TRACES OF NATIONALISM AND IDEOLOGICAL MORPHOLOGY: EMOTIONAL POLITICS AND CEREMONIES AMONG TURKISH CYPRIOTS IN THE 1950s

MİLLİYETÇİLİĞİN İZLERİ VE İDEOLOJİK MORFOLOJİ: 1950'LERDE KIBRISLI TÜRKLERDE DUYGUSAL POLİTİKALAR VE TÖRENLER

Assist. Prof. Dr. Cemal YORGANCIOĞLU
Cyprus Aydın University
Department of International Relations
cemalyorgancioglu@cau.edu.tr
ORCID: 0000-0002-2885-7853

Abstract: *This article examines nationalism studies not from an ideological or doctrinal perspective, but as a flexible morphology shaped and reproduced according to context. Michael Freeden's ideological morphology approach has enabled us to demonstrate how fundamental concepts of nationalism, such as collective identity, sovereignty and homogeneity, are reconfigured in different historical and cultural contexts. In 1950s Cyprus, Turkish Cypriots redefined this discourse during the re-establishment of post-colonial power relations. The theoretical framework emphasises the emotional and political interactions between nationalism and the institutions of modernity. Where modernity and emotion intersect, nationalism is a reborn structure – sometimes ideology, sometimes reflex, sometimes silent ritual. Empirically, the study is supported by discourse analysis of Hansard parliamentary minutes, the period press, and secondary sources. This method demonstrates how nationalist ideology in 1950s Cyprus was shaped by both the British administration and local actors. In conclusion, by redefining nationalism in its historical context, the article proposes a holistic theoretical-empirical model that explains the continuity of ideological morphology through emotions, rituals, and symbolic performances.*

Keywords: *Nationalism, Ideological Morphology, Cyprus, Emotional Politics, Postcolonialism.*

Öz: *Bu makale milliyetçilik çalışmalarını ideolojik veya doktrinsel bir bakış açısıyla değil, bağlama göre şekillenen ve yeniden üretilen esnek bir morfoloji olarak incelemektedir. Michael Freeden'ın ideolojik morfoloji yaklaşımı, kolektif kimlik, egemenlik ve homojenlik gibi milliyetçiliğin temel kavramlarının farklı tarihsel ve kültürel bağlamlarda nasıl yeniden yapılandırıldığını göstermemizi sağlamıştır. 1950'lerin Kıbrıs'ında, Kıbrıslı Türkler sömürge sonrası güç ilişkilerinin yeniden kurulması sırasında bu söylemi yeniden tanımladılar. Teorik çerçeve, milliyetçilik ile modernite kurumları arasındaki duygusal ve politik etkileşimleri vurgulamaktadır. Modernite ve duygu kesiştiği yerde, milliyetçilik yeniden doğan bir yapıdır – bazen ideoloji, bazen refleks, bazen sessiz bir ritüel. Araştırma, Hansard parlamento tutanakları, dönem basını ve ikincil kaynakların söylem analizi ile ampirik olarak desteklenmektedir. Bu yöntem, 1950'lerin Kıbrıs'ında milliyetçi ideolojinin hem İngiliz yönetimi hem de yerel aktörler tarafından nasıl şekillendirildiğini göstermektedir. Sonuç olarak, milliyetçiliği tarihsel bağlamında yeniden tanımlayarak, makale duygular, ritüeller ve sembolik performanslar aracılığıyla ideolojik morfolojinin sürekliliğini açıklayan bütüncül bir teorik-ampirik model önermektedir.*

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Milliyetçilik, İdeolojik Morfoloji, Kıbrıs, Duygusal Politika, Sömürgecilik Sonrası.*

1. INTRODUCTION

In modern political theory and social movement literature, nationalism is one of the most conceptually complex and controversial ideological formations. Classical observations in the literature indicate that nationalism supports liberal discourses, such as the right of nations to self-determination, while also legitimising exclusionary and authoritarian regimes through claims of ethnic-cultural homogeneity (Breuilly, 1993: Hobsbawm, 1990: Smith, 1998). This duality is not merely a phenomenological observation but also points to the intrinsic structural characteristics of nationalism: it is an ideology institutionalised alongside processes of modernisation and sustained through mechanisms of reproduction. Ernest Gellner's (1983) industrial society argument situates nationalism within the context of economic-institutional imperatives, while Benedict Anderson's (2006) 'imagined communities' paradigm highlights nationalism's cultural-representational and media-based reproduction dynamics; both frameworks indicate the normative and practical consolidation of nationalism through the institutions of modernity.

However, existing theoretical frameworks have largely relegated the emotional-ritual and bodily dimensions of nationalism to the background. Yet ideologies are not merely conceptual clusters; they are also structures that materialise and are embodied through social practices and symbols, and are reproduced through emotional modes (Billig, 1995). Therefore, it is insufficient to interpret nationalism solely in the context of social monopoly, educational policy, or legislative practices; understanding the continuity and transformation of nationalism requires a systematic analysis of its ideological morphology—that is, the temporal and spatial combinations of central and peripheral concepts, rituals, emotional codes, and bodily performances. This study aims to reconceptualise nationalism within the aforementioned literature using the concept of ideological morphology, and to reveal at a conceptual level how this morphology is reproduced through emotions, ceremonies, and practices of embodiment. This approach seeks to offer a theoretical contribution that will both increase conceptual sensitivity regarding nationalism and expand its theoretical explanatory power.

Every ideology establishes connections with numerous political concepts while remaining faithful to its own structure, thus forming a complex system. A significant factor complicating the definition of ideologies is that the concepts themselves do not have fixed structures. Each concept is a product of the social context in which it exists, and its meaning is determined by its use. As the history of concepts shows, the meaning expressed by a concept can acquire various interpretations in different historical periods depending on its relationship with external reality, but it retains its essence. According to Michael Freeden (1996), ideologies are ways of understanding and thinking about the political sphere in comprehensive and formulaic ways. They are generally clusters of ideas, beliefs, convictions, values, and attitudes held by identifiable groups, and they provide directives, even plans, for public policy in an effort to approve, justify, or criticise the social and political arrangements of a state or other political community. Ideologies give their followers a social and political identity and function as one of the main factors in achieving political goals. In this context, Freeden (2003) argues that morphological analysis enables us to understand these structures. The analysis of political concepts therefore requires a diachronic examination of the synchronic structures in the meaning of the concept, along with the position of the subject producing the text or discourse, to decipher the semantics. In this context, ideologies

serve as a bridge, shaping discourse through the clear connection between subjects and political thought or action. According to Freeden, the primary aim of morphological analysis is to analyse ideologies – political thought systems constructed as responses to the political conditions experienced by individuals or groups – from a scientific perspective. This means focusing not on the ideal, abstract, or universal forms of the political concepts that constitute ideologies, but on their 'real-world' meanings (Freeden, 1996). From this viewpoint, ideologies function as maps of the political and social world. All political discourses are thoughts produced by individuals or groups with a certain degree of common sense in response to external realities. These thoughts are shaped by semantic interventions in discourse and concepts through ideologies. From this perspective, nationalism is not a fixed doctrine but a continually reconstituted network of thoughts and feelings (Kaya, 2022). This flexible structure of nationalism indicates that it is produced not only at the level of political programmes but also within the emotional and symbolic orders of everyday life. Therefore, it is both a mental and physical, ideological and emotional phenomenon. Considered alongside Hobsbawm's (1990) interpretations of historical construction processes and Greenfeld's (1992) cultural identity dimension, Freeden's approach explains why nationalism emerges in different forms in every society. As emphasised in the works of Ahmed (2004) and Billig (1995), nationalism is not only a narrative but also a felt and repeated practice.

The literature on the emotional and ritual dimensions of nationalism shows that national belonging is produced not only through discourse but also through the body and everyday practices. Michael Billig's (1995) concept of "banal nationalism" highlights that national identity is continually re-enacted through everyday symbols, flags, and ceremonies. Sara Ahmed's (2004) approach to the 'cultural politics of emotion' explains that feelings of belonging are connected to communities through love, fear, or perceived threats. In this sense, ideologies produced under specific temporal and spatial conditions shape social opinion and action by limiting political discourse and defining its meaning. Political communication between representatives of ideologies (such as political parties, leaders, and opinion leaders) and the public takes place through a channel shaped by the ideological framework, creating a common language of discourse and a shared field of action. The fundamental feature of this study is its focus on Freeden's (1996) identification of the vital role of ideologies in politics as a system, examined through studies of ideology using methods such as morphological analysis of political practices.

This framework goes beyond abstract theory and has been expanded to include historical context, describing the situation in which colonial rule was challenged by the "national" demands of the people of Cyprus as the island began to decolonise. The Enosis movement, the political awakening of Turkish society, and British security concerns provide an example for understanding how ideological forms of nationalism became intertwined (Arık, 2011: Dodd, 2010: French, 2015: Ioannides, 2018: Scarinzi, 2021: Wimmer, 2018). During this period, the island was not simply an area of local tension but became one of the micro-laboratories of the Cold War in the Mediterranean. The article therefore uses Cyprus not as a case study, but as a lens through which the ideological anatomy of nationalism is revealed (Anderson, 1993). The central question of the study is: 'How is the ideological morphology of nationalism constructed and reproduced through emotions, rituals, and bodily practices?' To answer this, discourse

analysis is combined with historical sociology (Fairclough, 1995: Wodak, 2020). Hansard transcripts, newspapers, and secondary sources form the analytical basis.

2. METHODOLOGY

This study is situated at the intersection of discourse analysis and historical sociology, focusing on the early 1950s, when the decolonisation process had only just begun, and examining how nationalist discourse was produced in Cyprus. The 1954-1955 Hansard debates and press sources from the period were examined and evaluated through themes such as colonialism, security, and identity. Freeden's ideological morphology framework shows which layers of the ideological structure concepts such as order, loyalty, and freedom occupy. This clarifies how discourse in Cyprus was woven into power relations.

Discourse analysis involved a thematic reading and evaluation of the relevant texts, identifying recurring expressions, common conceptual patterns, and discourses that reflected the zeitgeist of the period. A comparative assessment was then made of the debates in the House of Commons and the House of Lords of the British Parliament, as well as the discourses emerging in the local press. This approach reveals the points emphasised in the parliamentary debates, the limitations faced by local actors in their representations, and the context in which new identity and security discourses developed. Finally, these discursive findings were examined within the institutional structures and political context of the period through historical sociology, providing a holistic assessment of the connection between textual expressions and the power relations of the time.

3. THE IDEOLOGICAL MORPHOLOGY OF NATIONALISM

Freeden's (1996) morphological approach views ideologies not as rigid systems of thought, but as living structures that change according to time and place. For him, ideologies arise not from fixed principles, but from relationships. There is a central concept – such as nation, freedom, or sovereignty – but it does not mean anything on its own. It gains meaning through the other concepts attached to it, historical events, and cultural contexts. That is why Freeden says we need to understand the movement of ideologies, not their essence. They are not just a thought; they are also a habit, an orientation, a form of order. As Gallie (1995) says, political concepts never remain static. Nationalism is no different. In one place it means 'freedom', in another 'obedience'. In one period it is invoked for independence, in another it becomes the guardian of borders. That is why nationalism is as much a language as it is an ideology; it speaks with different words in each period. The example of Cyprus clearly illustrates this. Here, the concepts of nation, identity, and sovereignty appear to have remained the same, but the words surrounding them have changed: security, civilisation, geopolitics, minority rights.

At this point, the view that ideological concepts lack fixed meanings aligns with the emphasis on the emotional and practical dimensions of nationalism in current literature. In particular, Skey (2021), and Wetherell (2012) highlight that nationalist language is not only conceptual but also connected to emotional and bodily practices. These studies complement Freeden's account of conceptual flexibility.

The concepts mentioned here can move closer to or further from the centre or periphery of politics, depending on the circumstances. In this sense, nationalism on the island can transcend identities and become an object of seeking or creating balance. This is essential for explaining an existential situation and is situated between the ebb and flow of security concerns. However, ideologies can, on the one hand, push this area into a fixed and indisputable position to maintain their dominance, while on the other hand, narrow its meanings. For example, while 'equality' comes to the fore in a socialist understanding and 'freedom' in a liberal understanding, the concepts of 'national identity' and 'sovereignty' become indisputable due to their central position in nationalism. While these ideologies invent the social and political plane for the masses, they also contribute to the production of a common political language (Freeden, 1996: 2003).

The works of Demertzis (2014) and Koschut (2020) show that nationalist discourse is determined not only by conceptual structures but also by emotional norms. Thus, it is understood that ideologies are shaped not only by mental frameworks but also by specific affective orientations; this adds a contemporary and complementary dimension to Freeden's morphological model.

In Freeden's methodology, time and space are integral to ideological morphology. Concepts assume on different forms not only through historical continuity but also within geographical and cultural contexts. This shows that ideologies are not universal, fixed structures, but flexible systems that change according to context. In this sense, nationalism should be understood as a dynamic ideological morphology shaped by different conceptual sequences in each society. Hobsbawm (1990) argues that the ethnic-linguistic definition of nations was invented in the late nineteenth century. According to him, language had previously been one of the measures of nationality; however, it was not regarded by its speakers as an ideological battleground. Anderson (2006), by contrast, characterised nationalism as an 'imagined community'. Brubaker (1996), meanwhile, states that nationalism is continuously produced not only within the borders of the nation-state, but also through diasporic ties, transnational interactions, and processes of redefining ethnic boundaries.

Freeden (1996) considers all this within a morphology. Ideologies have a few core concepts at their centre – nation, sovereignty, identity – but the words surrounding them change with each era. In one period, "civilisation" dominates; in another, "security"; at times, "self-determination". Nationalism becomes the language of this transformation. It speaks with different words each time, but continues to ask the same questions: "Who are we, where do we stand, whom do we fear?" Therefore, nationalism is not a fixed doctrine, but a way of thinking in which the relationships between these concepts are constantly re-established. In other words, nationalism is more like a network of relations than a single idea – something that is constantly reconstructed, something that continually acquires new meaning. This network of relationships is not only conceptual but also maintained through emotional and ritual practices, as shown in studies on Cyprus. Bryant and Papadakis (2012) 'politics of memory', Mete Hatay's (2005) analyses of social tensions, and Jabbarli's (2024) findings on the relationship between ritual and affect demonstrate that nationalism is reproduced on the island as both a conceptual and emotional language. This local literature complements Freeden's approach in the Cypriot context.

Perhaps nationalism is so powerful precisely because it is so variable. At one time, it carries the voice of the people; at another, it defends the state. The same words, in different time and space, take on different meanings. Freedom, sovereignty, nation – all remain, but now mean something else. In other words, its meaning is not fixed; it changes according to context. Therefore, when analysing nationalism, it is necessary to examine how the basic concepts – nation, identity, sovereignty – are reinterpreted in historical and geographical contexts. Cyprus is a good example in this respect. Although the fundamental concepts on the island appear to have remained the same, the words surrounding them – security, civilisation, geopolitics, minority rights – have constantly changed. Thus, nationalism here has become not only a narrative of identity but also a language that defines existence and security.

4. EMOTIONS, RITUALS AND THE BODY: THE EVERYDAY POLITICS OF NATIONALISM

Nationalism does not exist only in political texts, parliamentary debates, or the cold lines of constitutions. It lives among emotions – in the pride felt when looking at the flag, in the slight tremor when listening to the anthem. Ahmed (2004) calls this the "cultural politics of emotions". Emotions do not arise and end within the individual; they circulate among us, attaching themselves to an object, a figure, a facial expression. The sense of 'us' is established with warmth, love, and belonging, but it also requires an "other" – marked by fear, unease, sometimes even contempt. Nationalism functions here like a regime of feeling, determining who we feel close to and who we feel distant from.

Billig (1995) calls this "banal nationalism": those small loyalties reproduced not in grand slogans but in everyday gestures – the "our country" mentioned in the morning news, the flag raised at school, the face on the money. Nationalism is the name of these small repetitions, invisible rituals, a belief relived every day. Thus, nationalism becomes not only a way of thinking, but also a regime that regulates the distribution of emotions in the social sphere. Such everyday practices constantly direct individuals to become aware of, remember, and emotionally reconnect with national belonging. Thus, the continuity of nationalism is ensured not only on the institutional or ideological plane, but also through bodily gestures, repeated rituals, and emotional orientations. At this point, emotions and rituals become the sensory and bodily extensions of the ideological morphology defined by Freeden (1996). Nationalism emerges not only as a conceptual ideology but also as a felt, repeated, and embodied practice. The constant visibility of flags on government buildings, the repetition of national anthems at official ceremonies, and national symbols on passports and currency are carriers of nationalism that have become embedded in everyday life and normalised to the point of being unnoticeable. This repetition produces a constant sense of belonging in the bodies and minds of citizens.

These discussions are also consistent with recent literature focusing on the affective dimension of nationalism. In particular, Skey (2021), Wetherell (2012), and Eiranen (2022) show that nationalism is constituted not only as a cognitive ideology but also through everyday practices, bodily performances, and specific emotional norms. By explaining how nationalism is sustained through emotions, these studies situate Ahmed's approach within the broader contemporary literature on affective nationalism.

Rituals and symbols are foundational elements of nationalism. As explained by Hobsbawm and Ranger's (1983) concept of "invented traditions", many national ceremonies and symbols are practices constructed in the modern era. Official holidays, military parades, commemorations of martyrs, and school ceremonies reinforce collective belonging by re-enacting the past as a founding narrative. In Ahmed's (2004) words, these rituals enable the circulation of emotions and serve to "glue" bodies together: singing marches together, standing at attention simultaneously, or turning towards the same symbol transforms individual bodies into parts of a shared national body.

In the context of Cyprus, the political role of emotions and rituals is also evident. Bryant's (2011) work on uncertainty, feelings about the future, and social fragility; Hatay's (2005) analyses of inter-community tensions; and Bryant and Hatay's (2019) examination on the commemorative ceremonies (rituals) in Cyprus, demonstrates how emotions (affect) and bodily practices (such as marches, gatherings at specific locations) reproduce national identity and narratives of conflict. This local literature shows that nationalism in Cyprus is not merely discursive, but also a felt and bodily experienced phenomenon.

Nationalism is also reproduced through bodily performances. Butler's (1990) concept of "performativity" demonstrates that identity is constructed through continually repeated practices. Saluting the flag, standing during the national anthem, and chanting the same slogan at national sporting events are examples of bodily repetitions that embody nationalist identity. Beyond symbolism, these practices are highly politicised and embed the national community both emotionally and physically. This clear positioning also maximises the sense of belonging.

,

5. THE REPRODUCTION OF NATIONALISM IN THE CYPRUS CONTEXT

The political atmosphere in Cyprus in the 1950s was shaped by several dynamics operating simultaneously. On one hand, there was the island that London would cautiously decolonise – a process that proved very difficult in its final stages – Athens' Enosis plans, which it pursued eagerly on every platform, and Ankara's more position-seeking policies, which, in the context of the Cold War, aligned it with London due to Athens' ambitions (Novo, 2010). The island's Greek Cypriots, who saw Enosis as the only way forward, and Turkish Cypriots, who, while experiencing the disadvantages of being a minority, also wished Ankara would act like Athens, were all part of the scene on the island (Ioannides, 2018: Kelling, 1990: Ker-Lindsay, 2011). In this context, the Turkish Cypriots had to speak up and take their place. Silence was no longer an option for them, and they had to become a subject as a community. Schools, newspapers, and trade unions were all part of this transformation. Everything happened on three fronts: the politicisation of identity on the internal front, parliamentary debates on the external front, and the pressure of being defined as a "limited people" in between.

5.1 The Politicisation of Turkish Identity in the 1950s: From Passivity to Political Agency

Literature and archival records indicate that Cypriot Turks were generally regarded as 'socially marginalised' in the late 1940s, but this perception changed rapidly from the early 1950s onwards. A report in the Yankı newspaper after the Second World War appears to confirm this:

"We showed great weakness, we lost our national wealth, which was worth a fortune. We fell into weakness and poverty. We handed over the markets, once full of Turkish merchants, to our rivals. In short, we went from being masters to servants and nothing. Because we failed to keep pace with the advances demanded by the times... We are disorganised. We formed KATAK, but some of our founding comrades tried to destroy it with harsh criticism." (Yankı, 1945)

Conversely, the rise of the Enosis demand on the island, mass mobilisation among the Greek community, and Britain's strategic responses were factors that pushed the Turkish community into the political arena (Dodd, 2010; Ioannides, 2018). At the 6th Congress held in August 1949, Papayuannu, elected as the new General Secretary of AKEL, adopted the slogan 'enosis and only enosis,' thus adding the support of the left/communist wing to the cause after the right wing (An, 1996). During this period, the Turkish community began to express its demands and security concerns through rallies, telegrams, local politics, and diaspora channels. The visibility of leaders such as Rauf Denktaş (for example, his public speeches in Nicosia in 1948) can be seen as a symbolic turning point in the increased representation of the community in the public sphere. To become visible, thousands of Turkish Cypriots organised rallies between 28 November 1948 and 11 December 1949, known as the historic Hagia Sophia or Selimiye rallies, to reject 'annexation and autonomy' (Hürsöz, 1948a: 4: Hürsöz, 1948b: 1).

This politicisation occurred in two ways: (a) strengthening internal organisation and political representation mechanisms (through associations, religious leaders, local representatives); (b) developing protection strategies against the perception of the "other". In Turkish society, identity became increasingly intertwined with the discourse of security; the boundaries of cultural belonging were expanded under the pretext of the need to protect political existence. This transformation progressed alongside the reorganisation of the emotional foundations (pride, fear, desire for protection) and rituals (mass gatherings, commemorative ceremonies, remembrance practices) of nationalism (Ahmed, 2004: Billig, 1995).

5.2 Parliamentary Debates, Enosis, and Counter-Discourses: The Silences of Discourse and Assignments of Existence

The Hansard records of the British Parliament are valuable in showing how the Enosis debates became an item on the international agenda and, at the same time, what silences they produced regarding the representation of communities on the island. Speeches in Parliament highlighted Greek demands for Enosis, Greek influence, and British strategic concerns, while either weakly addressing the demands of Turkish Cypriots or marginalising them within the structural framework of the speeches. For example, although some parliamentary statements expressed the "concerns" of the

Turkish Cypriot community (such as John Parker's remarks on the position of the Turkish minority, as reported by Oliver Lyttelton and Captain Robert Ryder), such references mostly positioned the Turkish community as a passive "equalising" element, with the debate dominated by the Enosis/constitutional reform dichotomy (Yorgancıoğlu, 2025a; 2025b). As Conservative Lyttelton highlights the matter in the House of Commons:

> "Are they aware that 18 per cent, of the population of Cyprus is Turkish-speaking? Is no account to be taken of these facts? [...] It is worth making the point that 18 per cent. of the population of Cyprus are Turkish-speaking, but it has not been made by anybody so far." (HC Deb 28 July 1954 vol 531 cc517-71).

This formal choice is significant in two respects. First, the agenda-setting language of parliament framed the Cyprus issue as an "international" and "strategic" problem, limiting the space for local actors to speak directly about their own destiny. Secondly, discourse is not merely words; it is a technology of power that determines which voices will be heard and which will be silenced. Parliamentary debates on Cyprus provide a classic example of this power mechanism. In defining 'legitimate demands' and 'reasonable actors', certain communities were deliberately consigned to silence. This was not a simple oversight, but a skilful discursive strategy used by colonial power to maintain its own order (Fairclough, 1995).

In fact, during the 1954 debates, everyone had something else in mind when discussing Enosis. For some, it was the natural right of the people; for others, it was an adventure that would destabilise the situation. John Parker stood up and said that "*the Greeks settled in Cyprus before settling in much of the present-day Greek mainland*" (HC Deb 23 July 1954 vol 530 cc1841-52) but Lord Winster and Crossman did not take these words seriously. While, Lord Winster had previously described Enosis as nothing more than "*rather strange bedfellows*" between communists and the church (HL Deb 23 February 1954 vol. 185 cc1068-98). Thus, the debate shifted; it was no longer about freedom, but about security, balance, and the Cold War. The Cyprus issue suddenly ceased to be a human story and became a strategic dossier. Thus, the issue was reduced to the security rhetoric of the Cold War rather than the right to self-determination (Hansard, 1954).

In this context, the discourse on Enosis served not only Greece's demands but also Britain's desire to maintain control over populations under colonial rule. Niall Macpherson's warning that "*the opposite point of view has not been sufficiently expressed in Cyprus*" (HC Deb 28 July 1954 vol 531 cc517-71) revealed the monolithic nature of the debate and the construction of a discursive space in which the Turkish community was almost completely ignored.

> "The demand for Enosis was presented either as a dangerous agitation or as an outdated ideal; its legitimacy was questioned by linking it to issues such as the church, communism and nationalism. All these elements deepened the discursive fissures and diplomatic dilemmas surrounding the Cyprus question in both British domestic and foreign policy." (Yorgancıoğlu, 2025a)

Enosis was thus coded as both an emotional and strategic threat; a demand articulated through the rhetoric of 'freedom' was quickly recast as "instability" and

"danger". Moreover, Parliament argued against Enosis by linking Ankara with "the desire to protect the rights of the Turkish minority" on the island. It is clear that the Enosis ideal and London's foreign policy could not align, and they were therefore compelled to view it as a dangerous, even provocative, and outdated ideal. This policy, in which the church, communism, and nationalism converged, created discursive fissures and diplomatic dilemmas for the colonial administration on the island, ultimately leading to the Hopkinson doctrine, named after Colonial Secretary Henry Hopkinson, an influential political figure of the period: "*I was referring to acts of terrorism on the island. [...] But I do regret that the leaders of the Church have not so far seen fit to express abhorrence at those acts*" (Hansard, 5 May 1955, col. 1928).

5.3 "Delimited" Community (Turkish Cypriots): Borders, Geopolitical Flags, and Securing Identity

In the 1950s, the map of Cyprus was shrinking for Turkish Cypriots. They were trapped on a pedestal between three capitals. Ankara was speaking, Athens was reacting, London was waiting, and the island remained silent. This silence was, in fact, a boundary. It was not merely a geographical border, but an ideological line that determined where identity began and ended. They were no longer within the border – they themselves had become the border where East and West meet. Their identities, condemned to this fate, became alienated from both the place they belonged to and the place they were forced to belong to. This state of alienation and their transformation into strategic tools did not elevate them beyond being a typical example. This situation indicated that external factors would be more influential than local dynamics and that, therefore, the community would be far from able to determine its own destiny (Ker-Lindsay, 2011).

Athens' insistence on Enosis and Ankara's increasingly prominent role in the Western equation positioned the 'Turkish Cypriot' figure internationally as a community in need of protection. Thus, while the Turkish community's security-centred discourse became legitimised, its ability to establish its own political agency narrowed, leading to its being seen not only as a local political actor but also as an object of international diplomatic bargaining. This discourse was consistent with London's post-colonial design. The ebb and flow of local dynamics and communication between Ankara and the Turkish Cypriots was not sufficient to advance the process to the desired level. The contacts that the Turkish Cypriots attempted to establish through local leaders and diaspora connections to obtain Ankara's unconditional and unwavering support during this difficult period were always part of this effort. The final outcome of the process is that, on the one hand, social solidarity has risen to a strong position, but on the other hand, it has also paved the way for the further intensification or institutionalisation of ethnic polarisation on the island.

The second major Evkaf Rally, organised by the Turkish National Union of Cyprus on 6 February 1955, demanded the transfer of Evkaf administration to the Turkish Cypriot community. The subsequent telegrams sent to officials in Ankara, the Colonial Governor, the HM Cabinet's Colonial Secretary, and the Turkish Chief Delegate to the UN, Selim Sarper, should all be evaluated in this context (Milliyet, 1955a: 1). Fazıl Küçük's visit to Ankara, as President of the Cyprus Turkish National Student Union, also included a demand for an 'Ankara Radio' in response to 'Athens Radio'. This

request was reported in the press as "*Cypriots want attention*" (Milliyet, 1955b: 1). As Halit Kıvanç (1955) stated in his article titled "*Bleeding Cyprus: The Turkish Cypriots are burning with longing for their motherland: Pro-Atatürk Turkish villagers ran to welcome their brothers from the motherland with drums, pipes, and the crescent and star flag.*" Thus, Cypriot Turks consistently pursued efforts to make themselves visible in the streets, striving to exist, to be seen, and to be accepted.

5.4 Institutional Boundaries: The Role of Colonial Administration and the Institutionalisation of Identity

The Cyprus example demonstrates that identity there is not just a spoken word; it is something written, taught, and signed. It is not just culture – it is also law, school, and document. Nationalism emerges from emotion, enters the institution, and remains there. It breathes within a system, shaping us without our realising it. The practices produced by the colonial administration within the framework of legal regulations, local governance policies, and security logic—such as censuses, official language and education policies, and security measures—helped institutionally fix identity in Cyprus (Mamdani, 1996). In a sense such regulations reflect the coercive dimension of institutional isomorphism in the context of nationalism, as conceptualised by DiMaggio and Powell (1983): the norms and procedures applied by the colonial administration directed local actors towards similar institutional formats, thereby reinforcing ethnic boundaries at the institutional level.

At the same time, normative and mimetic isomorphism processes also came into play. Normatively, historical narratives constructed through the education system and official discourses, the curriculum taught in schools, and public rituals sought to produce a common collective memory and sense of belonging (Anderson, 2006: Hobsbawm, 1990). Mimetic processes related to the adaptation of modern nation-state institutions to the local context: actors on the island modelled their own strategies on "successful" nation-state mechanisms (e.g., central administration, official language policies, constitutional forms), leading to similar institutional solutions emerging in both Greek and Turkish nationalist strategies (Evre, 2004).

The institutional boundaries of colonial administration in Cyprus became particularly evident in education, language, and governance. From the outset, colonial policies and organisations were actively implemented in education. An English Director of Education was appointed in 1880, and with the adoption of the education law in 1895, two separate education committees were established: one Christian and one Muslim (Orr, 1972). It should also be noted that nationalism arrived on the island through the Greeks before the British. In this context, it is important to understand that, during the early stages of the colonial period, permission was granted to import books from the mother countries for use in schools. This policy explains why the British considered it necessary to keep Christian and Muslim schools so separate (Özmatyatli and Özkul, 2013).

Schools were not only places where knowledge was transmitted, but also institutional spaces where identity and belonging were reproduced. By controlling the curriculum and the language of instruction, the British both legitimised their own authority and deepened the differences between the two communities at the institutional level. This situation in Cyprus reflected what Mamdani (1996) described as the process

of "ethnicised citizenship" in colonial societies: education policies socialised individuals not on the basis of national identity, but on the basis of ethnic affiliations.

Research shows that education at the primary school level during the British period generally appeared neutral and pragmatic, but nationalist elements became more pronounced at the secondary school level. Most participants in the study indicated that the British administration's rhetoric of raising "good citizens" had two main objectives: first, to make individuals from both communities loyal to British rule and upholders of order; second, to create a "native civil servant class" that could be employed in the colonial administration by acquiring English language skills. Knowing English was synonymous with social status; therefore, for many students, language was not only a means of communication but also an opportunity for social advancement (Özmatyatli and Özkul, 2013). Another consequence of this institutional system was the separation of the two communities in education. Greek Cypriot schools included Greece-centred historical narratives ("Megali Idea") in their curricula, while Turkish Cypriot schools emphasised the modernisation legacy and secularism of the Republic of Turkey. Thus, over time, the societies underwent profound sociological differentiation, with an Orthodox education system on one side and a secular education system on the other, even though they shared the same island, and education also became a means of socio-economic control.

Although the British administration in its early phase attempted to control the cultural influence of the mother countries in education, especially after the 1931 uprising, through radical prohibitions, the damage had already been done. Moreover, rather than bringing the issue under control, the prohibitions paradoxically served to fuel nationalism. As a result, the development of national sentiments on one side was met by the reflexive development of national sentiments among the other community. This development showed how the education system and identity policies were intertwined with the divide and rule strategy, and how something seen as beneficial could sometimes serve other purposes (Altay, 2005).

5.5 Resistance, Redefinition, and the Pluralisation of Identity

In response to corporate pressure and homogenisation, various forms of resistance have emerged at the local level in Cyprus. Efforts to increase the public visibility of the Turkish Cypriot community have led to the development of nationalism as a multi-layered structure, not confined to a single discourse, through alternative memory practices, local commemoration rituals, and diverse political discourses. For this reason, as Smiti states, nationalism is not a singular, fixed ideology or doctrine, but a process that is constantly evolving and repeatedly reproduced within the power relations of the national and international context (Yorgancıoğlu, 2020).

In postcolonial societies, communities that have experienced colonialism can be seen as phenomena capable of applying resistance and adaptation strategies in a highly intricate manner, developing the ability to exist as stable political subjects even under oppressive conditions (Chatterjee, 1993). In this context, as Chatterjee also points out, local actors have reimagined the modules envisioned by the West by blending them with local elements. However, the escalating security issues and inter-community conflicts that began in the second half of the 1950s have led societies to adopt a harsher stance on security and to deepen their concerns. This new environment has evolved into

a process of militarisation in which only weapons speak, the emotional dimension of nationalism has been abandoned, and local armed organisations have been established (French, 2015).

Consequently, The Cyprus context clearly demonstrates how nationalism was simultaneously reproduced as an institutional, emotional, ritualistic, and geopolitical phenomenon. The politicisation of Turkish identity in the 1950s, the international discourse shaped by parliamentary debates, border practices, and colonial institutional arrangements combined to deepen the divide between identities while also opening new avenues for definition and solidarity among local actors (Evre, 2004). Therefore, the Cyprus example shows that it is insufficient to view nationalism studies solely through the lens of "nation building" or "ethnic conflict"; identity production must also be addressed through state practices, international policies, and daily rituals that are reproduced shift by shift.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This article has approached nationalism not as a fixed ideological structure, but as a flexible morphology shaped and reproduced according to context. Michael Freeden's ideological morphology approach enabled us to show how central concepts of nationalism, such as collective identity, sovereignty, and homogeneity, are reorganised in different historical and cultural contexts (Freeden, 1996: 2003). This framework allowed us to understand nationalism not only as a theoretical ideology but also as a discourse constructed through constantly changing, historically shifting articulations. In this study, applying Freeden's approach to the Cyprus case offers an original analytical contribution by revealing how ideological centre–periphery relations are reconfigured in a colonial context.

Secondly, the central role of emotions, rituals, and embodied practices in the everyday politics of nationalism was emphasised. Ahmed's (2004) approach to "emotional politics" and Billig's (1995) conceptualisation of "banal nationalism" showed that nationalism is not merely a set of abstract principles, but is continually reproduced through everyday practices, symbols, flag salutes, commemorative ceremonies, and social rituals. In recent years, the focus on emotional orientations in the literature on affective nationalism (Demertzis, 2014: Koschut, 2020: Skey, 2011: Wetherell, 2012) has strengthened the arguments of this study and more clearly shows that nationalism is experienced not only as a conceptual framework but also as an emotional experience. This demonstrates that the continuity of nationalism is maintained not only at the institutional or ideological level, but also through individuals' bodies and everyday emotional experiences. Therefore, emotions, rituals, and institutional practices can be considered three complementary dimensions in the reproduction of nationalism.

Third, the Cyprus example illustrated how nationalism is reproduced in specific forms within local contexts. Greek nationalism, shaped by the demand for Enosis in the 1950s, and the corresponding political sharpening of Turkish identity, created an experience of being a "delimited" community in British Parliament debates and in the daily practices of Turkish Cypriots. The situation of Turkish Cypriots has been depicted not only through familiar nationalist narratives – as an ideology, doctrine, or movement – but also as a security issue, a colonial problem, or a civilisational matter at the

intersection of regional dynamics. Furthermore, the anthropological literature on the Turkish Cypriot community (Bryant, 2011: Hatay, 2005: Papadakis, 2005) shows that emotional memory, ritual practices, and community experiences play a crucial role in shaping nationalist discourse, consistent with the findings of this study. In this context, reducing the issue to a mere phenomenon and assuming that "nationalism" is impervious to external factors means accepting the "nationalist" assumption. Here, identity is reconstructed within the framework of both internal and external factors, encompassing the language of both belonging and defence.

As mentioned earlier in this article, nationalism is not a fixed doctrine but a way of thinking in which the relationships between these concepts are constantly re-established. In other words, nationalism resembles a network of relations rather than a single idea – something that is continually reconstructed and acquires new meaning over time. As Ahmed (2004) and Billig (1995) argue, nationalism is not merely a story told; it is recreated through the emotions people experience and the small actions they perform each day. The interactions during the final phase of colonialism contributed significantly to the reproduction of the nationalist world of meaning. Consequently, nationalism is not a singular issue or narrative; it is a phenomenon in which multi-layered worlds of meaning come together, intersect, clash, and are reproduced. It is a process in which ideological forms, emotional memory, and historical conditions are intertwined. This study makes an original contribution to nationalism studies, both theoretically and methodologically, by demonstrating how ideological morphology integrates with emotional and concrete practices, using Cyprus as a case study.

REFERENCES

Ahmed, S. (2004), *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh.

An, A., (1996), *Kıbrıs' ta Fırtınalı Yıllar: 1942-1962*, Galeri Kültür Yayınları.

Anderson, B. (2006), *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (Rev. ed.), Verso, London.

Anderson, David M. (1993), "Policing and Communal Conflict: The Cyprus Emergency, 1954–60," *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 21(3): 177-207. https://doi.org/10.1080/03086539308582912

Anderson, David M. (1993), "Policing and Communal Conflict: The Cyprus Emergency, 1954–60," *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 21(3): 177-207. https://doi.org/10.1080/03086539308582912

Arık, U. (2011). "Kıbrıs Krizi," *LAÜ Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, *2*(1), 3-21.

Billig, M. (1995), *Banal Nationalism*, SAGE, London.

Breuilly, J. (1993), *Nationalism and the State*, Manchester University Press, Manchester.

Brubaker, R. (1996), *Nationalism Reframed: Nationhood and the National Question in the New Europe*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Bryant, R. (2011). *The Past in Pieces: Belonging in the New Cyprus*, University of Pennsylvania Press, Pennsylvania.

Bryant, R., & Hatay, M. (2019). From Salvation to Struggle: Commemoration, Affect, and Agency in Cyprus. In *Memorials in the Aftermath of Armed Conflict: From History to Heritage* (pp. 61-93). Cham: Springer International Publishing.

Bryant, R., & Papadakis, Y. (Eds.). (2012). *Cyprus and the Politics of Memory: History, Community and Conflict*. Bloomsbury Publishing.

Butler, J. (1990), *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*, Routledge, London.

Demertzis, N. (2014). Political emotions. In Nesbitt-Larking, P., Kinnvall, C., Capelos, T., Dekker, H. (eds), *The Palgrave Handbook of Global Political Psychology* (pp. 223-241). Palgrave Macmillan, London. https://doi.org/10.1007/978 -1-137-29118-9_13

DiMaggio, P. J., & Powell, W. W. (1983). "The Iron Cage Revisited: Institutional Isomorphism and Collective Rationality in Organizational Fields," *American Sociological Review*, *48*(2), 147-160.

Dodd, C. (2010), *The History and the Politics of Cyprus*, Palgrave Macmillan, London. https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230275287

Eiranen, R. (2022). Emotions and Nationalism. In K. Barclay and P. N. Stearns (Eds.), *The Routledge History of Emotions in the Modern World* (pp. 407-422). Routledge, London.

Evre, B. (2004). *Kıbrıs Türk Milliyetçiliği: Oluşumu ve Gelişimi*. Işık Kitabevi Yayınları, Lefkoşa.

Fairclough, N. (1995), *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language*, Longman, London.

Freeden, M. (1996). *Ideologies and Political Theory: A Conceptual Approach*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Freeden, M. (2003), *Ideology: A Very Short Introduction*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Freeden, M. (2005). *Liberal Languages: Ideological Imaginations and Twentieth-Century Progressive Thought*. Princeton University Press, Princeton.

French, D. (2015), *Fighting EOKA: The British Counter-Insurgency Campaign on Cyprus, 1955-1959*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Gallie, W. B. (1955), "Essentially Contested Concepts," In *Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society*, vol. 56: 167-198. Aristotelian Society, Wiley.

Gellner, E. (1983), *Nations and Nationalism*, Cornell University Press.

Greenfeld, L. (1992), *Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity*, Harvard University Press.

Hatay, M. (2005). *Beyond Numbers: An Inquiry into the Political Integration of the Turkish 'Settlers' in Northern Cyprus*, International Peace Research Institute.

Hobsbawm, Eric J. & Ranger T. (Eds.), (1983), *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Hobsbawm, Eric J. (1990), *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge. http://www.jstor.org/stable/ 4544562

Hürsöz (1948a), "Bugün 28 Kasım Miting Günüdür", *Hürsöz*, 28 November 1948, p. 4.

Hürsöz (1948b), "Milli Miting", *Hürsöz*, 30 November 1948, p. 1.

Ioannides, Christos P. (2018), *Cyprus under British Colonial Rule: Culture, Politics, and the Movement toward Union with Greece, 1878–1954*, Lexington Books, Lanham, Maryland.

Jabbarli, R. (2024). "Making and Transcending Boundaries: The Effect of Ritual on Nationalism," *Theory and Society*, 53(6), 1415-1440.

Kaya, Mehmet S. (2022), "İdeoloji ve İdeolojilerin Sistematik Analizi: Michael Freeden'ın Morfolojik Yaklaşımı," *Anadolu Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, 22(4): 1199-1220.

Kelling, George H. (1990), *Countdown to Rebellion: British Policy in Cyprus, 1939–1955*, Praeger, Westport, Connecticut.

Ker-Lindsay, J. (2011), *The Cyprus Problem: What Everyone Needs to Know*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Koschut, S. (2020). Emotion, Discourse, and Power in World Politics. In S. Koschut (Ed.), *The Power of Emotions in World Politics* (pp. 3-28), Routledge, London.

Mamdani, M. (1996), *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism*, Princeton University Press, Princeton.

Milliyet (1955a), "Kıbrıs Türkleri Miting Yaptı", *Milliyet*, 7 February 1955, p. 1.

Milliyet (1955b), "Kıbrıslılar Alâka Bekliyor", *Milliyet*, 15 April 1955, p. 1. Kıvanç, H. (1955), "Kanayan Kıbrıs: Kıbrıs Türkü Anavatan Hasretiyle Yanıyor", *Milliyet*, 15 April 1955, p. 3.

Nevzat, A. (2005), *Nationalism amongst the Turks of Cyprus: The First Wave*, Oulu University Press, Oulu.

Novo, Andrew R. (2010), *On All Fronts: EOKA and the Cyprus Insurgency*, PhD Dissertation, University of Oxford, Oxford. https://ora.ox.ac.uk/objects/uuid: 9fcd14f8-f60d-49b3-82b4-411e3370e890

Orr, C. W. J. (1972), *Cyprus under British Rule* (Reprint), Zeno Publishers, London.

Özmatyatli, İçim Ö. and Özkul, Ali Efdal (2013), "20th Century British Colonialism in Cyprus through Education," *Eurasian Journal of Educational Research*, 50: 1-20.

Papadakis, Y. (2005). *Echoes from the Dead Zone: Across the Cyprus Divide*, I. B. Tauris.

Partha, C. (1993). *The Nation and its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories*, Princeton University Press, Princeton.

Scarinzi, F. (2021), "Force Structure and Counterinsurgency Outcome: The Case of the Cyprus Emergency (1955–1959)," *Defence Studies*, 21(2): 204-225.

Skey, M. (2021). *National Belonging and Everyday Life: The Significance of Nationhood in an Uncertain World*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Smith, Anthony D. (1998), *Nationalism and Modernism: A Critical Survey of Recent Theories of Nations and Nationalism*, Routledge, London.

UK, *Hansard*, 1955. *Sittings in 1955* (Parliamentary Debates). https://api.parliament. uk/historic-hansard/sittings/1955/index.html [Electronic version].

UK, *Hansard*, HC Deb 05 May 1955 vol. 540, cc. 1910-71, https://api. parliament.uk/historic-hansard/commons/1955/may/05/cyprus/index.htm [Electronic version].

UK, *Hansard*, HC Deb 23 July 1954 vol. 530, cc. 1841-52, https://api. parliament.uk/historic-hansard/commons/1954/jul/23/cyprus-future [Electronic version].

UK, *Hansard*, HC Deb 28 July 1954 vol. 531, cc. 517-571, https://api. parliament.uk /historic-hansard/commons/1954/jul/28/cyprus-constitutional-arrangements-1 [Electronic version].

UK, *Hansard*, HL Deb 23 February 1954 vol. 185, cc. 1068-98, https://api. parliament.uk/historic-hansard/lords/1954/feb/23/cyprus [Electronic version].

UK, Hansdard. 1954. *Sittings in 1954* (Parliamentary Debates). https://api. parliament.uk/historic-hansard/sittings/1954/index.html [Electronic version].

Wetherell, M. (2012). *Affect and Emotion: A New Social Science Understanding*, SAGE, London.

Wimmer, A. (2018), *Nation Building: Why Some Countries Come Together while Others Fall Apart*, Princeton University Press, Princeton.

Wodak, R. (2020), *The Politics of Fear: The Shameless Normalization of Far-Right Discourse*, SAGE, London.

Yankı (1945), "Kıbrıs'ta Türk Varlığı Sağlam Temellere Dayanmalıdır", *Yankı*, 24 September 1945.

Yorgancıoğlu, C. (2020), *The Nationalisms in Cyprus within International Context (1954-1964): A Critical Approach*, Near East University, Institute of Social Sciences, Unpublished PhD Thesis, Nicosia.

Yorgancıoğlu, C. (2025a), "Cyprus in British Parliamentary Debates in 1955: Violence, Negotiation and Colonial Narrative," *İçtimaiyat*, 9(2): 55-72. https://doi.org/10.33709/ictimaiyat.1724680

Yorgancıoğlu, C. (2025b). "Cyprus in 1954 British Parliamentary Debates: Discursive Structures, Actors and the Colonial Imaginary," *Vakanüvis-Uluslararası Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 10 (Vakanüvis 10. Yıl Özel Sayısı), 1412-1439. https://doi.org/10.24186/vakanuvis.1700311