

# **Cinemagoing, Turkish Cypriot Audience and Turkish Nationalism in 1950s Cyprus**

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## **ABSTRACT**

The present study proposes a new approach to examine rise of Turkish nationalism associated with cinema culture mainly in political and historical contexts of 1950s Cyprus. While the study has an original case and makes a contribution to the literature with new knowledge, it also introduces a new approach for the research on the phenomenon; by using micro-historical approaches of new cinema history.

Cinema business and practices has its golden age in 1950s by the development of Turkish Cinema in Turkey and increasing number of movie theatres, cantered mainly in Nicosia and spread to other cities and villages, among Turkish Cypriot community. The period was also important in sense on political developments. Anti-colonial and inter-communal conflicts became extreme movements. Ethnocentric diversity and national fragmentation speeded up. Cinemagoing experiences had been shaped by this political context and also had significant influences on political developments vice versa.

To achieve its goals, the study mainly focuses on the objectives of exploring the early experiences of cinema in multi-communal context, identifying transformation of the cinemagoing experience during the rise of ethnic diversity and nationalism, questioning the influence of Turkish films on Turkish Cypriot national and ethnic identity and finally approaching to movie theatre as a new public sphere as a center for social interaction and national identity formation.

Drawing on archival research in different centers and archives in both Northern and Southern Cyprus and on oral history; the present study aims to use both early cinema theories and new approaches of cinema history in order to examine the cinema as a political and national scope, addressing the direct and indirect role of cinemagoing and film consumption in political and sociocultural contexts of 1950s as Turkish Cypriot culture become increasingly aligned with Turkish nationalism. In other words, the present study aims to provide new sights for cinemagoing culture in Cyprus during the 1950s from national identity formation and national belonging horizons.

**Keywords:** Cinemagoing, cinema history, nationalism, Cyprus, Turkish Cypriot.

## ÖZ

Bu çalışma, sinema kültürüyle ilişkili Türk milliyetçiliğinin yükselişini, Kıbrıs'ın 1950'li yıllarındaki siyasi ve tarihi bağlamlarında incelemek için yeni bir yaklaşım önermektedir. Çalışmanın özgün bir vakası olmasına ve yeni bilgilerle literatüre katkıda bulunmasına ilaveten, yeni sinema tarihi alanındaki mikro-tarihsel yaklaşımları kullanarak bu fenomen üzerine yapılan araştırmalara yeni bir yaklaşım sunmaktadır.

Kıbrıs Türk toplumunda sinema sektörü ve uygulamaları, 1950'lerde Türkiye'de Türk Sineması'nın gelişmesi ve çoğunlukla Lefkoşa'da merkezileşen ve diğer şehirlere ve köylere de yayılan sinema salonlarının sayısının artması ile altın çağına girmiştir. Dönem, siyasi gelişmeler açısından da önemlidir. Sömürge karşıtı ve toplumlararası çatışmalar önemli ölçüde artmış, etnosentrik farklılık algısı ve ulusal parçalanmalar hızlanmıştır. Kıbrıs Türk toplumunun sinema deneyimleri bu politik bağlamda şekillendiği gibi, aynı zamanda siyasi gelişmeler üzerinde de önemli etkileri olmuştur.

Amaçlarına ulaşmak için çalışma, sinemanın ilk deneyimlerini çok toplumlu bağlamda incelemek, etnik ayrılmaların ve milliyetçiliğin yükselişi sırasında sinema deneyiminin dönüşümünü belirlemek, Türk filmlerinin Kıbrıs Türk izleyicisi üzerindeki etkisini sorgulama hedeflerine odaklanırken, etnik kimlik ve sinema salonuna sosyal bir etkileşim ve ulusal kimlik oluşumu merkezi olarak yeni bir kamusal alan olarak yaklaşmaktadır.

Kuzey ve Güney Kıbrıs'taki farklı arşiv ve merkezlerde arşiv arařtırmaları ve sözlü tarih çalıřmaları üzerinden bu çalıřma, sinemaya gitmenin ve film tüketiminin, Kıbrıs Türk kültürünün Türk milliyetçilięi ile daha fazla yakınlařtıęı 1950'lerin siyasi ve sosyokültürel bağlamlarında doğrudan ve dolaylı rolünü ele alarak sinemayı politik ve ulusal bir kapsamda incelemek için hem erken dönem sinema teorilerini hem de yeni sinema tarihi yaklařımlarını kullanmayı amaçlamaktadır. Bařka bir deyiřle, bu çalıřma 1950'lerde Kıbrıs'ta sinema kültürüne ulusal kimlik oluřumu ve ulusal aidiyet bağlamlarında yeni bakıř açıları sunmayı amaçlamaktadır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Sinemaya gitme, sinema tarihi, milliyetçilik, Kıbrıs, Kıbrıs Türkü.

## **DEDICATION**

I would like to dedicate this thesis to my children Su Boğaç and Deniz Boğaç.

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# Chapter 1

## INTRODUCTION

Following to debates on film theories and the shift in focus from textual structures and ontologies of the medium to process of reception and spectatorship since the 1970s, a social turn which directed attention away from the film text to cinemagoing itself has started to develop following to the 1990s and new research with new approaches has emerged specially in the twenty first century. Subsequent to this textual analysis and cinematic apparatus, the contextual horizons have become the center of new cinema histories and, as Gunning (1998, p.258) states, the new generation of historians of early cinema investigated not only the films themselves, but also the way they were shown and understood. The ‘new cinema history’ offers more concentrated research on audience and reception in order to study cinema as a more compound social phenomenon (Biltereyst, Lotze and Meers, 2012, p.691).

According to Ravazzoli (2016, p.33), “understanding of cinemagoing is linked to the relation between audience, film, theatre and the space of the city and neighborhood in which the theatre is located”; however, “it relates to the meaning attached to the act of going to the cinema as a cultural fact and social experience”. Thus, new cinema history approaches offer context activated studies, instead of text-based film studies, in order to reveal social practices and experiences of cinemagoing.

For tracing the lived experiences of cinemagoers in their social, historical and cultural contexts and to examine the role of cinemagoing within everyday life, scholars turn most often to qualitative methodologies, small research designs and micro-level approaches; interviews, observations, diaries and other written and spoken accounts, testimonies and memories (Kuhn, Biltereyst and Meers, 2017, p.16). Oral history also gives a voice of the kinds of memories that are seldom written down and would therefore normally be lost.

Understanding the meaning of cinema for a community and the place of cinemagoing in people's everyday life; to shed light on the ways in which cinema culture figures in history, society and experience (Kuhn, 2002, p.8) was one the main inspirations for the present study. Thus, the present study aims to lay down the fundamental systemic nature of cinema as a historical phenomenon in the Turkish Cypriot community during 1950s. As Allen and Gomery (1985, p.214) state, viewing the history of cinema as the history of an open system has several historiographic consequences which involves specifying the relationship among the various aspects of cinema (economic, aesthetic, cultural) as well as the relationships between cinema and other contexts (political, social, historical and national). Besides, ever since films were first shown to an audience, the cinema has been a social phenomenon (Allen and Gomery, 1985, p.153) which provides an appealing opportunity for a researcher to examine micro-historical cinemagoing experiences as a site of social and cultural exchange. Therefore, the present study aims to provide new sights for cinemagoing culture in Cyprus during the 1950s from national identity formation and national belonging horizons.

In a nutshell, to achieve its goals, the study mainly focuses on the objectives of exploring the early experiences of cinema in multi-communal context, identifying transformation of the cinemagoing experience during the rise of ethnic diversity and nationalism, questioning the influence of Turkish films on Turkish Cypriot national and ethnic identity and finally approaching to movie theatre as a new public sphere as a center for social interaction and national identity formation.

## **1.1 Background of the Study**

At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the island of Cyprus was a British Colony. As such it was an undeveloped country where transportation, communication, trade etc. were insufficient. This situation affected the development of cinema mainly in the way of audience culture rather than film production in the industrial context. According to Constandinides and Papadakis (2015, p.6), “the period from 1960 to 1974 marks the beginning of Cypriot cinema”. However, the authors credited that period in sense of film production by Cypriots.

According to Altay Sayıl, the first film screening in Cyprus was performed in 1913 by a Turkish Cypriot called Mustafa Ali (Tolgay, 1995, p.22). Mustafa Ali held the first mobile film screenings with his projector that he bought during a visit to the United States of America and provided the first cinema experience for his society (Tolgay, 1996, p.87). In the 1920s, another Turkish Cypriot, known as ‘Cinema Technician Ahmet Cemali’, is known to make film screening as well (Tolgay, 2016, p.21). In the 1930s, Greek Cypriots had built the first permanent movie theatres. The interest in cinema increased with the screening of three Turkish films brought to the island by an unknown importer. These films are Karım Beni Aldatırsa (If My Wife Betrays Me) (1933), Milyon Avcıları (Million Hunters) (1934) and Leblebici Horhor Ağa (Lord

Horhor the Chickpea Seller) (1934) (Bedevi, 1953, p.11-23). However, there has not been any evidence indicating the screening of any Turkish film until 1945.

According to Bedevi (1953, p.13), in 1945, Cemal Togan, who went to İstanbul in order to import haberdashery goods for his shop in Nicosia, bought the film called *Aysel: Bataklı Damın Kızı* (*Aysel: The Daughter of Muddy Ceiling*) (1934) and managed to screen it at Greek Cypriot movie theatres in Cyprus. With the import of these particular films from İstanbul, the film importing business from Turkey had and became a new sector between the years of 1946 and 1950. Following to this, Turkish Cypriots began to build their own cinemas.

Due to the conflicts and armed actions between the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities especially in 1963, movie theatres in Cyprus were closed; their activities were paused and film importing business stopped during this period accordingly. As Tolgay (1995, p.29) notes, the movie theatres resume their film screenings in 1964, yet there had been a decrease in the import of new films. After a short period of time, people reduced the number of their visits to cinemas with the popularity of television in the 1970s and with the screening of mainly low-budget erotic and fight films that Cypriot families took a dislike to them. In 1980, watching films in cinemas came to an end with the closure of the last movie theater, Vakıflar Cinema, till when the new generation movie theatres have started to cater for the Turkish Cypriots in 1994 with *Misirlizade Cinema* (Tolgay, 1995, p.12).

## **1.2 Motivation for the Study**

Cinema, in historical context has been one of the most important dynamics influencing the social and cultural development of the communities living in Cyprus during the

1950s. Cinemagoing was the main social practice and was the dominant leisure activity of the decade. Although cinema has such significant position, there is not enough scientific research on this topic especially from the perspective of Turkish Cypriot community. Beside the lack of studies in the field, especially in English, other main motivation for this study is the reality of losing all possible sources and materials about the topic day by day. Uncovered written materials and documents belongs to 1950s are disappearing without recording, archiving, listing and analyzing. The elderly population who experienced that period are passing away day by day together with their knowledge and memories. It is critically important to record such information, before they become inaccessible forever, in order to constitute a reference for the Turkish Cypriot cinema history and allow interpreting and analyzing cultural history of a society from the perspective of cinema in this sense.

### **1.3 Aim of the Study**

It might be a bit confusing to read history of Cyprus which studies political chaos and violence between two main ethnic groups, Turkish and Greek Cypriots, living in a small island in the 1950s. It sounds complicating because, it had been almost four centuries in the 1950s since these ethnic groups were living together without a serious conflict following the conquering of Ottomans in 1571. Numerous scholars agree to the notion of peaceful and harmonized social life of the period until the middle of the twentieth century (Kızılyürek 2002; Clarke and Varnava 2013; Yüksel 2009; Ioannides 2014; Yakinthou 2009; Pollis 1973; Fics 2018; Holland 1998; French 2015; Lozides 2007; Gates 2013). Then, how in a short period of time, people living together in harmony on a small land became dramatically oppose to each other? The present study does not try to answer this question directly on the political ground as there are numerous other studies in this field. Instead, it aims to examine the role of cinema as



one of the main dynamics and catalysts of social and cultural changes in the Turkish Cypriot community in the 1950s. Following the British colonial modernization, especially after the 1940s in Cyprus, mass communication tools were developed rapidly. Although there are few research that seeks to address the influence of radio and press on Turkish nationalism, the present study focuses on the role of cinema, as the dominant leisure activity and means of mass culture in that period, on national identity formation among Turkish Cypriot community. Thus, the present study aims to use both early cinema theories and new approaches of cinema history in order to examine the cinema as a political and national scope, addressing the direct and indirect role of cinemagoing and film consumption in political and sociocultural contexts of 1950s as Turkish Cypriot culture become increasingly aligned with Turkish nationalism. In other words, the present study aims to provide new sights for cinemagoing culture in Cyprus during the 1950s from national identity formation and national belonging horizons.

#### **1.4 Research Objectives**

As it has been stated earlier, the present study focuses on cinemagoing experiences of Turkish Cypriot community in 1950s. To achieve its goal, the present study mainly focuses on the following objectives:

- a. Exploring the early experiences of cinema in multi-communal context.
- b. Identifying transformation of the cinema-going experience during the rise of ethnic diversity and nationalism.
- c. Approaching to movie theatre as a new public sphere: Movie theatre as a center for social interaction and national identity formation.
- d. Analyzing the influence of Turkish films on Turkish Cypriot national and ethnic identity.

## **1.5 Significance of the Research**

As it has been mentioned in the Motivation of the Study (1.2.) in this Chapter, although cinema had a significant position for social and cultural interaction during the 1950s, this topic has received little scholarly attention especially from the perspective of Turkish Cypriot community. Moreover, all unrevealed written sources and materials about the topic are disappearing day by day. Similarly, there is a fact that participants who have memories and experiences are passing away without recording their memories for next generations. Even during the process of this research, unfortunately, out of twenty-six interview subjects, five respondents passed away and six of them have been diagnosed mainly Alzheimer and other serious diseases.

Therefore, the present study aims to collect all related data as much as possible, before they become inaccessible forever. In this sense, this study aims to make an important contribution to social, cultural and political history of cinema in Cyprus; and provide a reference for future research. Moreover, as there are only few research related cinema history in the Turkish Cypriot society, interrelation between cinema and Turkish nationalism in the 1950s has been analyzed scientifically within the present study by the researcher for the first time. Thus, the present study is based on an original research which seeks to produce information in the field. Nationalism has been discussed in numerous studies in Cyprus literature; however, this study proposes a new approach to examine rise of Turkish nationalism associated with cinema culture in political and historical contexts. Therefore, while the present study has an original case and makes a contribution to the literature with new information, it also introduces a new approach for the research on the subject; by using micro-historical approaches of new cinema history.

## **1.6 Limitations of the Study**

The present study has three main limitations. First, it focuses on the 1950s which is the last decade of the British rule in Cyprus. Cinema business and practices has its golden age during this period by the development of Turkish Cinema in Turkey and increasing number of movie theatres centered mainly in Nicosia and spread to other cities and villages among Turkish Cypriot community. The period was also important for political developments. During this decade, anti-colonial and inter-communal conflicts became extreme movements. Ethnocentric diversity and national fragmentation speeded up. Cinemagoing experiences had been shaped by this political context and also had significant influence on political issues vice versa. The second limitation is, the study concentrates on the interrelation between cinema and Turkish nationalism. Other communities and their national contexts (Greek Cypriots, Armenians and Maronites) are not primary subjects for the study. As Maltby (2006, p.85) states “for most of the history of cinema, their primary relationship with ‘the cinema’ has not been with individual movies-as-artefacts or as texts, but with the social experience of cinema”. Therefore, as the third limitation, although the present study covers the influence of Turkish films on Turkish Cypriot community within cinemagoing memories and filmic experiences, individual movies are not primary focus of this study. The present study examines Turkish nationalism within social, cultural, economic and political contexts of cinemagoing in 1950s Turkish Cypriot community.

## **Chapter 2**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

This Chapter reviews the related literature. Firstly, a general overview on history of Cyprus between 1571 to 1960 has been done to provide more information about the essential political, social, economic and cultural context within historical perspective in order to associate the cinemagoing culture better with different contexts. Secondly, sources related to early cinema audience and public sphere are reviewed to get better understanding of theoretical background for the study. Third, new and more recent approaches in cinema history is studied. Finally, as the fourth, more concentrate and specific readings of spatially contextualized cinema and national identity within micro-historical cinemagoing experiences were reviewed to get a sight of different cases of the field both in local and temporal varieties.

#### **2.1 Brief History of Cyprus Between 1571 and 1960**

The island of Cyprus is brought to the fore due to its geographical location in the historical process. Although it is a small land with a surface area of 9,251 km<sup>2</sup>, it has a great value in terms of the fusion of European, Asian and Egyptian civilizations to the east of the Mediterranean and is, therefore, always taken into consideration by different civilizations. It has been proven by archaeological excavations that early human communities lived in Cyprus as early as 7000s B.C. (Önalp, 2007, p.9-13). By the transformation of power and sovereignty in history, after the Egyptians, Hittites, Akas, Phoenicians, Assyrians, Persians, Romans, Byzantines, Lusignans and Venetians, the island was conquered by the Ottomans in 1571.

After more than three centuries, in 1878, the Ottoman Empire hired the administration of Cyprus to British Empire because of the need for an alliance against the Russians. The British Rule lasted till a new state was established in the name of 'Republic of Cyprus' in 1960. Under the Republic of Cyprus, government composed of Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots by sharing the representations as a partnership in the constitution; meanwhile Greece, Great Britain and Turkey's guarantor status to states and the British military bases remained on its own management on the island.

However, this union on the island did not last long especially by disagreements in the constitution. Therefore, following to inter-communal conflict within three years of the Republic of Cyprus, in 1963, Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots have administrated themselves separately. While the Greek Cypriots declared themselves as the single unit of administration of Republic of Cyprus, subsequent to interim administrations in which the Turkish Cypriots, isolated from the Republic of Cyprus, carried out their own social struggle till when Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus is declared on November 15, 1983.

### **2.1.1 Early Practices of Consociationalism: Ottoman Rule and Millet System (1571-1878)**

The rising population of Muslims in Cyprus history correspondences following the Ottoman occupation of the island in 1571. Previously, ruling religious Catholics and major religious Orthodox Christians composed the main population of the country during the Kingdom of Cyprus by Venetians. The Ottoman rule, applying the well-known 'deportation' method, following to the occupation of the island, transferred peasants and town dwellers from Anatolia and settled them in Cyprus and the principal aim of this operation was to have the desolate land of the island refined accurately, to

guarantee a maintenance for the remaining people of predominantly from Anatolia and to make a recently ruled terrain safe by remaining a trustworthy Muslim population on it (Kızılyürek, 2002, p.211). Thus, religious communities on the island became more heterogenous by Muslim in addition to Christians. There were 198 Christian, 92 Muslim and 172 mixed villages in the year 1832 (Kızılyürek, 2002, p.211).

The 'millet system' comes in prominence during the Ottoman rule. Within this system, as described by Kızılyürek (2002, p.212), "communities organized on the basis of religious autonomy and were treated according to their religious identity". The Muslims were the ruling millet (religious group) and the non-Muslims the dominated millet; and this difference was marked mainly in the tax-system, because the non-Muslim population used to pay an extra tax (Kızılyürek, 2002, p.212). What is credited most in this system is sharing the similar and almost equal living conditions and poverty for all religious groups, no matter the difference in their religious beliefs, in the same ruling structure of the country. As a consequence, a social harmony has taken place in Cyprus for more than three decades of Ottoman period with insignificant exceptions.

Kızılyürek (2016b, p.22) calls attention to this social cohesion and similar conditions of the population in millet system of Ottoman rule by referring extraordinary example of given privileges to Orthodox church of Cyprus which obtained an Ethnarch (Milletbaşı) statue during this period. In other words, as Clarke and Varnava (2013, p.296) point out, during the Ottoman rule and the millet system, which allowed for religious and communal autonomy so long as millet leaders ensured the cooperation

and loyalty of their people to the Ottoman central and local government, allowed the Cypriot archbishop to become the secular as well as spiritual leader of his flock.

Therefore, Cypriot ruling elite was composed of both Muslims and Christians, with the high clergy of the Eastern Orthodox Church having a great deal of power since the Orthodox Church had become the only recognized Christian authority on the island after the Ottoman defeat of the Catholic Venetian ruler in 1571 (Clarke and Varnava, 2013, p.296). On this ground, it might be a remarkable historical detail that “during this period of pre-nationalism, there were several joint uprisings by the Christian and Muslim populations against the ruling elite of Cyprus, which was composed of Ottoman administrators, landlords and the higher Orthodox clergy” (Kızılyürek, 2002, p.212).

Clarke and Varnava (2013, p.296) state that “Ottoman rule was hardly the story of Turkish oppression of the Greeks, as some prominent Greek, Cypriot and western authors have had people believe. Rather, it was a period of domination by a Muslim and Christian ruling elite over a Christian and Muslim peasantry”. Clarke and Varnava continue this statement by saying this situation stayed until the Ottoman reforms of the mid-nineteenth century resulted in the challenge to this system by a rising professional and middle class. Likewise, Yüksel (2009, p.162) agrees with the notion of peaceful and harmonized social life of the period until the middle of twentieth century.

What were the factors for inducing a falling coherence in traditional co-existence of the Muslim and Christian peasants then? According to Kızılyürek (2016a, p.75),

emergence of a Greek nation state, the trends of modernity and development of Greek national consciousness and of a nationalist middle class among the Greek Cypriot changed the nature of the collective action and solidarity.

The ethnic groups began to act as detached Turkish Cypriot Muslims or Greek Cypriot Christians aiming for separate political goals; however, it is important to note that ‘ethnic conflict’ was not experienced during the Ottoman rule in Cyprus (Kızılyürek, 2016a, p.75; Kızılyürek, 2002, p.214). There was no any appeal for integration either. The peasants do not think in terms of nation but in terms of religion and local community. So, there is no desire for homogeneity or integration; on the other hand, political clashes take place between rulers and rather demos, without politicizing the ethnic and cultural elements (Kızılyürek, 2002, p.214). In other words, during the Ottoman rule, it appears that the cleavages between the ruling elite (both Muslim and Christian), the peasantry (both Muslim and Christian), and a limited middle sector of local tax gatherers torn between the two were more basic than the institutional and religious differences between Muslims and Christians (Pollis, 1973, p.585).

What is more, as Clarke and Varnava state (2013, p.297), when the British arrived to ‘occupy and administer’ Cyprus in 1878, they did not find two distinct communities divided by racial, national, ethnic or even religious differences. Although religious differences existed during the Ottoman rule, they had not precluded political, social and even cultural integration (Clarke and Varnava, 2013, p.297; Kızılyürek, 2016a, p.212; Kızılyürek, 2002, p.214), and, therefore, Cypriot society was divided along social class lines rather than ethnic racial lines (Clarke and Varnava, 2013, p.297).



### **2.1.2 Colonialism, Modernism and Rise of Ethno-Nationalism: British Period (1878-1960)**

As it has been mentioned in the previous section (Ottoman Rule and Millet System), during the three centuries of Ottoman rule, religion defined and regulated relations between the two groups, the Muslim Turks, the rulers, and the Greek Orthodox Christians, with the Greek Orthodox Church becoming their dominant institution, not only in the religious domain but in the social and political spheres as well (Ioannides, 2014, p.41). The majority of the Christians during the British administration was similar to the ones during the Ottoman rule. While the population of the island in the early years of British rule, in 1881, estimated 136.629 Greeks, 46.389 Turks, 691 English and 2.400 others by British census (Pollis, 1973, p.582); Ioannides (2014, p.41) claims that the population proportion in Cyprus, the Christian Greek and Muslim Turkish ratio, was stable throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century, despite minor fluctuations, Greeks constituted about 80% and Turks about 18% of the island's population.

The population ratio stayed stable during the British period (1878-1959) and based on the British census of 1946, out of total population of 450,114, the Greek population was 361,199 (80.2%) and the Turkish population was 80,548 (17.9%); the rest, 2.1%, represented Armenians, Maronites and others (Ioannides, 2014, p.41). Besides, the report points out that, according to the 1946 census, the rural character of Cyprus highlights the total number of villages was 627, 369 of these villages, 58.8%, were inhabited exclusively by Greeks, 146 (23.2%) villages had mixed population and one hundred-twelve (112) villages (17.8%) had entirely Turkish population (Ioannides, 2014, p.41).

The British rule had played a significant role to boost the economy, especially business and trade, across numerous legislative reforms and this period of colonialization and modernization has highlighted how the significant local, political, economic, institutional and social developments, within the wider imperial and colonial contexts, shaped the future of the island through to Cyprus's independence in 1960 (Clarke and Varvana, 2013, p.310). As a consequence of new reforms and regulations, the difference between two communities increased even more during the British period.

Since historians credited the Ottoman period which Turkish Cypriots engaged in agriculture, the army and administration; by contrast, the Greek Cypriots devoted themselves to education, arts, crafts and trade; thus, achieved this extraordinary position and culture (Kızılyürek, 2016b, p.26; Kızılyürek, 2002, p.216), the increasing tendency of division between two communities might be seen as a consequence of modernization process during the Colonial Government. According to Kızılyürek (2016b, p.27), although the upper class of Turkish Cypriots continued to play a role in the British colonial administration, they did not have any economical or political power indeed.

In a nutshell, the development of trade and education turned the Greek Cypriot community into the dynamic bourgeois society with new middle classes which were actively involved in political mobilization; and the Turkish Cypriot community remained to a great extent an agricultural community (Kızılyürek, 2002, p.215). The economic division and the domination of Greek Cypriots in commercial, industrial and cultural development had become the initial apprehension of marginalized Turkish

Cypriot community in the coming years when intergroup conflicts turned into violent actions.

In addition to this, new practices of modernization process in political arena had great impact on the separation of the communities. Varnava and Yakinthou (2011, p.256) point out that, the councils were upgraded after the British occupation in 1878 and, in 1882, Cyprus was granted a new constitution which allowed for a legislative council with a local majority; thus, Cyprus was the first non-settler overseas possession to receive a constitution with a local majority in its legislature so soon after coming under British colonial control. The Cypriot Legislative Council was composed of the high commissioner, six appointed 'official' British members, and twelve elected 'unofficial' locals divided between nine Christians and three Muslims reflecting local population dynamics (Varnava and Yakinthou, 2011, p.256; Yakinthou, 2009, p.42; Serter, 1977, p.119). As a result of this voting structure, a Muslim and British alliance could counterbalance the Christians, and close them out of decision-making, though this does not appear to have been the British intention and did not begin to happen frequently until after 1910 (Varnava and Yakinthou, 2011, p.256).

In following years of Colonial Government, this legitimize structure that allowed local communities to get into contradictory improved in historical context as political modernization. According to Yakinthou (2009, p.42), Cypriot members of the Council had some disagreements, aside from whole body and subtleties of their collaboration, which in the following years resulted with the failure of the 1960 state. Besides, Yüksel (2009, p.163) states that following administration and legitimacy reforms, British administration dismissed the Muslims from their civil servant administration positions

and replace the Christians as higher officials; the aim is both to remove the Muslims from the administration and to end the traditional Ottoman origin of Muslim domination on the island by establishing a direct and indirect control on both communities. On the other hand, Demetriou (2019, p.404) states that, as the colonial government of Cyprus comprised a gathering in which Greek and Turkish elected officials contributed together with British appointed officials. This arrangement allowed the Turkish and the British legislature members together to prevent any action taken by the Greek members.

According to Pollis (1973, p.591), by the representative institutions especially in the legislative council, the British reinforced identification within each community, improved the separation between them, and portrayed the communities into political relationships possibly appropriate for a modern nation-state; however, this was inappropriate to the earlier standing communal social order and to the properties that persistent it. Consequently, a social order composed of a Muslim and Orthodox governing elite was slowly redefined into two vertically fragmented religious groups; and that was done to promote redefined into two antagonistic nationality groups as Greeks and Turks (Pollis, 1973, p.591).

There are plenty of different opinions and interpretations of modernization process during the British rule in Cyprus. However, there is also a several common views on the significant role of British 'divide and rule' reforms in numerous fields such as political, educational, economical, commercial etc., as including the legitimacy, to divide and set the communities against each other.

For instance, the growth in education during the colonial period is remarkable in sense of communal division. Clarke and Varnava (2013, p.299) indicate that within four and half decades of the British rule, the number of students participating education in Cyprus were reported as increasing from 6,776 students in the year 1881 to 44,850 students in 1922. In contrast, during the days when a disordered state of associations reigned from the late 1870s to the early 1900s, scarcely only half of the children in the island were receiving education (Clarke and Varnava, 2013, p.298). On the other hand, Pollis (1973, p.589) traces that Colonial Government had succeeded not only in expanding the amount of schools however additionally in succeeding certain secularization of the curriculum.

However, this secularization process has not served only for cultural development but resulted in political polarization as required of the British Government. Colonial rule introduced a policy which perhaps accounts for more than any other single factor for the assimilation of notions of Greek versus Turkish nationality among the populace and in this purpose, the British started to support the introduction of teaching personnel from Greece and Turkey correspondingly (Pollis, 1973, p.589). Two Boards of Education were founded for this, one Turkish and the other Greek, both responsible for controlling their own individual school system; in addition to this, while the texts for the Turkish schools were supplied from Turkey, the Greek schools compulsory the authorization of the Ministry of Education in Greece and material written by Cypriot authors likewise must be confirmed by the Greek Ministry (Pollis, 1973, p.589). As a consequence, school systems tuned into the main institution for the dissemination of nationalist policies, especially from the 1930s and 1940s onwards, a mission certainly

accelerated by the supremacy of Orthodoxy in the concept of Greek nationality and caused to Muslim community to have tighter ties with Turkey.

Besides, Fics (2018, p.15) states that the former remaining split from elementary to university education systems, that later detached ideologically by the roots of Hellenism and growth for Greek Cypriots, in contrast to modernization of Atatürk's conceptualizations of Turkish identity intensified the conflict. Hence, Greek and Turkish Cypriots must discuss, refuse, or acclimatize to these ethno-nationalist ideologies during the British colonialism, promoting a rising on their affiliation and the education system enhanced a center for malicious nationalism particularly since taxation was not spending for higher education and establishing universities; instead, were spending on behalf of the British government (Fics, 2018, p.15; Argyriou, 2018, p.312). As a result, Greek and Turkish Cypriots went to Greece or Turkey to get their university education which also had a significant role on ethno-national identity formation among Cypriots and strengthened ethnocentrism and 'motherland' belongings especially during and following to the 1940s and 1950s.

### **2.1.3 Decolonialization, Communal Division and Intercommunal Conflicts: The Last Decade of British Rule (1950s)**

With the growth of primary education, the number of primary schools increased from 762 in 1922 to 1,060 a decade later, the result was that young Cypriots were socialized into regarding themselves as Greeks or Turks, rather than sharing a common and traditional Cypriot identity (French, 2015, p.17).

The Greek Orthodox Church had more power over secondary education than the government and it made grants to aid Greek Cypriot secondary schools, and it had

some control over the awarding of scholarships to Greek Cypriots who wished to go to Greece for higher education (French, 2015, p.17) as it has been mentioned in the previous section (British Period 1878-1960). French (2015, p.17) points out that, teachers in Greek Cypriot schools, many of whom were in fact Greek citizens who had been trained in Greece, were pensioned by the Greek government, and the church could control their behavior by recommending the withholding of their pensions.

Since the policy of the Greek State, which emerged in 1828, to include all of the Greek-speaking Christian Orthodox parts of the Byzantine Empire within the national borders of modern Greece as an expression of the state doctrine, was soon to influence the Greek Cypriot community in Cyprus by the power of the deep rooted Cypriot Church (Kızılyürek, 2016a, p.51). Moreover, Kızılyürek (2002, p.218) emphasizes that, in order to implement this political program, Greece promoted an irredentist ideology, emanating from the Hellenic Kingdom to the Eastern periphery of Hellenism; in this way, an extremely powerful, non-territorial national ideology was fostered, later expressed in the so-called Great Idea of recreating a Greek-Christian Orthodox Empire by using the powerful control of the Church on the community.

Although sociologically, the background of Enosis perhaps clarified by the explanation throughout a long period of high Greek culture within the milieu of Orthodox society in Cyprus while ethnic, linguistic, literary, and religious settlements were formed across a Hellenistic realization to domain a traditional order from antagonistic pressures inside and outside (Holland, 1998, p.6); Bakshi (2017, p.77) states that, during the British rule, ethnic groups were ruled individually, subsequent in totally isolated systems of education; thus, the Greek education system harassed

Hellenism, and cultivated the early stages of a aspiration for Enosis: union with Greece (in one way by the contribution of developments in administration and education as a result of British colonialism and modernism).

The awareness of self-rule, and uniting to eliminate colonial rule from the British, had the potential to become a location for cooperation between the two communities; but, Greek Cypriots sustained to emphasize their Enotist objectives and Turkish Cypriots persisted skeptical and thus tentative about collaboration (Yakinthou, 2009, p.44).

On this ground, Ioannides (2014, p.46) states that peaceful coexistence in Cyprus had been troubled largely due to the insertion to the island of Greek nationalism in the form of Enosis. Then in the 1940s, the ideology of Turkish nationalism induced among the Turkish Cypriot elite. In spite of Greek Cypriots had seen and handled the Cyprus query completely as a problem of self-determination of the Cypriot people in the Hellenic ethnic sense and the expansion of Greek nationalism in Cyprus resulted in a denial of the Turkish Cypriot community (Kızılyürek, 2016a, p.88).

According to Loizides (2007, p.174), in the case of Turkish Cypriots, nationalism has been driven by reaction to Greek Cypriot demands, insecurity, and fears of marginalization. When the Greek Cypriot national movement for union had become very strong in Greek Cypriot community, the Turkish Cypriots turned their face to modern Turkey for protection and conceptualized it in a romantic way, as a 'motherland' (Kızılyürek, 2003, p.199). In this first phase of Turkish Cypriot nationalism, Turkey became the idealized romantic motherland which would protect "the lonely children", who were perceiving themselves as "the helpless remains" of



the collapsed Ottoman Empire. Therefore, in the period of deep insecurities during the late 1940s and later in the 1950s, the emergence of modern Turkey and the personnel cult of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, were the main sources of ethnic pride for the Turkish Cypriots in response to the dialectical other which were the Greek Cypriots (Kızılyürek, 2003, p.199).

In 1943, leading Kemalists established the Turkish right-wing party 'The Association of the Turkish Minority of the Island of Cyprus' (Kıbrıs Adası Türk Azınlık Kurumu: KATAK); the name of the organization also demonstrated their emphasis on a 'Turkish' rather than a 'Muslim' identity (Gates, 2013, p.874). While getting away from the traditional control of 'Muslim' elites, the cult of Atatürk and the myth of Motherland Turkey were appealing to the younger generation of the Turkish Cypriots who were observing in admiration and fear the dynamic Greek Cypriot community's struggle for union with their motherland Greece (Kızılyürek, 2003, p.199). According to Kızılyürek (2003, p.199-200) it was this generation, who would compose the new leadership and adopt the ideology of Turkish nationalism, first to fight against the union of Cyprus to Greece and then to achieve the division of Cyprus and unify it with Turkey.

The reaction of the Turkish Cypriots to the Enosis movement was also encouraged and supported by the colonial government, which was hoping to obstruct the realization of Enosis through British-Turkish cooperation; therefore, in 1948, a 'Special Turkish Committee' was set up by the colonial government of Lord Winster (Kızılyürek, 2002, p.223). The objective of the 'Special Turkish Committee' was to establish closer relations between Turkey and the Turkish Cypriot Community. For this purpose,

teachers and school material from Turkey arrived in Nicosia more than before; the celebration of Turkey's national days were also recognized in Cyprus; Atatürk's reforms, including family law and education were introduced into the Turkish Cypriot community in a larger context.

Furthermore, Gates (2013, p.875) also supports the idea that, validation of Greek Cypriot nationalism seems to have highlighted a turning point in the expansion of Turkish Cypriot nationalism. Although the first attempts concerning instituting a 'Turkish' community had started previously during the Second World War, the achievement of the 'Kemalist' group within the Turkish Cypriot community can be drawn to the anxieties emerged by the plebiscite of 1950. Gates (2013, p.875) states that while 'divide and rule' might have been an 'unconscious choice' in the initial days of the British rule, indictments of this strategy tend to center during the last decade of colonial rule, when both Enosis requests and Turkish Cypriot nationalism began to arise. The plebiscite of January 1950, resulted as 96% favored Enosis, determined the growth of Greek Cypriot nationalism; initially considered as a political tactic by the leftist Progressive Party of Workers (AKEL) the effective operation of the plebiscite was due mainly to the leader of the Greek Cypriot Right then bishop of Kitiom and later Archbishop Makarios III (Gates, 2013, p.875).

On the other hand, although 96 per cent of population voted on the behalf of Enosis, Turkish Cypriot community was not included among the voters (Yüksel, 2009, p.168); therefore, the attempt of Greek Cypriots to present the result of the 1950's plebiscite in internal and international arena was not reflecting the complete reality of the island. This movement was credited by Savrun and Tinal (2017, p.353) as a remarkable

historical and political detail which specifies the exclusion of Turkish Cypriot society by Greek nationalism of assimilation and marginalization.

According to Gates (2013, p.875), as Greek Cypriots became more determined in their chase of their aspiration for unification with Greece, the Turkish Cypriots reacted by arising a strong counter resistance in the 1950s and as Holland (1998, p.67) states, the unpredictability of Greek Cypriot politics during the early 1950s had been rebounded on the Turkish side where a new, fundamentally opportunist grouping, ‘The Federation of Turkish Associations’(Kıbrıs Türk Kurumları Federasyonu), sought to monopolize minority politics, just as the Enosists struggled to dominate majority politics. What the Federation required, on the other hand, was not simply assurance against any future Greek domination, but separate rights within the current order (Holland, 1998, p.67).

Indeed, in addition to internal meetings and organizations among Turkish Cypriot society, in 1952, the head of The Federation of Turkish Associations, Faiz Kaymak, organized a secret meeting in Turkey to visit Fuat Köprülü, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Deputy Prime Minister of the Republic of Turkey, to share the current situation of the island (Yüksel, 2009, p.169). However, at the beginning of the 1950s, Turkey would not like to get into Cyprus problem actively (Coşkun, 2018, p.857). This was a great disappointment for Kemalists elites of Turkish Cypriots. What made the matters worse for Turkish Cypriots’ case was, as late as 1953, Fuat Köprülü even stated that his government did not believe that there was a matter of ‘Cyprus question’ (Pollis, 1973, p.593).

Meanwhile, on the other side of the case, Archbishop Makarios was tracing a way to confirm 1950's plebiscite in international arena (Yüksel, 2009, p.169). After several attempts, including negotiations with the USA, Britain and the United Nations; Makarios could not come up with a desirable and tangible results. Following Makarios's political failure, he visited Greece in 1954 and got an agreement on another strategy for further support of Enosis. According to Demetriou (2019, p.405), the unionist movement advanced a campaign of violence in order to promote the international perception of the island and to display the British confrontation to the ambitions of the island's majority population. This campaign, which was clandestinely reinforced by the Greek government, was inducted in April 1955 by the recently created underground organization EOKA (National Organization of Greek Fighters) (Demetriou, 2019, p.405; Volkan, 2008, p.28). But the British government soon struggled to recover the advantage. In the summer of 1955, the British invited the Greek and Turkish governments to London for a conference, Demetriou (2019, p.405) claims that, the unseen purpose of which was the impediment, over Turkey's involvement, of the vision of self-determination. The British government offered in the conference that the other two governments obtain a consultative role in Cyprus; a suggestion which the Greek government refused but the tough Turkish involvement for which the British government desired went beyond diplomacy (Demetriou, 2019, p.406).

As Yakinthou (2009, p.46) points out, founding of EOKA is the main reason for anti-colonialism and the corresponding ethno-nationalism which were taken into account as seriously threatening to the British government. Following the opposite strategy of British, that tried to get Turkey into the issue, motivating the homeland Turks to rise

boldly for the Turkish Cypriot minority rights and accordingly against Enosis; by this time, the Turkish government was under substantial internal pressure from Turkish nationalists and Turkish Cypriots living in Turkey (Yakinthou, 2009, p.47). This involvement was also welcome by nationalist elites in Turkish Cypriot community who had been waiting for this support for few years.

In 1955, progressively persevering Greek Cypriot cries for Enosis were growing day by day and effecting the development of intercommunal violence and ethnic nationalism (Yakinthou, 2009, p.47) by armed anti-colonial campaign that was organized by EOKA. As a counter discourse, the Turkish Cypriots responded by demanding the partition of Cyprus, 'Taksim', creating their own armed fighter's group under the name of 'Turkish Resistance Organization', (Türk Mukavemet Teşkilatı: TMT) in 1957 (Papadakis, 2005, p.84; Kızılyürek, 2016a, p.244). Before the Turkish Resistance Organization (TMT), Dr. Fazıl Küçük, the powerful political leader of Turkish Cypriots, established the 'Cyprus Turkish National People's Party' (KMTHP) in 1944; later, in 1949, the Institution of the 'Turkish Minority of the Island of Cyprus' (KATAK) and the Cyprus National People's Party were merged together under the name of the 'National Turkish Union Party of Cyprus' (KMTBP). In 1955, the name of National Turkish Union Party of Cyprus was changed into 'Cyprus is Turkish Party' (KTP). It is in the same year that the first Turkish resistance organization 'Volkan' was established by the Turkish Cypriots (Yüksel, 2009, p.170). Volkan was superseded in 1957 as the new organization TMT by the founders of Rauf Raif Denktaş and the Turkish Cypriot leader Dr. Fazıl Küçük (Yakinthou, 2009, p.47).

In October 1955, Field Marshal John Harding, chief of the British Imperial General Staff, was named as the governor of Cyprus and arrived on the island to undertake his post. As Solsten (1991) describes, Harding instantaneously began dialogues with Makarios, concerning a multimillion-pound development plan that would be implemented depending on the agreement of limited self-government and rescheduling of self-determination. According to Solsten (1991), Harding desired to leave no doubt that he was there to reestablish law and order, get-tough policy was not going to have any great effect on EOKA. Consequently, in November 1955, Harding acknowledged a 'state of emergency', proscription public meetings, announcing the death penalty for carrying a weapon, and organizing strikes illegal.

Papadakis (2005, p.84) claims that, during the middle and late 1950s, the British came to trust more on the Turks in order to fill posts in government services, especially the police, because the Greeks had stopped working for, or cooperating with, the colonial administration and this increased the tension between two communities as the Turkish policemen were called into action against the Greek insurgents. According to some authors, in both communities, employing Turkish Cypriot policeman was the purposeful act of Colonial Government to use them against Greek Cypriots for communal cleavage. For instance, Kızılyürek (2002, p.224) states that, when a Turkish Cypriot Auxiliary Police force was recruited during 1955-1959 to fight the Greek Cypriot Enosis fighters, intercommunal clashes became almost inevitable and towards the end of the 1950s, both communities were politically polarized. Their national claim, Enosis and Taksim, were beyond compromise. Likewise, Papadakis (2005, p.84) points out that this policy of British 'Divide and Rule' strategy, led to interethnic

killings, culminating in large scale riots in Nicosia and resulted as the first physical barbed wire division of the capital.

As the colonial administration formed a special security force, the Auxiliary Police and the Mobile Reserve Force, estimated at 2,250, that was manned exclusively by Turkish Cypriots; a matter of course showed up especially in 1956 when a Turkish Cypriot Police Sergeant was shot and killed in Nicosia while he was chasing two EOKA guerrillas (Ioannides, 2014, p.56). The Turkish leadership, however, saw this as a deliberate attack of EOKA against Turkish Cypriots and in the process, the peaceful coexistence was undermined as a result of the deliberate British policy to use Turkish Cypriots in riot control and counter insurgency operations against EOKA (Ioannides, 2014, p.56).

As Herlihy (n.d.) describes, during 1957, apart from maintaining pressure, propaganda and occasional pipe-bomb or assassination operations, EOKA was lying low and recouping its losses in personnel and arms. By 1958 a re-armed and re-organized EOKA, confident in their new measures to ensure their own security, were prepared to re-commence activities and throughout the year occasional ambushes of Security Forces patrols were carried out by the Mountain Groups and assassinations of unwary and often unarmed British-looking civilians still occurred (Herlihy, n.d.). The results of the late 1950s period of inter-communal violence, though it was short, was widespread. Indeed, it split the communities physically: Greeks congregated in Greek neighborhood and Turks in Turkish neighborhood. This period has also been credited as the raise of antagonism between two communities as an unprecedented pitch.

From 1955 to 1960, the continued violence and the state of emergency turned Nicosia into an embattled capital with armed security forces; besides, curfews and barbed wires, alerts, bells, killings and arrests turned out to be portion of daily life (Nicosia Municipality, 2020). The city's long business district, Ledra Street, was credited as 'Murder Mile'.

The history of peaceful coexistence of Cypriots thus, has transformed into ethno-nationalist division which Kızılyürek (2003, p.1997; 2002, p.226) describes as the "product of modernity" and colonialization that turned the Cypriots from pre-modern traditional communities into two distinct nations and divided political societies.

## **2.2 Early Cinema Audience and Public Sphere**

Initial motion picture exhibitions, beginning by having a place itself within other form of entertainments in fair grounds, summer parks, traveling shows etc. emerged with its former participants of public sphere. The rise of motion picture and initial film exhibitions have significant contributions on social life and had influenced numerous transformational impact on public experiences that were beginning to go beyond the ordinary. Hansen (1991, p.2) identifies this process as "juxtaposition of two vignettes" which are 'emergence of cinema spectatorship' and 'transformation of the public sphere'. In this perspective, it is important to examine cinemagoing and spectatorship in the center of 'public sphere' which would allow us to understand the main changes and developments in the society. Having these two 'juxtaposition of two vignettes' in the center of a study might lead the researchers understand various social developments or regressions, communal changes as a matter of fact, in historical, social, economic and political context of social horizons including class, gender, race, ethnicity and generation.



Spectatorship from the public sphere point of view get the attention of scholars decades later, even after emerging boarder spectatorship theories, since the mid-1970s, following classical film theories which mainly concentrated on film text. According to Hansen (1991, p.3), the shift from textual analysis of film to spectator theories has taken place by the shift of focus from the filmic object and its structures to the relations between films and viewers to the relations between films and viewers, between cinema and spectator, was the prime motor in the development of a particular direction in film theory, derived from linguistically informed paradigms of semiotics and psychoanalysis.

As Hansen (1991, p.4) states, the spectator was conceptualized under the poststructuralist category of the subject (as elaborated by Lacan and Althusser) and corresponding notions of ideology. Arguing from the critical perspectives, mainly Marxist and feminist, film theorists advanced a systematic analysis of how the cinema, in particular classical Hollywood cinema, works to drag and manipulate the spectator's desire with dominant ideological positions.

Moreover, according to Christie (2012, p.11), the problem has always been how to describe such an indefinite concept as 'the audience'. Therefore, Christie further the discussion through two concepts of audience that have dictated the history of cinema. The first is an imagined audience of 'they' and 'we' often attributed with partialities and reactions which are author's statements and understandings; and the second is an economic or statistical audience, documented from permissions or box-office receipts, which have become the leading concept of 'audience' for the film industry. Christie (2012, p.11) follows the third notion that arose with the development of the new human

and social sciences whose confinement contended corresponding to cinema's growth as a modern medium, with the individual spectator assumed in the way of psychology, anthropology or sociology".

In addition, Barker (2012, p.189) states "entirely missing is any sense of the historically and culturally situated audience, common to most audience research, whose responses are functions of their life situations and engagements.". He describes this with 'critique of psychoanalysis' in a way that, theory of spectatorship remains as ahistorical as the more psychoanalytical film theories, because the cognitive perception of the viewer is deemed to remain unchanged by other historical or cultural factors. Therefore, he strongly indicates the significance of exploring the ways in which aspects of films' form engage not just with viewers' cognitive capacities, but with their historical contexts.

In his debates on early American cinema, Gunnig (1998, p.255) claims that, starting from the early 1970s, American cinema has transformed conceptions of film history and relation between theory and history. For him "previous film historians had only limited access to films or other primary materials from the early period, and usually operated under implicit teleological assumptions, chronicling film's gradual technical and aesthetic maturation". In this aspect, cinema's beginnings have been viewed as 'immature babblings', followed by precocious discoveries and a growing mastery of editing and storytelling.

Debates on focus of the film theories strongly questioned by the film historians in the 1970s. As Hansen (1991, p.5) points out, film historians have started to get away from

traditional surveys that concentrate on film mainly as an artwork and new historiography and “turned its attention to the cinema as an economic and social institution, to relations between film practice and developments in technology, industrial organization and exhibition practices. The spectator enters these studies as a consumer, as a member of a demographically diverse audience”.

According to Hansen (1991, p.5), this new film history had tendency to examine the social and political dynamics of cinema consumption, with discourses of experience and ideology. Therefore, scholars such as Robert Allen and Douglas Gomery questioned the spectator as a term of cinematic discourse and examined the gap between film theories and film history. This tendency also required further considerations on empirical moviegoer in his or her demographic contingency. In this sense, Hansen (1991, p.6) indicates ‘cognitive psychology’ in the center of theoretical and historical empirical directions in cinema studies as in psychoanalytic-semiotic film theory, perhaps even more so, the spectator appears primarily as a function of signifying structures, specifically, the strategies of filmic narration. But the viewer, Bordwell (2009, p.30-31) insists, is more than a passive victim of ideological conspiracy; the viewer is an active participant in the filmic narration, “a hypothetical entity executing the operations relevant to constructing a story out of the film's representation” (cited in Hansen, 1991, p.6). Supplemented by many sorts of particular knowledge, the viewer's experience is cued by the text, according to intersubjective protocols that may vary. This concept of reception may seem to include a historical dimension on two counts: the somewhat vague reference to many sorts of particular knowledge and the intersubjective protocols which vary according to different paradigms and norms of narration.

Furthermore, as Gunning (1998, p.255) indicates, under the dominance of apparatus theory, which marked film studies in the decade of the 1970s, film theorists tended to view history with suspicion. From an amalgam of Lacanian psychoanalysis and Althusserian critique of ideology, a systematic model of the way cinema operated had been fashioned that owed little to historical research. Film history, as it had been practiced, was viewed as an empirical gathering of facts that could hardly shed light on the deep structures of the way the cinematic apparatus constructed its spectator as subject (Gunning, 1998, p.255).

According to Barker (2012, p.189), in the 1970s, film studies was swinging to the tense expansions of 'theory', the determination of this statement now seems purely unverifiable and unusual. He gives an example Jan Campbell book 'Film and Cinema Spectatorship' published in 2005 and discuss how psychoanalytic identifications could enlighten on films' processes and one whose title presumes a form of seeing particular to film and cinema. Barker criticizes the book that was predominantly written from a psychoanalytic perspective. So, Barker emphasizes that subsequent the collapse of the screen theory in the 1980s, empirical film studies turned in contradictory direction in the 1990s.

New approaches to early cinema emerged, however, not so much in opposition to film theory as in dialogue with it, and from a desire to test some of its propositions. According to Baudry (1986), apparatus theory was constructed as a model of cinema based theory on a number of assumptions about cinematic form and text-spectator relations: the centering of the film spectator as the master of the visual field and decoder of narrative puzzles, and a viewing process in which the spectator remains

immobile and loses all sense of surroundings, in thrall to an illusion of reality deriving from psychological regression (cited in Gunning, 1998, p.255).

As Thissen (2012, p.45) states, since the 1970s, the subject of early cinema's social and cultural placement have commonly developed at the lead of film historiography. In the 1970s, film studies started to become an academic discipline and initiated what has since become credited as 'film theory'; while the most influential alignment of such theory was in fact spectatorship, and the idea that film texts in some sense 'produced' their spectators, there were minimum three other significant mechanisms of this groundbreaking moment (Christie, 2012, p.17). In this point of view, Christie (2012, p.17) analyzes film studies' transformation roughly in three categories: Firstly, a renewal of the project for a 'science of signs' or 'semiotics', as a way of grabbing the codes that defined film as visual communication. The second was the 'auteur theory'; a strategy to relocate consideration on the enormous, then mainly unrevealed body of work produced by commercial filmmakers, which needed that the spectator must work at understanding the text in a particular sense. The last was a 'social turn', which directed attention away from the timeless film text towards concrete conditions of cinemagoing itself.

Besides, as numerous authors who concentrate early history of cinema credit her writings, Miriam Hansen criticizes film theory of the 1970s and early 1980s, particularly as it revolved around the notion of 'the spectator'. In her film theory discussions, Hansen indicates that this period of film theory lay within psychoanalytic-semiotic approaches, often inflected with Marxist and feminist politics, associated

with the names of Jean- Louis Baudry, the later Christian Metz, Raymond Bellour, Stephen Heath, Laura Mulvey etc.

In this regard, Hansen (1993, p.197) points out that the paradigmatic distinction of 1970s film theory, its break with earlier film theory, consisted of a shift in focus from textual structures or ontologies of the medium to processes of reception and spectatorship whether concerned with the cinematic apparatus or with textual operations of enunciation and address, these approaches converged in the question of how the cinema works to construct, interpellate and reproduce its viewer as subject, how it solicits actual moviegoers to identify with and through ideologically marked positions of subjectivity. In either case, the inquiry hinged upon the hypothetical term of an ideal spectator, a unified and unifying position offered by the text or apparatus.

Following to the shift of focus of the film studies from textual analysis and cinematic apparatus to contextual horizons, as Gunning (1998, p.258) states, the new generation of historians of early film investigated not only the films themselves, but also the way they were shown and understood. This involved a shift, to use the terms suggested by Christian Metz, from early films to early cinema, the culture surrounding films, including their industry, their theatres, and their audience. In this regard, not only mise-en-shot techniques, including editing, mise-en-scene and narrative strategies differed in early cinema; classical cinema had also transformed the ways films were presented and the means audience used for understanding them. In this break of discussions on film theory, Gunning extends the debate by indicating feminist film theory in the late 1970s both adopted the subjectivity of the apparatus theory of cinema and supplied its most radical critique.

Therefore, according to Gunnig (1998, p.267), feminist film theory in the late 1970s both adopted the subjectivity of the apparatus theory of cinema and supplied its most radical critique. Gender difference opened the gates for a reconceptualization of the film spectator open to history and the play of gender and ethnic difference. While an attempt to reconcile this historical and cultural investigation of spectatorship with the assumptions of apparatus theory may encounter contradictions in method, the historical investigation of early cinema and modernity has sketched a model of a more fluid concept of subjectivity.

Moreover, reception studies underline specific social, cultural, economic and political context of spectator to understand viewer's perception and interpretation. Since the social context has multiple dimensions from viewer's race, gender, generation and ethnicity, Hansen (1991, p.7) indicates the significance of public dimension of cinematic reception which is "distinct from both textual and social determinations of spectatorship because it entails the very moment in which reception can gain a momentum of its own, can give rise to formations not necessarily anticipated in the context of production". Consequently, Hansen (1991, p.7) reconsiders spectatorship from public sphere perspective that is itself a category of historical transformation and in this regard, she approaches to cinema as on one level which the cinema constitutes a public sphere of its own, defined by particular relations of representation and reception. These depend upon processes specific to the institution of cinema, that is, the uneven development of modes of production, distribution, and exhibition, in conjunction with particular forms of film style. At the same time the cinema intersects and interacts with other formations of public life, which fall into the areas of social and cultural history. In both respects the question is which discourses of experience

will be articulated in public and which remain private; how these delineations are organized, for whom, by whom and in whose interest; how the public, as a collective and intersubjective horizon, is constituted and constitutes itself under particular conditions and circumstances.

Miriam Hansen has been a milestone for cinema history who theorized social practices and experiences of early cinema within Habermasian perspective of public sphere. On the other hand, Hansen's analyses go beyond classical public sphere of capitalism, commodification, reification, hegemony etc. and show the cinema's possibilities of alternative public sphere as a part of social horizon of experiences. This point of view also allows us to understand functions of the cinema for a community whose members are able to interact in more broad contexts and in heterogeneous mass audience space where participants are interactive rather than passive consumers. Such a theoretical background makes a historical cinema audience researcher investigate, analyze and understand many social, cultural, political, historical and economic changes, formations and transformations in a wide range of social horizons. Examining the role, functions and influences of cinema in a community on this ground may lighten various cause and effect relationships in different contexts. For this reason, theoretical framework of the present study, regarding early cinema, mainly focuses on Miriam Hansen's writings.

The concept of 'public sphere', which was first theorized by Habermas in 1962, can be defined as living spaces where all individuals in the society can participate and interact respectively. As a result of this interaction in which various groups gather and exchange ideas, Habermas (1997, p.187) points out at the formation of public opinion.



The related public opinion concept begins to develop on the basis of public spirit and is associated with the concepts of general view, public opinion and public perception. The subject of publicity is the public as carrier of public opinion; its function as a critical judge is precisely what makes the public character of proceedings meaningful (Habermas, 1993, p.2). In the dominion of the mass media, as theorized and criticized in the similar perspective by other members of Frankfurt school like Adorno and Horkheimer, publicity has changed its meaning. Originally, a function of public opinion, it has become a characteristic of whatever attracts public opinion; public relations and efforts recently described 'publicity work' are aimed at producing such publicity. Sometimes the public appears simply as that sector of public opinion that happens to be opposed to the authorities. Depending on the circumstances, either the organs of the state or the media, like the press, which provide communication among members of the public, may be counted as public organs.

Habermas (1993, p.2) distinguishes public opinion from other conceptions by defining it as is, to be sure, taken into account, but not in the form of unrestricted public discussion. Its character and function are indicated rather by the terms in which it is addressed: 'public opinion research', 'publicity', 'public relations work', and so forth. The press and broadcast media operate excluding structures of public information and argument rather than technologies for supervision, compromise and encouraging consumer culture.

At this point, for Habermas (1974, p.50), the public sphere as a sphere which arbitrates between society and state, in which the public organizes itself as public opinion, unities with the principle of the public sphere. Consequently, it is no correlation that these

concepts of the public sphere and public opinion appeared for the first time only in the eighteenth century. They develop their specific meaning from a concrete historical situation. Public discussions about the exercise of political power which are both critical in directed and guaranteed have not always existed; they grew out of a specific phase of bourgeois society.

Habermas's text popularized the concept by providing an account of its development in the seventeenth and eighteenth century Europe, as well as its ostensible decline under the pressures of interest-based politics and mediatized consumerism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Bray, 2012, p.145). However, subsequent work has also been subjected Habermas's account to an ongoing series of critiques. The historical grounding of the ideal of the public sphere that Habermas offered seems peculiarly untroubled by the actual exclusions on which the bourgeois public sphere was based. As Bray (2012, p.146) continues on this discussion on alternatives to Habermas's conception which "focusing on the need to incorporate expressive and aesthetic elements of self-presentation that pluralize the image of 'public' identities, dismantle the traditional boundary between public and private, and foster sites for the constitution of diverse forms of social experience".

As Hansen (1991, p.11) states, like Horkheimer and Adorno before him, Habermas does not simply blame the commodification of art as such; on the contrary, the capitalist market is the very condition of the notion of aesthetic autonomy, the emancipation of art from feudal and sacral contexts. On the other hand, cultural products are designed for mass consumption; they are not just commodities, but 'commodities through and through'. Also with women (other ethnicities, classes and

age of people in a similar sense), increasingly being perceived as the subject of consumption the repressed gender subtext of the bourgeois public sphere returns with the emergence of qualitatively different types of publicity such as the cinema, with relations of representation and reception no longer predicated on the exclusionary hierarchies of literary culture (Hansen, 1991, p.11).

Moreover, especially in the sense of class discussions within cinema history, Hansen (1983a, p.148) indicates that, in its second decade, American cinema began to be discussed in terms of its class-specific, public functions. Whether with conservative or liberal intent, the rhetoric surrounding the novelty of the motion picture, particularly following the rise of the nickelodeon, acknowledged its appeal to the urban poor and working class, to 'new' immigrants. They were the people who had never been considered as audience on a massive scale before. With the pathos of uplift characteristic of the Progressive Era, the nickelodeon was seen as democracy's theater, the laboring man's university. According to Hansen (1983a, p.148), this democratic appeal of the new medium was attributed to the power of moving images to speak to everyone, the poor and illiterate, women and children, foreigners and natives. This universal language of film became one of the key metaphors in public discourse on the cinema.

Following the emerge of new approaches on film theories and history in the 1970s, Gunning (1998, p.259) suggests that the investigation of early cinema must consider the broader cultural context in which films were made, exhibited, and understood. Gunning stresses that the importance of vaudeville for early cinema, both as an exhibition outlet and as a model, had received renewed attention; but what about the

nickelodeon, the theatre of the masses, which traditional histories saw as defining the early American cinematic experience? How did the nickelodeon appear? Who was its audience? How did it relate to changes in early films? The nickelodeon era (which began in 1905, became widespread in 1906, and was ending by 1912) began with the rise of story films, while the end of that era saw the first development of classical traits such as characterization and narrative closure.

Furthermore, Bray (2012, p.146) stresses that, Negt and Kluge propose a conception of the public sphere as “a general social horizon of experience in which what is really or supposedly relevant for all members of society is summarized”. This social horizon, they insist, is grounded in production, both that of industrial labor and that by which human agency makes sense of and transforms the world: experience itself is such production. This emphasis on production theoretically grounds their anticipation of a proletarian public sphere, which would be a forum in which experiences of the working class, otherwise excluded from the public, could find autonomous development and expression, making possible their reclamation of the social wealth (use values and experiences) that they have produced.

Kluge (1982, p.207) points out that, cinema is a relationship of production. In this relationship, the experiences of the spectators exist and constantly recreate the cinema's experiential horizon. The true medium of experience, of desires, of phantasies, and actually of aesthetic appreciation as well, are the real human beings and never the specialists (Kluge, 1982, p.209). People work at steady jobs, they toil away, which in tum means they work on their relationships, they work overtime in order to survive in both work and private relationships. and they only reflect something

which depends on being filled out by the spectators from their own experience. In this point of view, according to Kluge (1982, p.211), if we discuss the term oppositional public sphere, and by this we mean a type of public sphere which is changing and expanding, increasing the possibilities for a public articulation of experience and we must very resolutely take a stance regarding the right to intimacy, to private ownership of experience.

Kluge (1982, p.213) also stresses that it is a great danger if all forms of the classical public sphere have the tendency, as representative public sphere, to automatically reduce themselves. In this respect, the conception of a public sphere which is neither privately owned nor simply the classical type is of fundamental importance: the very conditions of politics depend upon it. To summarize, Kluge (1982, p.213) stresses out “in terms of community, of what I have in common with other people, it is the basis for processes of social change. This means, I can forget about the concept of politics if I neglect the production of a public sphere”. This is a claim to legitimacy which we must carefully insist upon and oppose against the many private needs; despite the fact that disappointment with the bourgeois public sphere, its failures, betrayals and distortions has led many leftist groups to reject a public sphere altogether. For Kluge, as a filmmaker and media politician, the cinema is one of the key institutions in which competing types of public life intersect (Hansen, 1991, p.13).

According to Hansen (1983b, p.54), films relate to their primary context of reception, that is to the historically determined public sphere. Beyond the commonplace assertion that all reception differs according to gender, class, ethnic, national and even personal backgrounds of the empirical spectator, there is a wide range of possibilities in which

cinema traditions either suppress or productively interact with the specificity of their audience.

Cinema with a potential for creating an alternative, oppositional public sphere within the larger one, addressing itself precisely to the kinds of experience repressed by the latter Hansen (1983b, p.58). Thus, the cinema's intervention aims not only at the systematic one or misrepresentation of specific issues but also at the structure of the public sphere itself. Kluge defines public sphere in other words "The public sphere is a kind of market for values, for what I can say and what I could never say because I am too ashamed. It is therefore a sign of self-confidence." (Liebman and Kluge, 1988, p.41). That is the tyranny of intimacy, Kluge says; "I cannot express myself publicly. The public sphere is only as free as the intimate sphere is free and developed. Therefore, you have to examine paths within the sphere of intimacy, family politics, for example, to understand what public life means" (Liebman and Kluge, 1988, p.41-42).

According to Hansen (1991, p.13), with the invention of cinema, new forms of experience have entered the movie theater as a result of the particular relationship between film and audience, the structural affinity between the film on the screen and 'the film in the spectator's head'. Like Benjamin himself, Kluge tries to salvage the experiential possibilities of the disintegrated aura for a secularized, public context: an element of reciprocity of inter- subjectivity and memory. Thus, the reciprocity between the film on the screen and the spectator's stream of associations becomes the measure of a particular film's use value for an alternative public sphere.

Moreover, Hansen (1991, p.14) points out that, the audience as collective, the theater as public space, part of a social horizon of experience. This aspect distinguishes Kluge's notion of spectatorship, as the process that organizes experience in and through the cinema, most clearly from the directions in film theory and film history. As Bray (2012, p.149) points out, the film is the site where film productions can connect with the spectator's own production of experience. There is a structural correspondence of cinematic discourse and the stream of associations in the human mind, an affinity that is the condition both for media manipulation and for the efficacy of counter products.

In this perspective, early cinema could be discussed as an alternative public sphere. Cinema might be considered as a fundamental phenomenon resulting from the overlap of various institutions of commercial entertainment, in the fissures of uneven developments in modes of production, exhibition, and representation; and also, as a mode of film practice which was systematically eliminated or transformed with the rise of the classical Hollywood paradigm (Hansen, 1988, p.186). According to Gunning (1998, p.261), within the American early cinema history, writers like Miriam Hansen and Robert Allen see nickelodeon as a working-class public sphere. The concept of the public sphere was introduced by Jurgen Habermas's (1991) consideration of the rise of bourgeois democracy, in which certain contexts of public discussion (coffee, houses, newspapers, literary discussion groups) formed an ideal of equitable exchange and reasonable debate.

Furthermore, Gunning (1998, p.261) describes, the public sphere provided by Hansen with a historical model of the manner in which institutions and discourse created new

forms of subjectivity quite different from the ahistorical model of subject formation offered by apparatus theory. However, for Habermas, the classical public sphere was almost immediately compromised by the rise of capitalism, which undermined the claim of a realm of free discussion divorced from economic power. The key issue here is less public discussion or overt political action than what Hansen describes as the 'experience' of the participants, which mediates individual perception with social meaning, conscious with unconscious processes, loss of self with self-reflexivity (Hansen, 1991, p.12).

Hansen (1991, p.60-61) points out that confounding the control of cultural and religious authorities, a new public sphere had emerged with a whole range of commercial entertainments that flourished toward the turn of the century. Its constituency was a heterogeneous mass audience, mostly the new urban middle class, especially upwardly mobile white-collar workers and their families, as well as the more prosperous working class, anyone who could afford the admission prices, transportation, and leisure time. Access to this new public sphere was defined primarily in economic terms, rather than by the exclusive standards of cultural tradition and social hierarchy. Concomitantly, the ideological orientation of the new entertainment forms, especially vaudeville and amusement parks, was toward blurring any class divisions among its patrons, offering them participation in an ostensibly classless, Americanized, community of leisure.

Therefore, Hansen in her several writings draws the reader's attention to the immigrants and their families, who had never before been considered as audience in a commercially significant sense. The nickelodeons provided easy access and a space



apart, an escape from jammed jerry-built places, an acquit from the time discipline of urban-industrial life (Hansen, 1991, p.61). They encouraged modes of reception and viewer behavior that were closer to the traditions of working-class and immigrant culture than to the more advanced forms of commercialized leisure. It made moviegoing an interactive rather than merely passive experience.

At the same time, moviegoing marked significant changes in the patterns of working-class culture itself; changes, specifically, from an ethnically separatist, inward-looking public sphere to a more inclusive, multiethnic one; and from a gender-segregated public sphere to a heterosocial one in which women of all ages and marital status could move in relative freedom from family and social control (Hansen, 1991, p.62).

All these arguments might be critical and vital for a historical audience researcher who concentrates on cinema history of a community. As Thissen (2012, p.51) indicates, Miriam Hansen analyzed the process of homogenization that accompanied the rise of corporate Hollywood and the ways in which spectators participated in, or resisted, this process. Drawing on Oskar Negt and Alexander Kluge, Hansen argued that cinema functioned as a non-hegemonic, alternative public sphere for marginalized groups like women, workers and immigrants. Therefore, as Thissen (2012, p.51) points out, it can only be inferred from the force of negation, that is, from the industry's hegemonic determinations to overpower or absorb any conditions that might allow for an alternative organization of experience. Hansen's textually extrapolated thesis, that the nickelodeons constituted an autonomous public sphere in which working-class immigrants exercised collective authority over their moviegoing experience, requires more detailed historical probing. By investigating how film exhibition varied locally

and across time, and by examining the practices of cinemagoing within their larger cultural and socio-economic contexts, we can clarify the conditions of reception and make historical claims about how the cinema figured in the lives of specific categories of consumers and what ‘going to the movies’ meant to them.

### **2.3 New Cinema History**

Following the debates on film theories and the shift in focus from textual structures and ontologies of the medium to processes of reception and spectatorship since the 1970s, a social turn which directed attention away from the film text towards cinemagoing itself has started to develop following to the 1990s and new research and new approaches have emerged specially in the twenty first century. As Maltby (2011, p.3) states, especially following the twenty-first century, a recent international development in research into cinema history has moved its focus away from the content of films to study their circulation and consumption, and to reveal the cinema as a site of social and cultural exchange.

Therefore, as Bowles (2011, p.857) states, film theory’s central focus to the figure of the ‘hypothetical spectator’ has made it difficult to recover a credible sense of the social audience, and of the external, environmental, more specifically local variables shaping cinema’s social, political and economic presence within particular society. This trend has also been credited by scholars as a diversification of cinema history from film history.

New approaches in cinema history have examined the commercial activities of film distribution and exhibition, the legal and political discourses that craft cinema’s profile in public life, and the social and cultural histories of specific cinema audience. Classic

film history has started to be seen as the history of production, producers, authorship and films. On the other hand, as Bowles (2011, p.854) stresses this “new mode of cinema history focused on the social and spatial dimension of film distribution, exhibition and everyday practices of cinema attendance”. It is most often evaluative and classificatory in its concern, and primarily concerned with understanding the complex economic, aesthetic and social systems that might cause particular films to assume the shape that they do (Maltby, 2011, p.4). In its close attention to the formal and ideological properties of film as a signifying system, this form of film history can reveal the ways in which the precise and subtle conventions in this system evolve over time or change in response to external circumstances.

In addition, Allen (2011, p.44) states that comparing with recent generations, specially twenty first century generations, the sociality of the experience of cinema was a certain consequence of the activity itself rather than an option in the past. However, ‘sociality of the experience of cinema’ over the first century of film history remains under-discussed. It does not get enough attention in the field of film studies as a whole. At this point, as Maltby (2011, p.6) points out, shifting interpretive speculation into the scholarly historical register sends historians to the archives that house the textual history of public culture, to search for correspondences between a film and the discourse that surrounded it at the time of its release.

New approach to cinema history might be seen as a historical work; however, its mode of analysis often remains that of symptomatic interpretation, in the expectation that an intertextual account that juxtaposes the film’s content with a different text or texts plucked from the same historical setting will reveal something about the cultural

conditions that produced them and attracted audience to them. Since “most of the historical questions that have been directed at the cinema have been less interested in cinema than in film, preoccupied by the presentation of events on the screen, rather than the social structures in the auditorium” (Bowles, 2011, p.854), this new perspective in cinema history is significant because it reveals new information especially in the cultural context of local communities. Therefore, Allen (2011, p.47) indicates that the historiographic benefits in the shift from textual centralization of film studies to history of moviegoing in three stages. The first one is, focusing on the ‘local’ movie exhibition in a city motivates the researcher to reveal other basic and external units of the social conditions of film exhibition into the analysis. This is to ask, “How does our view of early movie culture change when we redefine ‘local’ in relation to another unit of political and geographic organization?” (Allen, 2011, p.47). Secondly, what happens to our understanding of the role of movies and moviegoing in ‘local’ communities when, in the state chosen for study, patterns of urban development result in hundreds of small towns but nothing resembling a metropolis? Thirdly, how does another unit of geographic, social and political organization, the region, affect the first two factors?

Furthermore, in her earlier study, Staiger (1992) states that, the turn to reception histories has at one level begun to address the issue of the socially specific audience, and the local, national and global networks of business entrepreneurs, managers and theatre employees whom cinemagoers encountered each week at the movies (cited in Maltby, 2011, p.8). In addition to this, as Maltby (2011, p.8) indicates, even histories of reception originating from within a film studies paradigm have been marked by a tendency to insist that the films themselves remain central to film history. However,

in new debates on cinema history, it is commonly argued that cinema was experienced as an event and as Allen (2011, p.51) reminds us, events are necessarily unpredictable and unreproducible. Thus, “assumption of most film studies scholarship has been that the experience of cinema could be made uneventful, inconsequential and reproducible by reducing it to the abstracted, individual act of textual engagement” which is to say “the only events that mattered were taking place on the screen” (Allen, 2011, p.51). This perspectives in short, bring film historians’ attention to approach experience of cinema as social, eventful and heterogeneous, unpredictable and unproducible.

New cinema history, or the social history of cinema, offers broader discussions beyond the film history. As Maltby (2011, p.14) underlines, audience bring their individual and collective social circumstances with them to the social event that is the cinema screening, and those dispositions condition their interpretative response. Although film studies have great contribution in conceptualizing what was involved aesthetically, ideologically and sexually in playing the role of spectator, it has left largely unexplored what it might have meant to play the role of moviegoer at particular times and in particular places (Allen, 2011, p.53).

Besides, even the ‘place’ itself has become significant variable in cinemagoing studies. Biltreyst and Meers (2016, p.13) state that a remarkable trend in the spatial turn in film studies conveys to the focus into the place where films were exhibited and watched. These all draw attention to the movement in which decentering of the movie as the center of analysis and has been mainly credited as ‘new cinema history’ (Biltreyst and Meers, 2016, p.13). New cinema history does not look at audience as figures constructed by the cinematic apparatus or by particular film texts or genres, the

scholars insist on moviegoing being conceived as a social act performed by people of flesh and blood, who actively engage with movies and with other people, firmly situated within specific social, cultural, historical and contexts (Biltreyst, Maltby and Meers, 2012, p.2) .

The examination of context, therefore, needs to be both detailed and refined in order to begin to understand the interpretive frameworks likely to have been available to particular audience. Because these occasions leave only residual contextual traces of their evanescent existence, this form of enquiry is the only way to ‘capture’ the cultural ‘object’ and weave it into a web of cultural and social relations (Maltby, 2011, p.14). Several contributors on this field (such as Robert Allen, Richard Maltby, Daniel Biltreyst, Philippe Meers, Annette Kuhn, Daniela Treveri Gennari, Kathleen Lotze, Kathryn Fuller Seeley etc.) one way or another suggest that, social history of cinema allows a researcher to examine microhistories in order to reveal full range of film processes. New insights by new research are significant by the consideration of cinema effect in the whole picture. As Paul G. Cressey (1938) emphasizes in early studies of the field “the cinema’s ‘effect’ upon an individual, a community or a society never can be gauged accurately if the motion picture experience is studied only segmentally and never in its essential unity” (cited in Maltby, 2007). Hence, any programme of research that fails to acknowledge “all essential phases of the motion picture experience”, Cressey argued, could “offer little more than conjecture as to the cinema’s net ‘effect’ in actual social settings and communities” (Maltby, 2007).

On the other hand, by addressing the work of Miriam Hansen, Bowles (2011, p.857-858) indicates “the result is still incomplete at the level of the social; rather this is an

argument for an intertextual cultural history, operating within a self-defined zone of cultural influence centered on the filmic text, anchored to the project of accounting more fully for the interaction between audience and movies, rather than audience and each other". Nevertheless, over the two decades, there is a growing tendency in cinema history to concentrate on identical particular local practices and experiences, often focused on film exhibition and audience experiences in specific cities, neighborhoods or venues (Biltreyst and Meers, 2016, p.13). In other words, as Seeley and Potamianos (2008, p.4) point out, recent research in cinema history examining historical data for analysis of cinemagoing in totals of communities and they are increasingly focus into cinemagoing histories of particular spaces through the nation, revealing different audience alignments, and studying the influence of an extensive diversity of practices through a variety of historical contexts.

Thus, close historical investigations of the everyday nature of local cinemagoing reveal how the resilient parochialism of individuals and communities incorporated and accommodated the passing content that occupied their screens to their local concerns and community experiences (Maltby, 2011, p.14). What is more, Maltby (2011, p.31) stresses out that:

Throughout the 1920s and beyond, the majority of movie theatres in the United States were in small towns where the community's only cinema was likely also to be its largest secular meeting space, functioning as a multipurpose venue, tightly woven into not only the community's social and cultural life but also its civic life.

On the other hand, Maltby (2007) states that methodologies of textual interpretation have also dominated most attempts to construct cultural histories of the movies, including most historians' use of film as characteristic evidence. Social and political historians have, in the main, borrowed from film historians and incorporated into their

histories the genre-based, mythological, assumptions about the relationship of movies to the culture of which they are a part. However, “to write a history of texts and call it a history of Hollywood involves omitting the social process and cultural function of cinema, and denies the contextual significance of the material conditions under which movies were produced and consumed” (Maltby, 2007).

Furthermore, Biltereyst and Meers (2016, p.15) claim that, movies and perception of them are considered as unique in local and temporal conditions. Therefore, examining cinema history in broader social, cultural, economic and historical contexts help a researcher to analyze, understand and identify a community’s social and cultural transformations in historical perspective. Social significance of the routines and rituals of cinemagoing, who sat where each week, and with whom, and what they wore, the picture show also provided an occasion at which existing social, economic and religious distinctions could be projected onto the informal social segregation of cinema seating arrangements (Maltby, 2011, p.31). As Biltereyst, Maltby and Meers (2012, p.2) state, “this turn to reception, moreover, goes beyond looking at viewing experiences, cinemagoing practices, or programming and exhibition strategies used to attract or influence those audiences”.

Allen (2011, p.55) emphasizes that, during the first century of cinema history, film was a part of the experience of cinema in the place for no more than seventy-two hours in audience’s memory. On the other hand, the experience of cinema is the memories of experiences of cinema that was remembered as the experience of public moviegoing; as a social practice, an event and an activity. Hence, new cinema history are likely to pay more attention to questions of circulation than questions of



production, questions of agency and brokerage rather than questions of authorship, to consider cinema as experience rather than film as apparatus, and to examine the heterogeneity and social construction of cinema audience rather than the textual construction of spectatorship (Maltby, 2011, p.34).

In this level, Bowles (2011, p.860) stresses that the main purpose of new approaches to cinema history begin to understand how and why location, socialization and other functions of cinema shaped the experience of individual audience at particular venues at the micro-historical level. It deals with “What was cinema?” in relation to any place at any moment in the past (Allen, 2011, p.56). And more to ask how moviegoing and cultural transformation interconnect with and effect each other (Seeley and Potamianos, 2008, p.6). This redirection in the field is what Richard Maltby called ‘historical turn in cinema’ studies. According to Maltby (2007) “in order adequately to address the social and cultural history of cinema, we must find ways to write the histories of its audiences”. Therefore, this change of emphasis reflects a growing recognition that psychoanalytically derived theoretical models of ‘the spectator’ have, in the end, little more to tell us about cinema’s audience and their consumption of movies than do quasi-scientific laboratory-based studies of media ‘effects’ (Maltby, 2007). These considerations consequently call attention of cinema historians to consider the possibility of writing histories of cinema that are not centrally about films.

Since, new cinema history perspective generally is inclined to micro-histories on particular local practices and experiences in a specific location; a significant body of studies relate to memories of cinemagoing and social experience (Biltreyst and Meers, 2016, p.15). Biltreyst and Meers (2016, p.16) extend this view by addressing

the spatial dimension as a study which tries analyzing ordinary cultural experiences and related contexts of society.

On the other hand, what is missing in this conceptualization of cinema in micro-historical perspective might be shown as the temporal variables unrevealed in a social, cultural and political historical context of a community. As it is significant to trace place and space in historical film exhibition and cinemagoing experiences, floating circumstances of temporal conditions of film exhibition, cinemagoing practices and nontheatrical events pave the way to analyze the phenomenon in broad horizons.

Moreover, concentrating particulars of micro-historical studies of local situations, effects and infrastructure in cinema history research, has potential to reveal “how its citizen consumers explained themselves and their place in the world through their encounters with the forces of global and globalizing culture” (Maltby, 2007).

Within this perspective, Seeley and Potamianos (2008, p.16) suggest following a study in local scale by asking “How people interacted while attending the cinema, and in uncovering what was unique or unusual in a community’s moviegoing practices, and what were parts of larger regional and historical patterns.”. Additionally, Allen (2008, p.22) stresses that, detaching the textual interests from the focus of the analysis of the social experience of cinemagoing let the researcher examine more direct relations like the place itself where the experience occurred, how were the association between the films as a social phenomenon and what we could appeal the national social formation as a whole in a society. In this manner, Maltby (2007) points out that, film history of production and producers, concerned with issues of intention and agency underpinning

the process of cultural production, usually at the level of the individual, and relatively little interested in anything, other than aesthetic influence, that happens after the point of production. Writing the history of the cinema is by contrast a project engaging with economic, industrial, institutional history on the one hand and the socio-cultural history of its audience on the other (Maltby, 2007).

## **2.4 Spatially Contextualized Cinema and National Identity within Micro-historical Cinemagoing Experiences**

As it has been discussed in the previous section of this Chapter (New Cinema History), although film studies have made a great contribution in conceptualizing what was involved aesthetically, ideologically and sexually in playing the role of spectator, it has left largely unexplored what it might have meant to play the role of moviegoer at particular times and in particular places (Allen, 2011, p.53).

Since the place has become significant in new approaches, it is important to investigate cinema and cinemagoing as Ravazzoli (2016, p.33) approaches as “spatially contextualised cultural and social practice”. In this perspective, space and place are social concepts, continuously arbitrated by people’s experience and sociocultural processes (Ravazzoli, 2016, p.33).

Since new cinema historians insist on an ‘ideal cinema history’ which suggests concentrating on the economic, social, political and cultural horizons of cinema, as Michele Lagny (1994) criticizes, films are central to film history and the core is the film text, because only the film is the sign that cinema does exist (cited in Maltby, 2006, p.80). Lagny claims that working from the cinema or on the cinema means starting from the film and going back of it.

However, in his groundbreaking discussions on how to make ‘cinema history to matter more’, Maltby (2006, p.85) suggests that cinema history “must engage with the social history of which it is a part, not through the practices of textual interpretation, but by attempting to write cinema history from below”. Maltby simply indicates the necessity to write histories that are concerned not with the “kings and queens of Hollywood but with their audiences and with the roles that these performances of celebrity played in the ordinary imaginations of those audiences” (2006, p.85). Thus, a history of cinema that is not a history of textual relations among films must, however, be concerned with the history of reception, which must itself include histories of distribution and exhibition; and one crucial feature of the history of the reception of cinema is that for most audience for most of the history of cinema, their major association with ‘the cinema’ has not been with “individual movies-as-artefacts or as texts” but with the social experience of cinema (Maltby, 2006, p.85).

What is more, Ravazzoli (2016, p.33) states that consideration of moviegoing is related to the connection between audience, movie, cinema and the space of the neighborhood; but, it is also attached to the sense of going to the cinema as a cultural fact and a social experience. In this point, Maltby (2006, p.85), in a way to completes Ravazzoli’s argument, stresses that a historical examination of the ways in which the cinema has provided a site and an occasion for particular forms of social behavior, or of the ways in which individual movies have specified the nature of the site, the occasion, and the behavior, is an enquiry into the production of meaning, ‘but that meaning is social, not textual’.

The social and cultural background that composes the whole cinemagoing experience is still of significance, especially for the ability of the cinema site, in addition to produce positive spatial experiences (Ravazzoli, 2016, p.37). As Karina Aveyard (2015) states, in some small communities, movie theatres are not only places for social and cultural life, but also places where audience enjoy “the feeling of familiarity and personal recognition”, therefore experiencing an awareness of local place belonging (cited in Ravazzoli, 2016, p.37). In this perspective, space is formed and produced by the audience, also space influences our social activities and construct exceptional experiences.

Since Maltby (2006, p.81) expresses his dysphoria about film history that “cinema is never understood overtly as a relation among sites and in terms of the relation of cinematic sites to other sites”, distinguishing more emphatically between an aesthetic history of textual relations among individuals or individual objects, and the socio-cultural history of cinema became much more desirable on cinema history (Maltby, 2006, p.85). These views also match with the ideal approach of cinema history as Maltby (2006, p.91) describes as “micro-historical studies of local situations, effects and infrastructure”.

Besides, Verhoeven (2011, p.247) gives the history of Greek cinema in Australia as an empirical example of how alternative temporal orientations in different social systems, settings and places can coexist and produce synergies. In her case study, Verhoeven (211, p.247) explains the diasporic communities and cinema relations as “cinemagoing was in fact an activity constituted by and through diverse temporalities and locations, particularly in terms of the qualitatively different times of cinema

consumption in various locations in Greece and Australia”. Thus, diasporic cinema histories, within micro-level contextualized cinema analysis, give new insights especially on film exhibition venues to examining the role of global media circulation in enabling the coexistence of people and communities living in overlapping, intersecting, disparate, parallel, hybrid and contradictory temporalities. This is how Verhoeven (2011, p.247) calls scholars attention to “spatial flexion in transnational experience, in which ‘diasporic space’ is understood as both general and particular, global and local, individual and collective, and is understood as being based on contiguous or ‘encountered’ relationships as well as imagined and remembered ones”.

The main reason of including diasporic space into micro-historical cinema history arguments in this Chapter, is to epitomize what Ravazzoli emphasizes on space and place as the products of social activities and connections produced by people, who are straightly involved in the formation of space (2016, p.36). In cinematic perspective, each space has its own history and is entrenched in broader economic, social, ethnic and cultural backgrounds; hence, spaces have the supremacy to effect activities and meanings of the individual experiences of the audience (Ravazzoli, 2016, p.38).

On this ground, Verhoeven (2011, p.250) states that diasporic cinemagoing participates in breaking the assumption that cultural consciousness is inextricably linked to specific categories of space or geographic locations which are usually understood as either where you are from or where you are at. In other words, diasporic cinema attendance entails remembering locations of belonging as an outcome of both imaginary and physical processes and it suggests that there are multiple temporal and spatial rifts between locations of residence and observations of identity that are

constituted through the acknowledgement of both presence and absence in cinema experiences (Verhoeven, 2011, p.250).

Furthermore, in her questioning “how the arrangements made for ethnic media consumption imagine, transform and mobilize new communities of belonging”, Verhoeven (2011, p.257) points out that culturally defined communities can affiliate themselves translocally, through their imaginative comparisons of other places and other times and the formation of these communities need not be premised on perceptions or myths of spatial and temporal commonality. Consequently, in centering their narrative on the ways in which the audience experienced films as a form of nostalgia, these accounts of the various diasporic cinema audience obscure the contemporaneity of different cultures, settings and places (Verhoeven, 2011, p.254).

The spatial and temporal approaches of cinemagoing in nostalgic perspective and communities of belonging also encourage the researcher to extend this Chapter through function of local cinemas and moviegoing practices as reinforcing factors on national identity formation, intensifying nationalist discourses and use of cinema to constitute an integrated national culture and rising national belonging.

In his remarkable case study of ‘Little Italy on the Brink’, Pierluigi Ercole (2012) investigated the role of cinema played in reinforcing a sense of national identity and belonging among the immigrant community of Italians living in London. According to Ercole (2012, p.155-164) mirroring the nationalistic discourses that encompassed the London-based Italian press of the time, Italian film screenings, commonly war films and historical epics, sought to promote national values based on the history of

Italy's political and geographical unification. Within this micro historical cinemagoing research and its main focus on Italian diasporic culture and national belonging, Ercole (2012, p.157) states that cinemas in London, screened Italian films, had significant role and provide a sphere in creating a cultural imagination of Italy; especially by “visualizing crucial events of Italian history, the historical productions presented an aura of respectability to Italian community”. In addition to this, production of films dealing with the glorious past of Italy, and more specifically of the eternal city, mirrored the nationalist sentiments that pervaded Italian political and cultural life; and this spirit of nationalistic pride pervaded the content of the London-based Italian newspaper Londra-Roma, which represented the Italian colony in London as being “unified under a sense of belonging” to a ‘motherland’ (Ercole, 2012, p.158).

While “films were perceived and deployed as instruments suited to inspire a strong Italian identity rooted in the glorious past of Rome” and “idealized narratives of Italy's history conveyed a national consciousness to Italian spectators and echoed nationalist sentiments circulating in contemporary Italian political and cultural discourses” (Ercole, 2012, p.164), national belonging and recall of motherland formulated and experienced significantly in the space of movie theater where regional and local differences were erased by an idealized notion of national identity.

Correspondingly, another remarkable model to examine cinema in large and movie theaters in specific, functioning as public institutions where audiences’ notion of time and space were shaped in a particular political and national perspective in specifically arranged local settings, can be found in another European country; Hungary. In her investigation of how cinemagoing contributed to the creation of new social structures



and expectations among audience, and movie theatre as a public sphere where the process of national identity formation largely experienced, Manchin (2012, p.71) claims that conservative and radical nationalists have seen cinema audience as “raw material for creating a new, national public and films as a vehicle of national propaganda. Films could represent the nation in a positive light, they could highlight unique national customs and the outstanding cultural achievements of national culture”.

Manchin (2012, p.68) states that there was a direct appeal of state level nationalist elites to “bringing a new kind of conservative national community and national cinema into existence”. Within nationalist intentions, conservatives attempted to renew the national community by returning to the authentic roots of national culture by seeking to use the persuasive power of cinema to create a new national culture and to form cinema audience into a national public (Manchin, 2012, p.79). Within her debates in this perspective, Manchin (2012, p.71) also discusses the Hungarian cinema as “one of the most important issues for national cultures, because film was an excellent tool for bringing into existence a unitary world of feelings and thought, ‘a singular national taste’ able to penetrate the entire society”. On the same ground, Hungarian cinemas have played significant role by offering places where “accessible mass culture offered a on experience for everyone and contributed to social and cultural progress” as national modernity was to be achieved through commercial culture, urbanization and economic development (Manchin, 2012, p.70).

Perhaps due to the diasporic feature of ‘Little Italy’ case, Hungarian cinema comprises a conflict when comparing with Italian case as Manchin (2012, p.72) describes the

conflict experienced “between commercial and national interest in matters of film exhibition. According to conservatives, those in the film business (movie theatre permit holders and owners) were motivated by profit and not by the best interests of the nation”. On the other hand, already established desire to watch films featuring national discourse and ‘motherland’ in spatial and temporal context of Italian immigrants, concluded with the success of nationalist themed films in box office profits. However, no matter the contextual differentiations in both cases, the function of movie theatres and cinemagoing culture might be seen in similar nationalist influences on communities and consequences in cultural changes.

Moreover, a desire to influence audience’s cultural context by using cinema as national tool and movie theatre, as Ravazzoli (2016, p.39) describes “created spaces where they impose themselves on their members through the values they manifest, or through the values attributed to them” had experienced is socialist modernity program in Czechoslovakia. In his research on organization and function of cinema distribution in Czechoslovakia between 1948 and 1970, Pavel Skopal provides new insights in the relationship between distribution practices and the ideological premises of the socialist political regime of the period. According to Skopal (2012, p.91), the regime saw cinema distribution as a tool for implementing the socialist version of modernization; the ideological discourse embedded the cinema in the modernizing project of enlightenment and education; and also distribution practices were subordinated to the duty to educate a new kind of viewer with it the dissemination of new socialist values and the 'cleansing' of cultural space.

In this historical analysis of the role played by cinema in the socialist version of modernization, Skopal (2012, p.83) indicates the function of cinema played as 'cinefication' which refers to the provision of film screenings throughout the whole state, primarily for educational and propagandist purposes. Despite the Czech lands having had a dense network of cinemas since the late 1920s, Skopal (2012, p.83) claims that the 'cinefication' process was a proposed goal for the nationalized industry and following to the communist putsch its application became more widespread from the cinefication of the countryside by permanent venues and travelling cinemas in small villages, through 'enterprise cinemas' in factories, to 'cinemas for enlightenment' run by educational organizations. Thus, Skopal (2012, p.83) points out that this appeal of the state as “the creation of the new socialist person was part of a program that was distinctively 'modern', if we understand modernity in terms of two features common to all modern political systems: social interventionism and mass politics”. This model of a new viewer and a new film culture was to be based on the activity of visiting cinemas as a political act of self-education (Skopal, 2012, p.86).

Furthermore, another significant and extraordinary paradigm in accordance with the history of cinemagoing in nationalist perspective is presented in Frank Kessler and Sabine Lenk study on moviegoing under military occupation, Allied occupation, in Düsseldorf, a German city, after the First World War between 1919 and 1925. As they portray, Kessler and Lenk (2012, p.35) concentrate on a situation in which going to the movies, or going to a particular theatre or show, could be linked to issues of patriotism and political loyalties. Because of this specific meaning of cinemagoing for German community in Düsseldorf under distinctive historical, political contexts and temporal conditions of the city, the most important issue was to avoid any kind of

resistance to the occupation for military administration, and their main concern was to ban films and other types of cultural products they feared might spark German patriotism (Kessler and Lenk, 2012, p.41).

In this concern of Allied military administration of the period, several regulations have been released by Inter-Allied High Commission as strict control on cinemagoing experiences and film shows and also applied a high level of censor or ban on the films before they were screened in local cinemas. Kessler and Lenk (2012, p.38) point out that films that even indirectly represented states of occupation were banned, as were historical epics dealing with oppositions between Germany and countries belonging to the Allied forces, films that might create prejudice against the Allied nations, or films featuring demonstrations of military force that might provoke nationalist feelings in the German audience. Additionally, High Commission's censorship efforts might go beyond the sensitivity that films might give the impression of carrying hidden message or something that the Allied authorities might suspect of being one.

Kessler and Lenk (2012, p.44) emphasize that in the everyday practice of moviegoing, audience was regularly confronted by the fact that they lived in an occupied zone; due to the presence of foreign soldiers in local cinemas, special programmes, and the fact that they often saw bilingual intertitles, were constant reminders of this. More importantly, the very act of going to see a movie at a specific place at a specific time could raise issues of patriotism and national loyalty (Kessler and Lenk, 2012 p.44).

As Kessler and Lenk (2012, p.46) remind us, the analyzing historical cinema cultures within political tensions turn the everyday practice of cinema and the showing of individual films into contested objects for national identity formation.

In a nutshell, the literature review conducted for the present study indicates that there has always been a struggle to keep control on the medium in several conditions such as availability of specific range of films, censorship and bans related with this, new rules and regulations on film exhibitions and cinema permits (including municipal taxes, regular opening days and hours or irregular restrictions by state of emergency such as curfew etc.), control over distribution of films in both macro and micro level of film imports and distribution within a country. The cases might be diversified according to their spatial, temporal and national variables. On the other hand, numerous local micro-histories of cinemagoing studies have provided new insights for neglected history of cinema from national identity and belonging horizons which are totally missing the literature of cinemagoing in Cyprus for the Turkish Cypriot community. Thus, the present study aims to contribute to the cinemagoing literature of Cypriots from the Turkish Cypriot community's point of view.

## Chapter 3

### RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This Chapter sets out to describe the research carried out for the purposes of the present study. The information included in this Chapter has been organized in four sections. These are: Research Methodology and Design; Data Collection Methods and Research Procedures; Context, Population and the Sample; and finally, Data Analysis.

#### 3.1 Research Methodology and Design

Since the positivist paradigm assumes that there is one reality and the researcher's role is to explain, predict or control, post-positivist research is accepted as an interactive process in which the researcher and the participant learned from each other. As Lincoln and Guba (1985: 290) state, this resulted in realistic understanding, interpreted through the social and cultural context of their lives. Besides, Özd (1997, p.227) points out that “according to epistemology behind this approach, knowledge is subjective, personal and unique”.

In addition, according to Maltby (2007), a return to concerns in the history-writing that invites an engagement by cinema historians with a different and far more productive series of dialogues in the social and cultural historiography that provided by poststructuralism: debates between the quantitative methods of demographic and economic historians producing a “history without people” and those seeking to write histories from below, an aim broadly shared by several groups of historians concerned at the elimination of the particular from the grand narratives of social scientific history,

who sought, as Carlo Ginzburg put it, “to reconstruct the lives of individual men and women from the popular classes of the past” with the specific purpose of reconstructing the relationship between individual lives and the contexts in which they unfold.

The qualitative research is accepted as the basic methodology in the post-positivist paradigm and as Strauss and Corbin (1990, p.17) define, qualitative research creates findings not succeeded at by means of statistical procedures or further means of quantification. In addition, Kirk and Miller (1986, p.9) emphasize the role of the researcher in qualitative research as “interacting with people in their own language, on their own terms”. Therefore, qualitative researchers attempt to get firsthand information which is ontologically accepted as critical reality.

According to Guba and Lincoln (1994, p.109), in post-positivist paradigm, reality is assumed to exist but is only imperfectly apprehendable because of the limitations of human perception. Because of the reason that most of the measurements are weak, the post-positivist stresses the significance of various methods and interpretations, each of which might have diverse varieties of error, and the necessity to use triangulation through these compound errorful sources to attempt to get a better drop on what's happening in reality.

Biltreyst, Lotze and Meers (2012, p.693) point out that new cinema history heavily criticize the dominance of a certain type of methods and concepts mainly inspired by psychoanalysis, semiotics and literary theory which do not sufficiently take into account contextual issues on production, distribution and reception. Besides, important

contributors of cinema history, such as Richard Maltby and Robert Allen, criticizing the film history that has been written as without their audience; as if they had no audience.

Biltreyst and Meers (2016, p.15) highlight critical work on hegemony and cinema, in specific the one dealing with cinema's ideological associations, modes of representation and spectatorship, used to be intensely influenced by theories on the cinematic apparatus, and it was strongly criticized for its massive and homogeneous view upon cinema. On the other hand, since the early 1990s, studies on these subjects have focused on cinema in terms of its heterogeneous variety, so that theories on the textually implied spectator altered in the direction of recognizing cinema's complication, and reception as being exposed to mediation, variability and flexibility (Biltreyst and Meers, 2016, p.15).

The research methodology for the present study was selected in accordance with the aims and objectives of the study. The choice of methodology depends upon the nature of the issue to be explored and the ontological, epistemological perspective and intentions of the researcher. The phenomenological research, as an approach under post-positivist paradigm, was found to be suitable for the present study to examine Turkish nationalism within social, cultural, economic and political contexts of cinemagoing from Turkish Cypriot audience's point of view.

As Eagleton (1983, p.56) states, phenomenological research rejects the belief that objects in the external world exist independently and that the information about objects is reliable. In other words, it challenges the belief that the reality exists out there,



independent of the researcher. As Özad (1997, p.228) indicates, supporters of the phenomenology believe that reality is socially constructed and different actors define it differently. Besides, Lester (1999) describes the aim of the phenomenological approach as to clarify the particular, to distinguish phenomena though how they are perceived by the actors in a situation. The approach describes an experience from the participant's point of view, especially by focusing on lived experiences. In this perspective, while Creswell (2003, p.8) states the researcher tends to rely upon the "participants' view of the situation being studied", Lester (1999) indicates that, epistemologically, phenomenological research is based in a paradigm of personal knowledge and subjectivity; and emphasizes the importance of personal perspective and interpretation.

### **3.2 Data Collection Methods and Research Procedures**

The literature review of the related issues was the first stage of the research process. At this stage, most of the readings were in the methodological literature; including communication theories, research paradigms, approaches for the study and data collection techniques. Those preliminary readings have been shaped the ontological and epistemological approaches of the study.

The content literature has come later. Firstly, general overview on history of Cyprus between 1571 to 1960 has been done, to get more information about the essential political, social, economic and cultural context within historical perspective in order to associate the cinemagoing culture better with different contexts. Secondly, sources related with early cinema audience and public sphere were reviewed to get better understanding of theoretical background for the study. As the third, in line with the previous Chapter, Literature Review, the new and more recent approaches in cinema

history was studied. Finally, as the fourth, more concentrate and specific readings of spatially contextualized cinema and national identity within micro-historical cinemagoing experiences were reviewed to get a sight of different cases of the field both in local and temporal varieties.

Since it was revealed by the researcher during the literature review that there is dramatically lack of secondary sources, data reviews and any other written source on the topic in Cypriot case; archival research, oral history and field notes have been used for the present study as data collection methods to reveal information that belongs to the past.

Firstly, an archival research was carried out in National Archive and Research Center in Kyrenia. The Center is among the only few archival centers in Northern Cyprus and it was selected due to the advantage of its wide filing of old records and documents. However, it has been found out that the center does not have any classification and documentation on cinema in Cyprus. Therefore, the archival research in this center had been focused on local newspapers in Turkish language that were printed in the concentrated period of the present study; 1950s.

According to Allen and Gomery (1985, p.209) “newspapers offer a veritable ocean of information”. Most included extensive advertisements for local movie shows often was front page news and advertisements typically contained the names of the films shown and any added attractions like stage shows, times and cast of the show, the enterprise’s owner and even the type of clientele sought (Allen and Gomery, 1985, p.209).

Once any related newspaper materials have been searched and related data have been collected, semi-structured in-depth phenomenological interviews have been conducted with Turkish Cypriots who have experience relating to the phenomenon to be researched in order to find out not only the historical perspective of the cinema in Cyprus but revealing the sight on the topic from Turkish Cypriot's point of view.

Secondly, interviews have been conducted for oral history. According to Maltby (2011, p.9-10), oral histories with cinema audience members consistently tell us that the local rhythms of motion picture circulation and the qualities of the experience of cinema attendance were place-specific and shaped by the continuities of life in the family, the workplace, the neighborhood and community. Stories that cinemagoers recall return repeatedly to the patterns and highlights of everyday life, its relationships, pressures and resolutions. Therefore, within the oral history, the semi-structured type of in-depth interview would seem to be the most appropriate data collection method. As Taylor and Bogdan (1984, p.48) state, qualitative interviewing, open-ended, non-directive and non-standardized is advanced as the ideal medium when the requirement is that the individual's story and perception is paramount in the research. An unstructured interview enables the interviewee to continue the flow and movement of the conversation as opposed to the structured interview consisting of a series of questions and answers which might break the flow of information down. Besides, Kahn and Cannell (1957, p.149) state that an in-depth interview is "a conversation with a purpose". Therefore, interviewer should listen with attention as he or she guides the respondent through a conversation until all of important issues on the interview guide are explored.

Although in-depth interviews were in unstructured type, some open-ended questions have been determined before interviewing; in order to ensure the flow of the information from the respondents in the field. The design of the interview questions for the present study can be categorized into two parts. Initially, extensive questions have been asked to get information about general perspective of the topic from interviewees, history of the cinema in Cyprus, with the intention of having a chance to reveal possible undiscovered data on the subject and with the purpose of verification the data which were or would be gathered from other sources. Those kinds of general questions have also allowed informants to be prepared for more specific and personal questions which were designed to be asked secondly. The following type of questions were, as Welman and Kruger (1999, p.196) say, “directed to the participant’s experiences, feelings, beliefs and convictions about the theme”.

The most difficult and challenging aspect of conducting interviews was organizing the meeting date. All interview subjects had been selected among old people who remember 1950s and unfortunately, the majority of them were having health problems which resulted as a huge problem for conducting the interviews at the planned time period for the research. At various times, the planned meeting dates were canceled or postponed. This situation was even harder at winter seasons that were observed by the researcher in a way that old people having additional health problems of flu, colds etc. Since all of the interview subjects were visited at least twice to gather more information, especially during the analysis process of the study, arranging the meetings became even more challenging. It was also difficult to conduct the interviews since the respondents were deviating from the subject and extended their old memories that were out of the research objectives.

Thirdly, following to oral history interviews, the research has expanded to archival research conducted in Republic of Cyprus Press and Information Office, in Southern Cyprus. This work concentrated on English language newspaper materials which provided additional data from different perspectives and offered diverse interpretations.

This structure for the research provides triangulation for the study which seeks to strengthen the validity and reliability of the data and analyses; as Biltreyst, Lotze and Meers (2012, p.692) state, especially when older data resources are missing. Triangulation also is a valuable in terms of contextualizing the positioning, construction and disciplining of the historical audience research. The research had continued until the topic was exhausted; that is when the field study introduced no new perspective for the research objectives.

### **3.3 Context of the Study, Population and Sample**

Following to preliminary work in National Archive and Research Center in Kyrenia, Northern Cyprus, it was revealed that the archive does not have any special category or documentation under ‘cinema’, ‘entertainment’ or any similar subject for archiving which would match directly with the research objectives. Therefore, since the most regularly documented written local sources had been observed as the local newspapers and since it was discovered by the researcher that newspapers have cinema related news articles, advertisements, columns, announcements etc. the first data collection for the present study was designed on this direction.

Due to the fact that there were a few different local newspapers such as Halkın Sesi, Hür Söz, Bozkurt, Zafer, Savaş, Nacak, Akın Newspapers which have been printed

during the determined period, 1950s. Consequently, Bozkurt Newspaper and Halkın Sesi Newspaper were found to be the most suitable two; because of their higher circulation over other newspapers during that period. However, preliminary study on those two newspapers provided a sight that Bozkurt Newspaper has not included cinema related materials as much as Halkın Sesi Newspaper has during the period. Therefore, Halkın Sesi Newspaper was selected for the context of the archival research.

All issues of Halkın Sesi Newspaper which were printed during the 1950s had been scanned by the researcher. Consequently, all issues of the newspaper for 10 years, which makes 3.650 issues in total, were scanned. The median number of pages for each issue for ten years is 4 pages. Thus, 1.460 pages were scanned for each year of all issues. In total, 14.600 pages of 3.650 issues for 10 years were examined one by one. This six months long archival study was a real challenge for the researcher since the National Archive and Research Center does not have digitalized search system or similar technological infrastructure. Thus, all pages of all newspaper issues scanned manually on printed copy by hand. This difficult situation has been reported by a formal letter written by the researcher to both director of the Center and Presidency of Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus where the center is officially placed under.

Secondly, oral history method has been used and open-ended interviews were conducted with twenty-six Turkish Cypriot cinemagoers born between 1918 and 1950 with a median age of 78 (78,591%). According to Allen and Gomery (1985, p.210) “Armed with information from the preceding sources and numerous unsolved questions, you are ready to approach former theater employees, city officials and avid

movie-goers; anyone who might remember first-hand experiences with earlier movie houses”. Thus, as far as possible, respondents were selected in order to include a range of social backgrounds, such as their educational background and their profession, and to represent male (15) and female (11) cinema patrons. Among the interview subjects, there are initial members of TMT, schoolteachers (such as Turkish and history), journalists, cinema businessmen like cinema owners, film importers, cinema projectionists, box office staff, cinema company founders, writers, housewives, farmers and public servants. All the respondents were selected among those who have cinemagoing experiences in Cyprus in the 1950s. Thus, purposive sampling was used in the accordance of the research objectives. In addition to this, a snowball sampling was used to expand the sample due to difficulty to find interview subject who met the criteria of the study and who may contribute to the research. The interviews were conducted in Turkish by the researcher in respondents’ houses. Interview subjects were all visited at least two times to get more detailed information on specific topics in the process of the study. In order to establish anonymity, respondents were assigned alphabetized codes based on chronological order of interview date. Besides, not all of the respondents interviewed are quoted directly in the present study.

Finally, the research has expanded to archival research conducted in Republic of Cyprus Press and Information Office, in Nicosia in Southern Cyprus. An archival research of Cyprus Mail Newspaper was carried out to find out any related data associated with the research objectives. Other than Halkın Sesi Newspaper, Cyprus Mail Newspaper which was printed in English language and provided additional data from different perspectives and offered diverse interpretations. Besides, the newspaper claims to take a completely independent political position and to have no political

affiliations (Cyprus Mail, n.d.). All issues of the newspaper printed for ten years during the 1950s constitutes the sample of the content analysis. On the other hand, Republic of Cyprus Press and Information Office has a digitalized database which allows researchers to make more concentrated search by keywords related with the study. This digitalized system provided a great advantage in more focused and less time and energy consuming examination of all issues of Cyprus Mail Newspaper of 10 years comparing with the study in National Archive and Research Center in Kyrenia.

### **3.4 Data Analysis**

Allen and Gomery (1985, p.164-165) emphasize that wishing to understand something about the 'national mood' or 'public sentiment' during some period in the past, a phenomenon that cannot be gauged directly, the content analysis examines messages that can be regarded as expressions of audience. In this regard, a qualitative content analysis was used to analyze newspaper materials in both Halkin Sesi Newspaper and Cyprus Mail Newspaper. As Hsieh and Shannon (2005, p.1278) state, qualitative content analysis is one of numerous research methods used to analyze text data in phenomenology and historical research; and a research using qualitative content analysis concentrates on the properties of language as interaction with consideration to the content or contextual meaning of the text. Besides, as Mayring (2005, p.266) points out, the principal focus in qualitative content analysis is the systematic analysis of large quantities of textual data especially from newspapers. Therefore, this data analysis used to put detailed and very large scale of information in Halkin Sesi and Cyprus Mail newspapers into comprehensible form, order and themes.

According to Forman and Damschroder (2008, p.39-40) when data are categorized using predetermined categories that are generated from a source other than the data to



be analyzed, applied automatically through an algorithmic search process (rather than through reading the data), and analyzed solely quantitatively; this method is called as quantitative content analysis. Although the analysis of newspaper sources mainly based on qualitative content analysis, a quantitative content analysis also was used to summarize the perception of Halkın Sesi Newspaper materials in four categories of news, advertisement, announcement and finally column and articles. Moreover, for the present study, data obtained from Halkın Sesi Newspaper and oral history were all collected in the Turkish language and back to back translation was done to translate the data into English language.

As Lester (1999) emphasizes the problem for numerous researchers with phenomenological research is that it produces an enormous amount of interview transcriptions, audio records, doodles or additional reports all of which must be analyzed. Analysis is also necessarily messy, as data doesn't manage to reduction into well-ordered classifications and there can be many ways of linking between different parts of discussions or observations. Therefore, thematic analysis has been used to analyze oral history interviews in the present study. Following to transcribing audio records of interviews, the researcher identified the main themes derived from the data and described the meaning of lived experiences by associating other influential contexts. Biltreyst and Meers (2016, p.24) approach oral history work on cinemagoing, where preference of subjectivity appears at every level of collecting, processing, analyzing and interpreting accounts. Likewise, in other grounds within new cinema history, interpretation and subjective assessment are significant, production reproduction a remarkable approach to explore, mainly in a challenge to search new measurements of the research topic.

## Chapter 4

### ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

This Chapter seeks to present the analysis of the data collected and findings of the study. As it has been mentioned in Chapter 3, it follows the order as the researcher took in data collection. Initially, a content analysis was conducted in National Archive and Research Center, in Kyrenia, to trace relevant materials on cinema in the Turkish Cypriot press and to formulate interview topics. Secondly, twenty-six in-depth interviews were conducted with Turkish Cypriots among native people who have cinemagoing experiences in 1950s Nicosia. Last but not least, another research was conducted in Southern Cyprus which focuses on Cyprus Mail Newspaper that was printed in English language in the 1950s.

The thematic design for the analysis and findings follows this structure: The early experiences of cinema in peaceful coexistence and multi-communal context, transformation of the cinemagoing experience during the rise of ethnic diversity and nationalism, the perception of national belonging through Turkish films, cinema as a new public sphere for national audience and movie theatre as a center for social solidarity and national identity formation.

According to Allen and Gomery (1985, p.44), organizing historical arguments as narratives requires a chronological arrangement of events in a cause-effect relationship and this is an accepted and frequently illuminating strategy of cinema history.

Therefore, beside the thematic structure, the findings of all sources are presented in chronological order within the present study.

#### **4.1 Content Analysis of Halkın Sesi Newspaper (1950-1959)**

Since it was revealed that there is lack of written sources about cinema in Cyprus which has received little scholarly attention, especially in English, a content analysis was conducted in National Archive and Research Center in Kyrenia in order to gather information from any data which is related with cinema in newspapers. As it has been pointed out in Chapter 1, 1.1 Background of the Study, 1950s was the period when the popularity of cinema increased and was the time when particularly the growth of cinema venues catering to the Turkish Cypriot community. As it was also mentioned in Chapter 1, 1.3 Aim of the Study, the period of 1950s is also featured as significant political influences on the island in wider conflict of 1950s as Turkish Cypriot culture become increasingly aligned with Turkish nationalism.

Therefore, study in National Archive and Research Center purposely focused on all issues of Halkın Sesi Newspaper, which had the higher circulation over other newspapers in the 1950s, that had printed for ten years; from 1950 to 1959 as the sample of the content analysis.

##### **4.1.1 Categorizing a Decade's Cinema Related Materials according to Their Format Year by Year**

In the year 1950, there are 539 cinema related data in newspaper issues. 87% (457) of the materials are composed of cinema 'advertisements'. Besides, there are 7,61% (41) 'announcements' that are related with movie theatres and film exhibitions. Furthermore, 2,41% (13) of the data comprises 'columns and articles' about cinemas

and films. In addition to all, there are 5,19% (28) 'news' materials which cover daily and occasional developments in cinema culture and business.

In the year 1951, there are 329 cinema related data in newspaper issues. 73,25% (241) of the materials are composed of cinema 'advertisements'. Besides, there are 7,60% (25) 'announcements' that are related with movie theatres and film exhibitions. Furthermore, 5,17% (17) of the data comprises 'columns and articles' about cinemas and films. In addition to all, there are 13,98% (46) 'news' materials which cover daily and occasional developments in cinema culture and business.

In the year 1952, there are 176 cinema related data in newspaper issues. 15,34% (27) of the materials are composed of cinema 'advertisements'. Besides, there are 68,18% (120) 'announcements' that are related with movie theatres and film exhibitions. Furthermore, 5,11% (9) of the data comprises 'columns and articles' about cinemas and films. In addition to all, there are 11,36% (20) 'news' materials which cover daily and occasional developments in cinema culture and business.

In the year 1953, there are 195 cinema related data in newspaper issues. 16,41% (32) of the materials are composed of cinema 'advertisements'. Besides, there are 66,15% (129) 'announcements' that are related with movie theatres and film exhibitions. Furthermore, 3,59% (7) of the data comprises 'columns and articles' about cinemas and films. In addition to all, there are 13,85% (27) 'news' materials which cover daily and occasional developments in cinema culture and business.

In the year 1954, there are 170 cinema related data in newspaper issues. 21,76% (37) of the materials are composed of cinema 'advertisements'. Besides, there are 63,53% (108) 'announcements' that are related with movie theatres and film exhibitions. Furthermore, 7,65% (13) of the data comprises 'columns and articles' about cinemas and films. In addition to all, there are 7,06% (12) 'news' materials which cover daily and occasional developments in cinema culture and business.

In the year 1955, there are 169 cinema related data in newspaper issues. 28,40% (48) of the materials are composed of cinema 'advertisements'. Besides, there are 64,50% (109) 'announcements' that are related with movie theatres and film exhibitions. Furthermore, 1,18% (2) of the data comprises 'columns and articles' about cinemas and films. In addition to all, there are 5,92% (10) 'news' materials which cover daily and occasional developments in cinema culture and business.

In the year 1956, there are 241 cinema related data in newspaper issues. 48,55% (117) of the materials are composed of cinema 'advertisements'. Besides, there are 46,47% (112) 'announcements' that are related with movie theatres and film exhibitions. Furthermore, 1,24% (3) of the data comprises 'columns and articles' about cinemas and films. In addition to all, there are 3,73% (9) 'news' materials which cover daily and occasional developments in cinema culture and business.

In the year 1957, there are 180 cinema related data in newspaper issues. 63,33% (114) of the materials are composed of cinema 'advertisements'. Besides, there are 31,67% (57) 'announcements' that are related with movie theatres and film exhibitions. Furthermore, 0,56% (1) of the data comprises 'columns and articles' about cinemas

and films. In addition to all, there are 4,44% (8) ‘news’ materials which cover daily and occasional developments in cinema culture and business.

In the year 1958, there are 219 cinema related data in newspaper issues. 48,86% (107) of the materials are composed of cinema ‘advertisements’. Besides, there are 40,18% (88) ‘announcements’ that are related with movie theatres and film exhibitions. Furthermore, 1,83% (4) of the data comprises ‘columns and articles’ about cinemas and films. In addition to all, there are 9,13% (20) ‘news’ materials which cover daily and occasional developments in cinema culture and business.

In the year 1959, there are 205 cinema related data in newspaper issues. 22,44% (46) of the materials are composed of cinema ‘advertisements’. Besides, there are 61,46% (126) ‘announcements’ that are related with movie theatres and film exhibitions. Furthermore, 3,90% (8) of the data comprises ‘columns and articles’ about cinemas and films. In addition to all, there are 12,20% (25) ‘news’ materials which cover daily and occasional developments in cinema culture and business.

#### **4.1.2 The Early Experiences of Cinema in Peaceful Coexistence and Multi-Communal Context**

In the issue of January 31, 1950, page 2, an advertisement indicates a Turkish music concert that is given by Darülelhan<sup>1</sup>, from Turkey, in a Greek Cypriot owned movie theatre Magic Palace.

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<sup>1</sup> Darülelhan is the first official music school of the Ottoman Empire, a four-year educational institution operating in İstanbul between 1917-1927.

In the issue of February 23, 1950, page 2, an advertisement presents two concerts that are both given by famous singers from Turkey, Müzeyyen Senar Işın and Suzan Güven, in a Greek Cypriot owned movie theatre Magic Palace.

In the issue of March 1, 1950, page 2, a column expresses the gratefulness of Turkish Cypriot community for charity film screening which is organized by Halk Cinema Company<sup>2</sup> in a Greek Cypriot owned movie theater, Larnaca Pallas Cinema, for the benefit of poor Turkish Cypriot habitants of Larnaca and Tuzla. It has been underlined in the article that, the owner of the cinema Mr. Zinos Ipkeridis is allowing the screening in his cinema free of charge to support poor Turkish Cypriot habitants.

In the issue of March 5, 1950, page 2, an advertisement presents two concerts that are both given by famous singers from Turkey, Müzeyyen Senar Işın and Suzan Güven, in a Greek Cypriot owned movie theatre Ireon Cinema.

In the issue of March 7, 1950, page 2, an advertisement presents two concerts that are both given by famous singers from Turkey, Müzeyyen Senar Işın and Suzan Güven, in a Greek Cypriot owned movie theatre Larnaca Pallas Cinema.

In the issue of March 8, 1950, page 2, an advertisement presents two concerts that are both given by famous singers from Turkey, Müzeyyen Senar Işın and Suzan Güven, in a Greek Cypriot owned movie theatre Limassol Pallas Cinema.

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<sup>2</sup> Halk Cinema Company (Halk Sinema Şirketi) is the leading Turkish Cypriot film importer during 1950s (Bedevi, 1953, p.30).

In the issue of March 10, 1950, page 2, an advertisement appraises Victoria Girls' School<sup>3</sup> annual school show that was going to take place in a Greek Cypriot owned movie theatre Royal Cinema. It is also highlighted in the advertisement that the income of the show would be donated to poor students of the school.

In the issue of March 14, 1950, page 3, a news gives information about a film screening for the benefit of Turkish Cypriot consumptives. The screening was going to take place in a Greek Cypriot owned movie theatre; Rex Cinema.

In the issue of March 19, 1950, page 1, an announcement calls the attention of Turkish Cypriot community on charity film screening for the benefit of Turkish victims of flood in Eskişehir in Turkey. The screening was going to take place in a Greek Cypriot owned movie theatre; Frilla Cinema.

In the issue of March 19, 1950, page 2, an advertisement presents short films include sections from Atatürk<sup>4</sup>'s life. The film would be exhibited in Greek Cypriot cinema, Larnaca Pallas Cinema by Turkish Cinema Company<sup>5</sup>.

In the issue of April 3, 1950, page 2, an announcement calls the attention of Turkish Cypriot community on charity film screening for the benefit of Turkish victims of

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<sup>3</sup> After the establishment of the Lycee of Cyprus on the island in 1897, the Victoria Girls' School was opened in 1901. The British colonial administration requested that the name of the school be Victorian in return for the assistance it made for the construction of the school (Özkul, Akcansoy and Ölvay, 2018, p.72).

<sup>4</sup> The founder of the Republic of Turkey.

<sup>5</sup> Turkish Cinema Company (Türk Sinema Şirketi) is the first Turkish Cypriot film importer company (Bedeve, 1953, p.15).



flood living in Eskişehir in Turkey. The screening was going to take place in a Greek Cypriot owned movie theatre; Yiorthambli Cinema.

In the issue of April 11, 1950, page 2, an announcement calls the attention of Turkish Cypriot community on charity film screening for the benefit of Turkish victims of flood living in Eskişehir in Turkey. The screening was going to take place in a Greek Cypriot owned movie theatre; Trikomo Hellas Cinema.

In the issue of April 22, 1950, page 2, an advertisement presents the 23<sup>th</sup> April<sup>6</sup> celebration ceremony organized by Victoria Girls' School in Armenian movie theatre Kristal Cinema.

In the issue of June 22, 1950, page 2, an announcement calls the attention of Turkish Cypriot community on charity film screening for the benefit of poor school students in Poli village. The screening was going to take place in a Greek Cypriot owned movie theatre Poli Panorama Cinema.

In the issue of July 5, 1950, page 2, an announcement calls the attention of Turkish Cypriot community on charity film screening for the benefit of Turkish Cultural Society of Lefke (Lefke Türk Külür Ocağı). The screening was going to take place in a Greek Cypriot owned movie theatre Pallas Cinema; in Lefke.

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<sup>6</sup> National Sovereignty and Children's Day (Ulusal Egemenlik ve Çocuk Bayramı) in Turkey.

In the issue of July 16, 1950, page 2, an advertisement presents a concert that was given by famous singer from Turkey, Suzan Yakar Rutkay, in a Greek Cypriot movie theatre Pattiheion Cinema and an Armanian movie theatre Kristal Cinema.

In the issue of October 8, 1950, page 2, an announcement shows gratitude of Tahtakale<sup>7</sup> Turkish society to Armenian movie theatre, Kristal Cinema, for helping a Turkish young person who was willing to turn back to his country, Turkey. The owner of the cinema, Vahe Nigoghossian, support the person by the charity film screening organization for the benefit of the young person.

In the issue of October 24, 1950, page 2, an announcement shows gratitude of Morphou Turkish School (Omorfo Türk Okulu) to Greek Cypriot movie theatre owners, Hristofu brothers, for the charity film screening organization for the benefit of the school.

In the issue of November 14, 1950, page 2, an announcement calls the attention of Turkish Cypriot community on charity film screening for the benefit of Victoria Girls' School. The screening was going to take place in a Greek Cypriot owned movie theatre Odeon Cinema.

In the issue of November 15, 1950, page 2, an announcement shows gratitude of three poor Turkish Cypriot students, Hüseyin Hasan, Mehmet Kemalettin and Hüseyin Hamid, who cannot afford their school costs and books. They thank to the Armenian

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<sup>7</sup> A district in İstanbul, in Turkey.

owner of the Belig Paşa Cinema, Vahe Nigoghossian, for supporting them by the a charity film screening organization.

In the issue of November 26, 1950, page 2, an announcement shows gratitude of Konedra Secondary School (Konedra Ortaokulu) to Greek Cypriot movie theatre owners, Mr. Firilla, for the charity film screening organization for the benefit of the school.

In the issue of December 2, 1950, page 2, an advertisement indicates a Turkish music concert that is given by a famous singer from Turkey, Ahmet Üstün, in a Greek Cypriot owned movie theatre Odeon Cinema.

In the issue of January 16, 1951, page 4, an advertisement presents a Greek language film. The name of the film was translated into Turkish as “Ayyaş” (drunkard) in the newspaper and the film would be exhibited in Armenian movie theatre, Belig Paşa Cinema, where the customers of the cinema were mainly composed of Turkish Cypriots.

In the issue of January 20, 1951, page 4, an advertisement presents a Turkish film Şehitler Kalesi (1949), (Martyrs Castle), which is a Turkish nationalism themed movie exhibited in Greek Cypriot movie theatre, Odeon Cinema.

In the issue of February 18, 1951, page 4, an advertisement presents a Turkish film Yanık Kaval (1947), (Burnt Shin), which would be exhibited in Greek Cypriot movie theatre, Odeon Cinema.

In the issue of February 26, 1951, page 4, an advertisement presents a Turkish film *Unutulan Sır* (1947), (*Forgotten Secret*), which covers some events during Turkish war of independence, exhibited in in Greek Cypriot movie theatre, Odeon Cinema.

In the issue of March 3, 1951, page 3, an announcement calls the attention of everyone on charity music concert that is given by a famous singer of Ankara State Theater in Turkey, Rıfki Ar, for the benefit of Bulgarian immigrants. The concert was going to take place in a Greek Cypriot owned movie theatre Magic Palace.

In the issue of March 3, 1951, page 4, an advertisement presents two Turkish films *Senede Bir Gün* (1946), (*Once a Year*), and *Sızlayan Kalp* (1948), (*Whining Heart*), which would be exhibited in Greek Cypriot movie theatre, Odeon Cinema.

In the issue of March 9, 1951, page 3, an advertisement apprises Victoria Girls' School annual school show that was going to take place in a Greek Cypriot owned movie theatre Loucoudi Cinema. It is also highlighted in the advertisement that the income of the show would be donated to poor students of the school.

In the issue of March 10, 1951, page 4, an advertisement presents a Turkish film *Dinmeyen Sızı* (1949), (*Unrelenting Pain*), which would be exhibited in Greek Cypriot movie theatre, Odeon Cinema.

In the issue of March 18, 1951, page 4, an advertisement presents a Turkish film *Fedakar Ana* (1949), (*Devoted Mother*), which would be exhibited in Greek Cypriot movie theatre, Loucoudi Cinema.

In the issue of March 22, 1951, page 3, an announcement calls the attention of everyone on charity music concert that is given by a famous singer of Ankara State Theater in Turkey, Rıfkı Ar, for the benefit of Bulgarian immigrants. The concert was going to take place in a Greek Cypriot owned movie theatre Rialto Cinema.

In the issue of March 23, 1951, page 3, an advertisement presents three Turkish films Leyla, Şerbetçi Güzeli and Düşkünler which would be exhibited in Greek Cypriot movie theatre, Odeon Cinema.

In the issue of March 27, 1951, page 4, an advertisement presents a Turkish film Korede Türk Kahramanları (1951), (Turkish Heroes in Korea), which is a Turkish nationalism themed movie exhibited in Greek Cypriot movie theatre, Odeon Cinema and Armenian movie theatre, Kristal Cinema.

In the issue of May 9, 1951, page 4, an advertisement indicates a Turkish music concert that is given by a famous singer from Turkey, Mualla Gökçay, in a Greek Cypriot owned movie theatre Magic Palace.

In the issue of May 20, 1951, page 2, an advertisement presents a theater play, Fareler ve İnsanlar (Of Mice and Men), by Turkish State Theaters from Turkey, which would be performed in Greek Cypriot movie theatre, Magic Palace.

In the issue of May 30, 1951, page 4, an advertisement presents a theater play, Pembe Evin Kaderi (The Fate of Pink House), by Turkish State Theaters from Turkey, which would be performed in Greek Cypriot movie theatre, Rialto Cinema.

In the issue of July 8, 1951, page 4, an advertisement presents a Turkish film Vatan ve Namık Kemal (1951), (Homeland and Namık Kemal), which is a film including national romanticism and national message and images, exhibited in Greek Cypriot movie theatre, Loucouidi Cinema and Armenian movie theatre, Kristal Cinema.

In the issue of August 21, 1951, page 4, an announcement calls the attention of everyone on charity film exhibition for the benefit of Konedra Ortaokulu (Konedra Secondary School) which would be exhibited in Greek Cypriot owned movie theatre, Firilla Cinema.

In the issue of April 11, 1952, page 4, an announcement apprises Victoria Girls' School annual school show that was going to take place in a Greek Cypriot owned movie theatre Pallas Cinema. It is also highlighted in the announcement that the income of the show would be donated to poor students of the school.

In the issue of May 1, 1952, page 2, an announcement apprises Lefkoşa Türk Lisesi (Nicosia Turkish High School) annual school show that was going to take place in a Greek Cypriot owned movie theatre Magic Palace. It is also highlighted in the announcement that the income of the show would be donated to poor students of the school.

In the issue of May 30, 1952, page 4, an announcement apprises Turkish students of Omorfo Öğretmen Koleji (Morphou Teacher Training College) school show that was going to take place in a Greek Cypriot owned movie theatre Makridis Cinema. It is

also highlighted in the announcement that the income of the show would be donated to poor students of the school.

In the issue of August 19, 1952, page 4, an announcement presents a concert that is given by a famous singer from Turkey, Akile Artun, in an Armenian movie theatre Kristal Cinema.

In the issue of August 30, 1952, page 3, an announcement indicates a school show that is given by Baf Türk Koleji (Paphos Turkish Collage) in a Greek Cypriot owned movie theatre Attikon Cinema.

In the issue of December 5, 1952, page 4, an announcement indicates a theater play ‘O Kadın’ (That Women) within a school show that is organized by Viktorya ve Lise Mezunlar Kurmu (Victoria Girls’ School and High School Graduates Institution) in a Greek Cypriot owned movie theatre Pallas Cinema.

In the issue of January 7, 1953, page 4, an announcement indicates a theater play ‘Hususi Ders’ (Private Lesson) that is organized by Baf Ülkü Yurdu (Paphos Hearts of the Ideal) within the new year celebrations. The event took place in Greek Cypriot movie theatre, Attikon Cinema.

In the issue of February 3, 1953, page 2, an article expresses the complains about disturbing and bothering people in Beliş Paşa Cinema. The complainer who is a Turkish Cypriot audience of the cinema says that he and his family had to get out the movie theatre because of noisy environment and went to a Greek Cypriot cinema

where every single one of the audience was watching the film in silence and in much more modern attitudes.

In the issue of February 19, 1953, page 3, an announcement presents an annual prom which is organized by Baf Türk Kültür Derneği (Turkish Culture Association of Paphos). The event took place in Greek Cypriot movie theatre, Titania Cinema.

In the issue of March 1, 1953, page 3, an advertisement presents a newsreel that is about a visitation of Celal Bayar<sup>8</sup> to Greece. The advertisement addressing to Turkish Cypriot community in Turkish language. On the other hand, it has been said that the newsreel would be presented in Greek language. The newsreel exhibited in a Greek Cypriot owned movie theater, Royal Cinema.

In the issue of March 25, 1953, page 3, a news calls attention of everyone on a preparation of a music concert which would be given by Darülelhan, from Turkey, in a Greek Cypriot owned movie theatre Royal Cinema. The concert is organized for the benefit of victims of ‘Big Flood’<sup>9</sup> in England to aim to contribute on benevolent fund of London Municipality. The news also says that two Greek Cypriot musicians and few members of Cyprus Police Band would join Darülelhan music group for this special concert. Moreover, it is also underlined that the governor Lord Wright also would be among the audience of the concert.

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<sup>8</sup> Celal Bayar is the third president of Turkey between the years 1950-1960 (Gülmez and Aşık, 2014, p.249).

<sup>9</sup>In 31 January 1953, a great storm surge swept down the east coast of England and overcame the fragile sea defences, leaving 307 people drowned or dead from the effects of exposure, before crossing the English Channel into Holland, where 1795 people perished. This was the worst natural disaster to befall the British Isles during the twentieth century (Baxter, 2005).



In the issue of April 7, 1953, page 3, an announcement calls the attention of everyone on a charity film exhibition for the benefit of victims of earthquake disaster<sup>10</sup> in Turkey. The screening is organized by Larnaka Türk Deniz İzçileri (Turkish Sea Scouts of Larnaca) and it took place in a Greek Cypriot owned movie theatre; Pallas Cinema.

In the issue of April 19, 1953, page 4, an announcement calls the attention of everyone on school show that was given by Baf Ortaokulu (Paphos Secondary School) in a Greek Cypriot owned movie theatre Attikon Cinema.

In the issue of June 9, 1953, page 3, an announcement indicates a show including a film exhibition that is organized by Lefkoşa Toplum Sevenler Kulübü (Lefkoşa Community Lovers Club). It is emphasized in the announcement that the event would be organized on the third day of Bayram<sup>11</sup>. The event took place in an Armenian movie theatre Kristal Cinema.

In the issue of June 17, 1953, page 4, an announcement apprises a charity film exhibition that is organized by Victoria Girls' School. The event was going to take place in a Greek Cypriot owned movie theatre Pallas Cinema. It is also highlighted in the announcement that the income of the show would be donated to poor students of the school.

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<sup>10</sup> A destructive earthquake occurred between Yenice and Gönen on March 18, 1953. The shock was felt over a large area in northwest Turkey. 265 people died, 6750 buildings damaged or destroyed (Herece, 1990, p.31).

<sup>11</sup> A religious (Islamic) holiday.

In the issue of September 22, 1953, page 2, an announcement calls the attention of everyone on a charity film exhibition for the benefit of victims of earthquake disaster in Turkey. The screening was organized by Larnaka Türk Deniz İzçileri (Turkish Sea Scouts of Larnaca) and it took place in a Greek Cypriot owned movie theatre; Pallas Cinema.

In the issue of September 23, 1953, page 24, an announcement calls the attention of Turkish Cypriot community on a charity film exhibition for the benefit of poor students living in İpsillat<sup>12</sup>. Two films are presented in the announcement, Onüç Kahraman (1943) (Thirteen Heroes) and Atatürk'ün Hayatı (The Life of Atatürk) which have national romanticism, national messages and images, exhibited in Greek Cypriot movie theatre Firilla Cinema. It is highlighted in the announcement that supporting poor Turkish Cypriot students is an important national duty of the community.

In the issue of November 25, 1953, page 4, an announcement indicates a film exhibition that is organized by Gençlik Gücü Türk Spor Kulübü<sup>13</sup> (Youth Power Turkish Sports Club). The announcement highlights the content of the exhibition as Turkish film Yuvamı Yıkamazsın (1947) (You Can't Destroy My Home), Atatürk'ün Hayatı (The Life of Atatürk), Turkish Republic Day and Turkish Army Official Parade<sup>14</sup>. The event took place in a Greek Cypriot movie theatre Magic Palace.

In the issue of January 26, 1954, page 3, an announcement indicates a cinema night that is organized by Baf Ülkü Yurdu. A Turkish film Şehvet Kurbanı (1940) (Victim

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<sup>12</sup> A village which is called as 'Sütlüce' nowadays.

<sup>13</sup> Gençlik Gücü Spor Kulübü is a Turkish Cypriot football club that was established in 1952 and based in Nicosia.

<sup>14</sup> Yuvamı Yıkamazsın (1947) is a feature films, the reset are newsreels imported from Turkey.

of Lust) is screened and the event took place in Greek Cypriot movie theatre, Attikon Cinema.

In the issue of March 2, 1954, page 3, an announcement apprises Victoria Girls' School annual school show that was going to take place in a Greek Cypriot owned movie theatre Pallas Cinema.

In the issue of March 9, 1954, page 2, an announcement calls the attention of everyone on a charity theater play 'Para Delisi' (An Acquisitive) for the benefit of Larnaka Türk Kadınlar Birliği (Turkish Women's Union of Larnaca). The event was going to take place in a Greek Cypriot owned movie theatre; Rex Cinema.

In the issue of March 26, 1954, page 2, an announcement calls the attention of everyone on a charity theater play 'Para Delisi' (An Acquisitive) for the benefit of Doğan Türk Birliği<sup>15</sup> (Doğan Turkish Union). The event was going to take place in a Greek Cypriot owned movie theatre; Pallas Cinema.

In the issue of April 11, 1954, page 4, an announcement apprises Namık Kemal Lisesi<sup>16</sup> (Namık Kemal High School) annual school show. It is highlighted in the announcement that the event includes a play 'Vatan Yahut Silistre' (Motherland or Silistra), singing national anthems, and performing national dances. The event took place in a Greek Cypriot owned movie theatre Ireon Cinema.

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<sup>15</sup> Doğan Türk Birliği is a sports club based in Kyrenia, Northern Cyprus and first established in 1938 in Limassol.

<sup>16</sup> A Turkish high school that was founded in 1944.

In the issue of April 21, 1954, page 3, an announcement calls the attention of everyone on school show for the benefit of poor students that is given by Baf Ortaokulu (Paphos Secondary School) in a Greek Cypriot owned movie theatre Tatiana Cinema.

In the issue of April 24, 1954, page 1, a news informs the community that annual school show of Namık Kemal Lisesi has been successfully done. The consul of Turkey also attended the event which had started by Turkish national anthem and continue in a national romantism atmosphere. The event took place in a Greek Cypriot owned movie theatre Ireon Cinema.

In the issue of April 27, 1954, page 2, an article expresses the complains of the writer about the disorder in Turkish Cypriot cinemas comparing with Greek Cypriot movie theatres. The writer Yavuz, indicates punctuality of screening in Greek Cypriot cinemas and respectful aptitudes of the audience.

In the issue of April 27, 1954, page 3, an announcement indicates a film screenening that is organized by Lefke Bayanları Yardım Sevenler Kulübü (Charity Club of Lefke Women). The event took place in a Greek Cypriot movie theatre Pallas Cinema.

In the issue of July 1, 1954, page 4, an advertisement presents a film, Flame of Stamboul (1951), a Hollywood production, addressing Turkish Cypriot audience by indicating the scenes that were shot in Bosphorus in İstanbul. The film was imported by Greek Cypriots and was exhibited in Greek Cypriot movie theatre Pallas Cinema.

In the issue of July 30, 1954, page 4, an advertisement presents a Turkish film Vatan ve Namık Kemal (1951), (Homeland and Namık Kemal), which is a film including national romanticism and national message and images, exhibited in Greek Cypriot movie theatre Pallas Cinema for the benefit of Larnaka Türk Kadınlar Birliği (Turkish Women's Union of Larnaca).

In the issue of August 5, 1954, page 3, an advertisement presents a football match between Turkey and Germany within the matches of World Cup 1954. The event took place in a Greek Cypriot movie theatre Pallas Cinema.

In the issue of August 13, 1954, page 4, an advertisement presents a football match between Turkey and Korea within the matches of World Cup 1954. It is emphasized that Turkey won the match by the score of 7-0. The event took place in a Greek Cypriot movie theatre Pallas Cinema.

In the issue of September 22, 1954, page 3, an announcement calls attention on a charity film exhibition for the benefit of a football player of Çetinkaya<sup>17</sup>, Derviş Arap. The event took place in a Greek Cypriot movie theatre Makridis Cinema.

In the issue of September 28, 1954, page 4, an announcement calls attention on a cinema night that is organized by the federation<sup>18</sup>. The screening includes newsreels about transfer of Atatürk's body to the monument tomb (Anıtkabir) and Celal Bayar's

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<sup>17</sup> Çetinkaya Türk Spor Kulübü is a Turkish Cypriot sports club that was founded in 1930 and based in Nicosia.

<sup>18</sup> Kıbrıs Türk Kurumları Federasyonu (The Federation of Cyprus Turkish Associations).

visitation of America. The event took place in a Greek Cypriot movie theatre Firilla Cinema.

In the issue of October 28, 1954, page 3, an announcement calls attention on a charity film exhibition for the benefit of poor Turkish Cypriot students. The event took place in a Greek Cypriot movie theatre Rialto Cinema.

In the issue of January 29, 1955, page 4, an announcement calls the attention of Turkish Cypriot community on a charity music concert that is organized by Kıbrıs Türk Liseleri Mezunları Birliği (Turkish High Schools Alumni Association of Cyprus). The concert was going to take place in a Greek Cypriot owned movie theatre Pallas Cinema.

In the issue of February 23, 1955, page 2, an announcement calls the attention of Turkish Cypriot community on a coming soon theater play performed by Türk Tiaytro Heyeti (Turkish Theater Delegation) from Turkey. The play took place in a Greek Cypriot movie theatre Loucoudi Cinema.

In the issue of February 26, 1955, page 4, an announcement calls the attention of Turkish Cypriot community on a coming soon theater play performed by Türk Tiaytro Heyeti from Turkey. The play took place in a Greek Cypriot movie theatre Titania Cinema.

In the issue of February 26, 1955, page 4, an announcement calls the attention of Turkish Cypriot community on a coming soon theater play performed by Türk Tiaytro

Heyeti from Turkey. The play took place in a Greek Cypriot movie theatre Regal Cinema.

In the issue of March 2, 1955, page 2, an announcement calls the attention of Turkish Cypriot community on a coming soon theater play performed by Türk Tiaytro Heyeti from Turkey. The play took place in a Greek Cypriot movie theatre Olympia Cinema.

In the issue of March 2, 1955, page 2, an announcement indicates a film exhibition that is organized by Yıldız Spor Kulübü (Star Sports Club). The event took place in a Greek Cypriot movie theatre Pallas Cinema.

In the issue of March 5, 1955, page 2, an announcement calls the attention of everyone on a concert that is given by Halit Vurgun music group, from Turkey, including a famous singer Abdullah Yüce. The concert was going to take place in a Greek Cypriot owned movie theatre Makridis Cinema.

In the issue of March 9, 1955, page 4, an announcement calls the attention of everyone on a concert that is given by Halit Vurgun music group, from Turkey, including a famous singer Abdullah Yüce. The concert was going to take place in a Greek Cypriot owned movie theatre Loucoudi Cinema.

In the issue of March 24, 1955, page 4, an announcement presents a cinema night that is organized by Y.A.K.<sup>19</sup>. The event took place in Greek Cypriot owned movie theatre Magic Palace.

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<sup>19</sup> Yenicami Ağdelen Spor Kulübü (Y.A.K.) is a Turkish Cypriot football club that was founded in 1951 and based in Nicosia.

In the issue of March 26, 1955, page 4, an announcement presents a cinema night that is organized by Yeşil Ada İnönü Spor (Green Island İnönü Sports) The event took place in Greek Cypriot owned movie theatre Loucoudi Cinema.

In the issue of March 29, 1955, page 4, an announcement presents a cinema night that is organized by Larnaka Demir Türk Spor Kulübü<sup>20</sup> (Larnaca Iron Turkish Sports Club) The event took place in Greek Cypriot owned movie theatre Rex Cinema.

In the issue of April 21, 1955, page 2, an announcement apprises Namık Kemal Lisesi annual school show. It is highlighted in the announcement that the event includes a play 'Paydos' (Break) written by Cevat Fehmi. The event took place in a Greek Cypriot owned movie theatre Ireon Cinema.

In the issue of April 22, 1955, page 4, an announcement apprises about a charity film screening for the benefit of poor students. The screening took place in a Greek Cypriot owned movie theatre; Rex Cinema.

In the issue of June 1, 1955, page 4, an announcement calls the attention of Turkish Cypriot community on a concert which was given by famous singers from Turkey, Ahmed Üstün, Nigar Uluerer and Abdullah Yüce, in two Greek Cypriot owned movie theatres; first in Zappeion Cinema and later in Rex Cinema.

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<sup>20</sup> Larnaka Demir Türk Spor Kulübü is a Turkish Cypriot football club that was founded in 1934 and based in Larnaca.



In the issue of June 4, 1955, page 2, an announcement apprises Limasol Türk İlkokulu (Limassol Turkish Primary School) annual school show that was going to take place in a Greek Cypriot owned movie theatre Rialto Cinema. It is also highlighted in the advertisement that the income of the show would be donated to poor students of the school.

In the issue of June 13, 1955, page 4, an announcement calls the attention of Turkish Cypriot community on a charity play and concert that is organized by Kıbrıs Türk Liseleri Mezunları Birliği (Turkish High Schools Alumni Association) of Cyprus for the benefit of Yayla Türk Birliği. The concert took place in a Greek Cypriot owned movie theatre Panorama Cinema.

In the issue of June 16, 1955, page 2, an announcement presents a concert that is performed by students of Ayasofya İlkokulu (Ayasofya Primary School), Yenicami İlkokulu (Yenicami Primary School) and Haydarpaşa Lisesi (Haydarpaşa High School) students. The event took place in a Greek Cypriot movie theatre Pallas Cinema.

In the issue of March 9, 1956, page 4, an announcement calls the attention of Turkish Cypriot community on a charity film screening for the benefit of Kıbrıs Türktür Partisi (Cyprus is Turkish Party). The screening took place in a Greek Cypriot owned movie theatre Panorama Cinema.

#### **4.1.3 Transformation of the Cinemagoing Experience During the Rise of Ethnic Diversity and Nationalism**

According to Loizides (2007, p.174), in the case of Turkish Cypriots, nationalism has been driven by reaction to Greek Cypriot demands, insecurity, and fears of

marginalization. When the Greek Cypriot national movement for union had become very strong in Greek Cypriot community, the Turkish Cypriots turned their face to modern Turkey for protection and conceptualized it in a romantic way, as their ‘motherland’ (Kızılyürek, 2003, p.199). In the first phase of Turkish Cypriot nationalism, Turkey became the idealized romantic motherland which would protect “the lonely children”, who were perceiving themselves as “the helpless remains” of the collapsed Ottoman Empire. Therefore, in the period of starting insecurities during the late 1940s and later in the 1950s, the emergence of modern Turkey and the personnel cult of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, were the main sources of ethnic pride for the Turkish Cypriots in response to the dialectical other which were the Greek Cypriots (Kızılyürek, 2003, p.199).

Thus, the history of peaceful coexistence of Cyprus has transformed into ethno-nationalist division especially starting by the early 1950s and turned pre-modern traditional communities into two distinct national and divided political societies at the end of the 1950s.

#### **4.1.3.1 The Perception of National Belonging through Turkish Films**

In the issue of June 8, 1950, page 2, an announcement publicizes the opening of a new movie theatre Halk Cinema. There is a strong emphasizes of a Turkish film İstiklal Madalyası (1948) (The Independence Medal) that was imported specially for the opening of the cinema, just for Turkish Cypriot community:

We offer the ‘İstiklal Madalyası’, an indispensable work of Turkish cinema, special to the opening, with an endless honor. The Independence Medal is a heroic boast page of our (Turkey) War of Independence. In this famous movie you will watch amongst your tears and applaud with applause. In this movie, you will witness what a handful of Turks are able to have accomplished.

In the issue of July 12, 1951, page 4, a news issues a Turkish film Vatan ve Namık Kemal (1951), (Homeland and Namık Kemal). The news highlights the struggle of Namık Kemal for his homeland:

It is a film that shows the struggle of the great poet Namık Kemal started for his homeland and for this reason he lived in torment. As far as European films are concerned, this masterpiece is sure to see the same popularity in other accident centers.

In the issue of July 20, 1951, page 2, an article issues a Turkish film Ateşten Gömlek (1950), (Ordeal). The article calls attention of Turkish Cypriots on the film which covers Turkish heroism:

It is definitely worth seeing as the subject of the movie is about the War of Independence (Turkey). It is certain that every Turkish citizen, whose heart beats with love of homeland, will run to watch this film which portrays the salvation of İzmir.

In the issue of June 29, 1952, page 3, an article compliments a Turkish film Fato: Ya İstiklal Ya Ölüm (1951), (Fato: Independence or Death). The film is credited by the main feature of Turkish nationalism by the writer:

Turkey is a noticeable progress in the obvious filmmaking. In addition, our movie studios are in the national film fashion.

Fato: Ya İstiklal Ya Ölüm, which is the third Turkish movie of this season, is still in the national theme, but we watch the heroism of a handful of Turks who happily sacrificed their lives for their homeland in the War of Independence. The film is very successfully in reflecting how Turkish heroes fought against the Greeks.

This subject, which has an exciting and national meaning, has been examined very fluently in the movie.

In the issue of July 15, 1952, page 2, an article gives space for a letter written by a reader who signed the letter as Kemal Yusuf, a Turkish Cypriot carpenter. In his letter, Kemal Yusuf complains about the disorder in Halk Cinema. He indicates the moderate administration and proper regulations in “other” (Greek Cypriot) cinemas. Yusuf

claims that “Turkish Cypriot community has a great desire to watch Turkish films which are imported from our Motherland (Turkey)... and thus, Halk Cinema is full up with the audience every night”.

In the issue of December 2, 1952, page 2, an announcement presents a federation cinema night which is organized by Kıbrıs Türk Kurumları Federasyonu. The event took place in Yıldız Cinema and it is said that there would be screening of nationalist films which were recently sent by Turkey to the Federation in Cyprus.

In the issue of March 7, 1953, page 2, a news reports that Beliğ Pasha Cinema had a fire in the movie room and the fire brigade intervened on time. Slight burns occurred on the hands of projectionist Mehmet Derviş. The movie room of the cinema, without insurance, and the roof of the lodges were damaged. There was also a Turkish movie burned.

In the issue of April 9, 1954, page 4, an announcement invites Turkish Cypriot community of Lefke to a charity cinema night that is organized by Lefke Poor Institution in Vasıf Park Cinema:

In addition to watching a Turkish feature film, several Turkish newsreels which were provided particularly by the Consulate of Turkey will be exhibited. All citizens of Turkish Cypriot community from Lefke and surrounding villages are invited this event. Helping the poor is the human and national debt of every Turk.

In the issue of April 20, 1954, page 3, an announcement presents a charity film exhibition that is organized by Kıbrıs Türk Kurumları Federasyonu for the benefit of poor citizens. The event took place in Beliğ Paşa Cinema. The exhibition includes a Turkish film Üçüncü Selimin Gözdesi (1950), (The Favorite Concubine of Selim III)

and also films from Motherland that were obtained from T.C. Kıbrıs Başkonsolosluğu (Republic of Turkey Consulate General of Cyprus).

In the issue of May 12, 1955, page 3, an announcement informs the community that Halk Cinema is opening after the closure during the winter season by saying:

Dear Turkish Cypriots, Good News!  
Halk Cinema, the only Turkish Cinema of Turks, is opening soon...  
Halk Simema Company is proud to present the most selected new Turkish films to the Turkish Cypriot people from İstanbul's well-known film studios with great sacrifices.

In the issue of September 24, 1955, page 2, an announcement presents a cinema night organized by Çetinkaya Sports Club at Halk Cinema. In the event, films covering the life of Atatürk would be screened.

In the issue of September 24, 1955, page 2, an announcement indicates a charity cinema night for the benefit of Kıbrıs Türk Lisesi (Cyprus Turkish High School) students who would go to Turkey for a trip. The event took place in Zafer Cinema and a "Great Turkish movie" Yollarımız Ayrılıyor (1954), (Our Ways Are Leaving) would be screened. In addition, there would be a lottery with lots of gifts.

In the issue of April 29, 1956, page 3, an announcement declares the new Turkish films imported by Halk Cinema:

Some of the Turkish movies that you will watch in Halk Cinema in this year. Including the greatest Turkish movie of the year, starring Cahide Sonku and Zeki Müren: Beklenen Şarkı (1954), (The Expected Song).

In the issue of May 5, 1956, page 3, an advertisement presents the new Turkish films imported by Halk Cinema. Beside the Turkish feature films, the advertisement also highlights new newsreels from Turkey with new contents for each week.

In the issue of May 5, 1956, page 3, an advertisement gives the headline: “Great News to the Turkish People Who Love Sports in Cyprus”:

Turkish-Hungarian national football match. Prepare to see the unique victory of Turkish athletes in this unique movie. Coming soon.

In the issue of March 3, 1957, page 2, an announcement presents a charity film exhibition that is organized by Küçük Kaymaklı Sports Club<sup>21</sup> for the benefit of poor students. The event took place in Zafer Cinema.

Everybody Read!

Küçük Kaymaklı Sports Club has prepared a night that you have long missed. On the evening of Tuesday, March 5, in Zafer Cinema, for the benefit of poor students, the magnificent Turkish movie: İstiklal Savaşı (1954), (The Independence War).

In the issue of April 4, 1958, page 3, an announcement informs that Halk Cinema is going to open the season with 20 standby, new featured Turkish films; “Magnificent Turkish movies that you will watch in this year”. It is emphasized in the announcement that there would be intensive ‘new’ Turkish film screenings in every week.

In the issue of May 29, 1958, page 4, an announcement declares the opening of a new Turkish Cypriot movie theatre in Nicosia; Taksim Cinema<sup>22</sup>:

Taksim Cinema

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<sup>21</sup> Küçük Kaymaklı Türk Spor Kulübü is a Turkish Cypriot sports club based in Nicosia and was found in 1951.

<sup>22</sup> Before starting the regular exhibitions as it is mentioned in this document, there was an earlier special screening in this cinema for the benefit of The Federation of Cyprus Turkish Associations.

A great Turkish Castle opens its doors to our people tonight. Starting this evening, we are starting to present the most suitable and most liked Turkish Films in the taste of our Turkish audience every evening. The Turkish movie that we present this evening is one of the most beautiful masterpieces ever shown ... Gelin Ayşem (1957), (Bride Ayşem).

In the issue of October 13, 1958, page 3, an announcement calls attention of Turkish Cypriot community on the cinema night which is organized by Larnaka Demir Türk Spor Birliği. The event took place in Vatan Cinema and the announcement presents the content of the night as:

Zeki Müren's masterpiece Beklenen Şarkı (1954), The Visitation of Our Prime Minister Adnan Menderes to Korea and his speech to the Turkish Army, Cyprus Negotiations of British Prime Minister Mc Millan (H. Macmillan) in Ankara and a rich lottery.  
Run to Vatan Cinema.

In the issue of January 8, 1959, page 3, an announcement calls attention of Turkish Cypriot community and cinema owners on new newsreels that were brought from Turkey by The Federation of Cyprus Turkish Associations. The list of the newsreels were presented as:

1. Cyprus Meeting in London and 'April 23' in Cyprus.
2. National dances.
3. Brussels exhibition, fashion show at the Hilton, Turkey versus Netherlands national football match.
4. Our Prime Minister Adnan Menderes's travel to the Aegean.
5. Submarine handover in İzmir.
- 6 Sugar Factories in Turkey.
7. Dams.
8. Cement Factories
9. Transfer of Atatürk to Anıtkabir
10. Republic Bayram (Day)

These films will be sent to Turkish cinema owners.

Turkish Cinema Owners: Introduce the Federation to our people who have filled your cinema. Help and support the community all the time. We covered our bleeding wound. The war of development has started again.

One for all, all for one.

In the issue of September 2, 1959, page 3, an advertisement presents a national themed Turkish film *Allaha Ismarladık* (1951). The film would be exhibited in Halk Cinema.

The advertisement presents the film in Turkish nationalist discourse such as:

A TURKISH MOVIE that is the masterpiece you have been waiting for years.  
The National Turkish Film that every Turk must see with pride.  
Turk's Heroism Movie.  
It will be a Turkish movie you will never forget.

In the issue of September 2, 1959, page 3, an announcement declares that Kıbrıs Türk İşçi Birliği Federasyonu (Cyprus Turkish Workers' Union Federation), which was established recently, has organized a cinema night to be more useful and supportive to the Turkish workers. For this purpose, a cinema night organized all around the island. The first screenings take place in Çiçek Cinema, Halk Cinema and Taksim Cinema in Nicosia; Halk Cinema, Taksim Cinema and Akın Cinema in Limassol.

#### **4.1.3.2 Cinema as a New Public Sphere for National Audience and Movie Theatre as a Center for Social Solidarity and National Identity Formation**

In the issue of June 8, 1950, page 2, an announcement publicizes the opening of a new movie theatre Halk Cinema. The movie theatre was credited as the first Turkish Cypriot movie theatre of 1950s by highlighting its significant position and role for Turkish Cypriot community:

Following the great sacrifices, we are presenting the first Turkish cinema of Nicosia to the service of our people this evening. Our cinema has been prepared carefully and in order to protect the Turkish presence on the island. This movie theatre should be considered as the capital of our national existence.

In the issue of June 9, 1950, page 2, an article issues the opening of Halk Cinema last night by the emphasizing the 'Turkish' characteristic of the cinema:

We are really right to call this cinema as a Turkish cinema. Because the land is Turkish land. The people who construct it are Turkish. The films shown are Turkish films from our homeland. In other words, cinema should be seen as a



national Turkish institution. For this reason, we appreciate everyone who contributed to bringing the cinema to our right.

The establishment of a perfect summer cinema in the Turkish neighborhood will contribute greatly to our needs in terms of entertainment as a community. For this reason, wasn't it that we have been in sorrow for many years? We were upset and complained that there are no Turkish entertainment venues. Now we have achieved this desire. For this reason, it is a duty of our people to support it and contribute in all ways. If we pay attention, take care and make sure that the money that will come out of our pocket will return into our pocket again, we may have a winter cinema as well in the future. Of course, only if we support this national institution.

Spending time last night in this cinema, which is a symbol of our national existence and a real Turkish brand, made us proud. Because; the songs everybody sang, the movie that was shown, whatever were spoken among the audience, the officers and the administrators of the society among the audience, the shareholders of the cinema were all Turkish, Turkish and Turkish.

In the issue of July 11, 1951, page 1, a news informs Turkish Cypriot community about an organization of a “National Night” which had been taken place in İstanbul Cinema two days ago:

Our brothers from Istanbul University organized a 'National Night' in İstanbul Cinema last night. Turkish citizens in our city participated in this national night intensely. The Consul General (of Turkey) also attended the meeting with great interest and excitement.

Before starting the program organized by our visiting brothers, Hasan Fahri Uzman<sup>23</sup> made a short speech. The night started with the reading of poems written for Atatürk. Poems were appreciated by the constant applause of the people. Later, Sevim Akat, a university student, gave a talk about Turkish literature and gave information in this direction. After that, poems were read from Karacaoğlan, Nefi, Fuzuli, Ahmet Haşim, Yahya Kemal and Behçet Kemal Çağ.

Later, the head of the group, Mr. Necati Yetkin, sang Turkish music songs that won the audience's applause and applause.

Finally, the 'İstiklal' (Independence) play was performed and it was liked very much by the audience.

The meeting ended in a friendly atmosphere. Our university brothers stated that they felt an eternal pleasure from the close relevance of the right, the Turkish Cypriot.

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<sup>23</sup> A Turkish Cypriot merchant and city councilor of Nicosia (Keser, 2019, p.363)

In the issue of September 7, 1951, page 1, a news indicates a celebration of 9<sup>th</sup> September<sup>24</sup> in Halk Cinema. The event organized by Kıbrıs Milli Türk Birliği (Turkish National Union of Cyprus).

In the issue of September 8, 1951, page 2, an article gives space for a letter that is written by a reader. In his letter, the reader wants to reply another reader who complained about the lack of interest to Zafer Bayramı<sup>25</sup> (Victory Day) in Lymassol in the previous issue of the newspaper. Current reader claims that the reason why Zafer Bayramı is not celebrated enough in this region is due to lack of cinema owners. According to him, it could be only possible to celebrate this day by the support and contribution of movie theatres otherwise no one can encourage Turkish Cypriot community to attend such celebrations in any other spaces.

In the issue of September 11, 1951, page 1, a news covers the event of celebrating 9<sup>th</sup> September in Halk Cinema.

More than 5 thousand people attended the ceremony, which started in the cinema at 5 o'clock in the afternoon. The crowd overflowed to the vicinity of the cinema, as it filled up for the cinema. The cinema is decorated with Turkish flags throughout. A huge flag placed has created even more splendor for the ceremony.

Speaking at the ceremony, which started with the National Anthem of Turkey, the secretary general of the Kıbrıs Milli Türk Birliği, Lawyer Fadıl Korkut, pointed out that 9 September is not one but actually is two holidays. He explained that the first one is the 'conquest of Nicosia' and the other one is the 'Liberation of İzmir'<sup>26</sup>. This speech had a great impact on the Turkish Cypriot people. Then poems were read by our youth and Zeybek<sup>27</sup> dances were performed.

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<sup>24</sup> Conquest of Nicosia by Ottoman Empire in 1571 and also Liberation of İzmir in Turkey in 1922.

<sup>25</sup> It is a national holiday that is celebrated annually on August 30 in commemoration of the victory in the 1922 Battle of Dumlupınar in the Turkish War of Independence in Turkey.

<sup>26</sup> Liberation of İzmir was last battle of the Turkish War of Independence in Turkey in 1922.

<sup>27</sup> It is a form of Turkish folk dance particular to Aegean region of Turkey.

In the issue of October 23, 1951, page 4, an announcement notices that 29 October, Cumhuriyet Bayramı<sup>28</sup> would be celebrated in Halk Cinema. The celebration was organized by Kıbrıs Milli Türk Birliği.

In the issue of November 11, 1951, page 1, a news covers a commemorate ceremony of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. The event organized by Viktorya ve Lise Mezunlar Kurmu (Victoria Girls' School and High School Graduates Institution) at Beliğ Paşa Cinema.

Yesterday was the death anniversary of the great leader Atatürk. For this reason, hundreds of people attended the commemoration ceremony at the Beliğ Pasha Cinema, Victoria and High School Alumni Association. Mr. Yavuz Konnolu, the head of the High School Alumni Association and the head of the High School, made a speech at the ceremony stating the importance and meaning of the day. Later, the reverence was started. Later, poems written for Atatürk's death were read.

In the issue of April 16, 1952, page 2, an announcement calls attention of Turkish Cypriot community on the celebration ceremony of 23 April (National Sovereignty and Children's Day of Turkey). The event is organized by Victoria Girls' School and it took place in İstanbul Cinema. The celebration had started by Turkish national anthem and continue in a national romantism atmosphere by reading national poems, singing national songs, having speeches by teachers about the importance of the day. The event has finished by singing again the Turkish national anthem.

In the issue of July 29, 1952, page 1, an announcement declares a special issue meeting that is organized by Kıbrıs Türk Kurumları Federasyonu (The Federation of Cyprus Turkish Associations). The event took place in Beliğ Paşa Cinema and it is said that

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<sup>28</sup> Republic Day is a public holiday in Turkey commemorating the proclamation of the Republic of Turkey, on 29 October 1923.

the Federation sent invitation to 400 villages and asked them to send their representatives to the meeting. The need for the meeting is presented as “to understand the meanings hidden under the 'schools pleadings' which is the life and death case of the Turkish Cypriot community”. The announcement also emphasizes the importance of gathering in Beliğ Paşa Cinema for the meeting as “before passing the noose of death to our throat, this issue should be examined; and we must show the determination of the Turkish presence on this island to live free forever”.

In the issue of September 17, 1952, page 3, an announcement presents gratitude of Mağusa Türk Gücü<sup>29</sup> (Famagusta Turkish Force) for a charity night that was taken place in Lozan Palas Cinema:

On the fourth night of the Bayram holiday, £ 108 2 0 revenues were obtained from the show that Turkish Force put on stage for the benefit of the bust of our great homeland poet Namık Kemal.

We would like to express our gratitude to our people who have shown a close interest in this national case and to the owner of the Lozan Palas Cinema, who provides the movie theatre for a very cheap fee for the event.

In the issue of October 25, 1952, page 1, an announcement notices that 29 October, Cumhuriyet Bayramı (Republic Day, Turkey) would be celebrated in Halk Cinema. The celebration was organized by Kıbrıs Türk Kurumları Federasyonu. It is said in the announcement that national poems would be read, and anthems would be sung. The participation of the community strongly expected by the words “In order for this biggest holiday to be celebrated brightly, the participation of our esteemed community is expected”.

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<sup>29</sup> Mağusa Türk Gücü is a sports club established in 1945 in Famagusta.

In the issue of November 14, 1952, page 4, an announcement declares a charity ‘cinema night’ which is organized by Kıbrıs Türk Kurumları Federasyonu. The event took place in Belig Paşa Cinema. In the content of the document, it is announced that national films such as feature film “İstiklal Madalyası (1948) (The Independence Medal), 4 new arrivals (newsreels) from Turkey; Mehmetçik in Korea, Turkish Flag is Raised to NATO, 28<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Republic, Turkish-British Athletics Competitions and 8 other national films”.

In the issue of November 16, 1952, page 4, an announcement continuing presents a charity ‘cinema night’ that is organized by Kıbrıs Türk Kurumları Federasyonu at Belig Paşa Cinema. In the content of the document, 8 other national newsreels are announced as “Turkey’s opening of the Grand National Assembly, Celebrations of 30<sup>th</sup> August Victory Bayram in Ankara-İstanbul-İzmir, Graduation Ceremony of Military Academy, Giving Medals to Chief of Staff, Atlantic Treaty Talks in Turkey Grand National Assembly, Our Flag Towing the Atlantic Pact Route, Admiral Carney Visit, Mehmetçik Celebrates Republic Day in Korea”.

In the issue of December 2, 1952, page 1, a news presents detail information about protest meeting that is organized by Kıbrıs Türk Kurumları Federasyonu at Belig Paşa Cinema. The meeting content is about rising up against and censure a news agency, Anka Agent from Turk, which claimed that young Turkish Cypriots as the students of Lefkoşa Türk Lisesi (Nicosia Turkish High School) are educated under the strategic influence of communism supported by external sources. The news has the titles as:

The Turkishness of the Turkish Cypriot against slanderous slander.  
Thousands of Turks gathered at the Belig Paşa Cinema on Sunday and cursed the disgusting attributes.

The magnificent rally held with the slogan ‘Long live Turkishness, damn communism’.

In his speech, Faiz Kaymak, head of the Kıbrıs Türk Kurumları Federasyonu, said:

Such a humiliated piece of news has only one purpose, to try to move us away from our Motherland by staining Turkish Cypriot as communists. On the contrary, we have a growing interest in our motherland every day. Turkish Cypriots are always a nationalist, Kemalist, revolutionary community and emphasized that such rallies unite our ranks and contribute to our unity and solidarity every day.

In another speech given by general secretary of Kıbrıs Milli Türk Birliği, Dr. Fazıl Küçük. Dr. Küçük indicates that “there may be a number of hidden forces who want to make the Turkish Cypriots, who already has wake up and rising up, to become a prisoner and slave ... This will never be done”.

In the issue of December 2, 1952, page 2, an announcement calls the attention of Turkish Cypriot community on a conference that is organized by Educational Affairs Branch of Kıbrıs Türk Kurumları Federasyonu. The event took place in Beliş Paşa Cinema. The subject of the conference is announced as "Turkish Cypriots in the Ottoman Period". The keynote speaker is lawyer Fadil N. Korkut. It is also underlined that the whole Turkish community is expected to attend this conference.

In the issue of April 15, 1953, page 1, an announcement declares that a large and historical meeting is prepared by the Kıbrıs Türk Kurumları Federasyonu for the transfer of the Evkaf administration to the Turkish Cypriot community. The rally would be held on Sunday, April 26, 1953, at 10 p.m. at Halk Cinema.

In the issue of June 10, 1953, page 1, an announcement invites Turkish Cypriot community to a meeting which is organized by Cultural Affairs of Kıbrıs Türk Kurumları Federasyonu. The event took place in Belig Paşa Cinema. In the announcement it is said that:

Some of our schools were given government (British) control following the new Secondary Schools law provisions adopted by the Secondary Schools Commission last year; despite the complaints and protests of our rights. This year, the government is trying to end jobs of Turkish teachers coming from Turkey.

It is a great loss and a heavy blow for our society if our valuable teachers, who never hesitate to share their high knowledge with our children. Now, they are supposed to be removed from the island. Hey Turkish Cypriots: To discuss these events and protest the injustice, run to the rally to be held in Belig Paşa Cinema.

In the issue of June 16, 1953, page 1, a news issues the protest meeting which has been done at Belig Paşa Cinema.

Citizens from all over the island, coming from various towns and villages for the meeting, entered Nicosia in the early hours of the morning with buses on which glorious Turkish flags were flying. Meanwhile, the national anthems singing by passengers of the buses teased the city streets and heralded a remarkable day.

The president of the Federation, Faiz Kaymak, made a speech after long chants and applause and summarized the situation...: "These valuable teachers that were sent to us by selecting from among the most eminent teacher of our Turkey" he said; and continued "the commission would protest the decision to remove our school".

Later, Ms. Samiye Mustafa, one of the valuable members of the federation, our valuable lawyer and vice president of the Federation Ahmet Mithat Berberoğlu, lawyer Ahmet Zaim, Ayhan Hikmet, Hami Özaruhan, Özker Yaşın and chemist Ferruh Haluma gave a speech.

In the issue of July 23, 1953, page 2, an announcement invites Turkish Cypriot community to a meeting which is organized by a new founded union Lefkoşa Milli Türk Gençlik Birliği (National Turkish Youth Union of Nicosia). The event is organized to determine the management of the union and to register members.

In the issue of September 9, 1953, page 2, an announcement calls attention of Turkish Cypriots to a ceremony that is organized to celebrate anniversary of conquest of Nicosia by Ottomans. The event took place in Halk Cinema.

In the issue of September 29, 1953, page 1, a news covers a large meeting to support Dana Efendi in the first election of Müfti among Turkish Cypriots. The meeting took place in İstanbul Cinema "by the attendance of thousands of people". Lawyer Fadıl N. Korkut, who took the first word, gave a short information about Dana Efendi. Later, the head of the federation, Fazi Kaymak, said that "thanks to such meetings and events, this nation will have its rights". At the rally, the general secretary of the Cyprus Turkish National Union. Fazıl Küçük, journalist Fevzi Ali Rıza, lawyer Osman Örek made their speeches as well.

In the issue of January 28, 1954, page 3, an announcement invites Turkish Cypriot community to a meeting which is organized by Kıbrıs Türk Milli Gençlik Teşkilatı (Turkish National Youth Organization of Cyprus). The event took place in Beliğ Paşa Cinema and it covers general assembly of the union.

In the issue of March 30, 1954, page 1, a news reports a large meeting which organized by Kıbrıs Türk Kurumları Federasyonu to support the idea of transferring the full administration of Evkaf to Turkish Cypriot community. The news has the titles as:

March 28 Evkaf Rally Held with Great Success.

Our Demand to Transfer the Evkaf to the Our Community, Unconditionally, Repeatedly Confirmed.

Twenty thousand citizens attending the rally proved the rising up of Turkish Cypriots.



In the issue of April 16, 1954, page 3, an announcement invites Turkish Cypriot community to a meeting which is organized by Kıbrıs Türk Çiftçiler Birliği (Turkish Farmers Union of Cyprus) at Belig Paşa Cinema. The meeting is organized in the purpose of protesting the new announced prices for rations by the government.

In the issue of April 24, 1954, page 1, a news covers the celebration ceremonies of 23 April, organized by Kıbrıs Türk Kız ve Erkek Liseleri Mezunlar Birliği (Cyprus Turkish Girls and Boys High Schools Alumni Institution) at Halk Cinema. The news has headings such as:

The wonderful celebration of the National Domination and Children's Day.  
Turkish Cypriots experienced a historical day again yesterday.  
Great Ceremonies were Held in Halk Cinema.

In the issue of July 7, 1954, page 2, an article draws attention on the exit signs in İstanbul Cinema. He complains that the Turkish sign of exit has been positioned under English and Greek language signs:

#### Exit Signs

We were amazed to see the red illuminated signs showing the "exit" on the doors of İstanbul Cinema that are in three languages, Turkish, Greek and English. There are three languages on the signs; nice, we have no objection to this. However, we complain that our Turkish is put at the very least among all. Who are the audience of İstanbul Cinema, Turks! Who is the operator of İstanbul Cinema, aren't they Turks? Are the films of İstanbul Cinema not Turkish films? Even in a cinema whose audience is Turkish, the administration is Turkish, and its films are in Turkish, Turkish is thrown backwards, all down. Let's give up having the sense of inferiority and start valuing ourselves!

In the issue of October 9, 1954, page 1, a news reports Evkaf's intention to build a winter movie theatre:

According to the information we have received, Evkaf is preparing the necessary plans for the construction of winter cinema, one of the biggest needs of the community. The aforementioned cinema will be built in the block of Evkaf in Atatürk Square.

In the issue of October 16, 1954, page 1, an article heralds the project of a winter cinema by Evkaf by saying:

The painful days of the past will never come back. The Turkish Cypriot community has awakened, organized and engaged in the war of existence. No more sleeping!

On a beautiful spring day, we will wake up with the first lights of the morning. We will meet at the Atatürk Square of Nicosia, from seven years old children to seventy aged elder, from male to female. Our modern winter cinema will be full up with us. Orators will tell us the importance of the day at each gathering.

In the issue of October 30, 1954, page 1, a news reports that a large meeting had taken place in Halk Cinema for the celebration of 31<sup>st</sup> anniversary of foundation of the Republic of Turkey. The celebration organized by Kıbrıs Milli Türk Birliği and took place in Halk Cinema and its garden. The president of Federation of Turkish Cypriot Institutions, Müfti and Consul General of the Republic of Turkey in Cyprus attended the celebration in the cinema. It has been highlighted in the news that Turkish Cypriot high school students wore a badge with the inscription "Turkish is Cyprus".

In the issue of October 30, 1954, page 1, a news reports that Turkish peddlers in Nicosia held a meeting in the Halk Cinema's garden in Nicosia on last Sunday to express some of their requests from the government.

In the issue of April 24, 1955, page 2, a news presents the celebration ceremonies of 23 April (National Sovereignty and Children's Day of Turkey). The event took place in Halk Cinema.

In the issue of May 8, 1955, page 2, an announcement calls the attention of Turkish Cypriot community to a concert which was given by famous singers from Turkey, Ahmed Üstün, Nigar Uluerer and Abdullah Yüce at Halk Cinema.

In the issue of May 19, 1955, page 3, an announcement proclaiming that all staff and shareholders in the business of Halk Cinema were Turkish Cypriot, all films exhibited were Turkish and declaring that the flag of Turkey would be proudly flown at the cinema.

In the issue of July 26, 1955, page 3, an announcement invites all Turkish Cypriot community to a charity film exhibition at Lefke Summer Cinema for the benefit of Turkish Cypriot committee which was going to London to defense Turkish Cypriots' rights on the island. It is said in the announcement that the president of Kıbrıs Türktür Partisi (Cyprus is Turkish Party), Dr. Fazlı Küçük and president of Kıbrıs Türk Kurumları Federasyonu, Faiz Kaymak would make speeches.

In the issue of August 11, 1955, page 2, an announcement invites all Turkish Cypriot community who are living in Nicosia and near villages to cinema night for the benefit of "Turkish Cypriot Delegation who will travel to London" to "defend the rights of the Turkish Cypriot community". The event was organized by Turkish Cypriot High Schools Alumni Association and it was going to take place in İstanbul Cinema.

In the issue of August 24, 1955, page 4, an announcement invites all Turkish Cypriot community to a charity film exhibition at İstanbul Cinema for the benefit of Turkish Cypriot committee which was going to London to defense Turkish Cypriots' rights on the island.

In the issue of September 24, 1955, page 2, an announcement presents a charity film exhibition which is organized by and benefit for Türk İşçiler Birliği (Turkish Workers Union). The event took place in both İstanbul Cinema and Halk Cinema.

In the issue of October 26, 1955, page 3, a news informs the public that, beside the other public spheres, cinemas and theaters would be closed between 28 and 29 October. It would be only allowed to gather in churches and mosques for religious purposes.

In the issue of December 30, 1955, page 2, an announcement declares the result of survey which was conducted by directorate of a new Turkish Cypriot winter cinema to find a name for the movie theatre:

From Zafer Cinema Directorate

The questionnaire, which was built to find a name for modern winter Turkish cinema, which was built in accordance with the taste of the Turkish people, was met with great interest from our people. Among the hundreds of letters, the name "Zafer" (Victory) was liked the most and this name was given to the new winter cinema in accordance with the desire of our people.

In the issue of January 31, 1956, page 3, an announcement informs the community that Zafer Cinema opens on Wednesday, February 1<sup>st</sup>:

Zafer Cinema, which was built to meet the great needs of the Turkish people, opens its doors on Wednesday with one of the strongest Turkish films Alev Gömlek (1955), (Flame Shirt).

This unique Turkish masterpiece, created by Turkish artists with a unique art dignity, is an unforgettable Turkish movie.

In the issue of February 28, 1956, page 3, an announcement notifies that “A new Turkish cinema will be built in Larnaca”. A name was requested for a summer Turkish

cinema, which was decided to be built in Larnaca by three Turkish entrepreneurs. £ 5 reward would be given to the selected one.

In the issue of March 18, 1956, page 3, an announcement indicates the annual representation of the Kardeş Ocağı (Brotherhood) to celebrate the April 23 Children's and Sovereignty Day. The celebrations include a play, as a masterpiece of Vedat Nedim Tör, 'Kör' (Blind). The event took place in Zafer Cinema.

In the issue of November 7, 1956, page 2, an announcement invites whole community to a commemoration for Atatürk in Zafer Cinema:

From the Presidency of the Kıbrıs Türk Liseleri Mezunlar Birliği (Turkish High Schools Alumni Association of Cyprus):  
Commemoration Ceremony of Atatürk  
Founder of Republic of Turkey, the great savior, our chef eternal, for his death of the 18th anniversary, "Great memorial" is organized in Zafer Cinema and all of our people are invited.

In the issue of November 8, 1956, page 1, an announcement calls attention of Turkish Cypriot community on a meeting that was organized by High Council of Evkaf. The event took place in Zafer Cinema:

Dear Turkish Cypriots!  
We invite you to attend the meeting to be held at Zafer Cinema in order to discuss the pathetic situations of our religious commissaries, who have been serving in bad conditions and miserable state of our mosques where look like owl nests due to lack of interest. In addition to this, we will discuss about lie rumors and propagandas on religious taxes that have not been announced yet. We would like to have heart to heart talk with you on these issues.  
On behalf of the High Council of Evkaf,  
President Dr. Fazıl Küçük

In the issue of November 11, 1956, page 4, a news reports that the commemoration for Atatürk has been done in Zafer Cinema.

One of the main spots of the ceremony was the speeches of our teachers who are from Turkey. We were shedding warm tears because of the sweet talk the language of them about Atatürk.

In the issue of April 7, 1957, page 2, an announcement notifies that Gönyeli Sports Club<sup>30</sup> presents, a, three act, national theater play in Zafer Cinema on Wednesday, 10 April 1957: Vatan İçin (For Homeland). There is a note in the announcement which says, “This affair, which was decided to be held before, was excluded due to the curfew for young people by the government”.

In the issue of April 13, 1957, page 3, an announcement calls attention of Turkish Cypriot community to a play that is performed within Atatürk Secondary School Assembly on Monday, April 22, 1957, at 2:30 in the afternoon for students and in the same day at 8:15 for the whole society. The event took place in Zafer Cinema:

Be sure to watch the 'Hero' play, which expresses the personality and unwavering determination of the Turkish National Struggle Spirit. Do not miss this opportunity.

In the issue of April 24, 1951, page 1, a news presents the celebration ceremonies of 23 April (National Sovereignty and Children's Day of Turkey). The event took place in Halk Cinema.

In the issue of April 13, 1957, page 3, an announcement declares a new Turkish cinema and electric company by F. Husrev Erdentuğ and Talat Mustafa:

Cinema and Electric Company  
F. Husrev Erdentuğ and Talat Mustafa  
We have established a Turkish Company for the purpose of making Cinema and Electric installations in cities and villages. Doing cheap business and

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<sup>30</sup> Gönyeli Spor Kulübü is a Turkish Cypriot sports club based in Nicosia and was found in 1948.

bringing cinema machines is undertaken by the company. You can visit our workplaces to see how cheap and fast our work is done.  
We wish our Turkish brothers to choose us.

In the issue of July 28, 1957, page 3, an announcement invites the community to a charity film exhibition in Halk Cinema. The organizer of the event and for whom the event was organized is missing:

Kaybolan Gençlik (1955), (Lost Youth) and a movie in English will be exhibited.  
Do not forget to buy a ticket for this event on behalf of humanity.

In the issue of October 9, 1957, page 4, an announcement invites Larnaca and neighboring Village citizens to a charity film exhibition for the benefit of Demirspor Club<sup>31</sup>:

Friends of Larnaca and Neighboring Village Peasants  
If you want to Raise our Football in Larnaca, 10.10.57, Thursday Night  
Run to the cinema night organized for the benefit of Demirspor Club. Running to this event is a duty. In addition, a rich lottery will be held.  
For our youth to not disappear, watch the movie Kaybolan Gençlik (1955), (Lost Youth).  
In addition, you will be able to watch the three-quarter views of İstanbul.

In the issue of January 9, 1958, page 3, an announcement invites Lefke and neighboring village citizens to a charity film exhibition for the benefit of Federation<sup>32</sup>.

The event took place in Lefke İş Cinema.

Lefke and Neighboring Villages of Turkish People:  
Run to Federation Cinema Night!  
Our Federation is working diligently to save the Turkish community from the troubles and suffering it faces. Their aim is to provide us with a bright future and to bring our future generations to the lighter future. It is our community debt to help and support our Federation. We are glad to see that the aid to the Federation is increasing day by day. This is the command of our god and conscience...

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<sup>31</sup> Same with Larnaka Demir Türk Spor Kulübü.

<sup>32</sup> Kıbrıs Türk Kurumları Federasyonu (The Federation of Cyprus Turkish Associations).

A cinema night is organized in Lefke as one of the activities organized for the benefit of the Federation all over the island. We do not lose anything in person by giving a few shillings, but as a community we earn a lot. Therefore, it should be a duty of everybody to get a ticket.

In the issue of February 11, 1958, page 3, an advertisement presents shows that were performed by Turkish artists at Zafer Cinema:

Good News for Turkish Cypriot Art Lovers  
The Great Turkish Artist, a magician Dr. Vandraka and an unrivaled Turkish belly dancer Sevtap Deniz.  
Seats are numbered, you can already book tickets at the cinema's box office.

In the issue of March 9, 1958, page 3, an announcement calls attention of all Turkish Cypriot community on an island-wide concert that is performed by a famous singer from Turkey; Nusret Ersöz. The event took place in Yıldız Cinema in Famagusta, Zafer Cinema in Nicosia, Hürriyet Cinema in Poli, Turkish Collage's Cinema in Paphos, Alasya Cinema in Lefke and some other places in Larnaca and Limassol.

In the issue of March 13, 1958, page 3, an article reports that the owner of Sakarya Cinema in Tatlısu Village has decided to organize a charity film exhibition once a month for the benefit of the Federation.

In the issue of March 21, 1958, page 3, an article covers the concert by Nusret Ersöz for the benefit of the Federation. Article says that the concert in Yıldız Cinema in Famagusta was very crowded and the presence of president of federation R. R. Denktaş and a federation representative Dr. Niyazi Manyera made the public more excited.



In the issue of March 9, 1958, page 3, an announcement informs that a new Turkish cinema has already constructed in Nicosia, and the owner of the cinema, İbrahim Hayrettin, was asking the community to find a name for it:

Find a Name

Our summer cinema, which we have built on the Adnan Menderes road in Nicosia, will be presented to the service of our people this season.

Our aim is to present quality films, performances and concerts to the Turkish audience.

We are looking for a name for our new cinema. We think that this cinema, which will be the property of the Turkish Cypriot community, should be named by the community itself. In this regard, we open a survey. An award of £ 5 lira will be given by the cinema directorate to whom will find the most beautiful name...

İbrahim Hayrettin

Girne street No. 45 Nicosia

In the issue of April 20, 1958, page 4, an announcement declares the opening of a new Turkish Cypriot movie theatre in Nicosia; Taksim Cinema:

Prefer Taksim

The new summer Takism Cinema is the most luxurious Turkish Cinema with all the comforts that Nicosia Turkish people will always proud of.

The cinema will be opened to our dear people at this evening.

Tonight's income will be donated entirely to The Federation of Cyprus Turkish Associations.

You will be a fan of Turkish power with the movies you will watch. 'Aspiring Turkey' movie that everyone should watch.

You will also watch the Mehter Team, which shook England, in the movie 'Edinburgh Festival'.

You will watch the Turkish Military Collage students' vigorous wrists in another movie...

Run to Taksim tonight.

Taksim

Taksim

Taksim alone

In the issue of May 7, 1958, page 3, a news reports that a new play will be performed in Cyprus soon by Turkish theater group, Ankara Yeni Tiyatro Grubu, from Turkey. The play would take place in Halk Cinema for the benefit of the Federation.

In the issue of May 25, 1958, page 3, an announcement declares the opening of a new Turkish Cypriot movie theatre in Vadili Village; İstiklal Cinema:

Good News, Good News, Good News  
Vadili İstiklal Cinema  
Great Annunciation to the Turkish people in Vadili Village and the neighboring regions  
The big and modern cinema that you have always desire and dream about it and always feel the lack of it.  
İstiklal Cinema  
It is opening soon.  
Wait impatiently.  
İstiklal, İstiklal, İstiklal

In the issue of June 3, 1958, page 4, a news reports that a Turkish Cypriot businessman Ahmet Mutallib rented two cinemas; Zafer Cinema and İstanbul Cinema:

New Turkish Cinemas  
According to what we have learned with pleasure, Ahmet Muttalib, one of our businessmen, has got the administration of Zafer Cinema and İstanbul Cinema in the form of letting.  
We are happy to learn that, Ahmet Mutallib, who is considering purchasing both cinemas in the near future, declared that he will give both cinemas, free of charge, to charity organizations such as cinema nights, national gatherings and meetings for the benefit of Turkish Federation of Turkish Associations, Cyprus Turkish Party, schools and many other national organizations.  
We wish Ahmed Mutallib outstanding success in this new attempt. We hope that our people will show the necessary attention and contribution to these Turkish movie theatres.

In the issue of June 25, 1958, page 2, there is a declaration by R.R. Denктаş, as the president of The Federation of Cyprus Turkish Associations, about donation list for the benefit of The Federation. The amount of income (£ 100.000) by a play performed by Ankara Yeni Tiyatro Grubu from Turkey, which took places in cinemas, and the income (£ 50.000) by the same play organized by Halk Cinema are remarkable.

In the issue of July 6, 1958, page 3, there is an affirmation by R.R. Denктаş, as the president of The Federation of Cyprus Turkish Associations, that Ermiya Turgut, the

owner and the manager of the Halk Cinema in Limassol has a new regulation in his cinema for the benefit of the Federation:

As of today, I inform that every Tuesday evening in my summer Halk Cinema, I will organize a film show for the benefit of the Federation, which provides all kinds of assistance and support to our Turkish brothers in the recent difficult times. I will donate all the income of these film exhibition to the Federation. I kindly request that my initiative to be announced to all my Turkish citizens through newspapers.  
Limassol Halk Cinema Director  
Ermiya Turgut

In the issue of August 22, 1958, page 1, a news reports “The Gun of a British soldier was stolen last night in Taksim Cinema” and “It is estimated that the thieves are two Greeks who speak bad Turkish”.

In the issue of September 6, 1958, page 1, a news reports that British soldiers opened fire in front of the Halk Cinema. The news says “Cumhuriyet newspaper reporter Hazım Remzi survived the danger of death” and “The officials say the incident is an accident”.

In the issue of September 7, 1958, page 1, an announcement notifies a cinema night for the benefit of the family of Kazım Hüseyin Dondurmacı who was killed and martyred by EOKA recently. The event took places in Taksim Cinema on the evening of Tuesday, September 9.

In the issue of September 25, 1958, page 4, a news reports that Mustafa Osman transformed the open air Taksim Cinema in Limassol into a winter cinema to get ready for the following season:

Taksim Cinema  
One of our young businessmen who set up a second cinema in our town after Polemitya Village, Mustafa Osman, started the necessary preparation to

transform the Taksim summer cinema he operated in Limassol into a winter cinema.

According to what we have learned with pleasure, Kadu Headman Hüseyin Derviş, who is very popular in Limassol and surrounding villages, has become the second partner of Taksim Cinema.

In the issue of October 20, 1958, page 4, an announcement calls attention of Turkish Cypriot community to a concert which was given by a famous singer from Turkey, Nusret Ersöz, for the benefit of Famagusta Turkish Municipality. The event took places in Lozan Palas Cinema.

In the issue of November 10, 1958, page 1, an announcement invites whole community to a commemoration for Atatürk in Zafer Cinema. The event was organized by Cyprus Turkish High Schools Alumni Association.

In the issue of March 1, 1959, page 1, in an announcement, Cyprus is Turkish Party and The Federation of Cyprus Turkish Associations invites their village and town representatives to an extraordinary congress in Zafer Cinema. The agenda was “Enlightening the Turkish Cypriots about the Zurich and London agreements and determining the measures to be taken as a community”:

From Cyprus is Turkish Party and The Federation of Cyprus Turkish Associations

It is kindly requested that the village and town representatives of Cyprus is Turkish Party and The Federation of Cyprus Turkish Associations attend the extraordinary Congress held at our Zafer Cinema in Nicosia on Sunday, March 1, 1959 (today) at 10:30.

Accident representatives are kindly requested to inform all village representatives involved in the accidents of the meeting.

Agenda: Enlightening the Turkish Cypriots about the Zurich and London agreements and determining the measures to be taken as a community.

In the issue of March 17, 1959, page 5, an advertisement presents a cinema projection for sale. The advertisement states “It is a great opportunity especially for villages”:

Cinema Projection for sale

A 35-millimeter cinema projection of G-B Kalee is for sale in very good condition and at a very affordable price. Those who are interested are kindly requested to apply to the commander of the Atlasada Turkish Police Commandos Regiment.

It is a great opportunity especially for villages.

In the issue of March 31, 1959, page 5, an announcement declares that two Turkish Cypriots rent Kristal Cinema and they would donate their income to the Federation each week:

From the Presidency of The Federation of Cyprus Turkish Associations:  
Favzi Ali Rıza and Ali İbrahim, who have rented the Kristal Cinema in Nicosia for two summer seasons, are committed to giving all the proceeds of the Tuesday to the Federation every week. We declare our open thanks to them.

R. Raif. Denktaş  
KTKF President

In the issue of April 9, 1959, page 5, an announcement declares the opening season of Taksim Cinema and also the owner of the cinema, İbrahim Hayrettin, decided to donate his income to the Federation each week:

Taksim Cinema  
Opening Tonight

As in the previous season, we will allocate the profit that will be provided on Tuesday evening to The Federation of Cyprus Turkish Associations.

Taksim Cinema Owner  
İbrahim Hayrettin

In the issue of April 29, 1959, page 3, an announcement invites Turkish Cypriot community, especially all Turkish farmer peasant, to 15<sup>th</sup> Turkish Farmer Congress at Zafer Cinema.

In the issue of July 29, 1959, page 1, a news reports the visitation of Dr. Fazıl Küçük to Serdarlı Village. Dr. Küçük's appeal to the public took place in Çukurova Cinema in the village:

Our leader Dr. Fazıl Küçük visited Serdarlı Village with the head of the Turkish Cypriot Youth Organization, Celal Hordan, last night. In the village, decorated with Turkish flags from the beginning to the end, all the people of the village rose up and took Dr. Küçük from his car and carried him on the shoulders... Çukurova Cinema in Serdarlı, was filled up with a big crowd that came to listen to Dr. Küçük.

In the issue of October 26, 1959, page 1, a news reports that the 11<sup>th</sup> Annual General Congress of The Federation of Cyprus Turkish Associations was held yesterday. Rauf Denктаş was unanimously elected to the presidency again:

The 11<sup>th</sup> Annual General Congress of The Federation of Cyprus Turkish Associations was held yesterday. Rauf Denктаş was unanimously elected to the presidency among the flood of applause. Celal Bayar, Adnan Menderes and Dr. Fazıl Küçük were telegraphed to express the commitment of the federation to them. The congress took place in the Zafer Cinema with the participation of five hundred delegates from all over the island. Rauf Denктаş, the president of the federation, who first came to the rostrum and suggested the leader of the Turkish community Dr. Fazıl Küçük as a head of the congress. This proposal was accepted by all delegates with applause. Among the cheers, Dr. Küçük came to the stage and he started the congress.

## **4.2 Thematic Analysis of Oral History (1950s)**

This section sets out to present the findings of in-depth interviews conducted with twenty-six people as it has been explained in detail in Chapter 3, Research Methodology. The analysis of the interviews is supported with the field notes kept throughout the study. Interviews have been analyzed thematically and two main themes appeared as findings. First, the early experiences of cinema in peaceful coexistence and multi-communal context. Second, transformation of the cinemagoing experience during the rise of ethnic diversity and nationalism.

#### **4.2.1 The Early Experiences of Cinema in Peaceful Coexistence and Multi-Communal Context**

Many respondents agree on the peaceful atmosphere of Cyprus during the 1940s and early 1950s. Even small contradictions would exist between Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities, peaceful coexistence of the communities had been dominant on the island.

According to Respondent Q (male, born 1934), during the late 1940s and early 1950s, there was not such a big conflict. Previously the clashes and contrasts which had started after 1955, there was no even distinction or classification as “he is a Turkish Cypriot, or she is a Greek Cypriot”. Actually, such a concept of national identity did not even have such a social perception. “Everything was quite natural. So, we were as a whole society with different religious and different beliefs living in the same place” Respondent Q says.

Furthermore, Respondent H (female, born 1929) points out that there was a social harmony between the communities living in Cyprus during 1940s and early 1950s; however, she also mentions a physical separation of the neighborhoods such as:

Of course, at that time, there is no such thing as the Greek side, the Turkish side. Think of Sarayönü area until the Lokmacı Barricade today. After the Lokmacı barricade, there is a Leadra Region, to the left of the Leadra region, there is the Emerge region, the Turkish neighborhood. So, it was scattered, but every community lived in its own kind, in its own neighborhood. There were Turkish and Greek neighborhoods in the city, Nicosia. But of course, everyone knew each other very well. They were friends, they were colleagues in the same business. They would trade together; they were shopping in each other’s shopping. There was constantly interacting between both communities. Just a normal city life. The only difference was that when you opened your door, that neighborhood was your place. It was either a Greek quarter or a Turkish quarter. The rest is the same life on the island for everyone.

Correspondently, Respondent P (male, born 1939) states that even the living neighborhood were separated, this does not mean that one could not visit the other neighborhood or cannot feel comfortable if he travels around the other regions:

We (Greek and Turkish Cypriots) used to go to the coffeehouses in the same neighborhood and used to shop from the same places all together. For example, my father had a patisserie on Leadra street. My grandfather came from Beirut and married my grandmother in Cyprus, so my father would occasionally go to Beirut with my grandfather to visit my grandfather's family. There, he learned pastry. When he went, he brought raw materials that were not in Cyprus. Therefore, my father's desserts and special 'baklava' were very famous in Cyprus. For this reason, for example, he used to have lots of Greek Cypriot customers beside Turkish Cypriots. Greek Cypriot customers loved my father very much, whether they were going to buy a cake or not, they always came to my father just for a visitation and then they go to their home after their work at night. I was a child and I would go to the patisserie too. In this way, I learned to speak in Greek with a smattering mouth. I also had many Greek friends. Likewise, this situation, Turks used to shop from Greek shops all the time, so everyone was constantly interacting in daily life.

Various respondents address the close friendship between Greek and Turkish Cypriots of the same period, early 1950s. Accordingly, Respondent G (male, born 1941) states:

I used to have many Greek Cypriot friends. We used to play together as a child. We would eat and drink together. I am not sure what happened afterwards but, we were very close. I used to speak Greek too. My Greek Cypriot friends spoke Turkish as well. It was very funny that, sometimes, naturally, we speak to them in Greek, they spoke to us in Turkish. When a British soldier or an unfamiliar traveler saw us on the street or in a coffee house, he cannot distinguish who is Turkish and who is Greek Cypriot. How to distinguish? We were so similar.

Moreover, Respondent U (female, born 1941) describes the social environment and living conditions of the period as:

First of all, life was slow at that time. There were no such cars, bustle, dense population etc. There was almost no car at that time. Let me illustrate this situation, for example, the plate number of the governor's car was N01 and the plate number of my father's car was N02. Can you imagine that? My father was like deputy governor. The elder people had great respect to the younger one, the men respect to the women, and similarly the Turkish Cypriots respect Greek Cypriots and vice versa. Everyone was considerate to each other.



In addition to this, Respondent V (female, born 1942) indicates the Armenian population beside Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities.

There were not only Greek and Turkish Cypriots but also Armenians. Usually Armenians who emigrated from Turkey came to Cyprus. They lived in or near Turkish neighborhoods. They seemed more intertwined with the Turkish society because, in fact, they came to Cyprus by living the Turkish culture mainly in İstanbul. Many Armenians lived in Köşklüçiftlik region in Nicosia as I remember. Nevertheless, they were careful to stay at an equal distance to both communities (Greek and Turkish).

Besides, Respondent F (male, born 1930) draw attention on the multi-communal social activities attended by both communities:

Beside spending time together in coffee houses and neighborhood visits at home, we would go to the football matches together. Turkish-Greek teams played against each other and we were watching those matches together in the same tribune. There was no any problem. We also used to watch movies in the same cinema together with our families.

All respondents have their cinemagoing experiences among heterogenous audience of cinema, including different ethnic groups, during the early 1950s and specifically in Nicosia in their childhood or adolescence. Respondent J (male, born 1926) remembers the multi-communal experience of watching films:

I can say that the movie theatres were completely mixed. There were Greek, Turkish and Armenian people. Of course, there was no social unpleasantness in the early 50s. The owner of the cinema was Greek Cypriot or Turkish Cypriot? Was there a Greek Cypriot family next to us or were they Turkish family? Nobody would have thought of such things. Such things would not be questioned. Everything was ordinary, natural. Everything was simple not so complex that we had later on.

A similar experience is recalled by Respondent D (male, born 1937):

I remember we were leaving our neighborhood, calling out to the our Greek Cypriot neighbors and we would go to the cinema together. Turkish, Greek, everyone was mixed side by side. There was no problem at that time between anybody. Everyone would watch their movie and chat deeply. In addition to together watching a movie and socialize at cinemas, sometimes two friends

compose of a Turkish Cypriot and a Greek Cypriot traders had agreed among themselves and would bring together an artist from Turkey and would organize a concert in Greek Cypriot movie theatres. I remember Munir Nurettin came from Turkey, for example, gave a concert. Do you know where he gave the concert, at Magic Palace! All the Turkish Cypriots flocked. Then, Hamiyet Yüceses came similarly. Turkish and Greek Cypriots listen those concerts all together at cinemas.

The memory of cinemagoing until the early 1950s is thus overlaid with an affinity for a generalized peaceful coexistence of different ethnic communities. Beside attending film exhibitions and other activities like concert at cinemas as mixed audience, Respondent K (female, born 1937) remembers British soldiers and officials among the audience:

Since we went to Greek cinemas, we used to watch mixed mostly in the early 50s. We already had a lot of Greek friends and family friends. When we get into the cinema, the seats were already numbered, we could not guess who would sit next to us except our family or friends we came together. So, whoever sit next to us, does not matter Greek, Turkish, Armenian etc. we used to talk to them too. You will not talk to the man you sit side by side for at least two or three hours; what will you do? That's why we would chat, whether Greek or Armenian. Almost all Armenians speak in Turkish very well. Some of the Greeks speak in Turkish and most of us speak in Greek. Some of us were not very good in English, but many of us speak in English fluently. So, we use to speak to British soldiers at cinemas as well. Occasionally there were British officials and soldiers at cinemas, but so rare. They were a little bit cold and too serious. I don't know why, maybe they were expected to behave like that from their authorities since they were soldiers or high-class officials.

At the beginning of the 1950s, there was lack of Turkish Cypriot cinemas; therefore, Turkish Cypriot audience had an opportunity to watch films at Greek Cypriot movie theatres. According to Respondent L (male, born 1941):

Of course, Greek cinemas were popular at that time. There was Loucoudi Cinema, it was a little cheaper than others. For example, if others (cinemas) ask the price of half shillings, Loucoudi would allow children to get in by 3 cents. There was also Pallas Cinema at the Paphos Gate in Nicosia, and even a Turkish Cypriot worked at its box office. Greek cinema but its ticket seller was a Turkish Cypriot! His name was Cemal, a brunette man. When the Turkish Cypriot children came, Cemal used to allow them to get in free of charge. Of course, he would get along with the owner of the cinema very well and the

owner of the movie theater trusted him so much. If it was not so, why was he supposed to hire a Turkish Cypriot for the most important position of the cinema; the box office!

Another early memories of 1950s cinemagoing in Greek Cypriot cinemas and a case of social interaction between communities is given by Respondent P as:

We always watched American movies. Hollywood movies. Almost all of them were adventure, action, motion dynamic movies. All of these movies were in English. There were no Turkish subtitles or dubbing at that period. Some of us speak in English some others did not. However, that mobility, different places, subjects, adventures in films would attract us a lot. Of course, later, the Greek subtitle came to cinemas. Sometimes there would be a very crucial scene in the movie. On the most important spot, the hero would say something, but we would not understand because of language! But we would die by wondering what that movie character said in that scene. Beside the English language of the film that we did not understand, although we could speak and agree in Greek, we couldn't read Greek subtitles either. Therefore, whenever there was such an exciting scene, we immediately ask a Greek Cypriot audience, who sits next to us or in front of us, whether we know him or not, to translate what that actor said on that scene. The Greeks translated them immediately for us. Thus, we would continue watching the film as we understood what is going on in it.

As an additional memory for Hollywood films, respondents recall watching at Greek Cypriot movie theatres. Respondent V remembers watching *Great Expectation* (1946), *Gone with the Wind* (1939) etc. and some “cowboy” westerns in Greek Cypriot cinemas. On the other hand, Respondent D indicates that, while the cinema business in the Turkish Cypriot community had not developed in first years of the 1950s, some of Greek Cypriot movie theatres such as Magic Palace, Pallas Cinema and Loucoudi Cinema imported Turkish films from Turkey and exhibited them in their cinemas.

#### **4.2.2 Transformation of the Cinemagoing Experience During the Rise of Ethnic Diversity and Nationalism**

When interview subjects talked about their cinemagoing memories, the stories usually had started with watching a Hollywood film in a Greek Cypriot movie theater as mixed audience. However, after a while, respondents mentioned the political conflicts rising

up in the middle of the 1950s and their stories dramatically turned into watching Turkish films in Turkish Cypriot cinemas. Beside watching Turkish films, which interview subjects were recalling them in a sense of national romanticism, they were also addressing the movie theater as a castle of Turkish Cypriot community where they found a chance to socialize, interact, harmonize and as a space where Turkish Cypriots were able to have national solidarity.

#### **4.2.2.1 The Perception of National Belonging through Turkish Films**

According to Respondent R (female, born 1934), the types of films they had watched during the 1950s were differ principally according to the availability of the movies. At the early 1950s, mainly American and some British productions were common. But later, they strongly demand watching Turkish films in Turkish Cypriot cinemas due to political conditions.

Respondent D recalls his memories of developing experiences of film watching from early 1950s to middle of the decade:

With the American and British films, we had watched in the early 1950s, we had a level of culture and conception and understanding of the world. However, when we had started to watch Turkish films later, we understood that the parties that were always right in foreign films were not always right. Let's say in foreign films, for example, the good side should always be justified, yes it should have been true in principle, but as we watched Turkish movies, we have been informed that the right side in foreign films is not quite right all the time. We found a different perspective that we could questioning this. We realized that the good characters in the films we saw included factors that led us to conditioning. When we started to realize that those 'good' characters actually showed their countries, their companies, what they did in the world as a 'good'. We could question how they were 'good' factors or not.

A very similar perception is described by Respondent S (male, born 1934):

There we some foreign films we had watched which was issuing World Wars for instance. In those movies, the acts of foreign countries were look like heroic, completely in justice. Even the war itself was look like so right and essential. I remember many friends, who were working in British bases, were

even clapping those heroes in the film. Maybe sometimes I reacted in a similar way as well. However, following to watching Turkish films about Turkish War of Independence we shamed. We really shamed.

At this perspective, it is obvious that cinema brought Turkish Cypriot audience into contact and deeper relationship with Turkey. Respondent H remembers the communal experience of watching Turkish films:

There was a lot of excitement and enthusiasm in the movie theatre when we first watched the first Turkish films. We, our friends and families, went and watched the films over and over again. The film characters were like us, they were Turkish! They were not actors whose lips did not move with their voice. (They were not) wearing strange clothes and making jokes that we did not understand.

Moreover, the significance of Turkish films for Turkish Cypriot community during 1950s is described by Respondent P:

Turkish films occupied an important place in our lives. Nobody had a television at that time. Radio only existed in limited number, with limited broadcasts. What is more, there was no regular newspaper that came to us from Turkey. Therefore, within such conditions, we would pay attention to every single detail in these floating 'Turkish' films. We were consuming every word, every shot in them. Beside the topic and story, I mean what was going on in the film, the places were also so important for us. Let's say, we had chance to see the lovely İstanbul in those films. The speech, dressing, behavior of the Turkish stars were magnificent. We were even observing very carefully how the character decided to what in which situation. We were trying to understand their way of thinking; it was very valuable for us. Because they were Turkish like us.

With the increasing interest in Turkish films day after day, Turkish film stars had become the role models for Turkish Cypriots and this situation became more and more obvious in modernizing daily life. According to Respondent M (male, born 1938):

Cyprus was almost always hot as it is still so. Most of us would wear t-shirts like this. But then, we noticed that, in every Turkish movie we watched, male artists always wear shirts and fabric pants. Following to this observation, we paid more attention to our clothes and care before we leave the home. We all started wearing shirts. Even if we were going to the convenience store.

Appearance was important; we got it! We could no longer wear shabby. Looking modern would suit our Turkish Cypriot community.

Respondent I (male, born 1950) highlights that there are lots of people whose name is one of those; Cahides, Belgins, Safiyes, Perihans, Sezers, Ferdis and Handans and Oyas inspired by their parent's favorite Turkish film stars of the period: Cahide Sonku, Belgin Doruk, Safiye Ayla, Sezer Sezin, Ferdi Tayfur, Handan Adalı and Oya Sensev. Likewise, Respondent H indicated that she gave the name 'Sezin' to her daughter, who was born in 1952; because Sezer Sezin was her favorite Turkish film star of the period.

Furthermore, the dialect of Turkish used among Turkish Cypriots was different to the standard Turkish spoken in films of the period. Indeed, Respondent A (male, born 1950) recalls that Turkish films helped him to learn 'proper' Turkish. Likewise, Respondent V recalls:

Thanks to what we heard from the dialogues in the films, we learn how to speak Turkish in a modern structure. In one way, I, as a Turkish teacher, can say that it had mainly started to move away from the Ottoman and Arabic words and learning modern Turkish by Turkish movies. For instance, using "okul" instead of "mektep". Erroneous rhetoric has improved, and also our language has been severely cleared of Greek words we used to use a lot in our daily life.

In addition, Respondent L indicates that, even before the Turkish films, some images which recall Turkish nationalism in foreign productions had started to change film watching habits of the Cypriots. Later, with more frequent exhibitions of Turkish films, increased more the national belonging of Turkish Cypriots. According to Respondent L:

As the political events increased, some content, symbols and words in the movies we watched in Greek cinemas were enough to excite our national feelings, and this situation started to make it difficult to watch movies together. For example, we were watching the movie "Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves" in Pallas Cinema. In the movie, Ali Baba goes to Baghdad. It shows the door

of Baghdad like a fortification. We noticed a moon and star over the door. It was natural because it is a Muslim city. When he saw this, there was a big applause and cheering by the Turkish Cypriots. Every single Turkish Cypriot audience exploded by just seeing a moon and the star as we have in Turkish flag. An incredible flood of enthusiasm! On the other hand, the Greeks started to whistle, shout, and screamed Helen slogans. A fight broke out among people in the cinema. A similar situation would also be in such unrelated films. For example, there was a movie, I do not remember its name, there is no political thing in love movie. While watching together this film, there we saw a Turkish flag on the board of a ship while leaving the pier. Hoop broke off again. Cheers from us, reactions from them.

Beyond the occasional situations, Respondent O (male, born 1947) underlines that, especially following the middle of 1950s, all Turkish Cypriots were watching Turkish films in Turkish Cypriot movie theatres. The demand for Turkish films, more specifically national themed films, was at maximum level:

Although me and my friends were at the age of ten to fifteen, we were always looking for a film which covers Turkish heroism and patriotism. Because as we learnt from those war films, “A Turk is worth a world”. So, we were proud of watching heroic stories of our nation in those films.

Moreover, in order to describe the role of Turkish films in the 1950s, Respondent P says “Turkish films made a great contribution in terms of finding our essence, in terms of finding our way in our national struggle”:

Especially after EOKA activities, harmony and order on the island began to collapse. The British administration lost the control. Within these developments, the only thrust, the single ‘safe harbor’ for us was our motherland Turkey. In all conditions, we were Turkish, and we were part of Turkey. We were so, the situation was so, however, a large majority of us had never go to Turkey. We had never visited the country where we were part of it. We even had not meet many people originally from Turkey except some of schoolteachers those who visited our island occasionally. However, thanks to the films, we got to know our Turkey closely, listened to our Turkish carefully, and understood how to behave better. We listened and learned the thoughts of our state elders. We saw Atatürk. We experienced our historical past and heroism that we did not read in the books. Where does our nation live, how do they dress, how do they talk, how do they live, what are the significant social values, what to care about, what is bad, what is good, what should be done in which situation, who is our roots, our core history? So, everything became clearer and concrete. The human mind does not understand metaphorically, but

understands the concrete and real things better, clings to and adopts the concrete ones more. In this regard, we saw our essence and gained our missing identity thanks to Turkish films.

Following to increasing influence of Turkish films on Turkish Cypriot community, the British Rule enlarged the control of film exhibition on the island. According to Respondent D this control has tighten more for Turkish Cypriot film importers by Greek Cypriot official members of Cyprus Board of Censorship:

The British officers, inspired by the Greek Cypriots, were constantly censoring our movies. Especially they banned national films completely; they would not let them to be shown. Sometimes they would just cut scenes that they considered politically objectionable. When we watched such films, the movies would lose their meaning. For example, there would be an event in the movie, since they cut the following scene, we would not understand anything about the story. The film would be ridiculous and totally irrelevant.

On the other hand, Respondent L reveals some counter maneuvers against repressive regulations of the Board of Censorship:

T.P. was brother of one of my friends. He was also one of the first Turkish Cypriot cinema projectionists. Our importers sometimes could predict that the British would not allow some of those national movies which include Turkish flag, anthems or similar scenes in them. In such cases, our importers were requesting from production companies in Turkey to separate such scenes and give them as an independent film roll. As soon as they got those film stripes, they found a tailor and had these scenes sewn to the lining of their jackets and clothes; hiding in this way. The film would come to Cyprus without those scenes and not be censored. Later, they would stick those scenes back on the main body of the film in Cyprus. Of course, those sticking places would sometimes get stuck while screening the movie. But no matter what, we would not be deprived of our flag, Atatürk, our national anthems. In this way, the film would not lose the story, its feature. The British would have been afraid to enter Turkish Cypriot cinemas. The Greeks had been a separate community. Therefore, nobody could follow up. These methods would just benefit us.

Likewise, Respondent G recalled another experience about importing political films from Turkey to Cyprus secretly:



I have never shared this with someone else, but we are getting so old. Therefore, maybe it is time to share it with young generations. There was a magnificent, national themed film *Meçhul Kahramanlar* (1958), (Unknown Heroes). We were supposed to bring the movie from Turkey. Thanks to Republic of Turkey Consulate General of Cyprus and the Federation who helped us to get organized on this mission. Everything was set and the film had been already bought in Turkey. The movie was very important for us. It included our flag, scenes of Atatürk, everything we need. A very important movie for us. It was completely a national struggle movie. This community had to watch this film. On the other hand, it was impossible to exhibit it in Cyprus because of the damned Board of Censorship. So, I put another ordinary film in a bag, and I took it to the airport. The customs were there then. Board of Censorship would take the films from there to decide if they are okay or they need for a censorship. At the airport, I had a Greek friend working at the customs. They, somehow, got us together secretly. I said, "Look, I'll tell you something, there are 5 Cyprus Liras here for you". 5 lira was a good money at that time. I continued, "We are waiting for a movie from Turkey. You will get that movie, and you will replace this movie in this bag; do you agree?". He grabbed the money immediately, "I accept, of course", he said. In this way, we saved our movie from censorship and exhibited it in our cinemas. The film had a huge impact on the community. Everyone in the movie theatre who watched it, cried, cried, hugged each other... The movie I gave to be replaced was a love story film (!).

Last but not least, Respondent N (female, 1947) identifies the influence of Turkish films on Turkish Cypriot community during the 1950s as:

There were large movie posters hanging on the walls of the cinemas. When a national movie would come, sometimes they would hang the poster of the movie 1-2 months ago. In the posters, for example, there was a hero, pointing forward and a waving flag. We were so tired in the late 1950s due to political tensions. It was a big excitement and hope for us to wait for those beautiful Turkish films to be shown in theaters, as if waiting for the day when this chaotic situation on the island would be resolved in the atmosphere of inter-communal conflicts, bombs and armed actions. In the lights off movie theatres, when we watch Turkish movies, we were feeling in safe! We were together with our Turkey. We were glad we'd be happy to watch Turkey's streets, seas, mountains, hills and specially to watch the stories of heroism, resistance, struggle. While seeing the Turkish flag waving on the sky... Of course, all of these, unfortunately, would take 1 hour or 2 hours. Then there was lights on, we would hug each other for a while, and chat. The next day, we would wake up to the realities of life, again stress, stress, and waiting. For this reason, it is hard to explain the meaning of Turkish films at that period of time. They meant an asylum, courage, stamina and hope to reach what we miss. Only those who lived that period could understand this!

#### **4.2.2.2 Cinema as a New Public Sphere for National Audience and Movie Theatre as a Center for Social Solidarity and National Identity Formation**

It has been observed during the oral history that, many interview subjects claim the political developments shaped the social aspect of cinemagoing practices in Cyprus and the events including watching movies, concerts, theater plays, political meetings, rallies, protest etc. centered at cinemas have effected social and political perception of the community vice versa. According to Respondent V:

In 1952 and 1953, Enosis and EOKA awareness started to be gradually formed in Greek Cypriots. But we were still going to Greek cinemas during the day, even though we were children. Nevertheless, I can say that we were a little uncomfortable when we were watching movies in Greek Cypriot cinemas. Because we had heard some rumors like, Greek Cypriots were going to kidnap us, they were going to kill us. At first (very early 1950s) we were going to Greek Cypriot movie theatres with our friends. But then, our families only allowed us to go to the cinema with our older sisters and brothers in later years (1953-1954). Even later, our parents would let us go to the cinema only together with them. This is to say, at this period, it was just a dream for us to go to the cinema during the day. Because our parents were working during the day.

Another social regulation in movie theatres due to political separation was described by Respondent E (male, born 1918) as:

When EOKA events began and violent acts started, still, we used to watch the same movies in the same place together. However, the Turkish Cypriots were sitting on the left side of the movie theater and Greek Cypriots were sitting on the right side. Too much tension, no discussion. But this situation would be a problem especially for the Armenian tradesmen and Maronites who lived among us. Because, just imagine those guys come to cinemas with their families to watch movies. When they got in the place Greek Cypriots on the right, Turkish Cypriots on the left. Where will they sit? Which side to sit? If they sit to the left, their name will be called together with Turkish Cypriots. If they sit right, they would be labelled as Greek Cypriot supporter which was maybe worse; because, those Armenians generally lived in more Turkish neighborhoods as they emigrated from İstanbul. These communities were in a difficult situation, they were at the middle point during this transition period of cinemas. Let me go further. They don't say that much about this and nobody has mentioned this to you probably: In our organizational times (TMT), in order to understand who is on which side, we would call some Armenian tradesmen for an invented reasons and say "Hey, you know what, you won a prize of our lottery that is free entrance of cinema; congratulations!". Then we

would follow that person to see if he would sit right or left in the movie theatre. In this way, we shall know his side.

Moreover, according to Respondent G, following to EOKA actions, there was a serious decrease in the rate of Turkish Cypriots' going to Greek Cypriot cinemas. As a consequence, Turkish Cypriots demanded more movie theatres which should be owned by Turkish Cypriots. Indeed, around the middle of the 1950s, both open-air (summer) cinemas and also new covered cinemas constructed mainly in Turkish Cypriot neighborhood, Çağlayan region.

Besides, when tense years and violent events started as a consequence of anti-colonial and intercommunal conflicts, Turkish Cypriot cinemas had significant role for Turkish Cypriot community. According to Respondent V:

Movie theatres allowed us 'to be together' socially. It also improved our social ties and improve our relationships. We watch Turkish films, we attended concerts by Turkish singers from Turkey, we enjoyed theater plays that were visiting us from Turkey, we even learnt a lot from the newsreels imported by Turkish consulate from Turkey about current political events. We joined many meetings and rallies in our cinemas. These all had an amazing contribution on our culture.

A similar experience was recalled by Respondent U as:

We had the most troubled times around 1958. In this period, cinema was a versatile savior. It was a social activity that raised our social morale. It was the only space where we could 'hug each other' and feel in safe by each other's existence. As far as I remember, everybody was smiling, everybody was happy in that places. While working in a job, walking on the street, we were all in the shadow of the British rule and under the Greek pressure. Therefore, this social interaction I am talking about was only possible in our lovely cinemas. Nowhere else. No matter what for what reason, meeting in cinemas was a great source of energy for social solidarity and morale.

What is more, Respondent D also mentions about some other events, rather than film exhibitions, taking place in movie theatres such as concerts given by Turkish singers and theater plays performed by groups from Turkey:

During this period (1955-59), the consulate would try not to draw too much attention. But I would have heard since I had friends among cinema businessmen. Sometimes, even without any request by cinema owners or managers, the consulate itself organized concerts by famous singers from Turkey or organized plays performed by Turkish groups. In other words, the society would be encouraged in that turbulent period, to listen Turkish music, attend Turkish theater plays and watch Turkish films. All Turkish. The content of those plays was typically emphasized Turkish history, Turkish identity, Turkish lifestyle and culture. This was a secret policy of the consulate. These events were presented to these crowds gathered in cinemas in this way.

Related with other social activities organized in Turkish Cypriot cinemas, Respondent L (female, born 1950) recalled national celebration ceremonies like republic day, independence day etc. She says sometimes, this celebrations in movie theaters were merged with fundraising events for the benefit of political organizations like TMT, The Federation of Cyprus Turkish Associations or unannounced “national interests”.

According to Respondent G, usually fundraising events were announced clearly for whom and for what purpose specifically. However, sometimes it might keep in a secret or covered by using a name of well-known poor person in the community. Respondent G says, “Of course TMT had financially supported that poor guy in a return of using his name in a donation event at cinema”.

Furthermore, cinemas were associated more with political meetings in the late 1950s.

Respondent D says:

There were meetings, rallies and protests in movie theatres against the British or against Greek Cypriots. Especially when the British declared a state of emergency, it was forbidden to gather in public places and protest. You couldn't even go out on the street because of curfews. During those times when things

were overwhelmed, Dr. Küçük made me a press consultant and took me wherever he went. He used to tell me “Respondent D call this, call that for a meeting”. Everybody he wanted me to call were the leaders of certain fields such as the director of a sport club, nearby village headmen, union chairs, shopkeepers, traders, schoolteachers and similar people who had good network and prestige in the community. We used to meet in Halk Cinema, Zafer Cinema and Taksim Cinema as I clearly remember to discuss social and political issues.

Likewise, Respondent L recalled similar clandestine gatherings in cinemas as:

Secret meetings and organization of TMT were also done in cinemas. I don't want to talk too much about this, but we've been called to go to the cinema a lot to make some decisions or plan how to implement the decisions we make. There were already coffee houses, sports clubs and cinemas like underground places where most of the work was done confidentially.

Not only the secret political meetings, but public access political gatherings were also common in movie theatres. Interview subjects recalled nationalist politicians such as Dr. Fazıl Küçük, Rauf Denktaş, Faiz Kaymak, Osman Örek, Ahmet Mithat Berberoğlu, Ahmet Zaim, Özker Yaşın and Ferruh Haluma who gave a political speech in movie theatres. According to Respondent B (female, born 1949), beside the political meetings, it was also common for a politician to make his speech at cinemas before a film began or during the intermission.

Furthermore, Respondent P reveals an extreme Turkish Cypriot political use of cinema business by under the strict control and state of emergency by British Government:

This cinema business had another important function. Not everyone knows this. At that time, movies were imported from Turkey by cinema companies. Some individual movie theatre owners would try to import their own. But generally, Nicosia or other city and village cinema owners who could not import movies would come and buy movies from us (a cinema company). Movies were imported as rolls in big and strong cans. Organization (TMT) time, searches were made on buses or any other transportation vehicles by British officers. For this reason, TMT and institutions such as KTKF (The Federation of Cyprus Turkish Associations) would use these cans to send classified documents including decisions, written notices or confidential

meeting dates to other regions. During the periods when the controls were more frequent, even if the cans were opened it was impossible to notice those secret documents. Because, they had started to cut the papers so thinly in the form of a film roll and write the notifications on those thinly film roll shaped papers hidden between the film strips.

During the increasing armed action and violence in 1957 and 1958, Respondent C (male, born 1938) states that, cinemas were associated with an emergency center where a mass of community is ready for an action:

When there was an incident during the conflict years or an attack against the Turkish Cypriots, one of the first things to do was to go to the movie theatre and report the situation. Suddenly, the door of the cinema would open, someone would shout inside the cinema, "Oh, people, a Turk was shot on the long road". Instantly all the people would break the chairs of cinema, make them stick and run to the place where the event happened. Movie theatre was sort of emergency call like '911'. Because the place where we all gathered and so crowded was cinema. There was a mass of people a ready power for the community. Just imagine, at least 200-300 people, so organized and all together, would go to the crime scene. Where else could you find a community that would intervene collectively and organized so suddenly?

### **4.3 Content Analysis of Cyprus Mail Newspaper (1950-1959)**

This section sets out to present the findings of content analysis of Cyprus Mail Newspaper to find out any related data associated with the present study. Different than Halkın Sesi Newspaper, Cyprus Mail Newspaper had printed in English language. In order to reach the whole issues, which had printed for ten years from 1950 to 1959 as the sample of the content analysis, of the newspaper, the research has expanded to Republic of Cyprus Press and Information Office, in Southern Cyprus.

#### **4.3.1 The Early Experiences of Cinema in Peaceful Coexistence and Multi-Communal Context**

In the issue of July 29, 1954, page 3, a column titled "Review of the Week's Films in Nicosia" by H. Layland presented the films that were exhibited in Greek Cypriot

movie theatres Loucoudi Cinema, Pallas Cinema, Pantheon Cinema, Magic Garden and Regina Cinema where were visited by Turkish Cypriot audience as well.

In the issue of December 12, 1955, page 2, an advertisement presents a “Turkish Film” which was exhibited in Greek Cypriot movie theater, Rex Cinema in Larnaca.

In the issue of December 19, 1955, page 2, an advertisement presents a “Turkish Film” which was exhibited in Greek Cypriot movie theater, Rex Cinema in Larnaca.

In the issue of January 10, 1956, page 2, an advertisement presents a “Turkish Film” which was exhibited in Greek Cypriot movie theater, Rex Cinema in Larnaca.

In the issue of September 13, 1958, page 3, a column titled “Picturegoer Reports on this Week’s Offering at the Cinema” mentions about a Turkish Cypriot movie theater, Taksim Cinema. The column suggests the both Greek and Turkish Cypriot readers to visit the cinema which offers series of English films:

Another cinema which is outside the walls is well worth remembering. The Taksim Cinema shows a fair selection of English films of recent vintage and usually a double programme into the bargain. This cinema is in the Turkish section of the town, opposite the P.W.D. offices.

In the issue of September 27, 1958, page 3, a column titled “Says Picturegoer” highlighted a Turkish Cypriot movie theater, Taksim Cinema:

Finally, at the Taksim cinema you can see a boxing melodrama “Somebody Up there Likes Me”, coupled with a Turkish film. This is showing on Saturday and Sunday. No further details of their programs available at present.

### **4.3.2 Transformation of the Cinemagoing Experience During the Rise of Ethnic Diversity and Nationalism**

In the issue of October 22, 1955, page 2, an article titled as “A Mistake” protest a ban, by government, of national celebrations of Greek Cypriots at cinemas and complains about the allowance of similar celebrations of Turkish Cypriots:

A ban has been imposed by government on meetings and procession on October 28<sup>th</sup> and 29<sup>th</sup>... October 28<sup>th</sup> is the anniversary of the day in 1940 when Greece bluntly rejected Italy’s ultimatum and joined in the war on the side of Britain... The anniversary of the memorable days has always been celebrated by Greeks and Greek Cypriots as a national event and justifiably so. In Cyprus the celebrations for the past 15 years have always taken the form of processions of schoolchildren going to church services, the hosting Greek flags, and indoor meetings at which speeches eulogizing Greece were made. It is all very harmless and never yet has an October 28<sup>th</sup> celebration been marred by disorders of any kind... Does the ban on assemblies for example mean that cinemas and theatres must remain closed for two nights? And can you tell us why assemblies and processions of Cypriot Turks on October 29<sup>th</sup>, the 32<sup>nd</sup> anniversary of the Turkish Republic should be prohibited?

In the issue of January 22, 1956, page 5, a news reports that a bomb was thrown near to Pantheon open-air cinema:

Limassol, Saturday. A bomb was thrown against a military patrol on Gindstone street near to Pantheon open air cinema. No damage or casualties. One man was arrested by the patrol.

In the issue of April 18, 1956, page 1, a news reports “Sequel to Murder of Cypriot Police Officer. Severe restrictions on Nicosians. Greek Cypriot owned places of ‘public resort’ closed for a week”:

The murder of Sunday last of Assittant Police Superintendent Kyriacos Aristotelous in the clinic where his wife and newly born daughter were lying, has brought a swift and stern answer from government which will hit Nicosians hard for a week. What it means. Under regulation 40 (Control of places of public resort and entertainment) of the Emergency Regulations the Commissioner of Nicosia has ordered the closing from 7 a.m. today to 7 a.m. on April 24 of all Greek Cypriot owned establishments namely any bar in any hotel, any cabaret, cinema, club, coffee shop, confectioners shop, restaurant,



theatre and any other place or premises of public resort or entertainment whatsoever.

In the issue of May 22, 1956, page 1, a news reports that a bomb was thrown near the Loucoudi Cinema:

Another bomb was thrown near the Loucoudi Cinemain Nicosia last night. The few people in the audience were taken outside and searched by patrols.

In the issue of June 12, 1956, page 1, a news reports distribution of EOKA leaflets including at Nicosia cinemas:

Commissioner Warns. The commissioner of Nicosia yesterday issued a warning to owners of cinemas, stadiums, coffeehouse and other places of entertainment in the town that should their premises continue to be used for the distribution of EOKA leaflets he would have no alternative but consider taking action under Regulation 39 of the Emergency Regulation.

In the issue of September 9, 1957, page 3, “Weekly Round-up of News” reports that masked men entered the cinema at Xyiophagos interrupting the show and after telling the audience they were EOKA members and that they would light to the end disappeared.

In the issue of July 9, 1958, page 4, a news reports “Pipe bombs in Nicosia again”:

A pipe-type bomb thrown over the roof of a house in St. Iacovos Street... A fire broke out at the İstanbul Cinema, Nicosia, yesterday afternoon when considerable damage was caused to the contents, including about 300 chairs, Arson was suspected.

In the issue of September 30, 1958, page 1, a news reports the speech of the Governor who complains about EOKA kills including in cinemas:

We must save the people: The Governor last night reaffirmed his belief in the justice and wisdom of the British plan for Cyprus... The Governor said: For every one of us killed by EOKA, EOKA kills two or three Greeks every day in

the coffee shops, on the streets, in the cinemas, EOKA ruthless killing of unarmed Greeks goes on. It is our duty to save the people from tyranny of violent intimidation and evil propaganda.

#### **4.3.2.1 The Perception of National Belonging through Turkish Films**

No data have found in the accordance of the topic under this subsection of the research objective.

#### **4.3.2.2 Cinema as a New Public Sphere for National Audience and Movie Theatre as a Center for Social Solidarity and National Identity Formation**

In the issue of April 16, 1953, page 3, a news reports a mass meeting of Turkish Cypriots at the Halk Cinema organized by The Federation of Cyprus Turkish Associations:

An invitation to a mass meeting to be held at the open air Halk Cinema on 26<sup>th</sup> April, under the auspices of the Federation of Turkish Associations, for the purpose of reiterating the Turkish community's demand for the handing over of the Evkaf administration to the community.

In the issue of September 10, 1953, page 3, a news reports "Cyprus Turks Mark Two Anniversaries". The news informs the reader that anniversaries were for first the occupation of Nicosia by the Turks in 1571, and second great victory won by Turkish forces at İzmir in 1922. The ceremony organized by the Federation of Turkish Associations was held in the afternoon at the İstanbul Cinema.

In the issue of September 10, 1953, page 3, a news reports "Paphos Mufti Candidate Supported":

Unanimous support was given to Mufti candidate Muderris Dana Efendi of Paphos at the first open meeting to be held before the forthcoming election of a Mufti (Moslem religious leader in Cyprus). The meeting at the İstanbul Cinema, Nicosia, organized by the Federation of Turkish Associations, was attended by several thousand people.

In the issue of February 18, 1954, page 4, a news reports “Control of Evkaf: Turks plan protest meeting”:

A meeting in Nicosia yesterday called by the Federation of Turkish Associations reiterated the claim of the Turkish community to administer Evkaf (a Moslem religious trust), and announced that a general meeting of the Turks of Cyprus will be held in Nicosia on March 28 -possibly in the open air- to make a protest against Government’s failure to implement the recommendations of the Turkish Affairs Commission. (Text approved: At a meeting held at the Beliğ Paşa Cinema, Nicosia by nearly 300 de facto representatives of the Turkish community from all parts of the island).

In the issue of April 24, 1954, page 8, a news reports “Cypriot Turks Celebrate Anniversary”. It was said in the news that Cypriot Turks celebrated the 34<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Turkey’s National Sovereignty Day (April 23, 1920). The Turkish Consul and the Mufti attended a gathering in a cinema in Nicosia; students, boys and girls marched to the gathering with their colours and Turkish flags.

In the issue of May 31, 1956, page 1, a news, “Curfew”, reports an intercommunal clash between Greek and Turkish Cypriots which has ended with a fight and arrestment of eight Greek Cypriots:

Last night curfew was re-imposed on the Turkish sector of Nicosia following agitation there. The trouble started at suburban village of Kaimakli. After rumors that Turks, coming out of the cinema on the outskirts of Nicosia, were marching on Kaimakli, church bells began ringing and soon Greeks and Turks began gathering. This was followed by a small clash in which there was bottle throwing and shouting... Later some Turks in Constantine Street, inside the walls of Nicosia, said they had seen some masked men and rumors were around that Greeks from Kaimakli were marching on the city. This brought a crowd of about 300 Turks out.

In the issue of August 2, 1957, page 5, a news reports “A general meeting of some 2.000 military and Government workers was hold at Zafer Cinema on Wednesday”:

They were informed of the result of negotiations between their union and the authorities on a number of claims, including a provident fund for regular

workers, increase of family allowance; payment of official holidays to casual workers; and increase of annual leave.

In the issue of February 5, 1958, page 1, a news reports “Taksim, Taksim All the Way: Turks won’t consider any other plans says Kuchuk”:

People might point out, said the Doctor (Dr. Fazıl Küçük), that as Turks enter Greek coffee shops and cinemas and live among Greek people they should be able to continue to do so under any circumstances.

In the issue of May 13, 1958, page 7, a news reports “Greek ‘attacked’ by Turks”:

Mr. Chiardjiazis, who is general inspector of the various Municipality departments, went to a Turkish cinema in the evening in order to check the sold cinema tickets, as he usually does with the Greek cinemas. As he came out he saw a group of Turks armed with sticks and stones coming at him... The Turks have declared that they will not pay further rates to the Greek Municipalities.

In the issue of June 9, 1958, page 1, a news reports “Two Greeks Killed in Larnaca Riot. Curfew imposed; Island-wide strike today”:

Larnaca became the Island’s trouble spot. Two Greek Cypriots were killed in intercommunal clashes there and as darkness fell over the town a curfew was imposed. Greek and Turkish crowds, armed with sticks, clashed in a fierce hand fighting in the evening... Trouble started when Turks gathered at Vatan Cinema in the afternoon shouting slogans and beating drums. Fearing an invasion Greek citizen gathered around St Lazaros church, the bell of which were tolling. The time was about 5.30.

In the issue of July 2, 1958, page 1, a news reports that a clash occurred at Limassol between Greeks and Turks. Trouble organized when rumor spread in Turkish cinema that Greeks were preparing an attack and crowds swarmed out into the streets.

In the issue of August 23, 1958, page 1, a news reports that a British soldier’s machine gun was stolen in a Turkish cinema, Taksim Cinema, in Nicosia.

To sum up, in this Chapter, content analysis of Halkın Sesi Newspaper, interviews conducted for oral history and content analysis of Cyprus Mail Newspaper for the 1950s are presented. The findings' triangulation is given in the next Chapter under Conclusion Drawn from the Study.

## Chapter 5

### DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This Chapter brings the study to an end. It comprises through summary of the study, conclusion drawn from the study and recommendation for further research.

#### 5.1 Summary of the Study

The present study aims to explore the fundamental systemic nature of cinema as a historical phenomenon in Turkish Cypriot community during the 1950s. As Allen and Gomery (1985, p.214) state, viewing the history of cinema as the history of an open system has several historiographic consequences which involves specifying the relationship among the various aspects of cinema (economic, aesthetic, cultural) as well as the relationships between cinema and other contexts (political, social, historical and national). Besides, ever since films were first shown to the audience, cinema has been a social phenomenon (Allen and Gomery, 1985, p.153) which provides an appealing opportunity for a researcher to examine micro-historical cinemagoing experiences as a site of social and cultural exchange. Thus, the present study aims to provide new sights for cinemagoing culture in Cyprus during the 1950s from national identity formation and national belonging horizons.

To achieve its goals, the study mainly focuses on the objectives of exploring the early experiences of cinema in multi-communal context, identifying transformation of the cinemagoing experience during the rise of ethnic diversity and nationalism, questioning the influence of Turkish films on Turkish Cypriot national and ethnic

identity and finally approaching to movie theatre as a new public sphere as a center for social interaction and national identity formation.

The present study focuses on the period of 1950s as cinema business and practices had the golden age at that period in Cyprus. The number of movie theatres centered mainly in Nicosia were increased and spread to other cities and villages among Turkish Cypriot community. The period was also important in sense on political developments. Anti-colonial and inter-communal conflicts became extreme movements. Ethnocentric diversity and national fragmentation speeded up. Cinemagoing experiences have been shaped by this political context and also had significant influences on political developments vice versa.

Since it was revealed that there is lack of written sources in the literature about cinema in Cyprus which has received little scholarly attention, especially in English, the research has started first with an archival research that was conducted in National Archive and Research Center in Kyrenia in order to gather information from any data which is related with cinema in local newspapers. This work focuses on all issues of Halkın Sesi Newspaper, which had the higher circulation over other newspapers in the 1950s, that had printed for ten years; from 1950 to 1959 as the population for the content analysis.

Secondly, oral history methodology has been used and open-ended interviews were conducted with twenty-six Turkish Cypriot cinemagoers born between 1918 and 1950. Interview subjects have a median age of 78 (78,591%). As far as possible, respondents were selected in order to include a range of social backgrounds, such as their

educational background and their profession, and to represent male (15) and female (11) cinema patrons.

As the third, the research has expanded to Republic of Cyprus Press and Information Office, in Southern Cyprus. An archival research of Cyprus Mail Newspaper was carried out to find out any related data associated with the research objectives. Different than Halkın Sesi Newspaper, Cyprus Mail Newspaper had printed in English language which provided additional data from different perspectives and offered diverse interpretations. Besides, the newspaper claims to take a completely independent political position and to have no political affiliations (Cyprus Mail, n.d.). All issues of the newspaper printed for ten years from 1950 to 1959 constitutes the population of the content analysis.

This structure for the research provides triangulation for the study which strengthen the quality of research in terms of validity and reliability of the analysis. Indeed, as Biltreyst, Lotze and Meers (2012, p.692) point out the need for this, especially when older data resources are missing. Triangulation is also a valuable in terms of contextualizing the positioning, construction and disciplining of the historical audience research.

## **5.2 Conclusion Drawn from the Study**

Following long processes of analyzing extensive qualitative data through a content analysis of Halkın Sesi Newspaper, a thematic analysis of oral history and a content analysis of Cyprus Mail Newspaper; the findings were categorized under two main themes for each source. First, the early experiences of cinema in peaceful coexistence and multi-communal context. Second, transformation of the cinemagoing experience



during the rise of ethnic diversity and nationalism. The second category is divided into two subsections in order to concentrate different perspectives of the topic. The first subsection examines the perception of national belonging through Turkish films. The second subsection approaches to cinema as a new public sphere for national audience and movie theatre as a center for social solidarity and national identity formation.

The majority of data which covers ‘multi-communal’ cinemagoing experiences were common before 1955. Following this year, a dramatic decrease has been observed in data in relation to cinemagoing in ‘peaceful coexistence’ by Greek and Turkish Cypriots watching films together in the same movie theatre. Indeed, there are 90 newspaper materials in this category from 1950 to 1955 in Halkın Sesi Newspaper. However, there is only 1 material in 1956 and no data between 1957 and 1959.

On the other hand, the content analysis of Cyprus Mail Newspaper reveals only few materials on this theme; 3 data covering ‘multi-communal’ cinemagoing experiences before 1955 (1 in 1954 and 2 in 1955) and 3 data after 1955 (1 in 1956 and 2 in 1958).

Moreover, it has been revealed, within multi-communal cinemagoing experiences, that in addition to watching films side by side in Greek Cypriot owned movie theatres, Turkish and Greek Cypriots used to be together at cinemas for other several social events and activities including annual school shows, music concerts and theatre plays especially during the early 1950s.

There are both annual and occasional school shows performed by Turkish Cypriot primary, secondary and high school students in Greek Cypriot cinemas. Victoria

Girls's School, Morphou Turkish School, Kondera Secondary School, Nicosia Turkish High School, Morphou Teacher Training Collage, Paphos Turkish Collage, Paphos Secondary School, Namık Kemal High School, Limassol Turkish Primary School, Ayasofya Primary School and Haydarpaşa High School were identified as Turkish schools which performed school shows at Greek Cypriot cinemas such as Magic Palace, Royal Cinema, Loucoudi Cinema, Firilla Cinema, Makridis Cinema, Attikon Cinema, Pallas Cinema, Ireon Cinema, Tatiana Cinema, Pattiheion Cinema, Odeon Cinema and Rialto Cinema.

The concerts were organized by both Turkish and Greek Cypriots, sometimes were organized together, targeting Turkish Cypriot community, but always were open for Greek Cypriot listeners as well. The majority of data related with such concerts illustrates that the concerts were taking place in Greek Cypriot cinemas and were mainly performed by famous Turkish singers and music groups from Turkey like Darülelhan, Müzeyyen Senar Işın, Suzan Güven, Suzan Yakar Rutkay, Ahmet Üstün, Rıfki Ar, Mualla Gökçay, Halit Vurgun, Abdullah Yüce, Münir Nurettin Selçuk and Nigar Uluer. Although the singers were Turkish and performed Turkish music, the respondents recalled these concerts as all collective participation from both communities.

The Turkish theater plays in Greek Cypriot cinemas were both performed by local Turkish Cypriot students such as Victoria Girls' School and Namık Kemal High School and also by theatre groups from Turkey like Ankara State Theater, Turkish Theater Delegation, Istanbul University Theater Group, Turkish State Theatre and Ankara New Theater Group. Fareler ve İnsanlar (Of Mice and Men), Pembe Evin

Kaderi (The Fate of Pink House), O Kadın (That Women), Hususi Ders (Private Lesson), Para Delisi (An Acquisitive), Vatan Yahut Silistre (Motherland or Silistra) and Paydos (Break) are typical examples for those plays.

The content analysis and oral history analysis prove that in the early 1950s, mostly the Hollywood productions had been exhibited in Cyprus. On the other hand, some remarkable special screening of Turkish films in Greek Cypriot movie theatres were revealed during the research. A short film about Atatürk's Life in Pallas Cinema; Şehitler Kalesi (1949), Yanık Kaval (1947), Unutulan Sır (1947), Senede Bir Gün (1946), Sızlayan Kalp (1948), Dinmeyen Sızı (1949), Kore'de Türk Kahramanları (1951) in Odeon Cinema; Fedakar Ana (1949), Vatan ve Namık Kemal (1951) in Loucoudi Cinema; On Üç Kahraman (1943) in Firilla Cinema are distinctive examples of Turkish films that were exhibited in Greek Cypriot cinemas. In addition to short films and feature movies, a newsreel has been identified which covers the visitation of Celal Bayar (the third president of Turkey) to Greece. The newsreel, in Greek language, were exhibited in a Greek Cypriot cinema, Royal Cinema, and was watched together by both communities. Similarly, there is also an evidence drawn from the present study which proves exhibition of Greek films in movie theatres at Turkish Cypriot neighborhood. A Greek film called Ayyaş (drunkard; translated to Turkish by Halkın Sesi Newspaper) was screened in Belig Paşa Cinema in 1951. Besides, a Greek Cypriot movie theatre, Pallas Cinema, advertise a Hollywood production Flame of Stamboul (1951), by promoting 'scenes from Turkey' in the movie special for Turkish Cypriot audience. In 1954, moreover, the Pallas Cinema screened two World Cup football matches featuring the Turkish national team and advertised them prominently in the Turkish-language press.

What is more, various charity and donation events and activities such as film exhibitions, theater plays, concerts and shows were organized in Greek Cypriot cinemas by Turkish Cypriots for the benefit of numerous Turkish and Turkish Cypriot institutions like Turkish habitants of Tuzla in Larnaca, Turkish Cypriot consumptives, Turkish victims of flood in Eskişehir in Turkey, poor school students of Poli Village, Turkish Cultural Society of Lefke, Morphou Turkish School, Victoria Girls' School, Konedra Secondary School, Nicosia Turkish High School, Morphou Teacher Training College, Paphos Turkish Collage, Turkish Culture Association of Paphos, Gençlik Gücü Türk Sports Club, Baf Ülkü Yurdu, Turkish Women's Union of Larnaca, Paphos Secondary School, Charity Club of Lefke Women, Turkish High Schools Alumni Association of Cyprus, Yıldız Sports Club, Yenicami Ağdelen Sports Club, Yeşil Ada İnönü Sports, Larnaka Demir Türk Sports Club and Cyprus is Turkish Party and for the benefit of individuals for instance Hüseyin Hasan, Mehmet Kemalettin, Hüseyin Hamid, Derviş Arap.

All respondents have their cinemagoing experiences, mainly at Greek Cypriot cinemas, among heterogenous audience of cinema, including different ethnic groups, during the early 1950s and specifically in Nicosia. Their memories of cinemagoing is thus, overlaid with an affinity for a generalized peaceful coexistence of Turkish and Greek Cypriot ethnic communities. At the beginning of the 1950s, there was lack of Turkish Cypriot cinemas; therefore, Turkish Cypriot audience primarily had an opportunity to watch films at Geek Cypriot movie theatres. In addition to attending film exhibitions, other activities like concerts and theater plays at cinemas, as mixed audience, are all provided a significant data for the social interaction between the communities.

Heterogeneous cinema audience and coexistence of diverse patrons at Cypriot cinemas in the early 1950s can be associated with early cinema theories. As Hansen (1991, p.61) states, early cinema patron was a heterogeneous mass audience, mostly the new urban middle class and their families who could afford the admission prices, transportation, and leisure time. Access to this entertainment was defined primarily in economic terms rather than by the exclusive standards of cultural tradition and social hierarchy. Concomitantly, the ideological orientation of the new entertainment forms was toward blurring any class divisions among its audience, offering them participation in an ostensibly classless, community of leisure. In addition to this, according to Gunning (1998, p.260), early cinema is one of the areas in which turn-of-the century defined class relations, culture and dominance.

On the other hand, beside the class associations, the present study examines the cinema in Cyprus within ethnic relations and ethno-nationalistic perspectives. The findings of the research provide significant evidence in sense of peaceful coexistence and social interaction between Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities at the Cypriot cinemas in the early 1950s. Thus, it is important to reconsider the role of early cinema as a socialization agent and its function as social, cultural and physical space for consociationalism.

Besides, early cinema theories are predominantly centered in American film history and associated with 1890s and very first decades of twentieth century. Although the first motion picture experiences go back to 1913 in Cyprus, regular film exhibitions and cinema business has develop only following to the 1930s and mainly were catered by Greek Cypriots who had the domination of trade, commerce and economic power.

However, the cinema industry in Turkish Cypriot community entered a phase of rapid growth in the early 1950s following film imports from Turkey and building permanent open-air and later covered movie theatres. Therefore, early cinema history in Cyprus has significant temporal differences compared with early and classical cinema history.

It has been observed by the researcher that, many of the interview subjects who shared their memories of cinemagoing during the 1950s describe their experiences first in multi-communal context while they were talking about the early 1950s; however, the majority of respondents recalled watching mainly 'Turkish' films which were remembered as a form of resistance against British colonial rule and perceived, under the influence of national belonging, as a counter ideology against the rising Greek Cypriot nationalism. Respondent K described waiting for the screening day of Turkish films of the period, while noticing their posters on the theatre's wall or seeing the advertisement of a Turkish film in a newspaper as "We were under the tyranny of the colonial administration and violent acts of EOKA. We were so depressed. It was a big excitement and hope for us to wait for those beautiful Turkish films, as if waiting, under the bombs and armed actions, for the day when that chaotic situation of the island would be resolved".

According to Loizides (2007, p.174), in the case of Turkish Cypriots, nationalism has been driven by reaction to Greek Cypriot demands, insecurity, and fears of marginalization. When the Greek Cypriot national movement for union (Enosis) had become very strong in Greek Cypriot community, the Turkish Cypriots turned their face to modern Turkey for protection and conceptualized it in a romantic way, as the 'motherland' (Kızılyürek, 2003, p.199). In this first phase of Turkish Cypriot

nationalism, Turkey became the idealized romantic motherland which would protect “the lonely children”, who were perceiving themselves as “the helpless remains” of the collapsed Ottoman Empire. Therefore, in the period of deep insecurities during the late 1940s and later in the 1950s, the emergence of modern Turkey and the personal cult of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, were the main sources of ethnic pride for the Turkish Cypriots in response to the dialectical other which were the Greek Cypriots (Kızılyürek, 2003, p.199).

In such political context, cinema brought Turkish Cypriot audience into contact and deeper relationship with Turkey. A remarkable memory was recalled by Respondent H, who describes watching the first Turkish film in Cyprus following dominant exhibitions of Hollywood productions as “The film characters were like us, they were Turkish! They were not actors whose lips did not move with their voice. (They were not) wearing strange clothes and making jokes that we did not understand”. Respondent’s excitement of watching a Turkish film and expressing her negative approach to former films she had watched describes her alienation, her inability to adapt watching foreign productions even some of them were dubbed in Turkish. There is significant evidence within the research of the present study which proves foreign films consumed with pleasure by Turkish Cypriots specially at the beginning of the 1950s. However, perception and the meaning of those films are not going beyond of “just a leisure activity” for Turkish Cypriot audience of the period. As Biltreyst and Meers (2016, p.15) state, both films and their modes of reception are conceived as temporally and geographically unique as they are characterized by a particular context and by an unprecedented confluence of circumstances. Therefore, examining cinema history in Turkish Cypriot community in broader social, cultural, economic, historical

and especially in political context helped the researcher to identify, understand and analyze social and cultural transformation in historical perspective.

In addition, the present study revealed that the Turkish films lead the Turkish Cypriot audience to become more identified with the Turkish culture. Respondent P emphasizes “We were trying to understand their (Turkish actors) way of thinking; it was very valuable for us; because they were Turkish”. Likewise, Respondent M indicates that Turkish film stars had become the role models for Turkish Cypriots. Respondent I highlights that there are lots of people whose name is one of those; Cahide, Belgin, Safiye, Perihan, Sezer, Ferdi, Handan and Oya inspired by their parent’s favorite Turkish film stars of the period: Cahide Sonku, Belgin Doruk, Safiye Ayla, Sezer Sezin, Ferdi Tayfur, Handan Adalı and Oya Sensev. Likewise, Respondent H indicated that she gave the name ‘Sezin’ to her daughter, who was born in 1952; because Sezer Sezin was her favorite Turkish film star of the period.

Besides, since the dialect of Turkish used in Cyprus was different to the standard Turkish spoken in the films of the period, Respondent A and Respondent V recalled that Turkish films helped the community to learn “proper” and “modern” Turkish. Those memories of watching Turkish films in this sense can be considered as a significant evidence for the social function of the cinema. Indeed, Hansen (1991, p.68) points out that this function of cinema primarily as one of acculturation and integration. On the level of subject matter, Turkishness, the cinema’s social function can be recognized in the perception of Turkish films. Following to the middle of 1950s, the majority of Turkish Cypriots were watching Turkish films in Turkish Cypriot movie theatres. The demand for Turkish films, more specifically national themed



films, was increasing day by day. This situation was recalled by Respondent O as “We were always looking for Turkish heroism and patriotism in the films. Because as we learnt from those war films, ‘A Turk is worth a world’ so, we were proud of watching heroic stories of our nation”.

At this point, most credited films of the period revealed in both content analyses and oral history can be exemplified as *İstiklal Madalyası* (1948), *Fato: Ya İstiklal Ya Ölüm* (1951), *Vatan ve Namık Kemal* (1951), *Bir Millet Uyanıyor* (1932), *Kore’de Türk Süngüsü* (1951), *Allahısmarladık* (1951), *Şehitler Kalesi* (1949), *Ateşten Gömlek* (1951), *Kıbrıs Şehitleri* (1959), *Meçhul Kahramanlar* (1958), *Baybaros Hayrettin Paşa* (1951), *Battal Gazi Geliyor* (1955), *Onüç Kahraman* (1943), *Akıncılar* (1948) and *İngiliz Kemal Lawrence’e Karşı* (1952).

According to Ercole (2012, p.1957) cinema has significant role and provide a space in creating a cultural imagination of motherland and visualizing crucial events of a community’s national history. Films dealing with the glorious past of a community mirrored the nationalist sentiments that pervaded political and cultural life. This might be also associated with the remarkable study by Deb Verhoeven on diasporic cinemagoing experiences of Greek audience in Australia. One of her interview subjects described watching Greek films in Australia as “The cinema would bring our country to us” (Verhoeven, 2011, p.250). On the other hand, as a consequence of historical and political contexts, the perception of Turkish films by Turkish Cypriots had unique characteristics and goes beyond the feeling of ‘missing the homeland’.

Among the other interview subjects who shared similar experience, Respondent P strongly associated Turkish films with Turkish Cypriots' national identity. Due to limited transportation opportunities and the economic disadvantages of traveling abroad, the majority of the community had no chance to visit their 'motherland' Turkey. Thus, national belonging and idealized romantic motherland was perceived in a high level through Turkish films of the decade. Indeed, Respondent P addressed the significance of Turkish films for the community as "the human mind does not understand metaphorically; but understands the concrete and real things better; clings to and adopts the concrete ones more. In this regard, we saw our essence and gained our missing identity thanks to Turkish films".

Similar to Respondent P, many interview subjects frequently refer to shots or images of Atatürk, Turkish flag, the map of Turkey, scenes that cover cities, streets, mountains of Turkey, national anthems and heroic stories in the movies. There are also many newspaper materials, revealed within the present study, which promote films by strong sense of Turkishness. As such, the strong sense of national belonging recalled by Respondent N who expressed Turkish Cypriots' need for feel in secure that repeatedly associated with films: "when we were watching Turkish films about our strong and deep-rooted nation, we were feeling in safe ... They (Turkish films) were like asylum, our courage, stamina and hope to reach what we had been missing for a long time. Only those who lived that period could understand this".

Additionally, some of interview subjects who were actively involved in TMT (Turkish Resistance Organization), as initial members of the organization, and were also among regular patrons of movie theatres claim that, the Turkish Consulate of Cyprus was

encouraging film importers and local cinema owners to organize concerts by singers from Turkey, theater plays covering national topics and exhibit nationalistic Turkish films. Even the consulate itself imported and shared some special national themed feature films and newsreels with local cinema owners free of charge. Indeed, remarkable newspaper materials which declare Turkish films and newsreels imported by the consulate and by the Federation of Cyprus Turkish Associations were revealed in the present study as evidence of this practice. The function of cinema among Turkish Cypriot community, especially between 1955 and 1959, in this perspective can be attributed with Manchin's (2012, p.68) approach of direct appeal of official level nationalist elites to "bringing a new kind of conservative national community and national cinema into existence". Within nationalist intentions, conservatives attempted to renew the national community by returning to the authentic roots of national culture by seeking to use the persuasive power of cinema to create a new national culture and to form cinema audience into a national public (Manchin, 2012, p.79). As Kessler and Lenk (2012, p.35) state films could represent the nation in a positive light, they could highlight unique national customs and the outstanding cultural achievements of national culture. Consequently, going to Turkish movies or going to a particular Turkish cinema in the 1950s could be linked to issues of patriotism and political loyalties in Cyprus.

By the early 1920s Cyprus, Greek Cypriots were calling for Cypriot self-rule under British administration with Enosis as the final goal and this early rise for independency later resulted with intercommunal conflict with violent and armed acts in the 1950s. This idea of self-rule, and of uniting to remove governmental power from the British, had the potential to become a location for compromise between the two communities;

however, Greek Cypriots continued to emphasize their Enotist aspirations and Turkish Cypriots remained distrustful and therefore hesitant about co-operation (Yakinthou, 2009, p.44). In 1955, increasingly insistent Greek Cypriot calls for Enosis were leading to higher levels of intercommunal violence and ethnic nationalism by armed anti-colonial campaign that was organizing by EOKA. As a counter discourse, the Turkish Cypriots responded by demanding the partition of Cyprus, 'Taksim', creating their own armed fighter's group under the name of TMT in 1957 (Papadakis, 2005, p.84; Kızılyürek, 2016a, p.244).

These political developments and ethnic separation of the communities had great impact on cinemagoing culture in the 1950s Cyprus. In her discussions of early audience in American film history, Miriam Hansen (1991, p.62) states that moviegoing marked significant changes in the patterns of the audience, particularly the working-class, culture itself. Changes specifically are classified from an ethnically separatist, inward-looking public sphere to a more inclusive, multiethnic one. Some other significant contributors of the cinema history, such as Robert Allen (1996), Douglas Gomery (1985) and Tom Gunning (1998) have also similar arguments. On the other hand, it has been revealed within the present study that, due to exceptional political context of the Cyprus, the transformational process of cinemagoing, in public sphere point of view, had developed in opposite direction compared with early and classical cinema. While all ethnic groups were able to watch films all together in the same movie theatre during the early 1950s, there was a great tendency among Turkish Cypriot community to watch only Turkish films in Turkish cinemas especially following to middle of the decade. In other words, transformation of the cinemagoing experience

by the influence of ethnic diversity and nationalism had been shaped through the process from multi-communal peaceful coexistence to national audience.

Respondent V categorized her cinemagoing experiences of childhood in four main periods. First, the “ordinary” and “careless” period of watching films in Greek Cypriot cinemas in daytime (1950-51). Second, feeling herself uncomfortable in those cinemas due to the increasing awareness of Enosis among Greek Cypriots and due to the rumors like “they were going to kidnap us” (1952-53). Third, going to cinemas only with elder sisters and brothers as the family security (1953-1954). Finally, Respondent V recalled that it was only possible to go to the Turkish cinemas in Turkish neighborhood together with her parents following to 1955.

The transformation process of cinemagoing culture had also substantial case among other communities rather than Turkish and Greek Cypriots. Various interview subjects emphasized that at the early years of intercommunal conflicts, when both communities could still watch films in the same movie theatre, there were some initial and natural regulations of seating at cinemas: Turkish Cypriots had started to sit at the left side of the movie theatre and Greek Cypriots would sit at the right side. As Respondent E described, there had been “too much tension, but no discussion” yet. There are also remarkable memories that were recalled by Respondent D, Respondent P and Respondent L which indicate a political use of cinema by TMT members. Beside the Greek and Turkish Cypriots, Armenian and Maronites had some difficult situation at the cinemas on their decision to sit in which side since left side of the cinemas associated with Turkish Cypriots and the right with Greeks. By using the advantage of this unwritten regulation, TMT members were following some Armenians and

Maronites who were suspected for political reason and were observed which side of the cinema they would sit to understand which party they belong to. Thus, as Ravazzoli (2016, p.33) states, space and place are social constructs, always mediated by people's experience and sociocultural processes; besides, the space of the movie theatre is not a given but is continuously produced, reconstructed and reconfigured by its audience.

Furthermore, the cinemagoing memories have common description as 'national experiences' in 'Turkish' Cypriot cinemas where have been seen as a new and alternative public sphere and where Turkish Cypriot community could be together, interact, socialize, discuss and take significant decisions on social and political issues. Beside the film exhibitions, non-filmic social events and activities such as concerts, theater plays and annual school shows had begun to be organized more in Turkish cinemas rather than Greek Cypriot movie theatres. According to Ravazzoli (2016, p.37-40), people and space are interconnected in the sense that people come to identify themselves and their lives with places and spaces they feel and use, so that the relation between them is mainly a matter of perception and experience; thus, in some small communities, cinema theatres are not only places for social and cultural life, but also places where audience enjoy an "intimate atmosphere, the feeling of familiarity and personal recognition" which is resulted with experiencing a sense of belonging.

Indeed, the content analyses of newspapers proved that Turkish cinemas hosted numerous political meetings, rallies, gatherings for national celebrations, conferences, protest demonstrations, community elections, discussions and forums about political, communal and religious affairs, national nights, commemorate ceremonies, donation and charity events for several Turkish Cypriot institutions, unions, political parties,

federations, sports clubs, schools, individuals or for 'security organizations'. Similar to early and classical cinema history, which Thissen (2012, p.63) states that movie theatre acts permitted audience to express their commitment to ethnic solidarity and nurture their own interpretation of nationality, Turkish cinemas provided an alternative public spheres where Turkish Cypriot community reinforced their feelings of national belonging and shared values of national culture.

Therefore, the present study revealed that Turkish cinemas played a significant role as cultural and political agency, in more concentrated sense as an agent of nationalization, in Turkish Cypriot community. Thus, as Thissen (2012, p.64) points out, shared ethnic identity drew the viewer's attention to the social, cultural and physical space of the movie theatre itself and increased the collective experience of the community and national solidarity.

While interview subjects recalled Turkish films in a sense of national romanticism, they were addressing the movie theater as a castle of Turkish Cypriot community where they found a chance to socialize, interact, harmonize and as a space where Turkish Cypriots were able to have national solidarity. Perception of movie theatres as national spaces was also reflected on the name and the promotions of the cinemas. It is a remarkable evidence that name of the many new movie theaters which were opened during the late 1950s reflect the 'national space' statue for Turkish Cypriot community. Zafer Cinema in 1955 associated with Zafer Bayramı<sup>33</sup> (Victory Day), Vatan Cinema in 1956 associated with 'motherland' Turkey, Sakarya Cinema in 1958

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<sup>33</sup> A national holiday that is celebrated annually on August 30 in commemoration of the victory in the 1922 Battle of Dumlupınar in the Turkish War of Independence in Turkey.

associated with The Battle of Sakarya<sup>34</sup>, Taksim Cinema in 1958 associated with Turkish argument of partition on the island and İstiklal Cinema in 1958 associated with both Turkish anthem and also with Turkish War of Independence.

Finally, as Kuhn, Biltreyst and Meers (2017, p.9-10) emphasize, cinemagoing memories are expressed in collective rather than individual or personal terms and informants tend to implicate themselves in events being recalled by saying ‘we’ rather than ‘I’. Indeed, in newspaper materials of qualitative content analyses and during the oral history interviews, it was revealed by the present study that Turkish Cypriot movie-goers of middle and late 1950s associated cinema culture with their national identity and strong sense of community.

### **5.3 Recommendations for Further Research**

The present study examines Turkish nationalism within social, cultural, economic and political contexts of cinemagoing in Turkish Cypriot community. Therefore, the similar relations could be examined within ignored communities and their national contexts; such as Greek Cypriots, Armenians and Maronites. Besides, following this, a comparison of the findings between different communities may provide interesting insights on the field. In addition, the present study focuses on the 1950s.

For the future research, it can be also possible to trace the similar research objectives in different periods. Especially conducting such research which concentrates on the 1960s might be very inspirational since the Greek and Turkish Cypriots had experience to share the hegemony following to founding a single state, Republic of Cyprus.

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<sup>34</sup> An important engagement in the Greco-Turkish War (1919–1922), the western front of the Turkish War of Independence



Comparison of the findings which belong to same or similar research objectives but in different period of time shall reveal additional valuable analyses.

Finally, individual movies as texts are not primary focus of this study. On the other hand, those films which were exhibited in the 1950s and were revealed by the present study can be studied through different research approaches such as semiotics, psychoanalysis or within other film theories.

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## **APPENDICES**

## Appendix A: Ethical Approval for the Research



**Eastern  
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Etik Kurulu / Ethics Committee

**Reference No:** ETK00-2020-0178

10.07.2020

**Subject:** Your application for ethical approval.

**Re:** Barçın Boğaç (16600066)

Faculty of Communication and Media Studies.

EMU's Scientific Research and Publication Ethics Board (BAYEK) has approved the decision of the Ethics Board of Communication (date; 02.03.2020, issue: 69) granting Barçın Boğaç from the Faculty of Communication and Media Studies to pursue with his work titled "**Cinematicoing, Turkish Cypriot Audience and Turkish Nationalism in 1950s Cyprus**" supervised by Prof. Dr. Bahire Özad.

Prof. Dr. Yücel Vural

Chair, Board of Scientific Research and Publication Ethics - EMU

YV/ns.

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## **Appendix B: Interview Questions**

1. Did you go to cinema in Cyprus between 1950-1954?
2. Which cinemas do you remember during this period?
3. Which films do you remember during this period?
4. How were the conditions of this period in political, economic and social terms?
5. What did it mean to you to go to the cinema in such an environment of this period conditions?
6. Which cinemas do you remember between 1955-1959?
7. Which films do you remember during this period?
8. When you compare the cinemas between 1950-1954 and 1955-1959, what kind of similarities or differences can you talk about?
9. When you compare films between 1950-1954 and 1955-1959, what kind of similarities or differences can you talk about?
10. How were the conditions of this period in political, economic and social terms?
11. What did it mean to you to go to the cinema in such an environment of this period conditions?
12. Do you remember any regulations by Colonial Administration, Greek Cypriot Community or Turkish Cypriot Community that effected cinemagoing culture in both periods?
13. Did you watch Turkish films or films that have been the subject of Turkey? If so, what do you think about the social effects of these films at that time? (Turkish culture, customs and traditions, Turkish language etc. National films?)
14. Apart from watching movies, would you go to the cinema for a different activity or purpose? (Political demonstration/meeting, social discussion, solidarity night etc.)
15. Do you think that cinema has contributed to the political, cultural and national development of the Turkish Cypriot community in the 1950s? If yes, please explain.

## Appendix C: Samples of Content Analysis

Issue 1950, Halkın Sesi	Page	Format	Place/Topic	Content
1.Ocak.1950	p.2	Advertising	Pallas Sineması	Hintlinin Gadabı
1.Ocak.1950	p.2	Advertising	Macik Palas Sineması	Solgun Çehreler
1.Ocak.1950	p.2	Advertising	Papadopullos Sineması	Kıymetsizlendirilen Kadın
1. Şubat.1950	p.2	Advertising	Beliğ Paşa Sineması	Acı Günlerim + Büyük İtiraf
1. Şubat.1950	p.2	Advertising	Macik Palas Sineması	Darüelham Büyük Türk Musikisi Konseri
2. Şubat.1950	p.2	Advertising	Beliğ Paşa Sineması	Büyük İtiraf + Söz Bir Allah Bir + Kel Oğlan+ Kahveci Güzeli + Yetimler
2.Mart.1950	p.2	Advertising	Larnaka Pallas	Gönülden Yaralılar
2.Mart.1950	p.2	Advertising	Royal Sineması	Sakson Güzeli
2.Mart.1950	p.2	Advertising	Macik Palas Sineması	Konser: Müzeyyen Senar Işıl ve Suzan Güven
1.Nisan.1950	p.2	Advertising	Royal Sineması	Roma Skandalları + Sarı Sema
1.Nisan.1950	p.2	Advertising	Beliğ Paşa Sineması	Damga + Ali Baba ve Kırk Haramiler
2.Nisan.1950	p.2	Advertising	Macik Palas Sineması	Pembe Sokak

Issiue 1951, Halkın Sesi	Page	Format	Place/Topic	Content
16.Ocak.1951	p.4	Advertising	Pallas Sineması	Siyah Sıhır
16.Ocak.1951	p.4	Advertising	Royal Sineması	Düşen Put
16.Ocak.1951	p.4	Advertising	Papadopulos Sineması	Zaman mekan ve kız
11.Şubat.1951	p.4	Advertising	Kışlık Odeon Sineması	Gazi Salâheddin
11.Şubat.1951	p.4	Advertising	Beliğ Paşa Sineması	Gönülden Yaralılar
11.Şubat.1951	p.4	Advertising	Beliğ Paşa Sineması	Aşk ve İntikam
9.Mart.1951	p.4	Advertising	Beliğ Paşa Sineması	Cennet Perisi + Kanlı Döşek + Harmankaya
10.Mart.1951	p.4	Advertising	Kışlık Odeon Sineması	Dinmeyen Sızı
10.Mart.1951	p.4	Advertising	Beliğ Paşa Sineması	Kanlı Döşek + Üç Komik Kahraman + Harmankaya
5.Nisan.1951	p.4	Advertising	Beliğ Paşa Sineması + Odeon Sineması	Korede Türk Kahramanları
5.Nisan.1951	p.2	Advertising	Lukudi Sineması	Fedakar Ana
6.Nisan.1951	p.4	Advertising	Beliğ Paşa Sineması + Odeon Sineması	Korede Türk Kahramanları

Issiue 1952, Halkın Sesi	Page	Format	Place/Topic	Content
29.Nisan.1952	p.2	Announcement	Macik Pallas Sineması	Lise müsameresi
29.Nisan.1952	p.4	Announcement	Beliğ Paşa Sineması	Çetinkaya Film Gecesi: Vatan ve Namık Kemal
30.Nisan.1952	p.3	Announcement	Film Gösterilecek	Kardeş Ocağı tarafından İstihbarat Dairesinden temin edilen seçme filmler gösterilecek.
7.Mayıs.1952	p.3	Advertising	Beliğ Paşa Sineması	Küçük Aysel
8.Mayıs.1952	p.4	Announcement	Macik Palas Sineması	Türk Lisesi; Yıllık Müsameresi
8.Mayıs.1952	p.4	Announcement	Pallas Sineması	Eğlence Gecesi (müzik, şarkı, dans, komedi)
14.Haziran.1952	p.2	Announcement	Beliğ Paşa Sineması	Öğrenci Konseri: Ayasofya Kız İlk Okulu Konseri
15.Haziran.1952	p.3	Announcement	Kristal Sineması	Müsamere (Viktorya): Gün Doğuyor + Babur Şahın Seccadesi
24.Haziran.1952	p.4	Announcement	Kristal Sineması	Müsamere (Viktorya): Gün Doğuyor + Babur Şahın Seccadesi
17.Temmuz.1952	p.4	Announcement	Kristal Sineması	Kıbrıs Türk Kurumları Federasyonu yararına film gösterimi: "Şehvet Kurbanı"
17.Temmuz.1952	p.4	Advertising	Pallas Sineması	Kara Komando (The Secret Code)
18.Temmuz.1952	p.4	Announcement	Kristal Sineması	Kıbrıs Türk Kurumları Federasyonu yararına film gösterimi: "Şehvet Kurbanı"

Issue 1953, Halkın Sesi	Page	Format	Place/ Topic	Content
10.Temmuz.1953	p.4	Announcement	Kristal Sineması	Fakir öğrenciler yaz kampı yararına konser düzenlenecek
10.Temmuz.1953	p.4	News	Yeşilada sinema gecesi	Yeşilada spor gençliği yararına filmi gösterimi: Gönülden Yaralılar
11.Temmuz.1953	p.3	Announcement	Kristal Sineması	Fakir öğrenciler yaz kampı yararına konser düzenlenecek
12.Eylül.1953	p.4	Announcement	Kristal Sineması	Lefkoşa Hükümet Türk İşçiler Birliği film gösterimini: Damga
13.Eylül.1953	p.2	Column	İstanbul'un Fethi	Vergi H. Bedevi İstanbulun fethi filmini yorumladı
13.Eylül.1953	p.4	Announcement	Kristal Sineması	Lefkoşa Türk Eğitim Kulübü yararına Büyük Milli Türk Filmi: Akıncılar
16.Ekim.1953	p.4	Advertising	Royal Sineması	Lukudi Sinema Şirketi Tebliği: Fevkalade Yunan filmi "Marina" Royal Sinemasında
17.Ekim.1953	p.4	Advertising	Pallas Sineması	Savage Drams
25.Ekim.1953	p.3	Announcement	Beliğ Paşa Sineması	Türk Milli Gençlik Birliği Muazzam Sinema Gecesi: Unutulan Sır + Söz Bir Allah Bir
6.Kasım.1953	p.2	Announcement	Beliğ Paşa Sineması	Viktorya ve Lise Mezunları ATATÜRK'ü anma töreni düzenliyor
13.Kasım.1953	p.4	Announcement	Beliğ Paşa Sineması	Viktorya Türk Kız Lisesi son sınıfı yararına sinemasıgecesi düzenliyor:Karmen + Hürriyet Apartmanı
20.Kasım.1953	p.4	Announcement	Beliğ Paşa Sineması	Lefkoşa Yıldız Spor Menfaatine: Yalan

Issue 1954, Halkın Sesi	Page	Format	Place/Topic	Content
3.Mart.1954	p.3	Announcement	Pallas Sineması	Viktorya Türk Kız Lisesi Yıllık Müsameresi gerçekleşecektir.
4.Mart.1954	p.2	Announcement	Beliğ Paşa Sineması	Yıldız Spor Menfaatine sinema Gösterimi: Damga
4.Mart.1954	p.3	Announcement	Pallas Sineması	Viktorya Türk Kız Lisesi Yıllık Müsameresi gerçekleşecektir.
7.Nisan.1954	p.3	Advertising	Lukudi Sineması	Dünyaca tanınmış ipnotizmacı Mr. Morsi gösterilerine başlıyor
8.Nisan.1954	p.4	Announcement	Limasol Pallas Sineması	Limasol Doğan Türk Birliği menfaatine film gösterimi: Para Delisi
9.Nisan.1954	p.4	Announcement	Beliğ Paşa Sineması	K.T.K.B (Kıbrıs Türk Kadınlar Birliği) Fakirler menfaatine film gösterimi: Üçüncü Selimin Gözdesi
12.Mayıs.1954	p.1	Announcement	Pallas Sineması	Paydos Kıbrıs Türk Lisesinin Yıllık Müameresi (Piyes)
12.Mayıs.1954	p.4	Advertising	Lukudi Sineması	Gök Tabakası Üzerinde
12.Mayıs.1954	p.4	Advertising	Royal Sineması	Yunan Tiyatrosu
2.Haziran.1954	p.4	Announcement	Beyrut Sineması	Bayram eğlencesi
4.Haziran.1954	p.4	Advertising	Lukudi Sinemaları	Misisipi Kumarcısı + Operanın Heyulası
18.Haziran.1954	p.4	Advertising	Lukudi Sinemaları	Amiral Usakof + Rumca Film

Issiue 1955, Halkın Sesi	Page	Format	Place/Topic	Content
28.Ocak.1955	p.4	Advertising	Pallas Sineması	Rasputin
29.Ocak.1955	p.4	Announcement	Pallas Sineması	Kıbrıs Türk Liseleri Mezunları Birliği müzik kolu konseri
30.Ocak.1955	p.2	Announcement	Pallas Sineması	Kıbrıs Türk Liseleri Mezunları Birliği müzik kolu konseri
20.Şubat.1955	p.3	Advertising	Lukudi Sineması	Abdullah Yüce Konseri
20.Şubat.1955	p.4	Announcement	Lefke Yeni Belediye Sineması	Kıbrıs Türk Liseleri Mezunları Birliği müzik kolu konseri
20.Şubat.1955	p.4	Advertising	Macik Pallas Sineması	Barbaros Hayrettin + Nana'nın Dansı + Arsenal-Dinamo Maçı
8.Mart.1955	p.2	Announcement	Pallas Sineması	Yıldız Spor Kulübü sinema gecesi, uzun zamandan beri Türk filmlerine hasret kalan halkımıza: Kahraman Denizciler
8.Mart.1955	p.2	Announcement	Larnaka Makridis Sineması	Halit Vurgun topluluğu, Abdullah Yüce se ve saz topluluğu konseri
8.Mart.1955	p.4	Announcement	Sinema hasılatı	Lefke Bayanları Yardımseverler Kurulu Senelik Hesap Cetvelinde sinema hasılatı
8.Nisan.1955	p.4	Advertising	Magic Palas Sineması	Yuvamı Yıkamazsın + Kanlı Korsan
9.Nisan.1955	p.4	Announcement	Larnaka Rex Sineması	Larnaka Demir Türk Spor Kulübü Konser düzenliyor
10.Nisan.1955	p.2	Announcement	Magic Palas Sineması	Y.A.K. Sinema Gecesi: Yuvamı Yıkamazsın + Kanlı Korsan

Issiue 1956, Halkın Sesi	Page	Format	Place/Topic	Content
31.Ocak.1956	p.4	Advertising	Lukudi Sineması	Vahşi Haydutlar + Zambaklı Köşk + Kılıç ve Gül
31.Ocak.1956	p.4	Advertising	Apollo Sineması	Lydia Baily + Çinlilerin Esirleri
31.Ocak.1956	p.4	Advertising	Royal Sineması	Kollarım Seni Bekliyor + Kahraman Prens
2.Şubat.1956	p.4	Advertising	Royal Sineması	Prince Valliant
2.Şubat.1956	p.4	Advertising	Lukudi Sineması	Mızrak ve Gül
2.Şubat.1956	p.4	Advertising	Apollo Sineması	Çinlilerin Esirleri
7.Mart.1956	p.4	Advertising	Lukudi Sineması	Ride Clear of Diablo
7.Mart.1956	p.4	Advertising	Apollo Sineması	Sınır Bekçisi
7.Mart.1956	p.4	Advertising	Royal Sineması	Kalbimin Köşesinde
5.Nisan.1956	p.4	Announcement	Zafer Sineması	İngiliz Okulu Türkçe müsameresi, tiyatro, Küçük Şehir
5.Nisan.1956	p.4	Advertising	Lukudi Sineması	Golfo
5.Nisan.1956	p.4	Advertising	Apollo Sineması	Kalbimin Köşesinde



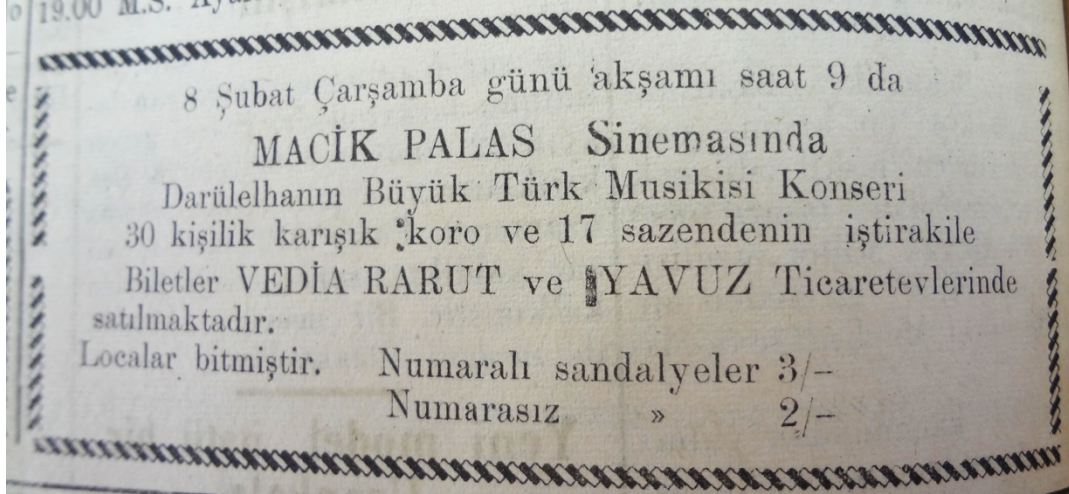
Issue 1957, Halkın Sesi	Page	Format	Place/Topic	Content
1.Ocak.1957	p.5	Advertising	Lukudi Sineması	I'll Cavalleri del Illusion
1.Ocak.1957	p.5	Advertising	Apollo Sineması	Inferno
1.Ocak.1957	p.5	Advertising	Royal Sineması	It Always Weather
19.Şubat.1957	p.4	Advertising	Lukudi Sineması	Gunsmoke + Prisoners of Casbah
19.Şubat.1957	p.4	Advertising	Apollo Sineması	Blueprint for Murder + The 13th Letter
19.Şubat.1957	p.4	Advertising	Royal Sineması	Beau Brummel + Ros Marie
3.Mart.1957	p.2	Announcement	Zafer Sineması	K.Kaymaklı Spor Kulübü, fakir talebe yararına muazzam Türk Filmi: İstiklal Harbi
3.Mart.1957	p.4	Advertising	Lukudi Sineması	Mogambo + Deep in the Heart of Texas + Eva Brown and Hitler + The Lone Hand + Beggazi + Demonstration
3.Mart.1957	p.4	Advertising	Apollo Sineması	Greve D'Amour + Helen of Troy
4.Nisan.1957	p.4	Advertising	Lukudi Sineması	City of Badman
4.Nisan.1957	p.4	Advertising	Apollo Sineması	Saadia
4.Nisan.1957	p.4	Advertising	Royal Sineması	Julius Caesar

Issue 1958, Halkın Sesi	Page	Format	Place/Topic	Content
25.Ocak.1958	p.4	Advertising	Apollo Sineması	Kazablanka
25.Ocak.1958	p.4	Advertising	Lukudi Sineması	Beyaz Kanat
25.Ocak.1958	p.4	Advertising	Royal Sineması	Le Droit De Naitre
16.Mart.1958	p.4	Advertising	Lukudi Sineması	The Nahed Spur
16.Mart.1958	p.4	Advertising	Apollo Sineması	La Strada
16.Mart.1958	p.4	Advertising	Royal Sineması	The Three Musketeers
4.Nisan.1958	p.3	Announcement	Halk Sineması	Halk Sinemasının gösterim yapmayacağı yalan haberlere karşı bildirisi + Yeni filmler listesi (Her hafta yeni bir Türk filmi ile bayrama açıyoruz)
5.Nisan.1958	p.4	Announcement	Zafer Sineması	Federasyon Yararına: Nurset Ersöz konseri
6.Nisan.1958	p.2	Announcement	Zafer Sineması	Kız Lisesi Yıllık Müsamere
8.Mayıs.1958	p.3	News	Halk Sineması	Ankara'dan "Yeni Tiyatro" geliyor
8.Mayıs.1958	p.4	Announcement	Zafer Sineması	Tiyatro; "Köroğlu"
9.Mayıs.1958	p.4	Announcement	Zafer Sineması	Tiyatro; "Köroğlu"

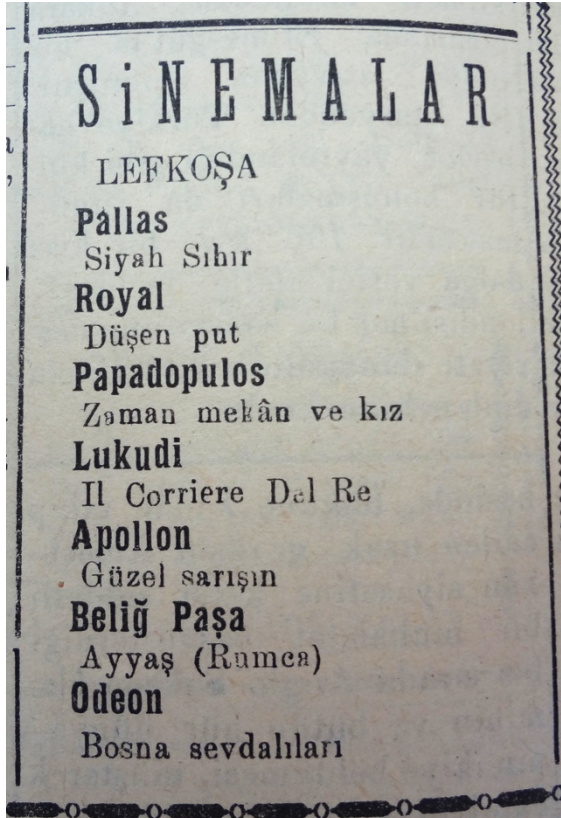
Issue 1959, Halkın Sesi	Page	Format	Place/Topic	Content
11.Şubat.1959	p.2	News	About Pat Laurence	About Pat Laurence
11.Şubat.1959	p.5	News	About Janet Munro	About Janet Munro
12.Şubat.1959	p.3	Announcement	Zafer Sineması	Atatürk Enstitüsü Müsameresi
15.Mart.1959	p.2	Announcement	Zafer Sineması	Fedarasyon Himayesi Yoksular Yararına Kıbrıs Ses Ve Saz Topluluğu Büyük Konseri
15.Mart.1959	p.6	Announcement	Zafer Sineması	Adnan Menderes Kız Lisesi Yıllık Müsameresi
16.Mart.1959	p.2	Announcement	Zafer Sineması	Fedarasyon Himayesi Yoksular Yararına Kıbrıs Ses Ve Saz Topluluğu Büyük Konseri
11.Nisan.1959	p.5	Announcement	Taksim Sineması	Taksim Sineması bu akşam açılıyor: Salı günlerinin hasılatı KTKF'na verilecek
12.Nisan.1959	p.6	Announcement	Zafer Sineması	İngiliz Kız Okulu Öğrencilerinin müsameresi
13.Nisan.1959	p.4	Announcement	Zafer Sineması	Atatürk Endüstitüsü Milli oyunlar Festivali
6.Mayıs.1959	p.5	Advertising	Zafer Sineması	Beklenen Şarkı
6.Mayıs.1959	p.5	Announcement	Taksim Sineması	Taksim Sinemasından: Bayan Sekreter Aranıyor
10.Mayıs.1959	p.5	Announcement	Zafer Sineması	Tiyatro: "Bayraktar Türküsü"

## Appendix D: Examples of Archival Research Newspaper Data

31.January.1950; Halkın Sesi Newspaper



16.January.1951; Halkın Sesi Newspaper



11.April.1952; Halkın Sesi Newspaper

**Viktorya Tâli Kız Okulu**  
Senelik Müsameresi  
*Fakir öğrenciler yararına*  
**PALLAS Sinemasında**  
24 Nisan 1952 Perşembe günün akşamı saat 8 de  
Biletlerinizi şimdiden tedarik ediniz.  
Biletler: Girne Caddesi No 51 «Londra» Tuhafiye Ma-  
ğazasından, öğretmen ve öğrencilerinden temin  
edilebilir  
Koltuklar: 5/-, 3/-, 2/- dir.

7.January.1953; Halkın Sesi Newspaper

**Baf Ülkü Yurdu'nun yılbaşı temsili**  
10.1.953 Cumartesi günü akşamı 8.15 te  
**ATTIKON Sinemasında**  
**HUSUSİ DERS**  
Seyircileri kâhkahalarla güldürecek 3 perdelik komedi  
GİRİŞ: 2/ ve 1/3  
Biletler, Gişede satılacaktır.

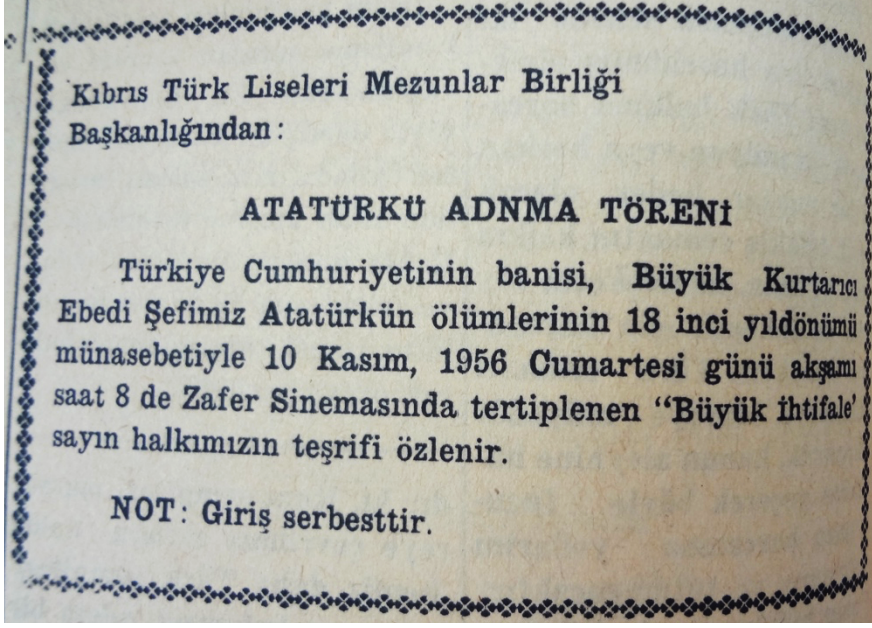
26.January.1954; Halkın Sesi Newspaper

Baf «Ülkü Yurdu» nun Sinema gecesi  
26 Ocak 1954 (buakşam)  
**ATTIKON Sinemasında**  
Türk filmciliğinin şaheserlerinden  
**SEHVET KURBANI**

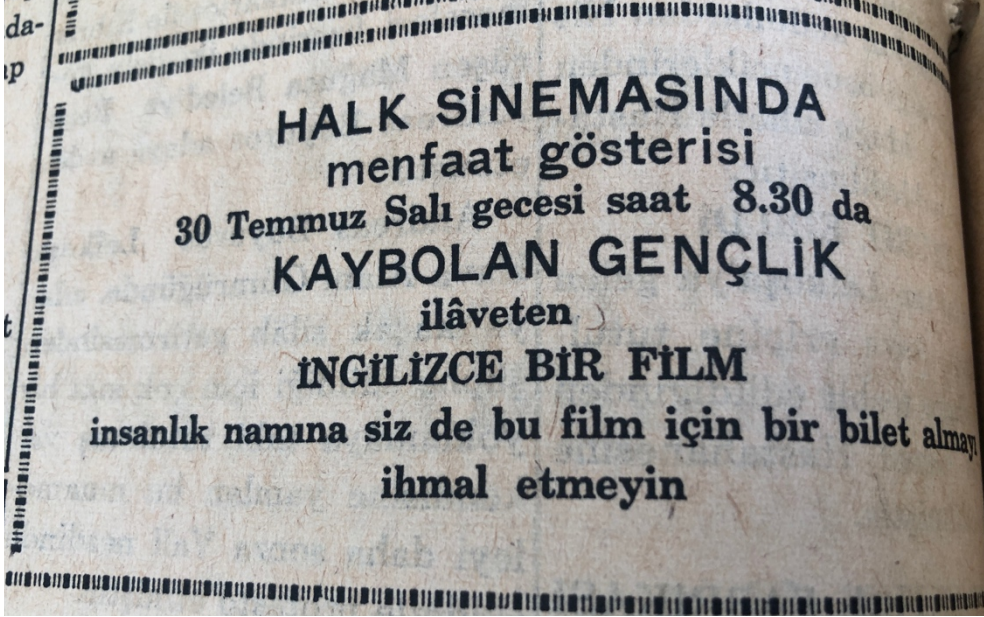
29.January.1955; Halkın Sesi Newspaper

Kıbrıs Türk Liseleri Mezunları Birliği Müzik Kolunu  
**Büyük konseri**  
9 Şubat, 1955 Çarşamba günü akşamı saat 9 da  
Lefkoşa PALAS SİNEMASINDA  
Biletler:  
Birinci mevki 3/-  
İkinci mevki 2/-  
NOT: Biletler 1 Şubat Salı gününden itibaren Al  
türk Meydanında Vedia Barut Ticareteviden temin ed  
lebilir.

29.January.1956; Halkın Sesi Newspaper



28.July.1957; Halkın Sesi Newspaper



11. February. 1958; Halkın Sesi Newspaper

da bir emoye

# Kıbrıs Türk Sanatseverlere Müjde



12 Şubat Çarşamba akşamı saat 7.30 da ZAFER sinema  
sında Büyük Türk Sanatkârı sihirbaz Dr. Vankadra ve  
rakipsiz Türk dansözü Sevtap Deniz.  
Yerler numaralıdır şimdiden biletleri sinema kişe-  
sinden ayırtabilirsiniz.

29. April. 1959; Halkın Sesi Newspaper

**SAYIN KIBRIS TÜRK ÇİFTÇİSİ KOYLUSU**  
15 inci  
**TÜRK ÇİFTÇİSİ KONGRESİ**  
1 Mayıs, 1959 Cuma günü ö.e. saat 10 da "BI-  
ZİM ZAFER" sinemasında adanın her tarafından  
gelecek olan Çiftçilerin iştirâki ile yapılacaktır.  
HER KÖYLÜ Kardeşimizin bu kongreye alâ-  
ra gösterip gelmesi lâzımdır.  
Hepimizi vazife bekliyor.



CML | Tuesday, June 12, 1956 | 1

## **DISTRIBUTION OF EOKA LEAFLETS**

**Nicosia**

### **Commissioner Warns**

The Commissioner of Nicosia yesterday issued a warning to owners of cinemas, stadiums, coffee shops and other places of entertainment in the town that should their premises continue to be used for the distribution of EOKA leaflets he would have no alternative but to consider taking action under Regulation 39 of the Emergency Regulation.

Under this Regulation the Commissioner has the right to order the closing of premises «until further order or for such period as may be specified in the order».

The Commissioner also warned that if Church Committees are unable to prevent the distribution of leaflets in their churches, other means of doing so will be considered by the Security Committee.

# Pipe bombs in Nicosia again

A pipe-type bomb thrown over the roof of a house in St. Iacovos Street, Nicosia yesterday evening fell in the Square of Ayios Kassianos Street, just opposite the Eleftheria coffee-shop where about 19 Greek Cypriots were sitting.

The bomb caused no damage or casualties. The rear part of the roof over which the bomb was thrown is in the Turkish Quarter.

A small pipe-type bomb exploded last evening at the junction of Pnytagoras Street and Theseus Street, Nicosia. There was no damage and no casualties.

The bomb exploded outside Turkish occupied houses.

A fire broke out at the Istanbul Cinema, Nicosia, yesterday afternoon when considerable damage was caused to the contents, including about 300 chairs. Arson was suspected.