opposition is mutually exclusive and

according to logocentric assessment one cannot substitute another and opposing parties do not "add up" together. This is because difference is externalized in positivism and binary oppositional thinking, or, more specifically, differences inside "all add-up" to make one "coherently unified whole". Derrida gave the name "the white mythology" to the metaphysics of the western mental climate. Euro-logos-centric power representations by means of binary oppositional language ensure that Derrida comes to grip with the term *white mythology*. He remarks that;

> Metaphysics—the white mythology which reassembles and reflects the culture of the West: the white man takes his own mythology, Indo-European mythology, his own logos, that is, the mythos of his idiom, for the universal form of thought he must still wish to call Reason (1982, p. 213).

The logic of white mythology is based on the relation that every binary opposition has two sides which are not equal. Derrida warns that in the binary oppositions of western metaphysics, the former pole of the binary nexus renders the secondary pole insignificant and therefore exterior. In a relation of white mythology defined by binary opposition, the self is privileged over the other because the self itself is the centre. To put it another way, the two poles of the binary opposition axis are not compatible and first one always otherizes[17] the second one to dis-equate the binary relation. According to the former term, the prior pole is always "supreme" and "authoritative" to the belittled latter term. Western mythology makes itself felt in the

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[17] "Otherizing" or "othering" refers to "externalisation of the 'other'" (Chambers, p. 12) which is the diacritical element in logocentric, therefore, modernist colonial thinking. The aim here is to "seperate" the self from the "other". Postcolonial and diaspora theorists give the name "othering" or "otherizing" to this performative constitution of the other (Chambers 1994; Huggan 2008; Loomba 2005; Punter 2000; Shohat & Stam 2003; Shome and Hedge 2002; Taussig, 1993). The word performative here is pertinent and useful in understanding the metaphysics of other. This is because the presence of the other is not self-evident, thus, inventing or imagining the binary other entails performative interpretation. It is in this economy that one must recall Derrida's problematization of "metaphysics of presence", for, logocentric colonial or modernist reason projects the "other" "outside" the self. As Spivak points out, "the othering of the other of the West, in actual imperial practice" (Spivak, 1990, p. 39).

popular projections of "Arian versus Semitic", "West versus East", "Science versus Myth", "Developed versus Primitive", "First world versus Third world", "North versus. South", "Culture versus Nature" and "Civilized versus Savage" etc. The one therefore "exists in relation to [its] opposite" (Minh-ha, p. 52). Here, İlter's words are to the point about the cogs in the phallologocentric "reality" as argued in his "The Otherness of Cyberspace, Virtual Reality and Hypertext": "Logocentric metaphysics of presence, which, in trying to banish its own difference or otherness inside, projects it onto a binary oppositional outside" (2011, p. 637). Taken together, at "stake" here is actually a politics of domination based upon hierarchy.

However, in this fashion, logocentric binary thinking does not allow for the contradictions and difference in its presence because of the idea of unity. As aforesaid, in all forms of binary oppositional systems, the former self position of the pole r/ejects the secondary other position. The self projects the other to the "outside" of the equation. Therefore, the monist understanding of presence is both the reason and result of the binary oppositional thinking in western world/ing. [i] In this monist conception of existence, truth as illusion longs for universal and homogeneous structures. In other words, the self that is the center of this binary is privileged over the "exterior other". What is even more dangerous about this notion of centre is that, "at the center, the permutation or the transformation of elements is forbidden … The center is the center of the totality" (Derrida, 1978, p. 15). It is on this epistemological basis that western identity or subject formation has come into being. The Eurocentric logic of identity harbours suggestive examples about the modern subject. In other words, modern subject is the incarnation of logocentrism. According to the very tenets of logocentrism, being means totality of the self as the self considers the other

as an existential and external threat. The logocentric illusion of how things work in the world assumes that there are metaphysical absolutes given as self-presence out of reach of the shared language such as, "presence-eidos, arche, telos, energeia, ousia (essence, existence, substance, subject) aletheia [truth], transcendentality, consciousness, or conscience … and so forth" (Derrida, 1978, pp. 279-280).

Edward Said's landmark example of orientalist discourse which "divides" the West from the East offers a related point in understanding the power of colonial discourse. Said writes that "orientalism is a style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between "the orient" and (most of the time) and "the west" to define orientalism. Said directs the reader's attention to the ontological and epistemological splitting between "east" and "west". What Said implies in his definition of orientalism is that there is no essential difference among Europeans but the opposite is true of East as there is supposedly an ontological and epistemological difference between "west" and "east". Said and Derrida are similar in that both critically problematize the anatomy of western reasoning under which logocentrism has been pointing its finger towards a supposedly self-present orient and a self-present occident. Somewhere else in "Orientalism", Said utters the words "willed imaginative" (2003, p. 201) which means intended imagination. The orientalist discourse, for Said, is historically intended to be self-referential in order to be able to produce the orient discursively, politically and representationally. Drawing from Foucault, Said holds that the measure of truth is a good deal of representational knowledge and the "projected inferiority" of East comes along from this ontological division. "The Ballad of East and West" of Rudyard Kipling where he writes "Oh, East is East, and West is West, and never the twain shall meet" is a poetic example of

the artificial division discussed above (1914, p. 141) What the lines of Victorian poet Kipling's poem shows is how untenable it is for the western monist knowledge to bring together the west" and the "east" or opening up a space for the hybrid. Edward Said's critical analysis of "essentially different" "western" and "eastern" world theme idea collides with Bernard Lewis's east-west duality and Samuel Huntington's controversial assumption of "The Clash of Civilizations?." What Lewis and Huntington mainly argue in their hypotheses is the idea that the underlying and shaping force in international relations are culture and faith and both Lewis and Huntington render the culture and faith factors supreme to other dynamics. The British historian Lewis, one of the purveyors of the logocentric orientalist discourse for Said, pays heed to "the clash of civilizations". He proposes that

> It should by now be clear that we are facing a mood and a movement far transcending the level of issues and policies and the governments that pursue them. This is no less than a clash of civilizations—the perhaps irrational but surely historic reaction of an ancient rival against our Judeo-Christian heritage, our secular present, and the worldwide expansion of both. It is crucially important that we on our side should not be provoked into an equally historic but also equally irrational reaction against that rival (1990, p. 60).

Though being less aggressive and alarming than Lewis, Huntington plainly shares similar ideas with Lewis. In "The Clash of Civilizations?" he provides the following account:

> It is my hypothesis that the fundamental source of conflict in this new world will not be primarily ideological or primarily economic. The great divisions among humankind and the dominating source of conflict will be cultural ... The most important conflicts of the future will occur along the cultural fault lines separating these civilizations from one another (1993, p. 22-25).

What unites both Lewis and Huntington is the tenet that the east and west are

essentially and irreversibly different from each other on account of religio-cultural reasons. In their mutually exclusive frames of reference, Lewis and Huntington are of the opinion that cultural identity remains the same in self/west and east/other so that one can come to see "transparently" the clash between the civilizations: "true knowledge of reality as it is". The word clash in the expression of "the clash of civilizations" implies epistemic and ontological violence which becomes more visible in contexts bound up with the ontological assumption of one positivist reality and one reference. Therefore, such an external entity as the East does not have a place in the mutually exclusive construction of the Western identity and home. Discussing how that divisive clash of civilizations discourse in modern colonial language produces violent and ethnocentric representations, David Huddart (2007) further says that an intact and produced division had subsumed politics and history. As Huddart (2007) states, especially on the ground of terrorism discourse, the recurring themes in "the clash of civilizations" myth leans toward logocentrism:

> We are faced with a world seemingly polarized and divided into discrete cultures. This situation is often described, in the words of historian Bernard Lewis, as a 'clash of civilizations' (2004).This description sees differences as being cultural rather than political: this usually means that historical events are explained as arising from innate cultural differences, implying that we cannot reconcile oppositions (e.g. oppositions between Islam and the West, or 'Jihad vs. McWorld') ... such polarization is simplistic and dangerous, as it ignores the continuing processes of history (Huddart, 2007, pp. 3-4).

All things considered until here, one can come to see the close connection between the logocentric identity construction and derivatives of the modernist grand narrative such as colonialism, nationalism, and ethnocentrism because, in the sense that the fixed "self" acts like a shield against "intruder" or "other", all discourses of colonialism, nationalism, and ethnocentrism conform to the logic of a binary

opposition to protect itself from "evils". In this vein, with its "origins" in the logocentric assumption of the metaphysics of presence, the effects of the "Europe as the center of the universe" discourse still lingers maybe longer than any other philosophy which gives credit to difference and multiplicity. As we have already noted, the purpose that justifies a self's reason-for-being is the binary opposition which serves to "externalize" the difference or it projects the difference on to the outside.

3.2 Fear of the Non-Self and the State of Flux

That the modern colonial march emanates from the Renaissance era needs to be further elaborated and parallels from Turkish Cypriot press are drawn as instances of colonialism in the post-colonial era. The human being's need for carving patterns out of chaos and converting them into narratives or myths have a long his-tory, as Bauman (1992, 1998) says. Much has been said and written about the obsession with order and the *horror vacui* (horror of the void) (Bauman, 1992, p. xvii). Modernity is, as recapitulated by Bauman is "the quest for order" (1998, p. 1). Or to put it another way, the modernist fear of the accidental in explanation of facts. Bauman (1998) maintains that modern climate had never been comfortable with chaos and flux because of its equivocal nature: "The main symptom of disorder is the acute discomfort we feel when we are unable to read the situation properly" (Bauman, 1998, p. 1). In the Turkish Cypriot press, *horror vacui* and disorder is generally met with revulsion, exhaustion and incomprehension. Ali Baturay's (2014) column "Çıldırtan Dağınıklık" (which translates as Maddening Discomfort in English), *Kıbrıs* Newspaper Editor's, reaction to disorder can be taken as "representation" language of what Bauman calls "acute discomfort" in the face of modern situation. Baturay (2014) portrays Northern Cyprus as a place without order and system. He

(2014) further adds that "visitors coming from orderly places such as Britain and Australia find the disorder in northern Cyprus unbearable … Those who are accustomed to living in an orderly society feel they are going mad in a disorderly place". Baturay's allusion to Britain and Australia here is not accidental because the British related modernity is deeply ingrained in Turkish Cypriot concepts of postcolonial modernity. In Baturay's opinion the British derived a way of "structuring/ordering effort" (Bauman, 1998, p. 2) of the disorder, that is to say British modernity which is credited with validity. Order (especially in relation to chaos) is essential to Turkish Cypriot modern order that, Turkish Cypriots construct their modern self-hood over the project of such an order. Baturay's (2014) disapproval of disorder and his call for an orderly society brings us closer to what Bauman says: "Order and chaos are modern twins". Chaos is a supplemental other of the disorder in this binary relationship and Baturay constructs the order of the self in its oppositional and "reflective" other image of the western order.

Figure 4: Making reference to the lack of "order" in times of "crisis/chaos" in domestic (TRNC) issues is a commonplace. However, the modernist reference point is always the west and UK stands for the West. Generally, the lack of "order" in postcoloniality stands in stark contrast to orderly colonial visions. (Courtesy of Erol Uysal, 2009).

In the light of order and modernity, Procrustean reduction was repeated in different contexts in human history such as the gulag, colonialism and the genocide in the form of the Holocaust (Bauman 1990, 1992, 1998, 2001; Adorno & Horkheimer 2002). At this point the proximity between "Western Man's thrust for power as the context of modernity mission" of Bauman and Derrida's concept "structure" in Western science and thinking is noticeable. In Derrida, the centre concept is problematic because a fixed centre leaves no room to free play for the language. Derrida writes that

> The center of a structure permits the play of its elements inside the total form [and] closes off the play which it opens up and makes possible. As center, it is the point at which the substitution of contents, elements, or terms is no longer possible (Derrida, 1978, p. 15).

In this light, Nazism, which dwells on myth mania in the history making of modern man developed into Auschwitz is not largely different from the ancient Greek mythology figure Procrustes' bed apart from the bureaucratic rationalist morals and institutions of Nazi Germany. The cases of pitting fluidity and ever changing nature against the *axis mundi* is apparent in human history. For example, not by the beginning of the Renaissance, in the Procrustean attempts in ancient Greece to catch the Proteus of such a mind, also known as Old Man of the Sea in Homer, exhibits parallel elements with the "ordering impulse … by the fear of chaos", as Bauman says (1992, p. xv). In the Homeric spirit, Nereus' ongoing attempt to seizure Proteus in the sea symbolizes the fluidity of water, therefore the intractable otherness of the state of affairs. Proteus was used to illustrate conditions that multiplied into dialectical conjunctions and disjunctions (Seznec, 2000, p. 869). Bauman contravenes the operational logic behind the modern Nazi Holocaust attitude in

"Modernity and the Holocaust" where his metaphor of gardener bear formal similarities with the antique Procrustean type that operates the difference on either/or binary opposition: "The dream of an all-embracing order and harmony remained as vivid as ever … The world turned into man's garden" (2001, p. 218).

The dread of hiatus can be traced back to a time before the Renaissance's divine roots (Eliade, 2005; Bauman, 2001). Mircea Eliade (2005), as the philosopher of the history of religious thinking, is a crucial figure to the understanding of the religious structuration of history and time. Modernist discourse cannot be straightforwardly divorced from the elements of religious eschatology. According to a typical Eliadean (2005) way of looking at time and history, the theory of the "linear timeline progress" and "end of history" begins to paradigmatically assert itself around the time of the middle ages. Moreover especially with the "Eternal Gospel" of Joachim of Floris, the Calabrese abbot, the thought of telos has become systemized and it is described as "an element of a magnificent eschatology of history" by Mircea Eliade (2005, p. 145). Eliade explains how Joachim of Floris divides the history of the world into great epochs, consecutively inspired and dominated by the Trinity: Father, Son and the Holy Ghost. Even though in the Calabrese abbot's vision, each of these epochs reveals, in history, the new dimension of divinity allows humanity to perfect itself progressively and finally in the last phase –inspired by the holy ghost– it arrives at absolute spiritual freedom (2005, p. 145). The religious context that framed the work of Joachim of Floris was later to be adopted by the religious and political ideologies to justify the "horrors of history" (2005, p. 151). History colonizing reason would have entered the stage to license and colonize epistemological and ontological concerns. In that case Joachim's trinity would have developed into "the

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tale [that] charts the victorious march of the Troika of 'Man', 'Reason', 'History',

the threefold unity or Holy Trinity of 'Enlightenment'" (İlter, 1992, p. 132).

3.3 Interpellating "The Third World"

The formation of colonizer and colonized subjects cannot be divorced from the

discourse of modern grand narratives and its claims to truth and reality. But before

elaborating on the truth claims, it is necessary to establish a link between the colonial

truth discourse and interpellation. The term interpellation is very much associated

with the notion of ideology and was coined by the French intellectual Louis

Althusser. The Althusserian concept of interpellation is a key to understanding

colonial discourse and the identity constructions in colonial mechanisms. In blunt

terms, by interpellation, Althusser means that it is the discursive power which

constructs and then summons the colonized subject or self accordingly. According to

Althusser, ideology 'interpellates individuals as subjects' and, similarly, the colonial

ideology calls the people of the conquered lands as colonized subjects. In the same

way, the colonized is required to acknowledge his position as subjugative subject in

terms of the positions set by the colonized. Therefore the colonizer calls the

colonized subjects into existence and relation as "the third world" subjects. For

Althusser:

> Ideology 'acts' or 'functions' in such a way that it 'recruits' subjects
> among the individuals (it recruits them all), or 'transforms' the
> individuals into subjects (it transforms them all) by that very
> precise operation which I have called interpellation or hailing, and
> which can be imagined along the lines of the most commonplace
> every day police (or other) hailing: 'Hey, you there! (Althusser,
> 1971, p. 174).

Continuing from this idea, the colonized self recognizes him or herself in the way by

which s/he is interpellated by the Euro-American representation structures of the

colonizer. In the same way, drawing on truth and reality, imposed and legitimated by positivist enlightenment, imperialism and colonialism helped produce the subjects of the colonial discourse. Behind the power of colonialism is a need for progress and the key to progress is the objective positivist scientific rationality. In the name of progress, the modern colonial discourse is set out to put an end to the "in-complete" and underdeveloped situation of the colonized by persuading them into the inevitability of improvement through the grand narrative of progress. It is by means of this kind of thinking that a colonial "civilization" invites the colonized to make a choice between lack of civilization and colonization. Ashis Nandy argues against it: "The civilizing mission of colonialism thrived on this folklore of encounter between western science and savage superstitions" (1988, p. 2). Another way to put it, the aim of interpellation is to locate the different colonized subjects in the former and valid side of the binary equation to satisfy the fulfilment of the logocentric metaphysics of presence, in colonial demonology.

"Driving" history under the guise of economic and scientific development is fashionable in the world, especially in the developing nations when we witness what is happening in countries like Iraq and Afghanistan. We can say that today, like in the past, "third world countries" embark on the modern grand narrative under the names of structural development packets to recognize themselves as developing countries. Thus, "Third World" is a modern installation and the discourse of modernist science and technology run with the ideology of interpellation as an affirmative response to the western urge for modernization.

3.4 History or His/story as a Gendered Discourse of Progress

Moving from Eliade who argues for the religious effects in the time concept and

Bauman's critique of modern reason, one can say that the modernist idea is based on the linear timeline mentality. For the purposes of this work, the term "modernity" is used to mean that history is a one-way unremitting progression from darkness to light. The Prussian thinker, Hegel (2004, 2007) is influential in the making of the timeline rendered modernist thinking and he proposed the notion of the dialectical progress of the history as somehow leading to modernity and he featured history as vehicle through which reason assimilates (therefore colonizes) the history. In other words, when the modernist colonial discourse used Hegel's (2004, 2007) idea of history, history was held captive by men's infatuation with reason. History, in Hegel's (2004, 2007) view, had a reason and things inevitably come into play due to reason. Now, according to the modernist ethos, history is nothing but a final destiny by which modernization and time are conceptualized as singular path. Simply, the epistemological premises of modernist thinking advocate the "inevitable" scientific progress and a linear view of civilization.

The end is already targeted by the beginning in colonial timeline and imperialism's pretension to civilizational telos subscribes not to the story itself but to the end of the story. In its broad sense, the Other is incorporated to the unity of the timebecause the white man dictates by reason against the threatening "raw human condition" and the "white man's burden" is to teach "them" modernity, in order to "civilize" 'them'. Therefore calling the other backward and subject his or her otherness to a unified history gives modernity discourse an operative power. An important point regarding such leitmotivs is the specific constructed meanings they acquire in the Turkish-Cypriot context. The Cypriotist press and grassroots movements shore up modernisation, an inevitably westward march towards civilization. And yet, in this

fashion, "This idea of a linear chronology...in the sense of a simple succession, a diachronic sequence of periods in which each one is clearly identifiable...is itself perfectly 'modern'" (Lyotard, 1992, p. 76). The last but not the least exemplary points are deep and massive poverty and wretchedness embedded in the orientalised East. However, paradoxically, the East is also portrayed as a land of riches as 15th century European navigators such as Columbus sailed to reach India to access its riches, etc. Post-colonial critiques in general point out that colonial discourse justifies the modern *telos* on the argument that colonialism is remedy for the poverty and wretchedness of the non-western world. With reference to the orientalist portrayal of the "East", Edward Said wrote in "Orientalism" that "most of the pictures represent mass rage and misery" (Said, 2003, p. 287). During the handling of the poverty in "the third world", one easily can read the emphasis of the underdeveloped orient's poverty as a normal phenomenon. Therefore, in the light of the colonial modernist view of progress, "backward" and "darkness" mean "back" in timeline, as though the colonizer is traveling in a time capsule of dark and backward ages. Man's story was his-story and the enlightenment was his reason accordingly. The more "the underdeveloped" progressed in this timeline, the further away they went from "primitive savagery" towards the modern telos. As far as logocentrism is concerned, modernist progress also serves to consolidate the dominant binary opposition in the western ethos because the very structure of the modernist timeline mentality is based on the self-based binary assumption of that goal-oriented, unified history where the unified goal leaves out the underdog of history. When history becomes a goal oriented movement ahead, a theological progress[18], there is only one history and

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[18] The self-referent teleological assumption is built on violent intervention into the notion of communicative process in the name of straightforward communication. Therefore, the teleological consciousness of the pre-given communication model displays a rational hostility to everything else as we see in mass communication models, propagandas and advertisement spectacles rooted in western

other peoples have no history. They or 'other' is subject to my history as movements in its unified progress. Therefore, it can be argued that the motor behind the historic progress of reason/logos is White Mythology where the different others and multiplicity have been side-lined by the logocentric self-presence illusion. This binary opposition feeds the basis of imperialism and colonialism because it allows no mixture and it fends off hybridity in order not to be "unclean".

Historically, probably, no other factor has ever contributed to the logocentric ideal more than modern colonialism. For instance, as the context of modernist grand narrative, the colonization discourse imposes a self-other relationship in which the self's response to the otherness of the others is reductive and irresponsible.

3.5 Positivism as Metanarrative

In search of "objective" reality, the positivist scientist supposes completely another culture and existence which is detached from the research object he studies. Scientific method allegedly talks about objective ontology and science deals with objects. First and foremost, positivist scientists allege that mainstream accounts of scientific truth are subjected to the evaluation criterion which requires the object stand outside of the self by means of point of reference (the scientist). The mainstream approaches to truth achieve reality by becoming objective. Objective writing, in this fashion, is exclusive and must dismiss other ways of writing. "Clear and transparent writing" and "the reader must see the reality" kind of research reporting are the pillars of objective and scientific writing.

On its way to truth, positivist science tradition is at odds with human qualities.

positivism. For İlter (2008), the internal communication with the "self" always puts a distance between its "other" external communication in transmitting the message forward.

Positivism believes that the human and subjectivity factors must be removed on behalf of scientific transparency. According to positivist scientific reasoning, the human is not an object but a subject. Put differently, the human is not considered to be a proper object of science unless cleansed of her human qualities, and positivism disregards human and any humanly "contamination" as false. Positivism indeed disregards human ontology as false, and the reality, then, is made up of pure object/ive observation for positivist reason based science. So, human and human culture, as the empirical philosophy holds, is excluded from the sciences because science believes that the human is not objective and the knowledge acquired through human mediation is subjective and therefore not scientifically valid. The idea that the positivist researcher has objectively detached himself from his object "under" scrutiny by means of triangulation means that "an Archimedean point existed outside the contexts ... to devise and deploy an inclusive interpretive methodology that could hang free of the precisely concrete historical circumstances" (Said, 1989a, p. 211). Starting from the purity claim of scientific research, the ontological assumption of positivism insists on the methodology that there is only one reality, based on one methodology. That's a basic ontological and epistemological assumption that deductive truth is both truth as well as method and it is additive.

The view which permeates the psyche of the positivist tradition is that *the* truth, linguistic meaning, reality or presence lies beyond or outside the textual world (Derrida 1967, Gadamer, 2006; İlter, 1992, 1995; Phillips, 2000; Rorty, 1999). For Derrida, the metaphysical totalities found their expressions under variety of names during different times of history such as: "presence-eidos, arche, telos, energeia, ousia (essence, existence, substance, subject) aletheia [truth], transcendentality,

consciousness, or conscience … and so forth" (Derrida, 1978, pp. 279-280).

The ontological assumption of positivism is that there is a single reality that is "out there to be discovered" (İlter, 1992). In addition to being external, positivist idealism of reality clings to the view that, as truth and presence lie in an imaginary outside, the truth is fully self present by itself and it requires neither representation nor mediation to exist. The time and space independent and transcendent meaning is always present and waits "out there" to be discovered (Critchley, 1996; Laclau, 1996). A quote from İlter (1995) will serve to demonstrate the nature of the logos-centred positivist claims to truth:

> The reference to "the empirical" … is made sometimes in terms of this or that epistemology, sometimes, in terms of this or that ontology, but invariably, it seems, as referring to an extra-textual self presence as the foundation of true knowledge ... It is through the weaving of … the fabric (of signs) that 'the empirical' is fabricated as an extra-textual outside. Empiricism thus writes-into being a world 'out there' and provides an example of such textual and discursive 'grounding' (1995, pp. 3-14).

Logocentrism, what's more, falls into the scope of language and representation. Positivist language theory and representation work in conjunction. Positivist language theory conceives of language as a transparent medium carrying and representing reality. Before getting into the critique made by the textual approach to language about the character of positivist language, a short and incisive introduction is required of the key terms concerning the main theoretical principle of the sign and meaning process. A sign (therefore all sign related concepts such as time, history, truth, the other) is formed by the undividable cultural negotiation of signifier and signified. A sign could be everything which produces meaning. The former is a form, inscription, or speech sound. The latter is the mental image or the "conceptual

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meaning of the sign" caused by the former (Abrams, p. 104). Again, the relationship between the signifier and signified is arbitrary and selective. The inscription of d-o-g, for example, is signifier and evokes a mental image of dog or dogness in an English speaking culture. It does not necessarily mean the same thing in German language. Denotation, like the signifier is "what an image actually shows and what is immediately apparent, rather than the assumptions an individual reader may make about it"; likewise, connotation is similar to the signified which is "the meaning of a sign that is arrived at through the cultural experiences a reader brings to it" (Rayner et al., p. 36). Denotation, according to the binary perception of structuralism is "literal" and "natural" while connotation is "conventional" and is the result of cultural relationships. White Eurocentric world view is built on the sign system which considers the signifier and the signified as one. In an argument with regard to the meaning making process, the logos centred positivist finds meaning in the tripartite unity of signifier (the word), signified (the thought) and the referent (the actual thing or object referring to the thought". Logocentric knowledge production works when it aims at closing the gap between the signifier and the signified to make language correspond to thought, as integral parts of each other. Under the "establishment" of common sense on the "surface"/denotation level, signs are constructed as "reality", rational, not contradictory, apolitical, essentialized, domesticated, and with stable meanings. When the "transparent" model of language appropriates the unity of the meaning system, that is to say the totality of word and being, they portrayed a picture of a set of knowable objects on which the researcher can operate accordingly. This is most apparent in the logic and reasoning with which positivists put their faith in scientific claim to an objective reality of an extra spatio-temporal signified by means of transparent language which remains independent of

the representation system. The capacity of the empiricist epistemology to present pathways through the assertions of truth conforms to the logic of essentialism, an unchanging meaning behind communicative language. Conventional norms of the language and power structures bear strong opinions about life problems. When positivist appropriations of language are applied to people, the logocentric semiosis takes the form of identity politics. The logic behind the identity configuration is binary opposition, which opposes what is non-self. For instance, in colonial discourses, the signifier is reducible to the signified lest the conjunction of the signifier and signified open up. The logocentric reason behind colonialism relies on synchronic commensurability of the signifier and signified. As regards the unitary signifier and signified, representation of the "Eastern" in the scientific colonial, oriental frame of reference can find representation in the contexts of the "uncivilized eastern".

3.6 The Modern Odyssey

Putting an adjective before the discourse of science helps us define the properties and attributions of the kind of logocentrism we are talking about. As Mattei Călinescu says (2003), towards the end of the Enlightenment, the idea of modernity had lost much of its previous neutrality principle (p. 60). The notion of the logocentiric production of knowledge put obstacles on the way of the legitimacy of enlightenment and the science-centred objectivity mantra repeated by positivism. Logocentrism, in this sense, that is to say as embodied in exclusive discoveries and scientific knowledge, stems mainly from the language used in subjugating the other knowledge and portraying it as illegitimate. To put it another way, these are ideas that render certain legitimacy to logocentrism. In this capacity (not context as a signified), power is not about talking on behalf of science and enlightenment but on behalf of power

constellations. Lyotard remarks that "terror of the operativity criterion is technological; it has no relevance for judging what is true or just" (1984, p. xxv). But science is a part of the monopoly of nation-state violence which is a leftover of humanism, enlightenment and colonialism. Scientific pursuit in the service of the politics of state produces power which is imposed by the very state as information given to the common people. The hegemonic dominance of positivist dogma as such respond to authority rather than universal objectivity or truth and existential reality in the formation of discourses. I shall return to this argument in the language aspect of colonial discourse. But put succinctly, the positivist methodology of scientific language at critical times kept the idea of the *telos* intact as "one-way assimilation that resolves into a one-way assimilation of the Other" (Minh-ha, 1989, p. 60). The modern scientist is required to kowtow to authority, and science acts as a legitimizing force or as an institution for the instituting of violence to the benefit of narrow options by marking territories of either valid or invalid knowledge. This is actually a feature of the modern colonial mind-set and today's corporatism as well. Lyotard (1984) is relevant to our context in calling science as the game of the rich in "Postmodern Condition":

> No money, no proof—and that means no verification of statements and no truth. The games of scientific language become the games of the rich, in which whoever is wealthiest has the best chance of being right. An equation between wealth, efficiency, and truth is thus established (p. 45).

Therefore, coming from Lyotard, the establishment of science does not grow on an epistemic base alone. It is rational institutionalism that imposes the "truth". In this context (not context as a signified), power is not about talking on behalf of science and enlightenment but on behalf of power constellations. Nothing seems to have

served the imperialist ontology and colonial epistemology more than the idea of modernity which was fostered by the Enlightenment to provide people with science as the only recourse for the application of human reason in an empirical manner. However, what we are supposed to bring to the forefront is that logocentric precision and finality of science is not a value on its own and it makes no room for ethics because ethics gives place to contradictions and dilemmas. The dominance of logocentric science is blind to assumptions like the critique of discourse factor as well. The value of logocentric knowledge is determined by the necessity, validity and exactness of science. The reason or the general framework of progressive thinking behind such reason was largely dominated by positivist scientific principles such as empiricism throughout the European stronghold.

The epistemological and tangible violence committed by the modern transgression has a long trajectory, especially having "what was different is equalized" (Adorno & Horkheimer, 2002, p. 12). To make progress in time, common Europeans waged a war against religion, the authority of the Church, superstition, dogmas, nature, mystery, supernatural, backwardness, witchcraft, mythology and tradition etc. just for the sake of getting rid of the idea of the old. Anything old that came from the past was required to be eliminated in favour of the "new". The rational and scientific modern society idea is rooted in "universal reason", which is valid in every time and every place. To found a society based on reason was one of the chief targets of scientific modernism. When the case was the modern enchantment of reason by the forces of nature, "modernity tried hard to dis-enchant the re-enchantment of world" (Bauman, 1994, p. x). In the compulsive search of "reasonably smooth" order, to remove the enchantment over modern reason, Procrustean operations have come a

long way (Bauman, 1992, p. xvii). Adorno and Horkheimer also suggested how positivism has mutilated transcendental knowledge gradually:

> The pure immanence of positivism, its ultimate product, is nothing other than a form of universal taboo. Nothing is allowed to remain outside, since the mere idea of the outside is the real source of fear. ... Enlightened thinking has an answer for this, too: finally, the transcendental subject of knowledge, as the last reminder of subjectivity, is itself seemingly abolished and replaced by the operations of the automatic mechanisms of order, which therefore run all the more smoothly (2002, pp. 11, 23).

Europe centred story was "his"story, the male reason dominated history, which was systematically based on the strict Cartesian subject that made strict division of the knower and known distinction. As well as being the active knower of nature, the enlightenment was modern European man's reason in knowing the non-Europeans of the world, which translates as the world according to the early modern scientific reason of the world. As physics invents its physical objects or the physical objectness to lay claim to legitimacy over the domain of physics in scientific research, the oriental or the passive native colonial binary was constructed by the projections of the modern colonialism of anthropology. The binary mind appears in the modern colonial scene as "reasonably" justifiable on the logocentric ground that one of the poles on the unequal nexus is favoured to the "other" disadvantaged pole. A mutually exclusive binary opposition colonizes the other by reducing it to the essential. This concept is about the predicament of the given reality and it applies to conquest and colonial histories. Through such euphoria of violent knowing, caused by positivist fancy, western enlightenment crushed the differential in order to civilize and "emancipate" (translate as subjugate in metaphoric terms) the rest of the world economically and ideologically and it took on the form of post-colonial development. The ontology of western metaphysics, a modernist grand narrative, makes and

understands the other as reducible historically, economically, and sociologically (Bauman 1994; Nandy, 1998; Seidman, 1998; Shiva 1998, 1989; Visvanathan 1988). Here are the words of the important theorist, Theo Goldberg, who speaks of the underlying violent elements in the subjugation methodology:

> Subjugation perhaps properly defines the order of the Enlightenment: subjugation of nature by man's intellect, colonial control through physical and cultural domination, and economic superiority through mastery of the laws of the market. The confidence with which the culture of the West approached the world to appropriate it is reflected in the constructs of science, industry, and empire that foremostly represent the wealth of the period (Goldberg, 2001, p. 289).

Anthropology, as successor to the European Enlightenment concept of "progress" was one of the modern sciences where colonialism sought legitimacy to produce subjugative knowledge. Western enlightenment had been built on the idea that white western man's progress, therefore not every man's progress, was a reason and result of history. The belief in modernity, white man and his way to ultimate progress is the fountainhead of the colonial enterprise. Speaking at the level of language representation, reason is the transcendental signifier of enlightenment.

The algebraic equation between the signified and the signifier can be an example to show how violently the logos "stands for" the signified. The same is true of the colonial history experience where the colonizer acts on the "colonized" via powerful knowledge produced by the language on behalf of his truth and reality. Even though the positivist way of thinking does not allow for the contradictions because of the idea of centrality, scientific knowledge changes over time, as Kuhn (1970) claims. Given the fact that science involves many elements and relations and is far from being a "pure" epistemology from a certain perspective, science could never become a discourse in the manner that it portrays itself. For this reason Phillips (2000) argues

that "the notion of literal language is a logocentric dream" (p. 101) and that "we never arrive at a meaning independently of some aspect of text" (p. 147). However, as Michael Adas writes, "colonialism is deemed to be one of the global forces that has defined the modern age" (1998, p. 371). A foray into civilization and the birth of "scientific" anthropology went side by side, aiming at the expansionist "discovery" of the "dark side" of the world and getting to know the unenlightened.

3.7 Colonial Bandwagon: Modern Science and Anthropology

For the reasons we are going to put forward, the foundation of the positivist colonial anthropology reminds the reader of a sort of religion with secular legitimacy—positioned by the perspective of the Godlike and angelic qualities of the scientist towards the mundane world and the *telos* of history. Before elaborating on the framework of modern colonial anthropology, it is useful to have some clarity on what we take the framework of value-free positivism to be for the rest of this work, since early anthropology analysed their "objects" within the positivist frame of reference. The knowledge obtained by the empirical method in the "trustworthy" service of positivist science is a part of the colonial mental climate. The logos centered understanding of modern science and language theories found assertive expression in colonial anthropology.

Without explaining the abuse of knowledge by anthropologist-scientists with a colonial agenda, the modern society idea goes largely unexamined. Also, as seen before, the underpinning methodology behind the imperial context is the illusion of scientific objectivity and reliability. The abovementioned thought brings about a notion, as we said, of the scientist or anthropologist who internalized his God-like objective distance and who does not want to contaminate his value-free eyeing

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triangulation point wherefrom he must allow the others to speak for themselves. The self-centred civilization discourse, as well as being against the natives in the lands they met, set up a "hygienic" plank to protect themselves mainly from the contamination by the "barbarous" people of the new lands to protect their self-properties which were thought to be pure civilized identities within an anthropology cocoon. In making research, it is human beings, that is to say it is the human agents who act. However against this point of view, one way of doing objective research in modern colonial anthropology, is to avoid going native in order to protect his/her "objective distance." Ironically, it is this objective distance that enables the participant observer to violently reduce the qualitative differences and complexities of the colonized to his *telos* in the name of purging and eliminating subjectivity as an impurity. Such views are partly inherited from modern science's eliminative reasoning, and in this idea, positivists try to establish their own stable and essential uniqueness. Science in general, works by way of induction and deduction, proceeding towards truth. Thus truth means the elimination of "error". Nevertheless, contrary to the purported "oneness" of the colonizer self and the docile "homogeneity" of the colonized, the self is made up in relation to non-self related differences. Once the differences that do not add up are encountered, according to the mutually exclusive binary mind-set of modern positivism, those differences become target of elimination and the "Ockham's razor" (Sober, 2015) starts to work to get rid of the multiplicity and unique singularities of the different others. This is because, taking recourse to positivism, the anthropologist equates "one reality" to "one methodology", especially when he experiences the irreducible difference of the other. The white field researcher, by relying on an unchanged point of European self reference, constructed the world of facts in their own ways to suit the monist

civilization agenda and vested political-economic interests. The scientific objectivity and its methodology as epistemology trigger binary oppositions which feed imperialism and colonialism. In the epistemology and ontology implemented by anthropology earlier with dualistic qualities in the service of imperial expansion, one can hardly discern an ethical concern Modern science-*man* in the guise of anthropologist employs the language of exclusion in the politics of the identity and difference. In such a thought, for the colonial emissary, identity was an absolute instrument but not a subjective one. However, this ethno-European state of anthropological mindset is bound more with politics of imperialism rather than culture and identity. Moreover, ethnically polarized "Us vs. Them" portrayals gave rise to a dwindling of the diversity of native versions and hence to a seriously limited understanding of "them." On the changeability of positions and identities, colonialism, by its nature, bears no hybridism apart from the two opposing poles, and, besides, positivist philosophy does not accept hybridity between epistemology and ontology either. This way of thinking does not allow for contradictions because of the ideas of unity and the teleological progress which advances through binary oppositions such as developed versus backward.

To return to Minh-Ha, from her perspective, all the "other" animosity is a dangerous position among the colonial scientists because it is directed towards the assumed property of the self "such" as "pure", "true", "subject" and it omits the ontological properties of the "other" in favour of an ethnic vanity embedded in ethnocentric reduction. After she criticized anthropology as a colonial soliloquy, Trinh Minh-ha later continued to argue in "The Language of Nativism," that anthropology as such is a colonial conversation in which the inhabitants of the colonies have became muted

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(1989, p. 67). As for the anthropologist's working manner[19], repeatedly "he" replicates the testing in order to verify the same pre-given result: "what he values and looks for is, fortunately, what he always only finds" is how Minh-ha (1989) describes colonial anthropology (p. 56). Anthropologists carve hi-s-tory through the subtle mechanics of colonialism: "Anthropo-Logical Hegemony" (Minh-ha, 1989, p. 52). Canons of pondering such as international relations and anthropological knowledge are installed in a Procrustean bed. Trinh T. Minh-ha says that as the purveyor of "truth", the western man "has moved from absolute to the relative and now assumes the role of purveyor of "certain truths", pursuing a "perspectivist knowledge" while keeping an eye glued on "scientific objectivity" as methodological goal (1989, p. 52). She goes on to point out towards the methodological foundations of how the positivism and anthropology in harmony gave rise to social problems. Therefore truth becomes a conversation between *us* and *us* about the *other*. But who are "they"? They are the absent nobodies of history or the non-selves or the countless others. We shall turn to this point now.

3.8 Colonial Worlding

In the "commonsense" that reality is reflected through representations, colonial representation relied on a set of transparency discourses in the orientalist manner either by trying to remove the colonial subject or the native other. In short, colonial discourse uses certain linguistic manoeuvres to justify its presence in the colonized lands.

The scientific researcher, to "reach" the truth, leaves behind all language and culture and is above the mundane conditions, as we have seen above. The trust of modern

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[19] Here, she is referring to the eminent anthropologist Bronislaw Malinowski. However, it must be said that anthropology, like social sciences and humanities, underwent critical changes by the 1980s and maintained an attempt at absolving itself from the historic complicity with the colonial conquests.

colonial mind in the power of scientific impartiality still lingers in different forms. There is a purported ontological disjunction between the positivist and the object which he studies. So the "scientific methodology" and "Godlike certainty" presumptions of logocentrism are no less different from the metaphysical crisis of transparency in ideas embodied in a logocentric grasp of language. Logocentric representation of truth left from positivism is "authorlessness" in the sense of transparency and scientific objectivity. We have seen a similar mode in the undertones of the subjective distance of colonial anthropology. Put another way, colonial discourse trusts the binary opposition which depends on the division between the world and text to generate the myth of presence and reality without any mediation or representation. Ben Agger, in his "Socio(on)tology", succinctly says that the sly "positivist pretends authorlessness in order to author a world" (1989, p. 18). In a rather different but politically similar ground, Gayatri Spivak (1988) links the manufactured objectivity of colonial agenda to the colonial political struggle by which the logocentric ethos tries to disjunct and keep the Other under control. In "Can the Subaltern Speak?" Spivak elaborates on the conditions under which the first world tries to naturalize the disjunction of the western subject: "the much publicized critique of the sovereign subject…actually inaugurates a Subject," a "concealed subject [that] pretends it has no geo-political determinations" (1988, pp. 271-272), and she reminds us that "representing them, the intellectuals represent themselves as transparent" (1988, p. 275). The politics of disavowal to purge the western subject is "produced reality" in laying claim to universality (Spivak, 1998, p. 279). Intellectuals of "the first world", modern science supposes, become objective by writing in a particular way following the protocols of a singularized "scientific method," which dismisses other/different ways of writing and representation. By exclusive writing,

then, intellectuals in the formation of the first and third world develop a similar strategy to represent themselves as transparent. In doing so, representatives of colonial discourse construct extra-textuality, be it extra time, be it extra space, or reality outside of the text. One of the benefits of authorlessness in putting the third world into global circulation is that the colonial agenda puts a clean distance between the first world self and the third world other. Accordingly, white mythology carries out its complicity with postcolonial programme without having to "go native". The produced reality in a way works like white ink in Derridean spirit which erases the previous marks of the past inscribed and on the palimpsests. Derrida's metaphor of palimpsest is pivotal to understanding the nature of white mythology in terms of the logocentric mind in colonization. White ink is a writing strategy, an attempt at sweeping the colonial programme "under" the white-centric carpet:

> White mythology-metaphysics has erased within itself the fabulous scene that has produced it, the scene that nevertheless remains active and stirring, inscribed in white ink, an invisible design covered over in the palimpsest (1982, p. 213).

According to "Merriam Webster" a palimpsest is "writing material (as a parchment or tablet) used one or more times after earlier writing has been erased" (1995, p. 852). In textual context of post-structuralism, palimpsest refers to vast layers of the texts such as history. Therefore, white ink is the invisible colonial inscription of the white mythology over colonized subaltern histories. Furthermore, writing the history or "worlding" with white ink amounts to de-historicization and de-personalization of the subjugated knowledge and texts in order to universalize Eurocentric white history and reason: the colonized, by means of white colonial ink "always stand on the other side of the hill, naked and speechless, barely present in the discourse of absence (Minh-ha, 1989, p. 67). Pursuing "reality" like yearning for the lost paradise by

means of such "transparency" and imitating authorlessness helps ignore the white myth written with white ink to make modern colonialism to be acknowledged as inevitable future as well. White ink also enables the colonial administration to remain ethically unresponsive and turn a blind eye to the complicit presence of western colonialism which Spivak (1988) indicates with the term "international division of labor". Universal objective knowledge and power to speak about the world exists "only by presupposing that text-inscribed blankness" in "recognition of the Other by assimilation" (Spivak, 1988, p. 294). The assimilation through writing, bringing colonial being into play that Spivak (1988) is talking about can take place in individual or territorial examples. Here lies all history of the imperial phallologocentric penetration from ancient Rome onwards as embodied in Western metaphysics of presence. The colonizer fails to see nature as a discourse in human languages or nature as "nature" but he considers nature like the minds and bodies of the colonized to be an emptiness to write on, to impart knowledge on the blankness, be it native language, native geography, or native life itself.

3.9 Positivism as Epistemic Violence: The Self-Other Relationship as the Context to Orientalism

Taking Edward Said into consideration is useful in understanding the self and the other relationship of the colonial world. We know from Said that the western logocentric mindset orientalises the discourse of the colonial "east" by trying to essentialize the other with tags like weakness, crowds, homogeneity etc. Therefore, in the analysis of the metaphysics of presence, a simple explanation of what this argument supposes by orientalism can help open up the questioning of the logocentric side of colonial discourse. This is so because of an attitude of logocentrism in the form of orientalism that expresses the strength of the West and

the Orient's "weakness" – as seen by the west (Said, 2003, p. 45) and moreover, the West is the actor, while the Orient a "passive reactor" in an unequal relation (Said, 2003, p. 109). In this vein, as Said further puts it, "Orientalism can also express the strength of the West and the Orient's weakness—as seen by the West. Such strength and such weakness are intrinsic to Orientalism" (Said, 2003, p. 45). In the colonial language in representing the east, the colonized is held responsible seemingly taking a moral high ground in accordance with "Orient's misguided inanity" (Said, 2003, p. 109) and "its silent indifference"[and] "supine malleability" (Said, 203, p. 206). Being after full presence, the logocentric language that colonialism employs here is the language of the "European who can discursively control" (Said, 2003, p. 162). Another deeply rooted element of log/oriental thought is about sameness of the crowds. The language of colonial hegemony resonates with oriental tunes which works towards consolidating the picture of the miserable angry crowds of the orient. As Said puts, eastern people are always shown in newsreels or news photos in large numbers and he further adds that there is no individuality, no personal characteristics or experiences (Said, 2003, p. 287). In Said's view, the abstract characterization of the "eastern" grassroots lacks individualism and singularities. All the same "easterns" are believed to have been ontologically stable people. The lack of individuality in oriental discourse is similar with the colonial discourse in that the colonial conqueror, as we will see in the following pages, makes the native land and people on it look like a nobody. As Said says: "I emphasize in it ["Orientalism"] accordingly that neither the term Orient nor the concept of the West has any ontological stability; each is made up of human effort, partly affirmation, partly identification of the Other" (Said, 2003, p. 131). As it is stated in this account, Said further says that, logocentric language incorrigibly cancels or at best largely

underplays the human content of its subject matter in favour of the "valid" discoursing, and by doing so this orientalist framework disregards, essentializes and denudes the humanity of another culture, people or geographical region (Said, 2003, p. 161).

3.10 Self and Subaltern in the Colonial and Postcolonial Situation

First world logocentric firmness is not comfortable with the unity of the world and text when it is nothing else but the difference which is at the root of the language that represents the social order. Since the Cartesian dualism, the identity idea/l of the modern colonial self has turned into a double entity. As with the logocentric identity of the self, the meaning-value structure of the *pure* western self is "one with itself", "self-present", "self-same", "self-sufficient", "self-referential" and "self-identical. The modern self operates by establishing an unchanged point of self-reference. Now, looking at the constitution of the self in colonial texts of the logos centred orientalist discourse, the different other as in the semblance of the east is always portrayed as "insecure" and "dangerous" to the self-unity of the home. The methods of positivism which stigmatized its adversaries prove to be epistemologically and ontologically deductive as it is in the pursuit of the truth and reality. Totalizing ideas such as "self", "man", "the first world", "home", "Europe", "ethnos", "progress", "nation-state", unique to the colonialist sovereign subject have never afforded the "other" with open space to exist along with it and remain as other. In many aspects, "the first world" has inclined towards externalizing and eliminating the other. Attempts to consolidate the "inside" of the self gives rise to epistemological and ontological violence in the constitution of the self and in recognition of the "extra-terrestrial" other. The attributions made to the Oriental East carry elements of Freudian *unheimlich*. As Said notes, "the Oriental challenges the West; and also; the lament

that in some glorious past Asia fared better and was itself victorious over Europe (2003, p. 56). The colonial society was depicted as something which has a potential to failure as the context to Oriental insecurity. Subtle connotations of the suspicious and untrustworthy nature of the "eastern" is very much bound up with the vulnerability of the self. Therefore, logos either wants to eliminate the difference within or to absorb it into its self-history. Levinas, whose work conceives of ethics in terms of the self and other relationship — responding to the otherness of other —the work as a whole does not look with favour upon notions such as *ontology* and *being* which mean being is a self-present, static condition. For Levinas, ontology amounts to a philosophy of power. Levinas (2011) makes statements such as "all imperialism of the same" (p. 39), "primacy of the same" (p. 43), ""ontological imperialism" (p.44) and "'egoism' of ontology" (p. 45) against the background that ontological construction of the self means freedom of the self. Finding this ground logocentric, Levinas rejects the freedom and deems ontology violently reductive:

> Ontology, which reduces the other to the same, promotes freedom—the freedom that is the identification of the same, not allowing itself to be alienated by the other... Western philosophy has most often been an ontology: a reduction of the other to the same by interposition of a middle and neutral term that ensures the comprehension of being (2011, p. 42-43).

Levinas maintains that since the onset of the western philosophy, we observe the self-inflicted varieties of epistemological and ontological violence on the other by making the other look like the self-hood of the self. Levinas is sensitive to the otherness of the other and he carries the idea that the other must be irreducible to the standards of the self or what "our" ethnos knows by reference to the binary opposition. Moreover, otherness in Levinas is the ontological condition of being and therefore the relation to the other is always ontologically crucial.

The assimilation operation caused by logocentrism can best be seen in self-centered, colonial and assimilative relations, and the colonizer's discourse constantly works to exploit a colonized's condition for his own benefit (Bauman, 1994; Cheyfitz, 1997; Spivak, 1988; Minh-ha, 1989). In the more specific following quote, owing to the Derridean spirit, Gayatri Spivak (1988) foregrounds the colonial monologue developed by logocentric thinking pattern: "…each time that ethnocentrism is precipitately and ostentatiously reversed, some effort silently hides behind all the spectacular effects to consolidate an inside and to draw from it some domestic benefit" (p. 293). In a corresponding manner, in the context associated with colonial epistemology, Spivak (1988) elaborates on the ways in which the western subject constructs itself with reference to the other. She remarks that the logocentric understanding of the other is equal to "recognition of the Other by assimilation" (1988, p. 294). Even though the otherness of the other is singularly unique, the metaphysics of the western self presence allows room for the other on the condition that the self incorporates the other into the self. In this light, in the discourse of modernity, the others, "the subaltern", are muted. The voice of the self which interprets the other on its own terms is the basis to an epistemological violence on the subaltern other. Spivak's (1988) analysis is crucial at this juncture. Silencing the colonized emerges when imperialism imposes synchronic binary oppositions, that is to say, only two roles to be played – one by the colonizer and another by the colonized. As Spivak further puts it,

> The contemporary international division of labor is a displacement of the divided field of nineteenth-century territorial imperialism. Put simply, a group of countries, generally first world, are in the position of investing capital; another group, generally third-world, provide the field for investment, both through the comprador indigenous capitalists and through their ill-protected and shifting labor force (Spivak, 1988, p. 287).

Once again, one can see that the perception behind division of labour mentality is the positivist dogma which installs logocentric symmetry in the colonized lands between us and them. This theme is familiar since the arrival of modernity. In the work of Spivak (1988), the subalterns are those who fall outside of the international division of labour. The subaltern is a silent entity whom the colonizer represents. When the subaltern is alleged to speak, what the first world hears is the native informant. The binary opposition is difference eliminating mechanics once again. As Spivak remarks:

> Yet even this does not encompass the heterogeneous Other. Out-side (though not completely so) the circuit of the international division of labor, there are people whose consciousness we cannot grasp if we close off our benevolence by constructing a homogeneous Other referring only to our own place in the seat of the Same or the Self (1988, p. 288).

The represented is not what it represents and "in the face of the possibility that the intellectual is complicit in the persistent constitution of Other as the Self's shadow" (Spivak, 1988, p. 280). The subaltern cannot speak once again, when the elites or certain people who are given binary-recognized position to "represent" the subaltern in this division of labour. The pre-set roles are constructed as discourse: either trying to listen to a native informant in this division of labour or to be a native informant (Spivak, 1988). That is the reason why Spivak sees the monolithic civilization discourse of the western paradigm as "the epistemic violence of imperialism and the international division of labor" (1988, p. 289) and knowing the subjugated colonial other is the "conversation of man with man" and it is therefore mainly a conversation of "us" with "us" about "them". The colonial dialogue involves the elitist white man speaking with the elitist white man about the primitive man in a single history. The

relation between two parties come to such a pass that a conversation of "us" with "us" about "them" is a conversation in which the "them" is silenced (Minh-ha, 1989, pp. 65-67). Similar to Spivak (1988) and Minh-ha (1989), Eric Cheyfitz, speaks against the imperial aspect of the so-called "dialogue" which in fact is a monologue of the western first world in its relations to the third world in "The Poetics of Imperialism":

> Those of us who live within the privilege of Western patriarchy live in an increasingly narrow psychic and social space. For we cannot afford to enter most of the social spaces of the world; they have become dangerous to us, filled with the violence of the people we oppress, our own violence in alien forms we refuse to recognize. And we can afford less and less to think of these social spaces, to imagine the languages of their protest, for such imagining would keep us in continual conflict, in continual contradiction with ourselves, where we are increasingly locked away in our comfort. Terrorizing the world with our wealth and power, we live in a world of terror, afraid to venture out, afraid to think openly. Difference and dialogue are impossible here. We talk to ourselves about ourselves, believing in a grand hallucination that we are talking with others (1997, pp. xx).

Therefore, "the subaltern speaks" the script of subjugated knowledge. The speech of the subjugated becomes assimilated knowledge. The subaltern's existence in terms of his or her labour is not for themselves but for those who stand over the division of the third world labour.

3.11 Terra Incognita or "Here be Dragons"

Any form of writing, including colonial 'writing', is selection and arrangement, a projection of knowledge. In like fashion, inscribing as a form of representation[20] is a

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[20] This is a sensitive point as it condemns all writing/representation. As Spivak states, colonization is a particular worlding of the world or writing of a world into being: one which assumes and acts as if the world that it is worlding is previously uninscribed. Spivak gets this idea from Derrida's notion of White Mythology. As distinct from this—and not to be condemned in this way—we have worlding or writing understood in terms of a palimpsest—as we discussed earlier. The next formulation made in the work, that the world is or means much more than the inscription of the word world, is also important because she's referring to a particular worlding of the world, which she describes.

mode of colonization. Spivak in "Can the Subaltern Speak" gives the phrase of "worlding of the world" to the writing activity in colonization (1988, p. 286). The "world" means much more than the inscription (the word "world") of w-o-r-l-d and its representation; the world is a textualized relation and place. In the view of the unity of the world and text, in another text Spivak meticulously provides the following account about the relation between the worlding and colonization:

> As far as I understand it, the notion of textuality should be related to the notion of the worlding of a world on a supposedly uninscribed territory. When I say this, I am thinking basically about the imperialist project which had to assume that the earth that it territorialised was in fact previously uninscribed (Spivak, 1990, p. 1).

The notion of "uninscribed territory" lies at the heart of the colonial imagination. The colonial inscribers put the "worlding" into effect, especially when the powerful write of the world into being by using the force of scientific knowledge. In colonial discourse, then, colonizer-inscriber "renders" the colonized place (land) and time (history) "blank" or null, like *tabula rasa*, to generate a produced emptiness in order to fix the present moment. Universal "objective" knowledge and scientific power exists "only by presupposing that text-inscribed blankness" in "recognition of the Other by assimilation" (Spivak, 1988, p. 294). From a historical point of view, here lies the incarnated history of the imperial logocentric penetration, from ancient Rome onwards. It is not by chance that Spivak (1988) chooses the phrase "uninscribed territory" because, Spivak's selection and emphasis on representation helps the reader understand how deep and wide the colonial worlding attempts in history have been. Steve Mulligan stresses on precisely this issue:

> Terra incognita was the term used by ancient cartographers to describe those areas of the world still unexplored, landscapes of great mystery and allure, replete with the promise of

discovery (1998, p. xi).

Having constructed the assumed emptiness or "deindividualization" of the natives as nobody just like in the example of oriental discourse, the colonizer goes on to re-write the colonized history. Generally speaking, once the colonizer sets foot in the colonized territory, conquerors white-wash the colonized history. The more colonization progresses in the *terra nullis*, the more the colonizers expand the area of inscribed lands. Colonial administration extends their writing and presence to the areas where they have not seen before. For instance, Columbus ignored the presence of the natives as if he were first ever to "discover" the "new world" which allegedly lies "outside of the text." In this situation, Ziauddin Sardar, Merryl Wyn Davies and Ashis Nandy (1993) write that colonial writing is erroneous in that as well: only the text enables the colonizer to speak even about "*tabula rasa*" even though the colonizer is at odds with the idea of remaining in the realm of language. Like the British colonizers who erase and re-write the lives of the aborigines, Columbus too became stuck in metalepsis by putting the imaginary cart before the textual horse as Tuğrul İlter puts:

> The "presence" that is discovered is not, therefore, an ontological given that precedes its discovery, but rather is the product of its re-*presentation*, a product of re-writing, or (re-)worlding, if you will. The alleged unity of the identities of both the modern colonizer *and* of its other, both of whose categorical integrity is posited as given before or beyond representation, is thus always-already contaminated by a difference-within or alterity. Or to put it differently, the otherworldly purity and integrity of "the beyond" (of representation, of discovery) is itself worlded. Discovery, in other words, produces what it discovers, it fabricates its findings. Furthermore, there is no metaphysical truth of "the beyond" to which this worldly fabrication can be opposed since such truths are also fabricated. The true-false distinction is but a difference within a social and cultural text(ile) or a social and cultural fabric (1992, p. 136).

As the colonized language and history is "blank", the history of writing is about writing on a blank page. Colonial narratives in such fashion can be read as assuming extra-textuality and imagining the worlding out of the discourse/text. The way the colonizer weaves the colonized into being is reminiscent of creation mythologies and genesis where God creates the world from nothingness or chaos. According to colonial mythology, at the beginning, there was a *terra nullis* or *terra incognita*. The colonizer mythmaker undertakes to generate a new mythical writing out of the terra incognita. Even before the age of geographic discovery and conquest, the narrative of *terra nullis* or *terra incognita* had been used by scribes and thinkers to explain the overseas territories that were not colonized by Europeans (Sardar, Davies, & Nandy 1993). The doctrine of *terra nullis*, the basic principle of western colonialism, is visible in the maps. In discovery maps, which involve conquered lands as well, the colonizer geographers and inscribers start drawing those colonial maps. However maps used to include *terra incognita* (unknown lands) symbols as well. "Creatures" are depicted as monsters in *terra incognita*. Monster is a figure of otherness as well an image in the colonial imagination. "Here be dragons" saying and symbols in the maps can be understood in a symbolic context within which early geographers described perilous or unfamiliar lands by such figures. However, this point needs an intervention according to post-colonial critiques. The other as the figurehead is something "we" know and the "other" therefore comes from "our" knowledge of the domestic other. Such figurehead other conforms to the logic of white mythology's pair of "us" and "them" (Cheyfitz, 1997). Therefore, the monster is a result of "the representation" of reduced and domesticated other. Again as we remember from Derrida (1982, 1992), Levinas (2011), Minh-ha (1989), Spivak (1985, 1988) the otherness of the radical Other is irreducible to what the self knows and therefore if

the Other is Other with capital O, we cannot even speak about the Other. Incorporation of the other never enables the one to know the Other. It is in this capacity that the conversation between us and us about them gains importance yet again. The colonized others are the absent of history or the non-selves or the countless others. The colonizer fails to see nature as a discourse in human languages or nature as *nature* but he considers nature like the minds and corpus of the colonized to be an emptiness to write on, to impart knowledge to on the blanknessby ignoring the native language, native geography, or native life itself. In the same vein, as Trinh T. Minh-ha (1989) notes, power, as unveiled by numerous contemporary writings, is always inscribed in language as an effect of the subjugation of the other in terms of the inscriber's knowledge. Any claim to originality and Lockean *tabula rasa*, however, in the worlding the world is untenable and it deserves a critique. As Said (2004) writes:

> ... the core of humanistic effort and achievement always rests on individual effort and originality of one kind over another. Nevertheless, it would be folly, I think, to pretend that writers, musicians, and painters do their work as if on a tabula rasa: the world is already so heavily inscribed not only with the work of past writers and artists but also with the tremendous wash of information and discourse that crowds around one's individual consciousness today, with cyberspace and an enormous archive of material assaulting one's senses from all sides (Said, 2004, p. 42).

Colonialism is also a gendered discourse, hanging on patriarchy. One of the strongest criticisms levelled at colonial discourse is that the colonial imagination eyes "terra incognita" as penetrable femininity (Ashcroft et al., 2007; Bauman 2003; İlter, 1992; Loomba, 2005; Said, 2003; Suranyi, 2008; Yeğenoğlu, 1998). Colonial discourse, which is considered to possess masculine qualities, envisions the *terra nullis* as a virgin. As well as being phallologocentric, in the eyes of theoreticians, modern

colonial conquest is violent and its phallus centered logos can be further equated to the aggressive deflowering of a virgin. However, post-colonial theory argues that the colonized land, the Other, can be equally described as "exotic" but "uncanny" by the colonizing activities. Said, in this respect, lists several adjectives which are inherent to topsy-truvyness of the Orient that may escape rational grip: "Sensuality, promise, terror, sublimity, idyllic pleasure, intense energy" (Said, 2003, p. 118). Said further says that the feminized Orientalist discourse seems to suggest not only fruitfulness but ambivalent feelings such as sexual promise and danger, tireless sensuality, unbridled desire, deep generative energies etc (2003, p. 188). Said makes specific mention of the fact that the colonial textualization of the East is paralleled with the undertones of the constitution of the female body as "feminine Orient" (2003, p. 220). Meanwhile the colonizer epistemology claims his right to the "East" and gains the right to forced intercourse due to "her" "feminine penetrability" (2003, p. 206). On another occasion, arguing a similar point, Said adds that the discourse of "East" is as produced science and is bound to be accompanied by a "kind of repertoire of images …the sensual woman who is there to be sort of used by the man. The east is kind of mysterious place, full of secrets and monsters, you know, marvels of the east" (Said, 1998). Suranyi (2008) writes that, in contrast to being dangerous, the East paradoxically possesses the quality of purity which is central to the conquering textuality of colonization:

> Not only were the regions in question characterized as feminine, in contrast to male invaders, but invasion was also described, and even urged, as a specifically sexual act. Only those states which had never been penetrated still possessed the desirable quality of purity and virginity (p. 114).

What makes the penetrative worlding of the East appealing to the colonial eye is a

way of knowing which sets up the binary opposition of gazing and impenetrable. The binary opposition divides the subjects as active knower and the orient as passive objects. For Sartre (2003), looking towards the other means seeking power to contain the Other by means of seeing. Seeing, in the guise of knowing and penetrating is one of the central characteristics of colonial discovery. To use Sartre's ideas, the initial phase of the colonization of the "other" lands and the dominating gaze of the colonizer is a kind of phallic domination meant to deal with the "Alice-in-Wonderland" nature of the "East". Sartre (2003) holds that gazing is internalized and violent in hegemonic relations. He maintains that the epistemology in which colonial reason makes itself felt applies epistemic violence using the metaphor of virginity. In "Being and Nothingness", Sartre (2003) writes that

> the idea of discovery, of revelation, includes an idea of appropriative enjoyment. What is seen is possessed; to see is to deflower. If we examine the comparisons ordinarily used to express the relation between the knower and the known, we see that many of them are represented as being a kind of *violation by sight*. The unknown object is given as immaculate, as virgin, comparable to a whiteness. It has not yet "delivered up" its secret; man has not yet "snatched" its secret away from it. All these images insist that the object is ignorant of the investigations and the instruments aimed at it; it is unconscious of being known; it goes about its business without noticing the glance which spies on it, like a Woman whom a passerby catches unaware at her bath ... That is why the desire to know, no matter how disinterested it may appear, is a relation of appropriation. That is why the desire to know is one of the forms which can be assumed by to have (pp. 599-601).

An image of the virgin land, during the 1960s came to be compared with Frantz Fanon's metaphor of the veil. Fanon numerous times argued against the colonial fantasy obsessed with unveiling the "cloistered" Algerian women, to see what is "behind" the veil. As Fanon (1965) writes:

> There is also in the European the crystallization of an aggressiveness, the strain of a kind of violence before the Algerian

woman. Unveiling this woman is revealing her beauty; it is baring her secret, breaking her resistance, making her available for adventure ... Thus the rape of the Algerian woman in the dream of a European is always preceded by a rending of the veil. We here witness a double deflowering. Likewise, the woman's conduct is never one of consent or acceptance, but of abject humility ... It was the colonialist's frenzy to unveil the Algerian woman, it was his gamble on winning the battle of the veil at whatever cost, that were to provoke the native's bristling resistance (pp. 43-47).

There is no need to say that the masculine language of the conqueror or colonizer was not born in a vacuum. Historic examples to this phallocentric writing is myriad and tallies with the colonizers. Just to name one of the most important one, the column in Florida sets example of how the phallus was used as a colonial imago to treat the newly conquered territories[21]. In 16th century, the French colonizer Jean Ribault disembarked on what is today's Jacksonville, Florida. In order to claim the territory on behalf of France, Ribault erected a column, a penis shaped symbol: "the natives not only recalled the visit of Ribault but had made a god of him, and the column he had erected had become their idol" (Bennett, 2001, p. 23). The 16th century image (Plate VIII) produced by the Dutch Theodore de Bry engraving inhabitants around the column is seen in the following figure.

Not only had he masculinized his colonial navigation of the conquest and his presence on the newly "found" land but the navigator also omitted the existence of the natives of Florida. Not surprisingly to Ribault, the indigenous lives on the land were negligible as in other colonial conquests. Differently put, Timucuan people of Florida were deemed to be a people without universal history. For this reason, the

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[21] Prof. T. Reiss, personal communication, 21 October, 2013. I owe this knowledge to Prof. Timothy Reiss in his Special guest lecture "From the Argonauts to Michelet: De Bry, Stradanus, Flying Monsters and Globalizing Myths of European Expansion" at Rupert Beckett Lecture Theatre in Leeds University.

Figure 5: Theodor de Bry's Engravings of the Timucua. (Retrieved from Theodor de Bry's Engravings of the Timucua. https://www.floridamemory.com/items/show/294774).

reason why the French colonizer erected a huge column was both to make Timucuans subject to colonial rule and de-scribe their existence in the European imperial cosmography. It should not be forgotten that, in the search for new lands, until the Europeans "discovered" them, all non-Europeans were envisioned to live in "undiscovered" spaces with "lost" histories[22].

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[22] Much in the same way, in the ancient context however, the Greek historian Herodotus describes how the Egyptian Pharaoh Sesostris equated military victory to masculinity (the penis) while equating military defeat to femininity (vagina). Herodotus writes "whenever he encountered a courageous enemy who fought valiantly for freedom, he erected pillars on the spot inscribed with his own name and country, and a sentence to indicate that by the might of his armed forces he had won the victory; if, however, a town fell easily into his hands without a struggle, he made an addition to the inscription on the pillar - for not only did he record upon it the same facts as before, but added a picture of a woman's genitals, meaning to show that the people of that town were not braver than women" (p.167).

3.12 The Politics and Strategies in the Construction of Identity in Colonial Discourse

One more aspect that the description of logocentrism is closely bound up with is Hegel's idea of dialectic, which is conceived by Robert Young as "a totalizing knowledge through its grounding on a dialectical theory of history" (Young, 2004, p. 3). In the colonial registration of history, the dialectic move is between the self (thesis) and other (antithesis), as the history is a story of progress. The reason for the annihilation of the other is that there is only one history and the other has no history. The colonized knowledge is subject to his or her history. The reference of the notion of development is "West" and comes before the knowledge of the "third world". As the self advances, in the colonial frame of Hegelian dialectic, the other becomes the means of sublation of the self, just a small cog in the large wheel of the grand narrative of history. To put it another way, the other is reduced to the means of advancement for the colonizer's reason of the self and "in the end", the different other ends up with one self as totalization. The self in dialectic does not leave room for the other to be a different "be-coming". One who advances in terms of the mechanism of the self is the one who occupies the 'self' position in the contradiction between self and other. Simply put, every other is destined to fit in the dialectic of a modernist teleological progress. Nonetheless, the dialectical system, theorized by Hegel, does not leave the other outside in the story of the development of the self, as the dialectic moves toward a sublation (a higher synthesis). Following the dialectical frame of mind, the idea of the one-with-self excludes the other/difference using the strategic economy of domesticating but not completely singling out or manifestly eradicating the other. To put it another way, on its way to *telos*, the timeline mentality will either try to incorporate the "savage" (other) into "modern" grand

narrative (self) or will get rid of it. In a nutshell, the other is expropriated and then incorporated into the modernist viewpoint:

> The objection therefore to totalization is not founded on any simple analogy with totalitarianism – though neither can this be excluded – but rather on the implicit violence of ontology itself, in which the same constitutes itself through a form of negativity in relation to the other, producing all knowledge by appropriating and sublating the other within itself (Young, 2004, p. 45).

The dialectic is a system by which the self eliminates the other by absorbing the other within the body of the self, on its progress to *aufhebung*, within the self by first expropriating the other and then incorporating/sublating the other into the unity of the self. This process is what Young calls "the construction of knowledges which all operate through forms of expropriation and incorporation" (Young, 2004, p. 34). Helene Cixous talks about subtle deception of the dialectic of European imperialism by which she refers to "some annihilating dialectical magic" whereby the self consolidates its selfhood by means of binary opposition which develops into unity:

> I learned everything from this first spectacle: I saw how the white (French), superior, plutocratic, civilized world founded its power on the repression of populations who had suddenly become 'invisible', like proletarians, immigrant workers, minorities who are not the right 'colour'. Women. Invisible as humans. But, of course, perceived as tools – dirty, stupid, lazy, underhanded, etc. Thanks to some annihilating dialectical magic. I saw that the great, noble, 'advanced' countries established themselves by expelling what was 'strange'; excluding it but not dismissing it; enslaving it. A commonplace gesture of History: there have to be two races – the masters and the slaves (Cixous, quoted in Young, 2004, p. 32).

As has been seen, in addition to the self being "one with (it)self", the logic of logocentric identity has long been based on the dialectic guaranteed binary oppositional logic. On the issue of being caught in the need to project an external other to secure the self, Spivak aptly places a stress on the inevitability of the Other

with the inscription of capital "O". For Spivak, defined in this way, the imperial frame of mind cannot help but yearn for the binary comfort of the "'native' self-consolidating Other" (1985, p. 253). Insofar, as approaches are concerned to realize the construction and representation of the identities of the colonizer and colonized, the legitimacy crisis of the self must be mentioned. The colonized seek to overcome this crisis of legitimacy through positive acknowledgment of the native colonized. More than supplementary necessity colonial authority is also caught in the textual web. The hegemony requires not only the construction of the self but the colonial world also needs to initiate the legitimate complicity, essential co-existence with the colonial subject as well. Spivak (1985) further underlines the substantial contradiction at work within the construction of the colonial subject by using the words, "domesticated Other that consolidates the imperialist self" (p. 254). It is only by way of submissive involvement of the native colonized that the colonial myth of self creation takes place in the colonial position. Following this further for Bauman, creating a smooth modern order is a matter of arranging *the* structure without "internal" differences and multiplicities in it. Sometimes, instead of eradicating the difference, the modern authority would rather give license to the different other to domesticize its difference. To recognize the other in colonial landscape, the colonizer gives the other license to make the other renounce its peculiar otherness. The different *inside* owes its difference to the license granted by power. To translate Baumanian theory into colonial discourse, 'licensed difference' is similar with Spivak's "native informants" (Bauman 1992, p. xvi). It is, without doubt, not a coincidence that Trinh T. Minh-ha makes the related point on colonial ground that "you may also be me, while remaining what you are and what I am not" (1989, p. 90).

3.13 The Critique of Logocentricity in Modernist Reason

The nature of logocentric language is essential to the colonial representation as transparency and the metaphysics of presence. In this respect, culture, history and institutions, as the complex power interplays have an undeniable role in language based signification and representation processes. What we also have seen with Derrida, Lacan and Burke is the totalizing and anchoring potential and drive of the logocentric language intentions in different times and places. The totalizable assumes the quantitative unification by adding on in a linear manner. However, shared meaning and concepts do not come into play by themselves but into the play of the language where the text factor becomes integral. For Ferdinand de Saussure, a sign's "most precise characteristic is to be what the others are not" (Culler, 2000, p. 57). In addition to the phonetic/acoustic differential nature of the language, Saussure goes on to elaborate on language remarking that in language "there are only differences, and no positive terms" (Saussure, 1983, p. 118; Culler, 2000, p. 58). Against the notion which assumes the correspondence of "language" to "positive", self-present reality, Saussure rejects the view of language as a nomenclature: a list of terms corresponding to a list of things (1983, p. 65; Culler, 2000, p. 58). Such nuance introduced by Saussure renders the nature of the sign and meaning problematic as the sign is a sign of what it is not and the signifier is different from the signified. In this light, the word is a signifier and not a meaning itself (Culler, 2000). In other words, language renders things and happenings "meaningful" in terms of powerful symbolic constructions. For the most part, it is indispensable to mention that language does not depend on an extra linguistic entity to function as language. As Ann Game notes, "there is no pre-cultural real to be represented in knowledge ... that the real is constituted in and by cultural systems" (1991, p. 7). In this context, in the same way,

Claude Lévi-Strauss notes that "the sign is arbitrary a priori but ceases to be arbitrary a posteriori; ... after the sign has come into historical existence it cannot be manipulated with complete freedom" (1972, p. 91-94). Again ascribing naturalness or objectivity to human made languages may weaken the critique's accountability to defend the view even though Saussure was the thinker who brought awareness to the dynamic gap in the language "construction" (Saussure, 1983). The rigid merging of sound/signifier and signified/mental concept, nonetheless, is vulnerable to serious criticism according to textualists: the "meaning of a signified thinkable and possible outside of all signifiers" that "remains dependent upon the ontotheo-teleology" is the typical but untenable disposition of logocentric representation (Derrida, 1997, p. 73). Derrida, in turn, believes that language is about the absence within the presumption of presence. Therefore whatever the signifier signifies it glides into a state of "difference" where meaning is postponed both in time and space.

For too long now, the logocentric theory, ethics and methodologies prevailed over the thoughts and beliefs about the nature of time and truth. However following the linguistic or textual revolution in the wake of post-structuralism, post-modernism and post-colonialism, critics have objected to views linked with logocentric colonialism such as linear time in the perception of history, unity of the self in the formation of mutually exclusive identity, "extra-textual" immediate truth and unified subject etc. What is learnt by the linguistic turn which is closely related with the textual turn is that the entire discourse is of the text. The text is also about the context in which the text is made. Textual turn generalises the model of the linguistic sign. It's also a matter for poststructuralism to decline the nomenclature and speak instead of the text. No being, societies, histories, discourses are positive terms in Saussurean

understanding but are represented through differences and contradictions. Being the heartbeat of postcolonial theory, "the discovery of discursivity [and] textuality," the concept of the text cannot be divorced from theory and practice (Hall, 1992, p. 283). With the issue of the text, the long tradition to separate the text from life is very specific to the colonial mental climate. But, in its broadest sense, the colonial discourse irretrievably rests on language and representation in producing its textual effects over knowledge. Therefore, the question of how we are to treat colonial discourse is heavily related with the notion of the text. It is on this epistemological ground that the colonial discourse inexorably detaches the language from the text, fact and world. However, deriving from textuality, post-colonial theory ran counter to all established assumptions of the logocentric view of meaning. There might be observed a popular inclination to perceive the text as a paper with inscriptions on it. Nevertheless we need to grow cautious to become conscious of what the notion of text is about. With respect to text, what we must understand from the text is, as Klaus Bruhn Jensen holds, "a spatio-temporal universe" (Jensen, p. 19). Thus the entire world is a text. Added to this, Derrida himself explains his famous dictum as follows: "Life after theory is a text. Life is a text" (Derrida, 2004a, p. 27). Therefore, the text acts not only as theory, but also as life practice. The Borgesian metaphor used by Derrida may be useful in giving the idea of what a text is about and how all permeating it is: "We here enter a textual labyrinth panelled with windows" (Derrida, 2004b, 208). In any event *a* text might be understood better when it is seen in a historical-cultural and theoretical context. Defined in this way, we can say that a text is a historic-social happening(s) and it envelopes the threshold of absence and presence at once in signification. One of the reasons that trouble calculated meaning, just like that of planned time and history, is very much textual iterability, *différance*,

play and deconstructive ethics in textuality. It is the common wisdom of logocentric colonial modernism that the link between the signifier and signified is rigid and far-fetched. Therefore, in studying colonial theory, textuality is essential in understanding the phenomenal and mental worlds of colonialism. At stake at this point are truth and reality claims rigged by the logos-centered knowledge structure from which apologists of colonial discourse heavily draw to reproduce their operative and subjugating knowledge.

As we said before, "towards the end of the nineteenth century, [in] the search for a total history", we see that the chronological timeline mentality of modernism is one-sided, synchronic, linear and finite (Foucault, 2007, p. 14). Moreover, in modernity discourse, time has an origin, end-point, is pre-given, guaranteed and intentional. In Derrida's words, it is an "onto-theological or tele-eschatological program or design" (Derrida, 1994, p. 75). However, according to the post-structuralists, especially Foucault, the genealogical understanding of time or history is just the opposite of what modernist time imposes on "colonized people". Foucault, probably drawing heavily on Nietzsche, resisted the linear time ideal based on modern grand narrative of scientific progress. One of the concepts he develops against is "genealogy." In "The Archaeology of Knowledge", Foucault maintains that

> To the decentring operated by the Nietzschean genealogy, it opposed the search for an original foundation that would make rationality of *telos* of mankind, and link the whole history of thought to the preservation of this rationality, to the maintenance of this teleology, and to the ever necessary return to this foundation (2007, p. 14).

Emanating from the concept of genealogy, Foucault holds that, a unilateral, goal oriented, and uninterrupted history and time are discontinuous. In contrast with the

totalizing dialectical progress of modernist eschatology, time and space in textual dimension is a complex context and it harbours gaps, bifurcations, differences, multiplicities, articulation and contradictions inside. The discursive discontinuity becomes primary and constitutive (Laclau & Mouffe, 2001, p. 191). In addition to spatio-temporal absences, time and history are always open to the unknown and "uninvited". Put in another way, mechanistic causal relation based on reason tries to wipe out the discursivity and textuality of language through the allegedly "natural".

Even though Saussure is very well aware that meaning does not precede language and difference in the sign/language system, Saussure's logocentric feature becomes discernable when he means that signs have a fixed meaning delivered to the rational western intellect. He gives the example of a sheet of paper where signifier and signified are as two faces of same paper. This is the critical juncture at which Derrida intervenes and improves upon Saussure's perspective. Drawing on the division of Saussure, Derrida brings about an evaluation of conspicuous flaws in the logoncentric relation of language and truth. He draws attention to the compound sign or meaning factor which remains within the heritage of that logocentrism by saying that logocentrism would "support the determination of the being of the entity as presence" (Derrida, 1997, p. 12).

3.13.1 Supplement

Modernity, following the logic of positivist science, considers language as the absolute representation of truth that can be 'traced' back to Plato, Rousseau and the whole Western tradition as Derrida shows in "Of Grammatology". In this respect, phonocentrisim or logocentricism which is visible in Plato, Rousseau and Lévi-Strauss are not singled out by Derrida when the concern is supplemental logic. According to Derrida, the "concept of supplement" used by Jean-Jacques Rousseau

and Lévi-Strauss to shore up their logocentrism is visibly a "blind spot" that exposes the contradictions of logocentrism (Derrida, 1997, p. 63).

The logical and factual contradiction that the scientific methodology of positivist language approach bears is that even though the other-worldly positivist locates himself outside the text, he still has an immediate access to the outside meaning or presence. To take hold of the truth, the positivist logic presupposes so-called transparency and neutral language while all the time the positivist signification model strives to constitute the absent as present via "representation." This means that the modernist relies on additions and supplements (other signifiers) to fill the void caused by the absence of representation and the spatiotemporality of the present moment. The problem that the positivist world view is stuck in is that even though they are in need of different ways and means of representation to claim the self-presence of the positive reality they are talking about, they nevertheless are forced to argue that these representations and mediations are merely extra-additions, surplus, and, therefore, unnecessary supplements. What Derrida shows is that there is something "more", "less" or "different" in the "positive" self-present reality of positivism than what positivism accounts for. The text as a chain of signifiers, continues with ruptures back and forth. A signifier always signifies another signifier but then we have another "reality" with endless signifiers. This is the word *reality* and we write another *representation* or *reference*. On another occasion, Derrida says in "Negations" that "duplicity" like supplement is at the heart of "us" (Derrida, 2002a, p. 248). Once the modern subject is caught in the need to complete the gap in the presence of the present time, logocentric truth claims falls into the trap of the supplemental logic, as there is nothing beyond the text in time and space. Derrida

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writes

> [A]s regards the absence of the referent or the transcendental signified … There is nothing outside of the text .... What we have tried to show in the following connecting thread of the "dangerous supplement" is that in what we call the real life of these existences of "of flesh and bone", beyond and behind what one believes can be circumscribed as Rousseau's text, there has never been anything but writing; there have never been anything but supplements, substitutive significations which could only come forth in a chain of differential references ... And thus to infinity, for we have read, *in the text*, the absolute present … have always already escaped, have never existed. What opens meaning and language is writing as the disappearance of natural presence (Derrida, 1967, pp. 158-159).

As Derrida puts it, language's notion is to make the individual present in the absence of presence through writing to narrow the gap. Nevertheless, for the sake of the supplement argument, it is important to show what Derrida says in "Signature, Event, Context" that "representation regularly supplements presence" (p. 313) which means

> Representation in the abyss of presence is not an accident of presence; the desire of presence is, on the contrary, born from the abyss … of representation (Derrida, 1997, p. 163).

With respect to colonialism, the modernist colonial discourse as well requires supplementation. The colonial idea works as the colonizer is the supplement filling the gap/s in order to get rid of the contradictions in the timeline thinking (progress discourse). As we have seen, the self seeks a supplement, be it colonialist, master, modernizer, in order to fill its lack of a foundation. Colonial discourse patterns maintain that white man's burden is placed by God and God's word/logos is now interpreted by the white man as his duty. In that sense, rather than being a superfluous addition afterwards, the supplement necessarily stands in place of what it supplements (in the absence of the latter). If what the supplement supplements is self-present, there would be no need for the supplement, for its representation.

Derrida's terms, "supplement supplements" in "Of Grammatology" is important because Derrida does not think that getting to the metaphysical presence ("the full self", "truth at the end") without supplement is ever going to happen in the colonial context as in others (Derrida, 1967, p. 145). This is the reason why Derrida gives the name of "metaphysics of presence" to the logocentric devotion to the imaginary reality. Everything, in contrast to logocentric version of reality, is always already in the *within* of the text as in the following account of Ernst Cassirer:

> No longer in merely physical universe, man lives in symbolic universe. Language, myth, art, and religion are parts of this universe. They are varied threads which we weave the symbolic net, the tangled web of the human experience. All human progress in thought and experience refines upon and strengthens this net. No longer can human confront reality immediately; he cannot see it, as it were, face to face (2006, p. 30).

Also, as Derrida famously puts in "Of Grammatology", "'There is nothing outside the text' (*il n'y a pas de hors-texte*, there is no outside-text)" (1967, p. 163).

The text factor that Derrida warns us against defies every attempt with regard to the "transparency" of language and "reality" and "truth" in the closures of colonial ideology. Reality or re-presentation is how the signified makes the "present" by substituting the borrowed words of the symbolic. But the colonial discourse, unlike administrative plans cannot study a "colonized object" through reference to that object's textual fabric itself. What we find at the end of the colonial quest is that the context is taken up by the chronic imperial need completely out of other contexts or with a thorough disregard to the context itself to maintain the ever-present order. Here, the self is self-referential and the other is "over there". The "Pierre Menard, Author of Don Quixote" story of Jorge Luis Borges (1962), through an illuminating example, shows that Don Quixote cannot be written literally once again after

centuries. It is assumed to be both excluded but also a text that could become an object of study. Human beings in the world are limited by the current material conditions and human perspectives in which they live. Our grammar only allows us to call things, as could be seen in Ludwig Wittgenstein's (2004) concept of family resemblance and language game arguments. The language game of Wittgenstein is that any cultural context will have its own rules. To understand why two colonial Indians or Cypriots laugh at a certain joke, the colonial rulers need to understand the language, the context and its rules. So it is inheritance, not the fancy of fully present that makes us have an ethical attitude as humans. Otherwise things, people, events will be objectified and will be further cohered into black and white caricatures. So the textual fissure resists logocentrism once again. Such a re-presentation of truth and reality on the positivist ground is epistemologically and ontologically incorrect. For all those abovementioned problems, positivist "objectivity" tenets are not identical with itself. Since we do not have a metaphysical vantage point, it is non-human and ironic to imagine that we can inhibit the external outside position. Positivism opposes unreason, but we find out that it uses the "same" unreason that it opposes. Derrida continues to amplify on the inevitability of the trap that positivist science as episteme is caught in. We are not (in) the outside of the world.

3. 13. 2 Différance

The presupposition of a smoothly destined end in modernity and communication are devoid of contextual sympathy to a large degree and it can be seen that to attempt at pinpointing the meaning or insulating the full presence in the present moment in the name of full presence is equally metaphysical. As Game points out, "In practice, systems are complex and composite" and "any cultural product or text is comprised of different systems in a specific combination" contrary to general-totalizing linear

apocalyptic models" (Game, 1991, p. 17).   Ideas, that is to say, signifieds, cause a

domino effect on the signifier series through the movement of supplements, one after

another, in the process of a deferral and differing as Derrida time and again tells us.

Whatever is signified is therefore a new signifier and signifies and glides into a state

of "difference" where meaning is postponed both in time and space. As Derrida notes

in "Of Grammatology" "there the signified always already functions as a signifier"

(Derrida, 1967, p. 7). In Derrida, meaning is yet-to-come and alterity and becoming

is built on the fact that, yet to come continuously, the meaning differs and defers

itself: *différance*. It is *différance* that actualizes presence by rendering different than

itself. A sign is not only different from itself, but this time it defers itself temporally

from itself. Time has deferral qualities as in the way that space has differing, and in

the course of events, transformative conjunctions of time and space bring the sign to

another time and different spaces. For Derrida, the polysemy in the everydayness of

the text is irreducible to an ideal reading due to the gap in the flux. Therefore, the

movement of signifiers disrupts the development of events and the forces of nature

and the course of the facts along with the communication models, very much like the

linear continuous idea that flows forward according to a reason. In his essay of

Différance, Derrida says that

> *Différance* is what makes the movement of signification possible
> only if each so-called 'present' element, each element appearing on
> the scene of presence, is related to something other than itself,
> thereby keeping within itself the mark of a past element, and
> already letting itself be vitiated by the mark of its relation to the
> future element, this trace being related no less to what is called the
> future than to what is called the past, and constituting what is called
> the present by means of this very relation to what it is not, to what
> it absolutely is not: that is, not even to a past or a future as a
> modified present. An interval must separate the present from what
> it is not, in order for the present to be itself, but this interval that
> constitutes it as present must, by the same token, divide the present
> in and of itself, thereby also dividing, along with the present,
> everything that is thought on the basis of the present, that is, in our

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metaphysical language, every being, and in particular the substance
or subject (1982, p. 142-3).

Like Derrida, Homi Bhabha opens the door for considering the supplemental nature

of meaning embedded in relations. Bhabha suggests that being needs to be externally

supplemented to make up for the radical lack inside[23]. Bhabha's point on duplicity

can be understood in this light as a disjunctive narrative which bears resemblance to

Derrida's difference to which we will return. Bhabha writes that

> The nation's totality is confronted with, and crossed by, a
> supplementary movement of writing ... Social significations are
> themselves being constituted in the very act of enunciation, in the
> disjunctive, non-equivalent split of *enonce* and *enonciation*,
> thereby undermining the division of social meaning into an inside
> and outside (1994, p. 164).

Consequently, unlike the insistence of logocentrism, miscommunication or non-

communication are integral, or even essential to enhance the possibility of a

predestined Odyssey. The non-complete present which opens the past and the future

is simply vital to the movement of deconstruction. Also, deconstruction shakes the

either/or type repressive binary structures of modernism where such structures try to

set up one-single-presence by excluding or erasing the "other" pole of the binary

opposition. With regard to deconstruction, Royle (2000) proposes that

"deconstruction involves an overturning of this hierarchy and reinscription of

transformation of the basis on which the opposition functioned in the first place"

(p.5). Deconstruction now points to the inevitability of the un/decidability for the

course of life. In this sense, undecidability is not the opposite or the adversary of

decidability. Un/decidability is a necessary process. For that reason, responsible

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[23] The word duplicity runs with more than one meaning in Bhabha's corpuse and use. In colonial
context duplicity comes to mean ambivalence within the being.

(un)decidability should experience optimism and take risks against the final word in the Procrustean practitioner's cookbook. As Royle says, "Deconstruction is the experience of the impossible" (p.11). The present itself due to deconstructive *différance* cannot be anchored and reduced into the unity or presence of time and space on the same level. Thus, *différance* is disturbing as it differs from itself as well. *Différance* launches the undecidability and for this reason deconstruction, which is continuously different from itself, helps open the possibility of a new experience and the world for us where there are different others (Royle, 2000, p.7; Lucy, 2004, p. 95). As we don't know what is coming, there comes and passes a very time when the ghostly present thresholds, and the playful nature of deconstruction eludes binary categories of knowing. Derrida has textual reasons to contend that "play is the disruption of the presence" (Lucy, p.95). Deconstruction rivets endless, invisible and incommensurable future possibilities. Put like this, deconstructive 'yet to come' in present time "has to do with the unforeseeable, the incalculable and indeed the impossible (Royle, 2000, p. 6). Contrasting scientific accurateness on the operative table, the calculated policies of colonial rule, future development plans of modernity, the difference cannot be instantly frozen at a moment in time. Metaphorically speaking, *différance* is a deconstructive factor in the course of matters and sometimes it emerges as the mythic figure Perseus who sidesteps Medusa the Gorgon's stoning look without being petrified. Therefore, embarking on this detour does not lead to a path already taken. It is reminiscent of never-ending handiwork of Penelope's loom[24] whose ethics derives from absence. As Mikhail Bakhtin says (1984), the "ultimate word" with regard to the world has not been said yet, and "everything," the im-

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[24] Moreover, miscommunication does not constitute a binary opposition to the act of communication. In no way will a communication model built on false dichotomies be properly and fully applicable to the complexities of the global world. The possibility of non arrival is built on every instance of communication and no text can ever fully, finally arrive. The message is always yet to come.

possible, "is still in the future and will always be in the future" (p. 166).

3.13.3 The Difference Within

Concerning the matter of the protection of the stable self, in so doing, the self, legitimates the binary economy on the supplemental ground without leaving any room for bifurcation or the third possibility for the other. The same thought is true of making identities.

As has been seen, in the imperial discourse of truth and reality, European colonial position, which sticks to logocentric belief, conspicuously insists on the idea of "being oneself with itself" without any need for representation and mediation and stands firm to gain ground to smooth the "imperfections" by any means. Being conditioned by metaphysics of home and self presence over "here" under various historical guises, then, the central argument of logocentrism has been the modern, conscious "undivided" and "pure" self presence which falls within the binary opposition of the self versus the other. However, in the sense that the subject, self or identity is not a single intact being "inside", theorists whose work draw upon postcolonialism, poststructuralism and postmodernism draw attention to the theoretical mistakes and ontological paradoxes concerning representations of the self-sovereign colonial subject. As we will touch upon it, first and foremost, due to deconstructive dynamics in language such as *différance*, iterability and play of signs, the gap generated by the volatile and dividing qualities of time and space displace the *pre*-determined hierarchy of meanings and the arrival of intended meaning. Shortly, *différance* renders being becoming spatiotemporally because through *différance*, objects and relations resist staying objectified owing to the differential relation of becoming. Becoming is similar to the signification process with respect to *différance*

given that there is no transcendental or master signifier; meaning is produced by endless chain of significations. For this reason, identities come to play through lack or divide. It is widely argued by psychoanalysts, including Freud and Lacan, that "we" are divided from the beginning. At this point, thus, in the constitution of identity, the self remains in a state of ambivalence due to this split and the irreducible gap within it/self, and the subject tries to surmount the gap by supplementing it with metaphors.

Monist desire in western logocentrism considers the self to be "one with self", "self-present", "self-same", "self-sufficient" and "self-identical". A persistent theme in purity issue is "comfortable" dualism invented by logocentrism. Logocentrism operates by oppositional differences and logocentric mind-set differentiates the self and the other in terms of binary opposition. Following the differential relationship, logocentric self excludes difference in order not to get unclean, confused or to contradict its illusions of full-presence. But during the signification such monism of the sign faces a crisis. The sign or thing does not mean anything alone by itself and it only makes meaning with reference to the differences. Meaning does not as exist itself in the sign, as no text can present itself, because the meaning is interwoven with the interpretive process. But what really matters this time is the differential relation of the self and other, not the sameness. For textual reasons, the other is always internal to the self and is with/in oneself— otherness is in the self (Derrida, 1967, 2001, 2002b; Bhabha, 1990; Butler, 1993; Kristeva, 1991). What is metaphor is contextual replacement or substitution arising from a need or lack. Here the metaphor is valid in colonial discourse, for metaphoric elements may replace the radical gap in being. Laclau's emphasis on the connection between presence and

identity help explain one of the failures of logocentric knowledge in subject formation. In "The Making of Political Identities", Laclau points to the radical gap at the root of the presence of the self: "One needs to identify with something because there is an original and insurmountable lack of identity" (Laclau, 1994, p.3). In this context, Derrida's anti-logocentric stance is a relevant analytic tool by which elusively orientalised or totalizing representations of colonial situations could be unmasked. Derrida works against this totalizing logos-centered background which takes the externalized-unified Self and Other for granted. With regards to preserving the purity of the self, western logocentrism, by definition, seeks a wholesome self without any difference. The supplemental nature of identity, in the constitution of the very self, the white self, against the grain, paradoxically needs an "externally insidious" supplement on every occasion to justify its presence no matter how "exterior" the other is (Bauman, 1992, Laclau & Mouffe, 2001; Levinas, 2011; Spivak 1985; Young, 2004).

In the construction of identity there is an "external relationship" and the very self "constructs" itself by reference to an external determinant other. Under the influence of Derrida, Laclau and Mouffe argue that the unity of identity or self depends on a constitutive difference or constitutive "outside" in the discursive formation of identity and relations: "it always has an 'outside' that impedes its full realization" (2001, p. xviii). The self substitutes for the other in every instance of identification of the self to make the self fully present in colonial enterprise as well. In the formation of identity, the self cannot be self without the supplementary self to the other. In this sense, the centre of the structure depends on a supplemental "outside". The self cannot be self without the supplement, that is to say the other, and in this relation the

other is ontological because the self is not given as a self-presence. The logic of the "outsider" supplement is at work in every being. Therefore, the other, due to the logic of supplement, substitutes the self in every instance of the identification of the self with the "external" help of a series of supplements. Nothing in this respect can be identical to it-self.

As regards to identity, Derrida introduces a central nuance into this context of difference within the self on his own terms. Derrida speaks of "operating necessarily from the inside" (1997, p. 24) in "Of Grammatology". There is no homogenous other in spatiotemporal terms meandering over the metaphysics of full presence. Derrida applies the argument based on difference in the sense that "One must nevertheless insist that the colonized subaltern subject is irretrievably heterogeneous" (Spivak, 1988, p.284). Different and same are not binary oppositional but relational. No self related thought is logically or phenomenologically present by itself, without some supplemental reference to the other. So, "the pure self presence by itself", as Derrida says, is metaphysical. In any way, the difference precedes the self. The different other or Freudian *unheimlich*/unhomely is always already within the self, at heart of the self and the root of the self. The "Outside" is the inside as the margin becomes the centre and the self is never a pure self by itself no matter how fiercely the binary opposition struggles keep the uninvited difference "outside":

> It is in the interest of such cautions that Derrida does not invoke "letting the other(s) speak for himself' but rather invokes an "appeal" to or "call" to the "quite-other" (tout-autre as opposed to a self-consolidating other), of "rendering delirious that interior voice that is the voice of the other in us (Spivak, 1988, p.294).

The relationship with the other, the relationship between the self and the other, is not external but an internal relation. The relation is encapsulated by textuality and the

feature of the relation is inter-relational. Therefore, the self-other relationship is not external as logocentric discourse argues but the different other is internal to the constitution of both the self and the other. As Foucault observes, "resistance is never in a position of exteriority in relation to power" (1978, p. 95). Bakhtin (1981) too brings the idea of heteroglossia into play amid the centrifugal feature of language which could employ resistance: "Heteroglossia (*raznorecie*) which permits a multiplicity of social voices and a wide variety of their links and interrelationships [always more or less dialogized]" (Bakhtin, p. 263). This is further shown by the fact that we human beings are not outside of the world but inside of the world. In the light of the ubiquity of the text, all the conflicts or reconciliations take place with and in the text. The *external* other is always in-side, in this relation, projection of other as "outside/r" as representation which is actually inside. Therefore, the same is the different and the different is the same in the process of making an identity.

Chapter 4

COLONIALISM, NATIONALISM AND CYPRUS

4.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to establish a theoretical and historical link between the discourse of colonialism and modes of nationalism in the postcolony. For the purpose of this chapter, the theoretical support is drawn from politics, colonial history and post-colonial theory. In analysing the relationship between colonialism and postcolonial nationalist discourses, this chapter first clarifies the difference between imperialism and colonialism. Then, the study goes on to open a vista onto the interface between colonialism and the modern nation state which is followed by a concise history of colonialism in the context of the British Empire. Having surveyed the historical dimension, this work provides a perspective into the process of British colonial myth-making and the current global legacy of British colonialism. Lastly, the chapter concludes with an incisive colonial history of British Cyprus. It should also be noted that this thesis is a communication and media studies analysis with a view on postcolonial theory. Therefore the chapter should not be seen as a detailed historical discussion of colonialism, and the analysis will go straight to explore the cultural and theoretical dimension of the matter.

Postcolonialism, as was previously addressed, is a contentious term in contrast to its "blatant" façade (Young, 2011, p. 57). The postcolonial situation, or the postcolony, refers to the cultural and political space transformed and shaped by the relationship

between the ex-colony and its former European imperial rulers (Said, 1994). The colonial past from which the ex-colonized emerges constitutes the postcolonial setting in an uninterrupted dialogue with the colonial heritage (Darwin, 2011; Hall, 1998; Loomba, 2005). So once the Empire or the colonial master goes away, colonialism does not end, rather it still has a great influence with regard to determining the items on the cultural, social and political agendas of the new postcolonial state (Young, 2003).

In order to lay bare the contextual relationship between the former and the latter, this study first gives a concise glimpse into modern western colonialism. As Michael Adas writes, "colonialism is deemed to be one of the global forces that has defined the modern age" (1998, p. 371). That is because "all the culture" in the postcolony, including modes of nationalism, is inevitably "affected by the [west-centric] imperial process from the moment of colonization to the present day" (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin, 2002, p.2). The valence in which colonialism permeated the globe is still far-reaching because almost the entire earth was under colonial rule on the eve of World War I. Magdoff (1978) remarks that

> In 1800 Europe and its possessions, including former colonies, claimed title to about 55 percent of the earth's land surface … From 1800 until 1878, actual European rule (including former colonies in North and South America) increased ... to 67 percent of the earth's land surface. In 1914 ... the colonial powers, their colonies, and their former colonies extended over approximately 85 percent of the earth's surface (pp. 29-35).

The reason behind linking colonial history to nationalism is that the two discourses are inextricably intertwined. Colonialism has been deeply woven into the fabric of nationalism in the postcolony. Therefore nation and nationalism, as a property of postcolonial narrative, cannot be duly evaluated without taking the colonial

inheritance into historical account. Nation-states are modernist colonial constructions.

Breaking away from the colonial power after a violent anti-colonial struggle does not warrant independence. The ex-colonized, being forced to survive from scratch, inevitably follows the lingering colonial patterns which were previously anathema to the decolonization movement. Eric Hobsbawm (1995) explains that after decolonization, "not surprisingly" the subjects of empire "adopted, or were urged into, political systems derived from their old imperial masters or those who had conjured them" (p. 347). In effect, though "direct colonialism has largely ended" (Said, 1994, p. 9), post-independence is far from being an accomplished goal. Postcoloniality is a condition under which the formerly colonized nation continues to exist "in-dependence" (Young, 2003, p.3). The former colonial powers continue to engrave into the postcolonial world and the newly founded nation cannot fully evade the relations shaped by its previous masters: It is striking that despite decolonization, the major world powers did not change substantially during the course of the 20th century. For the most part, the same (ex-) imperial countries continue to "dominate those countries that they formerly ruled as colonies" (Young, p.3).

Ironically, postcolonial nation and nationalism epitomised the climax of the dependency process. Suffice to say, while "nationalism was arguably the powerful force in international politics in the twentieth century", the nation is the only valid political spatio-temporality in a nationally patterned entity for the ex-colony to come into being (Barrington 2009, p.3). This is because "the nation-centredness of the post-colonial world" (Brennan, 2000, p. 47) is the "European colonial legacy of the territorial statehood" (Richmond, 2006, p.550), and it is foundational to the existence

of the newly born nation following decolonization. In the aftermath of its anti-colonial nationalist struggle, the ex-colony is set to attain the level of nation-state. But the colonized is categorized by political "likeness" and is required to relinquish its difference-in-kind, because "'difference' is not a viable criterion in the domain" (Chatterjee, 1999, p. 221). Without taking the aforementioned concept of "difference" into consideration, we would rarely know the characteristic of the modern postcolonial texture. Nation-ness (to be nation and to belong to nation) in the postcolonial world remains the canon of the "sameness" to be accepted as legal self. In the evaluation of the post-independence candidate, ironing out differences or "improper" properties (or negating the non-nation) is integral to being a nation. Enfranchising the nation comes into being in tandem with "fitting" the ex-colony into difference-eliminating incorporation. To be a nascent nation, to draw on Baumanian (1992) politics of license, is to be a "licensed difference" (p. xvi). In other words, the postcolonial candidate cannot take its non-national qualities with itself in the nation-building process. "Primitive normlessness", such as tribe, clan, caste, cantonment or unrecognized autonomous governments are "unlicensed differences", and are unauthorized or unlicensed by the "licensing authority" in joining the modern world system (p. xvi). For this pressing exigency, colonized peoples invent forms of solidarity and they organize into new unities of the self, namely nation-states. But nationhood and nationalist politics of the novice nation in the postcolony are made to suit the west-centric modernist colonial legacy by the authority: "Nationalism has no option but to choose its forms from the gallery of 'models' offered by European and American nation states" (Chatterjee, 1999, p.221). In the present, the way to becoming a nation-state is a goal oriented program, requiring approval by the United Nations and other similar international institutions,

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such as The World Trade Organization. Reus-Smit throws a light on how the United

Nations interacts between the "predominant" colonial past and the future progress of

postcolonial nation-state:

> This civilizing mission is still apparent in the Charter of the United
> Nations which reaffirms the colonial powers' 'sacred trust' to
> cultivate their dependencies' 'political, and economical
> development' and 'to assist them in the progressive development of
> their free political institutions, according to the particular
> circumstances of each territory and its peoples and their varying
> states of advancement (Reus-Smith, 1978, quoted in Richmond, p.
> 537).

The UN's postcolonial guidance for decolonized countries shows that there is not a

limpid cut way of side-stepping longstanding colonial elements (Mazower, 2009). If

we return to the Turkish Cypriot example of nationalist discourses, one can notice

the essential part played by colonial narratives such as progress, civilization, stability

and nationalism[25]. Today, de facto northern Cyprus (or the Turkish Republic of

Northern Cyprus) is not a UN member, mainly due to continuing problems in Cyprus

since 1963. Shortly after the establishment of the Republic of Cyprus in 1960, inter-

ethnic violence broke out between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots in 1963.

Inter-communal violence between the two communities and the Greek attempt to kill

Makarios were followed by Turkish military intervention in 1974. The island then

divided into two ethnic demographics. Turkish Cypriots gradually avoided political

involvement with the Republic of Cyprus and declared a unilateral nation-state led

by Turkish Cypriots in 1983. Regardless of international unrecognition and isolation,

postcolonial northern Cyprus is a playground of contested nationalist discourses

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[25] The *sui generis* nature of the Cyprus issue stands for partition and political deadlock in the eye of
the international community. The dispute have made a formidable reputation of itself so much so that
Vladimir Putin allegedly intimidated Georgia leader Mikheil Saakashvili in the Minsk Summit in
2006 (also known as Commonwealth of Independent States summit). According to Saakashvili, Putin,
concerning the Abkhazia-Georgia problem, threatened to "turn Georgia into Cyprus" (Hürriyet,
According to Saakashvili, Putin, concerning the Abkhazia-Georgia problem, threatened to "turn
Georgia into Cyprus" (Hürriyet, 2007).

among Turkish Cypriots. All the nationalist movements in the TRNC politics, call it Turkish Nationalism or Cypriotism, are forged by powerful elements of nationalism as elsewhere. Briefly, even after the decolonization movement, Turkish Cypriots continued to exist without an officially recognized nation. Today, Turkish Cypriots belong to the category of 'people without a nation'. In other words, Turkish Cypriot postcoloniality is an example of 'nationalism without a nation'.

4.2. History of Colonialism and Imperialism

This section presents view into the British Colonial era. It mainly discusses the perspective that colonial lifestyle and modernist mentality fostered the nostalgic nationalism of the present time, providing examples from the Turkish Cypriot print media. Therefore, the decisive point about this chapter is that today's logocentric news coverage and postcolonial inconsistencies must be read against a larger dislodgeable residue of colonial historicity, which allows the modernist motives of postcolonial Turkish Cypriots to be studied. Communication scholars Hardt & Brennen (1993) hold that, "It is impossible to grasp individual practice without understanding of historical conditions under which concerns about culture, and notions of a common culture, in particular, have been articulated" (p. 130). Similarly, "the complex relationship" of the present time, writes Williams (2009), "needs specifically historical exploration" (p. 41). Schwartz-DuPre (2014) also transferred this suggestion into the postcolonial media studies context: "histories of colonization can help explain and unpack the complexities of the present" (p.8). For this reason, another major driving force behind this chapter is the lack of historic engagement in communication studies in the light of postcolonial discourse. Hardt & Brennen (1993) proposed that research without a historic consciousness is "uncritical" and "ahistorical", eventually strengthening "the status quo" (p. 130). To Williams (2009),

historic consciousness in pursuit of a communication dimension gains further importance because, "[a]ctive social history of the complex of communicative systems which are now so important [to] the material productive process, [means] that the dynamics of social language" need to be taken into consideration (p.42). Nerone (1993), in this respect, says that although having a historic consciousness only has benefits to offer to communication scholars, in the past, "communications historians often ignore the work of cognate historians" (p. 148). From a similar perspective, Hardt & Brennen (1993) argued that, "The discourse of communication research is marked by an absence of history as cultural context" (p. 130). However, the positive aspect to the story is that the gap is being gradually bridged as, "communication scholars draw from all sorts of histories" (Nerone, 2006, p. 254). On the down side, media scholars run the risk of becoming trapped in logocentrism when they want to historically engage with past events: "Communication scholars, on the other hand, still want grand narrative" (Nerone, 2006, p. 255). Given that "'professional' history was founded on the modernist" mind-set", in order to ethically deal with the colonial past, this chapter forgoes linear chronology, binary classifications and modernist grand narratives such as civilization[26], authoritative science, progress and enlightenment (Nerone, 2006, p. 255). This is in favour of a more postmodern and poststructuralist position in order to do justice to the history and agents of history due mainly to the lack of moral scrupulousness in their historic record. At this point, in contrast to hegemonic historiography, the postcolonial way

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[26] In other words, as Lyotard suggests (1984), an "enlightened" person no longer believes in "the metanarrative apparatus of legitimation" (p. xxiv) that is derived from variants of science. Needless to say many people have suffered (and continue to do so) at the hands of the so-called "emancipator" of the human race which is the scientific discourse. Some of the most terrible of social and historical evils such as colonialism, Hiroshima, and the genocides of the twentieth century took place with a precision based on scientific rationality bereft of any human compassion. As Nandy (1992) and Shiva (1992) also point out that most social evils have been intentionally and unethically committed in the very name of and the authority of science on "other" communities through acts of violence.

of problematizing the past can make a fruitful difference. As Shome and Hedge (2002) suggested, "the distinctiveness of postcolonial studies from other forms of critical scholarship" rests on its flexibility, sensitivity and rigour to "provide a historical … depth to the understanding of cultural power" at work (p.252). The further relation between postcolonial scholarship and media studies is taken up in a different chapter. For such reasons, before anything else, Turkish Cypriot coloniality must be read against the backdrop of the British colonial history and the British presence on the island.

Before explaining the making of modern colonial history, the corrective distinction between the "interchangeably" (Loomba, 2005, p.7) used concepts of colonialism and imperialism is a necessary requirement. Relying on Edward Said's (1994) convenient distinction between colonialism and imperialism, this work argues that the concept of imperialism refers to "the practice, the theory, and the attitudes of a dominating metropolitan center ruling a distant territory" (1994, p.9). Said (1994), citing Michael Doyle, incisively tells that imperialism is "the process or policy of establishing or maintaining an empire" (p.9). By colonialism, Said (1994) means the theory or the philosophy of imperialism: "almost always a consequence of imperialism, is the implanting of settlements on distant territory" (p.9). The purpose of colonialism can be said to be bringing the imperial state of mind, a subjugating knowledge, into being. In this connection, imperialism is the *modus operandi* of colonialism. In a nutshell, then, imperialism is an ideology, unlike colonialism (Young, 2011, p. 27). Therefore imperialism has more to do with the "attitudes which create or uphold such big political units", while colonialism is used to mean "specific and more political" situations and "systems of rule by one group over

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another", or "[an assumed] right [which] is established by the conquest" (Howe, 2002, p. 30-1). In colonization, the empire rules over the overseas territories from home (metropolis) and exploits their material resources (natural or human). More specifically, colonial rule over territories take place in the shape of colonization. Transferring the population to a foreign territory at the expense of the natives is "settler colonization" (Howe, 2002, p. 31). Alternatively, situating colonialism in the specific context of the emergence of modernity's scientific understanding of the world and European industrial capitalism, Ashcroft et al., (2007) held that, "European colonialism in the post-Renaissance world became a sufficiently specialized and historically specific form of imperial expansion to justify its current general usage as a distinctive kind of political ideology" (p.40). In the same vein, Mignolo (1998), bearing the valuable legacy of the Renaissance, argues that the seeds of colonization lies within what he terms as "the darker side of the Renaissance" (p.vii). Mignolo suggests further that by the late 16th century, the closely entwined Renaissance and early modern European "classical tradition" took on a powerful regime of meaning, thanks to the support of materialist scientism, and gradually developed into "a justification of colonial expansion and the emergence of a genealogy (the early colonial period) that announces the colonial and the postcolonial" (1998, p. vii). In view of that, as purveyor of emancipating "truth", the heritage of the renaissance has been articulated into modern Enlightenment in Europe:

> Finally, the idealization of farmers legitimized colonialism, in which European farmers drove out, "civilized", or eradicated, the "native people" of the colonized lands. Probably, few more ideas had more influence over modern European thought than that of the cultural-geographical matrix whose center is made up of civilized, virtuous farmers who fight against nature (both internal and external), surrounded by "primitive people" ("savages" if a contemporary group, "barbarians" if ancient ones) … The older

> humanism and new Enlightenment were united in the belief in the liberating potential of the scientific knowledge, in the possibility of accomplishing social improvements politically, and in the need to find or retrieve a view of life that suited the modern human being (Arvidsson, 2006, pp. 58, 61-2).

Arvidsson (2006) looked further at the historical context and bigger picture of Europe towards the 19th century, in order to show how modern European thought encouraged colonialism by providing a regime of meaning. Followed by a positivist fancy caused by scientific euphoria, 18th century western Enlightenment violently crushed difference on its very own path to civilize and "emancipate" the rest of the "uncivilized" world economically and ideologically.

4.3 Colonial History and the British Empire

Any scholarly work delving into the postcolonial situation of the former British colonies can rarely escape the historical weight of the Empire. This part, therefore, is about the historical milestones of the colonization process and the place of Britain in it. The starting point of colonial history is a contested issue and there are conflicting interpretations over the origins of Colonialism. As Benveniste (1971) forcefully argues, "at no moment of the past and in no form of the present can one come upon anything 'primordial'" (p. 5). The absence of precise categories of historical time makes it extremely difficult, if not impossible, to pin down a fixed and singular starting point. Speaking in historical terms, Magdoff (1978) says that "stages of history, rarely, if ever, come in neat packages: the roots of new historical periods begin to form in earlier eras, while many aspects of an older phase linger on and help shape the new" (p. 21). However, we can still talk about a tendency to trace the early origins of the colonial mind-set back to ancient Greece, the Phoenicians and Roman Empire. Yet, for the sake of a coherent argument, colonial discourse comes into

effect in the formation of modern Europe between the mid-18th and 19th centuries. Simply put, the history of Turkish Cypriots under British colonial rule which still retains its force is an outcome of early West-European colonial modernity. For this reason, the colonial theme here under consideration, namely the relationship between colonialism and nationalism, takes off from the early 17th century.

There are two main reasons for modern colonialism. The first one is the European epistemological revolution started by the Renaissance at the beginning of the 15th century. According to Luraghi (2000), in stark contrast to the medieval world view, Europeans dared to venture out of their countries to explore the world. Hale (1972) writes that, "by 1480 geographers had devoted considerable attention to the *Geographia* of Ptolemy which showed the world as it had been known to intelligent Romans of the second century (p. 49). The Renaissance science augured the birth of colonialism. For Hale, ground breaking moves activated European geographic explorations which were not previously imaginable: "these were determined by two things: a development in geographical territory and a shift in the way in which men imagined terrestrial space" (p.49). By the late 15th and the early 16th century, "artistic" imagination, "more directly than by science or by travel itself", staved off cautious sea-faring habits (Hale, 1972, p.51). On another occasion, Hale powerfully argues that artists and explorers were practiced at using their mind's artistic eye to holistically map the vast geographies onto material representations:

> By the late fifteenth century an artist like Leonardo could not only record a landscape accurately as he stood before it, but imaginatively project his spatial thinking to a wider prospect of a bird's-eye view and, wider and higher still, to a detailed map of a whole province. Art helped the mind to think spatially by first training the eye. (…) The painter was enabling [navigators] to project the imagination beyond the frame of a painting, beyond what was visible to what could be conjectured, and similarly to

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urge it from the known part of the map to envisage its unexplored regions as knowable. Certainly, from the 1490s maps determined the direction of voyages of exploration with a sense of positive invitation that was new (Hale, 1972, pp. 51-52).

In this strain, the development of cartography changed the time and topographic perceptions of the era and put voyagers in creative and daring position.

The modern scientific reason dwelling at the heart of colonial expansion was explained in previous chapters. In addition to the preceding chapter, the active role of the Renaissance must be concisely elaborated as well. Indeed, the spirit of the Renaissance philosophy galvanized and enabled adventurers to question the "limited" world visions of ancient Ptolemaic geography and sedentary Dantean medievalism (Luragi, 2000, p.16). The medieval world was decried to be confined into spatial limits, metaphysical speculations, superstitions, and myths about the perils lying in the unknown parts of the world. However, the Renaissance taught the Europeans to approach the world without dread. The modern scientific view that human agency can inquiry into nature is connected with the Renaissance. By using "precise" scientific laws and rules, Renaissance-derived modernist knowledge subjugated the nature as a "knowable" thing. Unlike "non-western cultures", the western rational-scientific view considered nature and the universe to be a passive "object" (Sardar, 2000, p. 52). Europeans covered their back with scientific guiding principles and set out to explore the *terra incognita* beyond the Atlantic and other oceans. In the sense that nature is fathomable now, Renaissance curiosity and desire have evolved into "an agent of appropriation", "the act of naming" and "the magic of renaming" in grasping the new/unnamed" world. (Greenblatt, 1991, pp. 24, 82-3).

The second development is the technological "revolution" that made overseas geographical explorations safer, such as the invention of "printing, gun powder/ firearms, and [the maritime] compass" (Luragi, 2000, p.16). Luraghi, drawing on Francis Bacon's first-hand experience with this post-Renaissance era, writes that printing caused a boom in literature, gun powder transformed warfare and the maritime compass set improved navigation in motion. (Luragi, 2000, p.16). The overlap between these factors accounted for the background of colonialism.

Spanish, Dutch and Portuguese colonizers set out to "discover", conquer and colonize lands in America, Africa, and South Asia. The western Europeans, now supported by powerful technical inventions, established colonies and extended their trade markets (colonies) in America, Asia and Africa, exploiting the natural and human resources of these lands. However, between the mid-18th century and the mid-19th century, the industrial revolution in central and northern England significantly altered the face of the early colonial economy and helped Britain eliminate her colonial rivals. The combination of new communication forms (mail system and telegraph) and the shift in transportation networks (steam ships and railroads) gave the British Empire a boost which was previously not possible. Indeed, in the 16th and 17th centuries the British still did not hold a significant power overseas. However, the economical and scientific revolution of the 19th century sealed up her systematic and overarching colonial supremacy. Ferguson (2004) writes that

> Since the late eighteenth century, Britain had been pulling ahead of her rivals as a pioneer of new technology. British engineers were in the vanguard of a revolution – the industrial revolution – that harnessed the power system and the strength of iron to transform the world economy and the international balance of power (p.164).

By the beginning of the early 19th century, the factories and textile industry in Lancashire remained a magnet for low-cost raw materials such as cotton. Particularly after 1815, the political and economic success of the Second British Empire was built around the dynamic triangle of "industry, commerce and navigation" which stepped up "Britain's economic power and her global mastery" (Ferguson, 2004, p.164). According to Williams (1983), it was around the 19th century that British imperialism involved "a political campaign to equate imperialism with modern civilization and civilizing mission" (Williams, 1983, p.159). The elimination of France as a major colonial power after the Treaty of Paris of 1763 left Britain almost alone in the globe. Though Spain remained an active colonial presence in South America, by the beginning of the 19th century she also began to lose her overseas colonies.

One of the critical factors contributing to Britain's ascendancy in the 19th century was her "milder" colonial manner. In general terms, British and French expansionists were no less brutal plunderers than the early Spanish and Portuguese colonizers of America. Yet Great Britain and France managed their colonies differently. Unbridled marauding and pervasive violence committed by Spanish, Dutch, Portuguese and Belgian colonizers put the British on the "correct" side of colonialism. Generally speaking, by way of contrast, allegedly "mature" British expansionism took a different path from that of other colonial powers and invested in overseas settlements and cultivation policies. In several colonies, British authorities did not simply resort to needless coercion, they also collaborated with "native informants" (Minh-ha, 1989, p. 284) or local leaders to produce consent, by suiting history to the colonial civilizing scheme: "history became progress towards the goal of the perfection of man's estate on earth" (Carr, 1990, p. 111). The main success of the English colonial

mission lied on the ideological combination of the "civilization" theme with western science and technology. All historical structuration of elements of the discourse of civilization can be contextually understood better within the cultural framework of Said's "Orientalism" (2003) that we covered in the preceding logocentrism chapter.

As already noted, at the turn of the 20th century around 85 percent of the globe was already colonized. Then colonization reached its limits and empires jealously guarded their colonies from each other. The increasing need to supplement raw material and brewing conflicts among European Empires led to the outbreak of World War I. Despite victory in the war, British global power began seriously to decline in the 1920s and 1930s. By the end of World War II, the British Empire was deeply disturbed by fierce global anti-colonial struggles for self-determination and territorial state, while the United States of America emerged as a new global power. The collapse of Britain's imperial power reached its climax after the Suez Crisis of 1956, which inflicted a devastating blow to European colonial pretensions. Though decolonization movements succeeded in the short-haul around the first half of the 20th century and the novice African and Asian nations voiced their concerns in the Bandung Conference of 1955, post-independence plans did not work as intended for the ex-colonies (Young, 2003, 2011). There is a perpetual theoretical tendency among many scholars to highlight the ways in which the legacies of colonization are preserved in our changing world. Colonial historians and postcolonial scholars generally converge on the point of neo-colonialism to critique the premature independence celebrations. Critical of the camouflaged neo-colonial politics in national development schemes, certain postcolonial scholars argued that the Achilles heel of this post-independence attempt to be a nation is the other side of the notorious

colonial relationship. That is to say, organizing into a nation to exist in the international system after decolonization did not preclude anti-colonization from submissively coming to terms with the neo-colonial relation. In the majority of the new nations, decision-making structures left off by the colonial system were simply entrusted to native elites refined by the colonizer. The colonial masters had carefully prepared the ground before their exit, and in this postcolonial capacity chosen local rulers continued to adopt the colonizer's social and political recipes. However, at the heart of the attempts at establishing a free nation sit a searing dilemma. Because, in securing the nation-building process, the political network of relations were constructed in collaboration with the ex-colonizer at the expense of bypassing decolonization actors, most of whom were largely seen as dissenting anti-colonials by the new post-colonial leaders. Paradoxically, in the post-colonial nation key anti-colonial struggle figures were vilified as "risky" and hence were expelled from power structures. Keeping anti-colonials, mainly Marxists, away from the new zero-sum game came as a relief to colonizer guides and new leaders. Richmond (2006) proposed what it is to be part of the postcolonial oxymoron: 'the post-colonial security dilemma' in which the safeguards introduced in the new state to almost disenfranchise those who had facilitated independence through the use of political violence" (p.459). Along with this, women were excluded from masculine postcolonial order. At best, women were given opportunity, provided that they played their part within the male model. Quite often, to exist after independence, women rushed into male patterns. As Young (2003) writes: "the goal of national emancipation involved a betrayal of all prospect of progressive change for women" (p.97). Circumstances forced decolonization into predetermined Western European and American political-economic structures. Multinational corporations, as Spivak

(1988) puts it in "Can the Subaltern Speak?" changed the post-colonial international world system into a forceful division between the first and the third world:

> The contemporary international division of labor is a displacement of the divided field of nineteenth-century territorial imperialism. Put simply, a group of countries, generally first world, are in the position of investing capital; another group, generally third-world, provide the field for investment, both through the comprador both through the comprador indigenous capitalists and through their ill-protected and shifting labor force (p. 287).

The impacts of colonization have already made the colonized dependent on the leftovers of colonization: "Colonial powers robbed their resources, destroyed their capacities to remain self-reliant, and transformed them into suppliers of raw materials for building industrial societies in the North" (Bhuiyan, 2008, p. 110). However, postcolonial citizens, like their anti-colonial predecessors, seem to have been largely underplayed and impoverished in the Cold War and the following neo-liberal era, unlike a selected local elite who sustained ex-colonial political structures (Saccarelli & Varadarajan, 2015; Adi, 2006).

Where postcolonial cultural matters are concerned, in characterizing the "third world" nations in the mirror of the western prescriptions, culture was "degraded" together with the politics of development. The tempest of neo-liberal politics sweeping over the world from the late 1980s and structural adjustment packets helped constitute the mental and cultural cement of the West-centric communication dominance. The reason why neo-liberal political domination secured its cultural monopolization was the First World and Third World representations. The western domination over the modern literacy can be better understood if it is seen as a consequence of Orientalism. At some time after World War II, interventionist western media strengthened the position of the "First World" power: "as a cultural

apparatus Orientalism is all ... will-to-truth, and knowledge" (Said, 2003, p. 204).

Continuous with the past, the binary relation between the First World and Third

World- as if the two worlds are external to each other- strikes a chord with classical

orientalism discourse. Representations of weakness are as true for colonies as for

postcolonies in this respect. The use of West-centric language and oriental traces in

the political discourse explains what Said (1997) called "the modernization myth" (p.

21) in "Covering Islam". To Said, orientalist thought was part and parcel of the Cold

War atmosphere. In media reconstructions, general coverage of "the east", as Said

maintains in "Orientalism", is that formerly colonized people have been defined by

means of abstractions as weak and in need of assistance. After World War II, the

Cold War antagonism between the communist block and liberal-USA-led powers

also contributed to the reception of the US-shepherded modernist myth-making

(Said, 1997, p. 29). America, in defence of liberal capitalistic values, poised to stop

depreciated "third world" countries from buying into counter-Soviet modernity.

Inevitably, newly independent postcolonial nations jumped on the western scheme

bandwagon to catch up with "contemporary" west-centric development standards.

On another occasion, Spivak (1988) lays stress on the model of postcolonial

salvation progress: "[the] story of capital logic is the story of the West, that

imperialism establishes the universality of the mode of production narrative" (p.

298). It is at this point that the influence of the western media hegemony reared its

head. The western discursive language asserted itself and brought out the structural

inequalities in postcolonial rubric, and newly founded nations have become

dependent on the textual and structural decision making of Western capitalism.

Simply, "Southern countries do not have much choice but to be complicit with the

[information society] project since it is new imperial project" (Bhuiyan, 2008, p.

110).

Furthermore, abusing 'linear history' under the guise of economic and scientific development caused problems in these countries, especially 'developing' ones such as Iraq and Afghanistan. In that sense, neo-liberal policy, as in the typical historical colonial appropriation, has always been teleological, self-serving and exclusive, affecting political changes in postcolonial nations. To this day, the modernist insistence on progress and development is the overwhelming burden of the ex-colony and non-white culture. As for neoliberalism, it is the by-product of white colonial historical narratives such as the orientalist discourse. The America-led-western powers might have untiringly intervened in the inherently unstable post-colonial world. Nonetheless, a close glance at a postcolonial vista shows that ambivalent postcolonial conditions made it challenging for the western system to naturalize its political-cultural hegemony. Frequently, in the ambivalence-ridden post-development process, the overlap between resistance and acknowledgement caused detours in intended western policies.

4.4 The Legacy of the British Empire

The British Empire was a commanding global power in the 18th and 19th centuries and "was the biggest empire ever" (Ferguson, 2004, p. xi). In the Turkish Cypriot postcolonial setting, a series of current daily practices are clearly related to the legacy of the Empire. Indeed, the empire had intensely characterized the geographies it reached. The reason why the British Empire survived for so long as a global influence can be explained if it is seen in her political and economic conjunctures. The British Empire, before anything else, paved the way to the modern world and the index of modern development by which many people today come to measure their

practices. This vein of colonial modernity, as was previously mentioned, is powerful among postcolonial media professionals. Frightened in front of the "abyss" of the nature and societal disorder, people seek refuge in modernity by looking for secure, solid and stabile structures. In a like manner, Turkish Cypriots took modernist colonial "flair" for a model to act on. This can be noticed in Ilıcak's (2012) article in *Kıbrıslı* newspaper. Ilıcak's allusions to the colonial past carries traces of nostalgia. Furthermore, it can be considered alongside Bauman's (1992) stress on the "horror vacui" obsession of modernism we discussed in the second chapter. Colonial Cyprus, to Ilıcak (2012), stands for the opposite of chaos, anarchy, lack of sanction and nepotism. The role of the police was to prevent crime before it happened:

> "In the final years of the colonial past, none of us dared to go out at night without bike lights. At that time, there were famous motor policemen such as Yahya, Vasvi and Mustafa the Black. Anytime they were able to come along your way they had no pity on somebody. However, today it is very common to come across a vehicle with no light" (p. 6).

Ilıcak, relates the increasing fatal traffic accidents to absence of sanction in postcolonial order. Put another way, colonial traffic under British control was 'safer' than today. As to the above frame of mind in which Ilıcak (2012) is subscribed to, it takes its power from purported universalism. For Luraghi (2000), the reason for this is apparent because Europeans regarded "their" civilizations as the "only" ones with a "universal" civilizational value. Historical development, as stressed by Carr (1990), had been best symbolized by the British in the 19th and early 20th century: "the cult of progress reached its climax at the moment when British prosperity, power, and self-confidence were at their height" (1990, p.111). Such civilizationalism and progress, which are still "pervasive in US and Europe in the present", assesses the nation's "civilization against the technical gradation", ignoring moral arguments.

Together with industrialization products, European ideas too had been imported to the colonies. The principal constituent of western civilization is evaluating the self-development in terms of technological progress which has been internalized by formerly colonized people (pp. 17, 20-21). Therefore "rational" justifications used for the colonization (even in the present time) tallies with what Derrida (1982) calls "the White Mythology" which supports the view that western history stands for everybody's history. Like Luraghi, Derrida suggested that West-centric imaginations divide "Western" and "Eastern" geographies along civilizational lines, and colonies became subjects to West and White-centric unified history. Viewed from the historicity of John Darwin (1991), the Empire's colonial myth-making acquires suggestiveness. Darwin's analysis of British colonial legitimization substantiates Derrida and Luraghi's views of universalizing white mythology. Dominant in British colonialism is an act of political narration which expresses a benevolent attitude that the British have towards the "changing" and "civilizing" colonies: "circumstances required that the British made myths as fast as they made colonies [such as] the unravelling of empire as an orderly, rational, honourable and above all, deliberate a pattern and not embarrassing puzzle" (Darwin, 1991, p.188). In light of the naturalizing white mythology/history, "the international maritime order, international law" yields to the British era (Jackson, 2013, p. 109). To this can be added certain political and cultural patterns such as "globalization", "representative assemblies", "team sports" and "the internalization of the English language" (Ferguson, 2004, pp. xxiii-xxiv, xviii). Given the empire's massive spatial volume, Britain's permeation into the modern world seems unavoidable. The era of empire, rightly or wrongly, managed to be a common unifying glue in keeping diverse cultural differences, inner tensions and communities in line. Speaking with macro figures, Jackson (2013)

clearly emphasizes that, "at its height the British Empire comprised over 13,000,000 square miles- nearly one quarter of the earth's land surface … and Britain was responsible for ruling 500 million people, overt a fifth of the earth's population" (p.1). There are other historical facts which we must take into account in designating the historical importance of the British political system. One can also say that the present day nation states are political legacies of the Empire. As already noted above, the nation state's current political legitimacy grew out of Britain's colonial bequest, which created the foundations of the nation state system. Stuck under colonial rule, many ex-colonies "developed" into nations to appear in the modern world map. Accordingly, Jackson's (2013) historical figures bear implications beyond the colonial legacy itself, and provide understanding about the centrality of the Empire to the nation-state system:

> Of the world's 203 nation states, sixty-three were once ruled by Britain. About twenty others were occupied by Britain for briefer periods … Thus around a third of the world's nation-states at one point or another experienced British rule or significant British influence (pp. 4-5).

There has been much controversy in the postcolonial scholarship and environment over the historical legacy of the British Empire. Indeed the "Empire on which the Sun never sets" committed indefensible violence and made exploitative investments in the colony on a colossal scale. Reportedly, for Abraham Lincoln, the sun never sets on the Empire, because "God is afraid to trust them in the dark" (Shapiro, 2006, p. 466). "The Empire was never so altruistic" (Ferguson, 2004, p. xxi) and the illustration of the Empire was "at worst a temptation to illusions of grandeur and a gross abuse" (Hyam, 2002, p. 1). In the same vein, as James Morris (1998) plainly puts it, "never mind the true motives and methods of imperialism in the days of their

imperial supremacy the British genuinely believed themselves to be performing a divine purpose, innocently, nobly, in the name of God and the Queen" (p.551). On the other hand, reducing the empire into a monolithic representation may obfuscate or over-simplify the dynamic interaction between historical legacies and present postcoloniality. In the context of this work, the British Empire did not end and the very word empire signifies different narrations for different contexts, including those both of the colonizer and of the colonized. History and heritage of the Empire, for that reason, has never been one-dimensional but "a gigantic jumble of origins, influences, attitudes and intentions" as well (Morris, 1980, p.23). In time, in contrast to anti Empire sentiments, the imperial inheritance is hailed by the preceding colonial subjects whose everyday postcolonial seam is made up through the colonial toolbox. Nevertheless, speaking with politico-cultural terms, later interpretations of the British rule spawned unintended consequences and shifting positions. Additionally, Empire wielded influence on her colonies as much as the popular rubric in Britain: "by many and varied means did the Empire become an integral aspect of British culture and imagination" (Mackenzie, p. 213). In Turkish Cypriot media professionals' retrograde appropriations, in Cyprus the British "unfolded" vices (ruthless authority), virtues (civilization) and deep-seated ambivalences (love and hate relationship) towards the Empire.

The analysis of the Empire is only possible working within the ontology of the Empire. That is because the current relationship with the Empire's historicity is not external to the postcolonial reason. Even the critique or rejection of the Empire's past is paradoxically possible by means of inherited legacy. However, it should also be noted that inheritance as such is not an imposed teleology and is always open to

future changes. In a basic sense, Jackson 2013) persuasively argues that "it is impossible to know what 'might have been' without the British Empire" (p. 118). On this point, the pro-colonial perspective of Ferguson (2004) is not different from that of Jackson (2013), though both scholars differ from each other over the interpretation of the Empire: "there is reason to doubt that the world would have been same or even similar in the absence of the Empire" (p. xviii). Turkish Cypriots too are no exception to Ferguson and Jackson's views. As in other postcolonial situations, the contemporaneity of Turkish Cypriots is not "outside" the historicity of British colonialism. The legacy of the Empire has "validated" the modern imagery and self-consolidation of Turkish Cypriots. Moreover, colonial rule laid down the ground of modern politics. Today, noticeably, British law became the model upon which Turkish Cypriot constitutional law was constructed.

4.5 British Cyprus

British influence in Cyprus goes back to 1878. Before 1878, Cyprus was under the control of the Ottoman Empire since 1571. The growing threat from Russia following the Crimean War, and later military defeat in the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-1878, accelerated the decline of the Ottoman Empire. European powers, especially Britain, deeply concerned by Russian expansionism, set out to preclude the Russians from making a presence in the Mediterranean (Gazioğlu, 1990). Britain offered protection against Russia to the declining Ottoman Empire (Anderson 2008b). But the British alliance was the *quid pro quo* for securing an intended position in Cyprus. Further to the Russian peril, in 1869 the Suez Canal was opened. What was needed for the British Empire now was to consolidate a geostrategic base to control the Canal where "Britain's way to India['s] market[s] shortened 4500km" (Luraghi, 2000, p. 169). In this respect, in order to secure its colonial doorway into

the Middle East and further to India, nowhere was initially expected to be more convenient for Britain than Cyprus. Meanwhile, circumstances necessitated that the weakening Ottoman Empire entrusted the island to the British Empire, on condition that Cyprus would remain under Ottoman sovereignty. Ceding Cyprus to Britain left the Ottomans free to concentrate their attention on Russia in the East. In due course, the Ottoman Empire entered World War I on the side of Germany and Austria-Hungary against Britain and the other Entente powers. Britain, as a response to the Ottoman alliance with her enemies, annexed Cyprus in 1914 as a *fait accompli*. Following the Treaty of Lausanne of 1923, Turkey surrendered the island to Britain and Cyprus became a Crown Colony in 1925 (Anderson 2008b).

One way to understand the colonial characteristic of Cyprus is to distinguish the island from Britain's other dependencies in India, Africa or the Caribbean. Cyprus was not a systematic British settler colony or a classic imperium. Instead, the island at times was envisaged as a floating military base and colonial bureaucracy. Most of the British in the island were officials in the service of colonial administration. But as elsewhere, colonial personnel refused to mix with locals. Seen from a colonial perspective, Cyprus generally fell short of the imperial vision of Britain. The island was generally relegated to a secondary status among British colonies. It is not a coincidence that Rupert Gunnis (1973) defined Cyprus as "the Cinderella of Empire [and] one of the most unknown of all the Colonies of England" (p. vii). Recently, Varnava (2012) remarks in "Inconsequential Possession" that Cyprus was mainly pivotal to the British for geostrategic reasons, and the changing balance of power in the Mediterranean eroded the island's strategic value and caused differing interpretations over Cyprus' necessity among British public opinion. On the one

hand Varnava says that (2012) conservatives wanted to keep the island, on the other hand the Labour party regarded the island as an expensive burden. None the less, upon deprivation of Middle Eastern and North African strategic points and intensified Arab nationalism, Cyprus ostensibly came to prominence: "The British belief in Cyprus' strategic value after the second world war" finally changed (Varnava, 2012, p.278). In the early 1950s, the island accomplished its "deserved" strategic position: "Cyprus finally become important when the British moved their Middle-East headquarters from Egypt to Cyprus in 1952" (Varnava, 2012, p.279). Starting from the 1950s, other western powers expected that British colonial power would decline. For example, as American intelligence reports predicted in 1951, the days of the British in Cyprus were numbered because of "the progressive decline in the British ability to protect Western interests in the region … and as a result of the UK's reduced capabilities, the UK itself would welcome a greater degree of joint US-UK responsibility, including greater US aid to the Near East countries" (Central Intelligence Agency, 1951, p.5-6). Nationalist resentment towards the UK and Cold War pressure aggravated the problems of the Empire. In 1960, Britain left Cyprus, "the last colony" (Kızılyürek, 2005, p. 106). The next chapter will deal with the detailed historical background of the Turkish Cypriots by giving weight to the historical milestones of British Cyprus.

Since the arrival of the British in Cyprus, Turkish Cypriots have understood their imperial and colonial motives according to the "two-sides-of-a-coin" metaphor. In the vision of Turkish-Cypriots, unlike colonial nostalgia which promotes the colonialism as "coveted life style", the imperial relation of Cyprus to the British refers to political motives. The notion of *Pax Britannica* was equivalent to the

security of Turkish Cypriots, largely because Greek-Cypriot Enosis, a nationalist campaign to annex the island to Greece, encouraged them to seek survival in the idea of British rule (Samani 2011). The article focuses on the role of the British colonial roots rather than imperial-security elements, the latter deserving of future study due to the context and scope.

4.6 Introduction and Reasons for Colonial Nostalgia among Turkish Cypriots

During the early period of British rule, the long-time Ottoman, Turkish-Cypriot community was prey to both to the British and the Orthodox Greek-Cypriots. During the early period of British rule, the Turkish-Cypriot community was deprived of privileges and were vulnerable in the face of both the British and the long-time Ottoman subjects, the Orthodox Greek-Cypriots. For this reason, the Turkish-Cypriots proclaimed that the Ottomans were the legal owners of the island. The Greek-Cypriot community, in keeping with the rising curve of ethno-nationalism, struggled for Enosis in colonial and postcolonial times (Anderson, 2008b). In a letter addressed to the Secretary of State for the Colonies in London in 1919, members of the *Kavanin* (Legislative Council)*,* M. Irfan, S. Hami and A. Said, made efforts to apprise Imperial authorities of their problem, calling for British "benevolence" and aegis, trying to persuade them to act as a bulwark against the will-to-Enosis of the Greek Cypriots:

> In the name of the 60,000 Moslems of Cyprus, we most vigorously protest against any change in the status of the island and … to enjoy the full liberty and justice … under the benevolent British rule (FO 608/33/16).

The colonial governor Ronald Storrs (1937) notes in his memoirs that Turkish

Cypriots "had frequently proffered and shown that indeed they owed loyalty to the Power that protected their Minority rights" (p. 496). Until 1960, the British played both the Enosis and the Turkish-Cypriot minority cards to protect their imperial interests. For Turkish Cypriots, the abandonment of Muslim identity and over-identification with Turkey as a reference group in the years following the Second World War meant that Turkish nationalism had swept through Turkish-Cypriot society by the 1950s. Not surprisingly, the religious-conservative Anglophones amongst Turkish Cypriots (adherents of *Evkaf*[27]) rejected this movement and opted for British rule. However, the point on which all different groups amongst Turkish Cypriots agreed was that the British, being an international power, were the guarantee against Enosis. Greek-Cypriot representatives went to great lengths to persuade the British to endorse the righteousness of the Enosis agenda in Kavanin, something that first appeared in recognizable form around 1903 (Samani, 2011, p. 20). This pattern of Greek and Turkish-Cypriot co-existence continued until the 1950s without substantial change. As the decade progressed, Cyprus became a rallying point for counter-nationalist mobilization. The Greek-Cypriot National Organization of Cypriot Fighters (EOKA[28]) launched the anti-colonial insurgency against British administration in 1955. The British administration, as Anderson notes with a rather orientalist undertone, recruited Turks to supplement the British forces against decolonization: "[The British] dipped into the lumpen element in the Turkish community, let loose for savagery when the occasion required" (2008b). And the tide of Enosis turned against the pro-colonial Turkish-Cypriots. Until the mid-1950s Turkey remained pro-colonial due to cold war necessities. Although it is not possible at this stage to document the origin of *Taksim*, its seeds were planted around the

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[27] A religious charity foundation.
[28] Although this is the case, the abbreviation of EOKA does not indicate anything about Greek-Cypriotness but only being Cypriot.

1950s. In November 30, 1951, the Turkish nationalist, Necati Özkan, wrote on behalf of Turkish-Cypriots in the newspaper İstiklal (Independence) that if Greek-Cypriots were to go ahead with the Enosis project, the island would have to be annexed to Turkey (Hatay, 2014). Meanwhile in the late 1950s, Turkish nationalism developed into an institution. However, during the 1950s the view of the Turkish-Cypriots was that they did not want to risk their "loyalty" to Britain for reasons connected to their survival, taking the view that sticking with the British was a matter of life and death. In 1954, both the President and the Secretary of the Cyprus Turkish Association, Sağer and Sarı respectively, stressed that control over Cyprus is the "legal right of Britain", with international and Middle Eastern security requiring "the continuation of British Sovereignty over the island" (CO 926/309). By 1958, with imperial rule tottering, the two communities cut off their relations. At this point, Kızılyürek (2009) discusses that it was the British and Turkic nationalist lobby that forced Turkey to enter the fray (p. 336). The British era officially ended in 1960 when the island assumed the status of the Republic of Cyprus (RoC). The republic lasted only three years[29] due to the structural incompatibility between the two ethno-nationalisms. The years 1963-1974 saw periodic inter-communal killings, with Turkish-Cypriots retreating into enclaves while at the same time championing the *Taksim* project (Kızılyürek, 2009, 2016). In 1974, the island saw the beginning of what has become lasting partition when Greek colonels orchestrated a *coup d'état* in the new republic, aiming for political unity with Greece. In response, Turkey sent in its army and took control of the northern part of Cyprus, establishing the territorial and demographic basis for the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus declared in 1975, and the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC) declared in 1983. Since its inception, the

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[29] Bi-ethnic Cyprus stood witness to two incompatible entities following the inter-communal violence. Turkish Cypriots exited the structure of Republic of Cyprus since 1963 and established separate entity. The RoC is recognized as international nation-state. In 1974, the partition grown stronger.

TRNC has not been recognized by the UN or the Greek-Cypriot-governed RoC, which refers to TRNC as "occupied" land. The TRNC is recognized as a state only by Turkey.

After 1974, in the initial euphoria of events, Turkish nationalist thought was embraced by most Turkish-Cypriots as a messianic arrival. Following the division, on November 25, the centre right Turkish daily, Hürriyet, captured the spirit: among 840 new-borns in 1974, 770 carried names closely associated with war-themed, ethno-Turkish nationalism (Akçapar, 1974, p.1). Following the territorial partition, the Turkish, motherland nationalism envisaged ever-continuing topographic and ethnic (blood) homomorphism with the Turks of Cyprus. Triumphant Turkish nationalism emphasized Cypriots' continual bond with the Ottoman lineage. The singular and unified ethnic Turkishness of the motherland bore a monopoly of power over the island. "Turkey the saviour's" unifying protection of the "babyland" (*yavruvatan*) was cemented into the ethno-memory by means of re-writing of public spaces and history. Accordingly, history textbooks labelled the Greek-Cypriots as archenemies (Beyidoğlu et. al, 2010). Canonized historiography denied any retrospective and prospective symbiosis between the communities. Turkish nationalism put in place an oppressive policy towards native Cypriot historic identity whose purpose was to obliterate cultural differences that bound Greek and Turkish Cypriots. For example, Turkish nationalist Denktaş declared that "there [was] only one original Cypriot in Cyprus and that [was] the Cypriot Donkey" (Çağlar, 1995, p.5). In his vision, Turkey and Turkish-Cypriots were indivisibly one (Denktaş, 1982). Nonetheless, nationalist attempts to give TRNC its definitive form (by

projecting the essentialist identity to the soil) is interpreted by the international community as an "uncompromising message" (Young, 2003, p.32).

After 1974, the Turkish nationalist project polarized public opinion. A good deal of Turkish Cypriots – although the exact number cannot be known – took an anti-Turkish nationalist political view. The section that follow will the reader on a short journey about the roots of Cypriotism.

4.6 Political and Cultural Reasons for the Failure of Turkish Nationalist Fermentation and the Emergency of Cypriotism (Nostalgic Nationalism)

The 1974 "Peace Operation" made allowance for the fact that Turkish military intervention was described as an oasis of life for the Turkish Cypriots, especially after having been forced to live in ethnic enclaves between life and death. Not all of them were happy to achieve freedom with a "heavy price", as Turkish Cypriots felt like a Cypriot island in the Turkish Anatolian Sea, for a number of reasons that we shall present. In the aftermath of 1974, Bülent Ecevit, hailed as the 'Conqueror of Cyprus' by Turkish Cypriots, visited the island. On this occasion, nevertheless, the Cyprus Turkish Elementary School Teachers' Trade Union took the opportunity, even in this time of heightened nationalist sentiment, to register a dissenting view. Colonial and postcolonial experience had shown Turkish-Cypriots that they were far from being sovereign subjects. On 3 January 1975, the union informed Ecevit about political abuses, arguing that the "government in Cyprus was invaded by a group of people at gun point and … the usurpation of power is still intact … this kind of rule is being imposed and supported by Motherland governments" (Tahsin, 1988, p. 174).

Nonetheless, as Tahsin (1988) records, Turkish penetration continued in the form of authoritarianism on the part of the commanders on the mainland.

In a fluctuating war torn post-colonial Turkish Cypriot society, the 1974 ethno-nationalist state policy of the Turkish Cypriot government (under the advice of Turkey) put Turkish Cypriots into contact with the immigrants, mainly farmers and peasants, from Turkey to fill the geographic space abandoned by Greek Cypriots and increase the population (Kurtuluş & Purkıs, 2014). Now that the 'honeymoon' was over after 1974, however, the new ethno-nationalist state policy of the Turkish Cypriot government (under the advice of Turkey) put enfeebled Turkish Cypriots into contact with an increasing number of the immigrants from Turkey, in order to swiftly step up the population gap and fill the geographic space. However, cultural fermentation with their 'kinsmen' from Turkey failed, because many Turkish Cypriots became irritated and unhappy with the immigrants from Turkey. Turkish Cypriot's "kinsmen" from the motherland was of great concern to the natives of the island. This is because the appearance and life style of Turkish settlers in Cyprus has fallen very short of Turkish Cypriots' long-held ideal 'contemporary' and 'Western' Kemalist Turkishness images. The first one is the images of Turkishness that spring to the Turkish Cypriot mind: the image of Turkey was closely bound up with jazz music, home parties, whiskey at the Bosporus, and modern cars. The earlier contact with the people of Turkey "disillusioned" some Turkish Cypriots about Turkey's westernization journey. It was generally accepted by the Cypriots that the settlers belonged to the "darkest Middle Ages". Navaro-Yashin (2006) writes that "Paramount was the expression of a feeling of having been disturbed by settlers from Anatolia" (p. 86). Immigrants from Turkey were still conceived as extra-terrestrial

and they never arrived at modernity in Turkish Cypriots' public discourse. No sooner had the crowds of Anatolian people set foot on the island, the "intruders" did not abide by Turkish Cypriot "standards of civility". Natives went on to ostracise[30] "eastern" *Turks* as "ignorant", "uncivilized", "eastern" and "dangerous" but "unable to temporize modernity". The myriad of Turkish-Cypriots, not only Cypriotists, feel an essentially class-based contempt for the migrants, closing communication channels with "them", despite the latter being involved in low-paid cheap labour that most natives despise doing, such as cleaning, construction, gardening and so forth, the kind of labour on which their own well-being depends. Retired Turkish Ambassador İnal Batu, who had been an ambassador in Lefkoşa at that time, was to observe the perdition of settlers as "a total blow" to the image of the ideal Turkisness in the minds of Cypriots, from which they have never properly awakened (İnanç, 2007, p. 97). In this respect, acting profoundly orientalist, Turkish Cypriots' admiration of western 'White Turks' of Turkey eclipsed non-western settlers of Turkey. However, Turkish Cypriots would have orientalised White Turkish (elite Turkish) nationalism as well when Turkey directed their arrogance towards Turkish Cypriots' 'immaturity'. The 'Eastern' population of Turkey has irritated not only Turkish Cypriots, but the White Turkish elite as well.

Omnivalence of the 'anachronism' of the people of Turkey was not born in a vacuum, and poking a fun at immigrants has its roots before 1974. As extract from *Afrika* columnist Ali Osman Tabak's (2006) article explained a Turkish Cypriot secondary school students' reaction to eastern Turkey space and culture during their visit in 1972, supporting this long-rooted modernist reflex which promenades on the

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[30] The social exlusion of people from Turkey on the basis of class, lifestyle and taste was analyzed by Hamit (2008).

British colonial effects. A group of Turkish Cypriot Students' appalled at the "anachronism" of Turkey have modernist faith in teleological progress, in common with decades-after postcolonial Turkish Cypriots:

> We had learnt about Turkey through our teachers, films and magazines. We have visited Turkey. Things we have seen in Adana and between Adana and Diyarbakır were shocking ... those areas were totally backward. Our motherland proved much lower than our expectations. Suddenly one of our friends yelled: 'Hey folks! If this is our motherland, we are fucked' (Tabak, 2006, p.4).

The historical divide of Turkish Cyprus bitterness to Turkey before and post 1974 is not of knife-cut precision. There is evidence to reassess Turkish Cypriot aversion to the motherland's "backwardness". The decisive idea in Tabak's article is the polarization between the modern/western (The White) Turks and backward Turks. For Tabak, being troubled by the White Turk is as not as grave as being "contaminated" by backward Turks. Precisely, the "impeccability" of the White Turks, from this perspective, is put above the none-white Turks. As mentioned above, for Cypriots the western Turks hold the primacy among other Turks in Turkey. In like manner, there is another rooted basis of Cypriots' claim to superiority over Turks. A widespread modernist myth among Turkish Cypriots that natives of the island have civilised "backward" Turkish immigrants is popular. This orientalising commitment to civilizing the "eastern Turks" can also be observed in Turkey, who propose the "western vs. eastern Turks" distinction. The will to civilization is the point where it brings closer both modernist Turkish Cypriots and likeminded people of Turkey. Both are entitled to set patterns of behaviour for the 'other Turks'. Turkish theatre and film artist Cihan Ünal, in the interview with *Yenidüzen*, on 19 April 2013, validates the traditional positive (though sometimes

ambivalent) prejudgement of the Cypriot people towards "contemporary" Turks: "I was told by the Cypriots that they wished those who come here Cyprus were like me, an intellectual the way I am. If things had happened in this way, you all ["Turks"] were more than welcome" (Özdağ, 2013, p.20). Interestingly, during 1960s Arif Hasan Tahsin were among TMT members who was sent to drill camp called Zir around Ankara to sharpen their battle skills during inter-communal killings in Cyprus. TMT[31] here requires a brief explanation, as the term stands for "'*Türk Mukavemet Teşkilatı*', the Turkish Resistance Organization, which fought its Greek counterpart EOKA during the period characterized as that of "intercommunal conflicts" (Navaro-Yashin, 2006, p.88). Arif Hasan Tahsin, past TMT member but future Cypriotist, describes one of his friends' "shock" at the outlook of Turkish people in Turkey: "If these are Turkish, we are not Turkish. If we are Turkish, these are not Turkish then" (Tabak, 2006, p.4). Tahsin's experience tallies with today's orientalising of non-Cypriots Turkish population in Cyprus. Because in this textuality, we can see the similar distinction that repetitiously endeavours to delineate a binary line between the White Turks/ Modern Cypriots and "backward" Turks. Indeed, discontent with Turkey's programme of settlement and rule in Cyprus came soon after 1974 and from high places. Former Vice President of the RoC, Dr. Fazıl Küçük (1978), differentiating eastern Turks from the more "civilized" white, western Turks of Turkey, spoke of "uncivilized Eastern Turks" who would have "to be repatriated" for their lack of modernity, fearing that their establishing of "Eastern sultanates" in Cypriot villages prevented them from living amongst the "civilized"

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[31] By 1958 while imperial rule was tottering, the two communities cut off their relations. In the late 1950s, Turkish nationalism developed into an institution. In 1958, Turkish-Cypriots retaliated and established the ethnic Turkish nationalist and anti-communist Turkish Resistance Organisation (TMT). TMT led by Rauf Denktaş and his nationalist cadres would enjoy an ethno-Turkish nationalist dominance until the early 2000s. The period testifies to consolidation of Turkish nationalism by the campaigns along the lines of speaking Turkish and embargoing Greek-Cypriot goods with guidance from the nationalists Denktaş and Dr. Fazıl Küçük.

Turkish-Cypriots (pp. 1-2). Dr. Küçük (1978) conjectures that as far as the "Eastern" population is concern, civilized Turks aren't happier than Turkish Cypriots (pp. 1-2). In the article, Küçük gives a detailed account of troubles caused by settlers (pp. 1-2). Dr. Küçük and Ali's contempt are the prototype of the orientalist texture amongst the wider political spectrum that emerged in the newly founded state and prefigured the culturalist, Cypriotist tapestry of victimisation to come. Also manifest here in İhsan Ali and Küçük's defiant expressions are typical examples of cultural racist undertones and call for "saving the fabric" in TRNC press and public sphere (Behçetoğulları, 2007; Erhürman 2011; Hatay, 2009; Navaro-Yashin, 2006). Artist Cihan Ünal, in an interview with daily *Yenidüzen* newspaper on 26 May 2013, was to maintain the same position, the parameter on which Turkish and Turkish Cypriots overlap. Ünal "shares" Turkish Cypriots' unhappiness with the "backward" population from Turkey. In the interview titled "Export Maganadas made Cyprus Unhappy too", Ünal says that he was so much depressed with some "backward" people and the "violent" culture of Turkey, he decided to move to Northern Cyprus as a "more civilized place" (Özdağ, 2013, pp. 20-21). The word "maganda" here is used purposively (Özdağ, 2013, p. 20). Maganda is a slang word meaning an uncouth, rude, inconsiderate and discordant person (Aktunç, 1998, p. 202), loosely used to refer to the immigrant population by Turkish Cypriots too. The word maganda largely derives from the Mandingo people of West Africa, and it bears racist connotations too. With reference to enslaved Mandingo people, the word gradually acquired another pejorative meaning and entered daily slang discourse as maganda (Emiroğlu, 2014, pp. 85-86). In a historic dialogue with Küçük, Ünal is straight to the point about the export immigrants. All distress, according to Ünal, is attributable to the fact that magandas have "low" and "inferior" life standards:

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The majority of people with a no or little literacy whom we call Maganda comes to work as a cheap labourer in Cyprus. Therefore they repeat similar troubles they do in Turkey. Thus, the texture of the country deteriorates. In the past, natives used to sleep without locking their doors. Now this began to change. Let say, I see a traffic accident, the culprit is definitely from Turkey and he causes the accident. Because he is wrong and awkward. Any shooting or stabbing incident and again the reason behind it is a maganda mentality (Özdağ, 2013, p. 20).

In the interview, Ünal, speaking from the culturalist angle, attributes the general unhappiness of Turkish Cypriots to the "backward" immigrants. He says that "one of the reasons I settled[32] on the island is that [the] people of Cyprus are much more civilized … Cyprus has an educating influence on our people … the people of Cyprus are highly educated folk with towering cultural standards and they educate the Turkish settlers who come here as well" (Özdağ, 2013, p. 20). However subtle it may be, Ünal is inclined to the civilizationalist view which acquired a world-wide character. Those "fallible *magandas*" who cannot represent the present/contemporary moment is a version of the clash of civilizations discourse, which we discussed in the preceding chapters. The culturalist mentality expressed with these words, a quagmire of an orientalist complex, is civilizationalism, and here it is constructed on the logocentric assumption that the problems are cultural incompatibilities, which leaves political troubles to go unexamined. In a way, culturalism has a naturalizing effect on the political discrepancies deriving from the old fashioned colonial discourse, as a universal civilization called the West. Unfortunately, such a thesis is accepted

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[32] On 16 April 2013, Mutluyakalı (2013), in his column titled as "first try to live and let see", divulges that like many Cypriots, he himself has seen more than his share of suffering after 1974. Mutluyakalı is sure that Ünal is likely to understand the suffocation of Turkish Cypriots in the face of cultural and political moves of Turkey over Cyprus. However, because of the changing texture of the island, Mutluyakalı hesitates about Ünal's future endurance, because northern Cyprus isn't a place for everyone nowadays. He writes that very soon Ünal "will understand as soon as he sets foot here to live. He will see the steps we are taking to end up being 'little Turkey'. He will see why we are 'rising up [against Turkey]. And only then would we very much love to hear his feelings and thoughts" (2013, p.9). Mutluyakalı's historically conditioned and emotional attitude towards the artist is revealing. He is content for being understood and approved. He values Ünal in part for the values and qualities he loved in Turkish Cypriots.

dogmatically on a large scale without any reflection. Gilroy (2004) affords sufficient explanation of the situation in the wider political sense: "Old colonial issues come back into play when geopolitical conflicts are specified as a battle between homogenous civilizations arranged … Today's civilizationism shamelessly represents the primary lines of antagonism in global politics as essentially cultural in character" (p. 25). Another paradox here is *Yenidüzen* newspaper's position when the word "*maganda*" is concerned. Because, in Ünal's usage, the word *maganda* is equivalent to working class people, while the *Yenidüzen* newspaper purports to stand for working class people. Meanwhile, *Yenidüzen's* Editor in Chief, Cenk Mutluyakalı, is to a large extent sympathetic with Cihan Ünal's upper-class moralist point of view observations, taking to task his remarks to validate Turkey's drive to assimilate Cypriots.

In like manner, Dr. İhsan Ali displays a blunt modernist content for the newcomers. Dr. İhsan Ali was a onetime Turkish nationalist and Kemalist but later a political advisor to Republic of Cyprus President Makarios and fervent Cypriotist. Like Turkish nationalist Küçük, Dr. İhsan Ali, a *persona non grata* for Turkish nationalists, because he chose to be sided with President Makarios, is a predecessor of the scorn for the modernist orientalism and Cypriotism of the generation before him. In a letter on 11 March 1976, he condemned the low and poor life conditions of Turkish Cypriots and he continues to attack on immigrant population from Turkey: "Turkish Cypriots are so much disgusted by the backwardness and savagery of Turks brought from Turkey that given the chance to go back to their previous homes, they all will not hesitate to return their homes and properties" (Özgür, 2004, p. 145). In another earlier letter, on 21 October 1975, he lambasted the Turkish Cypriot power cadre and Turkey for their population policy. He describes 20, 000 people from

Turkey as having the "lowest standards" and as "gypsies" (Özgür, 2004, p. 135). Elsewhere, he gives the name "*şalvarlılar*[33] in homeland to the immigrant population on 23 November 1975 (p. 141). As much as Doktor Küçük, Dr Ali is part of the wider discourse of logocentrism and modernist historicity. In 1989, left-wing Republican Turkish Party politician, Özgür, made the following defiant claim:

> We must be aware that we are being assimilated … Due to the lack of confidence towards the different cultural texture of the Turkish-Cypriots, a population has been transferred here … What is happening in northern Cyprus is even beyond assimilation … The society is being changed and demolished (pp. 3-7).

Özgür's daring rejection of Turkey's cultural policy is an historic milestone. Because, the main point in the example of Özgür, the fear of Anatolian assimilation and the "deterioration" of the demographic contours, is a hegemonic modernist common denominator and still a grave concern even for the keepers of the status quo. In the 1980s, Raif Denktaş (1985), son of TRNC president Rauf Denktaş and the founder of the Social Democrat Party, read his riot act in a parliamentary speech: "the texture of this country is changing for the worse. We … have no country for ourselves. We claim to be the owners of this country, and we will say that this country is ours" (p. 7). Denktaş's expression, "this country is ours", would become the Cypriotist catchphrase in the 2000s. While in 1989, Özgür described Turkey's prolonged stay on the island as "a methodical campaign towards colonization" (Papadakis 2005, p.108). Until Özgür uttered them, words such as "assimilation" or "colonization", were taboo. Indeed, until 2000s, even the Cyprus dispute itself was a "national taboo" for Turkish nationalists (Kızılyürek, 2007, p. 150).

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[33] *Şalvar* means baggy trouser and it is called backward by Turkish Cypriots. Therefore *Şalvarlılar* means those in *şalvar* or those who wear *şalvar*.

Another source of grievance contributing to the boomerang effect of Turkish nationalistic codes lay in the "arrogance" of the Turkish project of modernization imposed on Cyprus in the late 1970s. Turkish nationalist dominance was seen as objectionable with its "white" Turkish aristocracy and military-style westernization. For one thing, "Turkish nationalism which is an elitist civilizational project [shows that] the centre's contempt for the periphery is a general trend" (Kızılyürek, 2005, p. 235-300). Contempt for the periphery is perhaps best exemplified by modernist Turkish historian İlber Ortaylı (2016). In his own words, Turkish Cypriots are "inward looking provincial people" (p. 163). As far as the Turkish-Cypriots were concerned, Turkish contempt for the "outsider" placed the latter in a negative light as an "underachiever" and looked down on them as being immature and not sufficiently Turkish (Bora, 2006, İlter & Alankuş, 2010). Turkish Cypriots were sidelined by Kemalist discourse, which the Turkish-Cypriots had in fact held in high esteem since the 1920s. A deeply felt difference had emerged. As an act of resistance to northern Cyprus being viewed as "babyland" (*yavruvatan*), with Turkish Cypriots seen as dependents on Turkish subsidies, the latter began to stress their native identity and a sense of alterity in the face of Turkish officialdom with recourse to a discourse of British colonial nostalgia. Seen from a broader theoretical perspective, such difficulties in "real" life culminate in an oblivion and the quest for an alternative "past unity" that was never there; a simulacrum for the "real". In the words of Jean Baudrillard (1983), "when the real is no longer what it used to be, nostalgia assumes its full meaning" (p. 347). For instance, combination of nostalgia for the British past with political disapproval of Turkey's influence on the island connoted the "distinct" and indigenous Turkish Cypriot identity, purportedly "undistorted" by Turkish nationalist presence in Cyprus at the turn of the late 1970s. Another column of

Mutluyakalı (2013) is highly symptomatic of colonial nostalgia. In his column, "Üç, Dört Büyükler", on 2 March 2013, he compares the "grandeur" of the British colonial past and Turkey's effect on a binary basis: "Our elders of the earlier generation used to support English football teams in their childhood. There was almost not a trace of Turkish pop music. The British effects … [were] gradually replaced by Turkish effect" (p. 9). Along the lines of subtle "cultural degeneration", he implies how the higher culture (the British colonial way) succumbed to the lower culture (here Turkish) in time. He also writes how arabesque music artists from Turkey such as Müslüm Gürses, Ferdi Tayfur, İbrahim Tatlıses and Orhan Gencebay, as well as Turkish football teams such as Galatasaray, Fenerbahçe, Beşiktaş and Trabszonspor, have made a deep and wide impression on the island (2013, p.9). The British colonial life style is established to be a marker of difference against Turkish "cultural integration" (p. 9) on the northern past the island. He remarks that

> "Is not it interesting? We are living the other country continuously in our geography our. It is same with the music. It is same with the sports. And the same thing is going on in the popular culture … The *Taksim* of the geography. The 'death' of the culture" (2013, p.9).

Post-war Turkish-Cypriot public opinion became polarized into two main factions. One section of the population expressed gratitude for Turkey's heavy presence on the island. Indeed, founding president Denktaş drew tremendous strength from Turkish nationalism up until the early 2000s (Kızılyürek 2005, 2009). In contrasts, the second group, Cypriotists, entered the public domain towards the end of the 1970s, and were angered by the mainstreaming of repression and the spiral of silence, gradually drifting away from Turkish nationalism. The Cypriotists accused the adherents of the status quo of being sycophants of the regime, while in the eyes of the guardians of the status quo, Cypriotists were viewed as traitors, with any mention of coexistence

with Greek Cypriots or coexistence with Greek-Cypriots being spied upon (Papadakis, 2006). Rejecting the unifying triangle of "blood-motherland-enemy" of both Turkish and Greek nationalisms, the "74 Generation Poetry Movement", of war-torn poets demanded a split from Turkish nationalism (Yaşın, 1994, pp. 57-60). Despite significant divergence between groupings such as the left, liberals, non-nationalist NGOs and functionaries, and solution oriented bi-communal groups, there began a crystallization around the idea of Cypriotism.

In the 1980s and 1990s, under the pressure of nationalist media campaigns, Cypriotism was still in the business of "dissent". But the 2000s yielded a high-pitched palingenesis. Furtive Cypriotism metamorphosed into an institutionalization against Turkish nationalist red lines. For example, the "This Homeland is Ours" platform, one of many such NGOs, is a prominent resistance grouping that defies the identity prescribed by Ankara. Famously, Arif Hasan Tahsin Desem, one of the eminent ideologues of Cypriotism, has cursed Erhan Arıklı, the General Secretary of the Nationalist Justice Party (MAP), on live broadcast in Turkey on December 20, 2002. Hasan Tahsin Desem, one time presidential candidate and founder of the Cyprus Turkish Elementary School Teachers' Trade Union (KTÖS), had loudly said "hassiktir!" (*Fuck off*) to Arıklı. The motivation for swearing at Arıklı was that Arıklı, as a Turkish immigrant on the island, had the "audacity" to define himself "more Cypriot" than Cypriotists". Famous Turkish anchor-man Ali Kırca kindly asked Arif Hasan Tahsin to leave the ATV studio where the discussion aired ("*Canlı Yayında Küfür*," 2002). In the years to come, the obscene expression "hassiktir!" has taken the shape of a proud anti-Turkey slogan amid other famous Cypriotist slogans, for example "this is our homeland". On 5 March 2004, Cypriotist teacher Arif Hasan

Tahsin Desem went on to retort to Turkish involvement in Cyprus by using similar expressions in *Yeni Çağ* (New Era) newspaper:

> Today, Cyprus is not for Cypriots ... How about tomorrow? It is possible, why not! But when exactly then? It is when they learn to say "Fuck off! This is our homeland" (*Hassiktir! Bu memleket bizimdir*). Are not already they say "This is our homeland" today? Of course they say but without the word "fuck off"! Until this happen, this country cannot be our country (2004, p.6).

In the early 2000s, a Jasmine movement (or "Jasmine Revolution" in popular lexicon) broke out, particularly in Nicosia. By 2002, the movement became the touchstone of the Annan Plan era. The movement, which was 'represented' by Nicosia's previous jasmine scent, came to connote the lost purity and innocence of bygone days at the hands of Turkish nationalism and the population from Turkey residing in Nicosia. Equally, the movement stood for saving the Cypriot fabric. Thus it was also, as in most of the nostalgic movements, referring to future expectations. Before anything else, the movement called for self-sovereignty and a split from Turkey's nationalistic effects and impact. As Hatay and Bryant (2008) maintain: "the call to 'take back our jasmine' was also a call to become once again *bu memleketin efendisi* (this country's master) [and] Jasmine, then, became the symbol of the people taking back their voice" (pp. 432 - 433). For instance, "Significantly, in his speeches [Mustafa] Akıncı [who is the present president of TRNC, but the leading figure of the Peace and Democracy Movement of the time. İ.B] repeatedly stressed that "the season [of jasmine] has come" in 2003 (Hatay & Bryant, 2008, p. 433). Around 60,000 people rallied on January 14, 2003 in Nicosia to back the United Nations-sponsored Annan Plan laid out in November 2002. The rally had been the biggest protest in which North Cyprus had ever seen. The rally marked the historic first wave of demonstrations. Other crucial historic events took place during this decade, such

as the rise of the left-wing Republican Turkish Party (CTP) to power (2004-2009). The momentous era of the Annan Plan coincided closely with the election of the Justice and Development Party in Turkey who provisionally embraced a milder Cyprus policy. Another formative social change in Cyprus was the opening of the borders in 2003, with a remarkable number of Turkish and Greek Cypriots coming into direct contact. The initial rapprochement with congenial Greek Cypriots, after something of a journey into a one-time "forbidden world", tended to be of overwhelming importance to Turkish-Cypriots, regardless of the ethno-nationalist blackmail coming from Turkish nationalist redlines. Nationalists and ultranationalists have called pro-Annan Turkish Cypriots traitors.

Turkish Cypriots, including Cypriotists, who were in favour of a solution to the Cyprus problem based on the 2004 Annan Plan, defined themselves as "progressive-Europeans" (*ilericiler*) and delineated the other binary pole as reactionary guardians of the status quo (*statükocular*). On March 11, 2004, the *Kıbrıs* editor, Düzgün (2004), announced The Annan Plan as the historic (*telos*) "last chance" to exit the old structure in an article entitled, "The Last Chance" (p.5). In his article, "The Future of a Folk", Düzgün called upon Turkish-Cypriots to use the March 30, 2004 referendum to decide their future: "what really matters now is the choice we are going to make between the status-quo and the modern world" (2004, p. 5). The Annan Plan era, among other things (such as the mixture of ennui, struggle and hope for a better, certain future, connecting to the world and cosmopolitanism), can be read as a moment of resistance against Turkey through nationalist discourse produced within a postcolonial society. However, Greek-Cypriots voted against the plan and on 1 May 2004, the Greek-Cypriot-governed RoC joined the EU, leaving the people of the

northern side "cut off" from what they perceived as historic progress. Eventually, however, the Annan period came to be hailed as a "westward evolution" by pro-Annan Turkish-Cypriots, an orientation that, it was thought, would allow Turkish Cypriots to break free of Turkish subsidies. This encounter with their European Greek-Cypriot neighbours triggered amongst Turkish Cypriots a nostalgic, colonial passion for western-centric progress, tempered and frustrated, of course, by the coming to power in 2009 of the nationalist National Unity Party.

However, failed bi-communal solution attempts, and later the AKP's abandonment of pro-solution in Cyprus and playing to Turkish nationalist discourse, stirred up ethno-political tension between Turkish Cypriots (non-Turkish nationalist Turkish) and Ankara once again. In particular, the circular story of the motherland and baby land discourse brought both sides back to confrontation again. Again, Turkish Cypriots across a large political spectrum accused both the TRNC government, politicians and Turkish power, and especially Turkey's Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. Known as the Social Existence Rally, on 28 January 2011, more than 40, 000 Cypriots took to the İnönü Square in Nicosia to protest Turkey's obligatory economic austerity package and political commands. Known as the Social Existence Rally, or the onset of the Second Waave of pro-Cypriotist Rallies, it mobilized Cypriotists over their displeasure of Turkish Prime Minister Erdoğan. Demonstrators turned up in the square with banners denoting they no longer want Turkey's control and aegis. In particular, a banner influenced by Arif Hasan Tahsin Desem was present: "Are we saved? F**k off", which sparked an acute crisis between Turkey and TRNC. On 28 January rally, Erdoğan called Turkish Cypriots *Besleme,* which means fostered children dependent upon Turkey. Meanwhile, hard-core Turkish

nationalist President Eroğlu and his cadre were accused of causing ruin of the political will. Following the 19 April 2015 elections, the social democrat Mustafa Akıncı became the fourth President of TRNC. Presidential election results were a political earthquake for maximalism and defeatism, and this was not at all extraordinary. The results were actually met with an enthusiastic response, although not all to the same degree. Many Turkish Cypriots seemed not to be so euphoric. The public still did not have the stomach for such politics. After elections, Akıncı returned to Nicosia to a heroes' welcome and put some Greek Cypriots under an enchantment. The synchrony between Akıncı and Greek Cypriot President Anastasiadis stoked political expectations to a new pitch. Once again, the change paved the way or acted as a catalyst for an optimistic climate of opinion for a solution in the epic Cyprus saga, ending the interference and hierarchical dualism of the tutelary motherland politics.

While all this was going on, right after the presidential victory Akıncı, in April 2015, declared that the ethno-nationalist "motherland and baby land discourse must come to an end". However, Turkish President Erdoğan reprimanded him asking, "do you realize what you are saying?" and he asked the President to "come to his senses". The answer of Erdoğan provided a significant message that can help one to understand that Turkey and TRNC's relations are still grounded in the past and Turkish subsidy. Turkish nationalism and the gravitational pull of Ankara is determined not to let Akıncı to dare place himself on the 'wrong' side of the Turkey-Cyprus 'equation'. Put it differently, Ankara's political strategy and red lines are to ensure that the national policy of the baby land will not take another unexpected

detour. To sum up, Turkey is still the key to Turkish Cypriots' flexibility. To Cypriotists, Turkey still hangs over the Cyprus problem, like the sword of Damocles.

4.6 On the Nature of the "Post" of the Colonial

Post-colonialism is a problematic subject by definition. One should add to this the fact that post-colonial discourse, being in a state of meticulous theoretical controversy, does not have a conventional definition concerning its nature. The controversy on the characteristics and ideologies of postcolonial discourse can clearly be seen in a fruitful debate between Eagleton (1998), Loomba (1998) and Young (1998). Furthermore, Condit and Kavoori (1998) provide an industrious glimpse into the question of contested definitions of postcolonialism. On the other hand, Young (2003) prefers the term 'tricontinentalism' as opposed to postcolonialism (2011, p. 17, 57). Tricontinentalism here refers to the formerly colonized three continents: Asia, Africa and South America including the Caribbean. This is why Young (2003) suggested that, "in many ways, tricontinental is a more appropriate term to use than 'postcolonial'" (p. 17). Young is making reference here to the 1966 Tricontinental Conference of Havana (p. 17). He takes the issue further: "The Tricontinental Conference established a journal (called simply Tricontinental) which for the first time brought together the writings of' postcolonial' theorists and activists (Amilcar Cabral, Frantz Fanon, Che Guevara, Ho Chi Minh, Jean-Paul Sartre), elaborated not as a single political and theoretical position but as a transnational body of work with a common aim of popular liberation" (2003, p. 17). For this simple reason, what postcolonial discourse can provide us with is a theoretical platform on which we can proceed to elaborate on its nature, instead of the definition of the postcolonial condition. There is a political and historic ground on which theoreticians and politicians take comfort in thinking that post colonialism

is the time period that comes after de-colonization. What is more, to certain perspectives the nexus of post-colonialism assumes a temporal and spatial separation from all colonial reason. However, pulling out of colonial existence in the former colony leaves behind ontological marks and traces. Colonialism does not simply die away once the ex-colonial authority moves away from the colony. Nothing is further from agreement than this sudden salvation stereotype. The colonial acculturation lasts and colonialism is accountable for the conditions influencing the course of actions over the formerly colonized in different forms. The critical point for Ania Loomba (2005) in Colonialism/Postcolonialism is that the

> 'Colonial discourse' then is not just a fancy term for colonialism; it indicates a new way of thinking in which cultural, intellectual, economic or political process are seen to work together in the formation, perpetuation and dismantling of colonialism. It seeks to widen the scope of studies of colonialism by examining the intersection of ideas and institutions, knowledge and power (pp.50-1).

The reason that causes people such "fancy" as Loomba says is sidelining of the textual nature of colonialism. Stuart Hall (1996) shows the difficulties in seeking full presence - like during the present moment -in the future by dividing time into future time-lines and the past, and to claim extra time and space out of the discursiveness of language.

In this respect, strong popular support was also drawn from the idea of the division between the first world and the third world in the years that followed de-colonization moves. It is in this capacity that postcolonialism is connected to the third world. The pair of the first world and the third world is a result of the discursive construction. All "our" understanding of reality of colonial discourse and its "post" prefix stem mainly from the practices of cultural representation. Contrary to popular belief,

postcolonial is inside the modern colonial. Colonialism is not outside of the text and is not something present by itself but the articulation factor of the text. Historically speaking, according to Walter Benjamin (2007) and Michael Foucault (2002), history starts at the present time. Because, logically, people are all living in present time and there is no reality beyond the prefix "post". So the postness of post-colonial discourse refers to the differences within the modern colonial era. Moreover, "post" does not come after the colonial in a chronological postcolonial term. Otherwise it would have been a metalepsis, putting the future time cart before the colonial horse. Neither is it possible to past the post irreversibly in a linear timeline as modernity powerfully enforces. In addition to harbouring a logical fallacy, the prefix post establishes binary thinking between colonial versus postcolonial. According to this polarization, the third world is away from the first world or metropolis and vice versa. This is because the tendency towards cutting the present time from future fits with the logocentric frame of reference and is a product of the modern mind speaking. The reality of an "out there" sort of metaphysics of presence is uttered "here" at the present time, or with the past-present tense suggestive of a future projection. Assuming a postness outside the colonial text means an extra-terrestrial and linguistic way of existence. The prefix post projects the present moment to the future. Because, as it is outlined above, postcolonial also refers to the difference inside in the colonial existence. This is an internal relationship as in the formation of identity. Beyond the shadow of a doubt, the validity of the colonial discourse lies in its text where it earns existence, and nothing beyond the text (Derrida, 1967; Minh-ha, 1989). In the view of the inevitability of the situatedness in textuality, Minh-ha (1989) accentuates "its own in-significance" (p. 2) and "its in/significance" (p. 149) which means words and experiences are internally significant, in their own terms.

Because meaning is internal to the system of representation, there is no text for external validity like the post, and there cannot be so. What Minh-ha's in-significance indicates is that, simply, the reality is within the discourse, and its system of representation is, to cut a long story short, not outside. İlter (2012) and Taylor & Saarinen's (1994) stress on the inter-ness of the text is all to that effect, and they develop powerful arguments about the metaphor, such as "under" to question concepts such as "under"-standing, or the "sub"structure and "super"structure idioms of structural Marxism. Consequently, positivism has fixed itself up with the idea of "understanding" in the way of that logocentric symmetric, the connection between word and meaning. According to the positivist heritage, foundation (structure) stands "under" the super-structure (text), and the "hidden" linguistic foundation is essential to under-standing the truth. What the positivist language principle holds is that this substructure makes the world knowable and understandable to people. It is against this background that Taylor & Saarienen (1994) developed the term interstanding (p. 1), and İlter insists on the idea of a "cover-up operation" (İlter, 2012, p.8). Both Taylor & Saarienen and İlter concur with the idea that text does not have any external reality beyond the language and metaphors of "under" or "post". In the opinion of the textual turn, if the reality were present, as a matter of fact there would be no need for representation, language or metaphors. Texts have "inter"-relation over texts and only gap, radical difference and the very need for substitution puts the idea of the metaphysical foundation of the text into crisis, given the endless series of signifiers once again. Taylor & Saarinen (1994) go on to say that "when depth gives way to surface, under-standing becomes inter-standing" (p. 1). There is hardly anything under the sign but only textual linkages and articulations between the signifier and another signifier. The signifier is surface metaphor and it is another

sign. It is not a meaning. Understanding uncovers nothing because there is nothing under the text but the supplement and representation or a signifier of difference. The text is always inter- and so all our texts are internal, comprising of difference and polysemy in a state of flux of spatio-temporality. Any positivist imagination for the fully external present is metaphysical desire. The signifier of understood as such is a metaphysical concept, rather than the utmost referent. Believing that the entire search for an undivided point of origin or finality is metaphysical, Derrida puts this search under the term of the metaphysics of presence. The referential relationship between the signifier is what the meaning seeker comes across provisionally instead of the guarantee of the "post" or "under".

Take the capital accumulation example of Rosa Luxemburg (1951), which stands in conflict with first world and the third world binarism. Luxemburg argues in "The Accumulation of Capital", that capitalism and exploitation of the colonies are essential supplements to sustain the development of capitalism. The wealth of the rich nations at home depends on the colonized world: "The ultimate purpose of British capital was to possess itself of the very basis of existence of the Indian community: the land" (p.372). Still today, modern colonialism rests on colonization and imperialism abroad when the first world is present in the third world and vice-versa. Thus, the world division of labour is a colonial relationship as Spivak (1988) says, and both parties supplement each other as seen in the identity formation example. Arguing a similar point, the alcoholic "Whisky" Sisodia, of Salman Rushdie's (1989) "The Satanic Verses" , gives an example of the typical British colonial binary division between the self and the other: "The trouble with the Engenglish is that their hiss hiss history happened overseas, so they dodo don't know

what it means" (p. 343). With his answer in the colonial context, Rushdie's drunkard character hits the nail on the head: his answer declares that British history never happens in England but quite the reverse, it takes place in its colonies such as Jamaica, Kenya, India and so forth, where the Empire denies the history "there". That is to say, fearful of its self-purity and unity of "here", British colonial history disavows the very difference that stands out in the heart of colonial self in both "here" and "there". Colonial disavowal is the reason why the sun never sets on the empire in "The Satanic Verses". Colonies, once again, were forcefully incorporated into the part of capitalism to become useful for "the first world". Nazism is no more different than the colonial system on a practical level, however it is within Europe. Colonialism, departing from Aimé Césaire, is fascism brought home (Young, 2004). Therefore, Nazi fascism can be understood in this light as a 'European colonialism brought home to Europe" (Young, 2004, p.39). All in all, colonial texts are like the third world in the first world and colonial discourse is not a binary opposition.

Chapter 5

MEMORY, NOSTALGIA AND POSTCOLONIAL

TURKISH CYPRIOTS

5.1 Memory and Media

Memory and nostalgia cannot be adequately explained in isolation. For this reason, this chapter initially defines media and memory relationship. Because nostalgia takes place via and within memory, it stands to reason that the connection between media, memory and nostalgia is explored. Furthermore, the connection between nostalgia and media should not be treated separately as the media are integral to nostalgia for the number of reasons that will be explained below. Memory is a building block of any media research which reads against a historical background. Nowadays, it is scarcely possible to take memory debates into consideration in conducting research on the larger and recent historicity of the events in communication and media studies. It goes without saying that memory is not a thing or an end in itself and need an intermediary for functioning (Boym, 2001; Böhn, 2007; Cook, 2005; Pickering & Keightley, 2006). One of the most striking features of the memory and media problem is that "the media operate as memory agents" (Neiger, M., Meyers, O., Zandberg, E., 2011, p.2). In the light of these preliminary remarks, the first aspect to point out is that we articulate and project memories by means of forms of media because "popular media are an important means by which we are drawn into this web of inherited ideas and images: through the mass media, retold stories about the

past, their burdens of pride, compassion, mourning, grief and hatred, live on in our minds, and have subtle but real effects on the ways in which we respond, or fail to respond, to events, including international crises, in the present" (Morris-Suzuki, 2005, p. 27). Moreover, we would even go so far as to say that, for our purposes, the widespread notion of historic progress is associated in large degree with media: "the hype about progress which the new media cause" (Böhn, 2007, p.152).

Taken a broad view, the concept mediated memory examines articulations of the memory with a view to media: "Media Memory – the systematic exploration of collective pasts that are narrated by the media, through the use of the media, and about the media" (Neiger et. al, 2011: p.1). And one can go on to say that media (studies) and memory are contentious but inextricably intertwined simultaneously (Garde-Hansen, 2011, pp. vii, 3, 27). At this point, Dijck (2007) maintains that "media and memories … are not separate entities- the first enhancing, corrupting, extending, replacing the second – but media invariably and inherently shape our personal memories, warranting the term 'mediation'" (Dijck, 2007, p.16). However, the difficulty as such does not obscure the situation where memory is just a thread in the media tapestry: "memory has become the project terrain and material for media to perform its magic" (Garde-Hansen, 2011, p. 5). Such intricacies stem from the complex dialog between history and memory (Garde-Hansen, 2011, p. 5). For Andreas Huyssen (2003), one of the reasons which further complicates the 'clear' articulation of the mediated memory is the palimpsestic texture of the two, that is to say the memory as a "palimpsestic writing project" (2003, p. 157). Another hurdle is produced "subjectivity" in the articulations of mediated memory: "the construction of memory via mass media makes … review of ... memories ever more illusory"

(Huyssen, 2011, pp. 615-618). From this point of view, Morris-Suzuki (2005) discusses that media interferes with the past by generally two means. The first one is the media's forms and their relations with prospective state of affairs. The second one has to do with what McLuhan (1967) calls "the medium is the message," where the shape of the medium influences the nature and content of the communicative experience. As an intermediary supplement, media which can be used to articulate variety of relations, processes and positions pertaining to the past:

> There are two ways in which popular media impinge on this process of attending varied accounts of the past, and thus on the process of historic truthfulness. First the media employed shape memories that are transmitted. To read about the past in textbook, for example, is different from encountering it in the artefacts, photographs, and dioramas of a museum ... Truthfulness about the past requires reflection on the role that such media play in moulding our understanding of history. Second, popular media have the potential to give us access to a diverse range of voices and images of past events; to stand in others' shoes, to see the same event from several different angles (Morris-Suzuki, 2005, pp. 29-30).

Besides, the academic studies on the relationship between media and memory are relatively recent and approximately stretches back almost two decades (Huyssen, 2011, p. 616; Neiger et. al, 2011, p.4). Until, José van Dijck's "milestone" work "Mediated Memories in the Digital Age", the study on the changing texture of media technology and memory is scant (Garde-Hansen, 2011). For this reason, Dijck's (2007) expression "mediated memory" is said to be the ground-breaking concept in his first-ever work touching on the connection between media and memory (Garde-Hansen, p. 28). By definition, mediated memory concerns the articulation of the memory in connection with time and space, as was discussed at the outset: "mediated memories are the activities and objects we produce and appropriate by means of media technologies, for creating and re-creating a sense of past, present, and future

of ourselves in relation to others" (Dijk, 2007, p.21). In light of these, there is still a great deal of need for saturation on media memory and the topic "deserves particular scholarly attention**"** (Neiger et. al, 2011, p.1). The consolation concerning the media memory studies is that "memory researchers often look at media outlets" and media and communication researchers continue to dip into the news, films, new-media contents and more" (Neiger et. al, 2011, p.1). In sum, the two fields can be said to be engaged with each other in an interdisciplinary, cross-disciplinary and undisciplined relationships (Garde-Hansen, 2011, p.16).

Especially, the conceptual shift away from the discourse of traditional media culture to new media culture made a substantial contribution to the memory and media studies. However, technological changes polarized opinions about the debate on mediated memory and its characteristics. One of the recent and substantial researches on the changing nature of mediated memory is thwarted out by Ekaterina Haskins (2007). According to Haskins (2007), traditionally mediated memory (say official ideological reality) and new media – especially the internet based digital - memory have changed the position of the memory and communication debate. To Haskins (2007), while the traditionally articulated memory of the past narrows the scope of the communication, the dynamic texture of the new-internet based memory came as a relief; this is because digitalized new media can defuse the effects and impacts of the traditionally constructed memory. In general, the internet media can be seen as aberration from the impacts and effects of the traditional media. Haskins (2007) further add that memory in the digital age can set the parameters for complex interpretative readings and diversity of voices: "online memorializing, thanks to the technology's capacity for virtually unlimited storage and potential to engage many

diverse audiences in content production, appears to mitigate against the ideological ossification associated with official memory practices and the fragility of vernacular memorial gestures" (Haskins, 2007, p. 418).

In order to explicate how nostalgic media works, we need to propound the conceptual tissue articulating media and nostalgia together. But initially we must know that "nostalgia," instead of being a self-evident phenomenon, "is a heavily mediated experience" (Higson, 2014, p. 121). Boym (2001) also explains that "nostalgia are about mediation" and "like memory- depends on mnemonic devices" (2001, p. 346). What is more, nostalgia emerges as a result of projections which "is an imaginative … performative … operation and it also depends on a cognitive response" (Cook 2005, p. p.3). And today's nostalgia is "manifested in the intense public re-cycling of narratives, images, sounds, characters and styles associated with the often recent past" (Higson, 2014, p. 121). The extract from Higson (2014) is supportive of what Boym (2001) maintains: that there is a high demand for nostalgia in the culture industry for entertainment purposes as well (p. xvii). Especially in 1990s, it became a buzzword and quaint fad in the market economy (Boym 2001). In somewhat similar vein, Böhn (2007) holds that "media products have become the object of nostalgia because they are linked to so many personal memories and biographies or, more precisely, to individuals' constructions of their personal biographies" (p. 146). It would also be necessary here to see the link between the ideology of modernist timeline mentality and nostalgia which looks "for a pure presence of the thing within the word" (Eagleton, 1991, p. 200). Political and cultural agencies "mobilise nostalgia to celebrate the past, while using it to challenge history and notions of progress (Cook, 2005, p. 14). Irrespective of its popularity, however,

research into nostalgia was far from being saturated and must be further scrutinized (Garde-Hansen 2011; Tannock, 1995; Walder, 2010).

The connection between the three – media, memory, nostalgia – is somewhat muddy: "the distinction between nostalgia, memory and history has become blurred" (Cook, 2005, p. 3). However, memory and nostalgia are two sides of the same coin provided that memory generates nostalgia. Another way to see the relationship between the two is to look at them in a non-teleological way where "history at one end, nostalgia at the other and memory as a bridge or transition between them" (Cook, 2005, p. 3).

5.2 Side-lines to Memory

Memory, that is remembering, is an integral part of nostalgia. Without memory, nostalgia cannot come into existence. By definition, "memory is the faculty that enables us to form an awareness of selfhood (identity), both on the personal and on the collective level" (Assman, 2008, p.109). Simply, "all awareness of the past is founded on memory" (Lowenthal, 2006, p.193). Because it follows that, in this respect, both nostalgia and memory exist closely; that is to say, the former and the latter are woven together. Walder (2011) thus says that "it is often difficult to disentangle nostalgic feelings from the operations of memory … Memory and fictional creation appear to be inextricably entwined; and somewhere in there lies nostalgia" (pp. 4, 7).

The general interest in memory generally began decades after the Second World War and "memory discourses in many different parts of the world, first emerged in the 1970s, gained steam in the 1980s, and together reached inflationary proportions by the 1990s" (Huyssen, 2011, p.607). Especially post-independence process – which is

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central to this work – in the post-colony is in tune with memory: "through decolonization, rights and memory were always umbilically linked to state and nation, to citizenship issues and the invention of national traditions" (Huyssen, 2011, p.607). Irrespective of its popularity, there is a conflict over the definition of memory. The reason for this is understandable because complexities inherent in memory challenge any uncontroversial definition: as a contested concept, "memory always remains fragile and difficult to verify, let alone legislate [and] memory as a guiding idea has become conceptually and sociologically problematic (Huyssen, 2011, pp. 612, 615). In this vein, elsewhere Huyssen (2003) elaborates on the protean nature of the memory: "of course, memory is one of those elusive topics we all think we have a handle on. But as soon as we try to define it, it starts slipping and sliding, eluding attempts to grasp it either culturally, sociologically, or scientifically" (p.3). Factors complicating the definition of memory, as we will see in coming pages, stem from time and space constraints. At this junction, concise theoretical background is necessary for further perspective into memory.

For Halbwachs (1980) though, personal and collective memory are seemingly two different concepts, it is hard to tear personal memory from the society and collective memory. Another way to put it, memory is conditioned and determined by the social tissues: "while the collective memory endures and draws strength from its base in a coherent body of people, it is individuals as group members who remember. And these remembrances are mutually supportive of each other" (p.48). This society-bound quality of nostalgia brings us to another important juncture. Memory is a medium of communication, a way to establish a relationship with the past, therefore a living thing. Since memory is the human practice, then memory and "remembrance

is in very large measure a reconstruction" (Halbwachs, 1980, p. 69). Making reference to the past is a subjective-cultural process and imagining a past directly accessible to our consciousness is futile. A communication with the past and "remembering… [are] reconstructive – like telling a story – rather than a process of accessing an accurate record of an event" (Mollon, 2000, p.6); because the individual is also a product of the socio-cultural variables. In the same way, Jan Assmann (2008) divides memory into two: communicative memory and cultural memory. Cultural memory is a "form of collective memory" (Assmann, 2008, p.110). This type of memory is common social memory and pertains both to communities or societies. It also covers events in the far past because the sense of time in the cultural memory is "historical" and similar to "mythical" (Assmann, 2008, p.109). In the opinion of Assmann (2008), as much as cultural memory has "fixed points in the past", it is also institutional, ceremonial and part and parcel of the officialdom and curriculum (Assmann, 2008, p.113). The cultural memory which also comes into light by means of "reminders such as monuments, museums, libraries, archives, and other mnemonic institutions are" examples of cultural memory. Cultural memory is foundational to official reality. Communicative memory, as compared to cultural memory, is more personalized, comparatively "informal", "civil", and "mundane" and includes facts in the near past: "communicative memory is noninstitutional. it is not supported by any institutions of learning … It lives in everyday interaction and communication and, for this very reason, has only a limited time depth which normally reaches no farther back than eighty years, the time span of three interacting generations". By communicative memory, Assmann refers to the typical "affective ties that bind together families, groups, and generations" (2008, p.111). Similarly for Alexander Etkind (2004), memory falls into two but not necessarily detached parts:

"hardware" and "software". Soft memory is the sign of the memory more around civil society and in general it stands for the public or social communities. In the first place, "soft memory consists primarily of texts (including literary, historical, and other narratives) [and] "soft memory is the domain of society". In the second place, hard memory is referred to as political discourses around officialdom: "hard memory consists primarily of monuments (and, sometimes, state laws and court decisions) [and] hard memory is usually the responsibility of the state" (Etkind 2004, pp. 39, 56). However, like memory, needless to say, those official monuments do not convey truth or reality. Etkind humorously maintains that in no way can the truth be present in or via officialdom. Neither can the official ideology with monuments

> reproduce the historical reality but rather comment upon it, emotionally and judgmentally. Perhaps a way to interpret such a monument's vertical shape and central location is to imagine a wooden stake nailing a mythological vampire to the ground … such stakes do not nail, and vampires are always ready to fly (Etkind, 2004, p.47).

Another important nuance on memory came from renowned French historian Pierre Nora with his concept of "democratization of history" (Sancar, 2007). In so far as "democratization of history" pertains to the memory. In the thought of Nora, the term refers to emancipation of the repressed minority history and memory. Democratization of history stands, therefore, for the reclaiming the past as "the revolt of memory" As a matter of fact, Nora very frequently uses the word in this sense in a decolonization/postcolonial texture and grassroots movement in the form of "ideological salvation" (quoted in Sancar, 2007, p.65).

Memory, lastly, does not denote a discoverable evidence in the past. Actually, memory is, just like nostalgia, an act "now" and "in this place". Like nostalgia,

memory is structured in terms of time and space: "things do not 'have' a memory of their own, but they may remind us, may trigger our memory" (Assmann, 2008, p. 111). As Huyssen plainly stresses, "the act of remembering is always in and of the present, while its referent is of the past and thus absent" (2003, p.3-4). This is of course not to say that the present moment is detached from the past. Neither is the past an extra-textual dimension. Both are textually one and "past experiences continue into the present" (Braudel, 1977, p.46). Memory is not a thing in itself and by itself in human mind and it has no access to the past. Thinking about past, speaking in Derridean terms, is a substitute from the present. Relation with the past is capricious in the sense that the link between past and present is not "linear" or teleological like "the myths of origin" as "in an imperialist and racist Western modernity" theories and histories (Huyssen, 2003, p.5). One of the appropriate ways to explain the problem with singular-linear history is looking at what Foucault calls genealogy. Foucault, owing much to Nietzsche, exercised the strategies of "genealogy" and "archaeology" to resist teleologically superimposed history/time in his "the Archaeology of Knowledge". Again, Foucault is well aware of what is called "ruptured continuity" in history (Halbwachs, 1980, p. 79). Foucault keenly "opposed the search for an original foundation that would make rationality of telos of mankind, and link the whole history of thought to the preservation of this rationality, to the maintenance of this teleology, and to the ever necessary return to this foundation" (2002, p. 14).

As noted at the beginning, memory is a human construct and a living thing. Huyssen (2003) notes that "inevitably, every act of memory carries with it a dimension of betrayal, forgetting, and absence" (pp. 3-4). As long as memory is alive and

complicated, remembering the past is made up of gaps, intervals, interruptions, fragments and absences. Broadly speaking, past is not precise or given empirical truth because memory defies any objectivity or intentionality.

5.3 Side-lines to Nostalgia

Researchers generally are a long way from agreeing with the contested term nostalgia (Walder, 2011, 2014). Since there is not an agreed-upon trajectory for nostalgia, scholars produced varying approaches to nostalgia. The definition of nostalgia as nostalgia does not come under the monopoly of any narrative. Indeed, as Boym (2001) puts it, "the study of nostalgia does not belong to any specific discipline; it frustrates psychologists, sociologists, literary theorists, and philosophers—even computer scientists who thought they had gotten away from it all until they too took refuge in their home pages and the cyber-pastoral vocabulary of the global village" (p. xvii). This is so because, nostalgia is "a phenomenon more manifold and various than had been initially assumed" and it isn't "a one dimensional concept with clean-cut edges" (Chase & Shaw, p. 1-2). Moreover, the parameters of the modernist associations of nostalgia have become more complex and have challenged conventional definitions: "the meaning of nostalgia also broadened over the years to encompass 'loss' of a more general and abstract type" (Hirsch & Spitzer, 2002, p. 258). For these reasons, the complex nature of nostalgia precludes any straightforward definition. In this respect, the words of Dennis Walder are suggestive: "although still widespread in contemporary culture…nostalgia eludes clear definition" (Walder, 2011 p. 9). Nostalgia here is framed rather as a modern realization. The precariousness of nostalgia is at complex interaction with the ambivalence-ridden modernity. At times, "nostalgia tantalizes us with its fundamental ambivalence" (Boym, 2001, p. xvii). After all, as Williams (1995)

writes, modern social structures and agencies have a multifarious relation:

> formations of the more modern kinds may be seen to occur, typically, at points of transition and intersection within a complex social history, but the individuals who at once compose the formations and are composed by them have a further complex range of diverse positions, interests, and influences, some of which are resolved (if at times only temporarily) by the formations, others of which remain as internal differences, as tensions, and often as the grounds for subsequent divergences, breakaways, breakups, and further attempted formations (p. 85-86).

There are, however, still a set of conventional definitions of nostalgia. For example, the commonplace definition of nostalgia is related to bygone days. In the same way, according to the Compact Oxford English Dictionary, nostalgia means "regret or sorrowful longing *for* the conditions of a past age; regretful or wistful memory or recall of an earlier time" (1992, p. 1181). Alternatively, the term is pathological and it stands for "a form of melancholia caused by prolonged absence from one's home or country; severe home sickness" (p. 1181). The etymology of the word comes from Greek *nostos* 'return home' + *algos* 'pain' (p. 1181). As it can be noticed, desire, repulse or "ambivalence towards a past" is one of the defining words (Lowenthal, 2006, p.96). In popular use, nostalgia invokes feelings of purging and precision with a direct reference to the past. It is not casual that Turkish historian Ortaylı (2008), for instance, champions the past: "living with the past is very much an impurity-purging thing" (p. 42). Comparatively, similar cathartic moves have now taken place in the Turkish Cypriot print media. In this vein, Turkish Cypriot journalist, of *Kıbrıs* newspaper, Akay Cemal (2008) praises broadcaster Hüseyin Kanatlı for launching nostalgic programmes. Cemal makes the following statement about the need for nostalgia in his page called "Telgrafın Telleri" (which translates as Telegraph Wires in English):

> Mr. Hüseyin Kanatlı, you are pleasing the souls of the people greatly with your nostalgic programmes. It must have been seen that we have been already longing for nostalgia (Cemal, 2008).

As a matter of fact, since the late 18th century the word refers to acute homesickness. The initial associations of nostalgia had been characterized by medical discourse. The early meaning of nostalgia was bound to be accompanied by the disease in the guise of homesickness. The concept was coined in Switzerland by Johannes Hofer, "in a 1688 medical dissertation for the University of Basel" (Walder, 2011, p. 8). Walder further adds that nostalgia, in the 17th century, describes Swiss mercenaries fighting abroad who were acutely nostalgic. Because, the "choice of terms sprang from … 'the grief for the lost charm of the Native Land', a grief his fellow Swiss called 'das *Heimweh'*, Swiss scientists began to note the importance for nostalgics of taste and sound—mothers' soups and Alpine folk tunes having a notable impact" (2011, p.8). Since its early modern medical affiliations, researchers took on different approaches with regard to nostalgia, its motivations and past connections. This is the reason why researchers and scholars unfold alternative aspects of nostalgia. Additionally, nostalgia can take escapist structure in times of social crisis. At these times, people are believed to find solace in nostalgia. As it will be noted in the following pages, modernity experience came to stand for social upheaval. Post-colonial site is relevant here. Being discontent with the postcolonial state, various cultural groups may feel nostalgic for their colonial past. Certain social groups, for example, would rather choose the colonial past rather than the independence after decolonization. There is a widespread belief that nostalgia is a specific phenomenon of the colonizer. Especially after decolonization, the former colonizer looks back to the colonial past nostalgically (Ballinger, 2003; Bush, 2006; Cocco, 2010; Darwin,

2010; Eze, 2011; Gilroy, 2004; Gregory, 2013; Hall, 1996; Hasian &. Shugart, 2001; Lasch, 1991; Lorcin, 2013; Peers, 2002; Peleggi, 2005; Rosaldo, 1989; Rushdie, 2010; Said, 1994). Just in the opposite way, the former colonized can nostalgically hark back to the colonial past (Bissell, 2005; Hasian & Shugart, 2001). For example, during the Falklands victory in the Thatcher era, the British colonial nostalgia for the Raj (India) mounted. Raj revival in England is closely connected with the popular culture ideology of the early 1980s (Buettner, 2004, 2006; Burton, 2001; Gupta, 1983; Hay, 1983; Juergensmeyer, 1984; Lee, 2001; Ramusack, 1995; Rushdie, 2010; Trivdedi, 2011; Woodhead, 2003). Furthermore, in a post-imperial media perspective, nostalgia for the colonial Indian past played its "liveliest" role in shaping the cinema (Hill 1999; Lindley 1992).

Alternatively, for functionalist purposes, it is sometimes pivotal to maintain the existing system in the postcolony. According to Vijay Prashad, nostalgia has a political purpose and it "is one means to prevent the total alienation of the population from the state" (Prashad 2007, p. 131). However, nostalgia is not always defended to be a wholly regressively diverting phenomenon and it sometimes can acquire strategic importance in constructing socio-political identities in due course. There are various examples of meaning-making through nostalgia. Nostalgic texturing, at times, "works as an interpretative strategy" (Parry-Giles & Parry-Giles, 2000, p. 419, cited in Hasian Jr. & Shugart, 2001, p.331). Cocco (2010) powerfully argues that Croatian Istria effectively exercises the imperial nostalgia for the Habsburg rule for political reasons. Likewise, Bissell (2005) persuasively debates how Zanzibari people long for the British past both for strategic and emotional reasons. For example, today, "lower" class people in India are likely to be kind of nostalgic for

their subject position during the Raj because most underclass Indians are victims of the deep-seated caste system and they favour the British Empire to existing power structures in postcolonial India. One of the reasons for such nostalgia among lower classes is that they define the colonial past as comparatively acceptable[34]. Additionally, as in the case of Turkish Cypriots, natives of the land can feel nostalgia for the past together with nationalist projects in the present moment (Bernhardsson, 2010; Muro, 2005).

5.4 Modernist Climate of Nostalgia

Nostalgic feeling is generally linked with modern change. That is to say, transition from the traditional or "pre"modern community to modern society "has engendered numerous nostalgic myths of the pre-modern Paradise Lost" (Berman, 1983, p. 15). "The maelstrom of the modern life" was believed to be the driving force behind nostalgia[35] (Berman, 1983, p. 15). This maelstrom under consideration isn't easy and modernity experience can be said to bear paradoxes, ambivalences and contradictions (Bauman 1990, 2004; Berman, 1983). Therefore, the troubles people go through in the rash industrialization translate into the kind of melancholic nostalgia; probably what Dante Alighieri says in the fifth canto of the "Divine Comedy": "there is no greater pain than to remember happy days in days of misery" (1918, p. 27). Owing to feelings of uneasiness with the fast and unpredictable social change in the present, people fall into the hands of nostalgia. In other words, due mainly to uncertain present moment, people are inclined to be nostalgic. Nostalgia derives largely from

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[34] W. Gould (personal communication, Feb 13, 2014).
[35] Irrespective of its arresting and reductionist characteristics, the discourse of modernity discourse is ambivalent. The dilemma between the containing and fluid qualities of modernity is further elaborated in the corpus of Susan Sontag, Marshall Berman and Zygmunt Bauman. Wherever modernity acquired fluidity and unpredictability, there modernity adopted reductionist reflexes and tried to give definite and precise structures into life. The reason for this violent reductionism is hegemonic and sustained by modern science (Adorno 2002, Bauman 1994, İlter 1995, Nandy 1992, Phillips 2000, Seidman 1998, Shiva 1989, Shiva 1992, Shiva 1993, Visvanathan 1992).

modernist reason and has a good deal to do with modern existence. As Berman plainly puts: "modern men and women [are] asserting their dignity in the present—even a wretched and oppressive present—and their right to control their future; striving to make a place for themselves in the modern world, a place where they can feel at home" (Berman, 1988, p.11). Thinkers, starting from modern classical sociology, such as Max Weber, Georg Simmel, György Lukács, based their sociological understanding of nostalgia on the modernity factor. The sociological tradition holds a belief that modern condition brought about incompleteness, odd gaps, paradoxes, vagueness, decadence and oblivion. Therefore already fragmented modern subjects took refuge in nostalgia to compose their lives for the future (Boym, 2001 pp. 24-5).

For modernist sociology, in modern times, people who were no longer secure in the face of the present moment and their mundane positions often tried to pin down the meaning for the sake of precision and predictability: "the nostalgia and anxiety produced by the emergence of modernity" (Deckard, 2010, p.7). In light of the postcolonial view, it is ordinary to see that nostalgic imagination may interact with longing for the bygone days. Punter (2000) too touches upon the similar sensibility in "Postcolonial Imaginings". According to Punter, "it is inherently nostalgic in its desirous attempt to bring into being something which is not there, although clearly it has in some sense once been there before (Punter, 2000, p.26). We will further elaborate on the conditions under which colonialism and nostalgia are entwined. But for a moment it is succinct to say that the colonial past can feed into the postcolonial present. In a similar way, nostalgia can be the complication of colonialism practices and modernization (Walder, 2011, p.16). As a result of this closure in the face of

turmoil, nostalgia came to the rescue and provided resilience for the downtrodden modernist reason. But it should not be forgotten that here nostalgia can refer to future hopes (Boym, 2001; Zournazi, 2003) because nostalgia is sometimes associated with "a lack of confidence about the future" at the same time (Urry, 2002, p. 218). Typically, the *modus operandi* of nostalgic reason is a reaction to contemporary ills. To acquire power over a kind of future what Mary Zournazi (2003) terms "a kind of future nostalgia", people may go nostalgic in the hope of securing a "self-same" society (p.15). Nostalgia can be read as a projection either to the past or to the days to come.

Nostalgia, as already noted, cannot be fully cohered into a rigid body of imaginings. Divergence is all around the idea of nostalgia. In contrast to its one-sided "liberating" feelings, nostalgia is theorized to produce persisting negative or traumatic effects. There is theoretical evidence about the Janus face of nostalgia (Margalit 2004; Hirsch & Spitzer 2002).

Sometimes, more than being a conscious or an intended choice, nostalgia can be a relation of difference, fleeting and contradicting sensitization of time and space. As we will see, in Hirsch & Spitzer (2002), nostalgia leaves an open door for ambivalence. Hirsch & Spitzer (2002) go a step further than the above-mentioned researchers by plunging rootlessness factors into the literature of nostalgia. When nostalgia is the issue, Hirsch & Spitzer (2002) assume a binary oppositional tension between nostalgia and negative memory. They further argue that nostalgic memory comes into contact with negative and traumatic memory such as loss and mourning and that the result of this collusion is ambivalence. This is to say, "traumatic

dissociation … is an extreme form of the splitting that characterizes ambivalent nostalgia" (Hirsch & Spitzer, 2002, p. 260). In addition to casting light on the aspects of ambivalent nostalgia, Hirsch & Spitzer guide the reader towards the nuance in the concept of ambivalence. Ambivalent nostalgia, for them is about negative memories as much as it is about appetite for the past: "this ambivalent desire to recall negative experiences" (p. 260).

5.5 The Contextual use of Nostalgia

The meaning and use of nostalgia in this work is situational, therefore to a large extent, contingent. When saying nostalgia in this thesis, one must understand that the emphasis is given not on the emotional-affective or on what Raymond Williams terms as existing social "structures of feeling … with meanings and values as they are actively lived and felt" (1977, p. 132). Turkish Cypriots' reminiscence about the colonial past is also different from what Paul Gilroy (2005) calls "postcolonial melancholia" which is expressing elegy for the good old days. This is of course not to say that nostalgia has no emotive and the aim here is not to reject the emotional and romanticized dimensions of nostalgia. However, the emotional aspect requires another study because it is a vast inquiry. Also understanding past nostalgia as an emotional moment, mourning, and melancholy for the lost (Behçetoğulları, 2007), is not satisfactory about the nature and the texture of the nostalgia found in the TRNC press. Nostalgia in this work, to put the use of nostalgia in context of this study, refers to a narrative strategy, not a *hiraeth*. Even if there is a lost or a crack at the root of the nostalgia for the British, it is about the "lost" colonial prestige. Thus, it should be viewed as a way or strategy to establish a modern identity, social prestige (by setting up the self against the 'lesser' other) and relationship with the past by departing from the present moment. This thesis argues that nostalgic Turkish

Cypriots see the colonial heritage as part of the Turkish Cypriot enlightenment and modernization. Strengthening this belief is the notion that somehow, implicitly, Turkey too recognizes this. Mutluyakalı describes this now complex Turkish-Cypriot nostalgia for the glorified British colonial lifestyle:

> The colonial era is narrated in such a way that the island is crowned with civilization, modern culture and 'order' as the elders say. It was such a great 'civilization' that even Turkey jealously coveted it and only after many years themselves achieved such standards (2012, p. 9).

In a sense, a nostalgic reaction can be an appropriate move in "coming to terms with the disparate ways" and a politically "significant site for articulating social critique and protest" (Bissell, 2005, p.225-239). Nostalgia can be politicized and used as a strategy as in the Turkish Cypriot case. For this reason, nostalgic connotations gain different and deeper significance following the Turkish Cypriot experience, and can be illustrated as nationalistic. Turkish Cypriots' nostalgia can set as a valid example of such politicized nostalgia. As Lowenthal (2006) opines, "to own the past today has become ... a national crusade (p.44) and Turkish Cypriots are not exempt from such a nostalgic nationalism. So instead of focussing on the nature of nostalgia, it is more helpful to observe what people (agencies) perform out of nostalgic past. Rather than Turkish Cypriots emotionally harking back to the golden past, they strategically craft the past in and for the present moment and future.

Taking everything into account, this work aligns itself with Svetlana Boym's (2001) helpful theory. Boym (2001) makes the distinction between restorative nostalgia on the one hand and reflective nostalgia on the other, in her book "The Future of Nostalgia". For Boym, restorative nostalgic approach intends to preserve the past and reveres past time truth. With restorative nostalgia, universalized past is the phrase

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that defines it. It means restorative nostalgia is perfection towards the past. Here, the nostalgic subject is more likely to treat the past with unitary consciousness. Moreover, the restorative nostalgia is not free from universal assumptions and purposes. The reflective nostalgia takes the past and its truth claims with a grain of salt. Another way to put it, it does not accept the past as true consciousness. Furthermore, Boym's reflective nostalgia is critical and involves negative aspects of the past and truth in remembering the past. But, when it is necessary, the restorative nostalgia aims at naturalizing the past and history. At times, reflective nostalgia serves in officialising (especially in nationalist discourses) the past events. However, the subtle nuance on nostalgia comes from Boym's (2001) distinction between restorative and reflective nostalgia. According to Boym, reflective nostalgia, affiliated with *algia* which means aching, is about the yearning itself. In Boym's own words, reflective nostalgia "delays the homecoming" while restorative nostalgia works "as truth and tradition" (2001, p. xviii) instead of a feelings of loss. She provides us with the following knowledge on the restorative and reflective nostalgia:

> Reflective nostalgia thrives in algia, the longing itself, and delays the homecoming-wistfully, ironically, desperately. Restorative nostalgia does not think of itself as nostalgia, but rather as truth and tradition … Restorative nostalgia protects the absolute truth, while reflective nostalgia calls it into doubt. Restorative nostalgia is at the core of recent national and religious revivals (p. xviii).

To return to the Turkish Cypriot context again, nostalgia, in this respect, is a "corrective" term which means Turkish Cypriots use the nostalgic colonial memory to designate who they are or are not. Nostalgia as a corrective is at work when Turkish Cypriots "correct" the "Turkish" misunderstanding about their own past and upbringing: "belonging" to, actually re-imagining, the "golden colonial past during the British era. Therefore, following Boym's restorative nostalgia, Turkish-Cypriot

nostalgia is more of a source of "self-evident" historic truth, conservation and discursive legitimization of the invented "prestige" through the invoking of the strategical myth of the British "civilizing hero". Colonial nostalgia, now in Turkish Cypriot sense, is restorative nostalgia as Boym suggested. And Turkish Cypriot mediasphere is a good deal symptomatic of orientalist colonial nostalgia. Mutluyakalı (2012), on April 18, in this respect, observes the "peaceful" postcolonial order in Malta. He covets the lingering British colonial inheritance there unlike Northern Cyprus where the colonial qualities dissolved into chaos. He implies not being protective enough of the British colonial order and he laments the "loss"of British colonial value-structures and past prestige in Cyprus with a binary thinking (p. 9).

In his account of Malta, Mutluyakalı also tries to liken the British Colonial past of Malta to Cyprus with the laundry list of qualities. He attributes value to Turkish Cypriot self-hood over Malta example:

> Right-hand driving, while traffic flows from the left hand side. It is a former British colony. British traces are still lingering. There are two main sources of income: tourism and (English) language schools. Island, with a population of 400.000, is exactly a tourism heaven. People visits for honeymoon. Wanderers. Those who entertain. There is no fight, no rumble, no anarchy, no terror, no theft and nobody speaks loudly. These lines aren't written for Cyprus (2012, p. 9).

After he values Malta highly, Mutluyakalı, goes on to ask a significant question: how did Turkish Cypriots and Cyprus get here? He argues that

> We were same as with [Malta] too! However, we failed to protect it. We were not allowed to be an island country. It was failed to devise a "beautiful island country" for the future! Instead, our destiny was inscribed through nationalism! And now on the top of that, "more Muslimism" was introduced (2012, p.9).

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Engaging the article along multiple lines, Mutluyakalı's praise for Malta can be read as a palpable indictment of Turkish Cypriot government policy and disapproval of Turkey's "sway". One looking closely at the column can see that Mutluyakalı also eyes Turkey's involvement with European Union affairs. The columnist implies that Turkey puts obstacle on Cypriots way to peace or EU ascendancy (2002, p. 9). Now the British colonial past, in Turkish Cypriot nostalgic usage, develops into a source of truth. The message lying behind the "truth" is twofold: Turkish Cypriots are supreme to Turkey and its peoples, and Turkish Cypriots are unappreciated and belittled by Turkey. Plainly, the colonial past is foundational to the identity construction of the Turkish Cypriot in the national media.

To provide a better understanding about such guarding of the colonial past, we will give insight into the discursive roots of the nostalgia for the British Colonial times. One way to explain this attempt is that postcolonial nostalgia is not an isolated being from the colonial memory and its discursive presence extends far back to the imperial inheritance.

5.6 The Discursive Roots of the Nostalgia for the British Colonial Nostalgia

The colonial affiliation of Turkish-Cypriots with the British is Janus-faced. Turkish Cypriots looked to the British Empire (as well as Kemalism) for modernization so as not to remain the Calibans of the island. "To keep up with the pace of Greek-Cypriot modernization, or at least to prevent themselves being trampled over in the process, the local Turkish leaders came to rely on a mild British favouritism" (Holland, 2002, p. 11). As in other colonial situations, un/der/development is perceived as the anti-thesis of westernization and it was, and is, in this aspect that the discourse of

orientalism carries weight with Turkish-Cypriots (Bryant, 2004). Euro-centric orientalist representations rest on the "ontological and epistemological distinction made between 'the Orient' and (most of the time) 'the Occident'" with the emphasis on "a Western style for dominating, restructuring and having authority over the Orient" (Said, 2003, pp. 2-3). In this orientalist dichotomy, the West personifies what the East cannot be: modern, civilized, scientific and sovereign. Yet "orientalism is inconceivable without 'self-orientalization,'" meaning that orientalism owes its strength to the Western-centric imagination with the "East", acknowledging in the same move its "self-evident backwardness" (Dirlik, 1998, pp. 45). In a similar vein, placing the "oriental" native self within a notion of an idealized civilization, combined with a fear of backwardness, is what constitutes the Turkish-Cypriot zeal for modernity: "civilization was defined in contrast to the backward ... In the Turkish case … [b]ackwardness implies a self-critique" (Bryant, 2006, pp. 59-60). Even violently diverging opinion leaders, both the Kemalists and Anglophones of Evkaf, regarded orientalist colonialism as benevolent and inevitable. Indeed, in Kavanin, it happened that İrfan Bey stonewalled against the improvement of constitutional rights because he thought the level of "ignorance of the country" would only harm such rights (Samani, 2011, p. 48). In the opinion of many Turkish-Cypriots, "civilization" was the apex of 19th century positivist scientism. Thinking of civilization from a positivist point of view, influential Turkish-Cypriots at decision-making levels and effective elements of the public opinion presented themselves as participants in the Western narrative of Enlightenment moving towards a telos: the "transhistorical" English civilization. Appropriating the British colonial inheritance to the self was a remedy for "self-backwardness" and lack of progress. With regards to the idea of contested modernities, "Greek Cypriots claimed a European past and a primordial

attachment to the ideals of European Civilization; Turkish Cypriots claimed a European future and cast off the past with all the triumphalism of a truly modernizing spirit" (Bryant, 2004, p. 245). In short, Turkish-Cypriots, as was seen in the Kavanin debates and contemporary media coverage, came to view colonialism as the prescription for modernity (Samani, 2011).

In the early 1950s, it was stated (Bozkurt, 1951) that Turkish Cypriot traditions were a disgrace to a foreign eye. The nationalist newspaper Bozkurt's (Greywolf) scorn of tradition goes perfectly with the clearly defined binary opposition between "modernity" and "tradition". The auto-orientalising cartoon below published on 18th November 1951 under the title, "The Caricature of the Week", reprimands Turkish Cypriots for the tradition of male circumcision: "when are we going to abandon these traditions which relegate us to a ridiculous position in the eyes of the foreigners?" which translates as "Bizi yabancılara karşı gülünç mevkie sokan bu geleneklerden ne zaman vazgeçeceğiz?" in Turkish (Bozkurt 1951, p.1).
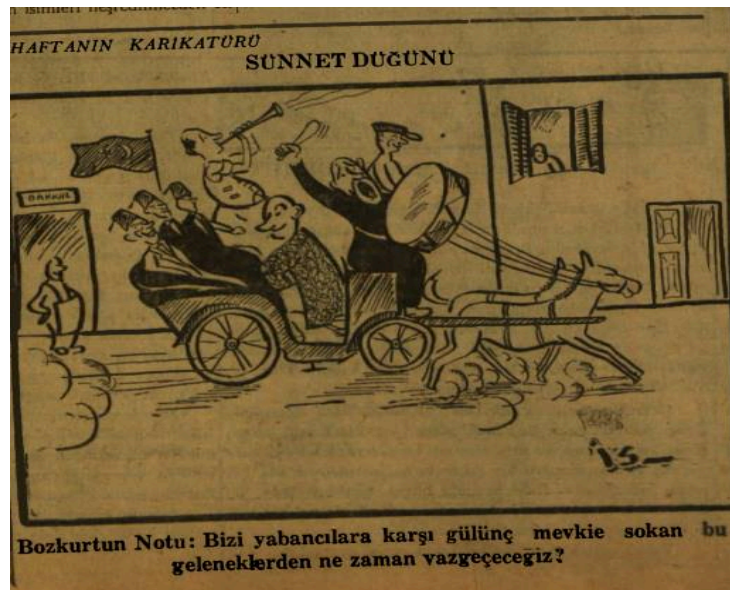
Figure 6: The caricature directing criticism against Turkish Cypriot traditions on the island. "The Caricature of the Week" from Bozkurt Newspaper (18 Nov 1951).

Decisive in the visual code here is a modernist Turkish-Cypriot idiosyncrasy that illustrates the "vacuous" tradition as an "old" problem that needs to be eliminated. It is not a coincidence that contemporary Turkish Cypriot print-media pejoratively used the word "medieval times" to denounce what they saw as self-imposed "backwardness". Eminoğlu, for example, on 14 May 2008, scolds the governmental structures for maladministration. He adds: "what is the world coming to! On the top of it, we are trying to ascend EU, we are talking about being Europeans" (Eminoğlu, 2008, p. 7).

In the early 1920s and then in the 1930s, however, and proud of modern Turkey in its infancy, populist Kemalist intellectuals (Kızılyürek, 2009, p. 335) tinkered with the idea of Turkish nationalism, much to the vexation of the British colonial administration. The waves made by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's mission "to catch up with the standards of the contemporary civilization" captured the imagination of elements of the Turkish-Cypriot intelligentsia. After all, Kemalism too, like British colonial modernization, remained a moral ideal of the "rhetoric" for progress (Zürcher, 2004). On the 18th of December 1936, the Colonial Office bluntly expressed the official British position and the need for a modernity that differed from that of Kemalism: "supporting the die-hard Turks of the old regime…will not prevent the Cypriot Turks from becoming Kemalists… This attitude is driving all the younger generation into the arms of the Kemalists. The only way to win them over to the British side is to give them a chance of becoming 'modern' in Cyprus" (Dawe, quoted in Hatay, 2009, p. 149).

During the final period of the Kavanin in 1930-1931, the notion of "civilization" became a leitmotif centring around the British. A statement made by Dr. Eyyub

about the Turkish-Cypriot plea for a peaceful British order is an example of the tendency to equate colonialism with a state of self-respect. As a representative of British colonial-based modernity, the Kavanin member, Eyyub, trumpeted the developmental march towards modernity without compromising the spirit of nationalism. For Eyyub, British colonization "aiming at bringing a civilization" could be sympathized with (Samani, 2011, p. 51). In Kavanin, he orientalised and proposed as the "manifest prerequisite of the idea of progress the development of the standards of one's own self" (Samani, 2011, p. 51). For another representative, İrfan Bey, the Enosis[36] that Greek Cypriots were petitioning would in fact be an obstacle to modernization: "poor and underdeveloped" Greece, he argued, was no match for the "powerful, developed and liberal" Britain when it came to governing the island (Samani, 2011, p. 44). The extent to which Eyyub dwells on the *Pax Britannica* runs parallel to present day Turkish-Cypriot media claims that the benefits of western identity have been delivered through the agency of colonialism, displacing an Eastern backwardness that might otherwise have persisted. For instance, educator Barış Uzunahmet (2013) maintains that contemporaneity and modernity of elder educator generation has closely to do with the British colonial system. He argues that "the contemporaneity of the abovementioned generation was closely associated with English pragmatism…The later generation's teacher-wise and authoritarian education manner is a result of the end of British colonial age and erosion of colonial effect" (Uzunahmet 2013, p. 20). On another occasion, another *Havadis* columnist Ünal Akifler (2014) who had been educated in England, under the caption, "The importance of education and the British!" remarks that British education and state

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[36] The word Enosis here requires an explanation: "The Greek word *enosis* literally means union. However, *enosis* is commonly used to refer to the long-standing aspiration of Greek Cypriots for union with Greece. Greek Cypriots constitute approximately 80 percent of the Cypriot population and are therefore, the largest ethnic group on the island. Greeks and Greek-Cypriots share the same language" (Mirbagheri, 2010, p. 57).

system is far better than the Turkish Cypriot system and the education in the island only yielded "the mentality of the cunning of the Orient". It may be said then that British manners and mores constitute the framework that in the Turkish-Cypriot self-consciousness differentiates it from that of the "boorish" population from Turkey who settled in Cyprus after the 1974 partition because, in 1974, the island saw the beginning of the lasting partition with continuing reciprocal killings. However, for a fuller understanding of this latter phenomenon it is necessary to explore Ankara's attempts to extend its ethno-nationalist ideology in Cyprus following 1974. With these historic elements in mind now, we can turn to elucidate how political reasons shaped the British inheritance within the context of the emergency of Cypriotism (Nostalgic Nationalism).

5.6.1 Types of Nostalgic Textures in Turkish Cypriot Print Media: The Imperial Nostalgia

Under Turkey's subjugating nationalist programme, the period of British rule came to mean, "the good old imperial days", while the arrival of its polar opposite, tutelary Turkish politics came to mean, "the "bad new days". As the dream of being "master in one's home" faded, resentment towards uncompromising Turkish officialdom accelerated the formation of a nostalgic nationalism. Alpay Durduran of New Cyprus Party, a "radical" and supposedly left-wing Cypriotist grouping, protested, "we grew up under the British, not under the Turks, and we have a very different sense of democracy. There is no freedom here" (Smith, 2001). However, the connection between "freedom" and any aegis of "imperialism" is here ironic and paradoxical because it unfolds itself in the substitution of "democracy" for, at best, "colonial generosity". In fact, colonial rule is not benevolent out of charity or duty (Memmi, 2003). As Eagleton (2011) holds, people "with a history of colonial rule are

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especially likely to be bereft of the benefits…since colonial powers have not been remarkable for their zeal to implant civil liberties of democratic institutions among their underlings" (Eagleton 2011, p.18). Even more, from Marc Parry (2016) we learn that violent acts carried out by the Colonial power in Cyprus—as well as elsewhere in the colonies—is not new, and recent works of imperial historians "set the stage for a rethinking of British imperial violence … demanding that scholars reckon with colonial brutality in territories such as Cyprus [and] history of violence at the end of the British empire whose case studies will include ... Cyprus" as well. Nonetheless, as far as it is concerned with imperial security and peace, one can see the similarity between left wing MP Ferdi Sabit Soyer's remarks and Alpay Durduran's. When Soyer juxtaposes the Ottomans and the British Empire in *Kıbrıs* newspaper on 1 October 2013, he equates post Ottoman/Turkish rule with insecurity. Soyer, Republician Turkish Party MP and former Prime Minister, makes the following remarks about the British Empire in a direct response to Turkey's Deputy Prime Minister in charge of Cyprus Affairs Beşir Atalay's comments on the value system of the Turkish Cypriots. Dilek Çeteresisi, editor of *Kıbrıs* Newspaper, reports the following extract from the TRNC parliament debate:

> I paid attention to Mr Beşir Atalay's speech. It was quaint. He emphasized on value structures of Turkish Cypriots. I am sorry but when the Ottomans gave way to the British rule, Cyprus was the only place where all of the religious places were not detached from its congregation. What makes Hala Sultan[37] significant is still our values. Those who imitate sharp nationalists today, especially after 1974, is our administration own. Our own administration stopped us from visiting Hala Sultan ever by their restrictions (Çetereisi, 2013 p.17).

In this binary vision, on the one extreme, Soyer locates negativities such as insecurity after Ottoman Turkey's impact on Cypriots, the unifying ontology of the Turkish

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[37] Pilgrimage site in Cyprus, which is among the most important holy places of Islam.

nationalism in Cyprus and Cypriot Turkish nationalists who "are more royalist than the king". At the other pole, Soyer locates comparative peace and order of the Empire. He also criticizes Turkish nationalism and its collaborators in the island for precluding Turkish Cypriots visiting Hala Sultan Mosque in Greek Cypriot government controlled area of the island. He brings to the fore how the Turkish Cypriot government, under Turkey's nationalist impact, subjects those who want to visit the holy place to embarrassing controls. The extract above implies that homosexuals weren't allowed to visit the holy site for the Muslims. In fact, visiting Hala Sultan was safer and easier during the imperial rule. Also, Soyer's attack must be read in the light of Turkey's pressing religious influence on TRNC because in 2013, establishing a theological college in TRNC was a hotly debated dispute in northern Cyprus. One should, nevertheless, consider the problem from another angle. In accordance with postcolonial ambivalences, Soyer makes paradoxical allusions to the looting of the properties of the religious foundation (Evkaf) by the ineffective colonial lackeys. This last point is oxymoronic enough because all these plundering had taken place during colonial times. Soyer thus contradicts himself because his last point is in conflict with his previous positive position towards empire. The ambivalence here is not unique and it is persistent to postcolonial nostalgic texture, though postcolonial Northern Cyprus cuts across oppositions, ambivalences and unresolved contradictions about the British Empire.

Further entrenching such a symbolic substitution, on 2 July 2012 Mutluyakalı, *Yenidüzen* editor, characterizes the symbolically significant anniversary of the British annexation of Cyprus on July 1, 1878 as something like an imperial warrant of freedom: "be grateful all for the first of July" (2012 p.9). A comparable pattern can

be followed in Şener Levent, chief ideologue of Cypriotism and head columnist of the so-called leftist *Afrika*[38] newspaper, who embodies in his work the binary opposition of the "benevolent British" versus "existentially threatening Turkish". On 3 Jun 2012, Levent bluntly states that rescinding British law puts Cypriots at the mercy of "dehumanising" Turkish justice. Levent is of the opinion that people must be grateful for the "old" British law because it is "more humane than present day Turkish law" (2012, p. 2). In expressing a key tenet of the Cypriotist collective imagination, Levent homogenizes and otherizes Turkey by devoiding it of justice and humanity: "British colonial law exists. If we have to choose between the two, I assume we do not choose [sic] Turkish justice. What do the Turks have to do with justice?" (2012, p.2).

One powerful narrative put forward by some Turkish Cypriots is that it was the historical experience of being colonially subordinate to the British Empire (perceived as a change agent) that makes postcolonial Turkish Cypriots modern subjects in the contemporary world. The Turkish-Cypriot print media's connectedness with the colonial enlightenment points to the deeply rooted figure of future progress, conditioned by the modernist exigency whereby humanity moves towards better civilization. In the popular imagination of the Turkish Cypriots, the British "rope" came to stand for stable power dispensed by western civilization and reason. *Havadis* columnist Hasan Hastürer sets an incisive example of post-colonial ambivalence, setting off issues of domestic order against what he sees as the "efficiency" of the British justice system. British justice in Cyprus, Hastürer asserts, was superior to the

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[38] The name of the newspaper is revealing about the orientalism in binary-ridden Cypriotism. Previously, newspaper's name was *Avrupa* (Europe) until the newspaper was shut down by the TRNC government in 15 December 2001. Levent immediately changed the newspaper's name to *Afrika* (Africa), with a controversial monkey logo, to liken the postcolonial Turkish Cypriot politics to that of undemocratic African "regimes". What is visible here is a binary between Western Europe and "oriental" Africa.

current internal workings of Turkish-Cypriot justice. He inveighs against "clumsy governors and legislators" operating "in [the] pseudo democracy" of postcolonial Turkish Cypriots: "as long as our governors have rationality…this country can be effectively governed with the 50 year-old Colonial Law. We need neither reform nor revolution" (Hastürer, 2013, p.10). But, as the dream of being "master in one's home" faded, hostility towards uncompromising Turkish officialdom accelerated the formation of a nostalgic nationalism as in the examples of Şener Levent, Cenk Mutluyakalı and Alpay Durduran. Nostalgia for the British has undertones of seeking security in imperial political structures. Put differently, nostalgic nationalism is a textual part and parcel of imperial nostalgia.

5.6.2 Types of Nostalgic Textures in Turkish Cypriot Print Media: The Imperial Nostalgia: The Colonial Nostalgia

Turkish-Cypriots approach the image of British colonial nomenclature with all the due reverence that British imperial glory was believed to have contained, at the same time, making the implicit comparison with modern Turkey's perceived lack of the same. In Lorcin's words, Turkish-Cypriots felt nostalgia for the British period and moved towards the "belief in benevolent modernity, and the relative bonhomie of the colonial lifestyle" (Lorcin, 2013, p. 104). In the eyes of Turkish Cypriot modernists, be it media professionals, publicists or intellectuals, "in broad terms, colonialism was deployed as a figure to evoke images of economic bounty, the rule of law, a well-managed state, and a graciously managed city. The nostalgia at play here repeatedly asserts itself as the strategic vantage point from where Cypriots become able to envisage themselves on the Western side of the White Mythology and to orientalise Turkey by projecting the latter as the inferior end of the civilization scale which is actually "a simple binary relation between past and present" (Bissell, 2005, p. 236)

where Turkish Cypriots stand in the present age enjoying "hierarchical structure of advantage" (Blackburn, 2005, p. 132), the other is projected to the metaphysical past. In such oppositive way of categorization, past "represents" the uproars of a dark past while the present means "western modernity" and therefore a projection to the future at the same time. This nostalgia is not simply the absorption in a kind of false sentiment. Rather, it serves a threefold ontological function in the life of Cypriotism: it provides a sense of rightful entitlement to the advance of modernity through the association with British civilization; a native sense of rootedness; and a "symbolic capital", "whose objective truth is [however] misrecognized" (Bourdieu, 1996, p.172). As Copeaux & Copeaux (2009) remark, "Turkish-Cypriots who had contact with British culture over a long period in the island entitled themselves to feel more secular, more westernized, simply supreme to the Turks" (Copeaux & Copeaux, 2009, p. 242). For example, in the accounts of doyen columnist Bilbay Eminoğlu of *Kıbrıs* newspaper, on June 8, 2008, looking to British for recognition is striking. In his memoirs - titled "Çarpıl hey Destine!"- on "Nicosia Club", which was also known as "English Club" in the past, the late Eminoğlu pins importance on being accepted by the "fastidious" English. Because English environment was not for everyone since to him, securing and deserving the trust of the British is equivalent to developing into respectable "human being," an "aristocrat"like, British-"disciplined" perfectionist. All these niceties, for Eminoğlu, alert the reader to the implication that colonial values are indispensable to the conferral status and charisma[39]. Serhat İncirli, Deputy News Editor at daily *Kıbrıs* newspaper and columnist, sets another

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[39] I owe this information to *Kıbrıs* Newspaper editorial board. I used to work for *Kıbrıs* newspaper as reporter. So I had access to every sort of archive, including columnists' articles and essays. Eminoğlu's essay on the Nicosia Club was, it seems, written on June, 2008. However, the column has not taken place in *Kıbrıs* newspaper on June, 2008. The column might have been published in a different date or just remained in Eminoğlu's personal archive. However, necessary point to be mentioned here is that one of the motives of the postcolonial research, as an interventionist theory, should be unearthing knowledge for the public eye. Because not everyone has acceess to "packed" knowledges as such.

"different" but unsurprising example. On 16 August 2012, in his column titled "İngiltere'yi Özledim!" (Which translates as I Missed England! In English) (2012, p. 14), he lightly juxtaposes Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC) with England where he used to live for a long time. In the above article İncirli expresses his bitter regret for leaving England for TRNC because as the rot sets in Northern Cyprus, the government is far from being transparent and accountable. But the opposite is true of England. Politicians can easily suffer their wrongdoings, unlike TRNC. The reason for this, to İncirli, is obvious: the rule of law and order governs England. In TRNC, politicians can get away with their frauds. However, he implies that certain politicians illegally use the state's financial means. In his opinion, it is hard to rob the state in UK but in TRNC, embezzlement of the government funds is commonplace. And as all these "pathetic" things take place in TRNC, people passively accept it. Needless to say that such stoic acceptance bears orientalist undertones where easterners are "lethargic" and passive takers. England has quality while TRNC lacks it. One can live in England. In TRNC, he remarks that one can at best survive. He complains to raise awareness: "I miss England. I admit it. I regret returning here … we are watching this disgrace. I am missing England. I don't mean that one can't live here. Of course one can live. But they just live" (İncirli 2012, p. 14). What makes the traces exemplary for our purposes is İncirli's modernist reflex and his totalising abstractions. This brings us again close to what methodological and theoretical premises of textual analysis demand. As Foucault (2002) puts it in "The Order of Things", in line with our context, what we focus on, "the image should stand out from the frame [and] what we never see resides in what we say" (pp. 9-10). What has gone largely unnoticed in İncirli's article is the crux of the article. On this view, though İncirli does not straightforwardly link his modernist frame of mind

to the colonialist discourse of development, it could be said that İncirli makes subtle allusions to first world versus third world binary which can only be better understood with a postcolonial theory. All this "disconcerting wastefulness" (İncirli, 2012, p. 16) in TRNC is in line with championing modernity as a stage in history, a variable for the evaluation of the civilization. The most important part of İncirli's newspaper column is that İncirli spins his morality of the postcolonial web out of the look of the other, the colonial image. The perceived "inferiority", which abounds in his column, is an externalized British colonial discourse. The purported prescription to cleanse the Augean stables is only possible by "catching the modern universal standards" which England stands for. One can also observe traces in this context that, as the situation is worsened at the time of post-independence in TRNC, İncirli's response to such deteriorating situation takes stereotypical and nostalgic turns as the meanings and demands of the criteria concepts become emptied out.

5.7 The Critique of Nostalgia and Memory

In the view of the logocentric relationship with the past, nostalgic memory can be put to criticism. One of the criticisms of the preceding classical sociologists, in this respect, is that they are generally impacted by the modernist grand theories, which makes them vulnerable to the teleological evolutionary narrative. Classical sociologists are more interested in transmuting their observations into a kind of messianic thinking.

Nostalgia harbours logocentric drives towards positive and even negative images of the past because of its appetite for a lost paradise, purity, unity and absolute etc. Albert Camus says, "Every act of rebellion expresses a nostalgia for innocence and an appeal to the essence of being" (Camus, 1984, p. 105). In "The Myth of

Sisyphus", Camus gives the name of "human drama" to such cerebral (but that much absurd) attempt to fix and grasp the subtle and frivolous nostalgic moment in flux:

> That nostalgia for unity, that for the absolute illustrates the essential impulse of the human drama … we fall into the ridiculous contradiction of a mind that asserts total unity (p. 18).

Nostalgic temptations are related with the fallacies of logocentric fancies as noted in the preceding chapters on logocentrism. Walder (2011) gives the name "nostalgic-essentialising tendency" to such unifying discourse (p.56). Especially when a logocentric mind works in the direction of unifying and stabilizing the past – sometimes in terms of future expectations – the critique of nostalgia and memory become relevant to the critical scope. Owing to logocentric thinking, attitudes towards the past proves parochial and sometimes unrealistic in the face of the complexities and the multiplicities of the facts: "the common perception of nostalgia as a facile glossing of the past seems particularly limited" (Walder, 2011, p.21). Reasons for these limitations, put by Walder are understandable. As in monolithic examples around nostalgia, the logocentric internalization of the past is a frame of reference as though nostalgia exists in the past. Nevertheless, while logocentric views believe that we are here and present, we think we are paradoxically connected to the "homogenous" past which is metaphysics, and to "a determination of being as presence" (Derrida, 1997, p. 97) without any need for mediation and representation as such nostalgic logocentrism without need for any supplemental representation in the Derridean sense assumes no rupture between the past and the present. However, paradoxically enough, such an externalized past is still known and imagined from the present-moment vantage point. Additionally, epistemic and ontological volatilities in addressing the past are pregnant with factual and logical difficulties. History is

conceived as emanating from the present moment and logocentric perceptions of the nostalgic past cannot be taken seriously: "the pressures on the traditional notion of history as objective and distinct from memory are so manifold today that it would be hard to weigh them all in their respective validity" (Huyssen, 2003, p. 5). Memory, like nostalgia, acquires its presence, in present time, by exercising re-presentations and various textual discourses of language.

Derrida's harsh critique of Lévi-Strauss offers a suggestive and pertinent example about the way Lévi-Strauss engages in logocentric nostalgia. French anthropologist Lévi-Strauss whines that the writing technology of the western civilization spoiled the natural innocence and wholesomeness of the Nambikwara community. To speak metaphorically, in "Tristes Tropiques", structuralist anthropologist Lévi-Strauss considers western ways to sneak into an innocent paradise. Lévi-Strauss places blame on writing for being "an instrument of oppression, means of colonizing the primitive mind". For this reason, when Lévi-Strauss mourns for "a pure, unmediated" speech/oral tradition of Nambikwara, according to Derrida, he "expresses nostalgia for lost innocence" at the expense of becoming mired "in an illusory metaphysics of presence which ignores the self-alienating character of all social existence. The "natural" speech, as Lévi-Strauss envisages runs the risk of "longing for the lost primordial unity of speech before writing". Simply, by believing in the "theme of innocence", Lévi-Strauss finds himself in "a romantic illusion" (Sarup, 1993, p. 40). As noted earlier, privileging speech over writing constitutes one of the central problems of logocentric western mind and the mistake Lévi-Strauss commits brings us back to the previous chapter on logocentrism again. Lévi-Strauss' longing for the unspoiled indivisible past unity reminds us of a good deal of Jean

Jacques Rousseau's praise of nostalgic projections for "pre-modern" times: "nostalgic need to believe in the lost actuality of an authentic, pre-modern 'once upon a time' that has to be protected" (Lucy, 2004, p.88). Nostalgia for a deprived "natural" or "untouched" self can actually be construed as a need for full retrograde "excellence". Derrida calls this "full presence, the reassuring foundation, the origin and the end of play" (Derrida, 2007, p.370). Because, at this point, it must be remembered that contexts are not stable and situations articulate into different contexts. To Derrida, the ever-articulating character of the contexts—temporality and changed spatial relations—could be considered the main weakness of Lévi-Strauss' imaginary nostalgic ontology. Past and present textuality always continue to be other than itself while the iterability put the nostalgia in play and render the things different but familiar at the same time, as if it was always demanding to be written and re-written. To put this similar point in different words, "play is the disruption of presence" by producing differences so much so that any presence of being remains in-the-making, and hence not fully, completely present. The power of the disjunctive qualities in any being is because "the presence of an element is always signifying and substitutive reference … in a system of differences and the movement of the chain (Derrida, 2007, p.369). Remembering Derrida's "iterability" in this context, one can understand that every linear attempt to return to the past origin point, is to return anew and therefore a "re-turn" and a detour. Derrida's criticism of Lévi-Strauss hinges on French anthropologist's presentism and his lack of material and historic context. The critique in "Structure, Sign, and Play in the Discourse of the Human Sciences" then is as follows:

> If Lévi-Strauss better than any other, has brought to light the play of repetition and the repetition of play, one no less perceives in his work a sort of ethic of presence, an ethic of nostalgia for origins, an ethic of archaic and natural innocence,

> of a purity of presence and self-presence in speech—an ethic, nostalgia, and even remorse, which he often presents as the motivation of the ethnological project when he moves toward the archaic societies which are exemplary societies in his eyes (Derrida, 2007, p.369).

Aforesaid, *différance* and deconstructive qualities of spatio-temporal texture always prevents the nostalgic subject to consciously and intentionally arrest the object of nostalgia. As we shall see in the following pages, therefore, play, like iterability, can be viewed as the strong critique of the nostalgic desire for the presence of the object of nostalgia. This is when deferral and differential gap, or to put it differently, difference and otherness perpetually replaces the ultimate signified of nostalgia. Futile attempt it may be, the fully present presence can emerge by means of the imperative need for supplement, mediation and re-presentation to fill in the spatial and temporal gap in in the present moment. Derrida's importance lies in his suggestion of supplement which gears us with theoretical knowledge about the always-already supplementation of presence by representation and how any entity is always in becoming and thus an incomplete/split entity.

The issue of nostalgic memory needs another serious critique because linear timeline mentality, a golden thread running through modernism, seems to limit itself to an irreversible historic progress. But one must also remember that the phenomenon of binary view of history applies here. In the modernist way of addressing history, the past is "discarded" and it is seen as something to be left behind and ridden of as 'a thing of the past'. Unlike the past, the present moment and future are significant on a one way historic plane. Nostalgia is a linear concept, especially given that the ideology of modernist progress and nostalgia are closely knit together (Bissell 2005,

Boym; 2001, Özyürek 2006; Shaw & Chase 1989; Walder 2011). Because as we discussed earlier, modernists need to present history as a series of significant chronological events, rather than a narrative event of contradictions, ideologies, ruptures and continuities. However, at these points things ramify and get more complex. In the sense that history is "irretrievable", it precludes people from reversing, time travelling or changing the course of time. It is exactly this concept of "unilinearly progressive and thus unrepeatable" irretrievability of time, that is to say the rendering of any retro attempt futile, which perpetuates nostalgic feelings for the irrecoverable past moment. Thus, "longing for a past lost became possible only by concentrating on a future that had yet to arrive" by means of the effects of performative acts and wilful projections (Özyürek, 2006, p.9). Nostalgia is for the "discarded" past and the "discardedness" of the past is based on the modernist outlook. The modern person ambivalently tosses the past as obsolete but feels unalienably nostalgic for the "superfluous" history.

In sum, there is not a unique and defined, but intended nostalgia. Nostalgia is noted by many scholars to be textually woven into the present moment. Like the past, nostalgia exists only in the present memory, not in the past. For, the object of nostalgia is not a single given and self-referent entity standing on its own in the past. In so doing, people create and seek meaning in the present and they performatively project it to the past. Thus, any claim to objectivity is untenable because "nostalgia distorts the past by idealizing it" (Margalit, 2004, p.62). Nostalgia is not a self-evident property. Then, any claim to objectivity in nostalgia is "a romance with one's own fantasy" (Boym, 2001, p. xiii, quoted in Salberg, 2005, p. 436). We also noted the restrictive impact of spatio-temporality and the insatiable need for the supplement

all of which thwart nostalgia from achieving a full presence at any given moment. In contrast to traditional belief, in the post-structuralist theory, there is no pure presence. Moreover, the present moment is a combination of absence and presence. It is this combination between the two that exposes nostalgia to spectral qualities.

Chapter 6

NATIONALISM

6.1 Communication Studies and Nationalism

This chapter touches upon the conceptual relationship between media and nationalism and then elaborates on various discourses of nationalism. The chapter further imparts understanding into a variety of nationalist discourses in Northern Cyprus since postcolonial scholarship also cuts across nationalisms. However, the nature and workings of the nationalist discourses shall be dealt with in the coming chapters about Cyprus.

Nationalism, like anything else, is a well-mediated discourse. That is to say, it requires an "instrument" because nationalism means nothing in isolation. Among the various different strands of Communication and Media Studies, nations and nationalism studies are also woven to the textuality of communication studies. It is for this reason, then, that the print-media and nationalism relationship must be considered. This because, the examination of the assumptions of the media and nationalism connection has the potential to deepen the significance of understanding such rhetorical and ideological functions and effects in nostalgic nationalism movements as in the case of Turkish Cypriots. Like it or not, "the role of communication runs like a connecting thread through both modern nationalist thought and theories of nationalism" (Schlesinger, p. 26).

We will further engage with this matter once we delve into Anderson (1983) and

Bhabha's (2000) theories of nations and nationalism, but for introductory purposes, it must be said that nation isn't a natural entity but an imaginative project. It isn't void of a constituting subject. And print-media, as we are going to see with Anderson (1983), is of an extreme importance for the imagined nationhood. Thus, when contextually understood, nationalist rhetoric appears in the guise of the selfhood discourse. Such caricature–like thought, as Benhabib (1996) puts it, operates as follows: "every search for identity includes differentiating oneself from what one is not, identity politics is always and necessarily a politics of the creation of difference" (p.3). More simply put, in order for a nation come into "being", the combination of a binary mechanism to separate the collective self from the non-self and the agency of media are of cardinal importance. Theories of nation, in this respect, entails that *self* is an effect of a performative projection (Bhabha 1994; Derrida 1986). To be precise, the idea of us/self is projected onto the nation.

Building nation also requires clash of values – or tension between mutually exclusive values – and hegemony to internalise the nationalist ideologies (Liakos, 2008). The binary narratives expressed in the nationalist identity categories seem really essential insofar as they are "neutralized" as clash of competing ideologies and the violent exclusion of the different "others" such as strangers and enemies (Barthes 1972a; Billig 1995; Frosh and Wolfsfeld 2006). Especially, the media is a force in cultivating and sustaining the nationalist discourse of mutually exclusive and ideologically loaded terms such as "us/friend and them", "outsider/insider", "authentic/inauthentic" binary. Remembering Billig (1995) could be quite helpful here with his insistence on the nominal presence of nation and his insistence on the centrality of the press in this project. Billig (1995) writes that highly self-serving

philosophy and self-mythologization occurs in the print-media, which "include ways of conceiving of 'us, the nation', which is said to have its unique destiny (Of Identity); it also involves conceiving of '"them, the-foreigners"', from whom '"we"' identify '"ourselves"' as different (p. 61). In the light of above explanations, media helps nationalism wilfully map "the political" "onto "a homogeneous identity" (Wolin, p.32). Therefore, "an essentialist nationalism that sublimates or overlooks regional differences" can be a process of self-mythologization occurring through violence and media (Huggan, 2008, p.29). It is, to a large extent, for such reasons that "media theorists have argued … we now live in a world characterised by 'and fracturings, national and ethnic separatisms, regional realignments" (Ang in Machin & Leeuwen, 2007, p. 12).

However much nations and nationalism studies (NNS) occasioned much thought and interest in the academy and popular views, the part that the communication plays in the nationalism and nationalist movements, perhaps, the creation of nationalist myths are only recently addressed (Mihelj, 2009). Also, as Mihelj writes, "over the past few decades the relationship between media and nationalism has rapidly developed from a rather marginal topic to one of the most prominent issues in the field of media and communication studies" (2009, p. 2899). Meanwhile, because of the conspicuous lack of engagement and inadequacy of almost all works tackling the relationships between NNS and CMS, more needs to be reconceptualised and recontextualized. For example, to what extent are these nationalist myths and mythmaking woven into discursively narrated communities within the larger/global textuality? (Mihelj, 2009). Despite the fact that until the 1980s developmentalist, international communications and modernist thinking prevailed on the link between nationalism studies and

communication studies (Mihelj, 2009), after 1980s, relationship between the two fields witnessed rectification by means of subtle and critical works. The analytical-interpretative works on nationalism and media in the context of "an imagined community among a specific assemblage of fellow-readers" (Anderson, 1983, p. 62) came to the rescue. Because the formation of society includes complex projections and taking account playful linguistic, the abovementioned theories failed to live up to the promise of their analysis of meandering fabrics. Additionally, the cooperation between the communication studies and nationalism studies is useful in fostering understanding what these nationalist discourses, then say about the content and forms of the communication that are then circulated in the latter; and how knowledge has been mediated to them by the media? The rest of the thesis tackles the above questions by reference to theories on nationalism.

6.2 The Discourse of Nation and Nationalism Scholarship

The discourse of nationalism and the scholarship on nationalism have always been burning issues. However, the divergences over the nature of nationalist discourse have been equally conflicting since, not only polarising but nationalism as well is a nebulous and "ambiguous" term to define (Geertz, 2000, pp. 257-259). As Eric Hobsbawm says, the on-going predicament of nationalism scholarship is visible in the point made by (whom) who noted that: "the academic literature on nationalism multiplied, but did not advance greatly" (2000b, p.3). To this day, the academic debates over nationalism are framed by categorical polarities and cannot satisfy the tensions stemming from such "incompatible" theoretical discourses. In broader terms, the discourse of nationalism as a "field of study", has led to conflicting interpretations of nation in terms of a canonical reading list and a distinct method which means that studying nationalism has required certain bibliographies of reading

and positions to adopt. This means that until early the 1970s the debate of nationalism revolved regularly around the opposition of modernists versus primordialists and later we see an ethno-nationalist approach to expand the framework of the primordialist tendencies in describing nationalism (Özkırımlı, 2010, p. 46). As there is no standardised theory to explain nationalism, the aim of this chapter is not to offer a ubiquitous definition of nationalism but to relate the evasive shapes of nations and differing opinions in nationalism studies to the nationalisms in Turkish Cypriot identity narrativization. For this reason, first, we set out to define the usage of nationalism in postcolonial Turkish Cypriot context.

6.3 The Contextual Use of Nationalism

As a study about communication and media studies, it is not this thesis' claim to offer a definition or map for the complex and controversial relation between nation and nationalism. But, speaking from a post-colonial discourse perspective – especially as an alternative stance of modern licence politics proposed by Zygmunt Bauman, becoming a nation after colonization is a key "attempt to integrate … into a modern nation-state" (Calhoun, 1997, p. 104). In this work we will recontextualize the conceptual hinge of Baumanian "license" politics into the interdependence of colonial and postcolonial theoretical framework which criticizes modernist totalizing and singularizing enterprise in an attempt to argue and analyse the nation building narratives after colonial independence. The ex-colonial community's reliance on nation comes into effect as a consequence of the modernist politics of licence. In other words, this work argues that becoming a nation is "developing" into a legitimation for existence and sovereignty alongside the neighbour nation/s and the international community. Zygmunt Bauman holds, in "Intimations of Postmodernity" that to become a nation among the international order requires "neither to cultivate

nor to extirpate the differences" but "licensing" nations by means of "a licensing authority" (p. xvi). Coming from Anderson, one possibly draws suggestive analytic contextual comparison with Bauman's politics of license as becoming a nation. As we go over with the wide net of evaluation of modernist colonial mode of interaction, Benedict Anderson (1983) in "Imagined Communities" forges a convincing example about the interface between the post-colonial struggle and a modern nation as supreme licensing authority. Anderson argues that entering a "new" phase as a nation, grows as a result of the need for the license to become a nation as well: "Indeed, the nation-ness is the most universally legitimate value in the political life of our time" (p.12). And modernist projections of tribal state of being bring us back to another scholar of nationalist thought Calhoun again. What Calhoun further says on this subject is analogous to Baumanian "licensing" performance: "Colonial rule was itself more sharply incapacitating, in a crucial sense, once the world was organized in a system of states" (Calhoun, 1997 p. 108). Seen in such positionality, "license", expressed in Baumanian terms, is a passport to constitute a strong range and hold among the political world system. Considering this, the colonial clan or tribe cannot remain in a substantial agreement with the modern political spectrum. The present international conjuncture causes scholars to think that it is canonical to ascribe a contemptuous meaning to the word tribe. As is well known, it is of great importance and relevance for the purpose of this work to keep in mind that "tribe" is usually imbued with pejorative associations such as "backwardness", "primitivity" and "barbarian" in modernist state of political terrain of today's world system (Cordellier, 1998). In the light of the modernist progress trajectory criterion, which puts nation above other states of togetherness or communities, tribal communities are arranged to have belonged to the obsolete "primitive past".

6.4 Why postcolonial scholarship matters for nationalist textures?

The discourse of nationalism remains indecisive at times because the argument of nationalisms isn't of one kind. Add to this the postcolonial setting is incongruent, protean and palimpsestic, which means relationship with the past and the present combine "as an interleaving of 'levels'" (quoted in Storey 1996, p.2). For this reason, in some cultures, post-independence derives from colonial narratives. As Loomba (2005) argues: "It has been suggested that it is more helpful to think of postcolonialism not just as coming literally after colonialism and signifying its demise, but more flexibly as the contestation of colonial domination and the legacies of colonialism" (p. 16). In accordance with Loomba's view, in the post colonies, nationalism as a discourse involving power relations have always been a versatile, intricate and vagarious enterprise. As already noted in previous pages, postolonial discourses are slippery and multidimensional both for the colonized and the colonizer. The postcolonial situation can be seen in Borges's "The Book of Sand" story which is metaphoric about the complex spatio-temporal transformations which inevitably unravels and departs from the correct course. In "The Book of Sand", the story, content, beginning and end of the book changes every time the reader opens up and digs into the book of sand. The changing and ambivalent texture of the postcolonial locus, on this ground, is a Borgesian book where permutations and variations are generative and relations are interchangeable. In scrutinizing what postcolonial people do with nationalism, certain difficulties may emerge when locating their schemes of nationalism in the sets of clearly defined nation and nationalism principles. Treatment of postcolonial contingencies through conventional and canonical nationalism theory is not in-depth and flexible. Such theory lacks dimension. Nation, like nationalism, is far from being a "place where meanings are

constructed in a single level of inscription" (Storey, 1996, p.2). The nationalism of a nation cannot be confined into ethnic, modern political forces or cultural elements separately. In various examples, nation is more than one of these elements and it may be difficult to clearly separate and categorize them. Lines dividing and connecting the constituting elements of nation are overlapped, blurred and mutate into a mélange entity.

Another problem about the conventional nationalism discourse is the theoretical divergences. Nationalist camps discussed above are generally at odds with each other. The contextual ground of post colony's excursion into nationalism doesn't simply and completely fit into a single theory of nationalism. Arguing a similar point, this is what the scholar and historian John Breuilly (1993) had to argue regarding the alleged necessity of an interdisciplinary vision to studies on nationalism. Breuilly (1993) goes on to attribute the insufficiencies in nationalism research to different positions that discourses on nationalism harbour: "the internal variations within nationalism are too great to allow a single method of investigation" (1993, p.2). The navigation of nationalism studies drives Breuilly to the opinion that a scholar can just "draw general conclusions from the case studies" (1993, p.2).

Additionally, nationalism scholars, according to Gellner, (2007) have a hard time accommodating the confines of nationalist theory to the requirements of the complex and altering situations. The main reason for falling short of creativity is limitations of the language. For instance, Gellner's (2007) statement seems pertinent as to the relation between the text, novelty and the discourse of nationalism in analysing nationalism flawlessly. Gellner (2007), who stands as one of the institutions on nationalism scholarship, positions his understanding of novel nationalism theory and

research in terms of the textuality and the limits of language-thinking in this respect. For him the very search for a novel nation/alism literature is likely to suffer from the limits of the constituents of language. To make his problem clearer, Gellner (2007) resorts to an analogy between playing cards and "novelty". According to Gellner's metaphoric example, in the research on nations and nationalisms, "no original assertion can be made, I think by simply drawing on the cards already available in the language pack that is in use" (2007, p. 131). Herein to get critically and dialogically involved in research on nationalism, a scholar must have conceptual recourse to interdisciplinary intervention by plunging into the playful disposition of difference and otherness (just like the Cultural Studies and recent anthropological works in touch with various parameters of the disciplines) at play in the complex, nuanced and multi-layered conflicts of the postcolony.

Especially when "jargon-ridden … policy experts" aren't enough and the situation requires supplementary approaches, traditional nationalism theory and methodology has to align itself with literary theory, sociology, anthropology, history, philosophy etc. (Said, 1996, pp.70, 9). It is within this context that postcolonial theory can be seen as a mixed vantage point in studying the nationalist movements in the postcolonies. Igwara (2001) says that canons are at the risk of being an island within an island when it comes to analysing the nations and nationalism. Because unlike postcolonial reflections on popular culture and everyday practices, "cultural and psychological forces … are seldom considered in sociological and political studies of nations and nationalism owing to disciplinary closures and conventions" (p. 246). As one of the reasons for this, postcolonial theory's inter-disciplinary formation can be taken and utilized in many ways. Having said this, in the critique of nationalist

theories, postcolonial theory can serve as meta-nationalist theory and covers the wide

range of the nationalist scholarship.

6.5 Definitions and Critique of Nationalism

Benedict Anderson, in his profoundly influential work Imagined Communities which

"the most influential [book] in the last few years in generating new theoretical ideas

on nationalism" (Chatterjee, 1999, p. 216), quotes Hugh Seton-Watson saying that no

"scientific definition of nation can be devised; yet the phenomenon has existed and

exits" (Anderson, 1983, p.13). Given the variety of disputes in interpretations of

nationalist discourses, it is a challenging enterprise to make a very clear definition of

nationalism.   This contested definitions, irrespective to the changing political

relations in nations and nationalism, brings researchers on the scholarship of

nationalism face to face with the Seton-Watson's productive failure in bending

nationalism into a distinctively definable property (Anderson, 1983, p.13). Much as it

is hard to define nationalism without giving rise to contextual debate, Barthes (1998)

argues, the critic should "try to describe the acceptability of works, not their

meaning. We shall not classify the whole set of meanings as belonging to immutable

order of things" (p.42). In scrutinising nationalism, nevertheless it is not sufficient to

propose a definitive explanation of nationalism. Instead, context- specific definition

of the nationalist discourse would be more valid than trying to define the nation as a

self-evident entity.

6.5.1 Nationalism as a Logocentrism

The point about difficulties in naming or nailing down the definition of nationalism

made by Hutchinson and Smith (1994) presents the limitations in the theoretical

repertoire of nationalist theory and methodology："perhaps the central difficulty in

the study of nations and nationalism has been the problem of finding adequate and

agreed definitions of the key concepts, nation and nationalism" (pp. 3-4). "Nationalism", in plain terms, can be considered as a discursive form" (Calhoun, 1997, p. 108). By "discursive", Calhoun (1997) refers to the interaction between power and discourse in the production of knowledge. Discourse, to quote Spargo (2000), is "historically situated material practice that produces power relations" (p.73). Firstly, nation is envisioned in terms of logocentric "representations" because all nationalisms have a metaphysical dimension, for they are all driven by an ambition to realize their intrinsic of essence in some specific and tangible form" (Deane, 2001, p.8). Nation and nationalism, just like "imperialism" and "colonialism" are, thus, logocentric discourses and "totalizing notions of identity" (Kearney, 1992, pp. 581-582). Logocentrism is monist knowledge. To logocentrism, any presence or existence is self-evident by itself without a supplement, representation, reference or mediator. In different words, being or self is an autotelic consequence and it generates from its own self. In addition to constructing an inner unity, logocentrism, in the sense that nationalism, is a tendency towards singularizing in the existence realm of nationalist typology that resorts to irreconcilable linear separation of the communities sustained by the inside/outside demonology. In this respect, the subject of nation building and nationalism boil down to simple (a) self and other binary opposition. It goes without saying that nation is a divisive self and other relationship as, throughout history, humans have formed groups of various kinds around the criteria that used to distinguish 'us' from 'them'. One such group is the nation" (Grosby, 2005, p.1). This is because the Self (our nation) paradoxically justifies its presence over the "Other" and appeals to the feeling of homogeneity: "The drive to homogenization also creates stigmatized others; external boundaries towards foreigners become frozen, (an) 'unmeltable' minorities within country … are

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made to stand through their 'Others'" (Eriksen, 2010, p. 126).

Lévi-Strauss persuasively remarks that "no portion of humanity could aspire to understand itself except with reference to the others (2013, p.33). Further to this, nation is a mutually exclusive way of defining the "self". In the nationalist thought, the world is divided into self and other. The dualism of "inside vs. outside" cannot work but cast "outside enemies" on the receiving side of the binary pole. In the making of the identities, the "external" other, the very source of anxiety, becomes internal to the oneness of the self. The other is always already with the self and in the self (Bhabha 1990; Butler 1993; Derrida 1997, 2002b; Laclau 1994; Kristeva 1991). Self-enforcing, separatist and introvert operative typology of nationalist discourse brings to mind Derridean constitutive outside(r) where absence of the outsider/other (supplemental logic) incapacitate the self's/nation's rationale. Something of this can be seen in nationalism when the logocentric camouflage – as in the former and latter features of nationalism – struggles to "veil" the constituting ambivalence which lies right at the heart of the nation. As already noted, being constructed on the ambivalent interaction between the play of differences (self and other), the nation declares itself self-present and secure without any mediation or representation.

6.5.2 Nation is an Indivisibly Unified Entity

The idea of nation -or nationness- pre-supposes undivided, homogenous and *sui generis* body by insisting on the empirically given reference. Taking the view of Gellner, then, "nationalism is primarily a political principle, which holds that the political and the national unit should be congruent" (2007, p.1). Taking the definition of Gellner (2007) as provisional reference point, then nationalist zeal is a reflex towards palinoia such as unifying tendencies which cannot be critically conceived

without an allusion to the critique of logocentrism. Here, the borders of the self-same nation is defined by knife-like precision borders from different other nations. The key point here, as Breuilly puts, is that "the interests and values of this nation take priority over all other interests and values" (1993, p.2). Coming forth from Derrida's analysis of "White Mythologies", we can further say that "inner logocentrism" and "self-serving" reflexes within nationalist eudemonia serves the self-valued construction of the stable and secured concept of the self. What weaves together the discourse of "our national superiority" to the "others' nation" binary pole is the modernist fabric of White Mythologies. The nation is envisaged to be undivided unity like flesh and blood as well. However, Calhoun (1997), in reviewing the assumed "indivisibility" of nationalism, makes the implication of logocentric imaginings of the nation nationalism:

> Indivisibility - the notion that the nation is an integral unit. Sovereignty, or at least the aspiration to sovereignty, and thus formal equality with other nations, usually as an autonomous and putative self-sufficient state (p. 4-5).

Calhoun's explanation is important in demonstrating the immanent logocentrism in the foundations of the nation. As he says in the above extract, the idea of nation runs with an alleged self-sufficiency dovetails with the logocentric requirement of self-presence.

6.5.3 Nation is a Mythologization

Nationalism, in logocentric terms, is a myth-making process to produce first the uniqueness of the self and then the exclusion of the other (nations). In order for the nation to produce effect, "an important aim of nationalist ideology is [to] to re-create a sentiment of wholeness" (Eriksen, 2010, p. 126). In a related way, an equally constituting side of the wholeness of nation is Anthony D. Smith's conception of

mythic foundations of the national territory and ethnie: tarring the nation with the brush of the holiness "confer a sacred quality on an ethnospace" on which the nation is built (Smith, 1999, p. 153). The mythological thinking context, which bears contextual resemblance to the sacredness of the nation, the nationalist models design the national identity as internally uncontaminated mythologicization of the self to what Eliade says: "the purity and the perfection of the whole" (1990, p. 145). The binary thinking, in this context, is a mythic "narrativization" which "imposes structure and order" (Warner, 1994, p.19). Warner succinctly writes that: "Myths define enemies and aliens and in conjuring them up them say who we are and what we want" (1994, p.19). Likewise, the binary positions which make nationalism then, mythically characterizes nationalism that invite subjects to stand on the "correct" side of the binary divide. In a binary economy of nationalist ethos, borders and categories are existential in identifying and legitimizing the homogenous representation of the nation. According to Calhoun (1997) and Hobsbawm (2000a, 2000b), in particular, the idea of nation works by separating its autotelic or endogenous self (the nation) from the outsider other (other nations) or excluding the outsider from the self-territory. Hobsbawm observes that "Nationalism by definition excludes from its purview all who do not belong to its own 'nation', i.e. the vast majority of the human race" (2000b, p.176). The mythologized nation is in perpetual conflict with its excluded "opposite" other.

6.5.4 Nation is an Imposed Teleology and Projection

In the nationalist discourse, the idea of nation comes into the orbit of the over-regulated teleology continuum and secured stability. This deeply rooted element in nationalism thought is about modernist timeline mentality and its teleological associations with the present time. In the sense that nationalism discourse subscribes

to the belief that nation has its origin and uninterrupted link with the present, this thesis argues that nationalism borrows from the logocentric teleology. The nations are undertaken to be entities par excellence, whose "beginning" and "destiny" are known and "preconceived" under certain conditions (Smith, 1999, pp. 32, 102, 154). For ethno-symbolists and primordialists that we will deal with in the coming pages the nation eventually comes into being when "elements of nature, or the divine plan" of the past ripen at some point. And nation's historic 'emanation' depends "on the initial ethnic starting point" (Smith, 1999, p. 18). Smith further writes that the ethnic starting point is a *telos*: "Nationalism itself seeks to sanctify the nation's homeland, making it part of … destiny" (1999, p.157).

Implications of the term nation in various occasions holds that nation moves continuously forward – as in the modernist timeline mentality – and then nationalist teleology reinforces the notion that arriving at the nation is "God given undertaking". Because nation's "continuity signifies the forward reach of the ethnic past to the national present" (Smith, 1999, p.12). Simply, the nation is perceived as telos by the modernist scale of standards, it is a history subsumed "under" "destiny" after having "attained" the present moment (contemporaneity). In effect, addressing the nation is to be engaged and rooted in eschatological modernist knowledge of the origin and end. Even modern imagination about culture and whose, apologists believe that the nation is a late cultural instead of archaic and mythical product urges the upward timeline thinking. Because by attributing time periods and space to the idea of the nation – like a point of departure (industrialism or French revolution) and places of construction/invention (Europe) modernists gets caught in a teleological trap. According to the teleological paradigm, the "the" nation "eventually" continues to

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complete its itinerary in19th century. This example brings to the fore the paragon judgement of Benedict Anderson with reference to the community of people as nation. Anderson's "Imagined Communities" endeavour to elucidate the constructed and rallied realities of the South American and European nation-making experiments. Anderson places emphasis on nationalisms suggesting that the nationalist codes cast contingencies and complexities of the life and time into a *telos*. However, still, the recipe for a great achievement is destiny. As Anderson (1983) aptly remarks, "it is the magic of nationalism to turn chance into destiny" (2006, p.12). What Anderson supposes by destiny is "messianic" and the very destiny that nationalists rely on is the logocentric language of modernist time-line mentality which projects the present moment to the past and future becoming in order to lay claim on the course of historical actions. The historic timeline mentality is about creating suitable "backward" or "forward" temporal projections. This is one of the reasons why Mazower (2005) says that "the history of the nationalists is all about false continuities" (p. 439) as, the relationship and dialog with the past appears in a self-serving performativity and ideological agenda in the present moment.

6.6 A Tale of Two Cities: the Nationalisms Debate

The academic contention on nationalism is contested space because nationalism isn't a single thing (Bora, 2009, p.18). The positions, however, around the nation's presence and motivation are not rich. Taking a broad perspective, the analysis of nationalism scholarship is divided mainly into two main camps (Özkırımlı, 2010). At first glance, one can say that there are two central paradigms in the ways in which the study of nationalist discourse comes under scrutiny. These are, according to the conventional terms, "primordialists/ ethno-cultural symbolists" and "modernists" (Özkırımlı 2010; Smith 1999, 2000). Categorical constructions of nationalisms have

considerable influence over the terms and the epistemological distinctions of the scholarship of the nationalism. Both the modernist and primordialist extension of ethno-symbolists paradigms don't wholly and comfortably cover ever changing moves surroundings nationalism. This is true of post-colonial Turkish Cypriot case as well. However, the spectrum of nationalisms in transformation on the island bear traces of ethnosymbolist and modernist ethos. Therefore, this part of study aims to outline the structural constituents of primordialist/ethno-cultural symbolists and modernist projects of nation.

6.6.1 Primordialism and Ethno-Symbolic Nationalism

When, in the theory of nations and nationalisms, the scholars invoke the term "primordialist", they are referring to a rigid constitutive essence. According to the primordialist perspective, the nation in balance with the ethnic is as old as history (Özkırımlı, 2010). The primordialist point of view further discusses that, today's nations are perimeters of the distanced ethnic past and exclusively symbolic entities. Thus it displays "assumed blood ties and kinship" (Geertz, 2000, p. 261). As a hazardous terminology depending on its usage conceptualization, race is another popular phrase linked with nationalists because the key word here is "a claim to a biological ancestry" (Grosby, 2005, p. 53). Race then is one of the first references nationalists need to stabilize their underlying "essence of creation" that developing into the "metaphorical infusion of biological descent into spatial location" on which people project and afterwards construct their ethnic identity (Grosby, 2005, p. 50). A vast variety of nationalisms and primordialists, however, approach here claims that national identity is empirically given, and they object to the idea of human agent and construction in order to meet their identity justification.

A large proportion of primordialist apprehension of nation as "a territorial kinship" (Grosby, 2005, p. 48) can be placed side by side with atavistic or archetypal reflections where such resemblance strikes a compatible note with Jungian scholars. At this point, nation and archetype conflate. Primordialists are of the opinion that, against the twists and turns of the history and space, ethnic symbols of the past always find a way to stand still as generative typologies (Özkırımlı 2010; Smith 1999, 2000). Because nationalism in the light of ethnic past "asserts a temporal and territorial continuum" between the logocentric point of kinship in the past and today (Grosby, 2005, p. 56) Additionally, in Jungian (1947) analyses of atavistic thought, when the time and conditions ripen, the initially rooted elements that come into contact with "new" future after a long hiatus may encore gain ontological reality. In this regard, Jung (1947) says in his article of "Wotan" that archetypes are like riverbeds:

> Archetypes resemble the beds of rivers which have dried because the water has deserted them; but it may return at any time. An archetype is something like an old watercourse along which the water of life flowed for a time, digging a deep channel for itself. The longer it flowed the deeper the channel, and more likely it is that sooner or later the water will return (Jung, p. 12).

Incubational primordialists concerned with the ontological reality of the self-conscious nation image pre-suppose that ethnic nationalism, "the assumed 'givennes'", would stand on its own without the need for a representation (Grosby, 2005). In addition to primordialist ethos, perennialism is another nuanced variation of primordialism but it is basically familiar position about primordial characterization of nationalism in tandem with ethno-symbols that we will see below. Perennialists and primordialists have characteristic in common that both maintain the resolute emphasis in the ethnic contexts. As A.D. Smith (2003) holds, perennialism

"refers to the historical antiquity of the type of social and political organisation known as the 'nation', its immemorial or perennial character" (p. 159). However the perennial position is considerably different from the standpoint that primordialists are vocal about. Primordialist approach holds that the idea of *ethnie* can be subjected to changes due to historic moves and politics. Indeed, when Smith (2003) sheds light on the perennialists, he offers a definition that the nation is "a community of common ancestry that stakes a claim to political recognition on that basis". (p. 22). Smith disputes over how much of the antiquity and ethnicity nature is politicized in the nationalist re-readings of the long-gone days (2003, p. 22). Like the modernists, the perennialits as well accept the controversies revolving around the primordialist scholars who take an uncompromising position in relation to "permanence" of the historic ethnic symbols. They refuse to acknowledge any change in the discourse of ethnic source of the nation. The ethnically mitigated standpoint of perennialists reminds one of the modernist ways of seeing the nation. The perennial based approach offers a nebulous teleological breadth in comprising antiquity/ history, ethnicity and nationalism like the primordialists.

Likewise the perennialist, ethnosymbolist images of nationalism breaks to a certain extent away from the primordialist maxims in that while acknowledging that nations may emerge in modern times as political projects, ethnosymbolists appear to be stonewalling when they evaluate the existing nations from residues of historic ethnic symbols (Smith 1999, 2000, 2003). In a way ethno-symbolism is a reconciliatory attempt in the vantage point that it is at pains to serve to restore theoretical harmony by settling differences between essentialism and modern political projects of nation. Ethnosymbolists reframe the essences and power politics after when gradually

primordial nationalism ebbs out because of the bad rap. In a nutshell, the ethnosymbolist argument draws attention to the ethnic pasts' durable essential tie to the dialectical in politics and culture in recently invented nation projects. One of the heavyweight scholars of ethno-nationalism, Anthony D. Smith, has evaluated the nation mode of given existence in general (Smith, 1999, 2000). From the ethno-historic basis to nationalism, ideas such as nationalist affections, resentments and sentiments are connected with the "founding" history and they come alive through time defying central symbols such as "father", "race", "myths", "blood", "heroes" etc. Anthony D. Smith (2000) reflecting the recent national showcases contextualizes the formation of nations and nationalism as "realities" of the modern world in the light of the persisting frameworks and "legacies" of "historical" cultures and "ethnic ties" (p. viii). On this distinct point, ethnosymbolist episteme of nation is a reformed primordialism. At the core of ethnosymbolism lie the primordialist rationale and the word ethnosymbolism points to a wider scope which surrounds the broader interdependence of primordial, ethnosymbolist and perennial framework in the nation's "final" analysis.

6. 6.2 Modernist Nationalisms

The modernist leg of nationalism constitutes the other pole of the nationalism debate and analysis, which emerged as a methodological and theoretical reaction to ethnosymbolist analysis of nationalism, as modernists stands facing the school of ethnosymbolist and set off their disapproval about the ethno-reductionist symbol ridden analysis of the counter school of thought (Özkırımlı, 2010). They provide critical eye into the quandaries of the primordialists and ethno-symbolists tapestry. Modernist interpretation of the nationalism is at odds with ethnosymbolism though sometimes some modernists do not single out the symbols surrounding ethnie.

Unlike ethnosymbolists, modernist realization of the nation lays too much stress upon the material driving forces and "the inventiveness of the human imagination" of the modern-time nations (Grosby, 2005, p.103). Modernists, such as Gellner (2007) and Hobsbawm & Ranger (2000a) and Hobsbawm (2000b) give a different understanding of why nationalism is uncontested and why it is further called nationalism by referring to solid foundations, material forces and practicalities in play, it is not possible to have the ontological basis for the implementation of nation. This manifest divorce in theorization of nationalism takes us to the counter-modernists' argument of nation. As a counter reaction to ethnosymbolist ethnic affiliations, modernists believe that the nation building follows from colonialism, modernization, transformative scientific epistemology, and techno-bureaucratic turn (Gellner 2007; Liakos 2008). In the thinking of modernist apologists, the nation and nationalism are forms of active knowledge-power assembly that came into play subsequent to transforming the new modes of cultural production. Likewise, Eric Hobsbawm (2000a) argues that heavy emphasis on the political outcomes of French Revolution and economic effects of industrialization as the progenitors of nationalism altogether are one of the leitmotivs in the configuration of the nation/alism. Unlike "naturalness" justification of the primordialists, "relationships are not biologically given" (Grosby, 2005, p.103). In modernist rethinking of the nationalism, nation, as we have already said, is a product or complexity of modernity. Far from being deeply historical, in the mind of the modernists, the nation does not get any "original" than an "invented tradition" in recent past (Hobsbawm, 2000a, p.1). Benedict Anderson (1983) in his profoundly influential work "Imagined Communities" boldly describes the modern nations as modern phenomenon. Hobsbawm, coming more from a distinctly reconstructive vantage point, was to write

that tradition is a central aspect of the recentness of the nation. Hobsbawm (2000a) provides the following account:

> 'Traditions' which appear or claim to be old are often quite recent in origin and sometimes invented … 'Invented tradition' is taken to mean a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past … However … the peculiarity of 'invented' traditions is that the continuity with it is largely factitious. In short they are responses to novel conditions which take the form of reference to old situations (pp. 1-2).

Having introduced the recentness debate of nation, one more point needs to be mentioned about the nuanced importance of the invention. It is no less remarkable that in the discourses of modernists, the invention of tradition is always and already established powerful structure and it is securer as and easier to reflect on a new tradition than to and change the present tradition: "It was easier to invent a tradition than to modify it and make it flexible once invented" (Ranger, 2000a, p. 236).

From modernist divergence of the ethnosymbolsim, any research that takes on the formation of nation should acknowledge the dynamics of political structures and the body of knowledge sustained by powerful institutional forces when highlighting the differing particular structures with the emergence of modernity. Simply, for the modernists, politics and nationalism are to be taken together in many ways (Liakos, 2008). The idea of the central state as the single source of power legitimacy is in total accord with modernist formulation about the narratives of the nation (Breuilly, 1993). Therefore, in the light modernist nationalism is not unlikely to follow from the politics of the state within the institutionalized relationships of the centered-power. In this way, Breuilly (1993) brings his argument about the state constitution

and power negotiations portray "nationalism primarily as form of politics" (p.1). Contrary to the customary ethnosymbolic tenet that passive people are open to commands of historic and ethnic variables, modernists thought stands out by its emphasis on the active human ability of people in the contest caused by nation building. However, much the various traditional modernist holds that the national euneirophrenia is a type of hierarchical body– and every so often it communicates from top to the below – there are times when grassroots or popular forces confer a fertile ground for the cultivation of the national strands, just like elite class codifications in the fermentation of the nation. Hobsbawm (2000b) observes that "in my view, dual phenomena, constructed essentially from above, which cannot be understood unless also analysed from below, that is in terms of the assumptions, hopes, needs, longings and interests of ordinary people, which are not necessarily national and still less nationalist" (p.10). So nationalist cross-current, from time to time takes nation as being historically navigated between the ruling powers and grassroots as the expected setting of class intercourses.

6 .6.3 Cultural Nationalism

In general terms, the cultural nationalism stands for Johann Gottfried Herder's views in the late 18th century romantic nationalism in the 19th European, present limits of today's cultural nationalism are larger than Herder (Hutchinson 2001; Özkırımlı 2010). In Herder's vision of cultural nationalism, idealized concepts like linguistics, folklore, songs, and myths were romanticized into the 'distinctive' authenticity (Hutchinson, 2001; Özkırımlı 2010). Later, cultural nationalism acquired different importance and have come to define the "nation as a distinctive moral community" and "natural entity with unique cultural characteristics and homeland … which recognizes its distinctive communitarian ethos and politics" (p.40).   Much as this

work argues that the nationalism arguments frequently polarized between the modernists and ethnic camps, both poles give weight to the culture. For this reason, this part treats cultural nationalism "independent" from the two views but sees it as a crucial strand of the nationalist discourses. Cultural nationalism is a considerable force in nationalist formations since Herder undoubtedly, cultural nationalism has "its embeddedness in modern world" (p. 40). In this case, the modern nation can be considered to be a "cultural artefact" (Anderson, 1983, p. 13). The nation, which is a construct for modernists, is not a solely political entity. To this effect, modern nation is combined with cultural constituents. Anderson (2006), in this circumstantial politicized connection of culture, points out that Imagined Communities "nationalism has to be understood by aligning it, not with self-consciously held political ideologies, but with the large cultural systems that preceded it, out of which-as well as against which-it came into being" (p.12). Now and then, cultural nationalism is criticized for being "regressive and transient movement … which either seeks to block or which is irrelevant to modernization" (pp. 40-41). But as is seen, the modernization part of the critique may not be convincing.

One of the criticisms of cultural nationalism is their adherent willed projections (İlter & Alankuş 2010; Liakos 2008; Said 2003). To Bhabha (2000) "the nation's 'coming into being' as a system of cultural signification, as the representation of social *life*" is the focus of critical study (p.7). In Bhabha, the making of the modern nation isn't only a cultural term. Nation is a cultural performance and "end"-product of the human agency which goes back and forth between the past, present and future projections: "nations, like narratives, lose their origins in the myths of time and only fully realize their horizons in the mind's eye" (2000, p. 2).

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Cultural nationalism comes into being either by projecting the cultural self to the home-land or to the distant past in support of better future. Therefore nationalism can be read by reference to future, rather than past (Liakos, 2008, p. 129). In the first type of projection, cultural apologists project the culture to the space. This sort of projection is very popular and aims at showing culture's belonging to the home-land. As Gupta and Ferguson (1992) define the projection process as "a natural and essential connection between the place and the culture" (p. 25). In a way, by its nature, it can be evaluated as identity politics of ethnocentric legitimization. Malkki (1992) argues that, forming a "rootedness" people "take on aspects of the metaphysical sedentarism" (p.37). Plainly, by using culture, communities target at a lasting relation between originary/pre given place and fixed historic roots (Deane, 2001). For Deane (2010), any claim to the origin is also claim to the power during contestations. Similar with space and history, ethnic element also can also be projected onto past/place. Smith (1999, 2000) puts that the nation is a politicized ethno-cultural community. Smith writes that in promoting the "sui generis" qualities of the "staked" culture, nationalism looks for ways to narrativize "pre-existing memories, myths, symbols, and traditions of each ethnic community and region" and prior-culture "with its demand for its own authentic ethnospace" (Smith, 1999, pp. 19, 154). On the same subject, İlter and Alankuş (2010) problematize "essentially fixed foundation on which to "raise" predetermined essential cultural nationalism (p. 264). İlter and Alankuş further use Derrida's ontopology, from 'ontology' and 'topos', which signifies the unification of the present time-being with the spatial reference.

> Ontopology is 'an axiomatics linking indissociably the ontological value of presentbeing [on] to its situation, to the stable and presentable determination of a locality, the topos of territory, native soil, city, body in general' … This temporally and spatially

identified ground/housing is where I am supposed to be myself, where I am supposed to feel at home, where I will be on *terra firma,* where I can finally do without the substitution and mediation of metaphors that are other to myself" (Derrida, 1994, p. 82, quoted in İlter and Alankuş, p. 265)

Cultural projections as value-meaning structure works retrospect. Being unhappy with the present time, certain cultures or societies map the present moment to the past. In search for peace and order, for instance, nostalgic structures hope for help from the bygone state of grace. The details of this phenomenon are reserved for the next chapter which analyses the nostalgic nationalism (Cypriotism) of Turkish Cypriots. But in short, it can be said that shared culture is essentialist glue that holds together identities, sense of belonging, history *ethnies* and homeland which pass through the political prism.

6.7 Turkish Nationalism

Contested nationalisms in Cyprus will be explained in the next chapter. However, before explaining Turkish nationalism, this chapter gives incisive perspective into Turkish and Greek Nationalism. Turkish Cypriot social space is breeding ground for opposing and irreconcilable nationalisms.

Turkish nationalism in Northern Cyprus takes its roots in the constitution of modern Turkey. Jön Turk-derived (Young Turk) Kemalist ideology had marked a significant turning-point in Turkish nationalism in Cyprus. Given the minority position of them, anti-British and anti-Enosis Turkish Cypriots have been Turkish nationalists from the very outset. In a period marked by nationalisms, ethno-nationalist struggles raged throughout the Ottoman Empire. In order not to lose the western support, waning Empire bequeathed constitutional and civic rights to non-Muslim subjects in

Tanzimat (reforms) era (1839-1876). Alternatively, the Tanzimat era unfolded as rapid bureaucratization and westernization steps taken to leave traditional forms behind: "the Ottoman modernization had caused autocracy and centralization" (Köker, 2012, p. 138). To quote Turkish nationalist Ahmet Ferit Tek in 1904, Tanzimat meant "leaving medieval ways behind" in "civilized manners" (p. 68). In the heat of struggle against pressing Russian Empire, the imperial Ottomans exposed to dire trouble. For this reason, conferring equal rights to subordinate communities was a safety valve for English and French support. But new rights sparked resentment among Muslim Ottomans (also known as Young Ottoman movement) which was largely limited into "the Ottoman elite" (Kızılyürek, 2005, p.153). The Young Ottomans intended to gather all the imperial subjects under the Ottoman umbrella. The ideology Young Ottomans cherished was the combination of modernist westernization and conservative Islam. Meanwhile, the desire to construct the solid identity under nationalist climate led to the Jon Turks movement within the Ottoman Empire by the 1890s. The reason behind Turkish nationalism was the rejection of Ottoman-subject identity. Soon after, increasing aversion to non-Muslim/Turkish population since Tanzimat and First Balkan War catastrophe in 1912 and bankruptcy of Ottoman nationalism as a result of ethno-nationalist struggles in the empire led to belligerent Turkish self-hood (Kızılyürek, 2005, p.160). To Hourani (2013), "Turkish nationalism was a reaction to the continuing and growing pressure from Europe, and to the breakdown of the ideal of the Ottoman nationalism" (p.309). Similar to Greek Megali Idea, Jon Turks' Turkish nationalism intended to gather all Turks outside the Empire together. While Western-style civilization, science, positivism and modernization were models to be followed enthusiastically, for Jon Turks Islam still represented a moral urge. However, rather

than radical-progressive or enlightenment movement, the characteristic of Young Turk of modernization and bureaucracy, as a course of its nature, was conservative (Köker, 2012, pp. 136-138).

The Revolution of 1908 has an enormous importance in Ottoman history in limiting Sultan's power by means of constitutional parliament. Unlike the short lived constitutionalism in 1878 – known as First Constitutional Era – the second Constitutional Era of 1908 endured longer. However, comparative freedom environment was misused by Jon Turks for their Turkish nationalist purposes. Tunçay (1981) holds that liberal constitutionalism of the Revolution of 1908 turns into oligarchic one-party dictatorship at the hands of the Jon Turks' Committee of Union and Progress (p. 71). Jon Turk-led anti-minority antagonism pulled out to a greater length. Before the WW I exploded, Jon Turks' faith in Turkish expansionism reached a tense peak and inevitably led them into WW I. However, Jon Turk's ambition to create new all Turkish home proved disastrous in WW I. The defeat of the Empire was the downfall of the Pan-Turkic ideology as well (Kızılyürek, 2005, p.169). After the WW I, under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, modern Turkey came into being in 1923. Meanwhile the Ottoman past was quickly demeaned and "annihilated" as "a thing in the pre-modern past". *En bloc* adoption of "irreversible" western model of civilization came to be the solution to all questions in the secular Kemalist nation-state[40]. Anderson writes that "To heighten Turkish – Turkey's national consciousness at the expense of any wider Islamic identification, Atatürk imposed compulsory romanization" of the literacy (Anderson, 1991, pp. 45-

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[40] One should, nevertheless, consider the problem from another angle. Gellner (1994) is suspicious about the wholesale Western modernization effect on Turkey and he cautions the reader not to buy into it: "Turkey on the other hand can claim that its commitment to modern political ideas owes nothing to alien imposition, and everything to an endogenous development. Turkey chose its destiny. It achieved political modernity: it was not thrust upon it" (p. 82).

46). For this reason, Köker (2012) maintains that "in this respect, Kemalism is relatively more radical than Jon Turk ideology" (p. 244). The result was now "breaking" the modernist Turkish republic (was) from the Ottoman cultural past:

> Observing Kemalist cultural policies in 1936-37, Erich Auerbach wrote from Istanbul to Walter Benjamin: 'the process is going fantastically and spookily fast: already there is hardly anyone who knows Arabic or Persian, and even Turkish texts of the past century will quickly become incomprehensible (Anderson, 2008a).

The "new" ethnic ideology of modern Turkey, however, was reminiscent of Jon Turks. In fact, "Jon Turk's ideology is the predecessor of Kemalism" (Köker, 2012, p. 136). Turkish nationalism in the Republic of Turkey was an end-product of Jon Turk watershed. Additionally, "Racially supreme" Turkish ancestry (essentialized Turkish self) was the main concern of the Kemalist ideology. Turkish nationalism in Kemalist elites sought historic Turkish roots in Turkic-Asia like Jon Turks: "'pure Turkish movement was carried out by a considerable portion of intelligentsia until the seventies. What happened on the official level during the thirties was a new interpretation of the world history according to which all major civilizations from the Chinese to the Sumerian or the Etruscan were created by the Turkik [*sic*] migrating from Central Asia (p. 232). Among the other constituting nationalist myths of Kemalism, "Ataturk turned his back on foreign adventures and the Central Asian homeland, yet his followers remained profoundly influenced by their pan-Turkist background, including the Hittite myth and the belief in a 'Turkification' of Anatolia and its peasant stock (Kushner 1977, ch. 5; Lewis, quoted in Smith, 1999, p. 78). And just like Jon Turks, Kemalist Turkish nationalism proceeded Turkification process from where Jon Turks left off (Kızılyürek, 2005, p.194). However, Kemalism was significantly different from Jon Turk Turkism in that Kemalists

abandoned irredentist/ Pan Turkic ideals. Instead, Kemalism cherished National Oath borders (*Misak-ı Milli*) which carved out Modern Turkey in 1923[41]. Noticeably, Kemalism was confined into elite strata and upper crust social structure. Gellner writes (1994) "As Paul Stirling had pointed out, during the early decades of its existence, the Kemalist republic had transformed the upper levels of society, the state and the higher intellectual or ideological institutions, but left the mass of the peasantry largely untouched" (p. 83). Another obvious difference between Jon Turks and the secular Kemalists was that "many Young Turks rationally supported the idea of Ottomanism, were emotionally attached to a romantic pan-Turkish nationalism and were devout Muslims at the same time" (Zürcher, 2004, p. 128). However, when the concern is the positivist philosophy of enlightenment, "Kemalism couldn't disinherit their legacy of the Ottoman tradition-derived positivism and solidarism" either (Köker, 2012, p. 244).

As far as Turkish self-awareness is concerned, modernist Kemalist secular ideology inscribed deep mark on the official reality of Turkey[42]. Circa Second World War, racial ideology Turkish nationalism was at its height due particularly to Germany's influence. According to Murat Belge (2011), "at this time, fascism and racialism were rampant in Europe and naturally a lot of the [Kemalist] Republican elite were influenced by them" (p.232). Upon Germany's defeat, Turkey discarded such racial nationalism and "prominent pan-Turkists like Nihal Atsız and Zeki Velidi Togan … had been prosecuted at the end of the Second World War" (Zürcher, p. 213). At the end of the Second World War, repressed "Islam returned" (Yerasimos, 1995, p. 29)

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[41] Hatay would be incorporated to Modern Turkey in 1939.
[42] Having the Justice and Development Party (AKP) rose to the power in the early 2000s, AKP were defiantly challenged by Kemalists. Because, combined Islamic and neo-Ottoman elements in AKP's ideology were perceived as an existential threat to long-established Kemalism. At present, the battle between Kemalism and new Islamic ideology are breeding ground for the political stake.

and found a refuge in Pan-Turkist movement "which was racist, but also Islamic, in reaction to the Westernizing spirit of Kemalism" (Belge, 2011, p. 233). Put it differently, Islamic-extreme right didn't die out. Because, as Samet Ağaoğlu (2011) puts that the increasing possibility that War would crush the European dictators had finally arrived. Turkey was supposed to choose between the two victor regimes of the time. Either right democracy or leftist world. History pointed to the right wing path. The one-party order was replaced by the multi-party system (p.190).

In the post-war period, Turkey allied to the Anglo-American axis in the cold war and anti-communism became the elemental part of Turkish nationalism. It is at the onset of the multiparty period that political parties were "tarring each other with the (brush) of communism [and] the years 1948 and 1949 saw a witch-hunt against the left (Zürcher, p. 213). In "the 1960s" (Belge, 2011, p.233) and the "1980s" (Yerasimos, 1995, p.29), Islam was effectively used against left wing politics. Especially, in the 1960s, "Ottomanism manifested itself mainly" in extreme right parties such as "MHP" (Grey Wolves) and "MSP" (Belge, 2011, p. 233). Pan-Turkism, along years, managed to endure and co-exist with other political camps. Not being as powerful as Kemalist nationalism, extreme nationalist movements are part of Turkish politics in today's political arena: "the pan-Turkist social myth" [isn't] dead today. It lives on, in the extreme Right parties in Turkey, and in organizations like the Association of Pan-Turkists (founded in 1962)" (Smith, p. 78).

By the beginning of the millennium, founded in 2001, conservative and right-wing Justice and Development Party (AKP) challenged laicistic Kemalist tradition. AKP was a contingent mixture of ethno-Turkish nationalism, Pan-Islamic ideology and the

nostalgia for the Ottoman heritage[43]. Often being accused for being a neo-Ottoman imperialist expansionary project, Justice and Development Party triggered neo-liberal schemes with a pan-Islamic conservatism. Since 2001, Justice and Development Party is the dominant power in Turkey's politics: "The AKP received 34.28 percent of the vote in 2002 won 46.58 percent in 2007 andscored 49.90 percent in 2011" (Taşpınar, 2012). More than that pan-Islamic ideology stands in resemblance to the Young Ottomans and it further refers to "the cultural and economic integration of the Islamic world, which Turkey would eventually lead ... over the Caucasus, the Balkans and the Middle East" (Özkan, 2014). Since the early 2000, the Turkish political sphere became a playground between Justice and Development ideology, Kemalism and extreme right wing.

6.8 Turkish Nationalism among Turkish Cypriots

As regards Turkish Cypriots, they invented their identities self around Muslim and Ottoman identity under British Colonial rule. With the emergence of Modern Turkey in 1923 after Lausanne, the island saw polarization between the adherents of Kemalist Turkish nationalism and British colonial rule. In the mid-1950s, Turkish nationalism stepped up and turned out to be a most powerful nationalist movement. In the 1950s, Taksim (union with motherland Turkey–anavatan), became a mission from history for Turkish nationalists. Additionally, the way to Taksim was passing through breaking away from Greek Cypriots. Following the inter-communal killings and Greek-army-orchestrated military coup in Cyprus, Turkish military intervention parted the island into two communities in 1974. Moreover, Turkish Cypriot economy stands on the back of Turkish aid while Turkey gains increasing control over Turkish Cypriot governments. The Turkish Cypriot governments' dependency upon Turkey

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[43] T. Bora (personal communication, March 26, 2014).

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and Turkish nationalists in Cyprus led to a Cypriotism movement, a counter Turkish nationalism, whose goal is to move away from the Turkish grip on the northern side of the island. Meanwhile, different though today's socio-political context may be, Turkish nationalism is still the officialdom of Northern Cyprus and Turkish Cypriot state and international relations are made to suit Turkey's official history dating back to Turkish and Greek Wars in 1920s. When the argument comes down to the components held to be true by the Turkish nationalism, one can argue that Turkish nationalism comprise, to a large extent, the ethnic properties. Meanwhile, Turkish nationalism as an official reality is visibly in line with the civic principles of Kemalism. For the sake of conceptual clarity, officialdom of Turkish Cypriots is territory based ethno-civic nationalism.

The conventional nationalist rationale to justify Turkishness of Cypriots perfectly fits in what A. Smith calls "ethnic-primordial", as Turkish nationalists derive their ethnic identity from the idealized historicity of Turkic-Asia and Ottoman home/land. Turkish motherland nationalism is a modern construction, which places the unity of ethnic land with history before its own destiny. From the very outset, the framework in which Turkish nationalism was rooted upholds ethnically and historically "indivisible" that the baby land (*yavruvatan*) Cyprus should be the same as that of a Turkey. A possible theoretical way of analysing "Motherland" Turkey's 'unifying protection' approach to "babyland" Cyprus is the Turkish nationalism, as in the context of Russian thinker Bakhtin. Turkey's move towards Turkish Cypriots is, using the Bakhtinian term "centripetal force" (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 270), is centralizing and unifying. In the Bakhtinian usage, "centripetal force" has a unifying and officialising effect by means of overregulation where plays, differences and

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otherness in used language are gravitated into its single and stable centre. Bakhtin (1981) illustrates centripetal force as an "a unitary language [that] gives expression to forces working toward concrete verbal ideological unification and centralization, which develop in vital connection with the process of socio-political and cultural centralization" (p.271). Totalizing tendencies in dominant language serve as a limiting "verbal-ideological thought, creating within a … national language that firm, stable linguistic nucleus of an officially recognized" (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 271). Diametrically different to what the Cypriotist movement target, "monocentrism" (Barthes, 1991, p. 101) is aimed at ideological and political assimilation of the island. In keeping with the Bakhtinian thought, Derrida's concept of center we addressed at the beginning is again the key theoretical approach to appreciate Turkish foreign nationalist policy in Northern Cyprus (Derrida, 1978, p. 279). Being concerned with securing the meaning by means of stabilized language, Derrida is of the opinion that "at the center, the permutation or the transformation of elements is forbidden" (Derrida, 1978, p. 15). In the Cypriotist discourse, the stripping of Turkish Cypriots from their distinctive characteristics amounts to Turkification", "Turkey-ification" or "Anatolization. Turkish AK Party Vice President's Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu's recent statement on Turkish Cypriots is a clear expression of centripetal language. In November 30, 2013, Turkish Cypriot *Havadis* newspaper reports Çavuşoğlu saying that: "Cyprus is our baby land. The Cyprus issue is directly Turkey's issue". In the same statement, of the same daily newspaper, Çavuşoğlu' further encourages Turkish Cypriots not to leave things to others: "we [Turkey] are increasingly going to help you but the time has come to learn to catch fish" ("AK Parti: Balık tutmaya başlama zamanı geldi," 2013). Turkish politician places an emphasis on the umbilical cord between the motherland and baby land. The paradox at the heart of this so-called

message is that despite the fact that the politician indicates Turkish Cypriots' centrifugal relationship with Turkey (the immature dependency on Turkey), Çavuşoğlu admonishes Turkish Cypriots to learn to take care of one's own affairs themselves. However, on the opposite side of Çavuşoğlu, Cypriotists proclaim that Turkish Cypriots are in a very difficult situation while Turkey enforces her conservation. Because, in the popular opinion of Cypriotism, there is no way to split from motherland and it is hard to stand on their own foot under Turkey's gaze (Denktaş, 1982).

Until quite recently, Turkish nationalist red-lines allowed no room for "fringe movements" and critical voices. As the public criticism of Turkey is not tolerated by the, this centripetal index also arrests the following themes: the left-wing or communist view (it signifies internal enemies), Cypriotist identity claims to Cyprus (Cypriotness and relation with Greeks), EU (it connotes western imperialism), Enosis ("eternal" enemy Greece), idea of the co-existence with Greek Cypriots or bi-communal activities with Greek Cypriots (it is equated with traitor and spy). Nevertheless, of all red lines, almost no one is so "searing" as the arch enemy Greeks. The dominant Turkish historiography in Cyprus had come to be that both Greeks and Turks had been foes and Greeks always constituted a threat to "national" security. Implying a double war, Turkish historiography indicates that Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot clashes in Cyprus always existed in historical tie with a Greco Turkish wars (1919–1922). It is in this maximalist capacity that "old historic enemy" Greeks rears its head. In outlining anti-Greek red lines, what Kızılyürek (2005) and Shlomo Avineri (2010) illustrate as security fixation and military circumspection survived to underpin Turkish nationalist international policy making.

As Avineri (2010) writes, "it was also a clear departure from the conventional foreign-policy straightjacket devised by Kemal Ataturk [sic], which had for decades forced Turkish diplomacy into the Procrustean bed of 1920s-style integral nationalism". As the old saying had it "the only friends of Turks are Turks". Popular adage as such can hardly be divorced from Turkey's foreign programme and it is suggestive in this vigilant ideology described by Avineri. The Turkish Cypriot governments have adopted Turkey-friendly officialdom by promoting national day celebrations and military parades. Besides, Turkish nationalism put Turkish Cypriots at the centre of the loyalty discourse and call upon Turkish Cypriot "maturity" and "gratitude" for the "saviour" motherland's protection. Instead, Cypriotists rejected the "commanding" call for acceptance. Poised to do battle over self-sovereignty and "hereditary" Cypro-centric values, the largely culturalist imagination of Cypriotism politicized a shared-past common to both Turkish Cypriots and Greek-Cypriots. The new nostalgic nationalism was a product of "a politicization of the cultural community" through social communication channels (Mondal 2003, p.17). Since its inception in the early 2000s, Cypriotists have woven narratives of "actual biological ancestry" (Smith, 2003, p. 148) constructing notions of Cypriot selfhood with its "imagined community" and "narration" (Anderson 1983; Bhabha 1994, 2005) of deeply rooted Cypriot cultural-space. Cypriotism's self-identification became organized into ethno-symbolist components such as the idea of a shared culture, alien and inimical to that of mainland Turks. Moreover, in this frame of reference biological dissimilarity and origin have become markers ontological status (linking ethnicity to being) and social acceptance. Hence, being born to a Turkish-Cypriot mother and father bestows on an individual the status of "true Cypriot" in the popular usage (Ramm, 2006). The modernist colonial inheritance is now syncretised through

the monogenic purity of origin with the imagined homeland-culture open to the Western civilization. In recent years, the tension between Turkish settlers and the Cypriotists has been exacerbated by the latter's fear of being absorbed into an ethnos of Turkishness, transmuting into an anxiety of cultural "extinction" (Hatay 2008; Navaro-Yashin 2006). Meanwhile, social network sites, especially Facebook, have come to be a kind of virtual "home" to Cypriotists who organize to exalt their identity as "true" Cypriots, edging towards the racist in their expressed fears of extinction at the hands of the "settler colonialism". In the present day, it is a common experience to come across these groups in Facebook. The slogan "we are only a few on this island", heard on social media is a pessimistic expression of the conventional defence mechanism of the Cypriotist who feels he or she is being "swamped" by an alien culture. As an anonymous young Cypriot laments, "We are the Last of the Mohicans … They got rid of a whole culture" (Navaro-Yashin, 2006, p. 94). Cypriotism, to sum up, is a culturally constructed national "wall of resistance" against Turkey's attempt to isolate the natives from their endogenic ethnicity and bi-communal past. In sharp contrast to centripetal forces, Cypriotism is centrifugal language in Bakhtinian terms. Centrifugal forces in Bakhtin (1981) manoeuvre to decentralise dominant language by breaking away from the strong and enduring gravity of the centre. In sum, centrifugal forces can be said to moving from below or grassroots while centripetal moves from the top. Bakhtin writes that "alongside the centripetal forces, the centrifugal forces of language carry on their uninterrupted work; alongside verbal-ideological centralization and unification, the uninterrupted processes of decentralization and disunification go forward" (1981, p. 272).

In contrast to Turkish nationalism which set to make sure Turkish Cypriots are

locked in Turkish nationalism, Cypriotists since the late 1970s has been nostalgically wrestling to de-scribe official Turkish nationalism. The Turkish Cypriot paradox towards Turkish ethno-nationalism dovetails with the nostalgia felt towards this strategically constructed nostalgia for the British period. This is brought into stark relief by the same journalist in the so-called "Shakespeare Avenue" controversy that unfolded in 2013. Here an element of the Turkish renaming programme undertaken in post-intervention Cyprus is taken to consideration and an attempt is made to rectify it. Mutluyakalı complains that the changing of a street name from Shakespeare Avenue to a Turkish name suggests that Cypriots dropped their guard, failing to "cherish" their colonial heritage. Moreover, Mutluyakalı deplores that obstreperous Turkish nationalism that deprived the Turkish-Cypriots of their very own "William Shakespeare":

> Shakespeare, was the name of the most popular avenue in Nicosia! They changed the avenue's name. Why? Because it was said to be a 'British colonial leftover'. However …today … nobody really knows the name of the avenue … Alas! Isolation … everywhere and later 'they will swallow us' (p.9).

The significance of the column is that Mutluyakalı penned it as a response to the İstanbul-based Shakespeare event on 23 April. He defined Shakespeare as "the greatest literary artist that literature and the world have ever seen" (p.9), Mutluyakalı is implicitly nostalgic for "illegitimate" appropriation of Shakespeare by Turkey. Then he maps "this great artist" onto Cypriot culture, making clear that the proper place for Shakespeare in the region is Cyprus. From a modernist point of view, Mutluyakalı's backlash to weaken any Turkish credit through the image of Shakespeare thrives on the "prestigious" values of British colonial lifestyle. The nostalgia encoded by Mutluyakalı vindicates the validity of exposure to "long lived

western civilization" in Cyprus, irrespective of the humiliations hurled at Turkish-Cypriots by the Turkish process of modernization. Moreover, and despite the evident absurdity of such a heated dispute over a "Shakespeare Avenue" in an Eastern-Mediterranean city, the column must be seen to be seriously at loggerheads with Turkey's policy of de-historicizing pre-1974 Cypriot history.

In fact, the post-1974 process of Turkifying the names of public places in Cyprus, ethno-Turkish nationalist historiography played a core role in assimilating Turkish Cypriots and what many came to see as their "western inheritance". There are two subtexts to Mutluyakalı's nostalgia: critical engagement with a process of de-culturation, or cultural deprivation, explicit in the Turkish nationalist repression; and the re-inscription of the untold Cypriot past from "below" so as not to remain nameless and forgotten by the "universal" history of the future. Mutluyakalı's proposed solution to the problem demonstrates in an almost comical way the predicament of the Turkish Cypriot. Unable for obvious political reasons to change the name from the Turkish-sponsored Mehmet Akif Ersoy Avenue, named after the pan-Islamicist composer of the Turkish national anthem, Mutluyakalı exhorts the Mayor of Nicosia to erect a retrospective signpost indicating present union with the past memory of the Avenue:

> Maybe changing the avenue's name is hard, I can see it. However, I don't think it is hard to put a sign somewhere in the street bearing notice that this street used to in the past bear the name of the master of the World Literature, William Shakespeare (2013, p.9).

It should be kept in mind that the *modus operandi* of Cypriotist imaginary is conditioned in part by a present day "underdevelopment" complex. In the current global climate, this gives rise to a deep need of a modernist form of self-recognition,

something that is provided by the colonial social identification model. According to Young, the image of the "colonized has been constructed according to the terms of the colonizer's own self-image, as the 'self-consolidating other'" (Young, 2009, p. 49). The overarching model for this, as Anthony D. Smith (1988) argues, is universal in today's world: a "restorative" mythologization strikes a powerful chord in variously applied nationalisms by projecting "present needs to future hopes through a reference to … the past" (p. 2). In the sense that the nostalgic moment finds its place in the matrix of future cultural transmission, the implicit aspect in Mutluyakalı is a future-oriented Cypriotist fantasy where "gaining familiarity with Shakespeare would have driven Cypriots' curiosity towards the world of the future, and children would have at least read the great master" (p. 9).

6.9 Greek Nationalism and Its Influence over Greek Cypriots

Greek Nationalism among Greek Cypriots dates back to the 19th century and feeds into Greek nationalist legacy. As compared to Turkish nationalism in the island, it emerged slightly a century before Turkish nationalism. Among the Ottoman subjects, the Greeks were the first to run riot to be a nation state in the Balkans. After an independence war against the Ottomans in 1821, the Greeks emerged victor and became a nation state. Initially (In 1829) the newly founded nation adopted the liberal, secular and constitutional principles derived from the 18th Enlightenment and the French revolution. But as Kızılyürek (2005) maintains, in the mid-19th century, Greeks drifted away from the legacy of the civic nationalism of the French revolution and were embroiled in a reactionary ethnic and romantic cultural nationalism (pp. 35, 39). Like the Taksim movement, Greek Cypriot nationalism, mostly in ethno-nationalist guise, aimed at unification (Enosis) with the motherland Greece as in Crete in 1912. In fact, Enosis was the ultimate purpose of the 19th century Greek

nationalist ideology called Megali Idea. Being irredentist in its core, Megali Idea was devised as an ethno-Hellenic umbrella. The driving motor behind this expansionism was bringing together scattered Greeks. Until early 1920s, Megali Idea preserved its momentum but the military defeat in Asia Minor in 1922 put an end to Megali Idea. But the same thing cannot be said about orthodox Greek Cypriots. Until 1974, Enosis was an important item in the Greek Cypriot political agenda. However, Greece looked askance at Greek Cypriots' Enosis demands and, at least throughout the 1950s and 1960s avoided manifest involvement with Cyprus as both Greece and Turkey had been NATO members in 1952. Especially, plagued by Anglo-American powers and geostrategic dictates in the Cold War era, Greece reluctantly stepped outside the Enosis struggle. It was only when frenzy took control of the Greek Junta in 1971 that Greece stepped in the Enosis struggle in Cyprus. A coup, organized by the Greek army officers stationed in Cyprus overthrew President Makarios in July 1974, was followed by Turkey's military intervention. As the peak point of the Enosis chronology in Cyprus, the year 1974 marked the end of Hellenic unification movement.

Chapter 7

DECONSTRUCTION AT WORK: THE CRISIS OF

NOSTALGIC NATIONALISM

The metaphysics of presence in Turkish Cypriot nostalgia for the British Empire is interrupted by a host of paradoxes, ambivalences and inconsistencies caused by deconstructive factors. The reason for the fallacies mainly revolves around the characteristic of the imagined memory. Put differently, the belief in Turkey's presumed inferiority in comparison to the image of the "fabulously retroactive" British contemporaneity (Derrida, quoted in İlter and Alankuş, 2010, p. 263).

In order to locate our case in a proper perspective, it is difficult to find better evidence than Harman's nostalgic nationalism, which serves as logocentric example. As has been emphasized earlier, the backlash against nationalist Turkish policies in Cyprus reached a peak of intensity when in 2012 it was proposed that the Turkish Cypriot secondary school education system would be "developed" through the imposition of elements of the Turkish state secondary education system. Such an intervention was considered especially intolerable by Cypriotists. Hence the harsh language of Kartal Harman, columnist at *Kıbrıslı*, who is keen on propagating the myth of "continuous" British Colonial modernism as a means to obstruct Turkey's project of deepening penetration of Turkish Cypriot politics and culture:

> While you [Turkey] had no idea of what Britishness was, our elders were being cultivated in the British schools. How on earth then are you going to introduce education to us? All you can do is to humiliate

Turkish Cypriots … While you were used to wearing "Mekap" shoes, we were in a position to even despise Nike sports shoes. Our elders used to consume the kind of food, beverage and chocolate in Cyprus under British Colonial Rule in the 1920s that you guys have only recently come to know. That was exactly 90 years ago. How come you forget those days when you guys used to cram your many travel bags with electronic goods and tea from Cyprus in order to fill your shelves [back home]? … How is it that you don't remember the days you would come to Cyprus and wait in the queue to buy blue-jeans? Stop humiliating us. Take a look in the mirror. And reconsider your proper place and progress until now (2012, p.7).

The extract from Harman is a précis of the thesis and situation in North Cyprus. For this reason, we left it to the end. The quotation requires a bit more analytical depth in terms of textual/post-structuralist theory. It is for this very reason that part of the theoretical section is incorporated into here for the analysis of the newspaper elements. The similar post-structuralist critique here applies to other examples too because what all the samples have in common is that all suffer from logocentrism and all are open to deconstruction at work. That is to say, examples we chose lack understanding into the nuance that any sign desperately needs different other signs to mean whatever it means due mainly to the un-substitutability of the present moment. The entire critique of the logocentrity of the Turkish Cypriot media can be restructured around the problem of deconstruction because deconstruction is the concept Derrida alternatively gave to iterability, *différance*, re-turn/de-tour, supplement, trace and play, etc. The reason for involving Derridean terms is that the missing point among columnists is that postcolonial condition has a structure of the palimpsest and those who look at the texture should be able to cope with different layers.

Figure 7: Photo illustrating the palimpsestic textuality of postcolonial Famagusta. Textures continue to extend into history (Source: Beyazoğlu 2016).

For example, the above photograph illustrates the complexity of the hybrid postcolonial textuality. In the above frame, one can see the gothic style Lusignan Cathedral, which later was converted into Lala Mustafa Paşa Mosque by the Ottomans. Beside the Cathedral lies an Ottoman Madrasa, which is restaurant today. Both the British post office box and Turkish nationalist romantic poet Namık Kemal's bust stretches back to the British era. Though the tree blocks the view, there are TRNC and Turkish flags right behind the tree, in front of the cathedral. What

makes this photo important is that spatio-temporalities of the textures are well connected, rather than being insular and untouched episodes. Thus, the "same" identity can also be a "different" identity in other relationships. Nevertheless, there, in the examples, it would seem almost there is no need for the supplement which is, however, existential to meaning and to the becoming process of Turkish Cypriot postcoloniality. Therefore, the critique can be seen as the critique of logocentricity-laden news coverage. Logocentrism, in textual evidence, rears its head on mainly three occasions. The first one is the Us/Self-hood (Cypriotness) and Otherness, the second concerns relationship with the past (nostalgic memory), and the last one is contemporaneity in the sense of modernist teleology. In its own right, it would also be fruitful to see the inconsistencies in the extracts. Paradoxes, lacks, antinomies, tensions, difference, ambivalence, multiplicity and gaps are integral to their texture.

First and foremost, Harman's construction of the "We" Cypriot identity is shaky. To put it differently, that Turkish Cypriots are ontologically different from "outsider" Turks is problematic. Because such a proposition which provides Cypriots a sense of supremacy over categorically excluded "external others" is being defended on metaphysical and unethical grounds. But, due to deconstructive dynamics in language and power structures, such as *différance*, iterability and play of signs, the volatile and dividing qualities of time and space produce gaps, and in turn such spatio-temporal gaps interrupt, shake and displace rigid hierarchy of meanings and binary textualities. For instance, the construction of the self in the logocentric economy legitimates the binarism on the "supplemental" ground without leaving any room for bifurcation or the third possibility for the other or their alterity. Just like in the invention of the self-hood in the regime of imperial discourse of truth and reality, Turkish Cypriot news media, clung to the monist belief: conspicuous insistence on

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the idea of "being one with oneself" without any need for representation and mediation. Being conditioned by a metaphysics of "home" and "self-presence" at the present moment, in this place, the central argument of logocentrism has been appearing under various historically totalizing examples such as the single, self-sufficient and sovereign colonizer or dependent colonized subtext. The typical pattern that logocentric ontology and epistemology follows up is modern, conscious "undivided", "pure" self who is self-present and self-identical without a constitutional relationship with another. But, there is no transcendental signifier; meaning is produced by endless chains of significations. Thus, identities come to play through original lack or divide at the very root: "for what is reflected is split in itself" (Derrida, 1997, p.46). It is very widely argued, especially in psychoanalysis, including Freud and Lacan, that difference is the foundational and original condition and that the "self" is divided from the very *beginning*. At this point, thus, in the constitution of identity, the self remains in a state of ambivalence due to this split and the irreducible gap within it/self, and the subject tries to surmount the gap by supplementing it with metaphors. Especially in the sense that the subject, self or identity isn't a single and whole mode of being *inside*, poststructuralist critique of logocentricity is useful in shaking in and debunking the idea of non-represented self-sovereignty. Assuming a non-differential, undivided, unified self is a fancy. Derrida (2004) writes, "I am not *alone* with myself, no more than anyone else is – I am not all-one. An 'I' is not an indivisible atom" (p. 112). Arguing a similar point in a different context, Bruce Lincoln (1992) here explores in more in detail how difference and multiple positions can operate *inside* to stop an entity to become a single whole unto its self by holding the structure and signs in an ongoing tension and play:

> A hegemonic ideology is challenged by one of the many counter hegemonies that exist within any society … to hold that thought is socially determined does not mean that all thought reflects, encodes, re-presents or helps replicate the established structures of society, for society is far broader and far complex than its official structures and institutions alone. Rather, such a formulation rightly implies that all the tensions, contradictions superficial stability, and potential fluidity of any given society as a whole are present within the full range of thought and discourse that circulates at any given moment (pp. 6-7).

Unlike Turkish Cypriot pundits, there is no homogenous self or other[ii]. Monist desire in western logocentrism and Turkish Cypriot postcoloniality (particularly against immigrants) envisages its "true" Cypriot self which is simultaneously "one with itself", self-present, self-same, self-sufficient and self-identical. That is to say, for the imagined Cypriot self, that such purity of nativism is untouched by outside intruders (here other Turks) is a persistent theme. But this is a logical and factual fallacy. Because however much we believe that the existence of the self owes nothing to the existence of the other, the self (like meaning) doesn't come into play by itself, as the meaning is interwoven. A sign, or a thing, does not mean anything, or have an identity alone by itself and it only gains meaning (or identity) in reference to the differences, for example, through an identification with another such as a name given by an other. In sum, paradoxically, the logocentric approach differentiates the self sharply from the external other. Excluding the difference-within in order not to get unclean or mixed is an essential anxiety in protecting the "full-presence" of the self-hood. Therefore, as also in the Cypriotness of Harman, every identity construction is exclusive for this logocentric understanding. Native and British colonial-tinged nostalgic values, therefore, are impervious to "backward" elements of Turkishness. All the "transhistoricity" of British values, such as invincible British education, western sports, blue-jeans, wealth of British food and beverage, tea and electronics

are everything that Turkish culture isn't.

But while logocentric binary oppositional mode of thinking is meant to externalize the different other, the binary oppositional thinking implicitly recognizes that the other is essential for the self to be itself. There is no "civilized" without the "savage". So defending "civilization" values requires "barbarians". This is the Achilles Heel of identity crisis. For textual reasons, the other is always internal to the self and is with/in the self as other(ness) is in the self (Derrida, 2002; Bhabha 1990; Butler 1993; Kristeva 1991). Of a similar opinion is Laclau (1994) who persuasively points to the radical gap at the root of the presence of the self: "One needs to identify with something because there is an original and insurmountable lack of identity" (1994, p. 3). In connection with the foundational difference which is called by Derrida "a supplement at the source" (Derrida, 1997, pp. 303-4), Hall says the constitution of identity "requires what is left outside, its constitutive outside, to consolidate the process" (2003, p. 3). Speaking in Derridean terms, the supplemental nature of identity, because of the irreplaceable gap, paradoxically, requires an external "supplement" to supplant its lack and to make itself present (Bauman 1992; Laclau & Mouffe 2001; Levinas 2011; Spivak 1985; Young 2004). At this point, Derrida remains critical by putting the idea of supplement, understood as an extra addition, into crisis in his works. What is "represented" in a representation is absent and non-presence, and this is why it is represented by a representation in its absence. Again, representation comes first and then presence. Representation involves making present what is absent.

In the context of the popular press in North Cyprus as well, supplement plays its part to perform what is known as modernist colonial discourse. To cope with the

temporary quality of the meaning, the barbarian, the different serves as the supplement to fill the unbridgeable gap, which precludes the "civilized" Cypriot subject from coming into being. In another strand, self-imagination of the Cypriotness betrays its logocentric/metaphysical "logic" and the excluded or much repelled other emerges inevitably in the heart of the Cypriot-self. So in Harman's example, Turks as supplement are necessary "barbarians". Because, these Turkish Cypriots, though Harman doesn't admit it, owe their cultural supremacy to poor Turkish immigrants of the seasonal workers variety. The Cypriot self cannot be a civilized self without the Turkish, that is to say the supplementing other. Due to the logic of the supplement, the supplement substitutes for the self in every instance of the identification of the self with the "external" help of a series of supplements. From the psychoanalytical view, the construction of the self is a projection. The external other, the Turk with all his "barbarism and backwardness", is always actually inside and it is woven into to the self-identity. The "external other" is then wilfully projected to the other end of the binary pole or to the representational *outside* of the self. The different other or Freudian "*unheimlich*/unhomely" is always already within the self, at heart of the self and the root of the self. The difference (therefore the supplement) always haunts. The difference (here simply other- the "Barbarian Turk") precedes and supersedes the language and meaning systems (the imagining of the Cypriot self). Because realizing that "différance [is] 'older' than the ontological difference or the truth of the Being" (Derrida, 1973, p.154) would also allow us to see how "difference" paradoxically "produces what it forbids, makes possible the very thing it makes impossible" (Derrida, 1973, p. 143). And much criticized metaphysics are also oxymoronically, fully in effect because the crafting of the Cypriot vs. Turkish binary discourse is a fancy, and it falls into "trap" of

metaphysics because "metaphysics, however impartial, is for Derrida all we have and, after all, it is also what produces the very possibility of the concept of the other in the first place" (McGowan, 2007, p.98). In metaleptic media coverage of the modernist images, "the representational" Turkish horse is put before the metaphysical Cypriotness cart. Because what comes first is always the "representations" of the backwardness of the "Turks" as what is needed to supplement and supplant the inadequate presence of the Cypriot self.

Nostalgia in Harman's response is built on false assumptions. It is reactionary and it assumes a non-present unity. As in different examples of nostalgia, it is this "imagined reality" that brings nostalgia into play. For this reason, expressions of Turkish Cypriot print media pundit must be taken with a pinch of salt, because not all of them had been colonial subjects. This factor can be likened to younger Turkish Cypriot generation who didn't live in the colonial era but they establish a relationship with a post memory. Turkish Cypriots, acquired and guard the colonial past as the act of narrative to construct their native identities. Such acts contextually fit into what Assman maintains. The cultural memory "may be transferred from one situation to another and transmitted from one generation to another" (Assmann, p.11). The reason for this is obvious because cultural memory defies time and can be passed to future generations. Up to a certain point, in the context of nostalgic nationalism of Turkish Cypriots, "the concept of cultural memory … serves to stabilize and convey that society's self-image [and] each group bases its awareness of unity and particularity" (Assman and Czaplicka, 2005, p.132). Thus nostalgia for an indivisible unity in the past, in Harman's case, is a modernist construct for a prestigious past. The very notion of the nostalgia for the "intact" past and self are

metaphysical concepts and logocentrism plays a huge part in it. The illogicality of the nostalgic nationalism is that it is based on a "projection", so it is a performative act at the present moment of affairs. It means the performative speech act helps construct the very realities that it talks about. Saussure taught us that language is not a nomenclature, that is to say, it does not give names to "pre-existing realities". Such "pre-existing realities" are not original. Iterability frustrates the very assertion of originality or having the final word etc. Because, "there is no longer a simple origin" (Derrida, 1997, p. 36). So, the subjects, or objects, are not the origin of the text but they are, rather, de-centred parts of the text with continuing repetition. Language is complicit with us in constructing the very alibi (here, of course British past) it talks about. Since there isn't a presence intact in the past, it is we who project our nostalgia to the past with a discursive performative speech acts. Therefore, Harman has created his version of Englishness out of present day discontent with Turkish nationalism and he strove to "find" it "out there" in the past. As we just said, the absence-nothingness is actually essential to claims to representation. So all ideologies, rhetoric, movements, be they nationalism, nostalgic nationalism or others, owe their existence/becoming to the faith of 'representation'. As can be seen from Harman's claims, his supplemental connection to the past is senseless. His nostalgia needs an alibi, a supplement, which, in turn needs a supplement. Therefore, "the supplement is a pre-ontological entity, which cannot be grasped as a positive concept" (Morton, 2007, p. 167). It was from dissatisfaction with this unsound point of view that George Steiner (1974) cultivated a critique of "a deep seated nostalgia for the absolute" (p.5). For him, "the great surge of unreason … at work" is "hunger for the transcendent [and] totalizing metaphors" (p.18).

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The metaphysical drive for a return or reunion with lost presence is impossible because of what Derrida calls iterability. In the Derridean context, iterability is another critique of logocentric claims to immeadiate presence and truth. The term developed by Derrida is a deconstructive response to the linear way of thinking time and binarism too. The crux of iterability is that repeatability of the state of affairs gives birth to change and it helps shift towards or de-center textual positions and casts out the positions of binary ideologies. Iterability, more importantly for Derrida (2002), has a shaky working manner and it is not a coincidence that Derrida prefers the word iterability to repetability. The reason why Derrida attaches much importance to iterability is bound up with the etymology of the word. Because, Derrida holds that *itere* comes from Sanskrit, which means other. At this point, the power of the language and thought lie in difference-making capacity of the "other":

> This word combines the Latin *iter* ('again') with the Sanskrit *itara* ('other'). As Derrida notes, every mark, each singular text or irreplaceable event is at once a unique, 'once-and-for all' occurrence and yet manifests or inscribes itself on condition of a possible re-marking. Thus, the 'singular' is always repeatable; or, rather, it is iterable, since every repetition (*iter* – 'again') inevitably alters (*itara* – 'other'), just as each signature – as the supposed hallmark of identity – nevertheless attains validity only on condition of its inscription at *another* time or in a *different* place. Iterability isn't just a simple add-on, then, an extrinsic and dispensable 'extra' that comes along after the fact of an original form or presence. Instead, iterability implies a supplementarity that goes all the way down (Wortham, 2010, p. 78).

Derrida powerfully contends that what we repeat becomes different. And in the event of repetition, the different other is always at work. Moving from Derrida, upon every repetition, the "same" turns out to be *different*, *other* and *new*, and difference is irreducible to a thing in a moment of time synchronically because an irreducible polysemy permeates meaning and precludes the language and meaning from the

stability of being. It is for such reasons that the same is always different when we study it as it is in the examples of iterability, dissemination or difference when we think with Derrida's terms. Against the views which seek the ultimate signifier– this is very common in colonial historicism and historiography – the "iterable" nature of truth opens it into new contexts and articulations, which renders any idea of return to what was, as it was, impossible. What we mean by context here is not a context as the container of meaning, of course. Which is the reason that Derrida gives the name of metaphysics of presence to the logocentric devotion to the imaginary reality fancy.

In the context of Turkish Cypriot colonial nostalgia as well, every destination that is destined to arrive is not destined to arrive as intended. Because in the sense that a narrative of return is a discursive effect, it is a diasporic act. Just like in communication, every return means, and continues to mean, less, more, or otherwise than what is intended by a communicator or subject. Split from a previous context, any return articulates into a re-turn, detour, non-arrival, thus into a non-expected context. In the sense of iterability, every return is a new turn and a change in direction, bringing us to an a-destination. The place, home, self or state of affair that one returns to becomes different than before now, no longer self-same. It is just like a self-assured Odysseus (Ulysses) re-turning to his Home Ithaca after many years of hardships he went through. He and his adventurer friends on their way back home invoke the good old days' memories. The troubles Odysseus goes through during the homecoming-journey bring back the feeling of togetherness and family. Following the ten-year time of Odyssey's return to Ithaca, at the end, the main hero, Odysseus arrives in a different and other Ithaca. His futile desire for the self-same Ithaca was actually at odds with the differential and deferential changes. Though he arrives at

home, home is no longer the home he had left behind when he set off on his journey. So in a way, nostalgic Turkish Cypriots are modern Odysseuses. Stuart Hall, rightly, calls diaspora movements as a term of displacement. Because every arrival/return, shakes and puts the metaphoric "origin" in play, therefore this move, not surprisingly, displaces people already dwelling on the arrived space. He writes that

> it is, in this sense, an *origin* of our identities, unchanged by four hundred years of displacement, dismemberment, transportation, to which we could in any final or literal sense return, is more open to doubt. The original 'Africa' is no longer there. It too has been transformed. History is, in that sense, irreversible (Hall, 1990a p. 231).

Lastly, Harman's perception of progress isn't convincing to evaluate the position of the "civilized" self and the other. The third critique can be seen as the continuance of the second critique. Because it heavily hinges on the modernist teleology and need for ever-supplementation and performative projection in order for such narrative of universal civilization to be "true". Besides, arriving at the source is as logocentric as arriving at a finality. As was previously mentioned, the nostalgia of Turkish Cypriot modernity can't be divorced from the ideal of the modernist timeline mentality. Derrida maintains such modernity can only be lived in modernist mode because "this linearist concept of time is therefore one of the deepest adherences of the modern concept of the sign to its own history" (1997, p.72). Contemporaneity with the timeline scale is the criterion of being civilized and "without this non-contemporaneity with itself of the living present", such civilization is impossible (Derrida, 2006, p.xviii). But the severe problem with Harman's understanding of "civilized" is a teleological linearity and it is teleologically constructed. The origin and finality/end in history are devised to be at one and same point. However, the chain of signification and sign systems are limitless and they are without an origin or

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end. Therefore, the immediacy of meaning, anchoring in time and space cannot be attained by following it to its destination (just like in the "origin"), because supplement is always within as temporal and spatial disjunction. Presence escapes because "the supplement is … neither presence nor absence" (Derrida, 2006, p.154).

Harman's "unmediated" presentisim, making what the golden nostalgia longs for present once again (to re-present, to iterate) from the past cannot be actualized and cannot be present in the here and now. The factual and logical splits inherent in telological presentism makes every attempt of logocentrism for finality and representation impossible because the present moment keep changing and deferring what is to come. Derrida, in "Of Grammatology", for this reason, says "the presence that is thus delivered to us in the present is a chimera" (1967, p. 154). While a present moment "is never present without being absent", the chimeric quality of representation and communication at present moment makes performance and projection necessary. Because the logic of the supplement makes the binary between the present and the past insufficient and illogical. Representation involves making present what is absent. Supplement here isn't what it supplements because if the supplemented reality had been present there would not be any need for the representation. So Harman here can't do without projection because of the never-ending need for the supplement, and to make present and past one and same. For this reason, Harman projects and measures Cypriots on the modernist scale of the progress. And anyone not fitting into the self-centrism of Harman's modernist thinking is projected back to the past as backwards. Measuring progress in terms of the linear temporal scale of modernity is dangerous and open to ethical reconsiderations. Differences and contradictions, simply deconstruction inside, make

every attempt to "add" differences to the time-frame illogical. In Harman's reasoning, immigrants from Turkey cannot "fit" into the scale of modernity. In connection with the above-mentioned problems, Harman is mistaken that civilization is a unitary narrative and that it coheres into a universalistic structure. At the outset, we stressed that human situation have a tendency towards "perfection" which is not actually possible because of the split right in the middle of time and space which is called by Derrida, as was previously stressed several times as well, *différance*, a differing and deferring of the perfection or closure. And the similar mishap applies here to the established sense of history-towards-modernity-as-end or civilization (Derrida, 2002b). However what Derrida taught us in "Ethics, Institutions, and the Right to Philosophy" is significant in the critique of the perfectionism: "Perfectibility is always a state of infinite progress. Since progress never stops, we are again in a dominion in which Derrida describes transformation and alterity but no ideal, fixed, regulative, originating or culminating moment … It is impossible, because (to give just one reason) it would otherwise suppose a definitive moment in history – that moment could never come" (Deutscher, 2006, pp. 109-110). On this subject - in line with Althusser and coincident with Derrida - Frederic Jameson (2002) is also convinced that "History is process without a telos or a subject" (p. 13). "In this spirit" writes Jameson (2002), "a repudiation of such master narratives [such as British civilization/alism's triumphant and universal hegemony] and their twin categories of narrative closure (*telos* [arriving at civilization, that is to say perfection point, for once and at all]) and of a character (subject of history [here, for instance the British colonialism as the motor of the chronological development of Turkish Cypriots])" (p.13). As in different ideas such as democracy and Marxism, Toynbee and Somervell write that civilization is far from being a *telos* and unity: "Civilization

is a movement and not a condition, a voyage and not a harbour" (1958, p.58). What's more, civilization proves to be an unfinished project and it is yet to come. Needless to say, the world, and therefore civilization, changed and revised since colonial times and, as Derrida holds, has gone through unpredictable articulative course of action.

Apart from the above-mentioned three heads, the quote from Harman, in its historic peculiarity, protests against the audacity of Turkey to meddle in matters of vital political and cultural importance to Turkish Cypriots. This is not to mention Turkey's many associated efforts to Islamicize Turkish-Cypriots. The column, headlined "The Mentality that Humiliates Us, Who do You Think You Are?" contends on behalf of a Turkish Cyprus, but, equally, there is a subtext that seeks to validate the cultural specificity of Turkish Cypriots in a way that throws up obstacles to inter-communal contact between Cypriots and immigrants from Turkey. Additionally, Harman's anachronistic, nostalgic nationalism constitutes the "contemporary and western" Cypriot Self by externalizing Turkey as the "outside" other, "unfit to educate", using the either/or mechanism, in addition to the vitriol, to do so. Moreover, the reference to British colonial heritage employs an anti-Turkish orientalist rhetoric that states: No matter how much Turkish-Cypriots are humiliated, they may always take comfort from the fact that in terms of the linear timeline of historic progress, they have "left Turkey far behind". Harman's concern is "ever-widening gaps in civility" between Turkey and Turkish Cypriots and the political and cultural entitlement to repair the neglected and much-denied status of Turkish-Cypriots. The memory of the British heritage works then as a form of redemption in times of crisis. After all, it has become the case that the postcolonial Cypriotist narrative reads like an underplayed Cinderella story, which realizes itself in the

permanent pursuit of a restoration of honour. After all, in this revelatory text we sampled, one can immediately see that Harman's nostalgic relationship with the past isn't built on longing or zest. Rather than emotion, praise of the past is a facet of a nostalgia. Harman's bluster here remains linked to the modernist colonial power structure, a source of charisma, to legitimize "proud" hostility to Turkishness.

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Chapter 8

CONCLUSION

To address the nostalgic odyssey of Turkish-Cypriots, this work traced the shifting

positions that Turkish-Cypriots have adopted up to the present day. With the arrival

of the British on the island, the Turkish-Cypriots joined the ranks of the empire in a

kind of marriage of convenience. Until the mid-1920s they cherished their Muslim

identity and those Turkish-Cypriots critical of Britain adopted the discourse of

Kemalism. Even so, Turkish-Cypriots abstained from any move that could

destabilize the position against the empire. Instead, the Turkish-Cypriots championed

the Empire on which the sun never sets as the most powerful ruler on the globe until

decolonization in 1960, to prevent *Enosis*. The Turkish-Cypriots advocated the

colonial structure as the benchmark of modernization, afraid of being thought

un/der/developed. When the mid-1950s drew to a close, the Turkish-Cypriots

oscillated between the Empire and Turkish nationalism, but they upheld the Empire

for fear of the Greek-Cypriot anti-colonial discourse. The end of colonial rule was

followed by ethno-nationalist fever and both communities were locked in inter-ethnic

killings on and off until the island was divided in 1974. The relief caused by the

arrival of Turkey was brief. The imposition of ethno-nationalist rule and fears of

vanishing into Turkish culture made many Cypriots feel as if they were an island in

the Turkish sea. The elitism of Turkish nationalist bureaucracy had looked down

upon the Turkish-Cypriot vision of modernity. Imported nationalism thus gave way

to conflicting interpretations. In the 2000s, for the first time in Cypriot memory, the

Turkish-Cypriots, who resented being seen as politically disempowered and

culturally assimilable to the Turkish nationalist impulse, began experimenting with a nostalgic nationalist movement called Cypriotism. The Cypriotist print media, representative of nostalgic nationalist values, inherited both the imperial ontologies and the colonial epistemologies in the hope of cultural self-determination and political sovereignty.

Until now, this work has problematized the question of what kind of "reality" could be created and restored through nostalgic nationalism and what legitimacy it would have in the Turkish-Cypriot milieu. What Cypriotism has shown us is that nationalism within the nostalgic discourse, as elsewhere, could serve as a repository of "truth" for the politics of hope and be a way of claiming esteem. Cypriotism was an increasingly profound attempt to root out Turkey and its stranglehold on Turkish Cypriot politics and culture. In substance, if ever a grassroots movement deserves historic success in trying to highlight the distinctiveness of Turkish-Cypriots since 1974, the Cypriotism experience can humbly prove to be the right kind of a discourse for a similar research. The relationship Cypriotism has established with the ever-recurring golden-ageist colonial myth may help problematize the romanticized associations of nationalism with nostalgia. Rather than an anamnesis or going after a sentimentalized colonial past, the Cypriotists indulged in the "invincible" discourse of British acculturation to seek confrontation with Turkish nationalist canons. Civic cultural arrogance and "moral superiority" in the mainstream media perspectives manifested an Olympian attitude towards the immigrant population. However, as Spivak (1988) argues, "a nostalgia for lost origins can be detrimental to the exploration of social realities within the critique of imperialism" (p. 291). Nostalgic research or thought is deceptive and not without its risks. The distinctiveness and

hazards of the nostalgic approach arise because it is centred on a binary structure, a self-serving moral model, and a redemptive ideology following the reversal in Turkey's emancipatory declaration of 1974.

The aim of this thesis, therefore, is to caution against the paradoxes and ambivalences of the laundry list of logocentrist, postcolonial, nostalgic nationalist texturing (rather than to come up with a novel/original thesis, if there is such a thing existing of course, regarding the Turkish-Cypriot media pundits). This is because "prevailing normative media frameworks and traditions from which" extant Turkish Cypriot popular press "derives" are colonial and western modernist metanarratives (Wasserman, 2010, p 81). For this reason, the "singularity" of Cypriotism lies in the fact that it differs from other nostalgic textures in its subversiveness and its unusual contempt and hostility for the dominant Turkish discourse. Nevertheless, at one point the exemplary uniqueness of Cypriotism lay in the fact that it surged forward into a largely black-and-white ethos and became complicit with the reductionist logic it claimed to oppose. Cypriotists sharply opposed Turkish nationalism but relied on the "external reality" of Turkishness for support in the same breath. In other words, Cypriotism and Turkish nationalism serve as reference points to one another. Contrary to its *raison d'être* (self-determination), Cypriotism became a house divided against itself, operating under a superfluous orientalism and a mutually exclusive ethno-centrism. The "naturalness" of the nostalgia of Turkish-Cypriots or claims to "re-gaining" "full" and "complete" memory or "re-presenting" the colonial civilization are equally anachronistic because they cut across the evocation of the British golden age, along with the claim to European Cypriot identity, to demonstrate their "repressed supremacy" under Turkish nationalist modernization. Neither is a

"purity" nor linear narrative towards the "unadultered civilization" factual. As Said puts it, "there is no pure, unsullied, unmixed essence to which some of us can return" (1989b, p. 18).

There is one exigent point which we must be alert to. Currently, incomplete as this nostalgic nationalist composition is, postcolonial Cypriotism is a historical formation that has existed across a long period, with respect to the deferring time and space relations. More importantly, Cypriotism isn't inscribed in stone, but is a contingent network with multiple strands and adaptable to varying situations. It needs to be emphasized that what flourishes today in the shape of Cypriotism as nationalism doesn't necessarily have to be viewed as an inchoate formation whose future possibilities have to be foreclosed. As with all cultural and political signs in the postcolony, one aspect is clear: what we call "Cypriotism" is a polysemic disourse working within a humanist frame of thought and whose political possibilities are not finite.

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