

**The relationship between family memory and children's history learning about the recent troubled past in the conflict setting of Cyprus**

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'I, Melina Foris, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.'

## **Abstract**

This study explores how family memory relates to children's history learning in conflict-ridden societies. It focuses on how survivors of the traumatic events of 1974, make meaning of 1974 while negotiating their role in their children's history learning about sensitive issues in Cyprus. Additionally, it provides insights on students' and their teachers' approaches towards the recent past in their schools. Memory and narrative permeate this research as concepts for understanding how the past influences the memories and beliefs of people and how they remember the past, construct self-narratives, and mediate these to their youngsters.

This study adopts a qualitative research approach. Research data were collected via one-on-one semi-structured interviews with 5 history educators, 23 parents or grandparents and 10 joint interviews with (grand) parents and their children, through the methods of document analysis on the history textbook and observing classes about recent Cypriot history. Content analysis was applied to textual data. Narratives were explored as an experience and a construct, drawing on Labovian structural narrative analysis.

(Grand) parents narrate personal and vicarious experiences conveying their memories and attitudes about 1974. They make meaning of this past in six ways namely survival, loss, pursuit, rivalry, victimization and truth and seem resilient in processing 1974. They regard the history textbook and teachers as vehicles transferring the State's approach to 1974 and claim their own share when talking about the past. They attend funerals of missing persons or visit places with certain meanings for their family histories, initiatives enabling them to link their past to their children's present. These memory-sites stage adults' stories and enable youngsters to inherit the family history and values while acknowledging their positionality in society. These findings indicate the need to enhance our knowledge about family-intergenerational memory and emotional issues in history learning in Cyprus and other conflict-ridden societies.

## **Impact Statement**

This is the first study in the context of Cyprus, and one of the few worldwide, to explore the relationship of family memory and children's history learning. It explores how memories and beliefs of those who survived the traumatic events of 1974 in Cyprus are remembered and used to build self-narratives for communicating them to the younger generation. It shows that these survivors demand their own voice when talking about 1974 and are unwilling to let the state claim ownership of the past. It reveals that participants in my study see politics as a barrier to having an authentic representation of the past and undertake initiatives to help their children draw links between the troubled past and present.

I have undoubtedly gained valuable knowledge from conducting this study focused on family memory, intergenerational narratives and learning about the past, that I intend to share to benefit scholarship and public discourse.

I strongly feel that this study can inspire academics, researchers and practitioners, through its discoveries and insights, to conduct similar studies about how family memory can contribute to children's historicity in democratic societies and in conflict-ridden societies such as Ireland and Argentina, enriching existing literature in history education. To this end, I intend to publish articles in journals about the process and findings of my research and to participate in educational seminars, in Cyprus and abroad, while presenting my work and seeking to form collaborations with academics from various countries. Also, taking part in NGO-led educational initiatives about history learning in conflict contexts organised by groups of educationalists, teachers, and activists such as EUROCLIO in the Netherlands and the Lebanese Association for History, will enable me to work together with people outside academia and from different contexts and to further advance our knowledge about the roles teachers and families can play in shaping how children approach sensitive issues when learning about the past at school.

I am grateful to those who participated in my study and honoured as they found the interview process a positive experience when sharing their personal stories of 1974 for the first time. Seeing this impact, I believe that my study can also serve as a sound starting point to challenge public discourse on confronting our recent, troubled past. I intend to turn my thesis into a play in the context of testimonial theatre (Fisher, 2020) and to continue collecting, as an individual, testimonies of Cypriot volunteers from all communities, who survived events of the recent past for writing articles in mainstream media to make their stories known. These testimonies will also be uploaded in a website with free access to teachers and students, able to be used for educational purposes. As a member of the Cypriot Educational Society, I plan to organize grass roots meetings with teachers, parents and guardians of students to discuss the complexities of history learning in Cyprus and form suggestions on how to enrich the educational public policy to deem it adequate and able to correspond to current social needs.

## **Acknowledgements**

When I embarked on studying family memory about 1974 in Cyprus, there were many who frowned and even attempted to discourage me from researching these troubled events of our history. It was a long journey with obstacles and hurdles but some helped me along the way, and I would like to thank them.

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outside the box in shaping a coherent rationale for my study. Thank you for giving me hope.

I dedicate this thesis to my children, and especially Eria who faced closed doors while I was working on this thesis: "I missed you greatly". I wish you grow up free to choose where you want to live in Cyprus. And to all the children born and raised in Cyprus, may your generation respect this island and enjoy its beauties without barbwire and conflicts.

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## Chapter 1: Introduction

This introduction seeks to familiarize the reader with the historical, socio-political, and educational context this study is situated in. It is organised in four parts. It begins by presenting the aim and the research questions of this study. This is followed by a section on the historical background of what is known as the Cyprus Issue, showing how it is linked to the events of 1974 on the island – namely the coup d'état and the Turkish military invasion, which led to the Turkish military occupation of the north side of the island, -the commemoration of these events by the Greek-Cypriot community and their political impact on understandings about the subject of history. The third part gives information on the local educational policy and context with respect to the history curriculum compared with approaches found in existing literature while describing the status of the subject of history in areas of the world and in Cyprus. My personal stance on learning about these traumatic events of the past concludes this introduction.

### 1.1. Aim of my study

In the classroom, researchers have noted the co-existence of 'official history' that transmits the state's representation of the past and of 'unofficial histories' which have been circulated outside school through the media, arts, institutions, and social interactions (Carretero et al., 1994). Whether accepted as contradicting or as enriching each other, these versions of 'history' are both seen as contributing to the development of 'double consciousness' (Ahonen 1992, as found in Carretero, Jacott & Lopez-

Manjon, 2002), in which the individual hesitates to express a personal understanding of the past and seems to embrace all versions of the past. Double consciousness occurs when a person has different versions of the past and shows great ability in switching between these versions in any encounter in their public and private sphere of life.

Acknowledging that children's history learning takes place both in and out of their classrooms and that children may have developed a double consciousness about the events of 1974, my study seeks to show how students and their family members and teachers approach and mediate learning about the recent past in Cyprus. Many local researchers, for example Makriyianni & Psaltis, (2007), Zembylas et al. (2010) and Adamides, (2019), consider Cyprus as a conflict rather than a post-conflict setting and I subscribe to this view. Although there has been a UN mediated cease-fire since the events of 1974 in Cyprus, people's rights such as free movement and free decision to live anywhere they want within the island have not been restored as the island has been divided by the Green Line, as the following section describes. As a result of this, the two main communities, the Greek-Cypriots, and the Turkish-Cypriots, do not share a common state and their children are not taught about their common past together, as students in the same classroom. Due to these facts, I hold the opinion, as do others, that history learning in Cyprus is still controversial (Christou, 2006; Papadakis, 2004, 2008; Zembylas & Karahasan; 2017). My research subscribes to the definition of controversial and sensitive

issues in history learning proposed by the Historical association in Britain, because

emotive issues can occur as there is actual or perceived unfairness to people by another individual or group in the past [...] (and) [...] there are disparities between what is taught in school history, family/community histories and other histories. Such issues and disparities create a strong resonance with students in particular educational settings (TEACH report,2007, p.3).

My study explores what Greek-Cypriot children are taught in school about the troubled events of 1974 and how this relates to what their families remember about these events. It focuses on family aspiring to shed light on how family members approach learning about the traumatic events they survived. The use of family memory and the importance of exploring how family members negotiate their role in their children's history education, an under-studied area in the field of history education in Cyprus, as will be further explained in the Literature Review, is the core of this study.

For exploring the relationship between family memory and what students are taught in school about the events of the recent Cypriot history I have formed these research questions:

1. How do individuals, who experienced the events of 1974, make meaning of the recent painful past?
2. What are students taught in their history classes at school about the recent past in Cyprus and in what ways?
3. How do family members of students approach official memory as this is mediated to their children at school?



4. To what extent, how and why do family members convey their memories and knowledge about the past to their children?

This part attempts to direct the reader on the aim of the study and on the questions this study seeks to approach. For the benefit of the reader, the following two sections of this introduction provide contextual information on a. the historical background of the Cyprus Issue and how the events of 1974 are commemorated today by the Greek-Cypriot community and on b. the existing Cypriot educational policy and context, with respect to the subject of history.

1.2. Historical background of the Cyprus Issue and its political impact on understandings about school history in Cyprus.

### *Historical Background*

It is generally accepted in the literature that the term *the Cyprus Issue* emerged at the very beginning of the colonization of the island by the British Empire in 1878. It was at the Congress of Berlin of that year that the United Kingdom received the administration of the island from the falling Ottoman Empire, yet it was in 1925 when the island officially became a Crown Colony (Kornioti, 2020). In the early 1930s the term acquired a salient meaning by encapsulating the demand for de-colonization promoted by the Greek-Cypriot community, which formed most of the island's population. It was envisaged by the Greek-Cypriots that decolonization would bring Enosis - Union with Greece (Hatzidimitriou, 1987). This

demand was adjusted in the mid-1940s with the added request for the locals' right of self-determination. Self-determination differed as it did not endorse Enosis (although it did not exclude Enosis either) and for this it was supported by the Greek-Cypriot Left and most of the Turkish-Cypriots (Kakoulis, 1990). British authorities refused to acknowledge the existence of the Cyprus Issue and overturned both requests for Enosis and self-determination.

In the 1950s, this demand for self-determination was dwarfed by two movements affecting the Cyprus Issue: *Enosis* and *Taksim*. This notion of *Enosis* was pursued by members of the Greek-Cypriot community through a range of peaceful initiatives such as when Ethnarch Makarios III collaborated with the Greek state in requesting de-colonization at the United Nations' forum. Giallourides (2012) adds that all five requests failed and so did the effort to internationalise the Cypriot Issue, mostly because the Greek governments of 1954-1958 were too weak to dismiss NATO (their shield over the spread of Communism) over Cyprus. He explains that NATO was not in favour of making requests at the UN over Cyprus as this could trigger friction between its allies.

Enosis was then pursued with the formation of an armed group, EOKA (*Ethniki Organosi Kyprion Agoniston* – National Organization of Cypriot Fighters), that engaged in guerrilla warfare to drive the British to participate in discussions about the Cyprus Issue (Edwards & Hadjiathanasiou, 2021).

*Taksim* - partition of the island and union with Turkey - was supported by

some Turkish-Cypriots, who saw EOKA as a threat and formed their own military group, VOLGAN (later known as TMT), for protection (Adamides, 2019). In the late 1950s the British led a series of discussions with Greek and Turk delegates, who represented the Greek-Cypriot and the Turkish-Cypriot communities, to discuss Cyprus' future (Hatzivasiliou, 2005). In 1959 in Zurich, the three "interested parties" (Turkey, Greece and Britain) formed an agreement regarding Cyprus as an independent state and the representatives were asked to confirm this agreement later in London. The signing of this agreement led to the establishment of the Republic of Cyprus in 1960, which was under the protection of these three ethno-guarantors (Byrne, 2000), and was comprised of two distinct recognized communities, the Greek-Cypriots, and the Turkish-Cypriots. According to the Constitution, a Greek-Cypriot heads as the President of the Republic while the vice president's post is occupied by a Turkish-Cypriot. Also, the Cabinet is comprised of Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots while separate communal chambers exist in the Parliament. The first president was Archbishop Makarios, and the first vice-president was Dr Fazil Kucuk.

In the 1960s, the Cyprus Issue evolved into pursuing the sustainability of the Republic and the well-being of all civilians. To this end, in 1963 president Makarios proposed amendments to the Constitution; this led to a crisis as Turkish-Cypriots rejected these proposals, withdrew from their positions in the government and relocated to specific areas of the island (Papapolyviou et al., 2013). Since then and until today, the Greek-Cypriot community steers the state, without the contribution of the Turkish-Cypriot

community, activating the so called 'justice of need'. A series of violent clashes occurred in Nicosia (December events of 1963) which resulted in the division of the two communities by the "Green line" (Papadakis, 2005). President Makarios recruited Colonel Grivas, who was the leader of EOKA, to lead the state's armed forces in breaking through the Turkish Cypriot enclaves to allow the smooth operation of the state. Because of slaughters attributed to him in 1964 and 1967, Grivas was asked to step down and abandon the island. Grivas later secretly returned to allegedly create a paramilitary group, EOKA B. Within the Greek Cypriot community there was hostility and attacks between those who supported Makarios and were known as Makariakoi and those who supported his opponent, Grivas and were called Grivikoi. In the mist of all this, extremist-armed groups were formed in each community sparking inter-communal conflict and atrocities (Loizos, 1988).<sup>1</sup>

On 15 July 1974, a coup d'état staged by the Greek junta, military personnel, EOKA B and supporters of the Right in Cyprus, overthrew the elected president, who appealed for U.N. assistance. Five days later, Turkey, organized the *Peace Operation*, a military intervention claiming to safeguard Turkish-Cypriots and restore peace and stability. The Turkish military invasion was orchestrated in two phases: the first phase started on July 20<sup>th</sup>, 1974, when the area of Keryneia at the north of the island was attacked and, while on ceasefire and political negotiations, the second

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<sup>1</sup> In this decade, the UN Security Council organized peacekeeping operations and mediation for the political solution of the Cyprus Issue known as UNFICYP.

phase occurred on August 15, 1974, in which the Turkish forces spread to the northwest and northeast areas of the island, at Morphou and Ammohostos respectively. During this intervention, thousands of Greek-Cypriots were forced to the south of the island while the Turkish army killed or detained hundreds of civilians, many of whom are still missing. Amid this crisis, President Makarios exempted from trials the sixty-two members of EOKA B, who participated in the coup d'état, to bring social peace (Ireton & Kovras, 2012). Tents were placed in open fields for the refugees and those were called 'Refugee camps'. Later, in the 1980s the government of Cyprus built blocks of houses with external monetary assistance for the refugees, and these are known until today as 'Government Refugee Settlements'.

Since the late 1970s, the Cyprus Issue has been confined to diplomatic negotiations between the Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot representatives on finding a political solution which will allow all citizens of Cyprus to live as equals. The Greek-Cypriot community view 1974 as the start of the Cyprus Issue while Turkish-Cypriots regard 1963 as the start.

#### *Commemoration of the events of 1974*

Participating in commemorative ceremonies, building monuments and setting the official calendar for remembering specific events are only a few ways which show how the Greek Cypriot community deals with memories of the recent past.<sup>2</sup> For example, every July ceremonies take place at

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<sup>2</sup> Thus, the official calendar becomes a memory site for the Greek Cypriots participating in my research. This is also noticeable worldwide as other public events with political and

*Tymvos* (Tomb), a place where soldiers who lost their lives in the 1974 are buried (Images 1 & 2) and where the statue of *Mana tou Agnooumenou* (the Mother of the Missing) is located at Makedonitissa, a Nicosia suburb (Image 3). Air raid sirens sound all over Cyprus on the date and time the coup d'état occurred - on 15 of July 8.20 am and on the 20<sup>th</sup> of July at 5.30am to mark the Turkish invasion. Organizations, local authorities, and political parties set ceremonies to commemorate these two events as well.



Image 1. View of 'Tymvos tis Makedonitissas'.

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social weight are commemorated in the annual calendar such as the Memorial Day for those who were lost during the First World War (November 11), D- Day for the Normandy Landings in the second World War (June 6), the International Holocaust Remembrance Day (January 27) and Commonwealth Day (May 24).



Image 2. View of 'Tymvos tis Makedonitissas'.



Image 3. The Mother of the Missing Person.

Since the late 1970s until now political parties have accused Democratic Rally (*Dimokratikos Synagermos* - DISY) the dominant Right-wing party, for not organising a commemoration for the coup d'état and for giving a political shelter to those members of EOKA B who participated in the coup to overthrow the elected president. For the first allegation, as Papadakis notes, the party 'pursued an active policy of "forgetting" regarding the coup, arguing that it was a source of division between Greek Cypriots and Greeks, as well as among Greek Cypriots' (2018, p.257). The latter is still an issue of harsh public and political dispute, as many persons were involved in the coup d'état received important posts in the party and the state when the party assumed power in the 1990s.

However, it is interesting to note that although the File of Cyprus (military documents found in the archives of the Greek Parliament) was made public in 2018, presenting, among others, the role and attitude of politicians in the events of 1974 (Cyprus Parliament, 2018) there is still not an official consensus about the events of 1974 which is promoted by all political parties, as each political party tends to support its own narrative about the events of 1974. This disagreement in the way of looking at the events of the recent past, is not restricted in the political arena but it is also reflected in the educational and social context.



*The political impact of the Cyprus Issue on understandings about the subject of history*

There are good reasons to think that school history in Cyprus is a contested area and a matter of political debate and competing political agendas. Several distinct understandings and subsequent narratives about school history are apparent in contemporary debates (as will be shown below) although there is an agreement on the aim school history should serve; the preservation of historical memory understood as the memory of the past, which is linked to the students' identity formation. For example, there are two main conflicting understandings of what is encapsulated in this notion of memory. On the one hand, the Right-wing Democratic Rally (*Dimokratikos Synagermos* - DISY), envisage a Greek-centric education as this is depicted in one speech made in 2010 by T.Tsokos, member of the Political Office of DISY

It is time to help our children [...] to understand the realities. So that our youth will be knowledgeable about our history and about our origins. This should first happen at the school and especially in the teaching of history. It should be emphasised that Cyprus is an integral part of the wider Hellenic population...It is our duty to sustain our Greekness as a community and to safeguard the Republic of Cyprus...The specific space (political party), that is contractually trying to cultivate the neo-Cypriot culture and conscience, should stop contributing in the effort to our national castration.

From this perspective, Cyprus is seen as belonging to the Greek world and memory about the past is focused on antiquity and places “a lot of emphasis on anniversaries of Greek history” (Papadakis, 2018, p.257). This notion of historical memory is seen as the key vehicle in sustaining the

idea of a glorious past and of a common heritage. For example, in one of DISY declarations in 2018 it is stated

We honour the proud struggle given by the Greeks defending Greece and together freedom, democracy and all the values of the modern free world [...] The Cypriot Hellenism still struggles today and claims those rights for which the Greeks fought in the Second World War [...] The great epic of the 40s always inspires the Cypriot Hellenism and functions as a model of national consciousness as well as devotion to its universal ideals of freedom and democracy [...] On the basis of these principles and ideals, we try in the current circumstances and conditions, to defend and secure the position of Hellenism in Cyprus.

This discourse encapsulates the strong will to safeguard the ‘Greekness’ of Cyprus, while attacking any factor that could harm this, and it has dominated public life since the independence of the island. However, nowadays it has peaked as many incidents have occurred lately, resulting in public outcry. For example, the influx of waves of immigrants to the island is seen as a potential threat to the existence of the Greek-Cypriot community. This is addressed nervously by the government of the Right and is anxiously expressed with racist outburst by government officials “on how the purity of the Cypriot people was being diluted by the migrant hordes” (Charalambous, 2021).

In addition to this, the Ministry of Education and Culture (MOEC) has also been criticized in the local media about its initial decision to tear a page from the English textbook that referred to the Turkish leader Kemal Ataturk and then to abruptly withdraw the whole textbook from all public schools (Nikolaou, 2021). MOEC attempted to justify this action by stating, among

other comments, in an official announcement, that “Ataturk is directly connected with crimes against humanity such as the Armenian Genocide...crimes equal to the genocide of the Pontians...but also the criminal ‘ethnic cleansing’ of Hellenism in Smyrna and elsewhere” (2021). Also, in 2020 it has put together a committee of experts to organize celebrations about the glorious past of the Greeks through a series of ceremonies and events for honouring the bicentennial anniversary of the Greek Revolution of 1821 against the Ottoman Empire.

On the other hand, AKEL (*Anorthotiko Komma Ergazomenou Laou* – Uprising Party of the Working People), the leading party of the Left and DISY’s main political opponent, adopts a Cypro-centric approach to the past, which is focused on learning about local history, and most importantly, about the recent troubled past. It is a past of suffering and grief, as emphasised in this speech in 2020 made by A. Kyprianou, the General Secretary of the party

In order for our place to find justice, in order for the wounds to heal and for Cyprus to be saved, we must learn from the past. We must find the courage, to tell the truth. Unfortunately, the right and the far right insist on denying it. They insist on refusing to talk about the responsibilities of imperialism, nationalism, the junta, the responsibilities of the greedy EOKA B and its crimes. They refuse to talk about the betrayal, and therefore about the traitors, who opened the door to the Turkish invasion. This offends the sacrifice of the heroes, nourishes the injustice felt in their skin by the death-stricken families and the thousands of refugees, who were uprooted and are still waiting to return. Worse, it gives ground to nationalism to return to end its crime [...] The betrayal of the 15th of July gave Turkey the "fig leaf" to invade Cyprus and occupy almost 40% of our homeland. The barbed wire deeply carved the body of our Island. Our people have since been condemned to division. In emigration and displacement [...] The years may have passed, but the wounds did

not close. Nor are they going to close as long as there are barbed wire, roadblocks, refugees, the wounded, the enclaved, the remains of the missing persons unburied [...] When will the wounds close so that the smile on the lips of the long-suffering Cypriot people can bloom? [...] The best value for all of them is the memory that becomes consciousness. Consciousness for a struggle until the justification of our Cyprus. Until the day of reunification and peace dawns[...]

From this standpoint, transmitting the memory of recent events to the young is not only seen as a way of healing and moving on but also as a sacred cause, as a duty of preserving the historical truth in honour of those who were victims in the 1974 tragedy. It condemns the selective approach to the past, followed by other parties and the government, stressing that “young people need to be taught the Cypriot history, as it happened” as noted in an article published by a Parliamentary assistant (Fikardou, 2017).

In contrast to the political parties’ attitude towards school history, the Association of Historical Dialogue and Research (AHDR), the only bi-communal NGO of the island that deals with issues of historical learning, stresses that history education should not be guided by any ideological aim or focused on political and military events (AHDR, 2013). For example, in its proposal for the reform of history education it is stated

Historical thinking not only enables us to understand the people distant in the past, but also contemporary people living next to or far away from us. In other words, by learning to think historically, we also learn to understand one another, accept, and cooperate with each other. This does not imply, in any case, that history education should become a means to overturn one political agenda (promotion of national pride and blind patriotism) in favour of a new one (reconciliation). History is not about endowing a group with prestige

and common purpose or transmitting exclusive myths of origin and continuity. On the contrary, history is disinterested and universal, conforms to accepted tenets of evidence, is subject to debate and is always altered by time and hindsight [...] History is also about trying to understand the past through its various versions to comprehend the way the world works. Most of our students will finish school and still be ignorant of huge parts of factual knowledge. After all, not even expert historians can possess knowledge of everything that happened. Also, as events of the present happen, there is no guarantee that the factual knowledge they possess will connect meaningfully with those present events. But we can be sure that, if they learned something about historical enquiry, they will not be helpless in the face of competing stories and they will be able to use the tools which history offers to look for answers to new questions.

In this respect, AHDR seems to agree with those researchers who argue that school history should engage students in the disciplinary nature of history and help students in developing skills and critical stances when “(re)constructing and interpreting past events...to understand and make meaningful who and what we are today” (Leinhardt et al., 1994, p.86). According to this perspective, school history revolves around the understanding of second-order concepts e.g., evidence, change, empathy, and progress (Lee, 2011; Lee & Shemilt, 2009, 2011; Stearns, 1988) enabling students to comprehend the dynamics of the past and present in a variety of ways. For example, over the years AHDR has made many publications presenting the opinions and stories of the Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot community about sensitive issues in local history such as “the Missing persons” and “life in joined villages prior the 1974 events”. Since 2018, AHDR has steered the program ‘Imagine’ all over Cyprus, which seeks to encourage peace and understanding on the island influenced by the UN mandate through increased contacts between students and teachers from both communities in Cyprus.

AHDR suggests that school history should promote students' historical thinking so that they understand the challenges of the world they live in and proposes that school history should explore various aspects of life, encouraging the students to delve into (cross-)thematic studies and in-depth studies for developing a more rounded understanding of the past. An extensive range of educational material prepared by AHDR, often inspiring and ground-breaking in quality, is used on a voluntary and supplementary basis in educator's practice, as the history textbook remains the only official instrument of the Curriculum. Although echoing a disciplinary approach to historical learning, the underlying aim of school history as endorsed by AHDR seems to be the reconciling of the communities of the island rather than the need to respect history as a field of science, for its own sake. The following part of this introduction moves on in unfolding the local educational policy and context with respect to the history curriculum.

### 1.3. Policy and context

This section of the introduction discusses the basic features of the educational system in Cyprus while contrasting the approach to history learning in this setting with approaches found elsewhere. It first presents the envisaged aim and main characteristics of school history in Cyprus according to the Ministry of Education and Culture (MOEC), as depicted in the last educational reforms and history curricula. Then it proceeds to briefly show the status of school history in conflict-ridden settings including Cyprus.

*Overview of the local History Curricula, with special reference to the History curriculum of 2010 and the current History curriculum of 2016*

Since the independence of the island and until the late 1990s, history learning in the Greek-Cypriot curriculum was largely influenced by the Greek educational system (Koutselini-loannidou, 1997; Perikleous, Onurkan-Samani & Onurkan-Aliusta, 2021). In the 1960s it adopted a Greek-centric orientation and “had to avoid any action that contributed to the formation of Cypriot identity”, as the Director of Cyprus Education stressed in 1962 and as found in Koutselini-loannidou (1997, p.400). Cypro-centric views emerged in education and changes were introduced in the curriculum after the events of 1974 such as making local history as part of the subject along Greek history and the production of some history textbooks in Cyprus (Philippou & Klerides, 2010). This is why, in the period from 1974 to the 1990s, researchers note that the history curriculum was slowly moving away from the Greek educational system and was becoming more locally oriented in content but remained ethnocentric (Koutselini-loannidou, 1997; Philippou & Klerides, 2010) as the subject of history according to the curriculum of 1996, was expected “to help students to ... appreciate the history and cultural heritage of Cyprus and Greece and to form national consciousness as members of the Greek nation and as inhabitants of the semi-occupied Cyprus” (MOEC, 1996, p. 133 as found in Perikleous et al, 2021, p.128). In the 1990s and 2000s, the history curriculum became an arena of contesting ideologies between the political parties, as presented above, while it struggled to implement guidelines and

material related to European history and values, due to the country's application of becoming a member of the European Union (Koutselini-loannidou, 1997; Perikleous et al, 2021). These resulted in the necessity to form in 2004 an educational committee for reviewing the existing Greek-Cypriot education and an educational reform began in 2008.<sup>3</sup>

The Curriculum of 2010 was the product of a process beginning in 2008 when the government of the day initiated a comprehensive curriculum reform and assigned to five academics (three Greeks and two Greek-Cypriots) during heated public debate, the task to prepare a proposal for a new history curriculum, in collaboration with working groups of primary and secondary teachers. Four of these academics were historians and the other one was a Turkologist. These four academic historians (three from mainland Greece and one from Cyprus) have no significant expertise in education to secondary schools and, to my knowledge, have little direct experience in school history in Cyprus, let alone of curriculum design, and of practical pedagogy. Even though there is scarcity of information about the process followed by the academics, it is known that there was tension between the group of academics, who appeared to have traditional ideas compared to the groups of teachers, who subscribe to more progressive ideas about history learning. Perikleous (2015) argues that there was no productive synergy between academics and the teachers as they held

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<sup>3</sup> Perikleous et al. (2021) write "The report of the Educational Reform Committee (2004) called for changes in order to a) abandon the Hellenocentric (ethnocentric) ideological orientation of Greek-Cypriot education, b) promote interculturalism and multiculturalism, and c) acknowledge the existence of the Turkish-Cypriot community. It also argued that history education should become a means of promoting peaceful co-existence and rapprochement between the two communities in Cyprus" (p. 130).



conflicting understandings on what students should be taught in the classrooms. For example, academics, who had no background in history education and who were allegedly chosen based on their political aspirations (Perikleous, 2013), insisted on the accumulation of factual knowledge as the only right approach to learning about the past claiming also that students were not able to develop historical understandings, and these claims were not accepted by the teachers.

Besides this tension, the curriculum of 2010 presented some innovative ideas, albeit accepted by local educators as work in progress. It made timid references on the existence of Turkish-Cypriots and to, inter alia, the development of historical thinking, to the use of sources and to multiperspectivity, but these can be seen as references to certain concepts that lacked content rather than a genuine step towards a disciplinary approach to historical learning. A close look at the content of the curriculum reveals that these were rather minor and superficial changes as the core of the curriculum remained ethnocentric and maintained the dominance of the master narrative that presented the political and military events of the past from a Greek mainland point of view (ibid).

Work on the curriculum of 2010 resulted in the revised history curriculum of 2016 (the revision process was initiated in 2013 by the then government). The current history curriculum introduced in the republic of Cyprus in 2016 by MOEC states that the main aim of school history is “the cultivation of historical thinking and the development of historical consciousness” among

students (MOEC, 2016). It is also stressed that the subject of history, of any level, seeks to revive students' interest in "learning about the historical past and in sustaining historical memory", and this with a view to shape students into 'active and democratic citizens'. In many respects, this curriculum seems to be pioneering; it acknowledges both the accumulation of substantive knowledge and promotes the development of a disciplinary understanding to history. For the first time, the history curriculum shows awareness of current literature on history education and terms such as historical literacy and a constructivist approach are named (MOEC, 2016).

Also, the curriculum endorses a student-centred approach and accepts that students have their own ideas and are carriers of various narratives about the past. This is accepted in wider literature and is depicted in the works of Traille, (2007), Wineburg et al., (2007) and Barton and McCully (2010). In addition, the instructor seems to be relatively autonomous in selecting methods, strategies and means that best suit the topic of the lesson and accommodate the needs and skills of their mixed-ability cohort of students. In line with this, the instructor's role is oriented towards the organization of the learning process in the classroom and in situ learning, in creating a positive climate in the classroom, so that students would be able and confident to express their ideas. It is stressed that the duty of the educator is to help students, through historical learning, in forming stronger ideas and in abandoning 'problematic' ideas about the past upon understanding that these ideas "lead them to false ... assumptions about the past" (MOEC, 2017, on Methodology, p.4). What follows presents the

curriculum's three main features: its reliance on the indicators of achievement and content, and its dependence on political ideology and on the official historical narrative.

### *Key features of the 2016 History Curriculum*

This curriculum is based on two pillars: the indicators of achievement and content. The first indicator refers to attitudes, values, definitions, strategies, positions expected to be developed by the students per lesson (objectives) and the second indicator presents the educational material per lesson that needs to be covered by the teachers and the students. A thorough examination of the content of the curriculum, however, reveals a practical inconsistency between the substantive knowledge and the disciplinary understanding mentioned in the curriculum. Despite the new focus on disciplinary understanding, the spectrum of the content remains unchanged. It seems that long periods of history need to be hastily covered in one or two lessons and the narrative remains unchanged in promoting certain understandings and predefined approaches to selected events. Allocation of time might not enable in-depth or coherent study and themes in the curriculum do not seem to make way for a disciplinary type of learning in the classroom.

For example, the chapter on the troubled events of 1974 needs to be covered in three teaching periods of 45 minutes each and is focused on learning substantive knowledge. By the end of this chapter, it is expected

that students should be able to describe the conditions that led to the troubled events and the results of the invasion. Their historical understanding is limited to gathering information on two strands: 1. The coup d'état, military junta, Turkish invasion, the occupation, the misplaced, the enclaved and the missing Greek-Cypriots and the settlement of Turkish people in the occupied land and 2. The destruction of monuments of cultural heritage, by the Turkish army. There is a variety of suggested innovative classroom activities, which include the study of local and foreign press on the troubled events and of sources of survivors of these events followed by a class discussion, presentations on survivors, on the missing persons of 1974 and on the life conditions of the enclaved Greek-Cypriots but in practice these might be very difficult to be developed or completed given the small amount of time allocated to this topic overall (MOEC, 2017, p.85-89). Besides these, two main drawbacks of the current history curriculum can be identified: Its linkage to political ideologies and to safeguarding the dominance of the master narrative. These are contrasted with approaches in history curriculum found in existing literature.

Over the years, the Cypriot history curriculum largely appears to promote social rather than disciplinary aims as it seems to be continuously revolving around political ideas (Koutselini-loannidou, 1997; Papadakis, 2008). While I was reviewing existing literature, I noticed that this is not a new phenomenon in democratic societies worldwide. Some theorists view school history as the means to attain specific social goals and to support political agendas. For example, in this respect, White asserts that school

history in England should be committed to the promotion of personal and social aims which enable students to make life choices in accordance with their cultural background so that they will become “autonomous i.e., self-determining members of a liberal-democratic society” (1994, p.7).

Quite similarly, Barton and Levstik, upon evaluating current social needs in the USA, state that school history and its practices must contribute to a ‘participatory, pluralist and deliberative citizenship’ (2008, p.40). For Carretero, this purpose of school history is associated with the identity formation of the students (whether patriotic or democratic) and is produced in classrooms by presenting one official story of an ideal past (2017). Lee opposes this view of school history as the vehicle of serving political agendas, arguing that it reduces history’s ‘intrinsic’ elements e.g., historical objectivity (1992). However, Haydn (2004) accepts that the development of ‘politically literate citizens’ might be the aim of the subject of history if students are encouraged to link their conceptions about past political events to current political challenges, and this might contribute to democratic citizenship. Connections across time, he claims, will also result in making the subject of history more engaging and useful to students.

The current Cypriot history curriculum is not willing to abandon the master narrative of the history textbook. This insistence on using the history textbook as the learning tool is not a local phenomenon that cannot be explained. Again, I turned to worldwide literature and noticed that this

characteristic of the local curriculum falls into what Seixas (2000) called the Collective Memory/Best Story approach in his typology of history education approaches in his research on existing educational systems worldwide. This approach concentrates on a historical narrative, which transmits factual knowledge related to political and military events and has dominated history curricula since the early 20th century, serving as a tool in the nation-state building process (Burke, 1992). The narrative of the history textbook should be approached as a cultural tool in distributing memory through the active involvement of governments and social agencies, as they aim to create social solidarity and maintain the status quo (Wertsch, 2007).

Furthermore, the master narrative encapsulates the notion of political memory, which is not confined to temporal restrictions and, as Assman explains, it is linked to identity formation through the provision of a highly selective and 'homogenous' memory of a glorious past (2006). This approach to the historical past resembles what Lowenthal calls heritage: "a declaration of faith in the past", which transmits "myths of origin and continuity...omits, invents and forgets...thrives on ignorance and error" (1998, p.121-128). Heritage, then, is not about finding the truth of the past, but is about sharing 'a' truth and passing it on to the young. In this way, the transmitted knowledge and memory becomes 'a cherished possession' (Lowenthal, 2015, p.309) and the sacred narrative about the events of the past transmitted to the young is the means to support this sense of

belonging and identity. In this sense, political memory is what in my understanding can be called official memory and that is why I am interested in looking at the history textbook as the main instrument of transmitting official memory to children through educational institutions. The way history is framed in this concept of official memory, including its wider function and distribution will provide me with the theoretical basis for examining what Greek-Cypriot children are taught about the local past and how their family members approach what is mentioned in the textbook. It is now interesting to turn to explore the status of the subject of history in other settings around the world to better appreciate its standing in the Cypriot curriculum.

#### *The status of the history curriculum in Cyprus and elsewhere*

In Cyprus, as in other curricula around the world, the subject of history is an autonomous, core subject of compulsory schooling (MOEC, 2016). In Cyprus students, it is argued, tend to show as much interest in school history as in any other subject in the curricula as they consider it important for their individual development and professional orientation. In some curricula, as in the case of Portugal, the subject of history is not only sidelined by subjects such as maths and sciences, which are seen as having more relevance to the current economic demands, but its autonomy is at risk as policy makers turn to create a joint history-geography subject for secondary education (Barca, 2010). In other areas of the world, school history was officially excluded from the curriculum for a particular period, and this was a 'remedy' strategy following violent conflicts, as in the case of

Bosnia and Herzegovina, Lebanon, Rwanda and South Africa (Weldon, 2009; Bentreovato, 2017; Wertsch, 2021).

Learning about the recent violent past can be challenging in conflict-ridden or multi-cultural societies, which might choose 'silence' as their way to deal with the traumatized past and ensure that no more tensions would be sparked. Instead of 'silence', Japan chose to present history as a chronicle of facts to avoid raising the controversial issues pertaining the country's involvement in the Second World War (Suh & Yurita, 2010).

Yet, in other areas, researchers share the opinion that, when history education is included in the curriculum in (post)conflict settings, even though the nature and context of each conflict differs and therefore no one can claim that comparisons can be made, it has the potential to intensify or reduce any conflict. For example, Bush and Saltarelli admit that 'what is taught in history class and how it is taught is highly political and can foster animosity or peace' (2000, p.13). Using education as the means to implement a certain political agenda, i.e. ensure conflict resolution, was endorsed by many as an ethical act to do and this has been articulated through notions such as 'social cohesion/reconstruction' and 'deeper democracy' (Smith, 2005; Cole & Barsalou, 2005), 'peace-building and peace education' (Smith, 2010).

In addition to this, for Shemilt (2011) any approaches to school history, whether useful for supporting nation-building or peace-building policies, fit



the 'social-engineering' model of historical learning according to which students are taught about certain events of the past in order to shape their current identities and attitudes. He warns that this social-engineering approach to school history, in having pre-selected content and pre-determined goals and beliefs tends to harm the "truth... in the interest(s) of what is perceived to be the greater good" (p.93-94). The last part of this section of the Introduction delves deeper in the status of the subject of history in Cyprus today to enable the reader to better comprehend its position in the practicalities of the Curriculum and the educational system.

#### *On the Greek-Cypriot educational context*

Today, history is an autonomous, compulsory subject in the Greek-Cypriot curriculum. There are only two history books approved by the state for each of Years 1, 2 and 3 of lower secondary education (Gymnasium): a Cypriot textbook focused on local history and a Greek one which covers World history from the Greek mainland perspective. These books are used on a mandatory basis in all public schools and in those private schools that follow the Greek-Cypriot curriculum.

The practice of using the Greek textbooks has been long criticized for not referring to important local events whereas the current local textbook, distributed in schools since 1990, is seen as adopting a selective approach of past events (Papadakis, 2008; Klerides, 2009). They can also be challenged in terms of the daunting amount of information they carry as the Cypriot textbook and the Greek textbook combined are loaded with

learning material and they cover long historical periods. For example, the books for Year 1 students of the Gymnasium start at the Neolithic period and end to the Hellenistic period while for Year 2 students are stretched from the Roman Period to the Ottoman Rule; and this must be covered in 2 periods per week. Students of Year 3 (14 – 15 years of age) are taught history 3 periods per week and each period lasts 45 minutes (MOEC, 2015). The curriculum specifies that there are 75 periods in this school year dedicated to the subject of history, as shown in Table 1, out of which 10 periods are assigned to revision, tests and final exams for the year (MOEC, 2015). Three periods for educational visits and three periods for project-type assignments are included in the remaining 65 periods, which are for covering specific learning units, as mentioned in the same table.

It needs to be noted that what Table 1 shows is not the way in which the history curriculum is structured. The said table embodies my effort to show how the main historical themes can be divided per book used in Year 3 of Gymnasium; to provide an overview of what the students are going to be taught from the Cypriot textbook and in Greek textbook together with their allocated teaching periods, as found in the Curriculum mentioned above. In daily practice, the main book is the Greek one and the Cypriot book is used on a rather supplementary basis for infusing the content of the main historical themes with information from the local context. The dominance of the Greek book can also be understood when noticing the allocated time in teaching periods for each book. By the chronological order of the events mentioned in Table 1, the chapter referring to the recent troubled past,

titled above as *The coup d'état and the Turkish invasion of 1974 in Cyprus* is one of the last chapters in the school year.

Nikos, one of the teachers in my study claims that like himself many of his colleagues avoid teaching it due to lack of time or because they prefer to present this chapter in one teaching period, rather than three as proposed, to save time for preparing their students for the end of year exams. He said

The thing is, I will do this (chapter) if I want to. Let's say now that I am in a hurry, I did the coup d'état and invasion in one teaching period in the other class so I will save time for the revisions. Because you are here, in this class I will do this, with sources in two periods.

	Titles of Learning Unit	Allocated Teaching periods
Local History	The Greek Revolution (1821) and Cyprus	1
	Cyprus during the first period of the English Rule (1878-1925)	1
	Cyprus in the interwar period: financial, political, and social conditions and the October events (1919-1931)	2
	Cyprus involvement in the second World War	2
	The anti-colonialist warfare of EOKA (1955-1959) and the declaration of the independence of the Republic of Cyprus (1960)	3
	The inter-communal troubles and the crisis of the Cypriot Issue (1963 - 1974)	1
	The coup d'état and the Turkish invasion of 1974 in Cyprus	3
	The main milestones in Cypriot history from 1974 to 2004: Efforts to reach a peaceful settlement to the Cypriot Issue (1974 -2004), the declaration of the pseudo-state (1983) and Cyprus accession to the E.U (European Union) (2004).	1
	Introduction to the subject of History. Introduction to Modern-Contemporary History	1

World History (From the Greek Perspective)	The Medieval Period in West Europe	4
	The Development of the Modern World: The Enlightenment period (17-18 <sup>th</sup> century), the American Revolution (1776), the French Revolution (1789), the Napoleonic times and the Vienna Conference (1799 - 1815)	6
	The Greek Revolution of 1821 in the context of the rise of Nationalism and Liberalism in Europe	8
	The independent Greek State from 1833 until the early 20 <sup>th</sup> century: the reign of Othon and the transition to constitutional monarchy, the reign of George A' and the transition to crowned democracy, the premiership of Charilaos Trikoupis and the bankruptcy of 1893, national competitions in the Balkan area, the heading to Greek Turkish conflict, the mature of the Industrial Revolution, the origins and development of colonial competitions	12
	Europe and Greece in the first decades of the 20 <sup>th</sup> century: from the Balkan Wars, the First World War (1914-1918), The Russian Revolution of 1917, the War in Asia Minor (1919-1922) & the Turkish national movement	10
	The Interwar Period (1919 - 1939)	2
	The Second World War (1939 - 1945)	4
	The After-War Era: The Division of Europe and the Cold War	3
The period after Cold war (1989 - 2004) and the route to the European Unification (1951 - 2004)	1	

Table 1. Themes and teaching periods of the history curriculum for year 3 lower secondary students.

By looking through the existing policy and history curriculum in Cyprus, I have attempted to show the status of the history subject while explaining how school history is organised by the government and approached by the Ministry of Education and Culture in relation to existing literature. Despite traits of the disciplinary approach being detected in the aims of the curriculum, the scope, content and main features of the curriculum suggest that it remains traditional and ideological, focused on a set historical narrative as the means to distribute what the state expects students to know about the past.

My intention in this chapter has been to explore the views and beliefs of learning about the troubled past existing within the Greek-Cypriot society. By saying Greek-Cypriot society I refer to political parties, to the government and to a bilingual non-government organization, prior to moving to the survivors of the events of 1974 and the younger generation. I do understand that these constituents of the Greek-Cypriot society may well have their own, competing interests, interpretations, and investments in the same history but it is important to me to shape a strong understanding of the web of dynamics of the local society in which my research is situated. The final part of this introduction outlines my personal standpoint on learning about the traumatic events of the recent past.

#### 1.4. Personal background

Until recently, I believed my interest in how family memory relates to officially promoted history was triggered when I realized that most of my students in tertiary education, where I was then a history teacher, had little interest in learning about our troubled past, despite being public-school graduates. This was an odd phenomenon to me as I was always interested in learning about the past.

I have no personal memories of 1974, but I was raised in a family that suffered during the troubled events. Both of my parents and their families became refugees during the Turkish invasion in 1974. From a young age I

can remember my grandmothers and parents telling me stories about their beloved villages (my father comes from Assia in the area of Ammohostos and my mother from Lapithos in the area of Keryneia) and about the difficulties they had to overcome as refugees in their own country; my mother was still attending school and had to work to survive, my father was looking after his mother and four sisters and their children (because his three brothers-in-law were then arrested by the Turkish Army and were prisoners in Ankara), they lived in tents until finding a place to stay or given a house in the Government Refugee Settlement. I met my grandfathers only through their photo portraits; my maternal grandfather died of heart attack in the 1960s and my paternal grandfather was registered as a missing person since 1974. As a child, I grew up knowing that my paternal grandfather was one of the 1619 missing Greek-Cypriots; my family never stopped talking about or waiting for him. At school, I used to know more about 1974 than my classmates, some of whom were not aware of the troubled events of 1974 and that some Greek-Cypriots were missing since then. At home, we had frequent and long discussions about the events of 1974 and especially about the results of these events but for the reasons that led to these events my parents encouraged me to visit the public library and study, to shape my own understanding about these. As a teenager, I learned a lot about the events of 1974 just by reading relevant articles in local and foreign newspapers of the time. As a university student, I learned more about the political context of the Cyprus Issue from a worldwide perspective.

In 2004, when the checkpoints (Images 4 & 5) along the Green Line opened allowing people to move with less restrictions in the two parts of the island, my parents took me and my brothers to their villages. Although I never lived in those areas, I knew how to move around, and I was able to identify main places. For years I had listened to stories, I had looked at pictures of their villages and when I visited for the first time, I felt that I was in familiar places, which were trapped in time. Since those days, I have never stopped going to the occupied side of my island. The side of my island occupied by the Turkish army is land of my island. Every time I show my identity card to the Turkish-Cypriot officer at the checkpoints, I feel that I am claiming my island, my island as one. And every time I take the road back to the area controlled by the Republic of Cyprus my heart aches. It is such a paradox that this tiny place on the globe, united beautifully by nature is brutally still divided by man-made tools.



Image 4. View of the drive-through checkpoint.



Image 5. View of the drive-through checkpoint.

In 2015, my family was informed that the remains of my grandfather had been found in a mass grave in the area of *Ornithi*, a few kilometres away from his village (Image 6). We decided to proceed to DNA analysis on the bones before arranging a burial ceremony, according to our religious customs. The DNA results showed that the received bones belonged to four missing persons, one of whom was my grandfather. This mistake started an intense and long ordeal represented in the media in which the government and the representatives of the Committee of Missing Persons (CMP) showed no respect to our suffering, refused to acknowledge their mistake or to provide us with any details on the research process they followed even when they could not identify at which stage of their research



process errors had occurred.<sup>4</sup> In the end, my family received a ‘cold’ apology with no further answers.<sup>5</sup> No one until today has been able to provide me with any evidence or with a valid answer as to how many bones of my grandfather were buried in other missing persons’ tombs, as CMP officials have accepted that their ‘mistake’ has occurred repeatedly, or whether bones of my grandfather are in the boxes of their Laboratory, mixed-up with bones of others from the same mass graves as they are unwilling to proceed to DNA analysis or give further information. During and after this adventure, many relatives of missing persons approached me and entrusted me to help them before deciding on receiving the remains of their missing relatives. During these interactions, I realised that these people had so many stories to tell and were very upset as many of these stories remain unknown to the public. Since then, I have been an active member of the Committee of the Relatives of the Missing persons of the area of Assia (<http://www.assia.org.cy/>), my father’s village, which seeks to promote the human rights of the missing persons and their relatives.

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<sup>4</sup> Some media coverage can be found here from:

Cyprus News Agency (2015): <https://www.kathimerini.com.cy/gr/kypros/199642/?ctype=ar>

Dias Media (2015): <https://simerini.sigmalive.com/article/2015/6/27/thuma-etan-kai-xanagine/>

Phileleftheros Newspaper (2015):<https://archive.philenews.com/el-gr/koinonia-eidiseis/160/244278/i-dea-esteile-epistoli-me-paralipti-agnoumeno>

and ANT1 News (2015): <https://www.ant1.com.cy/news/cyprus/article/199555/edosan-lathos-osta-se-suggeneis-gia-agnoumeno-apo-tin-assia/?expandedarticle=true>

<sup>5</sup> The CMP Press Release can be found here : <https://www.cmp-cyprus.org/press-release/cmp-press-release-on-the-case-of-mr-georgios-foris/?fbclid=IwAR02xsVbtHSoUROkoEH-vGOTZ3By6Y7OFfZKwOW2jIMptZ5oaCyj4xcQnA0>

Every late August I participate in the pilgrimage the community of my village Assia organises to the area of Ornithi, to pay respect to the 70 civilians who were killed in cold blood by the Turkish army and were thrown in two wells and later covered in the ground, some of them wounded yet alive (Images 7 & 8). The place is now a garbage area, an area where bodies of dead animals and unused items are left, where bullet holes can be found in the near relics (Image 9). Every time I go there, as I gaze at the plain of Mesaoria I do not see the rows of golden cob (wheat) through which my grandmother used to run free as a child as she described, but I see the plain covered in a veil of blood. I feel a deep grief for all my compatriots, Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots, who never made it back to their homes and to their loved ones. I have the same feeling every time I read in the newspaper about the burial of a person who was missing. Because the pain of losing someone is the same, no matter the community they belong to. I am also ashamed on behalf of my generation and the previous one for not respecting the human rights of these dead people who were victimised and for not bringing justice.

I shared none of the above with any interviewee participating in my study because I wanted each one of them to say their stories without being influenced at any degree by my personal beliefs and values. For this, I gave full liberty to each participant to tell their story, to share their thoughts and beliefs about the events of 1974. I accept their stories as their truth because I respect their desire to be heard; from talking about their suffering to politically criticizing the handling of the Cyprus Issue by the Greek-

Cypriot governments. Focusing on understanding the needs of the participants of my study helped me to turn the spotlight on their stories; my focal point is on respecting their words, silences and desires and this point released me from and infused my personal perspective on these events.



Image 6. The 70 civilians who were killed and buried in Ornithi.



Image 7. From the annual pilgrimage at Ornithi.



Image 8. From the annual pilgrimage at Ornithi.



Image 9. Ornithi area is a dumpsite today.

## Chapter 2: Literature Review

### 2.1 Introduction

This literature review serves two purposes: to provide a coherent understanding on what is already known in the area of my interest i.e., history education in the conflict setting of Cyprus and to develop the theoretical framework I utilized to approach my research questions and my research data. This format of my literature review enables me to critically consider previous pedagogical scholarship and empirical research in the fields of history education, memory, and recent Cypriot history to answer the question: How might it be most constructive to theorise and approach the ways individual and family memory relate to what students are expected to learn about the recent Cypriot history in lower secondary schools? It begins by providing an overview on how existing local literature approaches school history and a reflection on the ways this research might contribute in enriching our knowledge about historical learning in Cyprus and in other conflict settings. This is followed by a discussion of what is already known regarding parental expectations about school history in Cyprus. Then, it proceeds with the perceptions and stances of students and teachers in Cyprus and in Northern Ireland about school history, while considering the salience of these arguments. These two settings present some striking similarities as both countries were colonized by the United Kingdom and both have been affected by a long-standing conflict between

the dominant and the minority group of their local population, underpinned by a dynamic set of religious, historical, political, and economic issues. I turn to research produced about Northern Ireland to enlighten my understanding about the attitudes of students and teachers towards school history as there is scarcity in literature produced in Cyprus about this field of studies. From there, the Review shifts to delve into the conceptual tools of memory and narrative, central to the empirical research I conducted. In doing so, this review also draws on existing literature on memory (e.g., Assmann, 2006; Olick, 2016), on narrative as a story and as a technique for data collection and analysis (for example Labov, 1973; Riessman, 2005; Wertsch, 2007; Grever & van der Vlies, 2017) and on intergenerational narratives/memories (e.g., Amadini, 2015; Merrill & Fivush, 2016).

## 2.2. Area and Contributions of my study

While reviewing existing literature, in the Cypriot context and in the field of history education, where my study is situated, three main research foci can be identified: (a) the history textbook approached as a political document (Koutselini-Ioannidou, 1997; Klerides, 2010; Christodoulou, 2018), (b) the relationship between the history textbook and students' notion of identity (Philippou, 2005; Spyrou, 2006; Christou, 2007; Perikleous, 2013) and (c) how personal values and political beliefs influence teachers' practice about past events (Makriyianni & Psaltis, 2007; Zembylas & Kambani, 2012; Kafa & Pashardis, 2019). The framing of these research trends in local production is not distinctive; their content is overlapping and evolving and



more often than not a published article might touch on more than one area under study. However, the Cyprus Issue dominates in this research, which is extensive for the small size of the island. Taking into consideration how the long-standing Cyprus Issue has undoubtedly impacted in the social and geographical world in which these local researchers work, it is no surprise that this lies as the cornerstone or shadow of each publication relevant to history education.

Koutselini-Ioannidou (1997) was among the first to explore how the Cyprus Issue has influenced and directed the educational context. While reviewing policies implemented between 1935 to 1990, she argued that the political situation in Cyprus preserved the 'cultivation of 'national' or 'ethnic' identity and the preservation of the Greek character of the island' (p.396) until the 1960s and then, after the 1974 events, shifted to supporting "the recovery of the Cyprus state" (p.404) while preventing any effort for making any changes on the philosophy, culture and structure of the curriculum towards the modernization of the educational system. In this context, the history textbook was seen by many researchers (for example, Papadakis, 2008; Klerides, 2010) as the medium of political dominance, which interpreted the historical world in a certain way in order to retain social peace and the status quo. As a result of this politicization of the educational system, the textbook about the local history has remained largely unchanged since the 1990s because as Papadakis (2008) acknowledges "the Self (and enemy) were the same throughout history, any injury to the National Self in the past is an injury to the current Self too" (p. 143). Over the years, this politization

of education kept the history textbook 'secured' as any effort to introduce changes have been taken as "a betrayal and threat to the nationalist struggle" as Christodoulou (2018, p.375) notes in her study for exploring resistance to textbook amendments. She also reaches the interesting conclusion that the determination of the Greek-Cypriot authorities not to effect any changes to the history textbook until a political solution of the Cyprus Issue is found, is actually "a significant impediment to 'solving' the Cyprus Problem in the first place" (2018, p.392).

In the past decades, as the history textbook produced and reproduced the official narrative of the events of the past, it was also key for supporting the formation of a common sense of identity among the students. After 1974, and as Christou highlights, the curriculum aimed to "instill in children what has been defined as the primary political goal of the nation: the liberation of the so-called Turkish occupied territories and their return to their rightful Greek-Cypriot owners. Children, therefore, were largely confined within a narrative of being the saviours of their 'lost' homelands, of being the ones that should 'Never forget and struggle', a common motto used by Greek Cypriot educational authorities" (2021, p.693). Since the 2000s the focus of numerous studies in Cyprus has been on examining how the textbook's content affects the notion of identity and the cultivation of patriotic sentiments among students (Spyrou, 2002; Philippou, 2005) and how it relates to the shaping of students' attitudes towards history learning (Christou; 2007). It is argued that the tendency to explore the notion of



identity was influenced by two main events: the easing of restrictions of movement between the north and the south part of the island in 2003 enabling the social interactions between Greek- and Turkish-Cypriots after 30 years of confinement, and the country's accession to the European Union as a member state in 2004. Many researchers (such as Makriyianni & Psaltis, 2007; Philippou & Klerides, 2010; Perikleous, 2013; Klerides, 2016) identified competing notions of identity in the textbook in relation to the practices followed in the history classroom; the Hellenocentric identity which envisaged Cyprus as part of the Greek world and the Cyriocentric, which accepted Cyprus as an independent country made up of various communities (i.e., Greek, Turkish, Armenian, Maronite and Latin Cypriots). In combination with this, others touched on the process of 'using' memory and stereotyping in the Greek-Cypriot community in which Turks were seen as barbarians and a threat to the existence of the Greek-Cypriot state (Spyrou, 2002; Papadakis, 2004; Psaltis, Carretero & Cehajic-Clancy, 2017; Žeželj, Ioannou, Franc, Psaltis & Martinovic, 2017). These notions of identity found in existing literature mirror competing political notions of identity and understandings about the subject of history as seen in the introductory part of this thesis.

The role of teachers in making the student more interested in learning about the past (Makriyianni & Psaltis, 2007) or how teachers' identities, values, and beliefs about past events (Zembylas & Kambani, 2012, Kafa & Pashardis, 2019, Zembylas & Loukaidis, 2021) can impact on their practice has lately gained added attention among local researchers. Although this

strand of local research has produced fewer works than the previous two noted above, mostly because it was the last one to be pursued, Greek-Cypriot empirical studies up to these days reveal that teachers' practice tend to be influenced by their personal experiences and ideological preferences (Klerides, 2009; Zembylas, Charalambous & Charalambous, 2011) as well as by the limitations of their professional training (Psaltis, Lytras, Costache & Fischer, 2011).

For the benefit of the reader, in this part I aim to map out what research has so far been conducted in Cyprus relevant to the issue I am exploring. As mentioned above, all these studies revolve around the Cyprus Issue. Another similarity these studies related to history education in Cyprus shared, is that they were conducted in classrooms or were about the textbook used in the history classroom or even the teachers' practice in the history classroom. Despite some indirect references (Spyrou, 2006; Symeou, 2007), local literature gave no attention to the role of the Greek-Cypriot family in children's historical learning.

My research aims to bridge this gap I identified in local research as it takes place both in and out of the classrooms attempting to depict how students and their family members and teachers approach and mediate learning about recent troubled events. Most importantly my study largely focuses on the concept of family and seeks to illuminate the ways in which close family members approach learning about events they had experienced. It aims to demonstrate the usefulness of exploring how they negotiate their role in

their children's history learning about sensitive events of the recent past, while making a triangulation of data received primarily by family members supplemented by the accounts of their children and their history teachers. Taking into consideration international research which asserts that the social environment of children can influence their historical understanding (Bush & Saltarelli, 2000; McCully, 2012), I believe that examining the close family's role in their children's history education in Cyprus is important and my study can contribute to existing literature as it may further enhance our knowledge, in many levels, about intergenerational memory, sensitive issues in history and history learning in other conflict and post-conflict settings. On a personal level, this study helped me expose a concealed aspect of the thorny Cyprus Issue. Traces of the long-standing Cyprus Issue and the conflict are embedded in all generations in the modern society in which I was brought up. From a social standpoint, my study can be a significant effort in unveiling these aspects and can be beneficial to the wider society, which is currently in a climate of pessimism about finding a political solution to the Cyprus Issue and achieving the re-unification of the island. It might also serve as a reference for policy makers on how to develop educational programs to encourage the active involvement of families in their children's education.

This part has served in presenting existing literature about the field of history education, which relies on the history textbook or on the teachers' practice in Cyprus, where my study is situated. As mentioned above, local research has not yet examined the role family can play in their children's

learning about the past and my research seeks to be the first in mapping out in a holistic way this unchartered field. A proposal of a variety of ways on how my study can improve our understanding on learning about the sensitive past in conflict settings has concluded this part. What follows is focused on exploring the expectations parents may have today about the subject of history in Cyprus.

### 2.3. What is already known regarding parental expectations about school history in Cyprus?

Even though there is no information in academic empirical research about the people affected by the troubled events of 1974 and how they view learning about the troubled past, two works have recently shed some light on how survivors of 1974 approach learning about the past. Their approach seems to focus on the survivors' personal aims; they want their stories to be heard. For survivors, school history should not be limited to the context of one master narrative but should be infused with every-day life stories of those who were affected by the troubled events of 1974 so that students will understand that history 'is produced by people who experience it' (Christodoulou, 2014). In the first ever oral history project conducted in Cyprus (2010-2012), fifty Cypriot interviewees of various ethnic and professional backgrounds gave one-to-one interviews and provided their own direct and indirect experiences of the troubled events of the period 1960 - 1974 with the incentive to "enable students to understand history in a broader context and as a contradictory field of possibilities" (ibid, p.41).

As the researcher provides details on each participant's socio-political and

educational background, there is good evidence for identifying a deeply political notion of memory and for realizing that what most of the respondents chose to remember and talk about was influenced by their political involvement during these events and their political affiliations.

In another research study in 2016 headed by the same researcher, fourteen survivors, between 46 to 66 years old participated in a series of focus group interviews. During these meetings participants discussed about various themes relevant to various aspects of life (for example, education, culture, and cuisine) sharing their memories of their village, which since 1974 is occupied by the Turkish army. Among other topics, they elaborated on what youngsters should learn about the results of the events of 1974 (Christodoulou, Pavlou, Karatasou, Polydorou & Foris, 2016). For them, the consequences of the events of 1974 were not found in the textbook but should include the challenges they faced as refugees in their own country as well. For example, how they were treated by the state, how their sense of belonging shifted to accommodate customs of their 'new' place and the mechanisms they developed to keep the memory of 'home away from home.' Although traces of political memory can be found here as well, what dominates is a different type of memory; a notion of memory which cherishes the happy times of the past and which focuses on the common suffering as this is continuously lived in the present.

The first exploratory account on parents' attitudes towards learning about the recent past was conducted by me in 2015, as part of a master's degree.

This study focused solely on how ten Greek-Cypriot parents approached learning about events they had experienced and how they negotiated their role in their children's history learning in Cyprus. It was focused on these parents' lives before and after the events of 1974. Despite its temporal and spatial constraints, this study yielded some interesting findings (Foris, 2015). Parents tended to approach history not as a discipline of knowledge but as an opportunity to advance their personal aims and social interests. In other words, their personal memories defined what they expected school history to include and what students should know about the events of 1974. Their ideas about school history were rooted in their first-hand or vicarious experiences about the local troubled past and this attitude of parents towards school history was sparked by what they view as a selective approach of the government towards the past. It also seemed to be influenced by their self-understanding as victims of the state's policy following the troubled events. In addition, the findings suggest that parents, upon identifying inconsistencies between the official narrative and their personal memory adopted many strategies to develop a partnership with the teacher so that they could monitor him/her and started educating their child about the past through various activities. This pilot study suffered from certain drawbacks related to the small sample of participants and as data collection was limited to a sole method (i.e., interviews). Nonetheless, it shed light on the importance of further exploring how intergenerational stories and memories might relate to the development of historical thinking of young Greek-Cypriots.

As mentioned above, in existing research there are only three works in the field of history education that provide some information on how Greek-Cypriots who were affected by the events of 1974 view learning about the troubled past. The first two were conducted by the same researcher (Christodoulou) and the third by me. Only the last study touched on the area of school history, the other two were mostly focused on the memories survivors of the events of 1974 have. I believe that examining in-depth the close family's role in their children's history education in Cyprus about the recent past is important as it may further enhance our knowledge about controversial issues in history learning in conflict settings and this is what my research aims to do. Survivors of the troubled events of 1974 have a common sense of understanding and remembering events that distinguishes them from subsequent generations. I intend to explore in what ways family members, such as parents and grandparents, attempt to transmit their understandings of recent, traumatic events in Cyprus and, in doing so, how they differentiate themselves from their (grand) children. To this end, I sought to identify, among others, if and how the transmission of memories and stories of lived experiences are understood as beneficial to the teller and the listener. What makes this research more interesting is that it is the first to approach history learning in a more rounded way. Although it is focused on the survivors of 1974 events, it also gives space to the younger generation and to their teachers to share their ideas about learning about this troubled past. To help the reader understand what already exists in literature about survivors of the 1974 events and their views towards learning about the past, this section summarised the only

three relevant available studies in local research. This study seeks to bridge this gap identified in literature between family and school history when learning about the troubled events of 1974 in Cyprus. Besides focusing on how Greek-Cypriot survivors of the events of 1974 approach what their children are expected to know about this recent past, in this research I am also interested in how students approach learning about the past, how they negotiate different stories about the past and what the role of their history teacher is in this process. Based on empirical research from the settings of Cyprus and especially of Northern Ireland, where the most salient research related to my research objectives is found, the next section of my literature review provides insights on students' and teachers' perspectives on the purpose of the subject of history in the curriculum in conflict settings.

#### 2.4 History education in conflict contexts – comparisons between Cyprus and N. Ireland.

There is a vast production of studies about school history in conflict and post-conflict contexts worldwide, but in the context of my study I focused my literature review on works about the settings of Cyprus and Northern Ireland. There are good reasons to think that these two places have more similarities than the ones noted below as both were under harsh British imperial rule (Edwards & Hadjiathanasiou, 2021), therefore for the purpose of my study I confine my focus to these: my research takes place in the Cypriot setting and is about the local conflict unleashed since the colonial



period of Cyprus which resembles the long history of Troubles in Northern Ireland. In these two areas conflict cannot be defined solely as ethnic. As I said above and drawing on the works of Smeekes, McKeown & Psaltis (2017) and Zink (2008), in these two settings inter-group conflict was paved and maintained by a combination of religious, historical, political, and economic related issues and was fuelled by the intrusion of the 'external ethno-guarantors' (Byrne, 2000). i.e., the United Kingdom in the case of Northern Ireland and United Kingdom, Greece and Turkey in the case of Cyprus. In the next two sections, I draw links between the attitudes of students and teachers towards school history in these two areas; I turn to research conducted in and about Northern Ireland to help me create a more thorough understanding about students and teachers' perceptions as there is a shortage in literature produced in Cyprus about this research locus.

#### 2.4.1. What students in Cyprus and Northern Ireland think about school history?

Empirical research in Cyprus has so far captured students' stances (Christou, 2006), upon identifying inconsistencies between what they were taught at school about the troubled events and what they learned at home and from their peers, expressed their anger and distrust towards their teachers. Moreover, in an ethnographic study, conducted by the same researcher, students did not hesitate to express their frustration about the selective approach to the past followed in the history textbook and this resulted in their showing low interest in the subject of local history

(Christou, 2007). This negative positionality might explain why students in Cyprus still, as Georgiou (2020) supports in her thesis, do not seem to have a strong historical understanding but rather complicated ideas about history, ideas built on misconceptions or through their interactions outside school. In contrast to these Cypriot studies, research reveals that most students in the post-conflict setting of Northern Ireland have a different attitude to school history, which they approach as possessing the ability to navigate them through sensitive issues of their recent national history (Kitson & McCully 2005, Conway 2004). Students feel that school history provides them with the most objective account of the past compared to any other partisan, historical account they might encounter in their everyday life (Kitson & McCully 2005, Conway 2004, Barton & McCully 2010). In their research in Northern Ireland, Barton and McCully (2007) concluded that, in school history, students seek to find alternatives to what they learn outside the classroom and the researchers strongly suggest the use of multiperspectivity while examining sensitive events will help students to form a more sound understanding of the recent past. Learning about controversial and sensitive topics of the past also includes what Chapman calls “the recovery of embarrassing or painful memories” in the classroom (2007, p.321) and researchers strongly suggest that students in conflict-ridden societies need to confront and process their upsetting, painful past so that they can understand their present (Chapman, 2007; Barton & McCully, 2010; McCully, 2012; Brett & Guyver, 2021).

Controversial issues can provide a fertile ground for interactive learning in the school (Hess & Posselt, 2002) or during educational visits to areas of historical significance (McCully, Weighofer & Bates 2021; Purdue, 2021) and students in Northern Ireland approached emotive events of the past adopting a critical stance and utilizing evidence and empathy (Barton & McCully, 2010). However, students' reactions when studying about controversial present events, raised some concerns among researchers. Research shows that students, when studying about recent or current events related to their ethnic or social community, tend to adopt an emotional stance (Goldberg, 2013). Barton and McCully also observe this attitude of students and acknowledge that students' identities cannot change just 'by asking them to ignore who they are' (2010, p.176). What is more interesting though is that students are more inclined to utilise certain historical knowledge and dispositions developed in the classroom to sustain their pre-existing personal opinions about the past, rather than challenging these opinions (Barton & McCully, 2010). This is seen as an effort of students to make meaning from and to conciliate the historical accounts they meet inside and outside of school. I will now turn to explore existing literature to understand how Greek-Cypriot and Irish teachers approach school history.

#### 2.4.2. How teachers in Cyprus and Northern Ireland approach school history?

Exploring the historical understanding of Greek-Cypriot students and how they negotiate what they learn about the past at home and at school by

focusing only on family members and students would have been an incomplete lens for my research. I realised that it was also worth exploring in the context of Research Question 2, which asks what and how are students taught at school about the recent past, what role Greek-Cypriot teachers can acquire in the classroom and what kind of interactions they might develop with the student's family. At this point, it is interesting to see the role of the history teacher, as depicted in empirical research. Researchers tend to believe that history teachers support students in creating sound historical frameworks by connecting past to present and guide them while developing critical stances towards their bitter past (e.g. Bush & Saltarelli 2000; Horner, Kadiwal, Sayed, Barrett, Durrani & Novelli, 2015; McCully, Waldron & Mallon, 2020). For example, history teachers, as Barton and McCully (2010) noted, were expected to help students understand that all opinions and meanings are subject to (re)interpretation.

In contrast with these aspirations, research findings reveal that history teachers perceived their role in helping the students to learn about the recent events as limited by the pressure the community or family can exert on students and their teachers (Conway, 2004, Barton & McCully, 2010) and that history teachers have differing perspectives on what aims school history should serve. For example, history teachers who approach school history as the discipline to help students acquire knowledge about the past, did not discuss emotive or controversial issues in their classroom whereas history teachers who accepted that school history can bring social change tended to be 'risk-takers' and encourage their students in expressing their

personal judgement while linking the past to their present (Kitson & McCully, 2005). In addition, Kitson and McCully (2005) identify, among other findings, that the personal and cultural background of the teachers and their level of professional training might affect their attitude, strategies and practices applied in the classroom, and this was supported in Conway's research as well (2014). Similarly, Greek-Cypriot empirical studies reveal that teachers' practices tend to be influenced by their personal experiences and ideological preferences (Klerides, 2009; Zembylas, Charalambous & Charalambous, 2011; Zembylas, 2019) as well as by the limitations of their professional training (Psaltis, Lytras, Costache & Fischer, 2011) especially when they aim to approach the past in a holistic way but get tangled in the politics of memory and trauma (Zembylas & Karahasan, 2017).

So far this literature review has provided an account on how existing research approaches history education in Cyprus. It was emphasised that the Cyprus Issue has impacted on the works of all researchers, who tend to criticize how the ongoing national problem has politically influenced the educational system. As seen above, in the local production, work on the history textbook dominates. Greek-Cypriot researchers tend to appreciate it as a political document and examined how the textbook's content, especially the official narrative, impacts in the formation of a patriotic identity among students and in generating stereotypes within the Greek-Cypriot society as Turks, or anyone who questions the official story about the past, were considered as dangerous for the existence of the Cypriot

Republic. Research has timidly expanded in studying how the personal identities and beliefs of teachers might affect their practice when approaching the recent past. The role family can play in children learning about the past and how family appreciates school history in the conflict setting of Cyprus remains untouched in the local literature, although the three studies presented above offer some information on what parents expect history learning to be.

The originality of this study is that it brings together family, memory and school history and examines their role in the field of history education in the conflict setting of Cyprus. As noted above, the core of this study is set on family; how close family members, who are survivors of the events of 1974, make sense of the past and approach what their children are expected to learn in school about the recent troubled past. As this study also extends to understand how students and teachers approach learning about the recent past, this literature review has offered insights into how students and teachers in Cyprus and in Northern Ireland tend to approach school history. Close family members, their children and their teachers participate in this research together for the first time to provide their perspectives on learning about the recent troubled past. Understanding these perspectives may further enhance our knowledge about controversial and emotional issues in history learning in conflict areas.

As my research lies in the intersection between family, memory, and school history, I now turn to present the theoretical framework I developed in this

thesis to help me explain my perspective while exploring the relationship between family memory and what students are expected to learn at school about the events of 1974 in Cyprus.

## 2.5. The theoretical framework of my research.

This theoretical framework introduces and explains the theories which underpin my study as I explored the relationship of family memory and what students learn at school about the recent troubled history of Cyprus. Not only did this theoretical framework help me in being more organised on how to unfold my thoughts in a cohesive way while attributing certain meanings to the conceptual tools I utilised, but it also enabled me to link my study to existing literature and to detect specific drawbacks in my study. My theoretical framework relies in two conceptual tools; memory and narrative, and in the following part of this chapter, I show the relationship between these two main concepts, as I understand it, and the meaning they possess as they permeate my research study.

### 2.5.1. Memory, rooted in the past alive in the present.

As said above, I am interested in exploring whether family members (parents and grandparents) are involved in the transmission of 'knowledge' and 'memory' of local history and, if so, how and why they are involved. In my research I am not examining historical reality, what actually happened

in 1974 in Cyprus (*historia res gestae* as found in Paul, 2015, p.4) but I am exploring the stories the participants of my research tend to narrate to represent these historical events (*historia rerum gestarum*, as found in Paul, 2015, p.4). In doing so, I am focused on understanding a two-way process: how the past exerts influence on these people; how their memories, ideas and feelings are shaped by the past and how these people set out to remember the past, construct self-narratives and mediate these to the next generation. In my understanding, this is a past that is still alive. It is a past that in the typology of four different types of ‘pasts’ offered by Paul (2015) can be categorised as a ‘*present*’ past. It is not a past that is strictly factual like the ‘*chronological*’ past, people are not done and over with it as the ‘*completed*’ type of past or distanced as the ‘*strange*’ past.<sup>6</sup> It is a ‘present’ type of past because, albeit the troubled events in Cyprus have chronologically occurred in the past, the material presence of the past exists in the everyday life, perceptions and traditions of people. By saying that people keep a material relationship with their past I refer to their memories, ‘ideas, customs and behaviours from the past’ that may form an individual’s unconscious connection with the past (Paul, 2015, p.26). In this sense, memories and traditions are treasured and are a hereditary right of this past that must remain present as ‘our legacy from the past, what we live with today, and what we pass on to future generations’ (Paul, *ibid.*). As my research takes place in a present past, where survivors of the events of

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<sup>6</sup> In this typology, pasts are ‘labelled successively as the *chronological*, *completed*, *strange* and *present past*. Unlike ‘historical reality’, which existed independently of what current-day people think or feel about it, these four ‘pasts’ exist only in so far as they are shaped and refracted in the historian’s imagination’ (Paul, 2015, p.19).



1974 are still alive and where consequences of these events are easily found, I now turn to unfold how I approach memory of lived experiences as a conceptual tool in my research.

#### 2.5.1.2. Memory in research.

Memory as a concept has gained a lot of attention in the recent decades (Olick, Vinitzki-Seroussi & Levi, 2011). The current, large production of memory studies, marked in social sciences, literature, and culture, can be seen as deriving largely from the destruction of the previously dominant theoretical frameworks, such as nationalism and Marxism, and due to a vivid interest in exploring personal life, including the negotiation of memories of traumatic events such as those which occurred during and after the two world wars, as many researchers claim. (Riessman, 2005; Assmann, 2006, Olick, 2011; Squire, Andrews & Tamboukou, 2011; Tublety, 2013; Radstone & Hodgkin, 2017; Maerker, Sleight & Sutcliffe, 2018; Rummel, 2021).

For the purposes of this research, I understand memory as the personal process of recollecting and revisiting the lived and vicarious experiences of the past and as such is selective to facts and stances about the past (Lowenthal, 2015). Researchers such as Nora (1989) and Lowenthal (2015) argue that memory is generated, transferred, and bound by and to a certain group of people, with the intention of using and adapting their

recollection of the past to meet current needs. What I notice while reviewing existing literature is that research on memory tends to follow two distinct strands. In the first strand, memory gets defined by its contrast to history (*historia res gestae*). History, as a domain of science with a sound basis of established knowledge, accredited logic, and process of intellectual production, stands opposed to memory and, for Nora, “history is ... suspicious of memory... and wants to destroy it” (1989, p.9). In the second strand, memory is approached through a variety of concepts (e.g. personal, collective, official, and dangerous). In this research, I intend to investigate individual’s stories encompassing their experiences, views, and feelings about the troubled past in order to better understand some of the processes through which people relate their personal pasts to their social worlds and derive meaning from each in the present day. In doing so, I now turn to present what I comprehend as the dynamics and peculiarities of the notions of individual memory and collective memory and how, in the context of my research, intergenerational memories and narratives function as the means of bridging these two concepts.

#### 2.5.1.3. Individual and Collective Memory.

This study does not approach individual memory from a psychoanalytical or a neurological lens but as the assemblage of memories, knowledge and feelings a person has collected about past events and which serves as the key to help the individual make sense of these events. The concept of individual or personal memory, for me, is closer to what Fivush (2008)

understands as autobiographical memory, which contains the treasure of lived experiences, experiences evaluated and interpreted according to the individual's view of their world. I agree with Fivush (2008) and Kansteiner (2002) that the concept of autobiographical memory is limited to the duration of an individual's life and to the individual's perspective about current events. Here, I add that the concept of personal memory may also incorporate vicarious memories; recollections and feelings about events that happened to others and not directly to the individual. It is accepted that what a person remembers about the past can be about events they have survived or about events they have not witnessed but have impacted in their memory through the stories of other individuals, through the media and other sources (Norrick, 2013). In addition to this, because these lived or vicarious memories are not tangible possessions, I do not expect that they can be transferred or reproduced in their exact form, but as Assmann notes, they can get connected to the memories of other individuals, living in the same temporal and social context (2006). Collective memory, in other words, can include a wide range of shared stories about the past built up through social interaction in the present. Collective memory, in this sense, becomes a social practice and discourse as people in one group uses narratives as 'cultural tools;' narratives useful in providing their accounts of the past while forming their shared memories about the past, as Wertsch (2008) argues. During this interaction or bonding, memories can get enriched, changed, or lost but they also become lucid, cogent, and insistent. This is what Halbwachs means when he states that:

It is in society that people normally acquire their memories. It is also in society that they recall, recognize, and localize their memories (1992, p.38).

Olick (2011) stresses that remembering, alone or in social meetings, is a (un)conscious act occurring in our social context by utilizing a long-established set of materials and means (e.g. language, symbols). The memory of a collective group also tends to promote feelings of belonging and superiority based on ideas such as 'their' glorious common past, participation in customs and rituals and equal share in the same destiny (Smith, 1991; Huntington, 1993). For sustaining such a common sense of identity, collective memory may incorporate historical facts but, as Kansteiner stresses,

it is not history, though it is sometimes made from similar material. It is a collective phenomenon but it only manifests itself in actions and statements of individuals. It can take hold of historically and socially remote events but it often privileges the interests of the contemporary. It is as much a result of conscious manipulation as unconscious absorption and it is always mediated (2002, p.180).

It is therefore understood why collective memory was endorsed by state officials as the means to achieve social aims and sustain political ideologies and why, in the context of education for example the history textbook became a more cultural than pedagogical tool in promoting the state's accepted story and promoted as the official memory of the past (Wertsch; 2004, 2007, 2021). For these reasons, Eyerman (2004) names memory as a 'cognitive map' for individuals and groups to position themselves over time and space.

Researchers, however, have challenged the 'collective' trait of collective memory (Olick; 1999, Brown; 2019). For example, Olick (1999) identifying the ambiguity of the field of collective memory – from individual processes to collective commemorations, from archived material to verbal testimonies, from language to symbols and buildings – chose to adopt 'social memory' as a conceptual tool that can better encapsulate the domain of inter- and intra-personal and collective 'stances, processes, practices and outcomes'. Moreover, Assmann (2006) developed a typology of levels of memory according to which the breadth of collective memory unfolds in three formats: social, political, and cultural memory and this can be appreciated as a helpful tool in allowing us to better approach the essence of the concept of collective memory. Political and cultural memory are mediated through 'material media, symbols and practices' Assmann clarifies (2006, p.216), and reside in libraries, schools and monuments as well. These are top-down types of memory organized and protracted by institutions to achieve homogeneity, focusing on ideology rather on the human being, as the notion of social memory does. In the context of my study, drawing on past experiences, social memory can be understood as shared among people of the same generation, who survived the same historical events, who have a shared belief and value system and a cultural type of trauma that binds them together as an intergenerational group of people within the society. I understand that people belonging in social groups may not only have a common sense of understanding and remembering events that define them from their previous or next generation but that they also have

memories which may not be aligned with objectives set by dominant political groups (Kansteiner, 2002).

However, there are many reasons to think that Stroud and Henson's view that 'social memory is the mechanism through which each group tells its own story' (2019, p.284) can be used as a polestar when approaching social memory, as a facet of collective memory, which is of key significance in my research when exploring the ways family members attempt to transmit their meanings of recent, traumatic events in Cyprus and, in doing so, how they, especially the older generation, differentiate themselves from their (grand) children. For example, I anticipate that these qualities of social memory will allow me to understand how the group of survivors of the events of 1974 approach what their (grand) children are taught about the bitter past and how they might challenge the approved version of the past as mediated through the history textbook. I expect that their impact on their (grand) children could be quite easily observed as children, being well-informed about the traumatic events and being able to connect these events with other historical events of global importance - long before there were taught about them at school - will be sharing their family history about the events of 1974 during the classroom observations or during an interview. This is not a new phenomenon as existing research accepts that students enter classrooms with pre-developed ideas about the past, as carriers of many stories, memories and customs embedded in the social context they live in and agrees that factors found outside the classroom

such as family, community, and media, tend to influence how students position themselves towards the past (e.g. McCully, 2012; Shemilt, 2011; Psaltis et al., 2011).

#### 2.5.1.4. Intergenerational memories & Memorialization.

While reviewing existing literature on memory, I noticed that many scholars consider intergenerational stories about the past as the key to connect personal and collective memory. For example, according to Merrill and Fivush (2016), intergenerational stories can transcend temporal constraints as the teller, who survived past events, shares their personal memories, feelings and thoughts with the listener who might not have been alive during the events. In this way, intergenerational stories about the past turn the youngsters into learners of the past (Leonard, 2014) and grandparents “serve as living historians” (Kornhaber, 1996, p. 90) for their social background. Also, research findings suggest that repetition of these stories brings cohesion and infuses a sense of stability and continuity within the family (Weber & Absher, 2003). This is supported by other researchers on intergenerational stories and memories, who argue that the self-conscious active transmission of family memory is not only strengthening the children’s sense of belonging in their family and in the world but it also improves the family membership (Norrick, 1997; Amadini, 2015; Fivush & Merrill, 2016), even if this means that some memories are emphasized while others fade (Wineburg et al., 2007; Lowenthal, 2015). Furthermore, intergenerational memories can benefit the adolescent with a good

understanding of their familial history, a higher self-esteem, and a more balanced behaviour (Fivush & Merrill, 2016). Thus, it can be supported that intergenerational memories enable youngsters to easily orient themselves in time and space by identifying their position in familial history and in the wider world. More importantly, intergenerational memories, created in places important to the family are also about making the younger generation involved in the co-creating and sharing of family memories (Leonard, 2014; Fivush & Merrill, 2016).

This last quality of intergenerational memories is of added value in my study as they are not only deeds of remembering but they also become the mechanisms to initiate the process of sharing stories embedded in the memories of survivors of 1974 about people, events, and places with the contribution of their (grand)children, especially when they visited areas significant to their family history. Existing research on the role of memory and memorialization in post-conflict societies, such as De Yeaza and Fox (2013), identified that family storytelling, written testimonies and artefacts can preserve the memories of survivors and can function as the bridge for enabling the individualized passing of survivors' memories to the next generation. Memorialization is a tough and excruciating process for the individual who survived the traumatic events of the past to endure but as noted in literature it is also the vehicle for the survivor to recover from the traumas of the past and to carry on with their life (Hamber, Sevcenko & Naidu; 2010, Jelin; 2007). Following the works of De Yeaza and Fox



(2013), Hamber et al. (2010) and Jelin (2007), I understand memorialization as the act of recycling an individual's memories and their attached meanings. Carrying the symbolical significance about events and places the individual attributes to these while encouraging the youth to relate their present with this traumatic past. In this respect, memorialization is the embodiment of past memories and differs from personal memory as it can offer tangible evidence from the past from which the youth can create their own understanding about the past.

But memorialization is not only an individual process. It is also a social phenomenon and can occur on a local and national level, in countries emerging from conflict, like Cyprus, where competing memories about the past strive to be acknowledged. De Brito (2001) explains that "what and how societies choose to remember and forget largely determines their future options" (p.38, as found in De Yeaza & Fox, 2013, p.348) as actions of memorialization can either foster reconciliation or spark more hatred and violence. Existing research shows that post-conflict societies undergo a transitional period where they feel the need to heal from the atrocities of the past and establish democratic structures as they seek peace and justice (Jelin, 2007; Hamber et al. 2010, De Yeaza & Fox, 2013). For example, creating Truth Committees, giving monetary reimbursements, erecting monuments, establishing official calendars, and participating in ceremonies of remembrance are only a few of the actions of dealing with the memories of the bitter past.

This is no exception to Cyprus. Here, monuments like Tymvos tis Makedonitissas - a monument set on an actual area where violence occurred- memorials and official commemorations become the spaces to honour those who died (please turn to pp.22-23). Monuments, spaces of memory even museums (Papadakis,1994) materialize memories and become 'lieux de memoire' (Nora, 1989); these constructions were created to symbolize memories and carry meanings born in the grief and ordeal of the past. Yet these commemorations tend to maintain the memories of the traumatic past by striving to offer only one perspective about the past, rather than allowing people to form their own understanding about the past. This also takes place in other post-conflict settings like Germany and India, where memorials are observed as created to project one, approved story about the past and that's why Stroud and Henson define them as encapsulatory;

[...] characterized by a strong sense of historical narrative...[an encapsulatory memorial] will be heavily directed and didactic in its message and leave the spectator with a clear sense of why the memorial is there and what it stands for...how a viewer is supposed to experience it and what one should take away from it' (2019, p.288).

These memorials spark strong emotions rather than initiate a critical appreciation of the past and end up to become "vehicles and material supports for ... collective action and for the reaffirmation of collective identities" (Jelin, 2007, p.147-148). Research accepts that in such cases these official memorial structures become carriers of political ideas and view their own existence as a political product of the government of the day

who attempts to promote their political dominance through the meanings they give to their memories of the past (Jelin, 2007; De Yeaza & Fox, 2013), while siding or silencing other memories people may have (Brown, 2019; Davis, 2017). But in some cases, as Jelin (2007) identified these symbolical constructions fell short of their underpinning political aim for sustaining collective memory and a common notion of identity as their presence becomes a relic of the past, bringing heated discussions and more violence as different understandings, memories and meanings of the past compete to be acknowledged.

#### 2.5.2. Narrative as a concept, as a research tool and as a research method.

In my research, the concept of narrative is not restricted to one fixed form, but it is multifold and fluid in meanings, with overlapping functions. Initially, I approach it as a personal story. Narrative is a respectful, sensitive, and political act during which an individual shares their story about the memories he/she has of the events of 1974 and the troubled past they survived with me. Also, it was used as the medium for collecting my research data; from the stories of the survivors to the official narrative found in the history textbook, which I appreciate as a tool for promoting the state's approach on the events of the past. From there, it shifts to become a technique of detailed analysis of the textbook and of each individual's story as well as the cornerstone of the typology I developed based on the personal accounts I collected in the context of this research. What follows seeks to mirror these several meanings narrative acquires in my research.

### 2.5.2.1. Defining narrative and exploring typologies of narrative.

While reviewing available literature to understand how narrative can be elucidated, I noticed that for many researchers, narrative has existed since ancient times. Reference is made to Aristotle who defines narrative as a tripartite story with a beginning, a middle and an end in his *Poetics*. In recent times, a variety of definitions about narrative were proposed by many researchers. Labov and Waletzky (1967) defined narrative as a 'method of recapitulating past experiences by matching a verbal sequence of clauses to the sequence of events that actually occurred' (p. 12). This has been one of the most known definitions of what a complete narrative is, but it can be quite problematic as I will explain in a later section. I find the definition on narratives coined by Hinchman and Hinchman as more thorough both in terms of time and context. They approach narratives in the social sciences "as discourses with a clear sequential order that connect events in a meaningful way for a definite audience and thus offer insights about the world and/or people's experiences of it" (1997: xvi).

For Elliott (2011), narratives are chronological, they are representations of a sequence of events. She explains that narratives do not describe, they tell a story, and they follow a plot. Narratives communicate meanings of events and they are said for a certain purpose, to a certain audience in a socio-cultural setting. Others as well, discuss about the key features of narrative. For example, Squire et al. (2011) evaluate transformation (as improvement from repetition) as an integral quality to the narrative for the

story itself, the storyteller and the story listener. From the literary theorists' point of view, Cortazzi (1994) suggests causation (which brings the outcome of the narrative, even if inferred) and human interest (whether is about values of characters in a story or a change or an unexpected event occurs in a story) as key features of a narrative.

Although many definitions have been proposed about narrative and even though narrative research is a huge domain, I found that there is agreement in literature about the origins of (modern) narrative research. These are identified in a) the post-war period in research in the field of sociology and psychology which showed preference in individual-centred studies instead of having positivistic orientations and in b) the turn of structuralist and post-structuralist approaches and of literary and socialist theorists towards the structure, content, and meanings of a story (Squire et al, 2011). Riessman (2005) adds that interest in narrative research became stronger as social scientists distanced themselves from any master narratives of theory (e.g. Marxism), was enhanced by the 'memoir boom' in literature and popular culture and by a shift in exploring personal life as a result to identity politics promoted by social movements worldwide especially following the emancipation efforts of marginalized groups.

### *Types of narratives and narrative research*

As with the numerous definitions proposed about narrative, many typologies of narratives can be found in existing research. These typologies

rely on the different functions narratives do. For example, Elliott (2011) identifies two types of narratives: the first-order narratives and the second-order narratives. First-order narratives are personal stories in which individuals talk about themselves and their experiences. These stories can be spontaneous and about anything in daily life or might include personal testimonies given in formal settings. The second-order narratives are stories formed by other people's experiences that we need to develop so that we can make sense of the social world we live in. Elliott notes that these are methods of presenting social and historical knowledge. In this typology, it could be said that the history textbook falls in the latter category while the transcribed text of an interview during which a person shares their experiences of the past falls in the former category.

Moreover, Squire et al. (2011) offer another typology on narratives. While examining narrative research, they notice three types of narratives: a. Event-centred narrative which presents events that happened to the teller. It is focused on the speech of a person about the events they experienced in the past, b. Experience-centred narrative that is focused on events (short or long in duration) happened to or was imagined by the storyteller or any distant event that the storyteller was informed about and c. Co-constructed narrative is about stories developed between people and explores social patterns.

There is also another way of categorizing narratives, whether they represent individual positions or external conditions on a person's thinking. Many researchers are interested in whether personal narratives are shaped by their social environment, how personal stories resist master narratives in social spaces and how a person's identity may be shaped in common spaces (Squire et al, 2011). What is more interesting is that stories are seen as not only presenting a person's life, but also as presenting the narrator's understanding on their inner and social worlds. Lieblich et al. conclude that "the story *is* one's identity, a story created, told, revised, and retold throughout life. We know or discover ourselves, and reveal ourselves to others, by the stories we tell" (2011, p.7).

Furthermore, two main types of function of narratives of personal experience are proposed by Labov, as found in Patterson (2011). The first is the referential function which provides information to the audience through the storytelling and the second is the evaluative function of the narrative that gives the meaning of the narrative by establishing personal involvement. The latter is seen by Patterson (2011) as a research tool in investigating cultures. Patterson (2011) adds a third function of the narrative, the interactive function, which is about the relationship developed between the narrator and the audience.

What I take in as commonplace to the above-mentioned typologies is that they are interested in researching narratives as stories of experience and of any kind of text, as these are expressed by individuals, social groups,

organizations, professionals even nations – yet narratives need to have ‘sequence and consequence,’ according to Riessman (2005). But narrative research is not limited to this. I adopt Bamberg’s assertion (2010) that narrative research is not only about sharing experiences of the past to explain or regulate what has happened but it is also about exploring the means of narrators tend to use to share their experiences so that these experiences make sense, to the narrator and to the audience, and in this respect my study is situated in the domain of narrative research, as the next chapters show. Also, my study according to the broader definition of narrative research proposed by Lieblich, Tuval-Maschiach and Zilber (2011) falls in the production of narrative research as any other study that uses narrative materials or deals with data collected as stories of any type (including field notes), in which narrative may be the research focus or the research instrument. In this context for example, the official narrative found in the history textbook in Cyprus was seen as the research tool for me to understand the state’s approach on the events of 1974 and I now turn to the textbook as the written story of the nation, the only official source in the educational sector about the past events.

#### 2.5.2.2. Textbook analysis and master narrative.

My approach to the official textbook and the historical narrative it bears, which will be presented in the subsequent chapters, has been affected by the literature on the textbook production and on the dominance of the master narrative I have reviewed. Existing research has long discussed the



production and use of textbooks in schools as a reflection of today's world. Textbooks are perceived as products prepared to satisfy both the demands of textbook publishing industry and educational state-mandated purposes (Foster & Nicholls 2005; Apple, 1993). From this perspective, textbooks are "conceived, designed, and authored by real people with real interests" and are "published with political and economic constraints of markets resources and power" as Michel Apple and Linda Christian-Smith (1991, p.9) recognize. They are developed after a process of selecting and omitting what knowledge should be conveyed to the younger generations (Nicholls, 2003b; Foster & Nicholls, 2005). In this respect they are dominated by a master narrative and can become powerful tools in disseminating the official memory of the past (Assmann, 2006; Wertsch, 2007, 2021; Grever & van der Vlies, 2017).

As Foster rightly points out the selection of textbook knowledge is an intensely political activity often leading to tension, controversy, and acrimonious debates in the struggle to define "what knowledge is of most worth" (2011, p.5). In conflict-ridden societies, such as Cyprus, this political tension about selecting what is going to be included in the textbook about painful events and traumatized memories of the past has led in lots of different directions, driven by local governments. For example, in Bosnia-Herzegovina a suspension over presenting the 1992-1995 Bosnian War was chosen (Pingel, 2008) and in Rwanda an exclusion of the history lesson from the curriculum after the civil war was preferred (Guichard, 2013).

International research on the history textbook has revolved around the content of the educational text highlighting the existence of a single historical narrative (Burke, 1992; Foster & Crawford, 2006; Terra, 2014; Sant, 2017) which aimed to foster the cultivation of common values and shared identity to students (Bush & Saltarelli, 2000; Rusen, 2004). Evaluating the content of the textbook is an emerging field and academics, such as Nicholls, 2003a, 2005; Crawford, 2003; Foster, 2011, have stressed the need to develop a sound theoretical and methodological framework pertaining to this research area and organizations such as UNESCO (2009) and Council of Europe (2001) as well as independent researchers have undertaken various initiatives in this direction.<sup>7</sup>

What is mentioned in such a narrative becomes the content of official history (Carretero, 2002; Grever & van der Vlies, 2017) and as some researchers conclude, such as Pavasović (2014), the history textbook becomes an ideological tool for reflecting certain interests of the dominant elite. For others, the textbook can be the instrument for simplifying the ambit of past knowledge a student can acquire (Loewen, 1995; Carretero & van Alpen, 2014) but also through its use institutions such as schools can disseminate the official memory of the selected past to the youth (Assmann, 2006; Wertsch, 2007). In this view, narratives create 'master

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<sup>7</sup> Researchers offered many viewpoints for history textbook analysis such as using elements from discourse analysis and seeing the textbook as a genre (Fuchs, 2011), adopting elements of Critical Discourse Analysis (Abdou, 2016) and setting an analytical instrument for neo-hermeneutic analysis (Nicholls, 2006), and combination of content and narrative analysis of the textbook (Terra, 2014).

frames' of human thinking and interaction (Eyerman 2004), and are sustained by memorials, official rituals, and other commemorations, as seen in the previous section on memory and memorialization. Thus, many researchers, have identified this type of narrative as master narrative; created for delivering historical knowledge of how a nation would like to see its past (Wertsch, 2008) but mostly for cultivating a common sense of national identity among students (Alpen & Carretero, 2015). These historical narratives are produced and circulated for certain aims, not necessarily pedagogical. Their use in educational and political institutions and consumption among students and citizens turns them into 'cultural' tools as well (Wertsch, 2012). In addition, Wertsch (2021) interpreting the recent signs of emergent nationalism, suggests that a shift from the narrative that idolises the state towards the study of memory might enable individuals to understand and assess the power of the narrative tools they use which direct their thinking and interactions within their social groups.

Pedagogical scholarship identifies selectivity and conservatism as the two main features of the master narrative, which cautiously avoids mentioning 'shameful' events or even presenting controversial issues (for example, Wertsch, 2007, 2021; Carretero & van Alphen, 2014). Historical narrative boosts the importance of glorious events and the traumatic experiences of those within society which are perceived as disruptive memories are silenced (Assmann, 2006; Olick 2016, Wertsch, 2021). They are seen as endangering social cohesion and so are any practices of remembering the past which were not included in the dominant narrative (Zembylas &

Karahasan, 2017). Research referring to the inner battle of a society between the dominant narrative and the narratives of those within a society who survived traumatic events show that this 'battle' can acquire many forms. Eyerman (2004) notes that the traumatic meaning of lived experiences has been challenged and contested and survivors of traumatic events had to turn to lobbying and activism to be heard, known and accepted (Assmann, 2006), as in the case of Argentina and South Africa (Van der Walt, Franchi & Stevens, 2003; Strejilevich, 2010). In Cyprus, initiatives to inform the public about their traumatic memories of 1974 are undertaken by social groups such as the relatives of the missing persons of the village of Assia but not in the form of organised lobbying.

Chapter 5 delves into the use of the history textbook in Cyprus, treats the official narrative as a research instrument and provides a narrative and thematic analysis of the meanings this narrative entails. So far, I have been using narrative as a dynamic method for data collection in my research. I now proceed in explaining how narrative is also utilized as a method for analyzing the written texts e.g. the interview transcripts and the history textbook used in my research.

#### 2.5.2.3. Narrative as data analysis technique.

As said above, narrative is used as data analysis technique in my research. Narrative analysis has been used extensively for many decades in social sciences (literature, psychology, sociology, anthropology, health/medicine

studies and others). It is a multi-levelled, inter-disciplinary method of data analysis, yet with no clear boundaries in its historical or theoretical framework. This results in the existence of various standpoints among researchers in the way they define, approach, and use narrative analysis in their studies.

For example, Mishler (1995) categorizes narratives according to their issue under study. Mishler notes three categories which explore the: (a) Reference and temporal order of the narrative (examines the order of events as they happened and they were narrated), (b) textual coherence and structure (focuses on the linguistic means of building the story) and (c) narrative functions (significance of study for society). It is an interesting model, but I do not think that is suitable to work with in my study as it was not possible to organize the material, I gathered in only one from the above-mentioned categories and as the ambiguity of this typology made me unconfident to use it for approaching my research data. Another model of narrative analysis is the one proposed by Longacre (1976), as found in Cortazzi (1994). It is used mostly by anthropologists and recommends the analysis of narrative by dividing it and by evaluating the following parts: **aperture** opening of narrative (optional), **stage** provides information about time, space and participants, **episode(s)** are generally developed from an *inciting moment* which gets something going, a *developing conflict* which builds up on the story and a resolution, **denouement** a crucial final event after a series of episodes, **conclusion** the storyteller's interpretation (optional) and **finish** a closing. In this model, the main points of narrative

are known as peaks and are usually expressed, among others, through paraphrase, repetition and viewpoint shifts, according to Longacre. This model can be useful in my research while analyzing speech and interview text in conversational settings but cannot be adequately applied when analyzing the prose of the history textbook. Lieblich et al. (2011) suggest another model of narrative analysis, that is organized in four main categories that seek to cover both the content and form of a narrative whether analyzing a certain part or the whole of a narrative:

1. Holistic-content mode is focused on the content of an individual's complete life story;
2. Holistic-form-based looks at the structure of complete life stories;
3. Categorical-content extracts certain parts of the narrative (e.g. political events) and gathers them in pre-organized categories. This is similar to what is known as 'content analysis'; and
4. Categorical-form which views specific characteristics (stylistic and linguistic) of some parts of narrative.

This is the newest model of narrative analysis. It can be of great use when exploring the complete life story of the interviewees, but I am only interested in certain parts of the interviewees' lives.

Out of these and many others found in existing research I reviewed, Riessman's (2005) typology of the four approaches (thematic, structural, interactional, and performative) to narrative analysis was illuminating in helping me understand that performing structural narrative analysis is the

most appropriate mode for approaching my research's narrative material i.e., the history textbook and the interviewed texts.<sup>8</sup> In my opinion, narrative structural analysis gives attention both to the story line and the way the story is told. I strongly feel that this approach is ideal for small amounts of data, as in the case of my research. In my view the structural analysis of narratives is interested in what is said but it is also focused on how a teller says a story and on what meanings they share to make the story convincing. I then continue to explore different approaches and schemes to structural narrative analysis including the ones proposed by Strauss (2008), Propp (1968), Barthes (1975), Todorov (1969) and Labov (1972).

Although all five approaches stress the importance of the structure in narratives and have been used extensively in literature and in media studies (Tomascikova, 2009; Adepati & Samanik, 2018; Taum, 2018 to name a few), I opted not to apply the first four for two main reasons; the first had to do with the content of the narratives and the second with the position I wanted to have within my research. For example, the content of the narratives I gathered could not be seen as responding to the Straussian model because these narratives cannot be appreciated as only revolving around a binary opposition as this approach supports, and my involvement in my research was not to resolve any issues arising from this opposition. Neither was my aim while analyzing these narratives to identify character

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<sup>8</sup> According to Riessman (2005), thematic analysis is about the context of narrative, what it is said. Interactional analysis gives emphasis on the dialogic process between teller and listener in creating meaning together. In the performative analysis the storytelling involves gestures and is seen as a performance.

qualities among the participants of my research or to assign them to certain roles within their own narrative as Propp's structural analysis highlights (Louchart & Aylett, 2004), and that is why I concluded that Propp's model could not be used in this study. Likewise, the narratives I collected could not fit in the cycle of Todorov's narrative scheme (Equilibrium, Disruption, Realization, Restoration and Equilibrium again) because according to the last stage of this cycle when all problems mentioned in the narrative are surpassed, the story returns to normal life, as was previously described in the Equilibrium, the first stage (Louchart & Aylett, 2004). In the context of my study however this is not applicable; all the participants in my research feel that their lives are disturbed because of the events of 1974 and have not returned to their normality as the Cypriot Issue is not resolved yet, a belief I must respect. For these people the story is still in process, and they seek refuge in telling ongoing rather than concluded stories. Although I still find the Barthesian approach to narrative analysis fascinating (Tohar, Asaf, Kainan & Shahar, 2007), it would have been a great challenge to apply it because it expands in three levels (i.e., functions, actions and narratives) and I sense that I could be easily lost in the collected data as it can become too abstract for me. Furthermore, these models are mostly concerned with texts and not with stories in conversational settings, except the model proposed by Labov, which analyses interactive narrative construction of a verbal type.

In addition to this, the latter structural analysis approach better corresponds to the material I gathered because the Labovian model is oriented in the



narrator's attitude towards events, and I proceed to employ elements of it in my collected narratives. I feel that it is the most appropriate narrative approach to apply to help me understand how the survivors of the events of 1974, who participate in my research, make meaning of their troubled past. Moreover, it demands a hands-on application, and this practicality is very useful in navigating through the collected data.

Labov's well-known model of analyzing the structure of a (personal) narrative (1967,1972) influenced the narrative analysis of my textual sources in my study. According to this model, narrative is accepted as 'a sequence of two clauses which are temporally ordered'( Labov, 1972, p.360) and a Labovian analysis might take the following steps: narratives will be taken out of other language data and organized into numbered sections (e.g., Line 5). Then, each section is assigned to one of the following components of narratives' structure:

- a. *Abstract*. It is a summary of the story, and it is optional.
- b. *Orientation*. The setting of the events to be mentioned is provided in this component. This part gives information about the time, place, and participants.
- c. *Complicating Action*. This part includes the chain of events of the story and gives a linear representation of time.
- d. *Evaluation*. The storyteller's perspective on the events been told is revealed in this component.
- e. *Result*. In this part, the narrator relates the end of their story.
- f. *Coda*. This is the end of the narrative when the teller returns to present time.

I deemed this Labovian model fit for the structural analysis of the narrative of the history textbook and of the personal narratives I gathered from people who survived the events of 1974 (please see chapters 4 and 5 that provide a step-by-step detailed account of the application of this model on the official historical narrative and on the personal narratives). It was expected that such narrative analysis would be the right tool for gauging the narrator's stance and the sequence of events as found in the historical narrative, including the purpose this narrative strives to serve.

Having said these, I recognize, as others like Patterson (2011) and Riessman (1993) have, that the Labovian approach has certain shortcomings; it was developed to analyze the structure of narratives of personal past experiences. Thus, narrators' vicarious experiences of events or wishful events, among others, are excluded from the spectrum of the Labovian analysis, but I have included them in my research as they also contribute in the ways narrators develop and share meanings about their past. Therefore, I claim that I employed an extended form of the Labovian approach, on the grounds that I used elements of it, rather than fully adopting its whole theoretical range and mentality per se.

Supported by the thematic content analysis that follows, narrative analysis is foreseen to provide a wider understanding on the knowledge and meanings conveyed to the reader through the narrative and sources of the said chapter. In the interviewed texts, narrative analysis was anticipated to

focus on the content of the narrative and on the ways the narrator tries to communicate meanings (to their listeners) about the experiences of the troubled past because, as it is argued, “narratives represent storied ways of knowing and communicating” as expressed by Hinchman and Hinchman, (1997) and as found in Riessman (2003, p.1). More importantly and as I was reviewing existing literature, I realized that not only are there differing ways a person keeps alive their memories about the past but also there are various ways an individual chooses to create their own story for representing the past. This understanding led me to distinguish what is ‘narrative’ and ‘story’ in the context of my research and how these concepts are utilized in the process of data analysis for forming categories of the accounts I collected.

### *Narrative and Story as my conceptual tools*

In existing research, there is an ambiguity on what meaning the concepts of ‘narrative’ and ‘story’ carry. These concepts are used interchangeably and as equivalent to each other by many scholars when referring to fictional tales as well as to accounts of personal experience (Cortazzi, 1994; Gilbert 2002; Goodson & Gill, 2011). Other researchers comment that these terms embody different meanings and offer their own definitions of what narrative and story is. For example, in the context of narratology, Rigney employs the term ‘narrative’ for ‘the semiotic carrier of the story: the medium and the narrative techniques used to represent characters and their world’ and ‘story’ for referring ‘to the characters and actions evoked by the narrative’

(2019, p.161). From the field of Cultural studies, Jensen views 'story' as having a coherent plot and a moral value to make while a personal narrative is "a fragmentary episode of experience" (Rosenwald & Ochberg; 1992 as found in Jensen, 2005, p.21) that merely 'reflects meaning and how that meaning was formed' (p.21). From Linguistics, Polanyi (1982) treats story as an event-centred narrative genre, expressed in past tenses, which is not restricted to only report what happened in the past. She notes that

Although all stories are narratives, not all narratives are stories. Plans, the simultaneous reporting of what is happening in an ongoing situation (radio "sportscasting", for example), and descriptions of wished-for, but unrealized occurrences are all expressed as non-story narratives' (ibid, p.511).

Squire, from the Centre for Narrative Research, applies a broad definition for the term narrative which includes "all meaningful stories of personal experience that people produce" (2013, p.48).

Likewise, there is a noticeable vagueness in literature that extends to what function the narrative or story can serve, and researchers give a plethora of insights on what is the purpose of the narrative or story. For example, stories were used for maintaining the culture and moral values of society (Stein, 1982). In social interactions, narrative can work 'as a device which facilitates empathy' and for expressing feelings and significant experiences when communicating with others (Elliott, 2011, p.5). Cortazzi (1994) adds that oral narratives may also have an entertainment function and a performance function as a social act, when the audience is involved. On a

more personal level, narrative has been approached as the means with which tellers 'break-down' their knowledge into words (White, 1981) and as "an instrument of mind in the construction of reality" (Bruner,1992, p.233, as found in Nicolopoulou, p.2011, p.32). In addition, narratives can also be used for re-calling and re-structuring past experiences (Labov,1972) in the sense that the speaker provides information about personal experiences while evaluating these experiences. Following on this, many researchers accept that personal narrations of past experiences bring order, coherence and meaning to an individual's experience and system of values and beliefs and shape one's notion of self-identity/ties (Gilbert, 2002; Loseke, 2007; Goodson & Gill 2011; Lieblich, 2011; Patterson, 2011, Josselson, 2012); as "who we are, or who we think we are, is realized in the stories we tell about ourselves; everyone not only *has* a story but also has a right to tell their story" (Bamberg, 2012, p.6). Rosenwald and Ochberg elaborate on this point because, in their view:

the stories [personal narratives] people tell about themselves are interesting not only for the events and characters they describe but also for something in the construction of the stories themselves. How individuals recount their histories — what they emphasize and omit, their stance as protagonists or victims, the relationship the story establishes between teller and audience —all shape what individuals can claim of their own lives. Personal stories are not merely a way of telling someone (or oneself) about one's life; they are the means by which identities may be fashioned (Rosenwald & Ochberg 1992:1 as found in Jensen, 2005, p.22).

From now on, any reference to the term narrative I make leads to any telling that its analysis conforms to the Labovian six-part structure of narratives of personal experience, as presented above. However, this type

of narrative differs from the Labovian perspective, in the sense that narratives are not restricted in including personal experiences of the teller but as seen in the previous chapter, they embrace subjective events and vicarious experiences too. The term story in the same part is used by me when the telling of events cannot be considered as narrative. Instead, the chain of events, in other words the plot (*Mythos* in Greek) of stories is arranged in three parts following the Aristotelian paradigm; having a beginning, a middle and an end.<sup>9</sup> Similarly, the core of such story fits to the definition proposed by Todorov - albeit himself introduced it for narratives - beginning “with equilibrium, where everything is balanced, progresses as something comes along to disrupt that equilibrium, and finally reaches a resolution, when equilibrium is restored” (1979, p.138).

In this context, and despite the above distinction I make between narratives and stories, I accept that narratives and stories may possess some common features. In this respect, I employ what Hinchman and Hinchman say so eloquently:

Narratives (stories) in the human sciences should be defined provisionally as discourses with a clear sequential order that connect events in a meaningful way for a definite audience and thus offer insights about the world and/or peoples experiences of it (1997, p. xvi)

Based on this definition, there are three exceptional qualities shared by narratives and stories mentioned above, which I utilized as lens when

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<sup>9</sup> Abbott (2011) notes that scholars do not agree on this story form but, seem to be in accord with the idea that actors and actions make up a story, which moves ahead and not backwards in time.

analyzing the one-to-one interview data, for understanding how tellers make meaning of their experience in the troubled past of Cyprus and how they see themselves in their world today. The first quality is temporality; all narratives and stories extend over a linear sequence of events (Cortazzi, 1994; Goodson & Gill, 2011). Events are placed in a clear chronological order, as they happened, and this brings cohesiveness to the narrative or story (Koppe, 2014). Elliott (2011) stresses that the chronology of events is of great significance as it makes narrative different from an ordinary report/description of events. Encompassing events linked in a meaningful way is the second quality of narratives and stories. This is when the individual provides explanation on the events, they consider as important (or not), and makes “teleological connections between events” (Koppe, 2014, p.103); with this personal input events are linked in a causal relationship (Elliott, 2011). It is understood that causality between events is influenced by the chronology of events – poor or no meaning in narrative or story might derive from changes in the order of events (Cortazzi, 1994). Narratives and stories are intrinsically social as they are created for a definite audience. This third quality allows the expression of beliefs and viewpoints of the teller while they seek to form a relationship with the audience (Cortazzi, 1994; Elliot, 2011; Goodson & Gill, 2011). Identifying the qualities, I was looking for in a narrative led me to further organize the material I had gathered. Defining the meaning of narrative and story was the first step in creating my own typology of narratives based on my research data, which is exemplified in the subsequent chapters.

This section of my literature review has served in unpacking the main concepts which sustain the theoretical framework of my research; it explored the notion of memory by focusing on the strands of individual, collective and intergenerational memories, and the role of memorialization to keep alive the memories of the past and explained how the notion of narrative was approached as a concept, as research instrument for data collection and as a method for data analysis in my research.

## Conclusion

This literature review aims to benefit the reader in articulating a thorough understanding on what is already known in the field of history education in the conflict setting of Cyprus, where my study is situated, and to illustrate the theoretical framework I use to approach my research data and the research questions pertaining this study. This arrangement of my literature review allowed me to critically draw on works on pedagogy and empirical research in the fields of history education, memory and recent Cypriot history to respond to the question: How might it be most helpful to understand the relationship between individual and family memory of the events of 1974 and what students are expected to learn about the recent Cypriot history in lower secondary schools? An overview of how existing local literature approaches school history and a reflection on the ways this research might contribute in enriching our knowledge about historical learning in Cyprus and in other conflict settings signalled the beginning of this literature review. As seen above, in their great majority studies



conducted by Greek-Cypriot researchers revolve around the history textbook, which is approached as a political document and as the tool for moulding a common sense of identity among the students (Koutselini-loannidou, 1997; Klerides, 2010; Philippou, 2005; Perikleous, 2013; Christodoulou, 2018) whereas fewer studies are recently interested in how teachers practice may be influenced by their beliefs about the troubled events of 1974 ( Makriyianni & Psaltis, 2007; Zembylas, Charalambous & Charalambous, 2011; Kafa & Pashardis, 2019). This is followed by a presentation on three works, i.e. Christodoulou, 2014; Christodoulou et al., 2016; Foris, 2015, on parental expectations on learning about the past to help the reader understand what is already known about the relationship between parental expectations and school history in Cyprus. From there, this literature review shifts towards exploring the perceptions and stances of students and teachers in Cyprus and in Northern Ireland about school history (Kitson & McCully, 2005; Christou, 2007; Barton & McCully, 2010). As explained above, I turn to research produced about Northern Ireland, which resembles Cyprus as a former British colony and as a conflict-ridden society, to infuse my knowledge about the attitudes of students and teachers towards school history because there is little literature produced in Cyprus about this field of studies.

Information taken from research in Cyprus and Northern Ireland enabled me to develop a coherent understanding on what is already known in history education and helped me prepare the right tools for researching the ways in which family history and memory might be related to - or

differentiated from - what children are taught in Cypriot schools about the past. Moreover, this chapter presented the theoretical framework I developed to approach my research data and to provide clear answers to my research questions. In this context, the conceptual tools of memory and narrative I use in my research and the meanings they carry were introduced and explained, drawing on existing scholarship on individual and collective memory (e.g. Assmann, 2006; Olick, 2016) and intergenerational memories (e.g. Merrill & Fivush 2015, 2016; Amadini, 2015). This part of the literature review also explores narrative as an individual's story and as the official story about the past found in history textbooks while defining narrative as a data collection and analysis method (Labov, 1973; Riessman, 2005; Wertsch, 2007, 2021; Carretero, 2014).

Having said these, my research is rooted exactly at the crossroads of family and school; both can be characterized as living organisms of a society. This study ties together family, memory and school history and delves deeper in the field of history education in the conflict setting of Cyprus, seeking to contribute to the advancement of our knowledge about historical learning in conflict settings. The following chapter presents the research design I set for exploring the relationship of family memory and what students are taught in schools about the recent troubled events in Cyprus.

## Chapter 3: Research Design

In order to explore the relationship between family memory and what students are taught in school about the events of the recent Cypriot history

I have formed these research questions:

1. How do individuals, who experienced the events of 1974, make meaning of the recent painful past?
2. What are students taught in their history classes at school about the recent past in Cyprus and in what ways?
3. How do family members of students approach official memory as this is mediated to their children at school?
4. To what extent, how and why do family members convey their memories and knowledge about the past to their children?

To approach these questions, I have developed the research design which I present below.

### 3.1. Methodological Framework.

This study adopts a qualitative research approach as it closely views peoples' actions. While unpacking the 'meanings, intentions and motives that people use in their everyday lives and which direct their behaviour' (Blaikie, 2010, p.89) it aims to generate theory from their stories. In this

context, this study accepts the existence of multiple social realities and explores various interpretations of social life. These can yield a wide range of data to be analysed in providing social scientific accounts of the ways Greek-Cypriot people tend to use for transmitting their meanings, intentions and tacit knowledge about their lived past to the younger generation.

This research follows a case-study design, which is appropriate for answering both 'how' and 'why' types of questions when exploring a contemporary social phenomenon (Yin, 2005). More specifically, my research belongs to the kind that Yin calls a 'revelatory case', because the social phenomenon I want to explore has not been the focus of scientific research before (Yin, 2005). In existing literature, researchers have proposed various insights on what the term case study entails and acknowledge how it can be linked with other terms such as ethnography, participant observation, fieldwork history (Scott & Morrison, 2005; Gerring, 2007 and Basset, 2000) while others created typologies of case studies in order to explain the different content and use case studies may have (Yin, 2005; Stake 2003). Along these lines, it is more helpful (and practical) to define a case study based on "the amount of detailed information collected, the number of cases pursued, the nature of the data collected, and the purposes for which such detailed data collection is sought" as Scott and Morrison support (2005, p.17). They, therefore, define case study as an in-depth study of one or more cases in their natural setting (and not as manufactured cases applied in experiments).

For my research, the case study approach was selected for its unique strength to delve into “a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident” (Yin, 2005, p.13), allowing me to understand how survivors of the events of 1974, teachers and students approach the recent bitter past and the ways this past has impacted in their lives. From providing insights to existing generalisations to enriching accounts and evaluations of the case in matter (Bassey, 2000) case studies serve various purposes, by ‘giving the people of the case a voice’ (Scott & Morrison, 2005, pp.17-18).

This revelatory case study aims to explore a new field of research, that is the role of family in children’s history learning about the specific setting of Cyprus and seeks to offer insights about the role family members can acquire in the children’s history learning in other conflict-ridden and democratic societies in general. The process of generalisation in this research as in any other research is unavoidable as generalisation, the “inference of applicability to far more cases beyond the data of the study” according to Robinson and Norris (2001, p.303) guides our interactions “with our world in a meaningful and coherent way” (ibid). In qualitative research, such as this, generalisation can be challenging mostly because of the validity of findings which are seen as bound to a certain context. Existing literature agrees that although a case study can provide in-depth knowledge about a new phenomenon (Gerring, 2007; Hamel, 1993), its

findings have low generalizability as 'insights, regardless of their brilliance, cannot be integrated into a broader field of study' (Gerring, 2007, p.85).

However, it is argued that case studies can function as a 'selected observation point for an object of study' (Hamel, 1993, p.44) and have the ability to contribute to existing generalisations as findings of a case may be linked to findings of other cases. Bassey (2000) describes these cross-case generalizations as fuzzy (p.52), explaining the possibility that the claims of one case study may be found as occurring in another case study, but this is not certain and claims cannot be taken for granted. Likewise, Yin (2013) accepts that "the extraction of a more abstract level of ideas from a set of case study findings – ideas that nevertheless can pertain to newer situations other than the case(s) in the original case study" (p.325).

Robinson and Norris (2001) also acknowledge the importance of multi-settings case study research in generating theoretical frameworks about the case, which can be utilised as conceptual tools to approach other cases too. In addition, they support that there are other ways for approaching the concept of generalisation. For example, naturalistic generalisation, which is strongly linked with narrative case studies, like this one, allows the reader to decide, after receiving adequate context information about a case from the researcher, if a certain case can be generalised in their area of research or expertise. In this sense, Stake explains that

naturalistic generalisations develop with a person as a result of experience. They form the tacit knowledge of how things are, why they are, how people feel about them and how these things are likely to be later or in other places with which this person is familiar (1980, p.69 as found in Robinson and Norris, 2001, p.306).

Having said these, in my revelatory case study I am using schools strategically as 'entry points' as I am interested in exploring the meaning made by individuals both inside *and beyond* these schools (Stake, 2003.) This means that schools are the places to find cases; individuals are the cases. Pursuant to the above research questions, this case study inquiry relies on the qualitative methods of document analysis, observation and interviews, as is explained in Section 3.2.2. below.

### 3.2. Research Methods.

This section begins by providing information on the research sampling strategies I utilised, the criteria set for identifying certain schools and for recruiting participants who volunteer for my study. Then it turns to examine the data collection and analysis approaches that I followed while elaborating on the methods and techniques I used and on the tools I developed to help me in this procedure. For the benefit of the reader, Table 2 below provides a summarized presentation of the methods of data collection and analysis used per research question. From there, it shifts to

give an account on the ethical issues I dealt with while conducting my research.

<b>Research Question</b>	1.How do individuals, who experienced the events of 1974, make meaning of the recent painful past?	2.What are students taught in their history classes at school about the recent past in Cyprus and in what ways?	3.How do family members of students approach official memory as this is mediated to their children at school?	4.To what extent, how and why family members convey their memories and knowledge about the past to their children?
<b>Methods for data collection</b>	Interview (one-on-one)	Observation, Document Analysis, Interview (joint and one-on-one).	Interview (joint and one-on-one)	Interview (joint and one-on-one)
<b>Methods &amp; Tools for data analysis</b>	Narrative Analysis & Labovian Scheme	Content Analysis, Narrative Analysis & Coding scheme for Observation, Coding scheme for textbook, Labovian scheme, Aide-memoire for interviews	Content Analysis & Aide-memoire for interviews, NVivo (for organising data)	Content Analysis & Aide-memoire for interviews, NVivo (for organising data)

Table 2. The research questions of my study, the methods, and tools to approach them.



### 3.2.1. Research Sampling Strategy.

For this exploratory study, drawing on qualitative methods and endeavouring to have a representative sample, data collection was focused on the microcosm of three public, lower secondary schools, with a number of participants, as follows:

1. Five history teachers
2. Twelve students and
3. Twenty-three close family members (parents or grandparents) of students.

This research follows a purposive-sampling approach that encouraged the recruitment of participants who could contribute to the research aims (Robson, 2011) and the thorough exploration of all relevant research issues (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). For this research, my aim was to gain access in three lower-secondary public schools which are in the area of Nicosia and that receive students of various backgrounds from the city and suburban areas. I believe that selecting schools from various areas of Nicosia and with diverse intakes of students would create more chances in recruiting volunteers of various social, economic, and professional background to my research and this, I thought, might be more effectively responding to the existing tendencies and realities of the Greek-Cypriot society.

### 3.2.1.1. Research Sample Setting; identifying and entering schools.

The location of Nicosia is not a typical area of the island, but for me has always been, par excellence, the location of the island where the remnants of the past remain clear and present. I chose the area of Nicosia for my research mainly because it is the divided capital of the island whose division (Green Line) is persistent in everyday life and observable no matter where individuals might reside, at the old city or at the outskirts. For locals of any age, the 'old' city is the service centre as well as the amusement area of Nicosia. Most locals show preference in socializing in the 'old' city at various places near buildings of historical significance and memorials and in close range to the Turkish army guard posts. Since 2004, in the main pedestrian road of old Nicosia (Ledra Street) there is also the Greek-Cypriot and the Turkish-Cypriot check point, permitting access to the South and the North of the island, respectively (Image 10). Also, the huge, stone made, supported by electrical power during night-time, Turkish-Cypriot flag on Pentadaktylos mountain range at the north of Nicosia reminds Greek-Cypriot citizens of the division of the island, even to those staying further from Nicosia's centre (Image 11).



Image 10. Ledra street checkpoint.

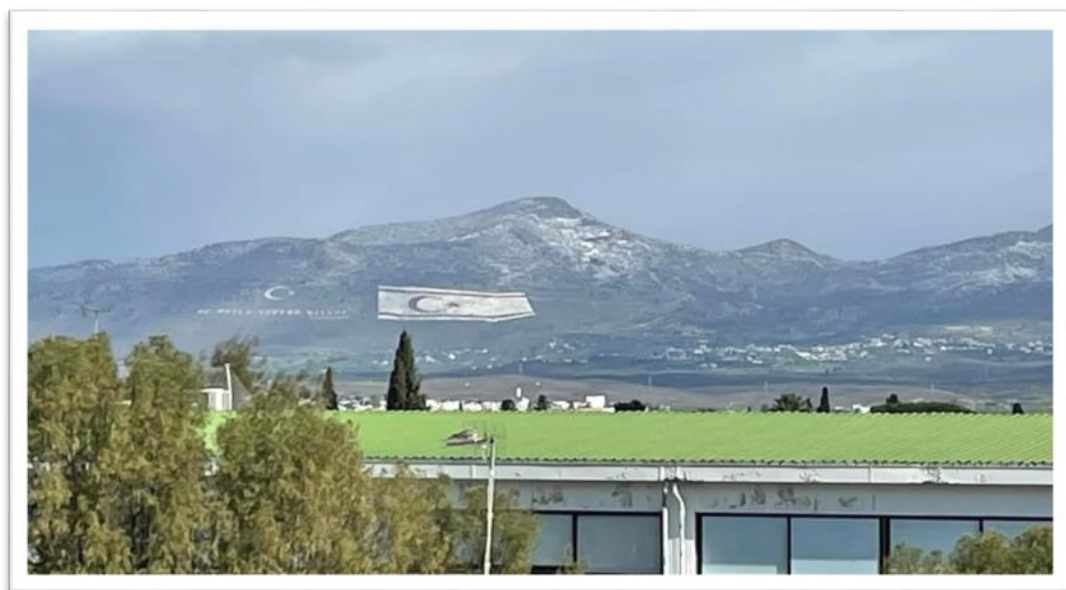


Image 11. The Turkish-Cypriot flag on the mountain of Pentadaktylos.

I identified four different public lower-secondary schools found in various areas of Nicosia, from the old town (i.e. Nicosia municipality) to the suburbs and I used several combined strategies to gain access to potential participants as I was a stranger to them, an 'outsider' (Lee, 1993). I first submitted an official request for conducting my research in these schools

for observing two history classes in each school and received the positive response of the Ministry of Education and Culture (MOEC). In my letter I explained that I was only planning to observe the lesson for understanding whether children share their family stories and views about the events of 1974. I emphasised that my research was focused on adults and that any one-on-one interviews with adults or joint interviews with their children would take place out of school, in a time and place they prefer. A meeting with the headteachers of each school preceded this official request as I wanted to inform them about my project and see if they were interested in participating in my research. After I received their positive verbal response, I requested to be granted access by the Ministry to the specific schools. Then, I contacted and arranged meetings with the head teacher and the president of the Parents and Guardians Association (PGA) of each school to introduce myself and to inform them about the purpose and process of my project. It was easy to find their contact details at the schools' public websites. These 'link persons' helped me reach individuals by introducing me to members of the PGA and to history teachers. The teachers then informed me when they had planned to teach the chapter on contemporary history, I was interested in.

At that time, I sought to receive written permission by the parents of students and by their teachers to be in the classrooms I was assigned access in and to conduct observations. I prepared an official information sheet and a consent form providing details about the research procedure and the participants' rights to the teachers, the students, and their parents,

providing information on the purpose and the process of my study (Appendix 2). This was also a time-effective way to initiate communication for recruiting more participants and I was planning to contact the volunteers who would express interest in participating in the research to arrange interviews.

To summarize, upon receiving official permission from MOEC and having secured ethical approval from the Institute of Education, and after I was granted by the principal and history teachers, the right to enter each school and their classrooms, my research took place in three public schools in Nicosia. These schools' names are not released as I want to protect the non-traceability of those who participated in my research. Instead, I randomly call them School A, B and C. These schools are found in different areas of the city; School A is situated in the suburbs; School B is in the old town area (i.e. Nicosia municipality) and in great proximity with the Green Line and School C is found in the greater centre of the city.

#### 3.2.1.2. Research Sample: Recruitment Criteria.

My initial aim was to recruit a sample size of about 40 people: 30 family members and 10 children. Close family members, such as grandparents and parents, participating in my research were selected based on two criteria: a) whether these family members were residents in Cyprus when the Turkish military invasion occurred in 1974 or were born shortly after 1974 so that they are well-familiar with the aftermath of the events of 1974

and are now of 40 years of age and more, and b) whether their (grand)child was attending the last year of the lower-secondary school at the time of my research. Greek-Cypriots regard this invasion as the most tragic and important event of recent history so it served as the most suitable starting point to identify volunteers for the research and see if personal experience and views exert any influence on the ways Greek-Cypriot family members remember and transmit knowledge about the past events.

My research sample also sought to include children of 14 to 15 years of age, who attend the third grade of lower secondary school (Gymnasium) for three reasons. First, this grade is the last one of compulsory schooling in Cyprus and history is a core subject in the curriculum that includes units on the contemporary local history. Second, students of this age are not overloaded with homework and learning material, as compared to high secondary school, and they might be more willing in terms of free time to contribute to my research. Third, I presume that students of 14-15 years of age have developed ideas and can discuss history with their family. I asked each one from the twenty-three adults if their children would like to take part in a joint interview with them and offered their opinions about what they learn at school about 1974 and what at home. Twelve students (and their parents) gave their positive consent in providing their perspectives on how they are engaged with official history and family memory about the past. This number was seen as satisfactory by me as it was important to know what children say about what they learn from their families about the events

of 1974, even though the focus of my research is on the adult family members and how they understand the recent past.

Taking into consideration that about 20 students are usually enrolled per class in a lower secondary school in Nicosia, I requested access to two classes; expecting that a total of about forty cases could be found per school out of which it was likely that: (a) many parents of students might not be of Greek-Cypriot origin and might have arrived in Cyprus lately or might have become permanent residents of Cyprus following the island's accession to the European Union (2004); (b) many parents of students might be of Greek-Cypriot origin and unwilling to participate in my research or might have been abroad during 1974; and (c) many parents of students might be Greek-Cypriots, younger than 40 years old, which means that they are unlikely to have memories of the 1974 events or the first decade that followed these events, when the Cypriot State had to be financially, politically and socially re-organised to accommodate the needs of those who were pushed away from their properties at the north side of the island. For these reasons, I decided that having about ten family members from each school participating in my research was an achievable and representative number of participants. There were thirty-four family members who volunteered to take part in my research. Eight volunteers did not fit the criteria set and other two had terribly busy schedules and could not arrange a meeting with me the period I had planned to do the interviews. There was another participant who became very emotional during his interview. I brought the interview to an end and kindly told him to

contact me when and if he was feeling ready to speak. He never contacted me again. In total, I conducted twenty-three one-on-one interviews with parents or grandparents of children of 14 to 15 years of age.

Before entering classes, I introduced myself to those teachers who gave me access in their classrooms to observe history lessons. I was not able to pick teachers or classes of students, these were announced to me after the headteachers discussed and agreed with the teachers and set meetings between them and me. I noticed that all teachers were positive in finding out more about my project. Three teachers during these preliminary meetings and other two after their classroom's observation volunteered to take part in my research. It was then that I decided to include these history teachers (two from school B, two from school C and one from school A) in my research design to offer their own insights on the daily teaching and interaction with students and their families. Usually, there are maximum of three teachers assigned to teach history for the third grade per lower secondary school in Nicosia and selecting five of them seemed to be a representative number.

### 3.2.2. Data Collection and Analysis.

Qualitative research data was collected using the following methods:

1. Document analysis of the history textbook produced by the MOEC;



2. Observation of history classes about the recent history of Cyprus; the events of 1974,
3. Twenty-three one-on-one interviews with a parent or grandparent.
4. Five one-on-one interviews with history educators and
5. Twelve joint interviews with children and their parents or grandparents.

#### 3.2.2.1. Document Analysis on the history textbook.

To approach my second research question on what students are taught about the recent past in Cyprus and to gain insights into the local history textbook prepared by MOEC related to the troubled events of 1974, I applied document analysis, which can yield rich descriptions about the material students interact with at school. Documents are seen as stable sources and will not be affected by my presence or by the research procedure (Bowen, 2009). Due to their compact size, information in these sources can be perceived as limited or incomplete, but this brings no drawbacks in my study as the process of interpreting a document served as complimentary to the other research methods I used in my research.

For understanding what Grade 3 Gymnasium students are taught in the classroom about the recent past of Cyprus, I analysed the local history textbook which I perceived as encompassing the essence of official

memory about the recent past and of what children are expected to know about the events of 1974 in Cyprus. This is the only approved by the state textbook on local history, entitled '*History of Cyprus for the Gymnasium,*' and it is written by history instructors (Pantelidou, P., Protopapa, K., & Yiallourides, S.). Since 1994, it has been published by MOEC and circulated to all public and some private secondary schools which follow the state's curriculum. The learning material for these students extends from page 102 until page 117 as follows:

1. The Turkish Rule (1571 - 1878) from page 102 to page 107 covers 1. The Greek revolution of 1821 and Cyprus and 2. The last years of the Turkish rule
2. The English Rule (1878 - 1960) from page 108 until page 113 spreads in three parts 1. Economy – Policy, 2. The national issue and 3. The 1955-1959 fight and
3. The Republic of Cyprus (1960 until today) from page 114 to page 117 which presents 1. The government of Cyprus and 2. The coup d'état and Turkish invasion.

I followed a two-step approach of applied narrative analysis and content thematic analysis of the chapter on the troubled events of 1974, on the pages 116 and 117 of the official history textbook. This is included in the last teaching unit in the history curriculum mentioned above as c, which stretches from the establishment of Cyprus as an independent state in 1960 to the aftermath of the Turkish military invasion of 1974 (this is where

the history textbook stops). I will now continue in providing the background of my rationale in selecting narrative and content analysis in approaching the said chapter as a document and the procedure I followed in doing so.

I applied a structural narrative analysis because I want to approach the sequence of events as mentioned in the historical narrative of the textbook and to understand the purpose this narrative seeks to serve. Narrative analysis also helped me to make some initial steps in identifying the narrator's stance. As presented in chapter 2, my data analysis incorporates elements of the Labovian method in analyzing the structure of a personal narrative, as developed by Labov and his associates (1972). According to this method presented in pages 96 and 97, I organized the narrative text into numbered sections and then I assigned each section to one of the six components the Labovian structural analysis proposes (Abstract, Orientation, Complicating Action, Evaluation, Result and Coda).

#### *Applying content analysis on the history textbook*

My document analysis is further supported by applying content analysis on the text and images of the said chapter in the history textbook. My decision to implement content analysis was rooted in its ability to unveil and explore the underlying meanings documents can carry (Zhang & Wildemuth, 2005). In addition, content analysis was the key for me to understand in an epistemological way the social reality in which this textbook was created and infer the collective needs it was envisaged to correspond to. I came to

this conclusion after reviewing existing literature showing how content analysis has long dominated in textbook research (Krippendorff, 1989; Foster & Nicholls, 2005; Repoussi & Tutiaux-Guillon, 2010; Terra, 2014).<sup>10</sup> Moreover, as a technique, content analysis gave me relative freedom as a researcher in the sense that it allowed me to make my own choices in defining the context of my inquiry for finding answers to my research objective while following its specific procedure, as I present below (Krippendorff, 2012). In Holsti's words, content analysis on the text and images follows a set procedure for "making inferences by objectively and systematically identifying specified characteristics of messages" (1969, p.14). In doing so I was able to infer

what (the) text represents, highlights and excludes, encourages or deters—all these phenomena do not reside inside a text but come to light in processes of [...] answering pertinent research questions concerning the text's context of use. (Krippendorff, 2012, p.234).

I was inspired by Krippendorff's process on what he calls as content analysis (2004); it is not a quantitative type of analysis counting words, but it explores meanings and therefore resembles what other researchers name thematic analysis (Kiger & Varpio, 2020). I apply a thematic type of content analysis because it enables the systematic exploration and coding of all written and visual data found in the textbook (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005) by using sentences and iconography as my coding units.

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<sup>10</sup> Klaus Krippendorff defines content analysis as 'a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts (or other meaningful matter) to the context of their use... The parenthetical phrase "or other meaningful matter" is to imply content analysis's applicability to anything humanly significant: images, works of art, maps, signs, symbols, postage stamps, songs, and music, whether mass produced, created in conversations, or private. (2012, p.234 - 235).

After choosing my research sample (chapter on the 1974 events, pp.116-117) from the history textbook, I decided on what to select as the coding unit of the content analysis I wanted to perform. For content analysts, the definition of the unit of analysis is one of the core decisions of the entire process they seek to undertake (Weber, 1990; Zhang & Wildemuth, 2009). Analyzing sentence by sentence of a text is a tactic that can be time-consuming and “labor-intensive” (Weber, 2011, p.19) but in the context of my research it was feasible in the sense that the text was not too long. For me, and based on the characteristics of the said text a sentence (which has the subject/verb/object format) is a small, workable, and meaningful unit and its analysis can be more reliable and efficient as “what is lost, it is not too significant” (Krippendorff, 2004, p.102). After reading the text many times I broke down complex sentences - when they occurred, into shorter segments and rewrote important grammar parts to the shorter segment to make it coherent - to help me familiarize myself with the data. For example, taking this long sentence from the text:

*The illegal organization EOKA B' was created, which carried out terrorist acts, such as the bombing of police stations and attempts to assassinate Makarios.*

I broke this down into:

*The illegal organization (named) EOKA B was created. EOKA B carried out terrorist acts. EOKA B bombed police stations. EOKA B attempted to assassinate Makarios.*

For Holsti, a theme is a unit in text “having no more than one each of the following elements: 1) the perceiver, 2) the perceived or agent of action, 3) the action, 4) the target of action” (Holsti, 1963, p.136 as found in Weber, 2011, p.19) and I applied this when working with sentences as my thematic units or segments of this text. Taking for example, the same sentence as one thematic unit from the text, the perceiver is the narrator or commentator of the events and the perceived are the ones who are being observed (i.e., terrorists of EOKA B). The perceived can also be the instrument of acting against a target (i.e., Makarios) that is why the perceived can also be called as agent of action. I performed this in all the text as well as in the commentary sentences below the three sources (two images and the map) of the chapter. I highlighted in various colours each of the parts of a sentence (the perceiver and the perceived, the action and the target of the action). This helped me have a first visual perception of the data and to ensure a more detailed analysis.

I then proceed in creating a scheme of questions to help me during the content analysis of the text and images of this chapter of the history textbook, please see Table 3 below. I developed this after I explored existing research in textbook analysis (Crawford, 2003; Nicholls, 2003b, 2005; Foster & Crawford, 2006; Foster, 2011, Marino, 2011; Foster & Burgess, 2013; Terra, 2014; Sant, 2017; Grever & van der Vlies, 2017) and while taking into consideration my research phenomenon and my selected unit of analysis. Drawing on scholarship (Marino, 2011; Forster & Burgess,

2013; Grever & van der Vlies, 2017) against which the content of the textbook can be evaluated, I developed my own scheme for the analysis of the textual and iconographic material of the textbook, which functions as my guide while navigating the data and making initial codes on the content of the textbook (Table 3).

Questions for coding the History Textbook
1.What is in the textbook and why? What are the explicit and implicit aims of the textbook? What ideas are developed in the textbook (patriotism, citizenship, equality etc.)?
2.Who narrates the plot/story? What is the author/textbook’s position about the past and what is the intended position for the reader towards the past?
3.Is there continuity in the story line? Does it refer to the importance of events on a local level or their wider importance?
4.What kinds of history (for example, social, political, military history) are stressed?
5.Are sensitive/controversial issues presented? If yes, how does it address these issues?
6.Are there any themes or narrative patterns (rhetoric and analogies)?
7.Does the text provide certain explanations leading students to specific conclusions or opens-up new paths of enquiry?
8.Which persons are neglected? Are all the communities of Cyprus mentioned?
9.Are there sources (primary, maps, images) in the textbook? What is their role - supportive to the main narrative or offering various viewpoints to the students?
10.What kind of language is used (for example, authoritative, direct, non-judgmental prose (e.g., without appraisal terms), appropriate for the intended audience)?

Table 3. Scheme of questions for analyzing the history textbook.

This scheme of questions serves as my analytical construct, which according to Krippendorff “formalizes the knowledge available about the data-context relationship, therefore justifying the inferential step involved in going from one to the other” (1989, p.406). Subsequently, I generated initial

codes derived from the questions of the scheme and labelled as Narrator, Events, People, Sources and Language and turned to organise the data in these codes forming categories of data. I tested the scheme on a part of the text because I wanted to check the clarity of the codes and the validity of the whole process. Pretesting also helped me in discovering that some categories could not cover some textual content. This is typical while coding a data sample as “the researcher may discover that some of the content falls outside pre-established categories” (Downe-Wamboldt, 1992, p.316). To overcome this, I created one more category of data coded Issues (please see chapter 4). After ensuring the transparency and validity of the scheme, I applied it to the full text and tested these categories against all data. I noticed that these categories do not have strict boundaries and that my initial codes fell short in thoroughly defining the data. I then realised that my data could better be organised in themes rather than codes corresponding to the questions found in the scheme above. I refer to themes as widespread in the said chapter, overlapping and completing each other and as all textual data, able to highlight various aspects of a theme. Therefore, defining six core themes, out of my initial codes, and naming them as Persona, Storyline, Community, Homogeneity, Position and Victim helped me to better grasp the meanings of this chapter of the history book.

This content analysis helps me organize data in certain themes focused on historical events and actions of people as these are mentioned in the



textbook. In addition, it enables me to further expand my understanding on the meanings this chapter strives to convey to the readers (please turn to Chapter 4 for a more detailed account on these themes and meanings) revealing the social purpose this textbook attempts to serve. But my analysis on the textbook does not only revolve around matters of its content but extends to its social use and acceptance. I am also interested in finding out how the textbook is used and how it is received by teachers and students, in and out of the classroom. Approaching the use of the history textbook can be challenging as it is seen as a cultural instrument in promoting knowledge and remembrance by shaping students' view of the past (Bush & Saltarelli, 2000). Recent research is shifting towards the use of the textbook and explores the appropriation of the textbook in a specific social context and how students and educators respond to it (e.g., Repoussi & Tutiaux-Guillon, 2010; Marino, 2011). The following methods, classroom observations and interviews, provide illuminating aspects on the reception of the textbook by the teachers, students and their family members participating in my research.

#### 3.2.2.2. Observation of history classes about the recent history of Cyprus.

For approaching the second research question in a holistic way and for understanding what students are taught in the classroom, I also observed two lessons (each lesson lasted 45 minutes) on the unit about the contemporary history of Cyprus in each of the three different schools in

Nicosia, as explained in my research sampling strategy above. This is the last teaching unit in the history curriculum and spans, as shown above, from the formation of Cyprus as an independent state in the 1960 to the Turkish military invasion of 1974. These observations are key to my research because I wanted to understand what happens in the classroom; the content of official history about the events of 1974 and the approach of the students and their teachers towards it. More specifically these classroom observations provided me with real, first-hand insights into how students respond to learning about the past; if they showed interest, how they responded to what was mentioned in the textbook and how they reacted when learning something they were not aware of. Also, I was able to observe the teacher's practice, and this includes not only if the practice was teacher-centred or textbook-bound, but also if the teacher initiated verbal turns and how they responded to the textbook and to what students mentioned about the past.

I was a non-participant observer (or "faithful reporter" as Blaikie calls it, p.107) sitting alone at the back of the room because I wanted to be detached from the students and the educator but focused on their interactions. Being an outsider having a fresh perspective and being an overt observer gave me the ability to notice details that may be part of the daily routine of the participants and even to record actions or movements where participants hesitated to express in words about the issue under study (Merriam, 1998). While observing these lessons, my objective was twofold. The first was to gather qualitative information on students' attitudes

towards learning about the recent local history; I wanted to see if they are interested in local events and whether they participate in the lesson by making dialogue and by raising hands, for example. This objective, although my focus was on the students, overlapped with noticing the history teachers' practice and attitude towards teaching about the troubled past as well. I mean that it is also important, for the coherence of my study, to see how teachers disseminate knowledge about the past and how they respond to what students share about the past. The second objective was to see students' willingness to share information about the troubled past; that is if they were knowledgeable about and shared their family stories or if they remained silent during the lesson. The latter objective was to help me record behaviour and identify potential participants among students as "reference points" for taking part in subsequent interviews with their parents (Merriam, 1998, p.96). Thus, data derived from this method enriched data obtained from the other methods I used. In these ways, the method of observation became the means to gather data which provide me with direct insights on the classroom's routine and about what students are taught in their history learning of the troubled events in Cyprus.

I adopted a semi-structured type of observation because I was interested in selected aspects of interaction in the history classroom while recording data in a fast yet systematic way, eliminating observer bias. For this, I developed a coding scheme as my research tool to help me remain focused in collecting data during classroom observations and interactions

(Appendix 1). My coding scheme allowed me to rapidly record any noticeable habits and practices related to the teacher's approach to the troubled past and to the students' response to official history as occurred in the classroom. Drawing on my pilot work on parents negotiating their role in their children's history learning in Cyprus (2015), I became aware that particular incidents were likely to arise, such as educators reacting to opinions expressed by students about past events or students having discussions about their family history during class. I prepared this scheme in the form of quick, pointed questions to use as a tool rather than a checklist because I was not aiming to document frequencies or to collect quantitative data. As I was interested in behaviours, my coding scheme helped me to react fast in the interactions going on in front of me in the classrooms and to ensure that the collected data would be rich, meaningful and easier to manage. I took Poole and Folger's advice that

the purpose of coding schemes is to allow the researcher to systematically and rationally reduce the complex set of attributes that characterizes a phenomenon to a simpler set of attributes which can be tractable (1981, p.482).

As the local Ministry is extremely strict in classroom research and rarely gives access to researchers who wish to make video or audio recordings in the classroom and as I did not want to eliminate my chances in receiving approval for my research, I decided not to audio-record the lessons. Instead, I kept a type of field notes shortly after leaving the school for providing more details on the data received from the coding scheme. My notes are influenced by LeCompte and Preissle (1993) as I describe the

roles and actions of students and teachers and patterns of their behaviour. In my notes, I also recorded my reflections of what I saw in each classroom, from details to the spatial arrangement of the room to feelings and ideas I had during the observations (Ostrower, 1998). A short excerpt of the field note I drafted after observing Christina's history lesson in School B is the following

Students came 10 minutes late in the classroom from PE lesson. Teacher was prepared, waiting for them at the door. After taking their seats, the teacher welcomes them and makes a brief introduction and gives attention on explaining the main terms of the lesson (coup d'état, junta, invasion, cease-fire, enclaves) with the help of the students. Teacher writes on board and links these events with prior knowledge of students. Students take notes. Neither the teacher nor the students use the book. Only eight students out of twenty have the book on their desk. Teacher is calm, uses neutral language when referring to these events. She is using the expression 'my children' (*paidia mou*) when she asks the students. She poses questions. Why, do you think there was not fast resistance from the National Guard? For what reason, the negotiations failed? She gives time to students to think and answer. She uses PowerPoint with pictures with the consequences of the invasion and shares her personal story. She asks for children to share their family stories. She is listening to them, and she is nodding. Students are calm. This is the last teaching period of the day, and although tired, they show interest in listening to their teacher. They give attention to what the PowerPoint shows and make clarifying questions.

The method of observation was key to my research as it gave me the benefit to witness and record behaviours, routine, and reactions of students to history learning as happening in their 'natural setting' (Merriam, 1998, p.94). As I was keen in witnessing students' reaction to history learning about the events of 1974 in the classroom and in seeing the history educator's approach to the troubled events, I strongly feel that the method

of observation with its unique quality of directness was the most appropriate for 'capturing' in situ informal and non-verbal data. Also, at a secondary level, the method of observation supports the occurrence of the interview method, as it enabled me to trace and select students who were knowledgeable about their family stories of the events of 1974 and who wished, when asked, to participate in joint interviews with their parent/grandparent (please see Chapter 7 for the data derived from these joint interviews). In conclusion, the method of observation did not only offer me an eye-opening experience by approaching the history learning phenomenon in situ but also yielded rich and fresh information which enrich the data collected from the other two research methods.

#### 3.2.2.3. Conducting interviews.

As outlined above, I conducted twenty-three one-on-one interviews with family members (parents or grandparents), five one-on-one interviews with history educators and twelve joint interviews with children and family members (parents and grandparents). Rich data were collected from these interviews paving the way for a more thorough and detailed exploration of how family members as survivors of the events of the troubled past, conceptualize the past and whether and how they transmit their knowledge and memories of the past to their children and grandchildren. Also, in case-studies such as these ones, the interview is the most time-effective and high-response method for exchanging views about a specific topic of interest (Oppenheim, 1992, p.81-2). In addition, I consider an *inter-view*, as

Kvale (1996) indicates, as a valuable method and tool for the co-construction of knowledge “about the nature of social life” (Elliott, 2011, p.21) for interpreting interviewees’ actions, beliefs, and feelings.

Although I have experience in participating and in conducting one-to-one interviews, I had never conducted joint interviews. I was aware that conducting joint interviews with children and their (grand) parents could be challenging in terms of encouraging both interviewees to participate equally and in giving holistic answers as mentioned in existing literature (e.g., Arksey & Knight, 1999). But I selected to perform this type of interview because I strongly felt that the interaction of both interviewees during such an interview can be dynamic and unique in generating more comprehensive data on how older people tend to give meanings and share their knowledge of the past and on how the younger generation responds to these experiences. This research technique gave me valuable access in identifying ways of communication and interaction, in the ways interviewees influence each other and similarities or inconsistencies between their two perspectives about the past events. More importantly, I noticed that these interviews revealed the ways and means - such as storytelling and making visits to certain places of family memory - the adults, who lived the events of the past, choose to use for transmitting their understanding of the past, including their experience and their memories, to the younger generation that has no direct relation with past events.

All interviews were conducted in a comfortable setting (e.g., house, café, or another public place) suggested by the interviewee and agreed by the interviewer. To ensure my safety as the interviewer, one trusted person was always informed of the setting and time of each interview as all the interviewees were strangers to me. Both one-on-one and joint interviews lasted for approximately 45 minutes, were tape-recorded and were semi-structured.

I found the semi-structured type of interview as the most appropriate to be used in the context of my research. This kind of interview not only allowed me to have a set of pre-determined questions for collecting to-the-point data relevant to my research interest but also gave me the flexibility to follow the flow of the interview while making changes in the sequence of questions or posing further clarifying questions. I created an interview aide-memoire, similar to what Jacob and Furgerson call an interview protocol (2012) to use as my guide when I conducted the interviews (Appendix 2). This aide-memoire was organised in four parts. Part a contains some notes on introducing myself and on presenting my project and the research process to the interviewees while remarks about the closing part of the interview are found in part d, because I considered it important to briefly repeat information regarding the interview procedure and the rights of the participants in my research. Parts b and c are about posing close-ended and open-ended questions, respectively. I asked the same questions to family members, teachers, and students, albeit slightly amended to



correspond to their different niche, because I wanted to receive their own point of view on the same topic.

*On the questions posed during the interview*

I asked five close-ended questions for collecting basic personal and demographic data of the participants of my research. These questions served as icebreaker at the beginning of the interview and later, during the first steps in the data analysis, enabled me to better understand the background of my interviewees by drawing links to their stories as well. For example, among others, I wanted to know about their age because it was important to make clear whether the family member participating in my research was a parent or grandparent having memories of the events of 1974. I asked if the interviewee was a refugee or not since 1974 to define whether they shared personal experiences or vicarious memories of the said events. Also, I wanted to know their place of current residence to understand whether their beliefs and attitudes about the past are impacted by the area of Nicosia they live in (for example near the Green Line or at the suburbs).

I then proceeded to ask nine open-ended questions to my interviewees, which are presented and explained below. These questions sought to provide in-depth accounts on the ways individuals give meaning to the past, approach official memory and on the ways they transmit their knowledge about past events. I anticipated that these questions would

allow me to form a more rounded understanding on the role that family members can play in young people's education about the recent troubled past of Cyprus and would enrich my knowledge on what children tend to learn about the recent troubled past inside and outside of school. I chose to use these kinds of questions because they give flexibility to the interviewee and allow me to better acknowledge the interviewees beliefs and positions. I also wanted to make the interviewee feel comfortable to share their answers and these type of questions "encourage co-operation and rapport" between the interviewee and the interviewer (Robson, 2011, p.283).

For example, the first open-ended question was broad enough to give the availability to respondents to name what they consider as the most important event in Cypriot history. I purposely avoided to direct interviewees towards the period of 1974 because I wanted to hear their own thoughts on the event of local history that they felt had impacted them the most. Questions 2 and 3 were turned to the past and were about the events of 1974; on the memories these individuals have about these events and if they share their memories of this past to their (grand) children. I asked these questions because it was important for me to understand where the respondent was found when the events broke out and how they experienced them. These two questions provided lengthy accounts about the memories, feelings, and beliefs of the individual towards the events of 1974 and their consequences in their life. I was expecting this and gave plenty of time to each respondent. I made no interruptions because I was expecting that for many of the respondents this

was the first time, they had an in-depth talk about their memories on the events of 1974. While answering Question 2, most of the respondents touched on Question 3 as they elaborated on whether they talk about their experiences with others and with the younger generation. For this reason, during the data analysis I treated the answers derived from these two questions as combined in one. Due to their intrinsic quality e.g., of personal accounts about the past, I approached them by performing the Labovian narrative analysis, as presented earlier, whereas I applied content analysis to the rest of the questions.

Questions 4 to 7 were set to explore the participants' views on the current state of history learning because I was interested in understanding how they now position themselves towards the past. For example, Questions 4, 5 and 6 concentrated on participants' comments and reflections about the textbook, as the only approved material of learning about the past events, and participants were encouraged to explain how they respond when their understanding of the past differs from the official narrative in the history textbook. I asked these questions because it was important to first clarify whether the textbook was used and if the participants were familiar with it to later understand how the textbook was received by the educators, family members and their children participating in my research. Because I also wanted to explore what kind of communication there is between educators, students, and their families and whether they express their ideas when identifying inconsistencies in the history textbook, Question 7 aimed to

gather information about their interaction on issues relevant to history learning.

Questions 8 and 9 invited the participant to provide further comments and ideas on how history learning can be changed in Cyprus. These questions not only offer a smooth closure to the interview, but they also gave me the ability to gather input from participants on how they envision history learning could be.

#### *Transcribing and analysing interview data*

I received consent from each interviewee for transcribing their interview. Most of these interviews were transcribed by me, although for the last ten interviews, due to health-related issues, I was aided by two skilful university students (and I informed the ten interviewees accordingly about this change in the research procedure). Although it was time- and work-intensive, I cautiously read and reread through the transcript of each interview while listening to its audio recording not only to form a tight relationship with the data (Gibson et al, 2014) because a “picture is drawn from the participants’ stories” (Gilbert, 2002, p.233) but also because I wanted the transcripts to be accurate and readable to me and to the interviewee. As Gibson et al stress

Transcripts *are* a bias and they *are* an interpretation – they provide an insight into the analyst’s story of what the researcher sees as relevant in a given transcript (2014, p.784).

As said, data received from Questions 2 and 3 from one-on-one interviews were analysed following the narrative analysis approach, as presented in the previous chapter and the next chapter will explain in detail. My decision to analyse the data according to narrative analysis is based on its efficacy in providing insights into how and why storytellers interpret the past and make connections to their present (Riessman, 2005, Connelly & Clandinin, 1990). This implies of course, as Pavlish notes, that “narratives offer data that have already been interpreted by the narrator before the researcher even reaches the data analysis phase of the research process” (2007, p. 29). It is exactly this quality of narrative, which links the story of an individual to the social structure, that enabled me to understand how participants in my research choose to remember, connect, and make meaning of past events. I was interested in what is said and on how a teller shares a story to make it convincing (Riessman, 2005) and narrative analysis provided me with an index; it gave me the ability to listen to the participants stories and words, to understand their feelings and emotions, but I was aware of its shortcomings - that these stories of individuals lack generalizability (Gilbert, 2002).

I applied content analysis in approaching the data yielded by all other questions in the interviews because I wanted to understand the meanings and beliefs about history learning nowadays. I read all the answers sentence by sentence and used each sentence as my coding unit. I followed the same procedure as discussed earlier in this section. Although content analysis gave me some flexibility on setting my attention on the

issues I was interested in, I was initially overwhelmed by the bulk and richness of the data I received. I used the NVivo software program as a useful tool to help me manage the data. This saved me time and allowed me to have a first visual look at all data. Also, with NVivo, I grouped data together in categories, generated their initial codes, reviewed, and defined these categories to make a better assessment of my research data.

### 3.2.3. Ethical Issues.

Ethics are important in any research project and my research could not but adhere to ethical norms to (a) make sure of doing no harm to any participant in my research and to (b) promote knowledge to society (to the general public and to the community of educational researchers), knowledge grounded to democratic values, means and procedures. This study is my intellectual property, but I feel strongly that I am accountable to the public to provide the truth and minimize any error while presenting my research data. As my research is rooted in the recent events of the troubled past in Cyprus, approaching them is challenging because people are still sensitive and have emotional stances and strong political views about these events. Therefore, it was my social duty to provide the right setting for participants to feel free and not to hesitate to express their truths about these events (contrary to what happens with teachers, who were anxious to share the material they use in their classrooms as chapter 5 shows). My key responsibility was to anonymise and protect participants' identities and to maintain a democratic procedure throughout my research allowing

participants to opt-in and opt-out and effect changes in the transcripts of their interviews, if they wished. This research was conducted according to the British Educational Research Association's ethical guidelines for educational research (2018). Ethical approval for my research was sought from the Ethics Committee at the Institute of Education at UCL (University College London), as I am a student there in the Department of Curriculum, Pedagogy and Assessment. This approval was required to assume full responsibility for the conduct and publication of this research project and to ensure that measures were set for the safety of the participants. Approval for entering the schools was requested by the Department of Secondary Education of the Ministry of Education and Culture in Cyprus, as stated earlier.

I distributed to volunteers an information sheet providing information about the research rationale, the process and the participants' rights and asked for their consent to participation (Appendix 2). In this way, participants were informed ahead of the interview that their involvement in this study was voluntary and that they reserved the right to withdraw at any stage of the research without providing further explanation. (Participants were also reminded about these at the beginning of their interview). An opt-in procedure was followed for the observation part of the research, and I accepted that students who were going to be observed, and their parents were satisfied to be included in this, were the ones who returned completed and signed the consent forms. Students retained their right not to be observed or participate in my research, even if their parents gave written

consent. Upon receiving students' consent forms unsigned or incomplete, I assumed that these students were not to be included in my study and I did not focus on observing them. An opt-in procedure was also followed for the interviews (both one-to-one and joint type of interviews), as I interviewed only those volunteers who agreed to participate and who gave their written consent. Before, during and after the interview participants were again reminded that the researcher would keep all the answers anonymous and confidential and that all personal data are to be stored securely, to eliminate any possibility of their identifiability and traceability. Upon receiving their signed informed-consent forms, the researcher arranged the interview in a space and at a time selected by the interviewee. In addition, each participant was informed about the right to review and approve the transcript of their interview within a given timeframe and even to suggest amendments or offer extra information contributing to the increase of the credibility of this thesis (Gilbert, 2002, p.230).

I notified interviewees about the duration of the interview from the very beginning, as I wanted them to feel comfortable in terms of time (Elliott, 2011). The long duration of these interviews can be justified by the fact that they produced unexpected answers, which were interesting to follow up. I was aware that my presence might change the way an individual responded and might change the interaction between family members, and I was willing to provide them with more time to feel relaxed. I was also mindful of the fact that respondents could become emotional when answering questions relevant to their experiences. I was conscious of the



fact that the study might touch upon sensitive “private, stressful or sacred” issues (Lee, 1993, p.4) as the adult and especially the elder participants could have been involved in the troubled events of 1974 and might wish to share their personal memories. This is not a rare phenomenon as existing literature shows that in conflict areas, some respondents may have been personally involved in recent past events and the researcher will have to decide on how to approach this with sensitivity and compassion (Robson, 2011).

For example, I developed techniques such as short breaks or switching to a more positive topic during the interview, for giving time to the respondent to compose themselves. While conducting interviews, the interviewee was given the option of omitting questions, without providing explanation, and of requesting me to repeat questions to assure that they completely understood the question. In the only case one of the interviewees in my research became upset when narrating painful personal memories of the events of 1974, I did not hesitate to bring his interview to an end. Also, when I noticed that some interviewees seemed distressed or troubled, as a result of exploring difficult issues such as trying to find information about their relative who was a missing person since 1974 or themselves being captured during the events of 1974, I referred them to contact certain NGOs that might offer support to people suffering from traumatised memories of 1974 and to safeguard their human rights, such as Truth Now and the Pancyprian organization for those captured by the Turkish army in

1974. At the same time, I developed techniques such as listening to music, meeting with my friends and walks in nature to relax my mind and to help myself limit the emotional cost I was receiving as I was repetitively interacting with texts about personal sensitive issues, watching and listening the interviewees becoming emotional while they described what they had gone through during or after the events of 1974. As Gilbert stresses

repeated exposure to emotionally charged texts, listening over and over to taped interviews in which the participant becomes emotional in describing the loss, viewing devastating images painted by the bereaved these can all be emotionally challenging and can lead to burnout. The desire may be to represent the narrative as clearly as possible, but the researcher may find that he or she has constructed a self-protective shield to protect against emotional overload (2002, p.234).

All personal data were stored and processed according to the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR). All paper records such as consent forms were first stored safely at the researcher's office and were then scanned and uploaded on a UCL network drive, which enables regular and secured backup and has a low risk of data loss. Recordings of the interviews were deleted as soon as the interviewee agreed to the transcribed text of their interview.

The following four chapters offer the presentation and analysis of the data I gathered. It was clear to me from the beginning that I do not have ownership of these narratives and I respect the participants greatly for offering their stories to me, allowing me to analyse and interpret them. This

thesis is in essence my narrative which is compiled from their narratives. I tried my best to have their voices heard, that the depth of my interpretation of these narratives would not amend the respondents' messages, although I do believe that narratives, like the nature of life, can be transformed and evolving (Gilbert, 2002). In two cases where I had doubts about my interpretation of the narrations, I did not hesitate to contact the two participants for clarifications.

Conclusion.

This chapter outlines and justifies my research design. It contains details of my research, design and sampling strategies adopted. An account is given about the research questions, procedure, and ethics. In line with this, this chapter presents the process of research data collection, storage, and analysis.

My study follows a qualitative research approach exploring various interpretations on the ways Greek-Cypriot people tend to use for transmitting their memories, experiences, and beliefs about their lived past to the younger generation. It has a case-study design as I used schools as places to find the meanings individuals of various backgrounds may carry inside and outside of schools as the 'cases' of my research. Purposive-sampling seemed to be the most appropriate for my research as individuals who could respond to my research interests were to take part and illuminate me about the current tendencies in the history learning about the

events of 1974 within the Greek-Cypriot community. For this reason, it was important for me to identify and gain access to lower-secondary schools in different areas of Nicosia, a process which was not easy at the beginning but successful at the end.

As mentioned above in section 3.2.2. I conducted my research with three schools utilising the following methods, which complement each other: I performed document analysis on the history textbook to understand what students are expected to learn about the events of 1974. I observed two history lessons in each school and developed my own coding scheme to enable me to collect data from the interactions of students and their educators. I used an aide-memoire as my tool while I conducted twenty-eight one-on-one interviews with family members, five one-on-one interviews with educators and twelve joint interviews with students and their family members which allowed me to shape a thorough understanding on the relationship between family memory and what students are taught in school about the troubled events of the recent Cypriot past. I followed a two-step approach of applied narrative analysis and content thematic analysis for approaching all textual data, taken from the interviews and the textbook. I have provided details on the process of analysing and transcribing the data, as well as how I treated all the ethical issues which permeate my research. In the following chapters I present and analyse the collected data and how these correspond to the research questions of my study.

## Chapter 4: How do individuals who experienced the events of 1974 make meaning of the recent painful past?

What follows is my attempt to understand how survivors of the events of 1974 (coup d'état and Turkish military invasion) in Cyprus make sense of their past, that is what range of meanings they give to these troubled events they experienced. My approach to answering the above-mentioned question in this chapter is organized in two parts (4.1. and 4.2.).

Part 4.1. examines how the participants of my research construct their accounts about their personal experiences, their perspectives about these events and the purpose their accounts seek to serve. To my understanding a logically-driven and well-structured account of personal experiences indicates that the teller has formed a clear perspective on the events they narrate. This part is arranged in three sections. Section 4.1.1. shows my practical application of elements of the Labovian structural narrative analysis, my initial approach on the twenty-eight tellings I gathered as presented in the chapter on the Literature Review. This approach helped me not to get swamped in the massive data I collected and gave me the safety to explore the data in order to understand how narrators built their stories about 1974. Also, it provided me with the first hints as to why these narrators tell their stories. Section 4.1.2. and 4.1.3. extend beyond the Labovian scheme. As my analysis continues, in section 4.1.2. I became

interested in the events tellers mentioned to make their tellings more convincing; events defined as objective, subjective and of vicarious experiences. The last type of events led me, in section 4.1.3., to identify the different stances, which narrators used to take while delivering their narrative, and for what reasons they did so; to present their suffering and how they survived, to assign blame to those who are responsible for the events of 1974 or to bring social peace.

From there and having explored the structure of the narratives, part 4.2. demonstrates my approach to proceed further to unveil the narrators' utterances and meanings of their past experiences, allowing me to get a glimpse of their understanding of the past. It assigns the gathered twenty-eight accounts into the categories of narrative and story based on certain criteria regarding their meaningful sequence of events, the clear perspective of the teller on the actions mentioned and their compliance to the six-part Labovian structure of narratives or the three-part Aristotelian model on stories (beginning, middle, end) as presented in page 100. Then, it shifts to explore the plot of twenty-three narratives through the implementation of a schematic narrative framework inspired by Wertsch (2008, 2021). This allowed me to identify the main themes and patterns employed by the tellers and the range of meanings they give to the events of 1974. A short section on background information on the research's participants precedes both parts.

Background information.

As outlined in the Chapter of Research Design, I conducted twenty-eight one-to-one interviews, five with history teachers and twenty-three with Greek-Cypriot parents or grandparents of students attending the senior year of *Gymnasium*, the lower secondary level in Cyprus (the equivalent of Year 3 in UK). Adult participants are working in the banking, real estate, services and education sector or are pensioners.

Their answers contain rich insights into their life-stories and their accounts are their effort to talk about their experience of 1974. For the interviewees, this interview was the mechanism to talk freely to a stranger for the first time, and not to an acquaintance or family member, about their experiences of the recent past in Cyprus. Therefore, at the part of the interview when participants give their account of the events of 1974, I made no interruptions. I let them speak freely as they unveiled their experiences, and many provided lengthy monologues. These are the accounts of ordinary people, most of these were children (5-10 years old) or young parents during the events of 1974, and not speeches performed by people in clergy or politics (as seen in Section 1.2.). As Table 4 shows, participants are organized based on their year of birth because I wanted to have a clear idea about how the events of 1974 had impacted on the memories of

everyone according to their age. As said in the previous chapter, the names of the participants in my research are changed, I used pseudonyms for each one of them to ensure that no one will be able to identify them.

Pseudonym of participant	Age in 1974	Family member/Teacher
Artemis	28	grandmother
Anastasia	30	grandmother
Andriani	(born in 1976)	Mother
Anna	(born in 1980)	Mother
Dina	(born in 1978)	Mother
Christophoros	6	father
Christos	(born in 1977)	father
Christina	(born in 1977)	teacher
Demetra	34	grandmother
Kostas	2	father
Eleutheria	(born in 1978)	teacher
Gabriel	7	father
Maria	(born in 1975)	teacher
Eugenia	9	mother
Kyriaki	2	mother
Xenia	6	mother
Chara	(born in 1976)	mother
Yiota	6	mother
Panos	8	father
Grigoris	27	grandfather
Giorgos	10	teacher
Katerina	8	mother
Soteria	6	mother
Evi	8	mother



Stephanie	(born in 1976)	mother
Theodora	9	mother
Savvas	32	grandfather
Nikos	1	teacher

Table 4. Participant's age in 1974.

#### 4.1. Narrative as Structure.

##### 4.1.1. Applying elements of the Labovian scheme in the narratives.

As I set out to understand how the survivors of the events of 1974, who participated in my research, made meaning about the troubled past, I first decided to apply elements of the Labovian approach (1967,1973) to analyse these personal narratives because I am interested in the structure of the narrative and how through this structure survivors account their experiences of 1974. This is a thorough approach, demanding in time which focuses attention explicitly on individual's perspectives on specific events (Mishler, 1986) allowing me to examine the narrator's viewpoint of the shared events. As seen in pp.96-97, it is organized in six parts, each serving a different function: Abstract, Orientation, Complicating Action, Evaluation, Result and Coda. I provide a short description of each component along with excerpts from my research data below but first I present a short narrative as an example for showing how its structure can be analysed in the six parts proposed by Labov.

### **The Lift Story (found in Patterson, 2011, p.24-25)**

1. Did I ever tell you    Abstract
2. about the time I was stuck in a lift?    Abstract
3. Well, it was about five years ago    Orientation
4. when I was working in London    Orientation
5. I was the last one to leave the office late on a Friday night    Complicating Action
6. and the lift just stopped between the eighth and seventh floors    Complicating Action
7. I was terrified, terrified    Evaluation
8. I mean I really panicked    Evaluation
9. I thought there was no one else in the building    Evaluation
10. and I would be stuck there until Monday morning    Evaluation
11. It really was the most awful feeling    Evaluation
12. anyway I frantically pushed the alarm button for about ten minutes    Complicating Action
13. which seemed like hours    Evaluation
14. Then I heard someone calling    Complicating Action
15. and then suddenly the lift started moving down    Complicating Action
16. and vibrating and rattling and sort of juddering    Complicating Action
17. I screamed 'GET ME OUT OF HERE'    Complicating Action/Evaluation
18. I thought the lift was going to plunge down into the basement    Evaluation
19. and then suddenly the doors opened in between two floors    Complicating Action
20. and the caretaker was there    Complicating Action
21. and he helped me climb out    Complicating Action
22. I was free at last!    Result
23. I burst into tears    Complicating Action/Evaluation
24. I was so relieved    Evaluation
25. there is no way    Coda
26. I ever get into a lift on my own now    Coda
27. so that's why    Coda
28. I've just climbed ten floors    Coda
29. to get to your flat    Coda

What follows is a presentation of the components of the narrative structure as mentioned by Labov and as found in the above example, while drawing in extracts from the narratives I have collected to illustrate what each narrative segment looks like in the context of my data. This Labovian approach allowed me to strengthen my concentration on what was said by the narrators while I was able to follow how they begin, develop, and end their narratives. It served as a revelation for me and gave me the opportunity to navigate through enormous data and develop a clear, first idea of how narrators reflect on their past experiences. Also, as shown below, it helped me compare these twenty-eight different narratives I gathered and to organize the narrators' words in functions and categories; thereby understanding how they link events together before turning to see how they try to make meaning of the past.

a. The component of *Abstract* signals the beginning of the narrative. In the above-mentioned example 'Did I ever tell you about the time I was stuck in a lift?' (lines 1-2) forms the abstract of the story. Although it is in the form of a rhetorical question, the narrator not only expects a positive answer to take over the floor and start the narration, but also the narrator summarizes the topic of the story.

An abstract is short and mentions the most important event according to the teller and that is why it indicates the start of the story. It also explains briefly why the narrative is being told usually to claim the listeners' attention. According to Labov, it might not exist in all narratives as it is

voluntary, however I treated abstract not only as a brief introduction to the narratives I gathered but also as a clear indication as to who can concisely express how the events of 1974 affected them. From my research sample, only eleven people out of the twenty-eight participants provided an abstract as the Table 5 below shows. These eleven participants briefly mentioned the most important event of their narrative in their Abstract; for some it was the coup d'état of junta to overthrow the elected government of Cyprus and take over, which took place on July 15, 1974, for others it was the Turkish military invasion which started five days later. For example:

I want to tell you that, everything was betrayed. *Everything...* From the day of the coup d'état, we expected that the invasion was going to happen (Anastasia, grandmother, 74).<sup>11</sup>

Part of narrative structure	Number of family members out of 23, who provided this part	Number of teachers out of 5, who provided this part
Abstract	10	1
Orientation	12	2
Complicating Action	11	1
Result	19	3
Coda	16	3

Table 5. Participants providing details on the above-mentioned parts of the narrative.

<sup>11</sup> The pseudonym, the role as family member and age of the individual are found in brackets, after each extract. In each quotation in chapters 4 to 7, words in italics denote the teller's emphasis during speech and underlined words present my emphasis.

b. *Orientation*, according to Labov, provides the setting of the events to be mentioned. Please see lines 3-4 in the example. In the part of Orientation, the narrator provides information about the time and place of their story. Also, the participants in the story are introduced and their initial behavior or activity is presented as well. In other words, in this part the narrator orients the temporal, geographical and social context of their story. Patterson (2011) enlightens us that information about the setting of the story cannot only be found at the initial parts of the narrative but at later stages of the story too. In my research, for a complete Orientation I was therefore looking for the four Ws: where, when, who and why.

For example:

On the coup d'état day, we were in Varoshia. Although I am not a refugee, and we lost no land, all the activities of my family were in the vicinity of Ammohostos [...] We were with my mother, a philologist, my two brothers and my cousin at the beach. I remember the sea was smooth [...] With my brothers and cousin we tried to catch small fish by using a plain plastic bag. (Yiota, mother, 50)

There were cases that narrators did not provide such a coherent Orientation, as Table 5 reveals. However, what is interesting to note is that in three cases narrators considered it important to first provide details on the wider place and time context. In these cases, Orientation focused on the political activity of participants in their story before turning to their more personal details. Perhaps they felt the need to do so to portray what was happening within the Greek-Cypriot community before the events of 1974, which might explain the unpreparedness of the state during the Turkish military invasion that followed. For example:

I will start from 1971. EOKA B was organised in 1971. It was against the legally elected government of Cyprus and wanted to overthrow Makarios. So that the junta could take over. Late Ezekias Papaioannou and Vasos Lyssarides (politicians of that time) said to Makarios that a coup d'état was approaching, and he replied 'do not be afraid'. At one point, Lyssarides requested and armed a group of his own, and so did those of the Left, because they were the supporters of Makarios. In 1971 or 1972 came the one who ruined Cyprus but is worshipped by many, Grivas and he became the chief of EOKA B. They put bombs, blew up police stations. Makarios was asked to take measures. He formed one armed group and arrested some of them. But no one was convicted. They told Makarios to hang one, so the others will get afraid. He was in his helicopter, and he was shot. And he put them to work [...] And we reach 1974... (Grigoris, grandfather, 71)

c. *Complicating Action*. This part of the narrative presents the chain of events in the story. In the example, the sequence of events is stretching in lines 5, 6,12,14-17, 19-21. In Complicating Action, the events are put in a chronological order directing the listener to their peak, the climax of the story. It is the plot of the narrative that keeps the listener focused on what the teller says. In this part, events are not simply described by the narrator, but they are following a linear order linked in a causal relationship, as the one event brought the occurrence of the other and so on. Some researchers give more attention to the Complicating Action element than any other part by calling it 'the skeleton plot' (Mishler, 1986 p.237) or 'the spine' of the narrative (Linde, 1993, p. 68). For instance, a part of a Complicating Action in a story from my research data is this one

The invasion began, that terrifying sound of the sirens, gunshots were heard, planes were flying...We were with our mother. Three children from five to nine years old (*Pause*). My mum was 7 months pregnant. Neighbours came into our house for safety. A bomb was falling, we were under the tables for safety. The windows were trembling, gunshots were heard. Suddenly there was a loud bang. A mortar had fallen on the house and penetrated three walls. We were

fifteen to twenty people in the house, mostly women with children, and we all rushed out after the bang, terrified, to see what was happening. Smoke and dust everywhere. (*hesitation*) I remember I stepped out of the house, and I was crying. I was 7 years old and looked at the sky to see a plane flying *really low* [...] My mother was worried that things were not good. She took us to the British Bases, outside of Varoshia. We have English passports because we were born in England. We went as English citizens, seeking protection and care. Indeed, they gave us a huge garage and blankets and stayed there for a few days ... Things started to calm down and we returned to Ammochostos, to Varoshia to look for my father. We didn't find him. (*Pause*) He suddenly appeared and told us 'Things are not good. You must leave from Varoshia' [...] We loaded two cars. My mother was driving the family car with the kids in, and my father was following with another car. It was difficult but we made it to my mother's paternal house in Eryhou, (a village in the mountains of Troodos). We arrived, opened the house. I remember they cleaned it so we could stay in. At that point, the second phase of the invasion started and an influx of refugees from Morphou started to arrive at the area. Our relatives were offered hospitality and the house was big, so many of our relatives stayed with us... (*Pause*) Everyone sleeping on the floor, with a quilt and a sheet. We had nothing else. For food... because my mom was of that area, she knew what the area provides... She made soup with wild vegetables, like a big pot with anchovies and two handfuls of beans, just to say we ate beans... (Gabriel, father, 51)

I noticed gaps in the received information for Complicating Action, in most of the narratives, as Table 5 shows. This was obvious as the chronology of events was not consistent and not sufficient information was coming through to enable me to reassemble the linear chain of events mentioned by the narrator. In the following example, when asked about what she remembered of 1974, it was really striking that the teller, although I prompted for more information, provided no details on her actions between the second phase of the invasion (middle of August) and October of 1974:

I was in my village. (*Pause*) I remember the planes flying above the village. We were told to evacuate the village because the Turkish army was approaching. My father, although he was not called to join the army, did it voluntarily and stayed behind to protect the village.

Then the Turks got him. (*Pause*) We had no idea where he was, for a long time. We later learned that he was taken to Adana and was one of the lucky ones to return alive. We got in a carriage of a tractor, among many neighbours, and we went to the villages of Ammohostos. I don't really remember the name of the village, we stayed there, we camped under the trees.

When did this happen? During the first phase of the invasion?

During the second phase.

And then, you went to Lefkosia? Where did you live? What did you do?

We stayed at my uncle's until the return of my father [...] in October. (Eugenia, mother, 53)

Perhaps for these narrators (for instance see extract from Eugenia's narrative above) some events may be considered as non-significant and might not have been a priority, so the teller chose not to remember or mention them. It is also possible that these were events that the narrator purposefully chose to silence. The same applies to the examples from Christos and Andriani below, both born after 1974 of not giving full information on the chain of events to allow me to shape an understanding of the chain of events in the lives of these two participants. The first one gives some information about his parents and then starts from an undefined year to talk about the housing problem of his refugee family while the second teller describes the housing/life of the refugees in her neighbourhood.

My family is of the Left. (*hesitation*) They were the attacked ones, let's say, during the coup d'état... After five days, the invasion



happened, and men signed up in the army. Those who stayed behind, women and children, left the villages and came towards the south, for safety (*Pause*). After the war, my parents stayed in many places. They stayed in tents, then in a village outside Lefkosia, they lived in houses without windows...(*Pause*) I remember we rented an old house in the centre of Nicosia until 1983. Then we moved to a small house in a refugee settlement. After that, they gave us a bigger house in another refugee settlement. And we moved again. We kept being refugees, going from one house to another. Around 1990 we made it to our permanent house, when I was 15 years old. (Christos, father, 41)

I was born after 1974. Although I was not alive during the harsh events of 1974, I know the problems the refugees dealt with, and their kids too, because I grew up in the same neighbourhood...I didn't see the tents, which were placed at the beginning for letting the refugees in. But I remember houses made with blocks, like slums made of zinc. They lived in there for six to eight years, until many families moved to the refugee camps so they can have a better life after this disaster...(*Pause*) Their houses were simple and minimal. A small living room with four chairs, two bedrooms, windows that you could still feel the air coming in even after they were shut. It was cold inside. The roof was made of zinc and water was pouring in when it rained. I lived this; it was *tragic*. I must have been five to six years old and have these memories from my neighbourhood. They liked to plant trees and keep these little houses tidy. I was really impressed by that. They were helping each other. Swap clothes from one neighbourhood to another, for the kids. One pair of shoes for wintertime and another for summer. Shower every Saturday. Lice and shaving off all hair from the head. All these. (Andriani, mother, 42)

d. *Evaluation*. This part of the narrative reveals the storyteller's perspective on the events being told. In the example, evaluative clauses are found throughout the story, in lines 7-11, 13, 18, 23-24.

Many researchers have emphasized on the role of the component of evaluation in the narrative. Riessman calls evaluation as "the soul of narrative" because it is in this stage that the narrator conveys meanings

and communicates emotions. In this part, the narrator justifies the reason for sharing their story. Elliott (2011) views that the evaluation component has a double effect; it not only conveys meanings to the audience but also shows what kind of response is anticipated and how the meaning of the narrated events is expected to be understood (if not confirmed) by the listeners.

Labov himself acknowledged evaluation as 'perhaps the most important element in addition to the basic narrative clause,' often neglected by other narrative accounts (1973, p.366). He also offers a well-rounded definition on evaluation which states that

Beginnings, middles, and ends of narratives have been analyzed in many accounts of folklore or narrative. But there is one important aspect of narrative which has not been discussed—perhaps the most important element in addition to the basic narrative clause. That is what we term the evaluation of the narrative: the means used by the narrator to indicate the point of the narrative, its *raison d'être*: why it was told, and what the narrator is getting at. (Labov cited in Mason 2008, p.33).

However, it is interesting to note that in the initial model proposed by Labov and Waletzky (1967), evaluation was seen as a distinct element occurring at one part in the narrative text. But Patterson notes that in Labov's later (1973) model, evaluation is understood as spreading throughout the narrative and as having the ability to permeate all the other elements. This is what I noticed while analyzing my research data. I found that some tellers, in the spark of the moment, tended to move 'back and forth' in their stories interrupting the story to offer explanation or commentary on some

point. This resulted in information being spread everywhere in their narratives. To overcome this challenge and inspired by the work of Labov and others, who were interested in his narrative structure analysis such as Polanyi (1981,1982), Mason (2008) and Patterson (2011), I developed my own toolkit of evaluative devices to analyse the syntax and the phonology of the interview material found in the evaluation part. This includes, as Table 6 below shows:

- a. intensifiers: intensive words like strongly and extremely, gestures and repetition of words (Mason, 2008),
- b. Embedded speech – this is seen by Labov (ibid) as a means used by the narrator to gain more credibility,
- c. ‘intrusion’ by the narrator in the story to offer comments and explanation on a topic (Polanyi, 1981),
- d. expression of feelings and
- e. shift in tense used (Polanyi, 1982).

Participant's pseudonym	Intensifiers	Embedded speech	Intrusion, Commentary or Explanation	Expression of Feelings	Shift in tense
Artemis	X		x	x	
Anastasia	X	x	x	x	x
Andriani		x	x	x	x
Anna					
Dina		x			

Christophoros	X	x	x	x	x
Christos		x	x		x
Christina		x	x		
Demetra		x		x	
Eleutheria		x			
Maria					
Gabriel		x	x	x	x
Eugenia				x	
Kostas		x	x	x	
Kyriaki		x	x		
Xenia		x	x	x	
Chara			x		
Yiota	X	x	x	x	
Grigoris		x	x	x	x
Panos	X	x			x
Giorgos		x	x	x	x
Katerina	X	x	x	x	x
Soteria		x	x	x	x
Evi	X				
Stephanie	X		x		
Theodora	X			x	
Savvas	X	x	x		
Nikos		x	x		x

Table 6. Evaluative devices noted with x, as used by narrators.

Taken from the narratives collected in my research, some examples of how the narrator uses these evaluative devices (underlined> are found below.

For instance, there is embedded speech in Yiota's and Xenia's extracts and expression of feelings in Artemis' words:

And someone, I remember my mother, I remember her figure at a specific place, someone was showing her one black and white identity. The face was typical Turkish with a wide forehead, sharp nose and chin. And my mother expressed a somewhat compassion for that man. And I asked her 'mom, why are you feeling sad about him? He is Turkish'. Keep in mind that I was five years old. She answered 'my child, doesn't he have a mother, who is waiting for him?' (Yiota, mother, 50)

I remember when we were thinking of moving to Nicosia... Em, this is a bit racist, but in areas where refugees gathered, there was a higher rate of crime. There were many problems. And they told me 'if you would like to buy a house, don't buy it close to a refugee settlement'. (Xenia, mother, 50)

You can't express it (in words). It is *anger*, it is *pain*, it is a *bitter disappointment*, it's a why. Who gave the right to anyone to destroy people's lives? These feelings are very, very strong [...] I came here and I was *feeling insecurity* for my children. They were young and without protection, and I was pregnant. A mother to live these, it's *terrible*. It's *horrible*... Especially, if you love your homeland. Because, let me say parenthetically, I believe that my homeland is after God, and then everything else. *If I don't have a homeland, I have no family. If I don't have a homeland, I have nothing...* (Artemis, grandmother, 76)

In the above extract, Artemis refers to feelings and the final lines reveal her love for her country. Also, intrusion and commentary can be found in Katerina's extract and intensifiers in Christophoros words:

And I remember that they were celebrating that we were going to do *Enosis* (Union) with Greece, and this is what they transferred it to the ordinary people. That we are doing EOKA B because we are going to do Enosis with Greece. And because people were simple and, let's say, most of them were not educated and strongly wanted Enosis with Greece, they believed that we are going to do Enosis with Greece. And so, they were fooled in a way and there was this fanaticism. (Katerina, mother, 52)

But I repeat, we were not refugees. I mean, I didn't live in a tent, other kids did. We didn't have a financial issue, we had food, we had water, we had a car, we had our parents. Others were missing many of these... (Christophoros, father, 50)

e. *Result / Resolution*. This is the part where the story comes to an end. Line 22 brings the resolution to the action of the exemplary story. Where the story leads, is selected by the teller; they narrate what happens in the end, releasing the listener from the suspension and tension created in the previous parts of the narration. The vast majority of the participants in my research brought their stories to an end as Table 5 shows. Ending their life story was important for them so I gave added attention to this part of the narrative (hence I provide here more and lengthier extracts). I noticed that the proposed ends of their stories vary based on their time span – some are focused exactly after the end of the war, others are still lasting. This is understood as these narratives are personal and individuals shared their own experiences. They can be organized in six categories namely Returning Home, Deserting Home, Making a Home away from Home, Back to life routine, 'In my mind' and No closure as follows:

1. Returning Home. Some tellers provided information on the return to their home, some months after the events of 1974:

For long we stayed away because our house was taken by Cypriot soldiers because it was very close to the Green Line. Soldiers stayed in our house until the end of March in 1975, (*Pause*) they kept it as a *fylakio* (*outpost*), let's say. So when they left, the National Guard informed us that our house was vacant and we returned. I remember in the first year, gunshots were heard in the

night. By then, my parents returned to work and we to school (Christophoros, father, 50).

At Christmas of 1974. Then, we returned home, but let's say, when we came home, it was a different house (*Pause*) it had *the smell of dead silence*, it had *the smell of pain and suffering*. Let me tell you that we cut a branch of a tree from the yard for Christmas tree, just for the kids (Artemis, grandmother, 76).

2. Deserting Home. This narrator was living in the enclaved areas for three years after the events of 1974 and describes how she was forced by the Turkish forces to abandon her home:

In November, during the third year of our stay there, an order came at Yialousa that whoever stays in the village is with his own responsibility. (*hesitation*) The order came from the Turkish army, that we are kicking you out. By then they started bringing people from other areas. We were told that we had to go. Two moving trucks were assigned for each house. A lottery followed for each house. (*Pause*) Our house was taken by a Turkish-Cypriot teacher with four children, and they helped us during our moving out. In the one truck we put our stuff, in the other the ermarolla (piece of furniture like an armoire), and the car...My grandmother was trying to load her belongings in two trucks. At the edges, we tried to put her flowerpots, but we didn't succeed. Her plants were her life, and my grandmother was crying heavily for them. They were left behind. (*Pause*) We arrived at Ledra Palace. Pouring rain and there were no covers for the trucks. We then got on other trucks, and we were taken to Pafos. We settled there, a few days before Christmas of 1977 (Soteria, mother, 50).

3. Making a Home away from Home. For some tellers, the end of the story was in the late 1970s and they described how they managed to survive:

My late grandma had a stable. Empty. It was made in 1956. It was not inhabited...We cleaned it and got in. (*Pause*) We had no water. No toilet. We used a nearby grapevine as a toilet, so others couldn't see us. I used to bathe my children at the donkey's water tank. It was an iron one. I took it, washed it and used it for my kids...I tried to have food and clothes to give to the children, that was my goal. I

had no big help, only my parents. I planted potatoes, tomatoes and stuff like these. My husband brought three chickens...We had eggs. (Pause) I tried to give them something to eat (Anastasia, grandmother, 74).

4. Back to life routine. Some narrators talked about the problems of their daily life in the late 1970s:

Once a week, the refugees were going to the main square of the village and one green, big old truck of the Red Cross was arriving, full of clothes and food, mostly from Greece. We, the kids who weren't refugees...well there was a bit of jealousy there, in the sense of 'why they give them, and we are not allowed'? Teachers gave clothes and food to the refugee kids. That created a question to the other kids, who were saying '*we don't have either!*' (Katerina, mother, 52)

At the school later...I had felt injustice, because for me it was like this, I was young and perhaps it might sound as odd, we were three brothers and I remember that we had to pay ten pounds every week for the bus fare. But the refugees were transferred for free. That was strange to me. We hadn't understood what really a refugee was (*Pause*). Our teachers talked to us but I personally couldn't understand what these people had suffered or why some of my friends didn't have their dad or, even, what traumatized experiences they went through (Kostas, father, 46).

5. 'In My mind'. These narrators shared some thoughts that they still have to this day following the events they survived:

Me, because I get a bit intense of these events, I have not recently been to the occupied side. (Pause) Not because I don't want to see Keryneia and the places I have been as kid. It's because I want to keep these beautiful images in my mind, of the small port of Keryneia booming with life. My parents went and they came back *devasted*. My siblings went, came *devasted*. Why shall I go then? (Gabriel, father, 51)

Okay, there are some characteristics of war that are still in my mind. I never understood how the young generation likes the fireworks.



Every time I hear fireworks, I am possessed by panic. *I have panic, I have fear.* And I am asking 'how can they like them'? because it is exactly like the Turkish planes. Like Turkish bombings. The sound of the bombs of the planes [...] fireworks are like these and until now is my question how can they really party like this, those who didn't experience the war? (Theodora, mother, 53)

I believe because the invasion happened it was such a thing, I made my mind, let's say, the process of selective memory perhaps, to maintain and safeguard memories before the war. My childhood memories are defined as before and after the invasion. It's my *benchmark* (orosimo), its where I make sense chronologically of my childhood memories (Yiota, mother, 50).

I organized the responses of the participants based on the resolution they put on their own stories in the five above-mentioned categories, and this enabled me to follow their stories and see how these narrators evolve their stories and structure their accounts. However, there were five participants who did not provide a personal closure of their stories and their answers formed a category called 'No closure.' Instead, they talked about the ongoing Cyprus issue or talked about their parents' ideas of the past or hesitated, for their own reasons, to bring their story to an end. Perhaps they did so because they do not feel that their stories are resolved. Some examples are the following:

The problems are not over. There are still refugees and the refugee settlements. And North Cyprus is still occupied. (Christos, father, 41)

But who was right, we cannot say. They have to tell us what happened. They *don't tell* us, we don't know *the* truth. (Savvas, grandfather, 80)

At this point, the Labovian approach helped me to understand the need of the narrators to bring their story to a closure and to understand those who keep their stories 'open' because they still have not found the ending, they wanted. For some participants, closure in their stories meant the return to their routines with minor incidents in their everyday life as young children while others choose this part to express as adults what is left in their soul from these events. For some participants this was marked by the return to their home, for one her story ended when she had to abandon her home. For others, the end of the story was a description of how they managed to survive away from home. This approach gave me the first pointers and it took me so far to notice, for example, that the word house (*spiti*) as it was expressed by the participants did not have the strict meaning of the building per se, but it meant the space in which a family lives, meaning home. It is the feeling of warm memories and resilience to keep the family bond together, as I later realised during the thematical content analysis.

f. *Coda*. This part marks the end of the narrative. In the example, the coda extends from lines 25 to 29. In this part, the narrator returns to present time, attempts to link their previous experiences mentioned in the story with the present and gives the floor to the listener. Some researchers such as Chatman (1978) place emphasis on the narrative closure (Chatman, 1978). The coda element of narrative is important because it is the ending that defines the meaning of events encompassed in the narrative (Elliott, 2011). In my research and as Table 5 above shows, few narrators make no

reference to their current life and how it was linked to their past experiences, so they were considered as not providing a Coda. But most of the participants gave information that can be analysed as Coda. Their answers can be seen as forming these four categories called as Betrayed by the state, Setting life goals, Ongoing pain and This research.

In the first category 'Betrayed by the state,' some participants expressed their disgust and anger about the state's policies related to the events of 1974. Their feelings are rooted in the fact that official policies have not taken into consideration the emotional impact of the events of 1974 on the local society. For example:

I now find the system against me. This is my personal opinion because with the years those little posters saying 'I don't forget' have disappeared. There are now our brothers as if *nothing* has happened. I don't accept this. *(Pause)* I mean I don't say that we should get armed but my father could have got killed by the Turks, my mother could have been raped by the Turks. *I can't call the rapist's son as brother.* (Christophoros, father, 50)

We only live once. We don't live twice and it isn't worth it to lose our life in a war that occurs only for some to sell weapons. *(Pause)* I no longer believe in fairytales, that are deceiving us to have morals and do everything for the homeland. I don't believe it *(Pause)* why are they fooling us? People got killed, so many children of twenty, of eighteen years old got killed. Why were they killed? They mislead the relatives of missing persons for their own interests. All these, we must ignore as if nothing happens. No, I tell my kids never to come back to Cyprus, if they can. To find a peaceful country elsewhere. (Theodora, mother, 53)

In the second category 'Setting life goals,' some narrators explained how their personal experiences shaped their attitude towards life. They survived

although they had lack of money as they were no longer after material goods, but they turned to 'ethical' gain:

For me knowledge is very important. And now, as I am growing older and reminiscing, I understand that my attitude towards life was defined from these experiences. I don't want to build big houses or all these material goods. (*hesitation*) we had there our big, new house and we ended up at zero, *having nothing*. I don't want to go after materials. I want to be devoted to human beings, these are the ones that count (Soteria, mother, 50)

We survived. I told my kids that their knowledge will be their dowry. We were always on loan because we needed money. Always in *debt* until my husband's death. I used his lump sum payment so I could pay all the loans for the house and for our children's studies (Anastasia, grandmother, 74)

'Ongoing Pain' was the third category in which some tellers ended their stories by talking about those who are still suffering from the 1974 events:

They brought the first dead person to the village, and then the second one. Seeing a young person of eighteen years old...And I remember the crying of the sisters, crying with despair. And then, after the war ended and some didn't show up, they became the missing persons. I strongly remember one mother, her son was her only one, she didn't endure it, at the end she lost her mind. (*Pause*) She is walking in the street, until now, and she asks if anyone has seen her son...for me these are *the most* tragic figures, the relatives and especially the mothers of the missing persons. (Katerina, mother, 52)

In the fourth category, some narrators expressed their concerns about the local history and how they could mediate it to their children. They revealed that this agony led them to take part in the current research and this drive gave the name to this category defined as This research:

Will I succeed to transfer to my kids, let's say, that Ammohostos (occupied city and area) is *something* Greek? Is this something different than anyone else can tell them? I live with this agony and that's why I was willing to take part in your research (Yiota, mother, 50)

This research directs me to only one question. Do we want to know the history of Cyprus or not? Do we want the Cypriot history to be taught with real facts or are we comfortable to find some events a little to the Right, a little bit to the Left and get over with it? (Dina, mother, 40)

I was overly cautious when I was working on this part of each narrative as the narrator explained here the meaning the events of 1974 occupy in their life. Therefore, I provided more extracts here than in the initial parts of the narrative structure. It is this narrative closure that gave answers to me, the listener; 'the audience wants to know not only what happens next but what this is all leading to, what it all means' (Leitch, 1986 as found in Elliott, 2001, p.11). In this part the Labovian approach enabled me to get the first indications as to why people share their narratives about 1974. Many of them use their stories to express their anger because they felt that they or others weren't protected by the State during or after the events of 1974. Some narrators use their stories to explain how these events led them to change the way they think of life, including their concerns about the way their children learn about these events. As I wanted to find the purpose behind these narratives, I continued this analysis further by applying thematic content analysis as part 2 of this chapter reveals.

#### 4.1.1.1. Evaluating the application of elements of the Labovian approach on my collected narratives.

As said, I have conducted twenty-eight one-on-one interviews: five of them with history teachers and the remaining twenty-three with parents or grandparents of students of fourteen to fifteen years of age. Participants were willing to talk about their experiences of 1974 and, instead of naively reading their narratives, employing structural analysis on these narratives allowed me to see how participants construct their understanding of the troubled past.

Applying elements of the Labovian approach on the collected narratives, as seen in section 4.1.1., seemed to me as the right key to organize first and later compare different narratives to understand the development of ideas and beliefs shared by the tellers about the troubled past. Applying elements of this approach helped me not to feel swamped or lost in the massive data I gathered as it follows a systematic process of construing the narrative of a person's past experiences so that the narrator's perspective of events can be identified and understood. In this way I was able to follow how tellers 'build' their narratives by categorizing their words in the functions of specific parts of the narrative, as seen above. This enabled me to be focused when approaching each account and when exploring data to create a strong understanding of how tellers construct their stories of past experiences. I mean that I was able to recognize whether they know their story well enough and if they are comfortable to summarize it, to distinguish how they

set the context of their stories, how they built their stories, how they relate events to move the story on. I found gaps in their stories as I could not piece together the events they shared in a chronological order, I noticed their perspectives and emotions on the shared events. Moreover, as I identified how they bring their stories to an end and how they link their past to their present with this approach, I received the first signals as to why survivors narrate their stories of 1974. In the context of my research, this is of great importance because it is the narrator's point of view on the events of the recent past in Cyprus that regulates how the individual narrates a story and which events, they decide to share with the listener, that is me or their child as Chapter 6 shows.

But, admittedly, there are some practical limitations in this approach which occurred when I attempted to divide speech into the six Labovian components of narrative structure. For example, some narrators did not provide enough information belonging to the component of Abstract, Complicating Action or Orientation as I expected. Also, information 'belonging' to one part of the narrative such as the Evaluation was found widespread in the narrative.

Furthermore, two narratives did not fit in my structural analysis of the narratives, following the Labovian approach and cannot be considered as successfully relating to the purpose of this research as the tellers shared no information about the events of 1974. In her interview, teacher Maria did not mention of events she survived, nor became aware of what happened

in Cyprus in 1974. Yet, this, can be explained as the specific history teacher is of Greek origin and has lived in Cyprus the past twenty years. The other interview that was less fruitful than expected is with Chara, a mother who gave poor information about any event related to 1974. Her answers were quick, and her words were sharp, despite my efforts to probe her to provide more details and despite her polite attitude during the interview and towards my research. Judging by the rest of the interview, she had more to say about the teaching of history in Cyprus today, than sharing her experiences of 1974.

The procedure followed in this part motivated me to go beyond the Labovian scheme for better understanding what purpose these gathered narratives seem to serve. To do this, I went back to the data and went over them while exploring the type of events mentioned in the narratives. Then I turned to the narrators and explored further the various stances acquired by them during their interviews; this resulted in the emergence of integrating or polarizing narratives. In the subsequent two sections I present the types of events and the various stances mentioned by the participants in my study.

#### 4.1.2. Objective and subjective events and vicarious experiences of narrators.

Labov (1997, 2011) makes a clear distinction between two types of events shared in a narrative of personal experience. The first type of events are the 'objective' events as he calls them, for which the narrator has direct



impression of. Labov proposes that the objectivity of an event is a vital requirement for the ability of the narrator to convey their experience to the audience. As my narrative analysis continued, various events, like those mentioned by the tellers, emerged. I began looking in these narratives of personal experiences for this type of objective events, which 'entered into the speaker's biography' as Labov defines and which are 'emotionally and socially evaluated and so transformed from raw experience' (1997, p.399). Some examples, from my research, of those events in which the teller had an active role or had a personal experience of an event as it was happening are the following:

I saw that man half-burned. (*Pause*) He was living in the outskirts of Nicosia and was bringing his family to the caves for protection. A napalm bomb fell on their car and killed all his family. I can't forget his face, *half-burned*. This made such a profound picture to me... I mean, until now, you know, there are some things that stay with you forever. (Panos, father, 52)

We were in the caves for ten days. They hit a house three hundred meters away from us, by throwing mortars on Pentadaktylos. Then cannonballs of the battleships hit on Pentadaktylos. They passed by on top of our heads, the cannonball – a piece of fired iron that rotates so fast – and *bang*, on the Pentadaktylos, as if it was an earthquake of five Richter. Stones were falling from the mountain, big fires started, and we understood that we had to go almost immediately. We have seen all of our neighbours leaving. The English neighbours we had, the English boat 'Hermes' passed by and picked them up. They were taken away at the coup d'état. (Anastasia, grandmother, 74 )

We came at the refugee camp. We spent about twenty months there, until they gave us a house at the refugee settlement. It was very hard. I got sick there...( *hesitation*) We suffered a lot. When it rained, the tent was flooded with water. (Eugenia, mother, 53)

These narrators talk about events related to what happened in 1974, which they had survived. I wonder why narrators talked about events of this type. The answer was obvious as these were events happening in the presence of the teller and kept in memory as important, providing rich descriptions to me. During the analysis of these narratives, I realized that such events, not only make a great impression at the time of happening to the individual, but they also have a long-lasting effect as they trigger the way the individual later makes sense of the past.

But I was also interested in the 'subjective' events some narrators shared. This is the second type of events found in a narrative of personal experience, in which according to Labov the teller 'becomes aware of through memory, emotional reaction or internal sensation' (ibid, p.412). Here, the teller is unsure as their memories are unclear about the events mentioned. Two examples of subjective events as found in my research are these excerpts below:

We went to my mother's village...for protection, to have someone near her. I remember my father coming in army clothes and then leaving again. (*Pause*) I vaguely remember him telling me he will go somewhere and that he will come back. (Kostas, father, 46)

I remember two incidents that I remember because they were talking about them, or I am not totally sure...and I talked about it with my parents but it's not for sure. I remember I hid under the sink we had outside the house, because airplanes, I think, were passing by. I can't remember if someone else was with me. (*Pause*) And I remember big turbulence in the house, without me

understanding...they said my father was hit in the coup d'état...I remember it like a dream...I was only two years old (Kyriaki, mother, 46).

In these examples of subjective events, the narrator confesses a kind of a memory 'black-out' due to the emotional reaction of what was happening at that given time. Here, it is rather unclear for the narrator as to whether the event happened, but when I prompted some participants in my research about such events because I wanted to understand why they mentioned events of this type, they responded that they had a strong intuition that the event occurred. Also, they informed me that they had turned to people of their immediate environment to find answers to what happened and put an end to their uncertainty over the existence of an event. I appreciated that both objective and subjective events are important for the teller and that is why they mentioned them to me. Both events, as shared by the narrators, helped me to understand what the teller thinks and feels about the events of 1974 and what of those events they have decided to keep in memory.

Equally important for the participants in my research, in my opinion, is what each narrator has learned from various sources. These experiences of several kinds, known to existing literature as 'vicarious experiences' are not survived by the narrator but are transferred to them through individuals, media and other sources (Norrick, 2013). But narratives of vicarious experiences are not embraced in the ambit of interest in the work of Labov (Patterson, 2011). Labov and Waletzky (1967) in their analysis of two television productions reached the conclusion that the narratives of

vicarious experiences, contrary to the narratives of personal experiences, are lacking coherence and evaluation. But Zayts and Norrick (2020) insist that the narratives of vicarious experiences are similar in many ways to the narratives of personal experiences. For example, they suggest that these narratives can also be analyzed following the Labovian scheme of the narratives' structure shown above. In this respect, it is strongly argued that the narratives of vicarious experiences can also become the means for the teller to, among others, assign praise or blame to actors of events, provide their opinions and beliefs about what other people had gone through.

Having these in mind, I decided to also include the vicarious experiences of the tellers in my narrative analysis. I took this decision after noticing that in almost each narrative, there is an interplay between objective and vicarious events. I realized that the stories of vicarious experience provide rich insights as well on how tellers understand the past. In analyzing these stories of vicarious experiences, my main aim was to see how the story impacted on the narrator and how the narrator positioned himself in the story they shared.

Therefore, in my research, the category of vicarious experiences comprises of events about 1974 which the teller had listened to the radio or watched on TV. Back then, there was only one national broadcasting corporation in Cyprus, which echoed the government or those who assumed power during the coup d'état. In addition, what narrators have learned from other people is included in this category. The tellers had a different attitude when

talking about this type of events; they were repeating what they have learned because these were “stories about other people engaged in actions that the tellers did not witness” (Norrick, 2013, p.385). There was rich material on vicarious experiences in my data. Some examples are the following:

When the warfare ended, the main image shown on TV was of the tents. People were under the trees; it was still summer. When it was raining, people were under the trees. Women were crying for their missing husbands, for their children who got killed or who were prisoners of war. I remember seeing images of prisoners returning from Adana in Turkey. They were hanging off the bus, trying to see their relatives in the crowd. (Pause) And this went on until beginnings of 1975. And then they said that those who didn't return, died. Those became known as the 1619 missing persons. I remember Makarios giving Christmas presents to the kids in the tents. (Christophoros, father, 50)

My mum says many times ‘I wish you don't get to live such a thing’. It is not easy to survive a war (Pause) What I remember from what my parents tell me is that when the coup d'état happened, those of the right held guns and did whatever they liked in the village...If you were of the Left, you had to obey to what they said, otherwise they could have you killed. Then during the invasion, bombs were falling, and they were trying to find shed under bridges or in big houses with basements to hide. (Christos, father, 41)

I have my mother's testimonies, mostly about the coup d'état, rather than the invasion. Because my dad was a policeman, our house was the police station of the village. (Pause) There are memories of people gathering at the house...I have shaped images in my mind which are not real, I didn't see them...The house was packed with policemen, guns were going and coming...but mostly it was the fear, my mother transferred to me, in relation with my father's work, especially during the coup d'état. (Nikos, teacher, 45)

In my research data, narrators often talked about vicarious experiences. I understood that it was important for them to incorporate vicarious experiences in their accounts perhaps because they wanted to emphasise that they or their parents were present in Cyprus during those days and on their suffering. Moreover, I noticed that participants in my research were able to better understand what had happened in the past through the stories and feelings of others about 1974.

The crucial difference between narratives of first-hand experiences and the narratives of vicarious experiences remains the fact that the first are expressed by the teller in the first person while the latter in the third person (he, she, they etc.). This tautology made me wonder more about the role of the teller in the narratives of vicarious experiences. This type of narratives might “provide the natural vehicle for news and general information” (Norrick 2013, p.386), but in these narratives the narrator has not witnessed the events or actions of people he talks about. While exploring the events mentioned in the collected narratives, I noticed that the teller becomes only the animator not the central actor of the story “in reporting other people's stories s/he oftentimes pieces them together from various sources” (Goffman, 1981, p.174). In doing so, the teller carries the responsibility of telling a not personal story, quite often without having the ‘telling rights’ of or whose tellability is obscured (Norrick, 2013). I wanted to better understand the different roles people can take while narrating and I explore this further in the next section.

## Conclusion

At this stage of my analysis, I identified three types of events shared in the narratives of personal experiences about the recent past I have collected. Objective events are the events the narrator has lived and witnessed and it is certain that they occurred, whereas for the subjective events the narrator has intuitions or emotional reactions that they happened. These two types of events are both acknowledged by Labov. Objective and subjective events about their personal experiences in the recent past were conveyed to me by the participants in my research as they kept them as important in their memories on an individual basis. The narrators also shared vicarious experiences, which were transmitted to the narrator from a variety of sources. My analysis of the types of events also included the stories about events of vicarious experiences the narrators shared with me, even though Labov rejects them as incoherent, because I strongly believe that they also reveal how narrators make sense of the past. It was this type of event that led me to explore further the different stances narrators can take while sharing their story and for what reasons they do so.

### 4.1.3. Acquiring various stances while delivering a narrative.

While analysing the structure of these narratives by applying elements of the Labovian approach presented above and while exploring the type of events mentioned in the narratives, I noticed that many narrators were telling their own story, in a first-person narrative stance using pronouns

such as 'I' and 'Us'. Quite often, they transmitted the story of another person, in a third person narrative stance, using for example he, she or they. As they talked, they often shifted between different stances, sometimes using the first-personal stance and sometimes other stances. This, I understood, was seen as a technique to share more viewpoints for supporting their arguments and to express, of course, their individual theory of causality of the events they talked about. In this way, they felt that they made their ideas about the past more convincing.

Narrator stances are common in narrative analysis as they maintain the suspension of the story and catch the attention of the listener. Goffman goes beyond this, and he identifies many interesting roles a teller can acquire during a narration. He approaches personal narratives as “strips of personal experience” during which the narrator selects, re-constructs and re-experiences certain parts of their past for the teller themselves and for the listener too (Goffman, 1981, p.174). In his suggested “participation framework” (ibid, p.137) he introduces the shifting roles a teller can take during a narration: The teller can be a. an Animator of the story, that is “the talking machine” or the “sounding box in use” (ibid, p. 144), b. an Author, who selects the words and how feelings are conveyed in the story, c. a Principal “whose position is established” by the story (ibid.).

I attempted to examine whether the roles of the narrator proposed by Goffman can be employed in the narratives I collected but this resulted in a



weak match. This can be understood as there is evidence in literature that shows that Goffman's distinctive narrator roles lack applicability in all the contexts; they "are often difficult to operationalize and may not be equally applicable to every kind of speech event" (Koven, 2002, p.173). I decided to identify the narrator roles as they emerged in the narratives I have gathered, and categorize them on an idiosyncratic basis, meaning that these stances were taken for the narrators participating in the specific research and might not be suitable for other research foci. In addition to these, I noticed that in my data, the process of acquiring different stances while delivering a personal narrative also involved change in tenses and a rewind-forward mode of the narration time in their stories. Four main categories showing the different stances emerged from the data as the narrator talked on behalf of their younger self, on behalf of their family, on behalf of their family and them and on behalf of certain social groups and I will now talk about them in turn.

First, I identified the category called 'On behalf of their younger self.' In this category, the teller talks about some selected episodes of what they experienced alone during 1974. These episodes were mentioned with the sensitivity and innocence of a child who witnessed them, not through the eyes of an adult. For example

I opened a window towards the veranda, overlooking at Pentadaktylos. I remember seeing thousands small umbrellas - those were the parachutes. As a seven-year-old I enjoyed that spectacle but those were the Turkish soldiers landing at that point in Cyprus (Christophoros, father, 50).

At nights, I heard the tanks coming closer...At nights, I listened to gunshots, a battle was going on, and voices. I remember voices. 'Help us! Help us! We are soldiers, they are butchering us!' (Yiota, mother, 50)

I remember seeing three or four soldiers with French berets (participating in the coup d'état) and there were three more in front of them walking with their heads bowed and their hands in their heads. They passed exactly outside our home and after some minutes I heard gunshots. (Panos, father, 52)

In the second category, titled 'On behalf of their family,' the narrator shares the experiences of another person in their family and speaks on behalf of them. The stories shared are stories well-known to the teller but not their own. The narrator here acts as a witness to another person's experience and refers to singular form. Anastasia talked about the suffering of her husband, Panos talked on behalf of his father:

I found my husband with one Greek army officer, burned, totally black. Their shoes were burned because the bottom was made of rubber. Their pants were burned and their legs full of wounds. Their beards were burned and blood was coming out of their eyes... (*Hesitation*) My husband never got over this. (*Pause*) He went abroad every year, because half of his thigh was gone, and he had to undergo many treatments. (Anastasia, grandmother, 74)

He was missing for three days. We had no idea where he was, we had no phones then. We found out that he was trapped in his workplace after the bombing downtown Nicosia. He was carrying containers with water, and he was trying to put down fires around his workplace. He couldn't leave. (*Pause*) My father was neither Makariakos nor Grivikos. He was not registered as a supporter of the Left or the Right. But he was there, and some guy took out his weapon to shoot at him. His friend who was there stopped him. 'For God's sake, stop. He is my relative,' he said. (Panos, father, 52)

In the third category of stances called 'On behalf of their family and themselves' the narrator uses plural form. In this stance the narrator shares stories about experiences involving them and their family thus the interplay between the 'I' and 'us/we'. For example, Giorgos talked about the decision of his family to leave their village and walk to safety, Savvas described the adventures of his family that had to stay away from their house and Theodora talked about her family offering their house as shelter to some people:

I remember waking up and seeing my parents crying because they realized what was going to happen. The second or third day after the invasion, all the family got together and we walked away from the village, without knowing where the Turkish forces had stopped and where the free areas were [...] We reached the river and we saw soldiers across the river. We didn't know if they were ours or Turks...Turks started shooting (Pause) and our family was split in two groups. We made our way back to the village [...] By the morning Turkish soldiers found us. (Giorgos, teacher, 54)

We came back to Nicosia from the Troodos mountains. We were not allowed to come to our house, so we went to my sister's house. Our older child was seven years old, the others I don't think they could then understand many things. I stepped outside the house and saw the Turkish planes bombarding military camps. There were not many houses in the area, and I could see the battle going on [...] I attempted to go home once and took some things from the house, I was not allowed but I did it. And left. The area was abandoned...Deserted as a cemetery. (Pause). Nobody was there. We stayed for six months at my sister's. (Savvas, grandfather, 80)

We were many families together because some acquaintances came to our house after leaving from their villages. I remember we had to be in the darkness at night. We had to turn off the lights so we would not be visible, and Turks couldn't find us. This is one experience that I keep very intensely. (Pause) The other one that I won't forget is that during the invasion twelve soldiers stayed outside our home. If I am not mistaken they had no weapons, and my

parents invited them to come in because the area was being bombarded...we put cushions and sheets in the dining room and they stayed with us for two weeks... (Theodora, mother, 53)

In the fourth category of stances the narrator refers to collectives as they speak 'on behalf of certain groups'. This last category is comprised of three sub-categories as follows:

In the first sub-category the narrators talked on behalf of those who survived the same event. They refer to various yet distinctive social groups affected by the events of 1974. Based on the data, these social groups are the co-soldiers, co-villagers, co-prisoners of the narrators. For example, Grigoris, (grandfather, 71) who was a soldier in the front line in 1974, described their difficulties as soldiers. He was recruited in the army in July and was released in November 1974:

Turks broke our line of defence. We looked for our army officers, none was in. Everyone disappeared. 'What shall we do?' I asked one of my co-soldiers. 'Let's leave', he said...As we walked through Palouriotissa (suburb attaching the Green Line), they were shooting at us. We passed one by one, every two minutes or so. We went to Engomi (suburb, about 4Km from the Green Line) people living in the condominiums there came out to help us, to bring us food and water...we spent two weeks there. (Pause) From there, many left. We remained five. One of our co-soldiers told us to stay at his aunt's house nearby. We stayed there for two weeks, until we run out of provisions. Then the neighbours brought us food. We were now three...

Some narrators mentioned their adventures with their co-villagers. These adventures took place during the events of 1974. Anastasia (grandmother,

74) talked about how she protected her neighbours from those who were involved in the coup d'état:

The night before the invasion, we (family) were in the caves expecting the invasion. I had convinced my neighbours too, who were communists, not active communists. Those people, the coup d'étatists didn't want them...The coup d'étatists attempted to disturb them. (Pause) I took part in a fight and I sent them away, because the woman was ready to give birth...I told my neighbours to seek refuge in the caves and see what happens. Some young people hid themselves there because they were afraid that coup d'étatists would come and take them. They had already killed four persons in the village and the news spread so others took caution.

Soteria (mother, 50) talked on behalf of her co-villagers as she described how they became prisoners of the Turkish army in 1974:

I remember the Turkish soldiers coming out from the fields. They came, got us out from our homes, put us in line – but I don't remember this. I remember some turbulence in the house...They put us in line. Turkish soldiers fully armed were on our left and on our right side. They took all the residents out. *I knew all of them.* My grandmother was raising me, and I knew all of them, old and young...I don't remember anything else, until the moment we reached the church...It was a route of fifteen minutes at least. My aunt later told me that shortly after stepping out of the house, I became pale yellow. She nodded to the soldier to take away the guns targeting us. The soldier was not talking to her. She told him in English 'Take away the gun from the kids', and he signalled towards her that if he dares to talk to her, they would cut his head off. (Pause) My memory came back when they put us in the church. They divided us according to our age...My grandmother saw my grandfather and she was telling him to take off his hat so they would see that he was an old man and not to put him together with the young ones...Because those ones they got... we have missing persons, you know, about thirteen people.

While Giorgos (teacher, 54) gave an account of life in the detention camp he was dragged into with his co-villagers by the Turkish army:

We were in containment. Women and children were held in the primary school and men in the church of the village. (Pause) I was only ten years old. I remember that we all laid on the floor, one very close to the other, and (Turkish) soldiers were guarding the entrances of the school. We had no contact. It was later that the Red Cross started to bring us messages [...] I remember the feeling of insecurity. I remember the women, and my mother, putting head covers and dressed in a nasty way, so they wouldn't get picked up by the Turkish soldiers for being raped. In my mind, I have the image of a young girl, who was psychologically hurt and at times she was screaming, and they explained to me what had happened.

These narrators talked on behalf of the survivors of the events of 1974 and their narrations refer to incidents taking place during the Turkish military invasion whereas the next narrators touch on the aftermath of the traumatic events of 1974.

In the second sub-category the narrators talked on behalf of those who suffered from the events of 1974. People who suffered were separated into two groups; the refugees and those who lost a family member. For example, three of these narrators talked on behalf of the refugees about the living conditions and problems they saw them dealing with:

There were employment problems for the parents. Many men had to find work abroad and offer money to their family. I didn't see the tents, in which refugees were initially placed. But I remember houses made with blocks, like slums made of zinc. (Pause) They lived in there for six to eight years, until many families moved to the refugee settlements so they could have a better life after this disaster. (Pause) There were problems of caring for the children. Most kids were in the fields playing ball while their mothers were working. Some grandmothers, some neighbours, aunts of their mothers supervised them... Their houses were simple. A small living room

with four chairs, two bedrooms, windows that you could still feel the air coming in even after they were shut. It was cold inside. The roof was made of zinc and water was pouring in, when it rained. I lived this; it was tragic. I must have been five to six years old and have these memories from my neighbourhood. They liked to plant trees and keep these little houses tidy. I was really impressed by that. They were helping each other. Swap clothes one neighbourhood with another, for the kids. One pair of shoes for wintertime and another for summer. Shower every Saturday. Lice and shaving off all hair from the head. All these (in a lower tone of voice). (Andriani, mother, 42)

We had a home and a TV and all the kids of the camp came to our house to watch...we went to the tents too. It was a tent with mud, ground in it. There was a small table, and a chair and those camp beds, that folded. Imagine now how hot was in there during the summer. Those tents were placed in fields, there was not even a tree. Nothing for the basic needs. They came to our house to have a bath. Poverty, discomfort, devastation. (Gabriel, father, 51)

I remember when I was at the primary school, next to the school there was a refugee camp. I remember tents and what I remember the most is the smell of the tents. (Pause) That smell was something like a boiled soup. I remember that odour every time I went closer to the opening of the tents...Later, there were the slums made of zinc, they stayed in there for years. In the late 80s the football team of the village used these slums as changing rooms. (Nikos, teacher, 45)

The above three narrators talked on behalf of the refugees, despite the fact that none of them was a refugee. Their accounts present the living conditions of the refugees in the 1970s and 1980s. Artemis (grandmother, 76) was another narrator who was not a refugee or lost a family member because of the events of 1974. She explicitly talked on behalf of those who still suffer. Here the narrator refers to experiences she did not live as part of a group but talked about the ongoing pain of two of her colleagues, as she witnessed it years after 1974. She said:

Apart from my personal experiences, I had two colleagues who suffered. The one colleague lost her son, a fifteen-year-old and her husband, through her hands. She lost them. She got in the car with her other child, a girl who was then twelve years old and lost her son, who was outside the car...Another acquaintance, she lost her husband, a twenty-five-year-old, during the invasion. She didn't know if he was missing or dead and she had to, after some information, go to the cemetery at night with two family members and dig, so she could find her husband...Their experiences, these stories I often narrate them, because I feel stigmatized by them... We were feeling their pain...

In the last sub-category, participants talked on behalf of those who are to be blamed for the 1974 events:

The next day, the 'brave ones' showed up carrying Kalashnikovs. I was at work and one of them came. 'Come and sit there' he told me pointing on one stone. And so, I did. He asked me 'where have you hidden the weapons?' I said 'Leave me alone. I have a family to support, and I don't care about these'. The truth is, I didn't know. After a lot of time, he left and I fast disappeared...These coup d'etatists sent the leftists to the war. Those were the heroes. They were holding the best weapons, but they didn't take part in the war...These people, can you forgive them? And they tell you that the past is gone and they make Griva a hero? *And they make statues of him!* He was the one who ruined Cyprus. *Traitors*. I don't even want to name them! (Grigoris, grandfather, 71)

I know these people (coup d'etatists), they know me and until today they are hiding in shame as soon as they see me. Or some of them apologise to me... *I don't talk to them* and they know it, but they come, and they talk to me... There are people who were coup d'etatists, trained by the Greek Junta, to welcome this thing...One was very active in EOKA B and he killed people. He left abroad in shame and he came from there to say sorry, on his knees, to my husband. (Anastasia, grandmother, 74)

We asked them (children) to question why there was such a reaction against Makarios. My kids have learned it. That Makarios was a dictator and for this reason, although it was wrong of course, Junta



came. We are never in favour of a coup d'état. But Makarios also has responsibility of it, for his own reasons...It was the junta of course but behind junta, there was a whole story. I had personal experience with one of Makarios associates. He was my teacher and he kept saying publicly in class that the Turks were stupid. That the Turkish-Cypriots were stupid, and they couldn't reach our level. (Theodora, mother, 53)

You see, if there was resistance...Here, in this area, they didn't dare to come. Because they were here...Seven Greek-Cypriot captains' rule in this area (He shows me a piece of paper with their names on it) ...decided not to abandon and that is how our area was *rescued*...You see, there was *resistance*, and they didn't come. Why did the Turks take over Varosi? Because there wasn't any resistance. (Savvas, grandfather, 80)

Three families of refugees came to our house [...] My mother gave them plates to eat in and some of their kids threw them down and broke them. And my mum said 'Don't break them, because we don't have other ones to eat in'. And their mother replied 'we lost so much. What is the matter, if we break some of your plates?' And they also told us that 'If you had come to our lands, we wouldn't even let you be under the orange trees' [...] There was this...As if we, the rest of us, were to be blamed for not being captured or why the war happened. (Katerina, mother, 52)

The last five narrators assign blame to the actors of a specific event. These narrators passionately assign blame to specific people, following their own individual theory of what caused this event. I noticed that the accusations of who is to be blamed for the 1974 events go in different directions as they are related to different events, and I intentionally included more extracts here compared to other sections of this chapter as I want to make all the voices heard. For example, the first two condemn those who took part and staged the coup d'état on July 15, 1974. The third one claims that Makarios (the president of Cyprus) also had his share of responsibility for the coup

d'état. The fourth narrator accuses the army (and the government perhaps) of not protecting and defending completely the island during the invasion. The last narrator talks on behalf of those who were not refugees but were blamed by some refugees for not suffering as much as them. What all these narrators have in common is that they assigned blame, quite surprisingly, not on the Other but on (one of) Us, on some people belonging the Greek-Cypriot community.

This sub-category of stances helped me to understand the reason that these narrators wanted their stories to be heard. With their stories these individuals sought to assign blame to certain people for the misfortune they brought to the country and to their lives. Labov calls these types of narratives 'polarizing;' when the main actor (narrator) follows existing social practices and habits but "the antagonist is [...] violating social norms" (1997, p.410). He notes that although, this might happen unconsciously during the narrative, the transference of experience is made through the ideological aspirations of the teller. But by focusing on the ideology that covers the actions of the narrator, instead of what is being said, there is the underlying danger of damaging the narration and the narrative analysis process per se. In Labov words "by making that ideology overt, we are departing from the dramatic mechanism that is the essence of the narrative speech event: the transference of experience from the narrator to the audience" (ibid, p.410).

The same applies, arguably, for the integrating narratives, which have a unifying value, contrary to the polarizing ones as seen above. These narrators seek to keep lower tones as they speak in rational ways, for the common good. In doing so they do not mention actors or antagonists for the events they talk about, but they rather refer to ideals and morals and they show resilience in continuing their lives after the tragic events of 1974.

Some examples of 'integrating' narratives in my research are the following:

I was of EOKA...But I didn't agree at all with the coup d'état. I was opposed to it. (Pause) Whatever happens with a leader, you will try with another way. Not by harming your country. You can't do this. Ruin my country because I don't want the one or the other [...] You can't torture these ones because they support this person. (Artemis, grandmother, 76)

I am really saddened when I hear politicians' discussions and they start from then. Instead of saying that these mistakes happened, stop. Let's go beyond that. What should we all do today, together? How can we live in peace and harmony, nice and pleasant? Our wounds are still open. (Pause) Say the truth, explain, don't push to the limits. Let the children think about what reality is and what we should do. (Gabriel, father, 51)

I don't think it (events of 1974) should be forgotten...I want them to understand that the war, in general, is...simply one action that doesn't solve anything. On the contrary, it creates many more problems, and it's not only about lost human lives. It stops culture, economic development, everything. (Christina, teacher, 41)

These two types of narratives found in my research, the polarizing and the integrating ones, helped me create a first understanding of why the survivors of the events of 1974 use their stories about the past. My research data show that survivors use their narratives as a tool with the

purpose of separating or unifying themselves from/with others from the past. It seems that some cannot get away from the bitterness of the past and feel that they need to assign blame to those who were involved in the events of 1974 such as politicians, state officials, coup d'étatists. Others are using their narratives to carry on with their lives and to set the right example to the youth as they do not want the next generation to suffer like they did. In this sense, I have touched on some of the ways these narrators choose to keep their past alive in their memories; this was not only by the events they shared and the causal relationship they built to link these events in their stories but also in the stances they took while employing strong words and feelings. From this point onwards, I will explore these narratives of personal experience by applying thematic content analysis to further understand how the participants of my research make meaning of the events of 1974.

## Conclusion

Noticing that many narrators in my research tends to take different stances instead of only saying their story while they referred to events of vicarious experiences, made me explore in this section the roles narrators acquired. Based on the received data, I developed a unique typology with categories representing the roles these narrators mentioned as seen above and which may not be applied in another study. As I understand, narrators used distinct roles and stances to make their voice stronger and the argument of their story clearer. Additionally, some narrators used their stories to assign blame to the actors of a specific event such as the coup d'état and the

Turkish invasion, that they viewed as important for their life-story. These polarizing narratives carry the ideology of the narrator as well, whereas narratives referring to peace and morals are taken as integrating narratives. In both types of narratives, the core of these narratives of personal experience is the event, and how this is mediated from the narrator to the listener.

In part 4.1., my aim is to identify how survivors of the 1974 events construct their stories about their past experiences and to understand how their perspectives about these events are shaped. I initially employed elements of the Labovian structural analysis on the collected narratives which enabled me to create a first understanding on how narrators build their stories by linking their experiences together to make their perspectives about the past more convincing. Then, I sought to further explore my data. In section 4.1.2. I decided to enlarge my scope and apply the Labovian approach on examining objective, subjective events, and events of vicarious experiences. I realized that all three types of events were mentioned by the narrators and were considered as important by the narrator to be heard. In my understanding all three types of events have contributed to the formation of the ways narrators recall and understand their past. In section 4.1.3., I looked at the various stances a narrator was taking during the delivery of the narrative and explored the purpose they did so. This resulted in the understanding that the experiences and ideology of the teller may direct them in creating polarizing or integrating narratives. In the next part, I am interested in exploring their utterances,

meanings and themes as expressed by the tellers and as found in the narratives I gathered.

#### 4.2. Narrative as Experience.

In the previous part I examined how the participants of my research structure their stories as survivors of the events of 1974 in Cyprus and what purpose their narratives appear to seek to serve i.e., to polarize or to unify people with their bitter past, to get an idea on how their perspectives about these events are formed. In this chapter, my aim is to uncover the range of meanings the narrators give to the traumatizing events of 1974 in Cyprus that they have experienced. Therefore, I first categorized the accounts I received into narratives or stories based on the qualities described in the Literature Review.<sup>12</sup> Then I focused on the narratives, from which I explored further the plot of twenty-four narratives in which the teller seemed to connect events in a meaningful way for identifying the main themes and range of meanings these participants give to the events of 1974.

Before proceeding in detail to the process I followed for exploring patterns in their words, it was vital to examine which events of the past these narrators identify as important in their lives and as worthy of talking to me about them. The first question I posed, after breaking the ice while collecting basic demographic data, was 'What is the most important event

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<sup>12</sup> I am using the words narrative and story as technical terms, with particular meanings. As explained in the Literature Review, in pages 96-97 any telling which can be structured according to the six-part Labovian scheme is called narrative, whereas as story is considered any telling that has a three-part form, with a beginning, middle and end (p.100).

of local history, according to your opinion? Why?’ (Appendix 2). I chose to let the interviewee free in selecting the event they considered as having the greatest importance, on a local level and I also probed for providing a justification over their opinion. As shown in Table 7, the participants in my research choose to refer to the events of 1974, by naming the events once or twice in their narrative. The coup d’état and the Turkish invasion were the events that they thought they had something worth telling me about and that they carry a high degree of reportability. No other event was mentioned.

The most reportable event	Coup d’ etat	Turkish invasion	Coup d’ etat/ Turkish invasion
Number of teachers	1	2	2
Number of parents/grandparents	1	7	15

Table 7. The most reportable event in my collected narratives.

#### 4.2.1. Reportability/Tellability of narratives.

The reportability or tellability of a narrative is one of the most crucial concepts in narrative analysis. This concept refers to a unique story that, according to the teller, has certain attributes that make it worth sharing with others. The individual becomes a narrator by providing an attractive narrative while claiming social space (Labov, 1997). Polanyi (1981) notes:

In order to decide whether a given story is “tellable”, a would-be-teller must have a model of what is tellable at all and he must have a model of his potential listeners which gives him some idea of what is potentially narratable for them [...] Narrators are under a positive obligation to construct their stories around salient material and also to signal to their hearers what they believe their story to be about

[...] Since stories are complex discourses with lots of words, many details and incidents of various sorts and degrees of importance, tellers evaluate various aspects of their texts differentially using a variety of conventional “evaluation devices” to point out particularly important material in the story. (as found in Mason, 2008,p.33).

The narrator is choosing a story of their own experience to tell, the way they appreciate it to be and give it the meaning they evaluate it to have. From my perspective, it is the narrator who will initiate and lead a story to bring it to a closure. It is the narrator who will build their story on certain events they value as important. But these events need also fall in the area of interest of the listener as the narrator appeals for social attention.

In the work of Labov (1997), the existence and the structure of a narrative of personal experience is evolved around one important event that is “the most reportable event”. The degree of reportability of such an event is based on two factors (a) by the impact it had on what the narrator (and those participating in the story) needed and longed for and (b) its rare occurrence in the narrative. Labov (1997, p.405) defines the most reportable event as “the event that is less common than any other in the narrative and has the greatest effect upon the needs and desires of the participants in the narrative (is evaluated most strongly)”. Indeed, the coup d'état and/or the Turkish invasion of 1974 were mentioned once, even twice by each participant in my research, but I infer their impact on the needs of the narrators as it is around these events which the narrators build their stories, revealing how their lives changed because of the occurrence of these events.



Of course, reportability of the same events differs according to the age and the (ambit of) experiences of the narrators as well as their socio-cultural context. It is worth reminding that some of the participants in my research were in their thirties in 1974 while many were younger than 12 years of age then. However, what is interesting to say is that not all participants made reference to the same events. As Table 7 shows, the majority of participants considered the coup d'état and the Turkish invasion as one joined reportable event, whereas few mentioned either the coup d'état or the Turkish invasion. There was no other reportable event of that period noted by the narrators. Therefore, my next step was to further organize the material I had gathered by first identifying the qualities I was looking for in a narrative to form categories of the accounts I received.

#### 4.2.2. Narrative and Story as my conceptual tools.

I wanted to understand what type of material I gathered prior to comprehending what the teller's system of words, views and beliefs included. To determine if a telling was a narrative, a story, a non-narrative or a non-story, I applied the following questions to each telling:

1. Did the telling have a linear, coherent, and meaningful sequence of events and show social interest?
2. Did the telling fit in the Labovian six-part structure or in the three-part Aristotelian model (with beginning, middle and end)?

3. Did the telling express a strong, clear, personal perspective of the teller on events, actions and other actors mentioned in their telling?

All three indicators are not solid in the sense that they are overlapping but they were valuable in helping me to make my own typology of the collected data, which I now turn to present.

This thematic analysis showed that these tellings were organised in three mutually exclusive categories: 'no narrative / no story', 'story' and 'narrative' (please see Table 8). I will now talk about each category in turn. The first category includes two tellings. As explained before, one speaker, Maria (teacher, 43), was not in Cyprus in 1974 and does not have any experience of these events or what followed in Cyprus in the next three decades. As she provided no information at all about the specific events this study focuses on, her telling did not comply with the criteria mentioned above and therefore is considered neither as narrative nor as story for the purpose of my study. The second telling in this category is Chara's, who although she provided some information about the past, it was not enough so that it could be seen as following the Aristotelian model or the Labovian structure. For example, Chara (mother, 42) says:

In '76 I was born. I learned about the events how they happened, the mistakes we made as Cypriots to get us to the point where they brought us today... (Pause) What we learned was from the history of Cyprus. That the coup d'état happened, followed by the invasion, then for the refugees, for the missing people, and for those living in enclaves. Until that... In the classroom we used photos, material, videos, posters at school. We then had the 'I Don't Forget' wall-

board where each child noted on the map of Cyprus where he/she came from... I personally experienced the declaration of the pseudo-state, which we condemned with concerts, with overnight stays on the Green Line, with stone-throwing, with attacks... It was a very intense emotion compared to today. And now the 'I don't Forget' became 'I completely Forget'.

The second category, Story, was made up only from one telling. Stephanie provided information about events which had a cause-and-effect relationship. Her story had three clear parts and even though it was mainly about her mother, Stephanie (mother, 42) maintains a strong perspective of the mentioned events. For example, she says

My mum dislikes Turks and Turkish-Cypriots because of the events. She is not able to define Turkish-Cypriots from Turkish people. For her, they are *both* Turks and they have taken away her house, her land and did many bad things...Her grandmother died, the Turks killed her because she didn't want to leave her village. And I, with my brother, we tell her not to be like this. (Pause) Because they are people too...and that we have our share of responsibility in all this.

The third category, the category of narrative comprised of twenty-five accounts, adopting the six-part Labovian structure, arranged in three sub-categories:

(a) Seventeen narratives labelled as 'Complete/Coherent' are the ones that had at least five parts from the Labovian scheme (and this because abstract is optional) and in which the teller showed a strong and stable perspective on meaningfully connected chain of events.

(b) Seven narratives, called 'Episodic,' consist of big-time gaps and separate events as episodes that do not show any causal relationship and

have little coherence in events and in meanings. For example, Eleutheria (teacher, 40) said

Perhaps the only memory I have is that on the days of the war, even though it was summer, my mother dressed my sisters... got them ready with shoes, socks, even though it was summer, I emphasize this, because at any moment... Dad was at the war... because at any moment she could have to get them and leave.

(c) One narrative is characterized as 'Abnormal'. Anna (mother, 38) provided a sequence of events, but with no logical connection. This is not enough to fit the set criteria or to consider this narrative as successful (Elliott, 2011). Labov and Waletzky name such narrative as 'abnormal: it may be considered as empty or pointless narrative' (1997, p. 412). For example, after she identified the events of 1974 as the most important in current local history she said:

... I know from my father and my mother but more from my father who experienced it. He was a soldier in '74, with bad feelings. He told me about the coup d'état, the invasion and the aftermath...

Pseudonym of participant	Narrative	Story	No narrative – No story
Artemis	<i>Complete/Coherent</i>		
Anastasia	<i>Complete/Coherent</i>		
Andriani	<i>Complete/Coherent</i>		
Anna	<i>'abnormal'</i>		
Dina	<i>Complete/Coherent</i>		
Christophoros	<i>Complete/Coherent</i>		
Christos	<i>Complete/Coherent</i>		
Christina	<i>Episodic</i>		

Demetra	<i>Complete/Coherent</i>	
Eleutheria	<i>Episodic</i>	
Maria		X
Gabriel	<i>Complete/Coherent</i>	
Eugenia	<i>Episodic</i>	
Kostas	<i>Episodic</i>	
Kyriaki	<i>Complete/Coherent</i>	
Xenia	<i>Complete/Coherent</i>	
Chara		X
Yiota	<i>Complete/Coherent</i>	
Grigoris	<i>Complete/Coherent</i>	
Panos	<i>Complete/Coherent</i>	
Giorgos	<i>Complete/Coherent</i>	
Katerina	<i>Complete/Coherent</i>	
Soteria	<i>Complete/Coherent</i>	
Evi	<i>Episodic</i>	
Stephanie		x
Theodora	<i>Complete/Coherent</i>	
Savvas	<i>Episodic</i>	
Nikos	<i>Episodic</i>	

Table 8. Categories of tellings

#### 4.2.3. Uncovering meanings in narratives.

At this point, I decided to give more attention to the plot of the seventeen complete and of the seven episodic (when possible) narratives and identify main themes and patterns employed by these narrators including the range of meanings they give to the troubled events of the past. At this stage of analysis, for me, the concept of plot shifts and encapsulates more than Aristotle's mythos; it is not only about how a narrative is mediated. It is, of

course, about the sequence of the events in a narrative and this brings an inherent added value to it. In Abbott's words the plot becomes "a device that brings the story to its fulness and authenticity as story" (2007, p.43). In this respect, the notion of plot is now enlarged to include the re-arrangement, the repetition, the duration of narration time of the events; and this notion can be mostly understood as emplotment (ibid). In addition to these, the notion of plot can include events in a causal relationship forming specific frameworks and, in this direction, scholars have developed categories of plot types (Tobias, 2003; Abbott, 2007; Wertsch, 2008 ).

Drawing more in the notion of plot as a theoretical framework I applied what Wertsch calls 'schematic narrative templates' as a tool in understanding the range of ways narrators make meaning of the past (2008). According to Wertsch, schematic narratives may be seen as infusing thematically what he names as specific narratives, which have concrete details on time, space, events and actors (2012). In other words, schematic narratives are abstract and are not focused solely on one episode of the past. They provide different information than the specific narratives, but they develop following one general story line. As these schematic narratives are bound to a specific cultural context, for they lack universality, I created my own schematic narrative template, inspired by Wertsch (2008). With this as a lens, I examined how the story line of underlying narratives is being developed in these twenty-four accounts. It consists of the following four parts:

1. The 'initial situation' which generally presents life in Cyprus before the events of 1974. It might be peaceful or troubled, depending on what the narrator thinks.
2. 'Change' is when the narrator mentions the occurrence of the Coup d'état and/or of the Turkish Invasion.
3. 'Action' is when an individual narrates how their life altered due to the violent events of 1974.
4. 'Aftermath' is about how an individual responds to the new situation in their life.

I mostly employed this narrative template on the evaluation part of each narrative, presented in the previous chapter, because in this part of the narrative the storyteller constructs meanings and shares their perspective on events. This is not a new practice in literature as researchers have worked extensively on the evaluation part of the narrative (Josselson, 2012). Patterson proceeds to enumerate the different ways, such analysis of the evaluation of narratives of personal experience, can develop into:

the amount of evaluation; the type of evaluation; different narrators' evaluations of the same event; changes in event narratives within a single interview as the interview progresses or as different events are addressed (Bell, 1988); changes in evaluation over time in narratives of the same experience produced by the same narrator; differences in evaluation in narratives of the same event told by people at different times or in different circumstances; evaluation in narratives of the same experience told to different people (2011, p. 28-29).

Moreover, Cortazzi (1994, p.160) argues that

if the evaluations in a large number of stories, told on a specific topic by a particular occupational (or other) group are isolated, collected and analysed they will reveal speakers' cultural perceptions on that content.

At the same time, I have also looked on the resolution and coda parts of each of the coherent seventeen narratives, although I have not found any similar work on existing literature, because I wanted to explore how the teller selects to bring their narration to an end while linking ties between their everyday life and their previous experiences.

Whilst conducting the template analysis, I noticed that my interviewees were organizing their thinking into distinct themes. As seen in Table 9 below, I group these themes; namely Survival, Loss, Pursuit, Rivalry, Victimization and Truth, in six Codes to help me categorize the ways narrators make meaning of their experiences of the troubled past. What follows is the presentation of these themes as emerged from detailed analysis of the twenty-four narratives and the range of meanings they entailed.

Code	Theme	Number of narrators who mentioned this theme
A	Survival	18
B	Loss	13
C	Pursuit	12
D	Rivalry	11
E	Victimization	10
F	Truth	9

Table 9. Themes and codes in narratives.



## Survival

Eighteen narratives discussed issues that I grouped together under the theme of Survival; the fervent desire of the narrator to survive. I understand survival as not only being personal; the survival of the family or of the people close to the individual is seen as of vital importance too. This is, therefore, a type of an inherently collective survival. Therefore, at this part when the narrator explains their efforts to remain alive, there is a rare use of singular form. For example, in the following extract of his narrative, Giorgos (teacher, 54) talks about himself only once, at the initial sentence of this paragraph, and then adopts the plural form for everything he moves on to say:

I remember waking up and seeing my parents crying because they understood what was going to happen. The second or third day after the invasion, all the family got together and we walked away from the village, without knowing where the Turkish forces had stopped and where the free areas were...We reached the river and we saw soldiers across the river. We didn't know if they were ours or Turks...Turks started shooting and our family was split in two groups. We made our way back to the village...

What is interesting in these narratives is that narrators approach survival as not having a momentary duration; but that it actually extends in two phases. The first phase is at the exact moment the events, the coup d'état, and the Turkish invasion, are taking place and when the narrator's life is in imminent danger. Here, five narrators found it important to describe their first reactions and attempts to seek protection. For instance, Gabriel, seven years old in 1974, explains that their instinct of survival pushed them to get out of their refuge, when their house was hit during the Turkish invasion:

Neighbours came in our house, for safety. A bomb was falling we were under the tables for safety. The windows were trembling, gunshots were heard. Suddenly there was a loud bang. A mortar had fell on the house and penetrated three walls. We were fifteen to twenty people in the house, mostly women with children, and we all rushed out after the bang, terrified, to see what was happening. Smoke and dust everywhere. I remember I stepped out of the house, and I was crying...There were moments as we see today, with kids in Syria.

After the coup d'état on 15 of July 1974, Anastasia (grandmother, 74) with her family and neighbours found refuge at the seaside caves. From there, they witnessed the first hours of the Turkish invasion. She describes:

We hid in the caves. All night long we were listening to the propellers of the boats that left from Mersin and they were approaching from the west. They didn't go directly from Mersin to Keryneia. They first went west, towards Cape Kormakitis and then they came back with their flagship and their battleships. They passed almost in front of us. They couldn't come closer to the shore...if we had a gun...we would hit one of their ships. Only one bullet on one ship, and none was going to be saved. They kept a distance of not even one meter between each ship...

For six of these narrators the meaning of survival has another dimension. These narrators, who were not refugees, offered hospitality to those who sought protection from the Turkish army. They explained it as an individual and communal gesture of support to those in need 'because they would have helped us too if we had to leave our villages' (Grigoris, grandfather, 71). Their action to open their house as a shelter was not restricted only to their acquaintances but it was extended to unknown people too. For example, Katerina (mother, 52) says:

At the second phase of the invasion, I remember that many refugees came to our village. My father told my mother that they were so many and that each house at the village would accept few of them. So three families of refugees came in our house. One family had four kids, the other five and the one family was of a woman ready to give birth. My mother gave her bed to the pregnant lady. The rest of us, slept on the floor. Food was made in a huge casserole, we ate a lot of potatoes, our own potatoes... We ate what we cultivated in our fields. We couldn't buy...After two, three days, the woman gave birth to a son, who was named Leftheris for the freedom (*Eleutheria*) of the place. Her husband, a soldier, came later. In September, he got his family and went elsewhere, they rented a house... I found him again, accidentally two years ago. He told me some things about his life, and I recognized him. I told him that he was born in my house. He was very, very touched.

In addition, narrators talked extensively about their efforts to bring their life back to normalcy again despite the pain and difficulties they endured. This is the second phase of survival which, according to their narrations, extends from the cease fire of 1974 until today. When they talk about this type of survival, they mean fulfilment of certain needs; having access to food, finding a roof over their heads, and continuing their education, to name a few. For example, Demetra (grandmother, 78) talked about the beginning of the new school year while accommodating the survival needs of the refugee children:

The first days of September, they invited us to come back (to the city) and to reopen schools. Schools had to operate in two shifts, in the morning and in the afternoon, to accommodate the kids which came as refugees also. (Pause) One disruption was the waiting for the missing persons. It was also the collection of clothes, food, anything for the refugees. It was a very difficult and tragic situation.

For Theodora (mother, 53), the survival of the refugee children was arranged with discretion via the authorities of the school by offering them a place to stay and breakfast, without discriminating amongst the pupils:

We had many refugee children in our schools, some their parents were missing or were in the enclaves and they stayed in the orphanage. (*hesitation*) I lately found out about this. The school gave us no information about these *kids*. (*Pause*) Us, the rest of the kids had no idea about what really happened to those kids...I strongly remember standing in the breadline, they gave out milk. No ordinary milk, it was like bars that could be dissolved (in water) ... They gave us too and I took them home.

For Christos (father, 41), this longer phase of survival, kept his family in an ongoing adventure of moving from one house to another, for about twenty years after 1974. These are his words:

My family...were the attacked ones, let's say, during the coup d'état... After five days, the invasion happened, and men signed up in the army... After the war, my parents stayed in many places. They stayed in tents, then in a village outside Lefkosia, they lived in houses without windows...I remember renting an old house in the centre of Lefkosia until 1983. Then we moved to a small house in a refugee settlement. After that, they gave us a bigger house in another refugee settlement. And we moved again. We kept being refugees, going from one house to another. Around 1990 we made it to our permanent house, when I was 15 years old... (Christos, father, 41)

As seen above, the theme of survival extends in time and in essence for these narrators; from trying to stay alive during the Turkish army attack, to offering protection to those who had to evacuate their houses and to starting their life again, in unfamiliar places.

## Loss

The theme of Loss of human life was emphasized by thirteen narrators, when sharing their experiences of the 1974 events. They talked about the sudden death of a family member, a friend, or an acquaintance during battles, conflicts and attacks and what strong impact had on them. They referred to deaths as a loss that occurred in the past, not as an ongoing loss. In these cases, the dead people were young boys of eighteen to twenty years of age who got killed in the line of duty. For example, Theodora (mother, 53) shared:

When the bombardment of Nicosia started, we went to the basement of our house...The son of my grandmother's friend, our families were very close, died in the battlefield. His parents were informed from his co-soldiers and his father and uncle at night-time went to Pentadaktylos and found his body. They brought him and I remember how intense the smell (emphasis) of this was because then you had young children, like myself, attending funerals and burials. I was so sad because we were close. And this made me realise how unfair and unjust (emphasis) a war is.

But for Xenia (mother, 50) only, the meaning of loss extends in a breadth of time as her family suffered from the absence of a dear family member. Her uncle was missing since 1974 and his death was only recently confirmed. In this case, loss enduring in time created constant feelings of unhappiness and pain among the family. The identification, the funeral and the burial of his remains brought a closure to the family's ongoing pain and suffering about the loss of their beloved one. She says:

My uncle was missing, never returned. And we lived through this every day. Basically, my parents, my grandparents, my grandfather insisted on going and on looking to see if his son would return at the exchange (of prisoners). He didn't come back, you could see the pain they had, because he was not found. They (his remains) were

found last year. After his parents died. The burial happened in the village last December.

When exploring the responses of these thirteen narrators, I noticed that for two of them the meaning of loss of human life did not revolve around the concept of the abrupt death of a young person during the events of 1974. Panos and Kyriaki talked about the near-death experience of their middle-aged fathers who were caught in incidents on the day of the coup d'état. For them, the loss of a dear one meant something that was avoided. They say:

He was missing for three days...We found out that he was trapped in his workplace after the bombing downtown Nicosia... out of pure luck he was not killed. But he was there, and some guy took out his weapon to shoot at him. His friend who was there stopped him. ... We heard this story recently. And it is real, it was not in his imagination or anything, because the other guy told us the story too. (Panos, father, 52)

My dad was hit during the coup, for days we didn't know that he was in the hospital. My dad is one of the lucky ones. He still has the marks of the bullets on him ...He is fine now; he has nothing left but the marks and everything he went through. (Kyriaki, mother 46)

Unlike the textbook (Pantelidou et al., 2016) that discusses loss in terms of people, areas and cultural sites, my narrators thought about loss in terms of specific individual lives. Loss refers specifically to the loss of human lives, of their loved ones, which is undoubtedly one of the harshest consequences of the events of 1974. Loss of their home as it is now occupied by the Turkish army was not brought up by any of the narrators. In line with this, not one refugee narrator mentioned anything about how

the events of 1974 dramatically changed their previous life, as the social, cultural and educational structures of their villages were lost. Going back again to the data and reading the narrative template as found in the narratives for this theme, I realized that these survivors show resilience. They accepted the meaning of loss as the result of an event in the past, integrated in their experiences and moved on with their lives.

### Pursuit

I noticed the theme of Pursuit in the narrations of twelve individuals. This pursuit was not about a quest or a search. It has a specific meaning; the narrator was being chased by the Turkish military forces. The narrator could see the enemy approaching and their life was at risk. It surprised me that, contrary to the other themes, the boundaries of Pursuit were very clear and solid. This theme embodied the narrator's effort to escape to safety. By saying this I mean that, it was important for narrators to provide details on the episodes from evacuating their areas to reaching safer places. Anastasia (grandmother, 74) says

I was living next to the sea; my house was at the seafront. It was a rocky seashore and that's why it had the best fish in Cyprus. I was living there for four years until the Invasion. *These were the happiest years of my life.* From the day of the coup d'état, we were expecting that the Invasion would happen, and I convinced my neighbours to clean the nearby caves and hide there. (Pause) The time was 5:30a.m. when they started bombing the area. Rocks were falling off Pentadaktylos, big fires were everywhere, and we realized that we had to leave soon...Thirteen people got in the car...We put half a bag of flour and rice for the kids at the back. How did all of us fit in that car I can't even remember! I started driving the car [...] *Airplanes were flying above us [...]* They dropped a bomb thirty

meters away from us. The bomb created a hole in the ground as deep as the height of a two-storey building. Black-eyed beans were flying all over us, as black-eyed beans were cultivated in that field. (Pause) A Volkswagen was in front of us - the only car we found in the road. The driver put his head out of the window to see the airplane, they cut off his head. Until today my daughters remember his head hanging off the car [...] I didn't stop, I hid in a turn of the road and waited for the planes to leave... And then I stepped on it until we reached Morphou where my parents' house was [...] From there, my brother brought me to Nicosia where my husband was [...] We got the bus and went to the mountains together, we stayed at my grandmother's village for two years...

The theme of Pursuit, as found in the narratives, had certain core qualities. It was the part of the narrative where the narrator showed a variety of emotions, from fear to unhappiness, from desperation to compassion, albeit controlled. There was also repetition of actions and, more importantly, the narration time lasted longer than expected compared to the time of the whole narrative - although in real time the 'pursuit' itself extended in a few hours or a few days.

### Rivalry

I identified the theme of Rivalry in eleven narrations. This theme has a long timespan; it stretches from before and during the events of 1974 until today and has a specific meaning; is about competitors and relationships of causality. And narrators give it a certain format as it always involves one protagonist and (at least) one antagonist. What is interesting though is that there is discrepancy as to who is the protagonist and who is the antagonist. In some narratives, the narrator is the protagonist whereas in others the narrators consider it important to talk about the competitors because, they



feel, that rivalry has affected their lives. Likewise, there is not one person named as antagonist in any narrative. Instead, the antagonists always bear a collective, plural form. Also, there is not one same antagonist in these narratives.

For example, in the following extract, Christophoros (father, 50) assumes the role of the protagonist in this Rivalry, set in the present. He openly considers the State as his antagonist because he does not agree with the change of the government's policy towards the Turkish-Cypriots. In his mind, Turks, and Turkish-Cypriots, are not different but have the same meaning. He explains:

I now find the system against me. This is my opinion because with the years those little posters saying 'I don't forget' have disappeared. There are now our brothers as if nothing has happened. I don't accept this. I mean I don't say that we should get armed, but my father could have got killed by the Turks, my mother could have been raped by the Turks. I can't call the rapist's son as brother.

All of these eleven narrators identified another rivalry that existed before the events of 1974 and talked about the division of the population in those supporting the president Makarios and in those who did not agree with his actions and favoured colonel Grivas instead. In a few of these narratives, the narrator is the protagonist but in their great majority these narrators are becoming witnesses to this rivalry. For example, this rivalry dominated Katerina's (mother, 52) life in her village, and she describes:

My most powerful memories begin from Christmas 1974, and especially after Grivas' death. I strongly remember that people were

split into two groups: Makariakoi were those who supported Makarios and those who were against him were called Grivikoi. I remember *harsh disputes* in the village. We had divided *Kafeneia* (coffee shops), churches and products like beers. The one who drank KEO was with Makarios, while the other who preferred Carlsberg was of the opponent group. Coffee as well. Laikou coffee was of Makarios branch, but who drank Charalambous coffee was supporting his opponent. Two brothers went to different kafeneia according to the person they supported... On the mountains nearby one group of fighters of EOKA B were hiding so the others could not find them. The others were running after them...and they could be brothers. I mean one brother was fighting his own brother...It happened in my family too.

There is also a noteworthy divergence between those narrators who approached this rivalry as being finished and to those who feel that it is still ongoing. For two of these narrators, this rivalry ended because of the first consequences of the Turkish invasion. Katerina (mother, 52) explains:

Until July 19 1974, they met each other in different cafes and did not talk. When the recruiting of soldiers started and they said that everyone had to show up, they did not say that 'you belong to the one group or the other'... Nor when they brought the first dead did they say that he belonged to one party or the other. No. The pain was common and the churches were reunited, as if by magic. (Pause) As if the Holy Spirit came to them and enlightened them and they were reunited. Of course, there were cafes these of the Right and those of the Left, but it was not what existed before the war. We wanted the war to understand that we are not enemies, that we are brothers.

The remaining nine narrators view this rivalry as still existing and as permeating all spheres of life. Their responses to this strand of rivalry are strongly linked with what I identified as the theme of Truth, which I now turn to analyse.

### Truth

These nine responses discuss issues that I grouped together under the theme of Truth. Their demand that the 'Truth of what happened in 1974 will be publicly released' (Savvas, grandfather, 80) and that those who orchestrated or took part in these events perhaps because of 'enthusiasm, perhaps misinterpretation, perhaps deception' (Artemis, grandmother, 76) will need to provide answers is strongly linked to the theme of Rivalry. It seems that these nine narrators assigned blame to the two groups (Makariakoi vs Grivikoi) who were competing each other and whose rivalry, according to them, brought the Turkish army to the island.

In this respect, I noticed that Rivalry and Truth are two interconnected themes, according to what the narrators said. They view these themes as sharing a cause-and-effect relationship; the two competing groups of the population and their actions are largely seen as responsible for what happened in Cyprus in 1974 and these narrators insist on publicly learning the truth about these events.

But there is a clash of meanings here as the four narrators of the older generation view Truth as the restoration of justice while the five younger narrators stress that Truth might be the key for a progressive society. For the former, their demand for truth encapsulates the notion of justice, meaning that perpetrators of the events should be taken to court. This is not about street justice, as narrators, after suffering from this rivalry and internal troubles, insist on turning to democratic means to make their voice

heard. For example, in Anastasia's (grandmother, 74) quote the theme of Rivalry relates to the theme of Truth:

The truth must be written and 1974 must be properly included, as happened. Not to wait for us to die and then write that a rebellion happened or something like that, so it will pass... For 1974 I will tell the truth that a coup d'état preceded...They should have been *punished*. In the whole world, trials are taking place even today. For WWII people are taken to court. In Cyprus, *nothing!* At least we would have known that justice exists...

This insistence on justice can be understood upon acknowledging that these survivors' beliefs about their social world were greatly shaken because of the traumatic events they went through. As Caney (2011) puts it, these type of events "may shatter victims sense of personal invulnerability, their sense that the world is meaningful and ordered, and their view of themselves as positive or good" (p.205). These four survivors, compared to all the other narrators, were old enough to understand exactly what was going on during 1974 in Cyprus and they were the ones responsible to protect their family and themselves. This also explains the tracks of anger, displeasure even bitterness in their words in the idea that the truth might be revealed in the following years, after their death. These narrators of an older age talked about their need to put the appropriate closure in all these events they survived. Savvas (grandfather, 80) shared out loud some of the reasons he thinks that might hamper the exposure of the truth for the events of 1974. He explains:

I am frustrated for saying that history will be written after so many years, after we have died. The truth should have been out in the open *from now*. Why should all these years pass? Perhaps because

there may be a controversy and we might fight ... at this moment what we need is solidarity.

As said above, the latter, the five young narrators, also talked about the importance of revealing the truth about the events of 1974. Contrary to the older generation, they do not necessarily associate the meaning of truth with justice. For example, for Christophoros (father, 50), the truth can give the impetus of changing the communal approach towards those who are to be blamed for the events. He says:

Look, to begin with I think we need to tell the truth... I mean we first need to see how we ended up to the events of 1974 and how we pay for them until today. If this truth will be discovered (Pause). Do we really want to find out? Because many of those who staged the coup d'état, have today governmental positions and they seek our appreciation while they are traitors. They are people who moved against the elected democracy. They sold their country, many of these are still alive. It is not easy I think to publicize their names but I reckon that this should be our starting point. I mean only those who really are gentlemen should be called like this and not the thieves, the traitors, the rapists, the killers.

Their meaning of truth is strongly linked with their notion of progress, in the sense that exposing the truth about past events will contribute to not repeating the same mistakes. Christos (father, 41) explained that this will be beneficial for society at large and especially for the teenagers of the island:

They must learn the modern history of our island, and what happened after '74 [...] A student who is now 15 years old will soon have the right to vote...If he/she doesn't know what happened or if they vote for something that could take us back, where the old events started [...] because war is not something that happened with no consequences. The problems are not over, there are the refugees, the refugee settlements and the occupied Cyprus. We are

experiencing these, and I do not know when they will end... Many do not want to accept or remember these events. It's the truth, it's the history, they happened. We need to say it and move on [...] these mistakes were made, the omissions...the capabilities of our leaders...They did this, right or wrong, we move forward. If we do not accept them, it will be bad for the whole society and for the future of this place.

The concept of truth is a core element in narratives and narrative research (Wertsch, 2021). I do not know if the narrators' concept of truth is distinct or close to the historical truth of the events of 1974, as my aim in this research was not to assess the reliability and validity of their historical knowledge but to understand the range of meanings they give to these troubled events. Therefore Riessman (1993) states that 'the historical truth of an individual's account is not the primary Issue' (p. 64). I accept that narratives are coloured by the tellers' experiences and beliefs, and probably are the means to make sense of one's life, and I have approached these narratives believing that there is not one truth: "there may be multiple views on the same event and each one has an element of truth to it" (Gilbert, 2002, p.228).

### Victimization

I identified the theme Victimization in the narrations of ten individuals. Like Rivalry, it involves one protagonist and one antagonist yet with some differences in its meaning. The protagonist is the narrator, who alone or with others has witnessed a certain event of victimization or who talks on behalf of the mistreated one. The antagonist is not one and is not the same

in all the narratives. The antagonist is the victimizer. In this theme there is also a victim, always in plural form but never the same. In this theme the victim remains silent. The narrators identified two groups of victims: both of Greek-Cypriot origin. The first group of victims are those living in the enclaved parts of the occupied side of the island. The second group of victims are the relatives of the people who have been missing since 1974. Based on the meanings the narrators give to this theme, this three-part relationship has the Turkish invasion of 1974 as a clear starting point in time and extends until today.

For example, in this excerpt of her narrative, Andriani (mother, 42) refers to herself and her friends as protagonists. The antagonist is not explicitly mentioned, although the presence of the antagonist (Turkish forces) is mirrored through those who were victimized (Greek-Cypriot living in enclaves) by the antagonist's actions. She says:

My teacher ... brought us individuals whose parents were in the enclaved parts and they talked to us [...] The Red Cross brought them letters to read. They had no phones to contact. They told us that in that area, they were allowed to move only in their yard, and we found it strange. We grew up in the fields, (they were) not allowed to step out of home or watch TV? It was bizarre. Not being allowed to read books written in Greek or go to Church?

Most of the narrators referred to the second group of victims; the relatives of the missing persons. But there are two different strands as to who these narrators consider as the antagonist in this theme. It is either the Turkish

army or the Cypriot state, yet none of them is explicitly named by the narrators.

For example, Katerina (mother, 52) talks about the suffering of the relatives of the missing persons. She becomes the protagonist in this episode, and she implies that the antagonist is the state's opponent at war, the Turkish army, responsible for the disappearance of some Greek-Cypriot soldiers. She says:

They brought the first dead person to the village, and then the second one. Seeing the corpse of a young person of eighteen years old... And then, after the war ended and some didn't show up, these were the missing persons. I strongly remember one mother [...] in the end she lost her mind. She is walking in the street, and she asks if anyone has seen her son...for me these are the most tragic figures, the relatives and especially the mothers of the missing persons. They are the most wounded. Those who got bombed can get over it. Those mothers though, who sent their sons, and do not know what happened, for me, are the most tragic figures of this war.

In the narrations of Theodora and Artemis the state officials are tacitly referred to as antagonists for not providing help, guidance, or answers to the relatives of the missing persons regarding the disappearance of their loved ones. They say:

They are deceiving us to have morals and do everything for the country. I don't believe it...why are they fooling us? People got killed so many children of twenty, of eighteen years old got killed. Why were they killed? What have they done apart from misleading the relatives of the missing persons for their own interests? (Theodora, mother, 53)



She lost her husband, a twenty-five-year-old, during the invasion. She didn't know if he was missing or dead and she had to, after some information, go to the cemetery at night with two, three family members and dig, so she could find her husband... (Artemis, grandmother, 76)

In only one narration, there was the meaning of the Other as the victim. In the narration of Yiota (mother, 50), there was the implicit reference that a Turkish soldier (and his mother) can also be a victim of the events of 1974. But this reference came from one protagonist, the narrator's mother. The narrator, who is also a protagonist in this episode, describes the event yet is reluctant to accept that the antagonist is, at the same time, the victim too. She clearly talks about the Turkish soldier as the antagonist in her telling. She refers to him as a carrier of what she identifies as the usual characteristics of the Turkish race. There is also an implicit generalization here that all Turkish have the same facial appearance and, more importantly, an implied connection that no kind feelings should be shown towards this rival because of his origin. She says:

And someone, I remember my mother, (Pause) I remember her figure at a specific place, someone was showing her one black and white identity. The face was typical Turkish with a wide forehead, sharp nose and chin. And my mother expressed a somewhat compassion for that man. And I asked her 'mom, why are you feeling sad about him? He is Turkish'. Keep in mind that I was five years old. She answered 'my child, hasn't he a mother, who is looking for him?'

In all ten narratives, the theme of 'Victimization' follows a triangle format; in the sense that narrators 'create' the protagonist, the antagonist and the victim to show their strong support for the victim's ongoing suffering. It also

includes the notion of justice, for narrators express their reaction to the mistreatment of victims. There are no adaptable boundaries in this theme; the concept of victim is restricted in the Greek-Cypriot community. According to the narrators, the victim is always one of Us and the Turks are always the antagonist, the Enemy.

These are the six main themes that emerged from the narratives of twenty-four people who survived the events of 1974 in Cyprus. In other words, as they narrate their personal experiences and re-live the past, I understood that they make meaning of the traumatic events of 1974 in a range of ways: by striving to survive, by coping with the loss of their beloved persons, by reflecting on their adventure to escape from the warzone, by identifying the rivalry that was the cause of these events and by expressing their strong will to reveal the truth about the past and by supporting those who are still suffering because of the said events. In all these ways, the narrators are (or side with) the victims, the weak ones, the ones who were damaged the most because of the occurrence of these events. In existing literature, victimization, or victimhood, can be expressed in various forms such as rivalry between those who were mistreated, complaints (Hughes, 1994) and 'politics of regret' and ideological competition (Olick, 2016) about how to make sense of the past. In this context, there is also an association of trauma with disruptions of a person's memory about the past events, that 'freezes' someone so that they cannot come to terms with the past (Olick, 2016).

In my interactions with my interviewees and from the narratives I have gathered through my research which have just been analysed, it was apparent to me that these narrators cannot be seen as trapped in a psychological type of trauma. They have made effort to overcome all the difficulties they survived and to move on with their lives. They are healthy survivors who talk about their past, give specific meanings to events of the past and are willing to share their stories. It seems that each one of these narrators have cultivated the quality of resilience on their own, which is understood in existing research “as the power or ability to return to original form or position after being bent... as well as the ability to overcome adversity ... and rise above disadvantage” (in Valentine and Feinauer, 1993, p. 222 and as found in Carney, 2011, p.206). In this sense, these narrators have accepted the occurrence of these traumatised events, they have incorporated these events in their experiences, and they have adjusted and re-boosted their lives.

Trauma, however, can also get another form and impact on an individual’s identity; on the notion of self and belonging in society (Eyerman, 2004). Acknowledging this, Alexander et al. (2004, introduction) point to the existence of cultural trauma

when members of a collective feel they have been subjected to a horrendous event that leaves indelible marks upon their group consciousness, marking their memories for ever, and changing their future identity in fundamental and irrevocable ways.

Thus, trauma, as a profoundly sensitive and esoteric reaction to the happening of an event, can be seen as affecting one's state of individuality and collectivity. As Eyerman (2004) notes, trauma may not have been felt by all or, as in the case of my research, not all people might have survived the same events, but it is what binds together a society or a group of people within the society. This is more evident in the definition Smelser offers for cultural trauma as

A memory accepted and publicly given credence by a relevant membership group and evoking an event or situation which is (a) laden with negative affect, (b) represented as indelible, and (c) regarded as threatening a society's [or group's] existence or violating one or more of its fundamental cultural presuppositions. (as found in Eyerman, 2004, p.161)

Here, it is understood that cultural trauma derives from a fixed type of collective memory as rooted in harmful or victorious events of a nation's past, presenting an official way of how the past should be remembered. But there are memories in these narratives which are not included in or might be seen as disagreeing with this 'official' memory, please see pages 76-77. This kind of memories might be understood in existing literature as suppressed or "repressed ...locked up and guarded by taboos or trauma" as Assmann (2006, p.212) adds. Also, they might be conceived as 'dangerous' memories because they may not align with official memory and might provide different ways of looking at the past and of shaping individual or collective identities (Ostovich, 2002; Zembylas & Karahasan, 2017). This discrepancy between official and individual memory will be further explored in the next chapters.

Conclusion.

This chapter is comprised of two parts (namely 4.1. and 4.2.) and is my joined effort to understand how these twenty-eight Greek-Cypriots who participated in my research and who have survived the traumatised events of the coup d'état and of the 1974 Turkish military invasion in Cyprus make sense of the recent past. To do so I first, in section 4.1.1., wanted to explore how these narrators build their accounts of their personal experiences about these past events. The application of elements of the Labovian approach was the key to unlock how tellers set the context of their stories and how they relate their experiences together to make their perspectives about 1974 more convincing. I identified that, based on their experiences and personal ideologies, interviewees create their narratives about the recent past, which can be unifying or polarizing, as shown above. From there, the focus of this chapter shifted to identifying how these narrators try to make meaning of the past, based on the events they shared. In section 4.1.2., I turned to the type of events these narrators talked about in their accounts, whether these were objective and subjective events or of vicarious experiences. This enabled me to shape a first idea on the purpose their narrations aim to serve and in section 4.1.3. I looked more at the different stances which narrators used to assume while delivering their accounts and for what reasons they did so.

To this end, part 4.2. of this chapter approaches the narrative as an experience rather than as a construct and explores what range of meanings they give to these troubled events they experienced. It presents the narrators' utterances and meanings of their past experiences as the main themes emerged from the data. In order to get to exploring patterns in tellers' words it was first important to me to explain the importance of the narrative's tellability (4.2.1.), that showed which events narrators conceive as the most important, then redefine the narrative as a conceptual tool and in bringing in the notion of plot as a theoretical framework to utilize in the process of data analysis (4.2.2.). After employing my own 'schematic narrative template,' inspired by Wertsch (2008) several common themes were identified (4.2.3.). These themes (Survival, Loss, Pursuit, Rivalry, Victimization and Truth) were organized in six codes to help me classify the ways narrators make meaning of their experiences of the troubled past. Victimhood as an emotional response might overshadow all these themes but these participants seem to be resilient enough to remember and to process the events of 1974 as they move on with their lives. These are not the only data I gathered from interacting with these narrators. They also shared ideas such as questioning the official version of the recent past and commenting on the material their child uses at school and these will be further explored in the next chapters.

## Chapter 5: What are students taught in their history classes at school about the recent past in Cyprus and in what ways?

To create a comprehensive understanding of what students are taught about the recent past of Cyprus at school, I first decided to examine the last chapter of the history textbook about local history, which is focused on the troubled events of 1974 in Cyprus. This is included in the last teaching unit in the history curriculum, which stretches from the establishment of Cyprus as an independent state in 1960 to the aftermath of the Turkish military invasion of 1974. I view this textbook as an apt product of how the past is expected to be remembered, in the sense that the state produces and distributes this textbook in schools (Assmann 2006; Wertsch 2007, 2021; Foster 2011). Then, it was important for me to enter schools and witness history lessons in situ because I wanted to understand what happens in the classrooms; the content of official history about the events of 1974 and the approach of the teachers and students towards it. Data from the document analysis on the history textbook and from history classroom observations form the first section of this chapter. The second section of this chapter explores teachers' beliefs on what students should be taught about the recent past in Cyprus and seeks to equip me to answer the question posed in the chapter title in a more thorough way. It offers their insights on the history textbook, on the aim of learning about the recent past, on how they share their personal experiences with their students and their suggestions on how the subject of history can be improved to help children thoroughly understand the past.

### 5.1. What students in Cyprus are expected to know about the events of 1974.

As mentioned above, this section presents my analysis on the last chapter of the textbook about local history and on the classroom observations I conducted with a view to understanding what students are taught at school about the troubled events of the recent past.

#### 5.1.1. Document Analysis of the History Textbook.

When embarking on the textbook analysis, I did not take for granted that what is selected and included in the textbook is what teachers actually mediate to students and what students learn about the recent past in Cyprus (Foster, 2011). This stance was further illuminated when observing history lessons and when interviewing history teachers, as will later be seen in this chapter. But I consider the Cypriot history textbook as encapsulating the content of what the state appreciates as the official history of the past is and, hence, as the only official material to be used in all the Greek-Cypriot schools of the island. As explained in Section 1.3., there is only one official history textbook about local history, and it is used in all three grades of the Gymnasium, for students of twelve to fifteen years of age. In its prologue, it is stated, among other things, that

The book History of Cyprus for the Gymnasium contains a synopsis of the history of Cyprus from the Neolithic era until the Contemporary one [...] The learning of the history of Cyprus in Gymnasium was considered as necessary so that children will



become more knowledgeable about the History of their home country. The reference to the occupied areas and to the consequences of the Invasion stresses the (need for) unity of the island and cultivates the feeling of responsibility of the younger generation towards the history of our place [...] The provision of visual material and sources completes and illuminates aspects of the text. (Pantelidou, Protopapa & Yiallourides, 2016).

The scope of the book as specified is to provide thematically and chronologically 'from the Neolithic era until the Contemporary one' a summary of the history of (the whole island of) Cyprus. As can be seen from the second sentence, 'so that children will become more knowledgeable about the History of their home country', it is anticipated that the students are already familiar with their local history and that this book will further enrich their historical knowledge about their local past. But it is the third sentence above that carries the explicit aim of the textbook. Here, the approach of the textbook is further revealed as it not only refers to the territory controlled by the Government of Cyprus today. It purposely mentions the north side, which is under the control of the Turkish army, as 'occupied areas' (an expression used largely in daily life) and foregrounds the consequences of the Turkish military invasion, that brought the ongoing division of the island as the key to emphasize the demand for geographical, socio-cultural and economic unification of the island; 'stresses the (need for) unity of the island.' As can be seen from the phrase 'cultivates the feeling of responsibility of the younger generation towards the history of our place' the textbook sets the students, the next generation of citizens, towards this political aim, the unification of the island, urging them to seek for the solution of the Cyprus Issue. It also positions these students

towards the history of 'our place.' As this is a textbook disseminated in the Greek-Cypriot system of education, it is logical to assume that 'our place' refers to Cyprus as the place of Greek-Cypriots. Therefore, it is expected that the younger generation is being aware and respectful about the past of the community it belongs to while demanding what historically it has inherited as part of this community is the meaning the word 'responsibility' encapsulates. This, however, implies that the textbook is instrumentally used as a political tool for promoting the political objective of the unification of the island, contrary to others, who promote the idea of two-states in the island (Agapiou, 2021; Panayiotides, 2021). The last sentence above prepares the reader that the sources utilized in the book have a supportive role towards the text of the historical narrative rather than providing new insights to the students.

The learning material for Grade 3 students extends from page 102 until page 117 as follows:

1. The Turkish Rule (1571 - 1878) from page 102 to page 107 covers 1. The Greek revolution of 1821 and Cyprus and 2. The last years of the Turkish Rule,
2. The English Rule (1878 - 1960) from page 108 until page 113 spreads in three parts 1. Economy – Policy, 2. The national issue and 3. The 1955-1959 fight and
3. The Republic of Cyprus (1960 until today) from page 114 to page 117 which presents 1. The government of Cyprus and 2. The Coup d'état and the Turkish invasion.

As my research sample from the whole textbook for understanding what students are taught about the recent past in Cyprus, I selected the pages 116 and 117 (Images 12 and 13 below) which form the chapter titled 'The Coup d'état and the Turkish Invasion'. It is the closing chapter of the textbook, and the only one that refers to the recent past – the previous chapter covers the Establishment of the Republic of Cyprus and the 1960s. There is not an introduction specifying the learning aim devoted in this chapter, but in the beginning of the unit allocated for contemporary history it is asserted that

Cyprus' adventures did not stop with the declaration of an independent Republic. In 1974 Turkey invaded the island taking the 38 percent of the territory and spreading disaster and catastrophe. Since then, Cyprus is struggling for gaining territorial integrity and ousting the invaders (Pantelidou et al., 2016, p.92).

Although, the first sentence of this extract implies that the period before the invasion was not one of tranquillity as Cyprus dealt with 'adventures,' the rest of the text omits to support this by providing any reference about events occurring from the 1960 (year of declaration of the Cypriot Republic) onwards. Instead, and as can be seen without making any effort to contextualize it, the above excerpt foregrounds the Turkish military invasion as the only one important event of local contemporary history. It is presumed that the chapter will focus on the invasion as a historical event and the reader gets prepared for learning about this terrifying action that was the cause of 'disaster and catastrophe.' In the last sentence, the phrase 'gaining territorial integrity and ousting the invaders' refers to the efforts of the state for achieving the unification of the island and can be

taken as signalling a repetition of the political aim the textbook seeks to serve.

When it comes to its arrangement, the chapter on the coup d'état and the Turkish invasion comprises a glossary that shortly explains the term Junta as military dictatorship, three black-and-white pictures, one black-and-white map of Cyprus and a text (Images 12 and 13 below). The text is not in the form of one unified narrative in the sense that it is organized in three sections and each one has its own title; Coup d'état, Turkish invasion, and Consequences (Image 14 presents the English translation of this text). The text is not lengthy as it only takes 5 paragraphs in one A4 size piece of paper. It represents the type of school history text that falls into what Coffin (2006a) calls 'the historical recount genre' that is made of three stages. It begins with a short background, which can be found in the first three sentences of Image 14 below, summarizing on 'previous historical events that are of significance to the remainder of the text' (ibid, p.6). Then it proceeds to record the chain of past events in two paragraphs and extends to the historical significance of the events, found in the last three paragraphs of this text (sentences 13 to 23).

## 2. Πραξικόπημα - Τουρκική Εισβολή

● **Πραξικόπημα.** Το 1967 επιβλήθηκε στην Ελλάδα η Χούντα, η οποία με τα όργανά της στην Κύπρο υποκινούσε την αντίδραση εναντίον του προέδρου Μακαρίου. Στα χρόνια που ακολούθησαν κλιμακώθηκε η ένταση στην Κύπρο. Δημιουργήθηκε η παράνομη οργάνωση ΕΟΚΑ Β', η οποία προέβαινε σε τρομοκρατικές ενέργειες, όπως η ανατίναξη αστυνομικών σταθμών και απόπειρες δολοφονίας του Μακαρίου. Στις 15 Ιουλίου 1974 διενεργήθηκε από τμήματα της Εθνικής Φρουράς πραξικόπημα, καθοδηγούμενο από τη Χούντα των Αθηνών. Τα μέλη της ΕΟΚΑ Β' υποβοηθήσαν στην επικράτηση του πραξικοπήματος. Έτσι ανατράπηκε η νόμιμη κυβέρνηση της Κυπριακής Δημοκρατίας και εγκαθιδρύθηκε ένα παράνομο καθεστώς. Το πραξικόπημα στάθηκε η αφορμή για να πραγματοποιηθεί η τουρκική εισβολή στο νησί.

● **Εισβολή.** Όταν το πρωί της 20ης Ιουλίου άρχισε η εισβολή, η Εθνική Φρουρά, αποδυναμωμένη από το πραξικόπημα, δεν μπόρεσε να προβάλει αποτελεσματική άμυνα. Αρχικά οι δυνάμεις εισβολής κατέλαβαν στην επαρχία Κερύνειας μια μικρή περιοχή, την οποία επεξέτειναν στη διάρκεια της εκεχειρίας. Οι συνομιλίες που άρχισαν στη Γενεύη κατέληξαν σε αδιέξοδο και οι Τούρκοι ανέλαβαν νέα πολεμική δράση στις 14 Αυγούστου καταλαμβάνοντας το 37,6% του κυπριακού εδάφους. Οι Ελληνοκύπριοι κάτοικοι των περιοχών αυτών κατέφυγαν στις ελεύθερες περιοχές του νησιού, πρόσφυγες στην ιδία τους την πατρίδα. Πολλοί έπεσαν στα χέρια των εισβολέων και κακοποιήθηκαν ή έχασαν τη ζωή τους.

**Οι συνέπειες.** Οι νεκροί και οι αγνοούμενοι είναι μια πτυχή του κυπριακού δράματος. Μια άλλη τραγική συνέπεια της εισβολής είναι η καταστροφή της πολιτιστικής κληρονομιάς και η αλλοίωση του δημογραφικού χαρακτήρα του νησιού. Εκκλησίες, μοναστήρια και αρχαιολογικοί θησαυροί λεηλατήθηκαν και καταστράφηκε μια παράδοση αιώνων. Χιλιάδες Τούρκοι έποικοι εγκαταστάθηκαν στις κατεχόμενες περιοχές και οικειοποιήθηκαν τις περιοσιές των Ελληνοκυπρίων. Το μεγαλύτερο μέρος των πλουτοπαραγωγικών πόρων του νησιού, το αεροδρόμιο και το κυριότερο λιμάνι εξαγωγής - η Αμμόχωστος - έπεσαν στα χέρια των εισβολέων.

Σήμερα στο κατεχόμενο τμήμα της Κύπρου διαμένει μόνο ένας μικρός αριθμός Ελληνοκυπρίων στους οποίους επιτράπηκε να παραμείνουν στην Καρπασία. Οι εγκλωβισμένοι όμως ζουν κάτω από αφόρητη πίεση σε απάνθρωπες συνθήκες. Τα σχολεία Μέσης Εκπαίδευσης που λειτουργούσαν εκεί ως το 1976 κλείστηκαν από τους εισβολείς. Τα ελάχιστα εγκλωβισμένα παιδιά έχουν τη δυνατότητα να παρακολουθούν μαθήματα μόνο σ' ένα Δημοτικό σχολείο που απέμεινε στην Καρπασία

Οι Τούρκοι ίδρυσαν στις περιοχές που κατέλαβαν το παράνομο Τουρκοκυπριακό κράτος αναγνωρισμένο μόνο από την Τουρκία και διατηρούν μεγάλο αριθμό κατοχικών στρατευμάτων στο νησί. Παρά τις προσπάθειες της Τουρκίας για αναγνώριση του ψευδοκράτους η διεθνής κοινότητα εξακολουθεί να αναγνωρίζει την Κυπριακή Δημοκρατία, η οποία αγωνίζεται από όλα τα διεθνή βήματα για εξεύρεση μιας δίκαιης και βιώσιμης λύσης στο κυπριακό πρόβλημα.



Οι 1619 αγνοούμενοι αποτελούν μια τραγική πτυχή του κυπριακού δράματος

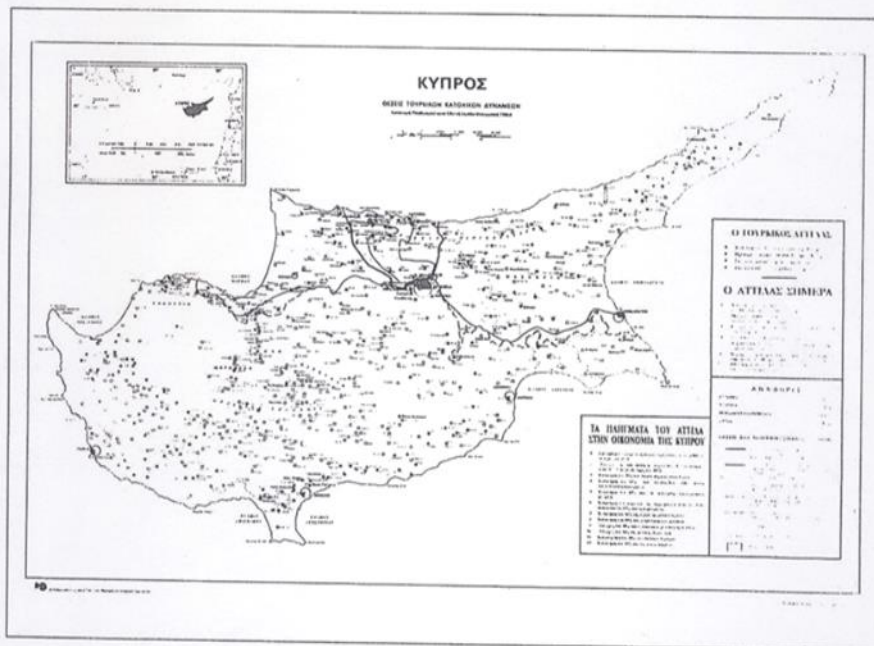
### ΛΕΞΙΛΟΓΙΟ

Χούντα: στρατιωτική δικτατορία

Image 12. From the history textbook (Pantelidou et al., 2016, p.116).



200.000 Ελληνοκύπριοι ξεριζώθηκαν βίαια από τα σπίτια και τις περιουσίες τους.



Το μεγαλύτερο μέρος των πλουτοπαραγωγικών πόρων του νησιού, οι πόλεις της Κερύνειας και της Αμμοχώστου, η χερσόνησος της Καρπασίας, η πεδιάδα της Μεσαορίας, το διαμέρισμα Μόρφου και ολόκληρη η οροσειρά του Πενταδακτύλου έπεσαν στα χέρια του εισβολέα.

Image 13. From the history textbook (Pantelidou et al., 2016, p.117).

I examined the content of this chapter by using narrative and content analysis. I performed structural narrative analysis with the Labovian scheme, presented in pages 96 and 97, as I was interested in the historical narrative's structure, in the sequence of events, in the narrator's stance and objective about the past. Then, I used thematic content analysis (please see pp. 120 - 121) for studying the historical content of the said chapter of the textbook, as the most suitable technique to approach the messages of written and visual material found in this textbook, from the pictures and the post stamp to the map and symbols (Downe-Wamboldt, 1992; Weber, 2011; Krippendorff, 2012). Due to the short length of this chapter, it was achievable in terms of time and effort to employ both narrative and content analysis.

After carefully re-reading the text, I worked on the structure of the narrative by numbering each sentence of the text, as shown in Image 14 below. Then, I assigned them to one of the mandatory components of the Labovian Scheme on narrative structure; namely the Orientation (O), Complicating Action (CA), Evaluation (E), Result (R) and Coda (C). For a detailed explanation on the Labovian structural narrative Analysis please see pp. 95-96 and for its practical implementation on the interview texts please see pp.150-170. There was no Abstract in this historical narrative, so the narrative of the textbook was organized as shown in Image 14.



## 2. Coup d'état – Turkish Invasion

### • Coup d'état.

1. In 1967, junta was imposed in Greece, that with its organs in Cyprus encouraged the reaction against President Makarios. O
2. In the years that followed, the tension in Cyprus escalated. O
3. The **illegal** organization EOKA B' was created, which carried out **terrorist acts**, such as the bombing of police stations and attempts to assassinate Makarios. O
4. On July 15, 1974, a **coup d'état** was carried out by sections of the National Guard, led by the Athens junta. CA
5. The members of EOKA B' assisted in the coup. CA
6. Thus, the **legitimate government of the Republic of Cyprus was overthrown and an illegal regime was established.** CA / E
7. **The coup was the reason for the Turkish invasion of the island.** E

### • Invasion.

8. When the invasion began on the morning of July 20, the National Guard, **weakened by the coup, was unable** to defend itself **effectively.** CA / E
9. Initially, the invading forces occupied a **small** area in the province of **Kyrenia**, which they expanded during the truce. CA
10. Talks that began in Geneva **ended in a stalemate** and the Turks took new military action on August 14, occupying 37.6% of Cypriot territory. CA / E
11. The Greek Cypriot residents of these areas took refuge in the free areas of the island, **refugees in their own homeland.** R / E
12. Many fell into the hands of the **invaders** and were abused or killed. R

### Consequences.

13. The dead and the missing persons are an aspect of the Cypriot **drama.** R
14. Another **tragic** consequence of the invasion is the destruction of the cultural heritage and the alteration of the demographic character of the island. R
15. Churches, monasteries and archeological treasures were **looted** and a centuries-old tradition was **destroyed.** R
16. **Thousands** of Turkish settlers settled in the occupied territories and appropriated the property of the Greek Cypriots. R
17. **Most of** the island's wealth-producing resources, the **airport** and the main export port - Famagusta - have fallen into the hands of the **invaders.** R
18. Today, in the occupied part of Cyprus **only a small** number of Greek Cypriots live, who were allowed to stay in **Karpasia.** R / E
19. The enclaved ones, however, live under **unbearable pressure in inhumane conditions.** E
20. The secondary schools that operated there until 1976 were closed by the **invaders.** R
21. The **few** enclaved children have the **opportunity** to attend classes **only** in a primary school left in **Karpasia.** R / E
22. The Turks have established in the occupied areas the **illegal** Turkish Cypriot state recognized **only** by Turkey and maintain **a large number** of occupation troops on the island. R
23. Despite Turkey's efforts to recognize the **pseudo-state**, the international community continues to recognize the Republic of Cyprus, which takes all possible steps to find a just and viable solution to the Cyprus issue. C

Image 14. The text of p.116 from the textbook, on the chapter 'Coup d'état, Turkish invasion and Consequences,' (Pantelidou et al., 2016), translated in English.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Highlighted are the evaluation clauses. For more information turn to page 156.



The first three lines form the Orientation part of the narrative, which provides the temporal and spatial setting of the events to be revealed and information about the participants in the story (see table 10 on the key elements of each part of the narrative). It is interesting that the whole narrative starts with an event happening outside of Cyprus. Here, the Labovian analysis has helped me to see how the narrator sets the stage and identifies some actors in the story while presenting their initial activity. Yet, these are introduced not on an individual basis, but as collective groups called Junta and EOKA B. Only one person is named, and this is the then president Makarios. But these groups all later mysteriously vanished from the rest of the narrative as the focus of the narrative turns away from them.

Lines 4 to 6 and 8 to 10 shape the part of Complicating Action in the narrative. This part, directs the reader to the chain of events in the story, set in a chronological order. The Labovian analysis reveals here that only two events are presented by the narrator i.e., the coup d'état, and the Turkish invasion, who attempts to describe their historical significance and causality. I noticed that the narrator persists in talking about groups – namely, junta, EOKA B, National Guard, forces, Turks – which took part in these events and again no one is named. It is not uncommon to find school history texts dealing with generalized rather than certain individuals. Instead of providing details about the participants, more attention is given

to the specific purpose a textual piece seeks to serve, echoing Coffin’s research (2006a, 2006b). In the case of this text, which belongs to the historical recount genre, as said above, the main aim is to give an account of the events of the past in a chronological order while making some causal links between the events which “may then [be] assessed in terms of their historical significance” (Coffin, 2006b, p.416).

Part of narrative	Position in narrative	Key elements
Orientation	Lines 1-3	Setting place/time of narrative. Focused on actors.
Complicating Action	Lines 4-6, 8-10	Chain of events. Generalized participants.
Evaluation	Lines 6, 7, 19, 21 And Widespread in the text	Narrator’s perspective on significance of the events.
Result/Resolution	Lines 11-18, 20 - 22	Where the story goes: consequences of the Turkish invasion.
Coda	Line 23	Narrator returns to now. Political statement.

Table 10. The parts of the Labovian structure of narratives and their key elements in my analysis.

The part of the narrative that exposes the narrator’s perspective on significance of the events been told is the Evaluation. The sub-heading ‘consequences’ (συνέπειες) in the original text usually bears a negative meaning instead of the world results, which has a more positive meaning (αποτελέσματα). The whole Lines 6, 7, 19 and 21 are sentences showing

the evaluation of the narrator about the mentioned actions and through them the narrator provides a justification about the existence of this narrative. Here the Labovian analysis tells us what is important for the reader to keep from this text. For example, in line 7 the narrator openly says that the Turkish invasion happened because of the occurrence of the coup d'état and in Line 19, the narrator implies that the Turkish forces exert 'unbearable pressure' on the Greek-Cypriots living in the enclaves 'in inhumane conditions' but does not proceed to provide any examples. Moreover, a closer reading of the text showed that evaluative clauses (highlighted in yellow in Image 14) are found everywhere in the narrative, in lines 8 - 18 and 20 - 23. There are a variety of evaluative clauses identified in the narrative, like the ones described in pages 157 - 158 of chapter 4, which transmit the narrator's opinion about the events. Some are intensifiers as proposed by Mason (2008); intensive words like effectively, unbearable, inhumane, drama, tragic and repetition of words such as invaders and quantifiers like few, thousands and only. Others are clauses showing 'intrusion,' as Polanyi calls it (1981), by the narrator in the text to propose specific explanation on a topic such as the 'illegal Turkish-Cypriot state recognized only by Turkey', words that have a negative connotation such as terrorists, pseudo-state, invasion-invaders and shifts in past to present tense used (Polanyi, 1982).

The Result / Resolution part of the narrative extends from lines 11 to 18 and lines 20 – 22. This is what happens in the end; where the narrator chooses to lead the story. The result of this narrative following the Labovian

analysis is found in the consequences of the Turkish invasion, as those are mentioned by the narrator. Typically, in structural narrative analysis this is the part where the tension created in the preceding parts of the narrative is released. However, in almost the half of the narrative the narrator insists on the resolution of the story by providing examples about the damage in human lives, in culture and traditions because of the Turkish military invasion. In other words, by giving examples about the Turk's actions emphasis is placed here on the ethical aspect of their behaviour, another feature of the historical recount genre (Coffin, 2006a). I noticed here that the result of the narrative seeks to convince the student to judge the Turks through the malicious actions of the 'invaders' towards the Greek-Cypriots. But most of these examples seem superficial, short and abstract and therefore seem unlikely to convey meaning adequately to students.

The last part of the narrative is the Coda. It is the end of the story and when the narrator returns to the present. This is found in line 23. In this narrative, however, I noticed that the Coda sets the tone of the whole story as the narrator shows on behalf of whom the story was just told. For example, the narrator reassures the students that their state is well-respected among her international allies. This implies that Cypriots are not alone against Turkey, who according to the narrator is responsible for all the misfortunes of the island as presented earlier in the narrative, and that their web of allies will offer them security and protection. It also emphasizes that the Republic of Cyprus follows all democratic means for finding a political solution to the long-standing Cyprus Issue. The narrator implies that democracy and

cooperation among countries, meaning civilization is the remedy of the military-related and illegal actions narrated before. My Labovian analysis on this part allowed me to conclude that in the whole Coda the Greek-Cypriot state seems to appraise itself, and it is now that it becomes evident that the Greek-Cypriot state governs this narrative.

The Labovian structural narrative analysis on the last chapter of the textbook enabled me to realize who the narrator is and what purpose this narration seeks to achieve. The narrator is the state which shares this historical narrative and selects what kind of information will be released and mediated through this narrative. For example, this narrative evolves around two events, the coup d'état, and the Turkish invasion, with certain limitations in time and space. My analysis has also tracked limitations when referring to the actors, who are not named or portrayed as individuals, but only as groups. This whole narrative relies on groups; from junta to National Guard and from the invaders to the refugees and others suffering from these events. This historical narrative is a typical example of a narrative consisting of mid-level events, as Wertsch (2004) calls them; selected events which occurred in a limited setting by not identifiable individuals. The occurrence of this type of mid-level events, which do not fit in the dichotomy of abstract or concrete events he defines, mostly shape these narratives that are created by the state and “constitute political history” (Wertsch, 2004, p.51). State narratives like the narrative found in this history textbook are meant to be approached as something ‘sacred,’ as

a narrative that does not encourage any alterations or comments on what the narrator reveals (ibid).

Narrative analysis has so far helped me in following the sequence of the mentioned events in the chapter about the recent history of Cyprus and, most importantly, in understanding the position of the narrator towards these events. For researching deeper in the meanings and themes this chapter seeks to convey to students and for understanding what they are expected to learn about the recent history of Cyprus, I performed thematic content analysis on the verbal and visual material of the chapter of the textbook on the 1974 events. For reaching my own conclusions about what students are expected to learn about the recent past, I decided to apply content analysis on the whole text to preserve its “semantic coherence” (Weber, 2011, p.43).

For a more detailed account of the analysis I followed, please turn to pages 119-121. The themes of Persona, Storyline, Community, Homogeneity, Position and Victim emerged from my analysis (Table 11). What follows is a presentation of the dimensions of these themes and how content analysis helped me to find answers on what and why students are expected to know about the recent past in Cyprus.

Code	Initial Name of Themes Category	Explanation
A	Narrator Persona	Is about who says the story and what is the narrator’s position about the past. It links with what is the intended position for the

			student towards the past.
B	Events	Storyline	Refers to the events mentioned in text. Explores whether only local events are mentioned and if there is continuity in the story line.
C	People	Community	Concentrates on what kind of people are included in this narrative.
D	Sources	Homogeneity	Is about the sources found in this chapter and their role towards the narrative.
E	Language	Position	Deals with the use of language and the development of student's empathy in this chapter.
F	Issues	Victim	Focusses on the presentation of sensitive/controversial issues.

Table 11. Codes and categories of the chapter on 1974 events.

The theme called 'Persona' is about the speaker of the story per se. Someone observes and narrates the story of the troubled past, but no evidence is given about this person. It is not sure if this person is the author of the text as is never personified as a character, yet this person is perceived as an 'omniscient' teller of a story that accepts no objections (Grever & van der Vlies, 2017).

Content analysis helped me to understand that the teller is there to serve a certain purpose as a persona; that is to express the state's view of what happened to the Greek-Cypriots in 1974, which is explained as the result of the actions of some Greek-Cypriots (although their identity is not stressed) and because of the actions of the Turkish soldiers. No other people have a voice in this text as the state dominates the narrative and this can be

understood in any textbook produced by the state, such as this one. Therefore, at this point the content analysis correlates with the narrative analysis of the text that proceeded; the state is likely to hide behind the teller by controlling the shared information. The state steps into the historical narrative in only three occasions, and this is done briefly, with little clarification and with no clear grammar linking it to the outcome (please see Table 12, especially c). This is done grammatically by hiding agency to obscure political inefficiency as Chapman (2019) identifies. Thus, it is not a surprise or a coincidence that some students and teachers have identified gaps and inconsistencies in the narrative, as will be seen in the following chapter, as little explanation is given, for example, on what the state forces did before or during the coup d'état, on what was happening in the country in the interval period from the coup d'état and to the Turkish invasion or about how the state dealt with the consequences of the Turkish invasion.

<p>Persona</p>	<p>a) during the ceasefire when it is implied that officials took part in '<i>Talks that began in Geneva (and) ended in a stalemate</i>' (Pantelidou et al., 2016, p.116) although no explanation is given as to why these talks reached a dead end,</p> <p>b) at the closure line of the text the explicit aim of the state is declared as '<i>The Republic of Cyprus takes all possible steps to find a just and viable solution to the Cyprus problem</i>' (ibid), but again no further explanation is given</p> <p>c) the commentary sentence under the map of Cyprus emphasises the state's territorial loss in 1974 '<i>Most of the island's wealth-producing resources, the cities of Kyrenia and Famagusta, the Peninsula of Karpasia, the plain of Mesaoria, the Morphou district and the entire Pentadakylos range fell into the hands of the invader</i>' (ibid, 2016, p. 117).</p>
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Table 12. The theme Persona and examples of the state-centric narrative.



The second theme identified is called 'Storyline' and refers to events and agents of action mentioned in the text. As previously said during narrative and content analysis it became obvious that the storyline has many time-gaps and little continuity. For example, it starts with 1967 when junta took over power in Greece '(junta) organs in Cyprus encouraged the reaction against president Makarios' (ibid, 2016, p116.) and moves to 15 July 1974 the day of the coup d'état which 'was carried out by sections of the National Guard led by the junta of Athens. The members of EOKA B assisted in the coup d'état' (ibid). This is a narrative that relies strictly on factual history, but the story does not get deep in providing information on what kind of events happened which resulted in the establishment of the illegal regime by those involved in the coup d'état. Neither the names or any qualities of those involved in the coup d'état are given, apart from their group membership in EOKA B or National Guard. No clarification or reasons are provided, for example, to debate and explain why these people seek to change the status quo and assume power of the state. From this event the story continues to the Turkish military invasion. Both phases of the Invasion are named: the first phase that began on the 20th of July 'and the invading forces took over a small area in the province of Kyrenia' and the second phase on the 14th of August when 'Turks took new military action...occupying on the 37.6% of the Cypriot territory' (ibid). 1976 is the next date mentioned in the storyline when all schools of Secondary Education in the occupied side were 'closed by the Invaders' (ibid). The

story ends with the formation of the illegal Turkish-Cypriot state that's 'pseudo state' although no date is mentioned in the book - this happened in 1983. From the 14 of August until the formation of pseudo-state the consequences of the Turkish invasion are mentioned in eleven sentences.

Although as seen above, this theme is focused on local events and even if the text makes timid efforts to open up to events happening outside of Cyprus or events happening in Cyprus that might have a wider importance (please see table 13), content analysis showed that little effort is taken to explain the causal relationship between the two main events mentioned in the text: the coup' d'état and the invasion. As the text emphatically states '*the coup d'état was the reason for the Turkish invasion of the island*'(ibid), but I noticed that what happened between these events, that might provide stronger explanation on their causal relationship, and how various segments of the public were and are still affected by these events elaborating on their historical significance, is not mentioned.

<p>Storyline</p>	<p>a) 'In 1967, junta was imposed in Greece, that with its organs in Cyprus encouraged the reaction against President Makarios' is the first sentence of the text, showing that this action abroad was connected to events in Cyprus stressing that Junta was responsible for the backlash against the elected president.</p> <p>b) In the sentence '<i>Talks that began in Geneva ended in a stalemate</i>' the focus moves from Cyprus to Geneva, the place that held discussions during the ceasefire, but this happens instantly.</p> <p>c) Following the establishment of the pseudo-state (1983), in the phrase '<i>the international community continues to recognize the Republic of Cyprus,</i>' it is implied that Cyprus has firm international relations, but no further details are given on what type of relations Cyprus has with these allies.</p>
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Table 13. The theme Storyline and examples about events occurring in Cyprus and abroad.

Community as a theme refers to the population of the island which is portrayed in the historical narrative and sources as a unified group; in the sense that people are not identified based on their gender, age, or religion. Here, content analysis allowed me to conclude that this narrative seems to seek binding Greek-Cypriots together and presenting them as having a shared identity, which is constructed in an interplay with and in contrast to the way the 'Other,' the Turkish invaders are portrayed. For example, Greek-Cypriots are presented as people of a long culture and tradition, who were violently victimized by the Turkish army who outran them in power number and weaponry. But, by presenting the Greek-Cypriot community as a 'natural entity,' this narrative fails to admit that this community is comprised by Armenians, Latins and Maronites too. However, this multicultural characteristic of the local society was emphasized by the participants during their interviews, as Chapter 6 shows. Furthermore, what I realized is that, for protecting this notion of shared national identity, the narrative seems reluctant to elaborate on conflicts within the Greek-Cypriot community. This can perhaps answer as to why, although not forgotten, conflicts are mentioned hastily, as seen in the two previous themes. This is not a new phenomenon in existing research in conflict-ridden societies, which as Guichard explains 'suffer from selective collective amnesia' (2013, p.69). This amnesia is not about 'complete forgetting and might not be as conscious as a choice; it corresponds rather to a group preference not to build the national narrative using certain pieces of the national past's repertoire'(ibid).

Moreover, in the whole text, the only person that is named is President Makarios. His political position as head of the state is promoted as no reference is made on his other role as the Archbishop and head of the Christian Orthodox Church. I noticed that he appears twice in the text, as a person whose life was at elevated risk. It is specified in the text that he was the target of the junta and of the extremist organization of EOKA B, who both wanted to overthrow and assassinate him. Yet, as happens in the rest of the text, as my content analysis showed, no further details are given that might explain this attitude towards him or even the public's reaction and involvement in this social unrest. This remark was further supported later, during the interviews, as some participants talked about how Makarios followed antidemocratic means to impose his authority and how part of the public was not in favour of him (see Chapter 6).

The theme of Homogeneity discusses the scope of the sources selected to accompany the text. Content analysis was focused on the three types of sources (photos, map, and glossary), which are used in pages 116 and 117 of the textbook and have a supportive role for the main narrative of the text. Yet, as I noticed none of these sources are incorporated or referred to in the narrative, but they serve the same cause; to show the consequences of the Turkish invasion from the Greek-Cypriot state's point of view. For example, there is just a post stamp showing a young child sitting in front of the barbed wire with no description and one photo of a female holding the photo of her missing relative accompanied by the sentence '1619 missing persons is one tragic aspect of the Cypriot drama'(ibid). The last photo

shows an older woman and children staying in the refugee tents explaining that '200 000 Greek-Cypriots were violently uprooted from their houses and assets' (ibid, p.117). A closer look in these images reveal their tendency of presenting children in actions of suffering and great sorrow such as becoming refugees having lost their homes and staying in tents or looking for their missing relatives. At this point, content analysis revealed that these are sources portraying victimization. I mean that none of these images depicts any actions of resistance or struggle for 'the unity of the island' as proclaimed earlier in the prologue of the book. Moreover, there is a rather detailed map of Cyprus after 1974 with the Green Line dividing it, with some parts of the island faded, so has its legend, making it difficult to be read. The third type of source, the glossary/vocabulary provides little definition for only one word, that is junta as 'military dictatorship'. It can be said that the meaning drawn from these pictures, the map and the glossary correlates with the narrative; a victim's narrative of the past which is focused on the consequences of the Turkish invasion rather than making connections with the present. In sum, all five sources, although diverse in style, have a homogeneous aim in maintaining the historical narrative, as they do not seem to provide new paths of enquiry for the students about the troubled past.

Position as a theme is about the language employed in this narrative and how it aspires to cultivate stances and emotions in students while learning about the troubled past. The narrative has a veritable cornucopia of heavily-meaning-loaded words and phrases, like 'The enclaved ones,

however, live under unbearable pressure in inhumane conditions' (ibid), which have the tendency to express events not in verbs but as nouns (unbearable pressure in inhumane conditions) and make logical links with the use of logical connectors (however, under). This is a usual tactic in texts belonging to this genre. As Coffin explains

by packaging a causal connector as a noun cause is given a more prominent place in sentence-initial position. Thus, the more highly nominalized, abstract representation of events gives greater emphasis to the causal dimension of past events' (2006b, p.421).

In addition to the process of nominalization followed, and as seen during the narrative analysis of the text, many evaluation clauses are encompassed in this text to show the significance of events. In relation to this text genre, Coffin accepts the 'use of evaluative lexis as a means of passing judgement on and giving value to, historical processes' (2006b, p.421). In other words, the nominalization and evaluation process are used as a choice to create a lifeless prose, a language depicting the 'cultural' purposes of the scholarship of History but adjusted to the practice of school history (ibid).

Assuming that this strong language is used as the key not only in making students more responsive about the historical significance of past events but also empathetic towards those who suffered during these events, it is understood as to why the theme of Position dominates the part of the text referring to the consequences of the troubled past in Cyprus. Content analysis picked up on sensitive issues found in the text related with the impact of the consequences of the invasion on human lives and of their

properties as in the cases of Greek-Cypriots who got killed or who were arrested by the Turkish army and are still missing. But I noticed that these topics are mentioned in only one, short sentence and in a vague manner such as ‘the dead and the missing persons are an aspect of the Cypriot drama’ (ibid). The only sensitive issue I saw the text insisting on, by allocating four sentences, is about the few enclaved Greek-Cypriots ‘who were allowed to stay in Karpasia’ (ibid, p.116). Specific information is given for these people aiming to convince the reader that ‘the invaders’ showed no respect for their human rights and allowed only one primary school left (open) in Karpasia for the enclaved children to attend. My analysis revealed that this brief approach to the past of the state’s narrative supported by the obscurement of agency and strong language used, is unlikely to allow students to create second-order concepts such as causation and historical significance or skills like empathy when learning about their recent past. During her interview Maria (teacher, 43), touched on this, commenting on the students’ low responsiveness to these events

But the majority remains silent... I'm afraid that they have nothing to say, they don't care. They have no opinion on this matter because this has become a permanent moan for them; the Cypriot issue, the pseudo-state, this lot of ‘thy's and thou's’ and they have internalized all these without wondering, without seeing what is happening.

This is common in this field area. Reviewing existing literature on national narratives and elaborating on the language selected in them, where ‘words and sentences seem to be objective and impersonal; stories are told by an omniscient Narrator,’ Grever & van der Vlies acknowledge that master narratives are not merely aiming to help students to understand the past

(p.288, 2017). They enlighten us about the purpose of these narratives, which offer a 'canonized' story about the state's past, in contributing to the state's existence 'by creating cohesion in the present with a view to the future' (ibid, p.287). It is not unreasonable to suggest that the historical narrative of the textbook attempts to secure the loyalty of the people to the state, which is under eminent threat by the Turkish army. Similarly, to what was derived following the narrative analysis that preceded, content analysis led me to the understanding that the historical narrative and the sources, position the readers politically. This is emphasized in the concluding sentence of the chapter as the narrative strives to convince readers that the state is protecting them and their rights as it represents them worldwide and undertakes efforts to find solution to the Cyprus Issue.

Position as a theme is strongly linked with the theme of Victim, also found in the text, and represented in the images of this chapter. Victim is referring to the impact of the Turkish invasion on Greek-Cypriots' lives, who were victimized, in various ways, by the 'invaders'. But, as I already mentioned at the Position theme, the concept of victimization is approached superficially as little information is given about the ongoing suffering of many Greek-Cypriots. Although researchers (Levstik, 2000, Apple 2004, Cole 2007) support that acts of violence cannot be lengthily described in schools' narratives and the avoidance of violent acts is endorsed as a common practice in history textbooks worldwide, Guichard (2013) suggests that images of non-violent and physically violent acts occurring during a conflict, might be an important source of information about the past for the students.



Even so, content analysis helped me to see those issues of justice for victimized and suffering people in this historical narrative, are used to elicit a moral response of the reader. It is this theme of the narrative that tends to link the past with the present; make the student aware of the historical past for becoming responsible 'towards the history of our place', as noted in the prologue of the textbook, which is in danger. For example, it is emphatically stated in the text that the invaders still pursue changes in the 'demographic character of the island' by bringing 'thousands of Turkish settlers in the occupied territories, appropriated the property of the Greek Cypriots' and that they vanished anything belonging to the said community as 'cultural heritage...churches, monasteries and archaeological treasures were looted, centuries-old tradition was destroyed' (textbook, p.116). This is not an atypical example in school history. As Barton and Levstik eloquently put it

Moral responses to history often revolve around issues of justice: We become outraged when we learn about people who were robbed of their life or liberty, who suffered brutality or oppression, and who were denied rights to which we believe they were entitled [...] When we come face-to-face with misery and tragedy, we respond by condemning the forces that brought about these circumstances and, it is to be hoped, try to avoid replicating them in the present and future (2008, p. 97).

Besides transmitting historical knowledge, this chapter seeks to convey certain meanings to the readers persisting on the tendency to create a shared sense of national identity. For this, the Greek-Cypriot population is presented as a natural entity on the island; as a group of great

homogeneity and common culture, as shown in the theme of Community. This is also supported by the effort to position the reader patriotically against the Enemy and aligning them politically with the state in finding 'a just and viable solution to the Cyprus issue', as the concluding sentence of the narrative remarks. For this and as shown via the theme of Position, emphasis is given on the consequences of the Turkish invasion while using strong language and the process of nominalization. Focusing on the violent impacts of the Turkish invasion on Greek-Cypriot lives for which the ethical response of the reader is expected is the meaning of the theme of Victim. This theme directly links what are students expected to learn with the purpose of the textbook which 'stresses the (need for) unity of the island and cultivates the feeling of responsibility of the younger generation towards the history of our place,' as seen earlier in this chapter. However, in conflict-ridden societies such as Cyprus, the effort to create a collective memory through such a narrative of suffering among the readers of this textbook, who are members of the victimized community, instead of boosting their resistance may lead to make them more passive and 'may weaken their responsibility for their fate and the realistic appraisal of their current situation' (Laszlo et al 2010, p.239). Victimhood narratives, such as this one, not only attempt to conceal parts of the past and may not let the reader to approach it holistically but also, tend to 'imply a lack or low level of agency on the part of the in-group' as Obradovic claims (2016, p.17). This might explain the low responsiveness of students that Maria talked about above.

Content analysis permitted deeper looking in the history textbook and the reading of local history from the Greek-Cypriots' point of view. It allowed me to follow a specific process in not only understanding what is expected by the state that readers should know about the events of 1974 in terms of knowledge, but in also realizing why and how the state uses this historical narrative. Drawing on the six main themes identified in this chapter further illuminated the data received from the Labovian analysis of the narrative. For example, and as seen above, narrative analysis allowed me to map out the narrator's stance and to notice that the narrative relies heavily on factual history and in which two selected events of 1974, the coup d'état and the Turkish invasion, are hastily presented from the state's perspective while other events or peoples voices are silenced. Content analysis complimented narrative analysis as to the identity of the teller and the political purpose this narrative seeks to carry and yielded further information on how the state seeks to predispose the reader towards the past and to accept what the state says in this narrative. A shared notion of identity and culture appears to be promoted opposite to the villainous actions of the Other, the Turk, and a strong language is adopted to position students as victims of the past, rather than encouraging them to resist the status quo or struggle against the military occupation of their country. Now that I have developed a coherent understanding about how the last chapter of the history textbook presents the recent past and what students are expected to know about the troubled events, I turn to share my thoughts after observing six history classes.

### 5.1.2. Observation of history classes about the contemporary history of Cyprus.

For understanding what students are taught at school about the recent troubled past, I also visited three gymnasia (Lower high schools) in Nicosia to observe two 45-minute lessons on modern local history in each school, delivered by five teachers in total. I wanted to witness what happens in these classrooms; how the content of official history about the events of 1974 is mediated to the children and how teachers and students approach the troubled past. A coding scheme helped me to be focused in collecting data while being in the classrooms of these schools (please see Appendix 1). As mentioned in the chapter of Research Design, these schools' names are not released as I want to protect the non-traceability of those who participated in my research, and I refer to teachers using pseudonyms. Instead, I randomly call Schools A, B and C, as Table 14 shows. They are found in different areas of the city; School A is situated in the suburbs; School B is in great proximity to the Green Line and School C is found in the greater centre of the city.

School	Class 1: Name of Teacher and Number of students	Class 2: Name of Teacher and Number of students
A	Giorgos, 20	Giorgos, 21
B	Eleutheria, 18	Christina, 20
C	Nikos, 22	Maria, 19

Table 14. School, teacher, and classroom population details.

I noticed a marked similarity in the format followed in these six lessons; in the way the teacher structured the lesson about the events of 1974. For example, the lesson began with the teacher doing recapitulation of prior

knowledge (referring to the independence of Cyprus in 1960 and the events which followed later in the decade) with the students' involvement. Then, the teacher introduced the topic of the day and provided explanations to the main terms of the chapter (Junta, coup d'état, invasion etc). After that, the teacher gave added information and had students listening and watching a PowerPoint presentation. In this part of the lesson, people and events were further defined while students were taking notes, commenting, and expressing their opinions on what was said. In the case of Lesson 2 in School A students had a fill-in-the-gap activity from the previous lesson to be checked and this was done in the following pattern: the teacher asked students to read aloud their responses allowing others to comment on them when they disagree. This preceded the above sequence of the parts of the lesson plan.

Also, I identified a commonality in the teaching tactic employed by all five teachers. All teachers relied on a summarized narration of the two main events of 1974. This narration was brief in terms of time (lasted no more than seven minutes) and started with the coup d'état followed by the Turkish invasion. All teachers, however, elaborated on the consequences of these events by providing details and by making connections between the past and today to show that some consequences of 1974 (such as the efforts to find the missing persons and to support those living in the enclaves) are still ongoing. In this part of the lesson, teachers posed questions to students. These were mostly recall and process type of questions seeking short answers and aiming mostly to encourage student

participation. Only the two teachers from School B, Christina and Eleutheria, used the board for writing the key points of the chapter about 1974 and asked students to copy them in their exercise book. Eleutheria (teacher, 40), who was the only teacher holding the book during the lesson, later told me that

Students forget about this book. We insist '*Bring it!*' [...] I'm not sure if they even open it when they read about the exams, for example, or the test, if we have time to do a test... Tests are usually done in the chapters of Modern and Contemporary history from the Greek book. So, they usually read our handouts or notes on the board...<sup>1415</sup>

At the beginning of Eleutheria's lesson five students expressed many excuses for not bringing the book or for bringing 'the Greek book instead of that one,' as two students said. In my other visit in this school, in Christina's class, I counted only eight students having the book with them, but it was closed on their desks during the lesson.

These incidents made me more attentive in observing how teachers and students use and approach the history textbook. It struck me that all teachers ignored the textbook and refrained from using it during their lesson. For example, in School A, Giorgos at the beginning of both lessons asked his students to keep the book 'closed, in front of your desks.' In School C, although Maria had another approach and asked students to keep the book open, she encouraged them to use it only twice for finding

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<sup>14</sup> The pseudonym, the role as family member or teacher and age of the individual are found in brackets, accompany each extract. In each quotation in chapters 4 to 7, words in italics denote the teller's emphasis during speech and underlined words present my emphasis.

answers to her questions. There was only one teacher, out of the five participating in my research, who asked students to keep the book open, read the chapter on the 1974 events and commented on it and this was Nikos from School C. He posed evaluative questions about the content of the book after five students identified gaps in the text. Also, he supported students who expressed their disappointment about their book. Four students talked negatively about the book as not containing all opinions so they can get to their own conclusion about what happened in the past, of not been a 'good' book and of serving the interests of few people who were involved in the events. Besides this, there were also two ironic remarks by students who said that adding more information to the book about this period will result in using more state money for printing more pages.

This disregard of teachers towards the use of the official textbook and their critical attitude to the official narrative was further enhanced by the fact that all five teachers had created their own PowerPoints and showed them to the students. I understood that they relied on PowerPoint, each one made, as their main educational tool rather than the textbook to present the lesson of the day. These PowerPoints mostly contained photos depicting 'disasters,' as Giorgos in School A said, in Cyprus in 1974 because of the coup d'état and the Turkish invasion, provided more details about the events mentioned in the book and pictures of people who were involved in these events such as the president Makarios and the Greek Junta colonels. Another similarity of these PowerPoints that I observed was their tendency to present events not mentioned in the book. For example, Giorgos and

Nikos talked about the government 'of eight-days,' that was imposed by Junta and EOKA B after the coup d'état while Christina and Eleutheria emphasized on the consequences of the two events in everyday life. Maria showed material from the efforts and negotiations in finding a political solution to the Cyprus Issue including the Anan referendum and from Cyprus accession to the European Union.

There was another marked similarity identified with the unwillingness of the teachers to share their PowerPoint. None of them disseminated any copy of their presentation to their students as their presentation was prepared only for watching it in class. This tactic also was extended to me; teachers did not feel comfortable in allowing me to keep a copy of their presentation. I was sure that this reluctance in sharing their PowerPoint was not personal; I later interpreted it as a sign of their vulnerability and as an effort to 'be careful' as Giorgos (teacher, 54) afterwards explained

Because this is a difficult period of Cypriot history, I always keep in mind the political scenery, I try to be very careful, so as not to be stigmatized or that I show alignment with the one and criticize the other. As objective as possible, so I am careful.

Also, Christina (teacher, 41) admitted that she is being very 'careful' when she teaches about the events of 1974 because of the political element people attribute to them. Therefore, she gives extra attention to the material she uses because she is unaware of the political ideology of the family of her students. She says

There are things I'm thinking of saying over and over again. I'm trying to use words that are... to keep the balance. The part with the



coup d'état and the invasion because it's still a sensitive issue and because every parent and anyone talks about it to their children, from their own personal experiences, it doesn't reach their ears in an objective way most of the time, I think. Depending on the political beliefs of the family, it is presented differently to children. And the children, they transfer things at home and usually in a totally different way, so we need to be very careful.

Christina was not the only teacher who noticed that families have a close relationship and tend to share their reflections and interpretations of the past events to the children predisposing them in taking certain stands and positions about the events of 1974. I was going to find out more about this while interviewing family members and children later in my research. But in this context, Maria (teacher, 43) also acknowledged that students based on their beliefs and opinions can give many meanings to what a teacher might say in the classroom. She confessed an incident that happened earlier in the year

This year, when we were working on the Neo-Turks movement, it was when Erdogan had sent the Gray Wolves here and burned the (Turkish-Cypriot) newspaper. The burning building of the newspaper is some kilometres away from the school. And I told the children about it and used the word *short-winded (horis anasa)* and... the next day on one website (*online newspaper*) I was the issue of an article... because I was 'sowing terror in a high school in Nicosia' [...] I cried a lot... The next day, the principal and the school assistant advised me not to talk any further. There was support from the management, but I was not given the opportunity by the site to speak. I was so tense the next day that I did not come to school. I could not manage it at all. 20 bitter days passed and then I swallowed it.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> The article the teacher refers to can be found here <https://www.sigmalive.com/news/local/484373/tromos-gia-mathites-apo-perigrafikathigitrias-se-gymnasio>

After checking that the teacher cannot be identified from this news story, I decided not to obscure details about this incident or to anonymise further.

As the above excerpts reveal, these three teachers felt vulnerable as professionals because of the socio-political context and have identified certain limitations to their role in the classroom. What they describe is not only a local phenomenon. Existing research, in conflict-ridden societies, has long discussed about the pressure the family of students and community can impose on the teacher's efforts to present recent troubled events (Conway, 2004, Barton & McCully, 2010). It needs to be noted that family pressure is not seen as the only factor for the limited role a history teacher can acquire in the classroom but research findings from Kitson and McCully (2005) and Psaltis, Lytras, Costache and Fischer (2011), to name a few, have suggested that limited professional training might also affect the teacher's practice.

Moreover, I must stress that the presentation of their PowerPoints dominated the teacher's practice in all six lessons I observed. Only one teacher, Nikos from school C in lesson 1 had prepared two pedagogical activities for the students. For the first activity, he wrote the words Coup d'état (*Praxikopima*) and Turkish invasion (*Tourkiki Eisvoli*) on the board and asked students to get on the board and write a word that best represents these events to them. About twelve students stood up and some of the words written were: Sirens, Sampson, Grivas, fear, Keryneia and the number 1619 (allegedly the number of the Greek-Cypriot missing persons) and the dates of these two events.<sup>17</sup> He later posed probing and

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<sup>17</sup> Sirens are aired on July 15, July 20 and August 14 morning to remind people of the 1974 events. Sampson headed the government imposed by junta after the coup d'état and

interpretive questions to the students to explain why they wrote these words. During this activity, he made connections between the past and the present. For example, the student who wrote the word 'Sirens' (*Sireines*) under both headings was prompted by the teacher and explained that the sound of war sirens, that are heard as a remembrance on the days of these events, terrifies her and that she could only imagine how terrifying the impact of the actual events is on those who survived them. The second activity was about analyzing historical sources. The teacher distributed a handout of primary and secondary sources, which I was allowed to look at as the teacher had printed an extra copy for me. This 3-page-long handout contained sources like photos, paintings, letters, and newspaper articles about the events of 1974. Nikos (teacher, 45) later pointed out that

What material I will give out, is material that was made by the group of us that we teach at school. This is a small corpus we, the colleagues, did 3,4 years ago that has sources on coup d'état and the Invasion and we give it every time. It is important that in this school we have an unbelievably good cooperation between colleagues. it is particularly important that something common is always produced, even without discussions, and I feel secured that what they will give me, will be good.

Material created collectively by all teachers in that school is a way to confront family pressure on teacher's practice about these events. Nikos posed interpretive questions such as 'what is meant by what is said in this sentence of the text?'. He was positive in accepting more than one answer encouraging students to find answers by utilizing their prior historical

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remained in power for eight days. Grivas allegedly created EOKA B that collaborated with junta to bring down president Makarios.

knowledge when they felt that the text did not supply enough information. Judging by the great number of students who wanted to provide their answers or make some remarks about a source (I managed to count fifteen raising hands), they were familiar with this type of exercise and were not intimidated by any activity. On the contrary, they were focused and showed rigor in contributing to these activities.

In all the lessons, most students did not remain silent. Quite the reverse happened as most of them were attentive and engaged in discussions by expressing their feelings and thoughts about these events. Some, about two or three in each class, asked more questions as they have never heard about some of these. At least six students in each class were eager to share their family stories about the event of 1974, except in School C lesson 2 when only three students provided their family story, due to limited available time. All these family stories touched upon issues which have an impact on today's life and on topics not mentioned or not explained in detail in the book. For example, a common issue in students' stories was about their relatives who were missing since 1974 and elaborated on the official process followed when finding, identifying and burying their remains. They provided extensive information on how a funeral of a missing person is conducted and others agreed as they had seen footage from such funerals and burials on the TV News. The challenges of their families when moving places to find a home after becoming refugees was another common issue that students shared. Furthermore, in School A lesson 1 three students talked about their relatives, who were prisoners of war, and about how the

tortures they went through affect their health to this day. In Lesson 2 of the same school students also shared family stories about the dysfunctionality of the state machine during the events of 1974, of the chaos at the hospitals when treating those who got injured during the events and about the termination of pregnancies after rape during the invasion - none of these issues were raised in any other lesson or school. Teachers showed acceptance when students talked about their family memories and prompted them to give more details.

In addition to this, all teachers except Maria, who is not Cypriot and was not in Cyprus in 1974, shared their personal stories. Three of them were at a very young age in 1974 and mostly talked about how their families survived. But one of the teachers, Giorgos, was 10 years old, old enough to understand everything. He eloquently narrated to his students about being arrested by the Turkish army and kept prisoner in a camp and how he later dealt with the challenges of becoming a refugee in his own country.

It was also interesting to observe students at large showing genuine interest and compassion when listening to personal stories about the events of 1974 and their consequences. I noticed that they were enthusiastic and talked to each other without hesitating to ask more clarifying questions when they learned something they did not know before and on witnessing student's interaction with classmates who might have different views. For example, three students in Eleutheria's classroom in

School B and four in Class 1 at School A talked about the opening of the checkpoints and shared their stances about visiting the occupied side of the island, where their grandparents' villages are.<sup>18</sup> Although they expressed differing and opposing opinions, students showed respect and listened to each other. This happened in a polite manner as students seemed to be familiar with discussing their arguments. In these cases, both teachers were responsive and strongly encouraged students to express their opinion and praised them for sustaining a democratic environment for discussions.

I selected the method of observation as the method to begin my interactions with the participants in my research because it was the only means to find myself in the classroom and to take a glimpse of students and teachers in action in their familiar setting. I cannot say with certainty how typical the lessons I observed are or how my presence might have changed teacher's practice. But, at a first level, the method of observation helped me in providing a first-hand encounter with students' reactions when taught about the recent past in Cyprus. My observations revealed the vivid interest of students to learn more about the recent past. They do not come in the classroom as *tabula rasa*, as their knowledge about this period is not restricted to the two main events of 1974 (coup d'état and Turkish invasion) stated in the textbook but is infused with stories they hear from their familial background. As mentioned above, there were many students, who felt

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<sup>18</sup> This is a controversial issue as many Greek-Cypriots react to showing passport/identity card for crossing checkpoints because they neither consider the occupied part of the island as a foreign land nor wish to legitimize the Turkish right to check passports.

comfortable in sharing their family stories about this period and, in various cases, gave details about people not mentioned in the book or about actions mentioned hastily in the book. Some students reacted when they realised that their textbook does not provide enough information, according to them, about these events, as explained above. In addition, these observations helped me to understand how teachers approach the troubled past, and therefore, to create a more coherent understanding on contemporary history learning. It was an eye-opening experience on how teachers avoid using the history textbook and they prefer using their own material for making their presentations. This attitude towards the textbook, as this contains the approved material about the historical past sent by the state to the teachers to transmit it to students, surprised me and changed my line of enquiry on the grounds that, I initially had planned to enter classrooms only to see how students respond to learning about the events of 1974. However, after the observations I changed my initial focus and decided to discuss with the teachers about their attitudes concerning the history textbook and on how they approach these events. This was further pursued in the one-to-one interviews with them presented in the following section of this chapter.

During my stay in the classrooms, I found it appropriate to use some techniques to help me record data as it occurred, mostly because I was aware, that some actions might not be repeated during an observation, and I identified keywords in students and teachers' comments. For example, in Class 1 and 2 of school A the teacher used the word 'treason' (although

this word is not included in the textbook) repeatedly when presenting the events of 1974. But when the students asked him ‘who were these traitors?’ he directed them to his PowerPoint and to images of the Greek colonels that staged the junta of Athens, not to local people/actors of the events. He, then, provided no answer to the questions of students who tried to figure out why these ‘traitors’ were not punished. Also, I was focused on what kind of personal information a teacher conveyed to students, and for what reasons. For example, in class 2, school C, the teacher focused on the keyword ‘negotiations’ not only for their historical importance regarding the consequences of the events of 1974 but also as the means to express her personal support to certain political aims i.e., for the development of bi-communal and bi-zonal federation for settling the Cyprus Issue.

Furthermore, I concentrated on certain individuals’ interactions over the whole class as I noticed the students who raised their hands to pose questions to the teacher about the events or to share their family stories. In School B, during lesson 1, four students talked about the issue of missing persons as an ongoing consequence of the events of 1974. They were relatives of missing persons and provided details about how their families were recently informed about the identification of the remains of their relatives and gave details on how the funeral of a missing person is. Their teacher continued this discussion by providing images of the excavations of potential sites of burial of missing persons. In this classroom I was amazed to find one student, the only one in all three schools, who found the



courage to talk about the existence of Turkish-Cypriot missing persons too, but this met no reaction from the teacher or the students.

A final observation I would like to share that struck me the minute I entered each classroom has to do with the similar physical setting in every class. For example, as seen in image 5 below about the layout of the classroom, all five classrooms shared the same spatial organization; the teacher was positioned in front of the board and in front of the students while students were seated wherever they wished, their desks formed three lines. This distant and opposite positioning of teacher and students I later realised it as mirroring the traditional pedagogical practice itself; whereby the teacher transmits historical information and leads, and the students receive and follow rather than co-investigate the past. Historical learning about the past is largely restricted in taking place only in the classroom as teachers, working under curriculum time-constraints, were unlikely to visit historical sites or even walk in the city with the students to help them understand how the past events of 1974 may link to their everyday life.

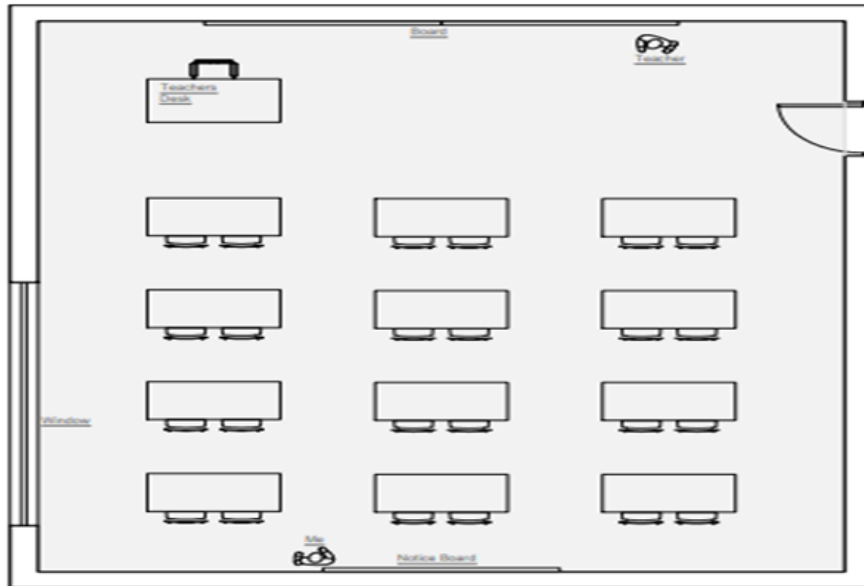


Image 15. Layout of classroom.

What are students taught, in their school history classes, about the recent past in Cyprus is the issue this section explores. This chapter began with an examination of the last chapter of the history textbook, because as it is published and disseminated to schools by the state, it contains the official story about the past, which is expected to be known by the students. Then it extended to what actually happens in the classroom and on presenting how students and teachers approach the troubled events of 1974. During these observations, it was observed not only that teachers did not use the official textbook, but also that they felt the need to replace it with their own material. To further explore this attitude, the subsequent section deals with what teachers believe students should be taught about the recent past and in what ways.

## 5.2. Teachers' beliefs on what students should be taught about the recent past in Cyprus.

Existing literature tends to be focused on the textbook and on the teacher as 'vehicles' for transferring knowledge to students in the classroom (Nichol & Dean, 2003) and I wanted to explore both these means as I am set to understand what students are taught about the events of 1974 in Cyprus. The previous section of this chapter was about what students are taught in their classroom about the recent past and in this context the history textbook was presented. What follows deals with teachers' beliefs on what and how students should be taught about the events of 1974.

In Cyprus, the state exerts control on the history textbook, as happens in France, Japan and Holland, to name a few (Symcox & Wilschut, 2009; Nozaki & Selden, 2009; Savenije et al., 2014). My above-described history classroom observations, however, showed that Greek-Cypriot teachers do not use the textbook, although it is mandatory, and tend to supplement it with their own material. This seems to correlate with the anti-textbook ethos which existed until recently in England (Grever & van der Vlies, 2017).<sup>19</sup>

As explained in the previous section, during the observations of history classes I got strongly interested in giving more space to educators to provide, inter alia, their viewpoints on the learning material they use to

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<sup>19</sup> This is a controversial issue as many Greek-Cypriots react to showing passport/identity card for crossing checkpoints because they neither consider the occupied part of the island as a foreign land nor wish to legitimize the Turkish right to check passports.

convey knowledge about the past to their students. I consider history teachers as the most appropriate individuals to provide detailed information on how they use the textbook about the events of 1974 and on how they approach the history lesson of the said period. My intention to conduct interviews with five teachers (Appendix 2) so that they are represented in my study results from my strong belief that teachers play a crucial role in the classroom especially in the conflict-ridden societies of Ireland and Cyprus as existing literature shows (Kitson & McCully, 2005; Dryden-Peterson & Sieborger, 2006; Klerides, 2009; Zembylas, Charalambous & Charalambous, 2011). For example, teachers - being public servants - participate in the dissemination of what the state wants students to know about the past and as carriers of their personal experiences and attitudes about the recent past or ideological preferences while becoming role models to their students.

I am aware of the need to be cautious when thinking about teachers in general in Cyprus. I am aware that my teacher sample is quite small (please see pp.119 - 120) and I cannot claim that it is strictly representative of the wider population. However, in my experience and in terms of their gender split (three women and two men), their age range (from 40 to 54 years old), their academic background (most of them hold Masters degrees, only one is historian and the rest are philologists) and of the wide-range of their ideas, I am confident to consider this sample of teachers as broadly typical to the teachers found in Greek-Cypriot schools today.

5.2.1. Teachers' Opinions on the official learning material about the past.

From the content analysis I applied on these interview data (see pages 120 to 122 for more details), four categories emerged. The first category encapsulates the viewpoints of teachers on the learning material they are provided with by the state to use and to transmit knowledge about the past to their students and Table 15 summarizes their answers.

Category	Christina	Nikos	Giorgos	Maria	Eleutheria
On the History textbook	Forgotten by students	Easy language	Silencing events	Timeline	Limited scope
	Brief chapter	Non-useful sources	Non-useful sources	Anonymity	Non-useful sources
	Non-useful sources	Silencing events		Silencing events	Silencing events
On its use		Direction-less book	Not responding to reality	Made of necessity	
		Irresponsibility of past events		Teacher non motivated	

Table 15. Summarised teachers' responses about the textbook and its use.

All teachers were irritated and talked negatively about the history book as seen on Table 15 above. This was not unforeseen as I noticed, while observing their lessons, their disregard in the ways they used the textbook. From the interview data I understood that all the teachers in my sample had a very low opinion of the book and some openly 'despised' it. Their answers reveal that they strongly dismiss this textbook and see it as merely

offering a chronology of certain events (see Maria's quotation below) rather than being the instrument to help them encourage students to approach the historical past in a holistic way. For example, Maria (teacher, 43)

This book makes me angry, gives me no motive. I just look at the book, for the children to read the paragraph on the invasion (eleven lines) is a 90-seconds-time of work. I have 40 minutes and what irritates me is that the Ministry of Education and the government tell me that 'in one and a half minutes you throw away the invasion and you're done'. This is where I get angry! I only have the motivation that 23 pairs of eyes are looking at me and expecting something from me. It's also a matter of dignity to enter the classroom to talk for a minute and a half about the invasion... All colleagues despise this book from the bottom of their heart. Everyone adds (material) to it. And because it is one of the books that have been untouchable for 30 years - It is a book that was made of necessity and they have left it like that - everyone has learned that you will do this over here, go over there and find that...Last Wednesday I played a video in class, it was from CyBC<sup>20</sup>, which as an organization is considered quite neutral, and it was about the missing persons. That in the book is just a number. And the children didn't want to move on...It is difficult for me to support this historical narrative. It's all a list of facts. It's like having a timeline with commentary and you must support it [...] I find it almost offensive now to my intelligence, to the intelligence of children, in what education means, in what expectations you have of a person you raise and he/she is a 15-year-old teenager to get him/her to vote in three years. In other words, it's hard for me to swallow. Sometimes I laugh at myself and say, 'Really, is this all I will do?'[...] Historical research and historical narration alone is difficult; school practice makes it three times more difficult. To have a book so prejudiced and monolithic, ties my hands.

Maria's frustration about the linear and selective historical narrative of the textbook derives from the discouragement she feels when using the textbook and explains why teachers prefer to use other historical sources in their classrooms. She does not consider the textbook as an adequate tool to help her students widen their knowledge about the past. On the contrary,

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<sup>20</sup> CyBC, stands for Cyprus Broadcasting Corporation, is the national broadcasting service operating two TV channels and four Radio stations transmitting to the whole island and one satellite channel for the diaspora.

she feels that the textbook prevents the students from learning more about the past and fails to cultivate their learning capabilities. For her the book is unlikely to be the right product of her domain of social science, and she appears to take its existence and use as undermining to her on a personal and professional level. This low opinion about the textbook was expressed by other teachers as well, who also attempted to explain why the historical narrative of the official textbook has remained unchanged and follows this approach to the events of the recent past. Nikos (teacher, 45) said

This thing here (the book) is the result of exactly the wrong policy of any government in office to want history to become from our truth to your truth. So, because I can't write my truth, if I am a government of the Left or the Right, I write something hollow and I will not have anyone on my head...This thing is clearly an issue of a phobia of taking responsibilities. They don't even want to have any trouble with the English as if the English government will bother to ask them 'why did you write divide and rule here'? The English, who are now taken to court themselves for the torture they inflicted on EOKA A fighters.

This was the most succinct answer provided by a teacher in my research who blamed the state of being afraid to assume responsibility of the past and prefers to distribute such a superficial narrative. Three participant teachers tend to consider the state as unwilling, for political reasons, to provide a consensus about the bitter past and choose to redistribute this textbook for continuing the status quo. Their position is similar to the explanations received by family members on how they approach the learning material about the events of 1974 their children use at school, and they will be presented in the following chapter.

Another common issue among four teachers revolves around the content of the textbook for the specific period, that as they claimed chooses to select or silence some events or their main actors, similar to what my textbook analysis picked on in the previous chapter. Eleutheria noticed that her students take the textbook as not effective in providing them with a convincing account of the past. Four teachers provided instances of some inconsistencies and gaps they identify in what is selected in the historical narrative. For example, Maria (teacher, 43) said

Let's say for '74, the book nowhere mentions Sampson. Everyone is anonymous. Not even Ioannidis, Pattakos, all these 'heroes' of '67 - '74, exist.<sup>21</sup> Beyond that, the pioneers do not exist, nor what happened in the period from July 22 to August 14. Silence, silence, silence. And while the book was written more than 15 years after the event, it does not mention that 3 years after '74 there was a political agreement, which has been followed for 44 years [...] Something like that, and omissions, and contradictions. And sentences like 'the negotiations fell into a deadlock' or 'the plan was rejected'.

Here Maria notes the anonymity of actors in these events as well as the ambiguity of the process of nominalization in the language of the narrative, as seen in the previous section on my analysis regarding the textbook. Teachers emphasised that the ambiguities or generalities of the textbook are identified by the students as well, who tend to ask for clarifications. Eleutheria (teacher, 40) shared specific examples, that students are

[A]westruck on how from the 20th of July it suddenly progresses to the 14th of August, and they asked me what was happening in Cyprus then? What did the people suffer from in the meantime? They identified gaps... Oh and they can question and compare

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<sup>21</sup> Ioannides and Pattakos were colonels of the Greek junta that staged the coup d'état in Cyprus.



some things. Like about the missing persons because it is very popular, and they can find out about it from the news.

It is interesting to note that Maria, who was the most empathically negative teacher towards the textbook is the one that has no personal memories of 1974.

#### 5.2.2. Teachers on the purpose of learning about the recent past.

Exploring teachers' views about the history textbook and seeing how they reject the approach to the events of the past that the book follows, made me wonder about their own approach towards the history lesson about 1974. This led to the second category of data; based on the responses I collected from teachers I wanted to see what they thought the purpose of the history lesson about the recent past was. Table 16 presents some excerpts received by teachers on the aim of the history lesson. I focused on the responses I received from four teachers (as Eleutheria did not give one) and noticed that they all refer to the skills students can develop through accumulating knowledge about the past. For example, Christina and Giorgos talked about how history learning can make the students aware of the place they live in, active in promoting dialogue and peace in their country and informed of their historical heritage 'so that the other half of our country is not foreign to them' (Giorgos). In their understanding, learning about the past will make students good citizens, just as it was stated in the prologue of the history book presented in the previous section. Existing local research has shown, for example, that teachers could have an

influential role in shaping students' opinions about the 'occupied land' of our country (Spyrou, 2002, 2006; Bryant, 2008). But a closer look on the responses of Nikos and Maria made me notice that these two teachers talked about the development of critical thinking as a skill a student can develop while learning about the past and which they will use in all their lives. They believed that by using their critical skills students will be able to have their own opinions after evaluating how things changed over the years and assessing their present.

Christina	Giorgos	Nikos	Maria	Eleutheria
'You need to be aware; an active citizen is to be informed about what is happening around him...We must appreciate the values of peace and dialogue'.	'To cultivate empathy, to make them aware, introduce them to our past, so that the other half of our country is not foreign to them'.	'The development of critical thinking. The goal is not to explain things to them, nor to teach them the facts. I tell them for a period, you can have an opinion. Don't be fooled by anyone, not even by your history teacher'.	'Let the kids see a lot of things to learn to decode them. This is something that you learn to do for a past and now.'	N/A

Table 16. Quotes from teachers answers on the aim of the history lesson about 1974.

### 5.2.3. Teachers on sharing their personal memories about the recent past.

During the classroom observations, not only was I a witness of how the teachers in my sample tended to use the learning material in their

classroom and of their teaching practice, but I was also present when four teachers talked to their students about their personal memories about the events of 1974. I am of the belief that teachers sharing their personal experiences can have an important influence on how students approach the recent past and this is also what some parents talked about during their interviews. In the classroom, I noticed how eager students were to learn more when their teachers shared their family stories about the troubled events. Existing literature points towards this direction as researchers (Wineburg et al, 2007; Leonard, 2014; Sant 2015) support the suggestion that the practice of the teacher can exert more impact on the historical learning of the students than the textbook can. At this point, my data analysis shifted and acquired a more personal lens as I moved to explore teachers' feelings and beliefs about sharing their personal experiences and knowledge about the recent past to their students (please see Table 17 which provides extracts from teachers' answers). Here I organised teachers' responses in two sub-categories because they are not as homogenous as their responses above regarding the use of the textbook. In the first sub-category, Nikos alone claimed to share everything with his students, whereas in the second sub-category Christina, Giorgos and Eleutheria seemed to be extremely cautious about sharing their memories with their students. This was not only with respect to the youthful age of students. They meant that they underwent a process of filtering their memories due to the political dynamics of the events of 1974, which made them to 'choose (their) words wisely,' as Christina said, instead of avoiding talking to students about these events because of the politically sensitive

issues involved – a finding corroborated in another research study (Christou, 2006; Leonard, 2014). Rather than describing in words her memories about 1974, Eleutheria preferred to use emotions – she named emotions that herself and her family felt, seeking to make students more empathetic about the everyday problems of the recent past. This concern of teachers about which of their personal experiences to convey to students and in what ways was not a surprise to stumble upon when analysing these data. As seen in the previous section of this chapter, I was aware of teachers being in a ‘difficult position’ (Christina teacher, 41) and feeling vulnerable when presenting the events of 1974 - vulnerable in the sense that children might transfer their words differently at home and this might create discomfort and professional problems them, for them, such as the potential loss of their job (Loewen, 1995).

Nikos	Christina	Giorgos	Eleutheria	Maria
‘I tell them everything. I have the advantage of not being politically interested in who will be vindicated...and of saying things as they are’.	‘Difficult position, need to choose words wisely.’	‘Depends on the age of students. Not to scare them, not to be seen as excessive or false. Be careful, always keep in mind the political scenery, not to be stigmatized’...	‘Through emotions I try to convey my family memories to them’.	N/A

Table 17. Teachers’ responses on sharing personal memories about 1974.

#### 5.2.4. Teachers' suggestions on improving the history lesson.

Content analysis on the interview answers received by teachers yields data which formed the fourth category, that focuses on what suggestions they proposed should be introduced to the lesson for providing students with a

holistic approach towards the past. At this point and as all teachers were negatively positioned towards the textbook as seen earlier, it is not a surprise to hear all teachers making suggestions endorsing the production of a new history textbook. These answers are summarized in Table 18 below. Teachers envisage, that the new textbook will offer more sources and will provide a more in depth and in breadth approach of the events of local history and especially the events of 1974 'for the sake of children and for the values of historical knowledge' (Maria, teacher, 43). Such an approach to the recent past would help the students develop a sense of historical continuity in the context they live in, as Eleutheria (teacher, 40) explains

More extensive, with more accuracy anyway, with more details. No details that might make you tired but details that are now completely omitted. And important information and after '74 as well. Because this history book stops in '74, but children live in a country that reminds them of nothing of that period. Therefore, there should be as much historical continuity as possible. Yes, we will certainly not write about events of last year, but...for things about today, about the issue of the missing persons, the issue of the peace discussions, the efforts, the projects that are being done, the verifications of the missing, etc. The history of Cyprus could be made more experiential with articles, magazines, visits, to talk to some people who have something to say to them, to listen. Children learn something easier when you narrate your experiences, yes. Why not listen to many sides, different sides to see, to understand, to come to their own conclusions? Of course there could be a glossary at the end of the book, for basic historical terms, from the chapters at the beginning to the end of the book, that the student should go to... Not one, two words. It takes a whole paragraph to understand exactly what a term means.

There was also a strong suggestion for the development of an official bank for historical sources. Such a development is expected to have a double effect. The first is the expectation that the use of multiple sources, echoing

the family members responses, will make the student more interested in the events of this period and in the subject at large. The second is mostly associated with teacher's professional status; making the position of the teacher stronger in the classroom in the sense that teachers will provide material to support their arguments and they 'will look more convincing to our students', as Giorgos (teacher, 54) said. Christina (teacher, 41) adds

To have rich material that can be used with safety from all of us and to feel the safety that, yes, the objective knowledge of history comes from people who have worked a lot on this. They provide me with information to transmit to my children in various ways through photographs, audio-visual approved material.

She explained her reluctance in giving out her material to students as she was unsure about their reaction 'as they transfer things at home and usually in a totally different way, so we need to be very careful.' This suggestion, which can be seen as using shared and approved sources and endorsing support from the Ministry, was not a surprise to me for I had noticed, while observing six history lessons and as seen in section 5.1.2. of this chapter, the tendency among teachers of not sharing any material to students that might cause any friction with the beliefs of their families about the events of 1974.

Christina	Nikos	Giorgos	Maria	Eleutheria
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New book with approved and objective sources	New book for recent history	New book	New book	New book in local history
	New philosophy about history lesson	More teaching time for 1974 events	Sources for accumulating historical knowledge and developing historical skills	More teaching periods
	Critical thinking	More sources and testimonies		
	In situ learning			

Table 18. Teachers summarised suggestions on improving learning about the past.

It is not unreasonable to suggest that teachers would prefer giving this period of local history a central position in the curriculum. According to their answers, having more teaching periods available is expected to allow an in-depth learning of the events of 1974. Family members of students talked about this too, but I did not anticipate this from teachers, as they tend to keep a low profile towards the Ministry. I mean that research tends to portray teachers as ‘curricular gatekeepers’ (Levy 2015, p.18; Thornton 2005) but my data show that teachers, on an individual basis at least, seem to be irritated by the existing curriculum and ask for changes to make it more inclusive and effective. It is worth noting here that this teacher curriculum activism is not an unusual phenomenon (Mohamud & Whitburn, 2016). In my research, for example, Giorgos (teacher, 54) challenged the strict timetable of the curriculum which seems to make him feel that he rushes ‘to cover all the necessary material’ and does not allow him ‘to go deeper and to discuss with great ease this important chronological period... the one the children are interested in the most.’ Nikos (teacher, 45) adds

What we do in the third grade is not history... It's the way we do the lesson, we rush to cover the material, they don't learn... I mean, the

material for the Cypriot history could be only about this period. I know I'm reaching an edge here, but I mean it [...] So I will not be stressed about the material, and I will be able to really work on what I must, in history learning. I mean I can do 10 visits that are important. I can go to the checkpoints and anywhere my students can take information. Bring students in contact with history itself. Last year I was in Copenhagen for a European program [...] and some colleagues were saying that the subject matter for history for a year was the Second World War. I went mad when they told me! They said that they went to Auschwitz with students, they did projects on this to see the events from all the viewpoints. This is history. And we do from the French Revolution of 1789 until 1974. Do we really comprehend what volume of historical information we want to give to the third-year student of the gymnasium?

The large workload of the history subject for the students and the position of this chapter as the last in the curriculum are not seen as helping either in making the students more interested and involved in learning about their recent past. Nikos suggests that third year Gymnasium students delve only in the exploration of their recent past. This is understood as having a twofold effect; it would give space to the teachers to organize learning activities such as in situ learning and would enable the cultivation of critical thinking of the students.

Conclusion.

As shown in the first section of this chapter and for understanding what students are taught in their history classes about the recent past, I examined the history textbook and I observed history classes. I view the history textbook as the cultural product of the state, which promotes how the state seeks to remember the recent past. I applied a two-step analysis of the textbook; narrative analysis based on the Labovian scheme enabled



me to follow the narrator's stance and the sequence of mid-level events found in the historical narrative whereas the thematic content analysis allowed a wider understanding on the knowledge and meanings conveyed to the reader through the narrative and sources of the said chapter. Also, content analysis yielded further information on how the state seeks to predispose readers towards the past by promoting a notion of shared identity and to obey to what the state says in this narrative, as the historical narrative is to be approached as 'sacred', permitting no changes or doubts on what the omniscient narrator says.

Moreover, my classroom observations allowed me to see that students are keen on learning more about the events of 1974 and eager to share their families' stories about the events. Also, I was able to witness how teachers approached the recent past and what knowledge they convey to their students while noticing the students' reaction when taught about the events of 1974. It was also interesting to observe teachers not using the official textbook, for they felt the need to replace it with their own material. To research this attitude more, the subsequent section deals with what teachers believe students should be taught about the recent past and in what ways.

This second section of this chapter is focused on teachers and on what they believe students should learn about the events of 1974. It attempts to shed some light on how teachers approach and use the history textbook in their practice, the only educational tool of local history as approved and

disseminated by the state. Then, it presents what teachers feel the purpose of learning about the recent past is and on how they convey their personal experiences about the events of 1974 to their students. Finally, it gives summarised information about the teachers' views on the content of the book, on the need to be enriched with sources and on their suggestions about the production of a new book and on how the subject of local history may be improved to provide a holistic approach to the past and help students link the past to their present.

Furthermore, these interview data seem to correspond to my observations after attending history lessons mentioned in section 5.1.2., regarding the misuse of the textbook by the teachers and to my analysis of the history textbook in section 5.1.1. about the selectivity and inconsistencies identified in the historical narrative. The short length of the 5.2. section can be thus explained mostly because, although I view the teachers as important in mediating knowledge about the past to their students, the focus of my research remains on the family members of the students and whether they convey their personal experiences of the recent past in Cyprus to their youngsters. Therefore, the attention of my research will shift back to the family members as the next chapter presents how parents and grand-parents approach what their children learn at school about the recent past.

## Chapter 6: How do family members of students approach official memory as this is mediated to their children at school?

To understand how family members approach official memory about the past events that is presented to their children at school, I employed thematic content analysis on the interview responses I gathered. I developed an aide-memoire to better approach this research phenomenon (Appendix 2, Questions 4 to 8). For example, Questions 4 and 5 are about family members' knowledgeability about the material their children use at school within history lessons and their reflections on these. Question 6 is about any inconsistencies these participants might have identified in the content of the history curriculum compared to their personal knowledge about the recent past, while Question 7 is about the interactions these family members might have with the history teacher for addressing these differences. Question 8 asks participants to provide their own ideas on what needs to be changed in the way history is taught today in Cyprus.

Again, I followed the same process as explained in the Research Design chapter and the sentence was my selected coding unit (please turn to pp. 120 -121). I organised the coding units found in the data into categories. Two main categories emerged: the first is about the history textbook and the second about the history teacher. Later, and as I went through the data, I decided to create sub-categories out of each interview question; named Awareness, Content, Inconsistencies, Past, Explanation, Use, Role of the teacher and Suggestions (please see Table 19).

Code	Explanation of category	Out of 23 family members
Awareness	Refers to family members familiar with the history textbook	15
Content	Explores the textbook's historical content (narrative, sources, and language)	14
Inconsistencies	Includes gaps/inconsistencies/ family members notice in the historical narrative	10
Past	Textbook focused on antiquity rather than recent events	5
Explanation	Insights provided by respondents about the textbooks' approach	12
Use	Use of textbook by teacher	13
Role of the teacher	Family members thoughts on the teacher's role	17
Suggestions	Improving the history lesson to become attractive for students	20

Table 19. Sub-categories of family members' responses.

These sub-categories were joined further to form two main categories, noted below in Image 16, streaming in two strands of responses. The first strand was shaped by the answers provided and sentiments expressed about the history textbook, which was seen as encapsulating the official memory of the past, approved by the state. Participants' understanding of the history textbook was no different to my view on the textbook as a political tool, as presented earlier in Chapters 2 and 5. This strand includes their comments about the content of the textbook - which remains unchanged since the 1990s - the inconsistencies in the official narrative family members have identified and the reasons they offered for the

ongoing dissemination of this textbook. For these, only negative comments were received. The suggestions proposed by family members as to how the textbook and the lesson of history at large can be improved to make the students more interested in learning about the recent past, was the only part where family members approach school history with a positive attitude. The second strand of answers expressed by the family members of students was focused on the teacher's practice and the teacher's role in presenting official memory to their children at school. Here, some of the comments expressed about teachers are harsh while others can be taken as very supportive. I now turn to make my analysis on each of these two broad categories.

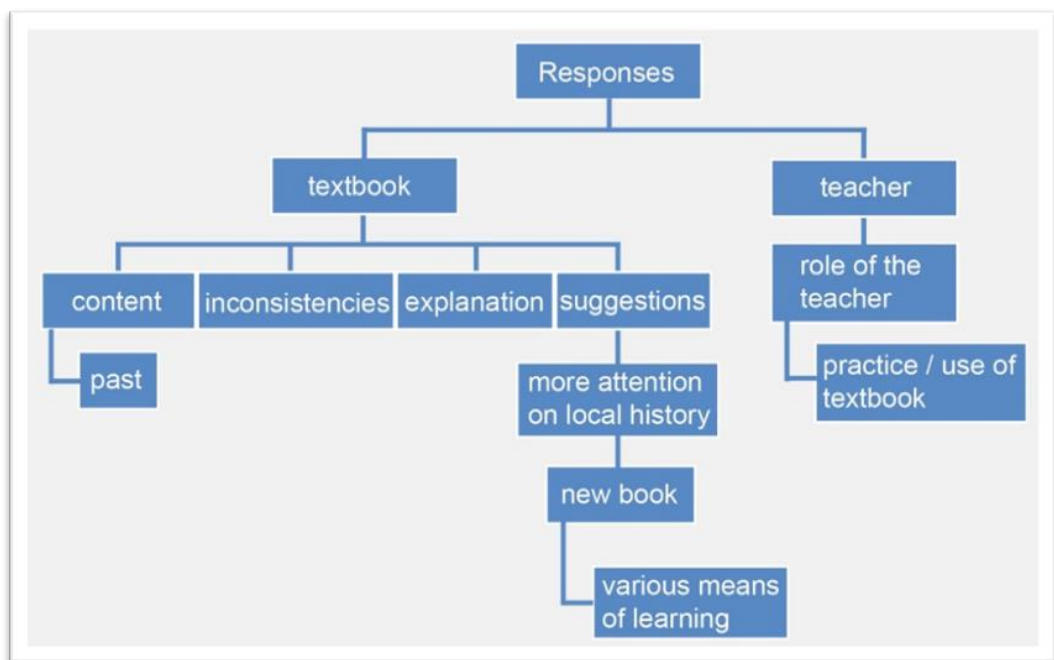


Image 16. Strands of family members' responses.

6.1. The history textbook as the tool of transmitting official memory.

Contrary to the previous chapter, where I examined the state's selective approach on the historical narrative on the events of the recent past in Cyprus for sustaining the political purpose history learning seeks to serve, here I am focused on ordinary people, following a bottom-up standpoint on learning about the past. Hence, I was extremely interested in finding out how Greek-Cypriots, who survived the events of 1974 and their consequences, approached what the history textbook presented about the recent troubled past. In what follows I analyze the reflections of participants in my research on the 'official' version of the recent past that is presented to their children.

#### 6.1.1. On the content of the history textbook.

As one part of the interview was about the textbook, I took it with me in the twenty-three interviews with family members I conducted, placing it on the table in case someone wanted to refer to during the interview. Fifteen interviewees recognized the history textbook that their children used at school only by its cover while all of them were familiar with the position the chapter of the events of 1974 had in the book - I mean that those who opened the book knew where to find the chapter. This familiarity of family members with the material their children use at school caught my attention as I was not expecting such a high level of awareness. But Kostas (father, 46) stunned me by the harshness of his words the minute he saw it:

Look this history book of the students, *it's an eyesore for me*. And I say this in full understanding of what I am saying. Because it is incomprehensible to ask from a student to know about so many thousand years ago who was A, who was B and what he did, and not to be able to know their current history. The one their parents and grandparents have survived, and the one they are living now! I find it unacceptable to include the history of Cyprus from the establishment of the Republic in 1960 until today in four pages. If some people can include the whole history with what Cyprus did, with dates, names for centuries ago, but not the battles which were *the most important to us*, then this is sorrowful.<sup>22</sup>

Kostas was also one out of five parents to complain that the focus of the book is turned on antiquity or on the long past rather than coherently presenting contemporary history. He rejected this textbook because the story told in it seemed to exclude or deny the collective narrative that was so important to him i.e., the narrative of the battles that mean something to 'us'. He was one of seven parents, who mentioned that they used the same book when they were attending school. This was not a surprise to me, as this book has been published and distributed in lower secondary schools since 1994. Another one of these parents, Dina (mother, 40), expressed her strong disappointment about the book being unchanged for years and observed that the book, because of its poor information and sources did not help her or her son to form a sound basis of knowledge about the past. She explains

My query as a student and as a mother, when I was studying with my child helping him during the exams, has always been about this

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<sup>22</sup> The pseudonym, the role as family member and age of the individual are found in brackets and accompany each extract. In each quotation in chapters 4 to 7, words in italics denote the teller's emphasis during speech and underlined words present my emphasis.

history book... I am not knowledgeable of many events of our history. I don't feel that I was taught about it then neither have my children today. I feel that we haven't made any progress in this. Look the book, is the same... it shouldn't represent these events in half a page. I also see two black images that can't ... I mean I see this mother here holding a photo; is either her husband or her son, I can't even make out. You don't even understand if she is sad. They are of bad quality, and they don't help the student to express what the picture shows. They should have been colourful and on a better-quality paper and to show the faces and describe a bit these pictures... I can't understand what it shows here... Also, I see a map that I don't understand what is in it... *It looks like a copy that was reproduced a million times and, in the process, things got erased ...* And it is astonishing, we hear junta all the time... every summer on the TV, in the news, in talk shows... and in the glossary of the book I see that junta is a military dictatorship. So, all the fuss that has been going on about junta is for the kids to know these two words? It doesn't tell us anything. What am I going to tell my children about this?

Dina's response not only shows why she rejects the story found in the book acknowledging, in her last sentence, that this story is not a tellable story that she can transmit to her child, but it is a brief story with no personal detail and with not a clear sense of aim that might bridge past, present, and future. She also reveals what kind of story should be told according to her; that she prefers to have a narrative that connects people in the present with the trauma of the past. Instead of having a telling of the key story, the metaphor she uses above shows more of what she is unhappy with: she notices a careless reproduction in which the details (not given their due) are obliterated through lack of care (see teller's emphasis in italics, my emphasis underlined).

The content of the historical narrative in this chapter was strongly discussed by fourteen family members. Echoing teachers' opinions about



the textbook seen in chapter 5, these family members also expressed only negative comments about the selective approach towards the past events mentioned in the book, which culminated in their frustration that a narrow perspective about the past is offered by the textbook, that has limited chronological scope and supporting sources. It was emphatically noted that the content selection and the narrative framing in presenting the events of this period 'doesn't help children to understand what happened and why', as Chara (mother, 42) said. In addition, another mother, Evi (mother, 56) elaborates that this selectivity of the official narrative in approaching the recent past is forbidding deep analysis of past events and preventing students from embracing their historical past. In her answer she touches on the fact that the form of the narrative is inadequate, and that key elements of the narrative are missing:

*...I think that with such text, children can develop neither knowledge, nor critical thinking, nor sentiments...is not possible to be touched in any way by this book that they have for learning about this so important event for our country. It is short in length, no further analysis... The language used is a wooden language. There are unknown words that the child cannot comprehend unless the teacher provides further analysis, at least a verbal one, in the classroom. There are no sources that could spark the interest of the child to later go on his/her own to look and find something more. I think it is something that needs to be changed immediately! The small size itself can prove what I am saying that the child cannot even get the knowledge, even the temporary knowledge, about the consequences of the coup d'état and of the Invasion. A kid of the third grade of gymnasium cannot understand and evaluate these events with what he/she reads in the specific book.*

We can see, therefore, that many family members found the story poorly told and felt that it would only confuse students as it is difficult to

comprehend and deal with, whereas it seems that they want a fuller, more careful and personalised narration. Neither the medium of strict, distant language employed in the textbook nor the accompanying sources of bad quality, provided to sustain the narrative, were likely to succeed in making their children interested in learning more about the recent past, these interviewees protest - a conclusion that I also reach in Chapter 5 when analyzing the textbook's content and language. These complaints echo existing research worldwide, which has long criticized the distant and authoritative language used in history textbooks as it has been linked with drawbacks on students' learning. This, inter alia, includes the learning of factual and substantive knowledge about the past that a student develops even for a limited period, rather than accumulating knowledge and skills in history learning. For example, for Marino (2011) this 'deadening, stultifying' language is called as 'textbookese' and provides students with

a singular [...] version of the past imposed upon them, and they may not learn to think critically, nor understand that the study of the past is a task that can be approached from different points of view [...] texts are written in such a way that they are divorced from the lives and experiences of student readers, thus rendering them difficult to assimilate...by their intended audience (Marino, 2011, p.422).

Many researchers tend to conclude that such strong, authoritative language for the history textbook is selected by its writer/publisher as the mechanism for strengthening the trustworthiness and objectivity of historical knowledge conveyed to the younger generation (Wineburg 2001, Vansledright 2008, Grever & Van der Vlies, 2017). This type of language is seen as more appropriate for encouraging the reader to accept

incontestably what is mentioned in the book as 'true' and 'valid' information about the past (Olson, 1980: 194 as found in Grever & Van der Vlies, 2017). However, interviewees in their answers strongly questioned the level of validity and truthfulness of the historical content in this chapter. Four participants provided examples as they pointed to certain parts of the chapter to support their argument. They challenged the soundness and outdatedness of historical information of the narrative based on the recent changes that the Greek-Cypriot community underwent. For example, Gabriel (father, 51) says:

(Reads aloud) 1619 missing persons are the tragic side of the Cypriot issue. But today things have changed! They are finding buried people. Testimonies are coming out so do DNA tests... They arrange funerals (of those who were missing). We see it in the news. But these things are not said here.

Also, Christos (father, 41) added

They (students) don't have material representing this particular period and specific events that Cyprus went through. In the book [...] it says 1619 missing persons. We spent a lifetime saying that there are so many missing persons and then there was confusion about it. Now with the excavations some missing persons are no longer missing. The point is that these number deceives, and this in-use-book contains non valid information. Big mistake. It ends there instead of saying that so many were found that these group tombs were found.

So far family members seem to have recognized certain failings of the historical narrative. They have, inter alia, noticed that the narrative is inaccurate and incomplete with no resources to enable stories to be told properly and that it ends too early (in 1983) without making any connections with the present. Also, in response to question 6 which asks

about identifying inconsistencies in the narrative, ten further participants provided examples as teachers in Chapter 5 did. These family members identified gaps in the timeline of the events, which they support would hinder their children from developing a coherent understanding of past events. At the same time, as they reveal inconsistencies in the involvement of certain people during the troubled events, they object to the narrative framing, that organises events in a certain way around an agent assigned with a certain role. Almost with no exception these respondents appeared to be furious about the marginalization of the events occurring before 1974; events important for them as they found their peak in 1974. Katerina (mother, 52) admits

It bothers me. I tell my kids 'they write about this event in the wrong way. It is not exactly like this' and say my opinion... One mistake I found in the book is how we ended up to the Civil War? How did the Invasion start? Things are not so simple as written in the book. The invasion was planned since 1963 when the thirteen points were introduced, Turks started from there...And we reached 1967, when Makarios sent an ultimatum for the military division to leave Cyprus turning the Greek colonels against him. Then EOKA B was created, which was a mistake [ ...] and brought hatred between relatives.

Demetra (grandmother, 78) stressed that the approach found in the textbook – the lack of content and the narrative framing on the socio-political context in which the coup d'état and the Turkish invasion occurred in 1974 – does not 'help us read history in a right way'. She explains

Well, 1974 didn't suddenly happen. It followed other events [...] 1964 and the bombing of Tylliria and about the Constitution of the 1960. I mean did we, Greeks as the largest group of the population, did we apply exactly the Zurich agreement? I don't think it says anything about giving the excuse to the Turks to take what they have always wanted. Because from the beginning they wanted partition, it

was their slogan. Also, there are many who believed that in 1964 one military division of 10000 men came to defend Cyprus. There is the opinion that this happened because the States, which then acquired a role in solving the Cyprus Issue had offered the Union of Cyprus with Greece, with some exchanges. What were these plans, these are not said. Because I believe that if we start from the coup d'état, that is of course to be condemned and then followed the invasion...well, the rest of the political leadership and the people are not to be blamed? Are we all innocent pigeons?

This narrow scope in the socio-political context of the historical narrative is challenged by seven interviewees as well. For example, they talk about inconsistencies in the way the official narrative seeks to portray two specific agents: President Makarios and Colonel Grivas, the founder of EOKA B, the organization that allegedly orchestrated the coup d'état. Drawing on their personal experiences, they consider the textbook as 'one-sided...because it regards the one as a hero but doesn't say that both are to be very responsible for bringing us here' (Katerina, mother, 52). Fourteen out of these twenty-three respondents reject the notion that Makarios was the hero of this narrative, and this was also extended to Grivas, who is not even mentioned in this chapter. These family members complained about these two agents and appeared as willing to inform their children about their roles in these events because they want their children to know 'the truth.' For example, Theodora (mother, 53) expresses her dislike towards the way Makarios is presented

They are fooling us [...] It says here 'against Makarios' and children will never ask why. My husband and I talked to our children about this [...] My children know that Makarios was a dictator. We are never in favour of a coup d'état, [...] but the responsibility lies with Makarios ... And they don't say these. It's clear that they follow vagueness rather than saying the truth.

Whereas Stephanie (mother, 42) shares about Grivas

Because at school they follow that, I mean Grivas is presented, in another chapter, as someone great for Cypriot history and I tried to make my son puzzled about it. I simply told him that there are two opinions about this issue and that EOKA A is very different to EOKA B. And that in EOKA A Grivas might have offered services, but EOKA B was a disaster for Cyprus. But he is nowhere in this chapter. I mean, his actions contributed to the events of 1974, and he is not so blameless. What I have told him I don't know if it has impacted on him... I hope so.

In their responses, these fourteen participants appear to encapsulate their strong concern that the official narrative fails to convey to their children true and valid knowledge about recent past events. But this single linear perspective of the historical narrative, that these participants identify and condemn, can be somehow understood when acknowledging the context in which the textbook was created. Cyprus was a newly independent state in 1960, with internal issues and troubles through that decade, which led to the events of 1974 and damaged its territorial integrity as the north part of the island is still under Turkish military control. These events occurred before Cyprus had the chance as a state to even form its identity and policies. In other words, selectivity that is considered today as the drawback of this historical narrative was actually a potent means to bring social cohesion and peace in the past. Sant (2015) reminds us that the role of one authoritative narrative in attaining social solidarity was acknowledged in past scholarship (Durkheim, 1954; De Marrais & Le Compte, 1994) whereas recent research is focused on the role such narrative has in the creation of a binary national story, between Us and the

Other, as youngsters tend to approach such narratives as stories between friends and foes (ibid). There are other worldwide cases like Cyprus, that led Foster and Crawford to admit that

In states which consider their existence to be under threat, or in states which are struggling to create an identity, or ...are re-inventing themselves following a period of colonial rule, teaching a nationalistic and mono-cultural form of history can prove to be the cement which binds people together. In its worst form the manufacture and teaching of such an official past can create, sponsor, maintain and justify xenophobic hatred, racism and the obscenity of ethnic cleansing (2006, p. 6–7).

As seen in chapter 5, in Cyprus, historical narrative dominates the state-mandated textbook, which includes the content of the ‘approved’ version of the past and solidifies what the state expects youngsters to remember of this official narrative. This is not only a local phenomenon as Foster concludes that “nations rarely tell ‘the truth’ about themselves” and therefore the national story reaches students as “a watered-down, partial, sometimes distorted, and sometimes a fictional view of the national past based upon cultural, ideological and political selection” (2011, p.12). It is, then, understood that, in democratic settings, the content of the official history is changed or enriched when dominant and influential groups ascend to power as these social groups have their ways and interests of looking at the past and they seek to convey to future generations what they view as official memory (Vansledright, 2008, Wertsch, 2021). But the Greek-Cypriot history textbook has remained largely unchanged for the past thirty years, although governments of different political origins and ideological backgrounds got in office in this period.

Twelve family members provide their explanations as to why the textbook seems to have such a chaotic story and approach to the events of the recent past. There are two different strands of explanation here. The first strand of explanation echoes five family members' idea that the book follows this selective approach in content and narrative framing 'as it makes it easier for not having differing opinions' (Christos, father, 41) in the government effort to retain the status quo. What these interviewees seem to presume is that the state refrains from providing a holistic approach to the past or reframing the story to incorporate more actors to enrich their actions in the events of 1974 as this might bring social tension and create unrest as Demetra (grandmother, 78) said:

Because it is not easy for the kids to understand. And it is not easy for the teachers either. If reference is made for the previous events, they will have to position themselves. I mean, we lived this. In the 60s ...we didn't have real democracy... it was unbelievable for someone to show up as a candidate against Makarios...Evdokas tried ... and they threw tomatoes at him, the police cut off the wires of the loudspeakers to make his assembly dissolve...we were acting in a worse way as a state towards the Turkish-Cypriots... I believe that they don't want to divide the public because many still claim that Makarios acted properly and the same goes for the paramilitary troops he allowed to be created ...How can a teacher teach these?

For these family members this approach to the past aims 'to reduce that hatred between the people' (Gabriel, father, 51), hatred within the Greek-Cypriot community towards those who participated in the coup d'état. In their view, not letting the youth develop thorough understanding of the past will 'pacify them' (Christophoros, father, 50) in unlikely making them



interested in resisting political decisions of the future. Their words appeared to reveal a striking lack of trust for the state.

The second explanation seven family members offer is that the approach of the textbook towards the recent past is unlikely to change because agreeing on what should be said is too difficult politically. These family members, as teacher Nikos said in chapter 5, identify a reluctance showed 'by the state in being afraid to change the book' (Kyriaki, mother, 46). Stressing the political complexities of these events, they acknowledged political involvement in issues of education, and this makes 'the responsible authority, the Ministry, afraid to touch these issues' (Evi, mother, 56). They feel that the political elite, which is seen to guide the Greek-Cypriot community, is hesitant to reflect on past mistakes and as Theodora (mother, 53) concludes if the 'political parties can't agree on these events, how can they write our history?' These seven participants object to a one-sided heroic type of narrative as they want a rather multistranded story, that takes into consideration the peculiarities of the Cypriot context, and that is more capable of making students more involved in the learning about the recent past. As Stephanie (mother, 42) eloquently put it:

I think that history, the way it's been taught, is very problematic. We maintain one line of argumentation and one didactic way that promotes the status quo... it doesn't try to bring close the two sides. I think that we should have presented history in a more correct way...present events as they happened. Not by making them look nicer, not by presenting them from our side as having no responsibilities... Because by presenting that we made no mistakes ... we only succeeded in growing one more generation that hates the Other, opposite of us. And we can't do this, because ... that it is not the truth. We also did many more things - they can't excuse the

Invasion - but we must present ... facts as they occurred and in their right dimension.

These participants appeared to be more or less, aware of what their children are expected to learn at school about the past. Their responses allow me to conclude that they seemed to dismiss the heroic historical narrative of the textbook, challenging its selective content and frame, the language in use and the outdated information it seeks to offer to their children. Their irritation towards the textbook seems to stem from their belief that it does not help their children to become interested in learning about the events of the recent past. So far, all of them express negative remarks about the textbook: it is viewed mostly as an educational tool produced by the state, and the participants expressed their degrading sentiments about it. These interviewees' critical attitude towards official memory and what is expected from their children to learn at school about the recent past is further reinforced by their willingness to provide suggestions on what type of a story they want and on how the subject of history can be improved. Twenty out of twenty-three interviewees shared their ideas on how the approach in the content, narrative and pedagogy of school history can be changed to learn about the past in a holistic way and, simultaneously, to gain the attention of their children. Their answers can be organized around two axes; on the adoption of a more locally-oriented lens and the use of multiple perspectives in the history lesson to engage children in learning about their recent historical past.

### 6.1.2. A new story and a new pedagogy.

In response to question 8 which asks participants to offer their ideas on what could be changed about the way history is taught in Cyprus today, twenty respondents offered suggestions about having a new book providing more information about the recent past. Likewise, this was endorsed by all teachers, as seen in Chapter 5. From their responses, as we can see from the cases of Kyriaki, Kosta, Andriani below, the idea of using multiple perspectives (although they do not explicitly name it as multiperspectivity) is promoted as the key to present the past events in the textbook. In the classroom at large, a holistic way is seen as appropriate so that students become more interested in the learning of local history. They want a new colourful book with more sources (such as diaries of survivors, short videos, pictures and suggestions on further reading in books and in the web) and through various testimonies a fair representation of all communities in the historical narrative for the events of 1974 for the students to explore the past such as:

an old man, a prisoner of war taken to Adana in Turkey, a child of 7 to 8 years that survived events and remembers... Also see how Turkish-Cypriots, Armenians, Maronites and Latins survived... (Kyriaki, mother, 46).

The data suggest that, overall, my respondents tend to prefer a liberal textbook with a multistranded story with multiple agents that takes no clear stand in the conflict it describes as this will enable students to reconstruct the past in multiple ways and explore how their past can be related to their

present. A story that would not describe something distant to them but that would draw links with global events, social trends and current issues would enable them to position themselves in the local and in the wider context. As Kostas (father, 46) says

If there is ... some type of pressure towards the Ministry of Education, for the history textbook to become more comprehensible to students... in making them to carry on further research. Not to simply accept what a historian wrote but to also have sources in the book so the student can look to find out if what he reads about happened in such a way or if there is something else. For example, for the 1955-59 period. We call those participating in EOKA A as heroes, but English people call them terrorists. Well nowadays we call those of the Isis terrorists, but they call themselves heroes as they fight for their religion and their country. Why I call that one as a terrorist and our own as hero? The one blew up for his country in his country and the other one blew up elsewhere.

Not only participants would like to have a revised textbook with a new approach in the story and in the content, but they also proposed some new features expanding on the pedagogy that needs to be introduced to comply with and to support the new textbook. For example, various means of conveying knowledge about the past were mentioned by nine participants which can be used 'to break the boredom of the classroom' (Yiota, mother, 50). These respondents support what existing research calls as 'alternative sources' which can be implemented in history lessons such as documentaries, films, biographies (Nicholls, 2006), contrary to the teacher-centred type of lessons followed today. For example, Gabriel (father, 51) talks about 'a modernized way of teaching... with a pedagogical direction and with the right material as it is easier for children to go on the web, on YouTube and other applications', emphasizing on the importance of

technology in today's classroom - more than just a PowerPoint presentation as noted in my classroom observations - to help students learn about the past. For these respondents, it seems important students are encouraged to initiate research about the past and find information 'through libraries, documentaries and TV channels such as CyBC, ERT or BBC or independent researchers... and ask parents and teachers more about it' as Andriani (mother, 42) acknowledges. Use of various sources and means to transfer knowledge about the past is also mentioned by teachers, in chapter 5. Fourteen interviewees out of twenty enthusiastically recommended approaching survivors as 'real sources' of the past events as 'people experiences are the best source to learn history, as it happened' (Soteria, mother, 50) and invite them in the history classrooms to share their stories '...in the Cypriot dialect...the language they might hear the most... not to have this teacher-centred lesson where you stand in front of the kids and you talk to them, who didn't survive these events and they can't even understand these pictures', as Kyriaki (mother, 46) notes.

This means of learning about the past from a survivor's testimony, has not been mentioned by teachers, although it is greatly appreciated worldwide for helping children understand the challenges and the sensitivities while learning about traumatic events (IHRA, 2019). But as I witnessed during the time I spent in the classroom (section 5.1.2.) teachers tend to share their own family stories about the events of 1974 and are keen on listening to students' family stories. Also, in situ learning as part of history classroom activities was proposed by twelve interviewees (and teacher Nikos in

chapter 5) as the means to link the historical past to the students' present world. Andriani (mother, 42) elaborates:

I believe that students should have the experience of what the Green Line is. So [...] walking from the Greek-Cypriot checkpoint to the Turkish-Cypriot one, walking in the middle of the Dead Zone can show them how time passed by, letting everything at its place, with no change at all. And that silence that dominates there, might provoke them, may awaken sentiments... work in class later to be followed. Presenting short films, assigning students in teams to research sources and share their findings. Talk about their feelings. It is also nice to take them to Makedonitissa hill (Tymvos) to see the plane and [...] the soldiers' graves. To go to a missing person's funeral. It might be considered as brutal but it's an experience because you must see the good and the bad side. Even see appalling pictures, so they can become familiar with the tragedy of the events. We can't just present life as if things were hunky-dory.

Here, Andriani suggests that visiting places which are associated with the conflict of 1974 may help students to make multiple connections between the past and their present. Thus, as discussed earlier in Chapter 2, certain places such as the Green Line and Tymvos are becoming commemorative areas of a past that was brutal but visiting them is endorsed not as an act of memorialization but as an action that helps children to comprehend the range of human action. In worldwide research it is observed that memory sites of public property are approached as produced and maintained for specific commemorative practices in need of 'public support to prevent them from decomposing' (Winter, 2010, p.319). They are politically rooted and carry symbols to the next generation, to those who were not witnesses to the events these sites are made to represent. Yet their symbolic quality is not only property to the community of Greek-Cypriots, as Turkish-Cypriots share the same symbols to strengthen their own narrative about

the recent past. For example, Turkish-Cypriots have also access to the Dead zone and they also have created cemeteries in memory of those who were lost in the recent past.

Moreover, multiperspectivity is not only about learning material and how this can be transmitted to students as shown above but it is extended, according to ten respondents, to the way their children are assessed for the subject of history. For example, tests in various forms for practicing different capabilities of students and projects have been recommended instead of exams focused on memorizing facts and dates, which dominate today, as they claim. In this regard, assessment is seen as targeting the development of 'children's historical thinking and in making history a remarkably interesting, pleasant lesson' (Stephanie, mother,42).

#### 6.1.3. A new purpose of learning about the past.

Exploring the data responding to question 8, allowed me to create an understanding of what type of a story, textbook, and pedagogy these participants want. I then turned in my data to see what purpose this shift in history learning, that many participants advocate, intends to support. Examining local events in breadth and depth as requested by the participant family members and teachers, as seen in chapter 5, demands more time in curriculum for local history. Interviewees expressed their strong disappointment that their children are not taught enough about the historical past of Cyprus and think that local history is treated as of

secondary importance compared to the time allocated in the curriculum and to the attention given to the events described from the mainland Greek perspective (in the other book). For example, Stephanie (mother, 42) says

we can't have history to the degree it's been taught for three years at the gymnasium and have only this thing for the history of Cyprus... Learn everything for the history of Greece and not knowing ours because the history of Cyprus... has always been secondary...and I can't understand this.

Similarly, to what teachers support about giving more attention to the local past, as found in the previous chapter, family members envisage that a more locally-oriented history lesson would inspire students in becoming familiar with various areas of Cyprus 'as they used to be and as they are now, so they will see how we were before the Invasion and are today' (Chara, mother, 42). In this context, interviewees seem to believe that a focus on the recent past would make students thoroughly knowledgeable about the history of their place and better equipped in becoming democratically active citizens. As Christos (father, 41) proposes

I think for the Cypriot history we should start from 1960, then go to 1974 and then present the efforts of solving the Cyprus issue. This could last for a semester, even more, yet they will be taught the current history of Cyprus. Because now kids at school are taught about the EOKA struggle of 1955-1959, then the Independence of Cyprus and then basically it ends. If 1974 stays in their memory, they will tell you that the Turks came. I mean from 1960 to 1974 is a dead empty gap, as if nothing existed. They should learn the contemporary history of our island and what happened after 1974. So, we can come to our times, when we might get into a petition for solution, to know what to vote for... In 3 years', time a student that now is 15 years old, will have the right to vote. As a young person will have a lifetime to spend here. If he doesn't know what happened or if he votes for something that might take him back where the past happened [...] The youngster should know what to vote and why to vote. To have an opinion basically because war isn't something that



happened with no consequences. We live the consequences, and I don't know when they will end... Say the truth of the two communities. Because events occurred before 1974. There were hostilities from the Greek-Cypriots and from the Turkish-Cypriots. In every country, there are extremists and those we should isolate and report if they do something. These events, many don't want to talk about them, to accept them or to remember them. They happened, they are our history. We must talk about them and move on. Are we ready as a society to say that these crimes and mistakes happened from the two communities? [...] These were the facts, the capabilities of our leaders, they acted in this way, right or wrong, we proceed. If we don't accept them, I think it will be bad for society at large and for the future of this place.

History learning about the events in 1974, in their view, should aim to firstly inform students about the complexities of the Cyprus Issue, that so greatly affects their lives. The purpose of school history is to help children explore in depth and accept the past by acknowledging the underlying factors which create the troubles between people and the role certain individuals had in dealing with the traumatic past. Such an integrated approach towards the recent past is sought to make students informed and active citizens turning the local society from conflict-driven to democratic and flourishing in peace.

This aim of learning about the past in schools is highly political as it is linked to notions of identity. Twenty of the respondents seem to share a Cypro-centric type of identity and are interested in learning more about events of local importance and approaching Cyprus as an independent state. Demetra (grandmother, 78) was the sole voice that held a Greek-centric identity, viewing Cyprus as part of the Greek world and passionately favouring history learning from the Greek perspective. She says

We shouldn't give the impression that we are the centre of the Earth and no one else exists. If we see Cyprus on the map ... it is a dot. Cyprus, as we started at least the struggle and, in our consciousness, we are Greeks, we can't see it in isolation. Cretans, in an island, equal in size with Cyprus, should be taught for a year only the Cretan history? Because we are in another state? We are half a million people. What are we without Hellenism? [...] Why giving such an emphasis on this islet we are on?

These twenty out of twenty-three family members associate the purpose of history learning with certain political aims; this tendency was likewise endorsed by the state and by two teachers, as seen in Chapter 5. This approach to school history fits the 'social-engineering' model of Shemilt (2011) about historical learning as seen in chapter 1 but shows no respect for the domain of history as science. They have strongly blamed the state for using the history textbook for promoting a selective approach to the recent past to accommodate political ends, but they also see school history as a vehicle of political ideas. As explained above, they suggested that a holistic approach of the past will allow students to understand the significance of the events of local history and will make students able to position themselves historically and to cultivate their critical thinking skills. However, they expect that the critical thinking skills sharpened by school history are to be used for solving the puzzle of the Cyprus Issue, as no other field of metacognition has been mentioned. For example, Stephanie (mother, 42) says

We need to teach our kids to have critical thinking and opinion, even if this opinion differs from what the book says. This is how we're going to make citizens that think. By presenting them a text as a poem and tell them 'learn it' they will not think, they won't critique, they won't have a say. We simply make a mass that thinks in the same way. This thing will not offer anything [...] We should ask, if we

had the courage to present things objectively, why we came at this point and what were our own mistakes? What the others really did and what did we? This doesn't mean that the Invasion is not to be condemned but we must understand that we have our share of responsibility. And this will help, because the essence of history is not to have kids learn by heart 5 dates and 5 events or who was x and who was y. The essence of history, from my point of view again, is that through history to develop their critical thinking and to avoid mistakes in the future.

Here, these participants seem not to subscribe to the opinions of two teachers expressed in Chapter 5, who believe that the purpose of history learning is about helping the students to understand the past and develop skills of critical thinking, skills to accompany students in their later life.

In this context and realizing political ideologies can influence school history, six respondents acknowledged that the writing of the history textbook about the recent past in Cyprus is a demanding task because 'the human factor gets in' as Soteria explained. They referred to the challenges this task bears and the qualities a history textbook writer should possess for giving a closer to the truth account of the past. Soteria (mother, 50) had the opinion that a cohort of professionals should prepare the history book for providing a balanced, scientifically grounded approach to the past

[Y]ou need a lot of guts to write history books because people are still alive. And there are some people who got guns and they might be those ones who will write history books. It is very dangerous, but it is our duty to our children to teach them our history no matter how painful it might be... I believe history has to do with open-minded people. Narrow-minded people, those in their shell, with political ideologies can't... This is very risky... And sometimes, being a witness to an event might give different descriptions, if you are 5 or 15 years old. The critical thinker will filter all these things [...] you must be in the heart of history. You can't write a history book and be an ordinary person. Not even a simple teacher or a simple historian.

Perhaps a group of scientists should be in charge and not people who grew up in a family that told them 'these are the good ones, these are not'. There are survivors who are politically active, but a mature person can take away the political event and ideology. But this is also very dangerous. It is a battle of the individual inside, of having the maturity to win himself. Let his mind write the book and not his heart... And of course, to justify everything...

This section presents suggestions offered by family members on how the history lesson can be enhanced in terms of the story, content and pedagogy to make their children more interested in learning about their recent past. These suggestions emphasise locality and multiperspectivity in school history as the tools to provide an extended breadth and depth of knowledge about the past. Almost without exception, participants, are dissatisfied as they realise that their children are taught more about the Greek perspective on events of global history than the history of their country and considered the provision of more time in the curriculum for exploring the events of the recent past in Cyprus as important. Twenty out of twenty-three respondents stressed their desire for a new text to be produced, one that presents many perspectives on the events of the recent past and which will be used in accordance with other learning sources including documentaries, the web, testimonies of survivors and in situ learning to enable the students to grasp a thorough understanding of the past. So far, this chapter has presented how family members approach the history textbook their children use at school as a tool of official memory and how they feel that history learning can be improved so their children will be more interested in learning about the past. It is now important to turn to see how these respondents view their children's history teacher.

## 6.2. The history teacher as the means of transmitting official memory.

In response to Question 7 which asked about the interactions of family members with the history teachers of their children, it was thought-provoking to explore the ways they approach the teachers, as existing research sees not only the historical text(book) but also the teacher as one potent means for conveying knowledge about the past (Nichol & Dean, 2003). Interestingly, there was no homogeneity in the families' attitudes towards the teachers as seen in their attitude towards the content and narrative of the textbook or its use as the tool of official memory. Instead, there is disparity in their responses, from condemnation to positive commentary, on how they viewed the history teacher and on how they find the way the educator used the textbook.

Twelve out of the total twenty-three family members claim that they tended to avoid having any relation with their children's history teacher. They explained that they do so, because, in their view, the teacher is nothing more than a public servant of the Ministry with limited power in their hands. In doing so, they undermine the professional status of the teacher. Katerina (mother, 52) says

I disagreed with many things, but I did not go to protest ... Maybe because I did not want to get in trouble. Maybe because I said that the professor, since the Ministry gives him this material, what can I tell him? 'Why are you doing this stuff?'

Two of them accused the Ministry of restricting access to the teachers;

Why do they now ...allow you to go to the school? You must have permission to go. *Who* will give you this permission? *No one*. (Anastasia, grandmother, 74).

In addition to this, Panos (father, 52) implied that the Ministry is looking down on teachers 'because even if I discuss something with the teacher and the teacher will send a letter to the Ministry in March-May 2018, they will see it during 2028'. Six of them look down on teachers, as instruments in transferring their experiences and political opinions about the past to their children and challenged the teacher's professionalism. These family members believe that the teacher is using their position to promote personal ideologies (please see Kostas quotation below) and 'his reality on how his family survived these events' (Gabriel, father, 51) during the history lesson. They concurrently make known another way that shows how school history is tangled with local politics. As seen in chapter 1, political groups in Cyprus have not yet reached a consensus over the events of 1974 and participants in my research are seeing the consequences of this dispute in their daily life. They expressed their concerns that based on their political views, the teacher discriminates against students with different opinions or knowledge about the past. In some cases, these concerns were expressed mildly. For example, Christos (father, 41) says

If the teacher is open-minded, you can talk with him the issue of the coup d'état and the Invasion. There are still things: the Left, the Right and of the centre although many view this as forgotten. When it comes to schools, hospitals, police, public sector, these issues exist. It is very difficult to open such an issue with a teacher ... and because everyone is taking care of his child and doesn't want this to have an impact on the child [...] The impact might be a low grade and negative attitude from the teacher to the child. I heard about these incidents in schools.

In this context, participants asked their children to be reserved or to remain silent about their family history at school. Kostas (father, 46) confessed that he asked his daughter not to share their family experience of the past in the classroom because he wants to avoid having his child bullied by the teacher. This was his way of protecting his daughter after an incident with his older child

Some of the questions my child asks about '74 have to do with what she hears at school... I dare say, because I have been involved in the school community for several years, that many teachers don't say things as they are, but according to their political beliefs. This is a big mistake... I don't want my child to be involved in the class so as not to be targeted by teachers... Because my older son was with the x football group, he was considered to belong to the x political party and because the school principal was of the opponent party, there was an incredible persecution of my child and we had to prove that we are not elephants<sup>23</sup> ... I have personally complained to the relevant bodies against teachers [...] Justice, in the sense that I know it personally, doesn't exist. The professor abused his power, but he wasn't punished for his attitude by the Ministry [...] Unfortunately, some people have obsessions, and you can't easily take them away [...] But resentful parents shouldn't give up because this will only perpetuate a problem. Because it has to do with the sensitive ages of children, it should have an appropriate reaction.

Here, Kostas not only believes that a higher-rank teacher, targeted his child for having a different political ideology than his own, but describes how despite complaining against the teacher, found no justice. His demand was not met with measures against the teacher who was using his position to promote his personal beliefs. He accuses the Ministry and teachers' bodies of inactivity as the teacher is still at school and not fired. During my classroom observations I witnessed teachers sharing their personal

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<sup>23</sup> Expression meaning that something is self-evident.

experiences about the events of 1974 with their students. But, and perhaps my presence might have contributed to this, nothing was mentioned to reveal their personal political ideology, except in the case of teacher Maria, as seen in chapter 5.

Despite these negative responses, five family members out of twenty-three family members provided positive comments about how they viewed the history teacher. They said that they sought to meet with the history teacher for the benefit of their children. They were open to establish communication with the teacher, as they realized that the subject of history 'is the most stressful because it has a lot of theory, so I'm always looking for the teacher to see how to help them in understanding history' (Anna, mother, 38). What is more important, these interviewees talked about how they witnessed their children's attitude towards the lesson of local history changing because of their teachers' approach of the past. They referred to two history teachers working in different schools. They saw their children becoming more positive in learning about the past and they talked fondly about their teacher 'for giving kids the opportunity to learn all the facts...for having the courage to say that there is also this opinion' (Andriani, mother, 42). In addition, these children became more willing to discuss what they were taught at school about the past with their family members. For example, Stephanie (mother, 42) explains

This year my son, has a professor who I don't know personally... He tells me that he is excellent in the sense that - my son can't learn things by heart, he has dyslexia and makes it very difficult for him - but he tells me that the teacher presents everything in a such way, that he remembers them, and he comes home and asks me about



them. This man is obviously doing his job in a right way. He got them interested, I don't know how, into thinking about the past. But once the year is over, I'll go to congratulate him [...] I don't know about the other kids... but mine... wasn't interested at all. That's why I was so overwhelmed when he came to talk with me about history. And this is a consequence of how they are treated by that man in the classroom, or else he wouldn't care.

Besides these, it is important to bring in their responses on how the teacher uses the history textbook in class. Ten family members talked about the use of the book by the teacher as they observed that the teacher avoids using the book and 'relies on the handout' (Chara, mother, 42) they produce. During the classroom observations I was also able to notice that teachers tend not to use the textbook and teachers admitted their strong disapproval of the textbook in their interviews as well, as found in chapter 5. But three other parents were concerned that this type of teaching practice – of providing handouts with summarized points about the past instead of providing a coherent historical account - might create complications in the learning development of their children. Yiota (mother, 50) adds

My son is graduating gymnasium and thinks that invasion and coup d'état is the same thing. They haven't clarified it at least my son hasn't, and I had to explain it to him. We went to the Statue of Liberty which is full of bullet-holes from the coup d'état and the Invasion. The bronze statues are perforated, and I explained to him why and how [...] I don't know if it was how he was taught about them at school that created the confusion. But I realise that many students are confused, and I don't know if it is because of the teacher's way.

This confusion or even ignorance of the students about the events of the recent past was associated by some respondents with the fact that, as also

mentioned in chapter 1, some teachers might not use the book at all and students may not be taught about the recent past because teachers 'run out of time or because some students were absent those days, at the end of the year' as Christos (father, 41) explains. These answers lead to what I witnessed when I visited three different schools in Nicosia. My history classroom observations suggest that, although the Cypriot State exerts control on the history textbook, as happens elsewhere in the world and although its use is mandatory, teachers do not use the textbook and tend to supplement it with their own material; showing correlation with the anti-textbook ethos existing until recently in England (Grever & van der Vlies, 2017).

Conclusion.

The aim of the present chapter is to explore how twenty-three family members of school children in their final grade at Gymnasium approached official memory about the events of the recent past of Cyprus that is presented to their children in school. In their great majority they seemed to approach the history textbook and history teachers as vehicles of official memory about the past to their children. In their answers, family members focused on the history textbook and on the history teacher as carriers of the State's approach of the past events which is expected to be conveyed to their children. As presented above, fourteen family members seemed to be informed about the content of the textbook and showed their dissatisfaction about the selective content, limited scope of the narrative and about the vagueness in the language and in the historical information their children

receive. Their criticism extends to the fact that the textbook has remained unchanged for decades, manifesting the state's unwillingness to confront the bitter past and reinforcing the government's political efforts to remain in power.

In addition, twenty respondents provided suggestions on how a liberal textbook with a multiperspectival type of story focused on local historical content can be used in school history to make their children more involved in learning their historical past in a thorough way. It is not unreasonable to conclude that family members seem to feel that a multistranded and clearly defined story, with no chronological or thematic gaps which children can reconstruct in multiple ways, would encourage students to understand the past historically in the way worldwide research suggests; 'to be aware of its complexity, to have sufficient detachment to see it from multiple perspectives, to accept the ambiguities, including moral ambiguities, of protagonists' motives and behaviour' (Novick, 1999, pp. 3–4). Furthermore, family members of students shared their insights about the history teachers of their children. There is no consistency in their answers about how they approach the history teachers; twelve view them as civil servants undermining their professional status while six of them expressed harsh opinions about teachers taking advantage of their position. Five however, who saw an improved interest of their children towards learning about the past, tended to have a positive opinion towards the teachers of their children. From their responses on how the teacher uses the history book in class, my data indicate that ten family members noticed that teachers avoid

using the textbook in class while three stressed teachers' tendency to rely on their own material and handouts. Moreover, for making students more interested in learning about the past, they seemed to propose the publication of a new textbook, the use of multiple sources and allocate more time in the curriculum for local history.

It is striking that summarized data from my observations and interviews with teachers compliments family members responses explored above. As seen in Chapter 5 history teachers avoid using the history textbook because they also identify inconsistencies in the selective historical narrative, which chooses to silence events and their agents. The triangulation of data received from classroom observations and from interviews with the family members and teachers of students contributes to further enhancing the validity of my research as it enables me to understand from many viewpoints how family members of students approach the official memory about the recent past that their children learn at school.

This chapter has presented the ways family members of school children approach official memory about the recent past that is presented to them at school. In the next chapter, I explore whether and how family members are involved in the transmission of knowledge and memory about the recent past to their children.

## Chapter 7: To what extent, how and why do family members convey their memories and knowledge about the past to their children?

In order to provide answers in the above-mentioned question this chapter adopts the following format. It begins by mapping out whether the adult family members in this research attempt to share their personal memories and experiences about the events of the troubled past with their children. Then it explores the ways in which these family members, who did share their memories, transmit their narratives, recollected their experiences to their children and the reasons they do so (Image 17 below). A brief section on children's attitudes towards learning about the past from their family members cross-examines some of the responses of the adults and concludes this chapter. I employed thematic content analysis on the data I received after conducting one-to-one interviews of family members and/or joint interviews with their children. Again, I followed the same process as explained in the chapter of Research Design (please see pages 120 to 121).

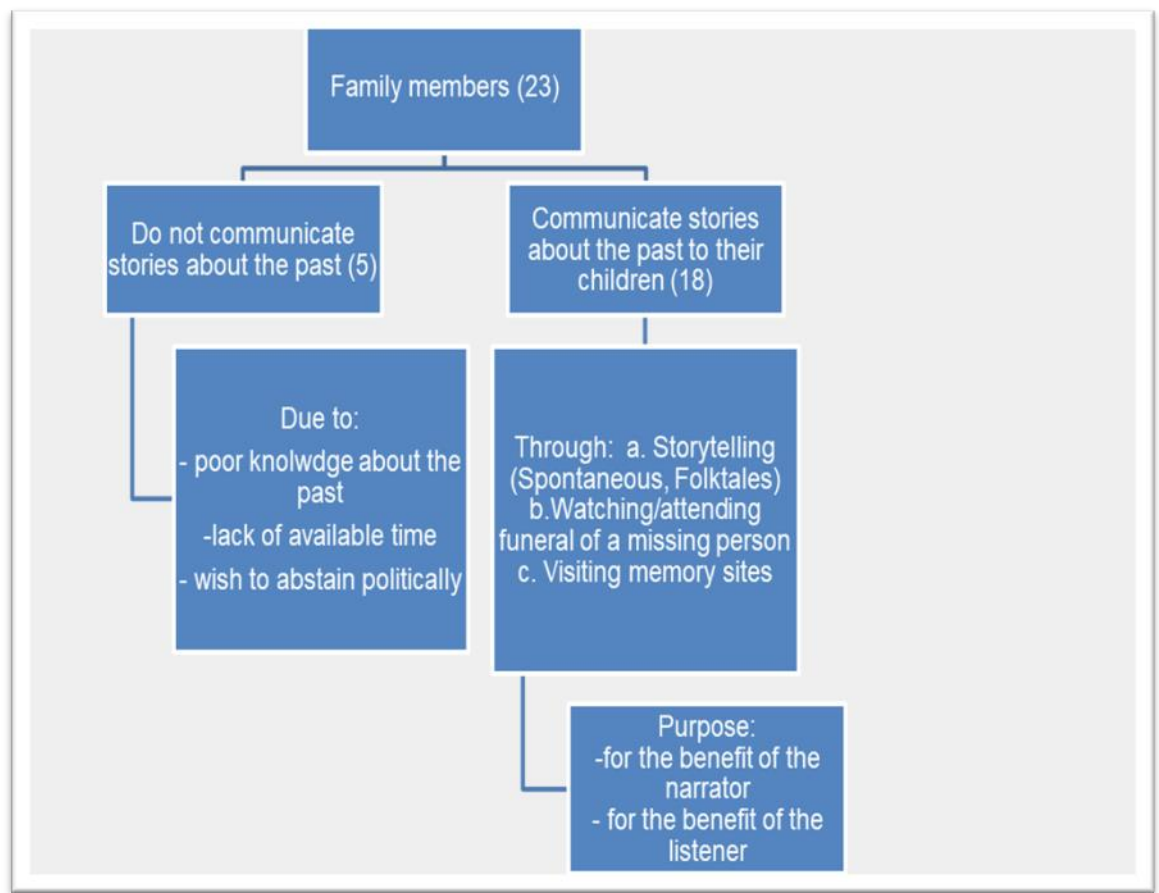


Image 17. Strands of family members responses.

### 7.1. Do family members convey their past memories to their children?

As mentioned above, my first aim was to find out whether these twenty-three family members who participated in my research made any effort to convey their personal knowledge about the recent past to their offspring. I reread their responses in the light of this question and categorized them in two groups – those who convey and those who do not convey their knowledge about the past to their children. Knowledge here is multifold as

it represents the few types of experiencing the past encountered in Chapter 4, namely knowledge of objective, subjective and vicarious experiences.

From these twenty-three interviewees, five parents answered that they made no attempts to transmit their knowledge and memories about the troubled past to their children. Two fathers. Panos (who was 8 in 1974) and Gabriel (who was 7) explained that they did not share such knowledge or memory primarily due to lack of available time. As young children in 1974, it is assumed that they have many memories from the events of 1974 and beyond. Although they both wanted to, Panos (father, 52) said 'it just didn't happen'. As Gabriel (father, 51) explains

It is vital, we should talk about our experiences with the youth. I have been working abroad for the last nine years, and I didn't have time to discuss about these events...And I personally feel this as a gap, I didn't do well ...not to talk to N (his daughter) about these. Although I really enjoyed our last interview because not only, I gave some pieces of information, I as a person who participated in that interview felt satisfaction that I talked to someone who wanted to listen about these. Nowadays this is not happening often because we managed to lose family time. We are constantly under pressure behind a phone or on the internet.<sup>24</sup>

For Kostas (father, 46) though, not talking about the past to his child is not an issue of not having free time but a conscious decision. Just to remind the reader, Kostas was the parent who told his daughter not to share family histories about 1974 in the classroom to avoid having his child bullied by the teacher because of different political ideologies, as seen in the previous

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<sup>24</sup> The pseudonym, the role as family member and age of the individual are found in brackets, accompany each extract. In each quotation in chapters 4 to 7, words in italics denote the teller's emphasis during speech and underlined words present my emphasis.

chapter. As he grew up in the most challenging decades after the events, he shared with me a lot of memories of how his life changed because of the consequences of the events. He has also read and studied extensively about the recent past, on his own, and this resulted in developing a well-detailed understanding about the events of 1974. But he avoids talking to any of his children about the events of 1974 because of the political perplexities of the past and as he noted 'I want to keep them out of political things and let them read on their own and get informed about how and why we ended up here'. Here, Kostas approaches the past as the key to explaining the present, his model of the past is not focused on the trauma or difficulties of the past.

Their realization that their knowledge about the recent local history is poor makes Dina and Anna not to talk about the recent past to their children. Their responses show that they both feel that their poor knowledge derives from the fact that they were born after 1974 and have no personal memories about the events. They understand that their relationship with the events of 1974 is not direct and that is why they both encourage their children to turn to their grandparents, who have survived the past. For example, Dina (mother,40) says

I don't tell these stories to my children, but because my parents are relatively young and are with them every day, my children know a lot of stories...These are the only stories that catch the interest of my children because they feel that they are about real events. When they hear them from my parents, they understand. But when they



are told about them in the class, they don't bother. They don't remember, they don't listen, they don't want to learn there. But as my parents tell them these stories in their simple language, they feel it differently. Very often they like listening to them. Because these stories are about ordinary people who did not even graduate from school but they came out alive from all this [...] these stories have nothing to do with the political beliefs or stories of others... These are stories of my family, how they went through all these difficulties and experiences.

These two mothers have approached the past before as students, although they feel that they were not adequately taught about the troubled events at school. For example, this was obvious in the previous chapter when Dina dismissed the history textbook she had at school, the same her son has now. But here, Dina relates the past to her present, in her new family context as a mother. She talks about her parents' stories, favouring intergenerational narratives for passing information about the past and that, she thinks, her children show interest in these, compared to their negative reaction to the official narrative mediated to them in school.

In contrast with the first five parents, the remaining eighteen family members answered that they try to convey their knowledge and experiences about the past to their children (please see Table 20 below). Fifteen of them claimed that they tell the stories of their lives and their 'truths' about the events of the troubled past and hold nothing back as they want their children 'to know everything' as Christophoros (father, 50) said. This is not a rare phenomenon as existing research beyond Cyprus informs us, for example, about the tendency of parents to 'link their own stories to

larger social and political cultural history' (Fivush & Merrill, 2016, p.312). Stories about a person's life, or autobiographical narratives as they are known, are not only about the narrator but they provide information to the listener about the geographical and historical context within which the narrator has lived their life (Fivush, 2008). But, at this point it is important to stress that I approach autobiographical narratives as the means (and expressions) of how an individual sees and takes from the past, having always in mind that an individual might filter which of their experiences to disclose or not to others. For example, three family members admitted that they thoroughly and wisely choose which of their experiences to share with their children. This selection of which experiences to share does not only stem from the narrator's concern not to upset children by talking about something horrible like 'something I witnessed during the war as a soldier' as Grigoris explained, but due to their opinion that their child is not ready or mature enough to comprehend and assess their sensitive or upsetting memories about the past. For this, instead of remaining silent about the past, they prefer to share some of their stories about the troubled past while 'waiting for the right age to come so kids will be able to understand some events,' as Andriani (mother, 42) said. Christos (father, 41) adds

It is not easy to talk to my children about some co-villagers of my parents who did what they did in the coup d'état, but you forgive them with time... The time will come to say some things but they will have to be at an age of understanding and of controlling their anger and been able to make self-evaluation [...] To say that these events happened, but now things have changed. Not to maintain fanaticism and the strong hatred that this one was someone holding a weapon then and he was threatening...

Here, Christos touches on some of the sensitivities of the past, which are silenced in the textbook for the sake of social peace, as seen in chapter 5. He refers to what he was told that happened in his parents' village when the coup d'état occurred in 1974. Some of the villagers, who were supporters of the Greek Junta and took part in the coup d'état roamed in the village with guns and attacked villagers aligned to the Left. This is documented as occurring those days before the arrival of the Turkish army in other villages / areas in Cyprus too (For more details, please turn to Section 1.2.).

As seen above, the aim of this section was to clarify whether these twenty-three family members who participated in my research made any effort to convey their personal knowledge about the recent past to their children. Five participants were not willing to transmit their knowledge about the troubled past to their children because they felt that they had poor knowledge about local history or not enough time or due to their wish to abstain from any politically related discussion.

From the remaining eighteen family members who answered that they try to communicate their memories and experiences about the past to their children, three participants said that they select which memories they share with their children because as they understand their children due to their young age are not able to evaluate their upsetting memories about the troubled past. Let us now turn to explore the means these eighteen family

members use to communicate their experiences about the past and the reasons driving them to do so.

#### 7.2. How do family members convey their memories and knowledge about the past to their children?

As Table 20 below shows, these family members use three different activities as potent vehicles to transfer their experiences about the past to their children, namely: (a) talking/sharing stories about the past. (b) watching/attending the funerals of missing people; and (c) visiting memory sites. At this stage, and before turning to present these activities in detail, it is important to remind the reader how this research approaches the concepts of individual or personal memory and collective memory as this will enable us to understand how these types of memories intersect or merge during these activities.

As described in page 74 in Chapter 2, individual/personal memory is the recollection of direct experiences, assessed and construed based on the worldview of the person that carries them (Fivush, 2008). In the context of this research, vicarious memories are included in this concept of memory because memories of others, through direct contact or through the media, can influence the way an individual thinks about and remembers the past (Norrick, 2013). Collective memory is the extensive compilation of shared stories about the past built-up through social interactions in the present (please see pp. 74-77). During these interactions, memories are enhanced,

reformed, or being side-lined by the memories of those who dominate within a social group while a common sense of identity and belonging embrace the cohort of people living in the same space and time (Smith, 1991; Huntington, 1993). In this way, collective memory as a social practice was recognised by state representatives as the means to retain the status quo and official narratives, like the one in the Greek-Cypriot history textbook, as seen in Chapter 5, function as tools in promoting a shared remembering about the events of the past (Wertsch, 2008).

Intergenerational stories can bridge personal and collective memory, as they can overcome time limitations (Merrill & Fivush, 2016) when the tellers - in the case of my research, the participants who survived the events of 1974 - share their personal memories about 1974 with their children, who were born two decades after these events. What follows provides a presentation of each means and an explanation of how each adult tries to communicate their experiences about the past.

Pseudonym of participant	Age in 1974	Means of communicating past experiences/memories
Artemis	28	Talking – folktales, watching a missing person’s funeral
Anastasia	30	Talking – folktales, watching a missing person’s funeral on TV
Andriani	(born in 1976)	Talking, attending a missing person’s funeral, visiting memory sites
Christophoros	6	Talking

Christos	(born in 1977)	Talking, watching a missing person's funeral on TV, visiting memory sites
Demetra	34	Talking
Eugenia	9	Talking, visiting memory sites
Kyriaki	2	Talking, visiting memory sites
Xenia	6	Talking, attending a missing's person funeral
Chara	(born in 1976)	Talking
Yiota	6	Talking, visiting memory sites
Grigoris	27	Talking, visiting memory sites
Katerina	8	Talking, visiting memory sites
Soteria	6	Talking, visiting memory sites, watching a missing person's funeral on TV
Evi	8	Talking, visiting memory sites
Stephanie	(born in 1976)	Talking
Theodora	9	Talking, visiting memory sites, watching a missing person's funeral on TV
Savvas	32	Talking

Table 20. Family members and their acts for memorialization.

### 7.2.1. Talking/sharing stories about the past.

Based on their answers, talking, and narrating about the past to their children are the most prominent acts these respondents employed to communicate their experiences to the younger generation. Sixteen mentioned that they tell short stories about the past to their children, stories about how they survived the troubled past. From what I noticed, these are stories about the memories of events the narrator has lived and passes their child and the child becomes an active listener having no personal

memories of these events (see Demetra's quotation below). This type of memory, which has a very limited time existence both in terms of the event it is focused on and of the duration of its communication to another generation, is known as communicative memory by Assman (1995; 2011) or called prototypical by Stonea, Van der Haegenb, Luminetb and Hirst (2014). This is rather spontaneous talking, in the sense that it can occur any time of any day, in random places, from being in the house or during a car ride 'as we listen to the radio, and we comment on some things' (Yiota, mother, 50). Communicative memories can be heard through spontaneous talking. Talking about the past is usually initiated as a response to an external stimulus, and often sparked by questions raised by the children mostly when they heard something at school, from the media or from their peers. In other words, talking about the past is seen by the adult as a corrective or reactive type of transmission of their memories to the youngster, not a self-conscious, targeted active communication of memories. For example, Demetra (grandmother, 78) says

I don't start without a reason telling him to 'sit down to tell you a story'. But if we happen to watch the news together [...] and he has a question there. "But who is he, what did he do?" etc. then we talk about it. Or another time when he asked me about the signing of the Zurich-London agreement, they did it at school [...] should it be signed or not... I told him how we felt then because I lived at that time as a student and that many blamed Makarios [...] that is, not to suddenly start telling them a story. I avoid taking a clear position. I want to say the events [...] without taking a position, although I have an opinion. But I do not want to influence him with my own ideas. I want him to know the facts as much as possible to draw his own conclusions.

Spontaneous talking is not the only way of talking about the past and of communicating prototypical memories. Two respondents, both grandmothers, replied that they have created folktales out of their personal experiences. They used the Greek word *paramythia* to explain that these are their own, short stories about everyday life, expressed in third person singular. This links with worldwide research which informs us about grandparents who tell stories 'exposing children to worlds larger than they can experience [...] telling stories to infants [...] about the family in which they have been born' (Fivush & Merrill, 2016, p.310). In addition, and although it is understood that young children may not have as adequate historical knowledge about the past as an adult, it is accepted by researchers, such as Fivush (2008) and Leonard (2014), that children can understand the notions of causality and of chronology of events and actions. Therefore, these two participants in my research found that saying their stories as *paramythia* is a relaxed and easier means of transferring their experiences even when their grandchildren are at a younger age. Anastasia (grandmother, 74) says

I told her stories about [...] how I lived in Mesaoria plain [...] because now she can't experience it. And I described everything to her in a very nice fairytale, which she loved very much. I called it 'Maritsou'. This fairytale is not about war. It was about life just before the war in Mesaoria, the granary of Cyprus. This is how we lived, with the floods of Pediaio river.

#### 7.2.2. Watching/attending a funeral of a missing person.

From the data I gathered, the second way of conveying their experiences about the past, according to seven respondents, occurs while watching the



funeral of a person who was missing since 1974 on the TV news.<sup>25</sup> This could have been perhaps appreciated as included in the same act as talking about the past seen above when the adult communicates their experiences and interpretations about the past after the child had made a remark or question about what was shown on the TV screen. But it gets differentiated from talking as it is not restricted in the past and it has a third medium. Its peculiarity as a means lies in communicating a memory through an event in which another story is narrated, through the specific event shown in the TV news. It functions as the bridge to link the past events of 1974 and today, as children can see the consequences of the past in their daily lives and raise questions about the missing persons that are not found in their textbook or are not discussed in class.

In addition, three of these respondents mentioned that they purposely attended such a funeral with their children for, as Andriani said, helping the child to understand 'how important is for someone, who lived through the loss of his father, to be able to convey historical events in a subtle way, without blaming either of them.' In other words, these three family members invite their children to discover the past in an active way and therefore the child could get engaged in the communication of family memory and values. Researchers (such as Norrick, 1997; Amadini, 2015; Fivush & Merrill, 2016) support that this self-conscious, active communication of family memory, creates feelings of belonging and safety for the youngsters

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<sup>25</sup> Since 2006, when excavations and identifications for the missing persons officially started, some families have collected their relatives' remains and scheduled funerals. Showing these funerals in the news was a common sight, usually once or twice a month.

while endorsing family membership. Also, as mentioned before, family memory is not static and cannot have a long existence when confined in one generation; as family memory “is a part of the way in which families recreate themselves as an ethical unit in the present” (Amadini, 2015, p.37). In this way the youngster is no longer a listener, as the adult and the child co-narrate family stories about events experienced by both. For example, in my research, Xenia during the joint interview with her child talked extensively about the human loss in her family and about attending the funeral of her uncle who was missing since 1974. She was then followed by her son, who co-narrated about the same funeral as he witnessed it. Marios says

It was recently [...] I think we were proud. Especially when the national anthem was heard I think we were all in tears, I feel an awe when listening to this anthem. I was impressed that there were soldiers [...] and the flag of Greece on it (coffin) [...] I feel frustration and great anger, and a bitterness inside me. Because this is one of the most important issues that shocked the Cypriot society and is discussed daily...politicians are interested in this issue yet in my book it comes on a page with 5 paragraphs. This is so unheard of. I was expecting at least a 3-paged coverage.

As seen above, in this part of narrating this personal story from his family history he emphasized the family bond but through his narration he also communicates some of his family values such as patriotism (on national anthem, flag of Greece) and tries to link them with his present i.e. the approved story of 1974 as he was taught about it at school.

### 7.2.3. Visiting memory sites

Moreover, for ten parents, visiting areas with their children, meaning areas of special interest for their families as they described them, was another way for adults to share their experiences about the past. By being taken to these memory sites children acquired experience and were told stories about the past. The stories they heard before are no longer only words, they now have a context, which children use to visualize the memories of their families. In this way, sites that already carry certain memories for the adults, become memory spaces shared with their teenagers as well, during their joint visit. Therefore, Winter approaches these memory sites as

[T]opoi with a life history [...] they are as points of reference not only for those who survived traumatic events, but also for those born long after them [...] sites of memory inevitably become sites of second-order memory, places where people remember the memories of others, those who survived the events marked there (2010, p.312-313).

Participants in my research referred to encapsulatory memorials “heavily directed and didactic in [their] message leav[ing] the spectator with a clear sense of why the memorial is there” (Stroud & Henson, 2019, p.288), which they visit with their children, like Tymvos tis Makedonitissas as seen in pages 22-23 and pages 80-82. However, I noticed that they prefer visiting places of memory which allow the visitor to experience the past, making their own connections with the present. Incorporative memorials, as this type of memorials is called by Stroud and Henson (2019), encourage the visitor not to adopt one, official narrative about the memories of the past but

“to play a role in the memorialization’s meaning-making” (ibid, p.289). This was evident when talking about areas where violence occurred, or places doomed in the past such as the Green Line. As seen in Chapter 5, teachers give different meanings to the Green Line in Cyprus and as seen in Chapter 6, family members relate with this area in diverse ways echoing the different approaches to this same area as found for example in the works of Baksin (2017), Innes (2017) and Papadakis (2018). The importance a place carries for an individual’s memory and how this relationship can be transformed has long been explored by many researchers worldwide. For Leonard (2014), Clark (2014) and Fivush and Merrill (2016), co-creating and sharing family narratives, for example during such visits in memory sites, was seen as helping the youngster to understand their position in the (wider) world and develop their historical understanding about the past ‘especially when exploring the concept of historical significance’ (Barrett, 2011, p.21). This, in the context of my research, was touched by Yiota (mother, 50) who says

from a younger age, I took my boys to all the sites [...] There were women's marches for the reunification of Cyprus and it happened that they spent the night outside the school of Agios Kassianos<sup>26</sup>. And I took them [...] because it is different to read about it, and different to see it. And it is important for developing their historicity.

As I was further analyzing the data received from these ten respondents, I noticed that six interviewees referred to places which have a certain

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<sup>26</sup> The school is trapped in the Green Line / Dead Zone. The classrooms which once hosted children have since 1974 turned into military outposts.

meaning for their family memory, these places were strictly within the control of the Republic of Cyprus. For example, Kyriaki (mother, 46) mentioned that she did not hesitate in the past when the child was younger, to talk openly to her child about the events of 1974 and explains in detail how her (grand)father was involved in the troubled events of 1974

So, she knows that her grandfather was a policeman, going to the Presidential palace and was hit with 7 bullets [...] My dad was in a coma, in very critical condition. He remembers everything until the day he was hit. It was on the day of the coup d'état [...] We say these things to my daughter... from the time she was younger... we do not keep some things from her [...] She knows exactly where her grandfather was hit. I think they restored the building a year ago, but before that there were bullet holes on it [...] The first time we told her, I think she was confused. Maybe it was something she did not expect.

Until nowadays, she frequently visits with her daughter the place where her father was wounded in July 1974. In doing so, the place becomes an active site of memory for both, as seen above, or as Nora has called it a

[L]ieu de memoire' able 'to stop time, to block the work of forgetting, to establish a state of things, to immortalize death, to materialize the immaterial...all of this in order to capture a maximum of meaning in the fewest of signs, it is also clear that lieux de memoire only exist because of their capacity for metamorphosis, an endless recycling of their meaning and an unpredictable proliferation of their ramifications ( 1989, p.19).

According to Nora, the lieux de memoire exist due to the extinction of the milieux de memoire, the environment in which (everyday life) memories are formed and developed. This also applies to the visits the remaining four respondents shared passionately about going to the occupied side of the island with their children. They talked about pre-arranged daily visits to help

their children connect with their family history. It was risky, taking into consideration that, in case of emergency, they were out of reach and that they were surrounded by Turkish-speaking people. But it was something like a ritual; going back to the roots as a bridge to enhance the participation of children in family memory. They felt that as adults this is how they pass their heritage to the next generation, their duty of passing family memories to their children as they “make the past ‘living’” (Amadini, 2015, p.38). It was emphasized by two parents, who have been refugees since 1974, that although it is sentimentally difficult to each time go back to their land as visitors, they keep going to their village with their children. For example, Soteria (mother, 50), talked about going to her village in the area of Karpasia

It is very important that they know what happened... Look, so far I talk to my kids during some visits to the occupied areas or because something happened. Recalling these events is very painful for the one who went through them. And when we went [...] My house is a ruin now whereas it was new in 1974 [...] it bothered me the alteration of the places I used to play. When I saw my elementary school, I could not speak. I was walking and shaking...I went to the sea I was swimming as a child... it is so painful. I am not strong enough to convey these experiences to my children without filling my eyes. I tell my children some things when ... I can get some out of me. Especially every time we go to the occupied land... we went first to my grandparents' house, to my school and then to ours. I went with my two older sons when the checkpoints opened [...] I went almost every year with relatives from abroad. In the last year we went two or three times because the little one asked me to do so. I went because ... it is a duty to my children.

Soteria strongly feels that she has a right to be there at her village and that her right of occupancy of her house still exists. Her private property becomes a site with specific commemorative significance for her and her

children. By going often to her village, she shows that she is not abandoning her past and taking her children there is her effort to keep alive her family's narrative that relates memories with her family's rights on the specific space. Also, it is understood that in this way, these respondents feel that they support their children in becoming familiar with the whole of their island and in understanding how the past connects with their present. 'It is very important to know our history and what our own generation and the previous one went through' said Evi (mother, 56), who is not a refugee since 1974, and talked about the last time she took her daughter to the occupied land

Last year the Parents' Association and the school organized a bus trip, which was attended by parents and students of the Gymnasium. We went to Apostle Andreas monastery. Then we met the enclaved children at their school, they hosted a little ceremony for us. They exchanged views and experiences. It was a very important experience for her [...] she talked with enclaved children who live under Turkish occupation. They told her that they have to get permission for everything [...] Policemen were everywhere, dressed in casual clothing, and we understood that these children were censored and could not say what they wanted. It was a unique experience for my daughter and me.<sup>27</sup>

Besides these, there were two parents who were not fond of the idea of taking their children to the areas occupied by the Turkish army. For example, Kostas (father, 46) mentioned the educational visit to the monastery of Apostle Andreas as Evi above did, but he stressed that he

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<sup>27</sup> Just to remind the reader, some Greek-Cypriots refused to abandon their homes and remained under the Turkish military control. They are known as the 'enclaved' because they live in certain areas in the north of Cyprus, under difficult conditions and with rare contact with the Greek-Cypriots of the south.

decided not to take his daughter along for 'nationalistic reasons' as he put it. He says

I went with great sorrow to Apostle Andreas because I was baptised there [...] I went there on an educational visit we undertook as members of the parents and guardians' association and then to Rizokarpaso Gymnasium [...] not going to Kyrenia, or dining to Turkish-Cypriot restaurants and all these. Under these circumstances I don't want to go with my children. I am bothered by the whole situation that prevails. That every usurper of our properties controls me and that I must show my passport and all that...

He is not the only parent with this attitude. Yiota (mother, 50) said that she has taken her children to all the archaeological sites in Cyprus because it is important to know their local history but refuses to take them to the occupied side. The reason is not founded in nationalism in this case, but more personal as she clarifies

I do not want to go; I do not want to alter my personal memories [...] I do not want to spoil them. I respect the people who went and saw their homes. Most of those I had the opportunity to talk about it, took months to come to terms with what they found.

As already seen, the family members who wish to convey their memories and experiences about the past to their children seek to achieve this by utilizing three different activities. Based on their answers, the majority tend to narrate stories to their children about how they survived the events of the troubled past. The category 'Storytelling' contains two sub-types. The narration of these stories can start anywhere spontaneously or after the children request to learn about something they might have heard at school or elsewhere. This activity also includes another kind of story; *paramythia*



which two grandmothers made from their personal memories for transferring their experiences to their grandchildren in a more relaxed and amusing way. Commenting on the funeral of a person who was missing since 1974 as it is broadcasted on TV is the second activity and another stimulus for initiating talk about 1974. Three parents have purposely attended such a funeral with their child. In these cases, the adult presents the child with the opportunity to actively learn about the past, rather than just listen to stories, and to get involved in the communication of family memory and values. The same applies during the third activity family members engage in for sharing their experiences with their children; visiting areas of special interest for their family with their children, places within the areas controlled by the Republic of Cyprus or places under the occupation of the Turkish army. This last activity is adopted by family members to help their children develop a strong understanding about the past and about their place in their family history and in the world.

What all three actions have in common, from storytelling to attending ceremonies and visiting/re-tracing places is that they are all actions of memorialisation. Stories, ceremonies, and visiting sites are all lieux de memoire as they preserve the memories of survivors and the meanings survivors give to them as they pass them to the following generations (De Yeaza & Fox, 2013). In this respect memorialisation is not only about personal memory as it offers traces of the past enabling children to better understand the history of their family and of their place. As explained in the

literature review (pp.78-81), memorialisation is a demanding process through which the person who survived from a conflict becomes resilient and can recover from the traumatised past (Jelin, 2007; Hamber et al, 2010). Memorialisation is a social process as well for constructing collective identity via the official narrative, through building monuments such as the Tymvos tis Makedonitissas (pp.22-23), which embody what local societies choose to remember from the troubled past and where they want to proceed in the future (De Yeaza & Fox, 2013).

### 7.3 Why do family members construct memory stories in the present with their children?

At this point, and after exploring the ways family members communicate their narratives to the younger generation – narratives partly based on direct experience but also partly based on collective family identities constructed through ritual and narration – I turn to understand the purpose behind these narratives. Their autobiographical narratives are not random as may seem above but they encapsulate the concept of identity the teller has and their stance to ‘family... nation and... history’ (Fivush, 2008, p.49-50) when revealing their interpretations, feelings, and attitudes about past events. It is not only about what is heard during the narration of a personal story (or even how this might be performed). It is also about the process of reliving the past and recreating it the way the narrator wants to remember “reviv[ing] memories of particular places, sensations, names and details”

(Norrick, 2009, p.911). I organised their responses in two categories. The first category is about how respondents feel they benefit the youngsters by telling their stories and by using them as a means of communicating their experiences about the past. These narrations help the narrator in “reconstituting past realms” and providing “lodgement for past selves” in Norrick’s words (2009, p.904). This experience is restricted to a personal level. For example, narration offers comfort for Katerina (mother, 52) who feels that she gets transferred back in time as she says

I like to think about the past [...] I become a child again. Maybe for my children this can be a little boring and they tell me ‘but how many times are you going to tell us this?’ But I like it, it helps me... I go back in time and it is like living again at that time.

In addition to this, research focusing on elder narrators showed their tendency to tell stories of their past and not from their present ‘frail state,’ acknowledging that while performing one narrative about their life’s events, they develop concurrently a sense of multiple identities, from telling stories about the ‘then’ me as the ‘present’ me, recalling their past, younger identities (Norrick, 2009, p.904). In their stories these narrators offer current and reflective interpretation of events while talking about similarities and differences between their past and present, which allows them to link their experiences of past events to their present in a logical and coherent way (Boden & Bielby, 1986; Bielby & Kully, 1989). For example, for Artemis (grandmother, 76) in my research, narrating her stories and communicating her experiences about the past events is the fulfilment of her ‘obligation’ towards the younger generation and her country as she said. This is more

about interpersonal narrative belonging to than merely recollecting direct experience of the past, with the aim to illuminate the younger generation about what happened in the past and set them towards the freedom of her country; this is what revives her younger identity. As she eloquently puts it

It is a sacred duty [...] I see that there is interest... I feel that I transmit authentic stories. Because they are from my experiences or of my close people, so I want them to be transferred properly... I feel that I am going back, my inner powers are renewed for the struggle for the liberation of Cyprus because now we are not free. So I relive the youthful spontaneity, the youthful bravery and I can say at my age of being quite old, I remember I tell these stories I have so much power... to say exactly as much about what I had then, that is, I feel a fighting spirit which I want to channel...The memory *must* be preserved, the desire to return must be transmitted and we must keep our young people in this vision of claiming our justice, we do not ask for irrational things. This homeland is ours, foreigners are foreigners.

Reliving her past by retelling it means reinhabiting a more admired, previous self. At the same time, the teller seeks to transform her individual memory into a kind of collective memory, as the 'I' merges with the 'we'. I mean that it is understood that intergenerational narratives, such as this one, through which the elder storyteller communicates beliefs, attitudes and identities about the past lead the listener in developing their ideas about the past grounded in the experiences of the events the narrator chooses to share. This implies that the child is being bombarded by events they have not any personal memories about and that the young listener evaluates the historical past 'as guided' by the older narrator. In this way, the child assumes that the memories and experiences of the past as narrated by the older person, correspond to the wider notion of remembering the past.

During the joint interview with her grandchild and shortly after Artemis gave the above response, her grandson Antonis said

*I feel the injustice. And I feel hatred... We are those who were unfairly treated... I like listening to *my* grandparents' stories. If you don't know your history, you are doomed to relive it.*

There is a growing concern in existing research regarding how intergenerational narratives, especially those referring to 'collective traumatic events, particularly those brought about by political processes experienced in the past, are likely to be continually relived in the present' (Leonard, 2014, p.66) and might influence children's understanding of the historical past. This concern is not restricted to the fact that children are presented with certain duties to accomplish as future citizens for securing the existence of their country as they adopt their elders' historical memories about the past (Leonard, 2014) but it also extends to the potential paving of social unrest and conflicts as these historical memories might

predispose them to believe that they have obligations in respect to the past: to remember past people, to honour those who made sacrifices for the sake of the community, to carry on the work of forebearers, to revenge an injustice or to undo its effects, or to fulfil a historic destiny (Thompson, 2009, p.196).

Contrary to the first category above, which views the narrators as benefiting from telling their stories, the second category highlights the positive influence these intergenerational narratives can have on children. According to the responses of the participants, it entails their understanding

that the young listener to these intergenerational narratives is the beneficiary, not so much the teller. Yiota (mother, 50) says

They need to know their history. We are a living story. Odyssey and Iliad were written by speech, by narration. And I think there is one strong link between one generation and the other. How else will one generation get connected with the other? Because it is important to learn certain things from us. We are the natural continuation of these things and when you are in a place that goes back thousands of years, you understand and experience these things.

Here, she stressed that narration can be the potent means of transmitting stories and conveying experiences about the past. In other words, the way to connect the one generation with the next is through narratives; narratives based on direct experience and on family identity. Again, these serve the same purpose as above, to merge the personal recollection of direct experience into the collective memory of the past. Older participants are limited by their direct experience when talking about the past. They are defined by a shared value system and cultural trauma that keeps them together in what is defined as social memory, as seen in Chapter 2, which differentiates them from the younger generation. However, some share the experiences provided by shared stories and rituals that aim to forge connections and continuities across these different islands of experience.

Research on intergenerational narratives emphasises the connections between older and younger generations' experiences and suggests that sharing family memories can contribute to the making of the future self of the child and can direct their future behaviour in a positive way. For

example, Fivush and Merrill (2016) claim that a dynamic process is followed as children listen and learn their family stories and as they shape their personal experiences and identities. It could also be said that these intergenerational narratives can also contribute to the sense of belonging and family membership, as seen above. This is echoed in my research as Andriani (mother, 42) believes that personal stories about the past might be able to help her children understand phenomena in their later life. She says

For the next generations to learn, it is important for them to hear about it [...] let's say when their grandparents hosted refugees [...] what was the reaction of the refugees, how they received help...if there was selfishness or arrogance... It is important for them to know that we need to help. Are the current situations of the refugees from other wars, from other areas around Cyprus, similar? Have they lived something similar? Was it something harsher? All these is good for them to learn [...] I think every time you say your story, you experience it again [...] I think that you should share your stories, because somewhere, sometime in the future, our children may find themselves in such a situation. And these stories might offer strength, some self-defence so that they can deal with it.

In this section, focused on understanding the reasons why family members convey their personal stories about the past to their children, I have noted that there is a division in the purposes these narratives seek to serve. On the one hand, some family members feel that they themselves benefit on a personal level as narrators by telling their stories and by using them as a means of communicating their experiences about the past to the youngsters. In their stories these tellers move constantly between the past and the present, making interpretations of events and comparisons between the 'then' and 'now.' On the other hand, for other participants, the beneficiary of their stories is the young listener, not the narrators, as seen

in the above excerpt. In both cases, it is understood that intergenerational narratives, as they embody the beliefs and attitudes of the teller about the past, may have an impact on the development of the listener's understanding of the historical past.

#### 7.4. Children's attitudes towards learning about the past.

At this point, after exploring the means family members utilise to communicate their narratives and knowledge about the events of the past to their offspring and the reasons for doing so, I found it crucial to look at the data I collected from children because they are the recipients of the memorialisation actions performed by the older generation, as described above. Looking at the data from the twelve joint interviews of children and adult members of their family (a parent or grandparent) I have conducted, will allow me to corroborate the responses of adult participants about their children's attitudes towards learning about the past. It was important for me to realise whether children wanted to find out more about the history of their country. And if so, whether this was out of genuine interest or because this was imposed to them by their family members or teachers.

When approaching the data, I first wanted to understand how children approach the subject of history at school. As seen in Table 21 below, for four children out of twelve, the subject of the history of Cyprus is more interesting than other subjects at school. They like this subject because as one student said it helps them to 'learn things we did not know, and it is important for us to know' (Marios). Although the remaining eight students



responded that they do not like the subject of history of Cyprus, a closer look at their answers helped me to understand that what they meant was that they do not like the textbook or the way the said subject is taught, as they stressed that they want to learn about the history of their country. They do not like a factual type of history containing names and dates, but they prefer a more thematic, social history to help them understand the events of the past. As Andreas says 'the history of Cyprus is interesting, but I do not like it very much. It is not something I enjoy doing at school. It is knowledge that I would like to get, to know about my homeland, not facts, thus I do not like the lesson'. The positive answer of all students, that they want to learn about their historical past, supports these data.

Child's pseudonym	Do you like learning about the past at school?	Do you think it is important to know about your family experiences?	What do you consider as the most important event of local history and why?
Andreas	No. The history of Cyprus is interesting, but I do not like the subject. It is not something I enjoy doing at school. It is knowledge that I would like to know about my homeland not facts thus I do not like the lesson.	Yes, from stories my grandmother and mother said.	What happened in 1974, is very likely to happen again in 1,3 or 100 years. In the whole world there are invasions or conflicts.
Marios	Yes. As a school subject I like it very much. We learn things we didn't know and it is important for us to know.	Yes. We usually meet as a family and I learn from their conversations. Some funny stories with my uncle and other memorable family moments.	I consider more important the invasion of '74 because it was something unknown that we didn't have much information to learn in the books...

Antonis	No, I don't like the way the class is. It is interesting to learn how they were living those times...and compare how we live now...	Yes.	I believe is the liberation struggle, because with the struggle for Union with Greece... Cypriots fought for their freedom and without freedom we couldn't have the Cypriot Republic.
Stavros	Yes. Nice lesson. It is quite interesting in relation to other subjects...	Yes. When I have questions, for past things I will discuss it with my grandparents... not with my parents because they lived the consequences and not the actual events.	I believe that the British rule together with the Turkish Invasion because they marked the History of Cyprus and remain unchanged. We are seeing their consequences today.
Elena	Yes.	Yes.	Because history repeats itself, we learn from our history, from our mistakes... So, we need to know what we are claiming to get back so that we won't be influenced by what the Turks will tell us.
Michalis	Yes. Our teacher did PowerPoints and explained everything to us...in a hurry because we had to get prepared for the exams.	Yes. I talk with my grandparents and know more... I cross examine what the book says with what my grandparents know... I am sure my grandparents won't lie to me.	So, we can understand our mistakes. Because we are not the good ones and the others the bad ones...to understand why Cyprus was attacked.
Leda	It isn't one of my favourite lessons but I like it because I learn about the history of my homeland.	No.	
Marelia	No. Because we heard them so many times already. Always the same things.	Yes, the stories are nice...how they lived in the past, what was different. When we go to the village, she shows me many places.	
Marianna	We don't invest much time to learn about the history of our place. Our teacher gave us a lot of material to see events from many	Yes. My grandfather takes me to Nicosia and shows me where he served as a soldier during 1974, the houses he hid in... he tells me many stories.	Because this is the place we live in and it's unfair not to deeply know the story of our place.

	sides and this was interesting because the book only mentions events but it doesn't analyse them. It gives titles only.		
Antigone	No. The book is not great but it is more interesting than the other one because it is about our country.	No. I asked him, but we didn't have time to talk about it.	Because the Turkish invasion is an ongoing problem of our country
Yiannis	Yes, in my opinion it's one of the most important lessons we learn in school.	Yes. Stories and talks with my mother.	Because the history of Cyprus refers to the place where we live, and we learn such important things about ancient wars and about lifestyles. For me the most important event was the coup because it was the reason for the Turkish war to start ... The coup that I do not know yet about ... nor the reason it happened.
Despina	It is not a delightful book, but I like it because it is about Cypriot history.	Yes. I like listening to conversations about things that happened in 1974, and I like to research to find more about them.	Because until today we have the Turkish occupation of Cyprus. 1974 is the most important event in our history.

Table 21. Children's attitudes towards leaning about the past.

Then I turned to see which events and why these children view as significant in local history. Most of the children participating in my research referred to the events of 1974 (like the adults in Chapter 4, some named the Turkish invasion, while others named the coup d'état as well) as the most notable events of their local history mostly because, as they stressed, they can still see the consequences of these past events in their present lives (please see Table 21). Only two children (Leda and Marelia) referred to no events from the recent past or of any other period they felt they would

like to know more about, whereas two boys (Yiannis and Marios) although mentioning the events of 1974, expressed their need to learn more information about these events to understand them better. The remaining eight children stressed that history is not only learning about the troubled events of the recent past and their consequences. These children have an extraordinarily strong sense that history is ongoing and that they want to be part of it. I think that Elena's response as to why she wants to learn about the local past summarizes all the answers received by the other children, as she says

Because history repeats itself, we learn from our history, from our mistakes [...] The coup d'état and the invasion [...] still affect the way we live today. I mean that we cannot go to Kyrenia freely or to Pentadaktylos or anywhere, due to the Turkish occupation. So, we need to know what we are claiming to get back so that we won't be influenced by what the Turks will tell us.

Here, she is not only saying that learning about local history will result in avoiding making the same mistakes in the future. She also proceeds to explain that having a strong knowledge about the past will have a double effect; it will permit the youth not to be fooled by the Turkish position while demanding back their land. Her answer echoes the state's aim in using the history textbook as seen in Chapter 5.

At this point, after understanding that children really want and consider it important to learn about the recent past, I wanted to clarify if children prefer learning about the troubled past at school or from a member of their family. All children answered that they preferred learning about the past from a

member in their family because, in their opinion, the personal stories of those who survived these events can be mediated in a more simple, direct even humorous way to them 'so that we can understand... these human stories better' (Andreas). Here, history becomes personal to these children through stories of their (grand)parents of remembering the past and as parents mentioned above. These personal stories not only offer facts but also provide details 'about real events, details which stay in our mind' (Michalis) and the reflections of the teller on how the events have impacted on their life. Also, prompted by their parents during the interview, six children remembered visiting memory sites or watching the funeral of a missing person on the TV news as a family.

As I understand it, children feel that these 'human stories' help them to unpack the dynamics of human (inter)action relevant to the events of 1974, thus making the past more approachable and concrete to them. This is not a new phenomenon found in Cyprus. In other areas of the world dealing with the challenges and the sensitivities of the events of the bitter, traumatic past, such as the Holocaust, personal stories, survivor testimonies and case studies are, inter alia, used in the learning about the past, instead of only facts, dates and statistical data, as they show the plurality of human experience. For example, see the recommendations of the IHRA for teaching and learning about the Holocaust (IHRA, 2019). As my research data suggest, listening to stories or narrations about the past with their family members is the most popular way children indicate for

learning about family memory and past events. Yet, as four of them understand that the uniqueness of a personal story might be a characteristic that gave it added value, they realized that it was also its drawback as an individual narrates a personal story. For example, Elena says

It is more direct and that's why we can easily remember my grandmother's stories. It is more important, because it is about our ancestors and we have to know what they did and feel proud of them. We get to know them better in this way, I believe [...] but it is not so objective, I mean my grandmother's story might be different from other stories. But in thirty, forty years I will have to explain these to my children and my grandmother will not be here.

One of these children mentioned another intrinsic quality of personal memories; that they might fade over time (Stavros). This can be expected as the individual ages and as the temporal distance between the event in the past and the present gets bigger.

Only two children, Antigone and Leda, responded that they were not aware of their family stories. For example, Antigone said that she did not know her father's story about the events of 1974 but 'I imagined he was at his house [...] I asked him, but we didn't have time to talk about it.' These were the daughters of Gabriel and Kosta respectively, who answered that they did not share anything about their past with their children, as seen at the beginning of this chapter. Three children said that they turned to their grandparents for learning about the past because their mothers encouraged them to do so – two of these were the two mothers who at the beginning of

Chapter 7 claimed that they do not share any memories about 1974 because they have poor knowledge about local history.

Conclusion.

This chapter is focused on the adult family members who participated in my research, in order to establish if they are interested in communicating their personal memories and experiences of the events of the troubled past to their children, and the ways they select to do so. This chapter builds on the previous one that presented all respondents' strong disapproval of the state's historical narrative about the past and of what are their children expected to know and are taught about this past at school. Drawing on many inconsistencies and omissions of the official narrative, eighteen out of twenty-three family members, respond that they shared their personal stories about the past with their children. In this way, they claim, they helped their children 'to know everything' about the events of 1974 in Cyprus.

From these eighteen family members, sixteen undertook initiatives which link their past to their children's presents, such as sharing stories about the past, the church and the burial site of a person who was missing since 1974 and visiting places with specific meaning for their family history. All these initiatives, as seen above, became memory sites for both the adult and the youngster. The focus of the chapter turned to the means that family

members used to convey their memories and knowledge about the events of the past to their (grand)children. The majority of adults conveyed their memories and experiences about the past by narrating their personal stories. It is noted above that while sharing their autobiographical narratives, the tellers provided selective information about their own lives and memories and about the socio-political contexts they lived in (Fivush, 2008; Fivush & Merrill, 2016). These narratives also serve as the key to communicate their attitudes and beliefs about historical events, and even their individual sense of identity, to listeners who have no personal memories of the traumatic events of 1974, as the (grand)children of these tellers were born three decades later. Although the children of fifteen years of age, who participated in my research, have developed the notion of chronology of events and can understand the causality that linked events in a narrative (Fivush, 2008), the past remains distant to them as they have no personal input in the production of these communicative or prototypical memories, which tend to fade quickly over time (Assman 1995, 2011; Stonea et al, 2014).

By retracting and revisiting (places of) their memories, the adults gave the opportunity to their children to actively learn about the historical past and to contribute in the making of family memories (for example see Leonard, 2014; Clark, 2014; Fivush & Merrill, 2016). In these intergenerational narratives, children are no longer listeners but they co-experience memories and co-narrate events. The adults are involved in the communicating of family values and memories and the youngsters develop



a sense of their places in the world and in their family networks (Norrick, 1997; Amadini, 2015; Fivush & Merrill, 2016), because family memory

[i]s not simply about 'what has happened in the past'; it is a part of the way in which families recreate themselves as an ethical unit in the present enabling family traditions to 'become a resource for the present and not a burden (Amadini, 2015, p.37-38).

Part 3 shows the reasons which prompted adults in this study to convey their memories to their children. I argue that such intergenerational narratives might help a child in the shaping of their future self (Fivush & Merrill, 2016) but I also show that they may also predispose children to adopt certain ideas about the past or to cultivate patriotic sentiments (Thompson, 2009; Leonard, 2014) rather than to develop a coherent understanding about the historical past.

This chapter concludes with a short section exploring children's attitudes towards learning about the events of the past from the stories of their family members. A remarkable willingness has been expressed by children to learn more, beyond what the current history textbook holds, about the history of their country. The children have also expressed a vivid interest in knowing, possessing and sharing their family stories about the events of the recent past.

## Chapter 8: Conclusion

In this research I set to explore the relationship between family memory and children's history learning in the conflict-ridden society of Cyprus. It is a unique, revelatory case study that opens up this new research strand as existing literature in Cyprus about history education has been restricted to approaching the history textbook as a political tool (Koutselini-loannidou, 1997; Klerides, 2010; Christodoulou, 2018), exploring the relationship between the history book and students' notion of identity (Philippou, 2005; Christou, 2007; Perikleous, 2013) and examining teachers' values and political beliefs when teaching about the past (Makriyianni & Psaltis, 2007; Zembylas & Kambani, 2012; Kafa & Pashardis, 2019). In this study I am interested in understanding how the memories, beliefs and emotions of the adult participants in my research are shaped by the traumatic past they survived and how they remember this past, constructed self-narratives and communicated these narratives to young people. As stated in Chapter 1, to better approach this phenomenon, I devised these research questions:

1. How do individuals, who experienced the events of 1974, make meaning of the recent painful past?
2. What are students taught in their history classes at school about the recent past in Cyprus and in what ways?
3. How do family members of students approach official memory as this is mediated to their children at school?

4. To what extent, how and why do family members convey their memories and knowledge about the past to their children?

#### 8.1. Summarising my research findings

My first Research Question explores how survivors of the events of 1974, who participated in my study, made sense of 1974 (Chapter 4). My data show that these individuals tend to construct their accounts about their experiences of the events of 1974 in a logical way and to provide clear perspectives on the events they narrate. Their narratives, which included events they survived and events of vicarious experiences, appeared to serve certain purposes i.e., to make their suffering and efforts to survive known in order to foster social peace or to assign blame to those accountable for the events of 1974. My data suggest that participants consider the events of 1974 as the most important in their lives. Their stories are the key for me to understand that they made meaning of the traumatic events of 1974 by narrating (a) their past efforts to survive, (b) how they dealt with the loss of their beloved persons, (c) their adventure to escape from the warzone, (d) about the rivalry they felt it was the cause of these events, (e) their desire to reveal the truth about the past and (f) their support to the victims of these events.

My second Research Question is focused on what and how are students taught in their history classes at school about the recent past in Cyprus

(Chapter 5). As my study shows, the history textbook, which is produced and distributed by the state, contains what students are expected to learn about 1974 and works as the cultural product in nurturing the state's version of the past (Foster & Nichols, 2005; Wertsch, 2007, 2021). It seeks to position readers politically and patriotically through an official narrative of selective facts, of time-gaps and of presenting certain events superficially (Carretero, 2002; Alpen & Carretero, 2015; Grever & van der Vlies, 2017, Wertsch, 2021). My analysis suggests that this brief approach to the past of the state's narrative supported by obscuring nominalization and strong language used, is unlikely to be seen as a helpful tool in enabling students to approach History as a domain of science in, for example, exploring second-order concepts or in cultivating skills when learning about their recent past (Chapman, 2007; Barton & McCully, 2010; McCully, 2012; Brett & Guyver, 2021). My research data propose that all participating teachers tended to use material they created instead of using the textbook because they are not satisfied with the content of the book. They recommended the creation of a new book and to make the subject of local history more inclusive to enable students to link the past to their present (Hess & Posselt, 2002; McCully, Weiglhofer & Bates 2021; Purdue, 2021). Three teachers out of five, attempted to explain the reasons that kept the history textbook unchanged and saw the state as politically unwilling to provide a consensus about the recent events, and therefore the state continues to redistribute this textbook in order to maintain social balance.

Research Question 3 explores the ways the family members, who participated in my research, approached official memory about the events of the past that is presented to their children in school (Chapter 6). They view both the history textbook and teachers as carrying the state's version of the past which is presumed to be mediated to their children. They appear to be familiar with the content of the textbook and dissatisfied about the narrowness of the content and scope of the narrative and the ambiguity in the language and in the historical knowledge their children receive. These data are in agreement with my commentary on the textbook, as expressed in chapter 5. In addition to this, participants seem to support that the textbook remains the same for decades to sustain the status quo and they see this as a sign of the state's hesitation to confront the bitter past. These findings can be seen as corresponding to the inability of the political parties to agree on what should be mentioned about the past, as shown in the introduction. Family members seem to endorse the creation of a liberal textbook having a multiperspectival story about the local past supported by new pedagogical means (testimonies, documentaries, media etc.) which are expected to encourage their children in learning more about local history. Furthermore, my research data aligned with existing literature, which accepts history teachers as helping students to develop historical frameworks and critical stances by connecting the troubled past to the present (Bush & Saltarelli 2000; Horner et al., 2015; McCully, Waldron & Mallon, 2020), showing that some family members seemed to be positively inclined towards the history teachers of their children, after noticing their children becoming interested in learning about the past. However, other

family members appeared to undermine the professional status of the teachers seeing them as government officials who take advantage of their position. From the collected data, it is understood that family members noticed that teachers avoid using the textbook and prefer to produce their own material.

Research Question 4 is focused on whether and why the adult family members are interested in communicating their personal memories and experiences of the events of the troubled past to their children, and the ways they select to do so (Chapter 7). My research data suggests that the majority of family members communicated their personal stories about the past with their children and tried to link their past to their children's present in three ways. Storytelling about the past, attending the funeral of a person who has been missing since 1974 and visiting places with specific meaning for their family history are seen as the means family members use to communicate their memories and knowledge about the events of the past to their (grand)children. By revisiting places of their memories with their (grand)children, survivors of 1974 can actively help younger generations to discover the historical past, contributing to the making of family memories (Leonard, 2014; Clark, 2014; Fivush & Merrill, 2016). Through these intergenerational narratives the literature shows, adults have been involved in communicating their family values and memories and children were able to form a sense of their place in the world and in their family, while co-experiencing memories and co-narrating events (Norricks, 1997; Amadini,

2015; Fivush & Merrill, 2016). It seems that participant adults feel that intergenerational narratives could help their teenagers in the shaping of their future selves. However, it is also likely that children could become prone to adopting certain ideas about the past and to cultivate nationalistic sentiments rather than enabling them to shape a coherent understanding about the historical past.

## 8.2. The Significance of my findings

This revelatory case study sheds some light on the role family can play in children's learning about the past, especially in a conflict setting like Cyprus. It seeks to open-up this research area, which has not been covered before by Cypriot researchers and to complement existing worldwide research on history learning in conflict settings. It is focused on close family members such as parents and grandparents to understand how their memories and beliefs are shaped by the past and explores how they built their narratives about the past they survived and communicate these to their (grand)children. What this study leads us to understand is that the Greek-Cypriot survivors of 1974, who participated in my research, not only question the official narrative but also demand to have their own voice when talking about the recent past. To this end, and as they appear dissatisfied with the state's effort to claim ownership of the past while appropriating their history and ignoring them, they become involved in their children's history learning. As seen above, they communicated their stories

of the past to their teenagers and went together to a missing person's funeral or to a specific 'memory' site so that children could realise better the impact of the troubled past on the present.

My research data suggest that children in my sample were enthusiastic about learning from their family members about the history of Cyprus and were interested in learning and sharing their family stories about the events of the recent past. My study, however, reveals that this can be challenging as children might adopt the adults' beliefs (political, social, nationalistic etc.), memories and knowledge of the past, instead of forming a sound understanding about the past. This study enables us to see the importance to further investigate intergenerational narratives in conflict-ridden societies as they may help a child to become aware of social phenomena and of how to live with these in their future life, or they may distort a child's idea about the past and may lead them to participate in social conflicts. It also points us to conduct more research to determine what impact the causes and effects of what children learn about the recent past can have on the stances they develop towards the past. I mean that, as my research shows, children in Cyprus today do not feel content regarding the factual and selective knowledge they receive in the classroom about recent local history, but they are eager to learn and can be influenced by people in the immediate environment. My study may inspire other researchers to explore children as recipients of historical information from differing media such as



family, schools, peers, media (conventional and social media) and platforms such as World Wide Web and YouTube.

Moreover, what we learn from this study, in terms of research about history learning in conflict settings can enrich our knowledge on the important role teachers can acquire in the history classroom when approaching the traumatic past. I do not only mean that more research is needed to examine the teachers' background and political ideas on their practices in the history classroom as my research shows. My study also helps us to identify that teachers in my study appear not to be fond of the history textbook, and curriculum at large, for not being the right tool in helping children to link the recent past with their present and this attitude can be examined further by those who draft educational policies in Cyprus. My study shows that teachers, who took part in my research, need more professional freedom inside and outside of their classrooms to work productively for the benefit of their students. Here I am not merely referring to their desire to take their students for in situ learning in various areas in Nicosia or to have more time to delve into issues of local history. My study leads us to acknowledge that these participating teachers seem to be reluctant and cautious to share their memories or beliefs about the past with their students, due to the political dynamics and the sensitivity of the issues involved. Perhaps researchers in Cyprus could also consider exploring the importance of having teachers with professional background to teach history, rather than a philologist, as is the tendency in Cyprus and

Greece. It is not unreasonable to claim that a professional history teacher tends to treat history as an episteme and is expected to make this subject a hands-on experience in the classroom, motivating children to learn and help them to cultivate skills such as empathy and critical thinking - skills important for the rest of their lives.

The main significance of my study lies in the fact that it unveils participant family members and teachers' understandings of the relationship between politics and history learning. They see politics as blocking them from dealing with the past, as a barrier to having an authentic representation of the past. This is not only about the ineffectiveness of the political parties to agree on what should be said about the past, but it has to do with the participants' everyday life. This was also revealed during the research process, which often was very eloquent in dramatizing the challenges we face in Cyprus as the following anecdote shows.

*Coda: An anecdote from the research process*

My initial plan was to conduct my research in four lower-secondary schools. Before requesting official permission to enter certain schools which I identified as complying with my research criteria, I had meetings with their four headteachers to let them know about my project and to understand whether they were willing to give me access to their schools. After I received their positive oral reply, I submitted an official request to the

Ministry of Education and Culture to grant me access to these specific schools. When I later presented the positive response received by the Ministry, one headteacher was reluctant in having me at the school doing my research as 'her' teachers were 'awfully busy with so many other projects'. Although I explained that my intention was to simply observe the history lessons to see whether children share their family stories about 1974 in the classroom, she was still worried that my research would consume a lot of 'her teachers' time. When a history teacher at that school told me that she had already taught the chapter of 1974 to her students 'during one teaching period, what else is there to learn about it?', I was convinced that there was no real willingness from the headmaster or the teachers to participate in my research. This was verified by the President of the Parents and Guardians Association of the school, who was very enthusiastic about this project and who had already invited me to attend a meeting of the Association. Although parents watched attentively the short presentation I made for my research and although they shared their contact details to arrange interviews, I had to exclude this school from my initial plans. As the other three headteachers showed interest in my project and informed me that they would allow me to enter classrooms and observe history lessons, I continued building my network with members of the Parents and Guardians Associations of each school by attending their meetings, taking the chance to talk to more parents and find more volunteers for my research.

When I went back to the other three schools to give the information sheets and consent forms to the students to take to their parents, two headteachers received them willingly and disseminated to students and teachers, as agreed. The third one refused, on the grounds that I was requesting for students' personal information (I was not) and, more importantly, because she was afraid that parents might react as the topic of my research is politically sensitive. During our (second) meeting, her tone was authoritative, and she did not allow me to speak. Not only did she deny access to her school, but she was also ironic and made degrading comments for my research and for me as a researcher. She even threatened me with contacting the other headteachers and persuading them to step out from my research. All these happened in the presence of one history teacher, who remained speechless and in shock. On my way out of her office, he repeatedly apologised on her behalf.

Later on, the same day, I received an awkward email from the Directorate of Secondary Education at the Ministry of Education and Culture re-granting me access to schools under certain conditions. The first was that I had to get the permission of the headmaster of the school and the second was that I had to receive consent from the teachers who might volunteer for participating in my study. I was not surprised by the first condition after the incident I described above, but I became curious about the second one. At that point I had no intention of including teachers in my research; the only reason I requested access to schools was to see if children transfer their

family stories about 1974 in the classroom. As I contacted members of the Parents and Guardians Association of the school (with whom I had planned some one-to-one interviews) to notify them that their school was no longer participating in my research, I was informed by some of them that they suspected this would happen as the other teacher, who was teaching history to third graders was very politically involved and often heated debates over the political aspect of the events of 1974 took place in her classroom. I assume that neither the headteacher nor the teacher wanted me to witness these, in fear of exposing them or their school in my study. The next day I received phone calls from the same directorate letting me know that the management of the above-mentioned school no longer wanted to participate in my research and in exchange I was advised to include in my research one of three schools the officer from the directorate proposed.<sup>28</sup><sup>29</sup> I selected the one that was located at the suburbs of Nicosia and shared some common characteristics, with the school which stepped out.

Perhaps, if my research sample was composed only by family members and if I had decided to contact only Parents and Guardians Associations none of these incidents would have happened as I would not have to meet

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<sup>28</sup> The officer wanted to know if I planned to file a complaint against the headteacher of the school over the incident I described above, but I refrained as this was beyond the purpose of my research. The odd thing is that I had not before discussed the incident with anyone at the Ministry, yet the officer seemed to be informed about it and about the ill-tempered character of the headteacher.

any headteacher or even make an official request to the Ministry. There was a lot of interest expressed by adults for my research who wanted to take part and to share their story. In this case, I am sure there would have been many more individuals participating in my research together with their children. But this would have meant that I would not be able to attend the history classes at school and I must admit that I really wanted to enter the classrooms and observe what is going on and what children learn about the events of 1974.

As we can see from this anecdote, there is a marked tendency in Greek-Cypriot society not to confront the past and to choose to remain silent about these events or to actively try to silence those who wish to open-up conversations about 1974. This anecdote shows that there are people who feel comfortable to speak about the events of 1974 (and I was lucky to find some of them) and there are others who wish to avoid any discussion about these events because, as they see it, this might harm their social image or status as it may reveal their political beliefs.

### 8.3. Limitations of my study

One limitation of my revelatory case study has to do with its limited geographical scale and the low generalizability of its findings. Based on the classic theory of generalisation and as seen in Section 3.1., in a small-

scale case study, like this one, the validity of the findings is context-bound. However, as discussed, a case study can provide in-depth knowledge about a new phenomenon (Gerring, 2007; Hamel, 1993) and contribute to generalisations derived from other cases. As Robinson and Harris pointed (2001) narrative case studies can be associated with a naturalistic type of generalisation that focuses on the cognitive content and procedure of generalisation, as presented in section 3.1. Although the findings of my research cannot be easily generalised, due to considerations related to the validity and the reliability of findings a mixed-method study of a larger scale using questionnaires and interviews could follow up for further exploring how politics can be involved in learning about the past in Cyprus or in other contexts. Perhaps, my research would have yielded different findings if it took place in other cities of Cyprus or rural areas, where remnants of the bitter past, such as the Turkish flag on Pentadaktylos mountain range, are not so obvious in daily life.

Two more implications of my study relevant to the school context can be identified. My study is restricted to the subject of history in schools and briefly touches on children's beliefs about the past. It is possible that other studies could delve more into revealing the stances of local students towards learning about the recent past through various subjects such as History, Ancient and Modern Greek. As this study focuses on the last chapter of the textbook, i.e., the chapter on the events of 1974, and shows that teachers tend to supplement the contents of the textbook for the said

chapter by distributing their own material, it remains unknown whether they follow the same tactic when teaching the previous chapters.

Another implication of my study is that it only recruited Greek-Cypriot participants. My future aim is to explore the role of family in their children's learning about the bitter past including individuals from all the communities in Cyprus as this will enable us to form a more thorough understanding of this research field.



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## Appendices.

### Appendix 1. Research Instruments and their Design Rationales.

#### Lesson Observation Rationale.

I am interested in observing two lessons on recent local history per school. I have developed this checklist as a research tool to help me during the data collection while remaining focused during classroom observations and interactions. My aim here is twofold, to gather qualitative information on a) students' reactions and stances towards learning about the past and their willingness to share information about the past derived from sources outside school i.e. their family and b) the history teacher's practice and attitude towards teaching about the troubled past;

#### Contemporary History Class Observation Check list

a. Physical setting: What is the layout of the classroom? Is this a history classroom with adequate resources?

b. Action & Interaction: Is there a sequence of events? A routine? Any unplanned activities?

#### Students' attitude:

1. What comments do they make about the content of the history textbook?
2. Do they share their feelings about learning about the past?
3. Do they comment on what they are been taught in the classroom or remain silent?
4. Do they express their opinion about what happened in the past? How do they react when learning something they did not know?
5. Do they interact with classmates who might have different views?
6. Do they speak about their family history? Do they provide examples from their family environment?

#### History Educator's attitude:

7. How does the teacher respond to the content of the textbook? Does he/she give opportunities to students to debate ideas presented in the textbook?
8. What type of questions does he/she pose about the past? How he/she responds to students' enquiries about the past?
9. Does he/she encourage students to express their opinions? Are there any direct questions to the class?
10. How does he/she react when students talk about their family memories - acceptance, ignorance or silence? Does he/she show awareness of the student's family history/background/ideas about the past?

c. My reflections.

## Aide memoires for interviews

### A. Aide-memoire for conducting one-to-one interviews with parents or grandparents

#### Part A. Introduction

Meet and greet family member; make him/her feel comfortable. Briefly introduce myself and give explanations about the research project (aim of the study, use of research data and presentation of the research findings). Give details about the interview process (e.g. consent for audio-recording interview, right to request for short breaks in the course of the interview, right to step out at any stage of the project, confidentiality and anonymity of the data). Ask participant to sign the consent form.

#### **Posing Questions**

#### Part B. Background Information.

Please give brief answers on the following:

1. Sex:

- Male  
 Female  
 Other

2. Age group:

- 43 - 50  
 51 - 58  
 59 - 66  
 67 - 74  
 75 - 82  
 83+

3. Educational Qualifications:

- None  
 Apolyterion of Gymnasium  
 Apolyterion of Lyceum  
 Degree  
 Other

4. Refugee since 1974:

Yes

No

5. Place of Origin .....

Place of Residence .....

Part C. Main questions.

1. What is the most important event of local history, according to your opinion? Why?
2. What do you remember about 1974? Can you recall your actions and feelings?
3. Do you think it is important to share your knowledge and experiences about the past with your (grand) child (-ren)? What do you tell them about the past? What do you choose not to tell them?
4. Are you familiar with the textbook and other materials your (grand) child uses at school? Have you seen/read/discussed them with your (grand) child?
5. Do you have any reflections on the textbook and other taught material your (grand) child uses for the subject of history?
6. Have you noticed any differences or inconsistencies between your understanding of the past and the content of the current history curriculum? (Ask for examples).  
  
(probes: a. Why, you think, these things arise? b. Have you attempted to talk about and explain these inconsistencies to your (grand) child (-ren)? If yes, how have you approached this?)
7. Have you ever discussed, interacted or shared ideas with your (grand) child(-ren)'s history teacher on how to deal with these differences/inconsistencies?
8. If you could change anything about the way history is learned in Cyprus today what will that be and why?
9. Is there anything you would like to add? Is there anything else you think I should have asked?

Part D. Closing comments and remarks

Express gratitude for participating. Remind respondents about approving or changing the transcribed interview data, when received.

## B. Aide-memoire for conducting interviews with history educators.

### Part A. Introduction

Meet and greet educator; make him/her feel comfortable. Briefly introduce myself and give explanations about the research project (aim of the study, use of research data and presentation of the research findings). Give details about the interview process (e.g. consent for audio-recording interview, right to request for short breaks in the course of the interview, right to step out at any stage of the project, confidentiality and anonymity of the data). Ask participant to sign the consent form.

### **Posing Questions**

#### Part B. Background Information.

Please give brief answers on the following:

1. Sex:

- Male
- Female
- Other

2. Age group:

- 43 – 50
- 51 – 58
- 59 – 66
- 67 – 74
- 75 – 82
- 83+

3. Educational Qualifications:

- None
- Apolyterion of Gymnasium
- Apolyterion of Lyceum
- Degree
- Other

4. Refugee since 1974:

Yes

No

5. Place of Origin .....

Place of Residence .....

Part C. Main questions.

1. What do you consider as the most important event of local history and why?

2. What do you remember about 1974? Can you recall your actions and feelings?

3. How do you approach these events in the classroom?

4. Do you think it is important to convey your personal knowledge and experiences about the recent past to your students? Do you share your experiences about the past with your students? What do you tell them about the past? What do you choose not to tell them (and why)?

5. What are your reflections on the textbook? What is the driving force for creating any other taught material you need to use for the subject of history?

6. Have you noticed any differences or inconsistencies between your understanding of the past and the content of the current history curriculum? (Ask for examples).

(probes: a. Why, you think, these things arise? b. Have you attempted to talk about and explain these inconsistencies to your students? If yes, how have you approached this??

7. As an educator, have you ever discussed, interacted or shared ideas with parents of your students about history learning?

8. If you could change anything about the way history is learned in Cyprus today what will that be and why?

9. Is there anything you would like to add? Is there anything else you think I should have asked?

Part D. Closing comments and remarks

Express gratitude for participating. Remind respondents about approving or changing the transcribed interview data, when received.

### C. Aide-memoire for conducting joint interviews with children and parents/grandparents.

#### Part A. Introduction

Meet and greet (grand) parent and (grand) child; make them feel comfortable. Briefly introduce myself and give explanations about the research project (aim of the study, use of research data and presentation of the research findings). Give details about the interview process (e.g. consent for audio-recording interview, right to request for short breaks in the course of the interview, right to step out at any stage of the project, confidentiality and anonymity of the data). Let them know that the child will be asked first and when the child has finished from giving his/her response, then the adult will add his/her answers or interact with the child. Ask participants to sign the consent forms.

#### **Posing Questions**

#### Part B. Background Information.

Please give brief answers on the following:

1. Sex:

- Male  
 Female  
 Other

2. Age group:

- 43 – 50  
 51 – 58  
 59 – 66  
 67 – 74  
 75 – 82  
 83+

3. Educational Qualifications:

- None  
 Apolyterion of Gymnasium  
 Apolyterion of Lyceum



- Degree
- Other

4. Refugee since 1974:

- Yes
- No

5. Place of Origin .....

Place of Residence .....

Part C. Main questions

1. What do you consider the most important event of local history and why? Is this mentioned in the textbook you use at school?
2. Do you discuss past events with your parents / grandparents? Do you spend time together in any activities related to history learning? Do you think it is important to know about your family experiences?
3. Do you talk about your family history in class, in front of the educator? If yes, what do you choose to say / not to say, and why?
4. How might (or do) you react when a classmate of yours talks quite differently about an event in the past that you already know about? Might / do you discuss any incidents like this with your (grand) parent?
5. Have you noticed any differences or inconsistencies between your family history and the content of the current history curriculum? (Ask for examples).  
  
(probes: a. Why, you think, these things arise? b. Have you attempted to talk about these inconsistencies to your (grand) parent?)
6. Have you ever discussed, interacted or shared ideas with your history teacher on how to deal with these differences/inconsistencies?
7. If you could change anything about the way history is learned in Cyprus today what will that be and why?
8. Is there anything you would like to add? Is there anything else you think I should have asked?

Part D. Closing comments and remarks

Express gratitude for participating. Remind respondents about approving or changing the transcribed interview data, when received.

## Appendix 2. Information sheets and consent forms to research volunteers

### **An exploration of the relationship between family memory, official history and what children are taught in school about the recent Cypriot history**

March 2018 to June 2018

#### Information sheet for parents and grandparents

My name is Melina Foris and I am a PhD candidate at the department of Pedagogy, Curriculum and Assessment of the UCL's Institute of Education in England. I would like to invite you to participate in this original, self-funded research project. You should only participate if you want to; choosing not to take part will not disadvantage you in any way. Before you decide whether you want to take part, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what your participation will involve.

I am hoping to understand what children are taught in the classroom about recent local history and to explore the role family members can play in young people's education about the recent troubled past of Cyprus. I am hoping to include in this study participation by parents or grandparents whose children and grandchildren attend three public lower secondary schools in the district of Nicosia. The participants need to have been residents of Cyprus in 1974, whether or not they became refugees following the Turkish invasion. I very much hope that you would like to take part. Information from this study may benefit you and other parents and may help schools adopt a more informed approach to historical teaching.

If I receive your written consent, I will contact you to schedule an interview in a time and location convenient to you (e.g. house, cafeteria). This interview will last approximately 45 minutes and will be audio-recorded and transcribed by me, subject to your permission. I also wish to make history class observations, so I am kindly asking for your consent in allowing me to observe your child during some of their history classes. It is up to you to decide whether to take part or not. If you decide to take part and be interviewed, you are still free to withdraw from the study at any time and without giving a reason (up until May 2018). Please note that the data collected will be treated as confidential; it will be stored securely and will be accessible only to the researcher. Any information you give will be fully anonymized and will only be used for this particular project. Pseudonyms will be used to protect the identity of both individuals and schools.

Because the research is focused on the recent history of Cyprus - a troubled past for many of us - it is possible that research conversations may become emotional at times. You will have the right to ask for the interview to be paused or stopped at any time if you wish. The interview will also be conducted in a supportive manner and environment. You will have the opportunity to review and approve the transcript of your interview. My analysis and findings based on the collected data will be presented in research reports, might be published in the form of a book or a journal article, and you are welcome to have a copy if you wish.

It is entirely up to you whether or not you choose to take part. I hope that if you do choose to be involved then you will find it a valuable experience. If you would like to be involved, please complete the following consent form and return it to the history teacher of your child by [April 16, 2018](#). If you have any questions or require more information about this study, please do not hesitate to reach me at [melina.fori.15@ucl.ac.uk](mailto:melina.fori.15@ucl.ac.uk). Thank you for taking the time to read this information sheet. This project has been reviewed and approved by the UCL IOE Research Ethics Committee [Z6364106/2018/03/59].

**An exploration of the relationship between family memory, official history and what children are taught in school about the recent Cypriot**

March 2018 to June 2018

**Consent form for adult family members**

Please complete this form after you have read the Information Sheet or listened to an explanation about the research. Thank you for considering taking part in this research. The researcher must explain the project to you before you agree to take part. If you have any questions, please ask the researcher before you decide whether to join in. You will be given a copy of this Consent Form to keep and refer to at any time. If you are willing to participate, please complete this consent form and return it to the researcher by April 16, 2018.

	Yes	No
I have read and understood the information leaflet about the research.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I allow the researcher to observe history lessons of my child.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I consent to my interview being audio recorded.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I am interested in participating later in another, joint interview with my child and I consent to this interview being audio recorded.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I consent to the processing of my personal information for the purposes explained to me.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The information you will submit may be published; please indicate whether you would like to receive a copy.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I understand that my answers will be confidential and anonymous and it will not be possible to identify me in any publications.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I understand that if I decide at any time during the research that I no longer wish to take part in this project, I can notify the researcher by May 2018 and withdraw from it without giving any reason.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

-----  
Name \_\_\_\_\_ Contact details \_\_\_\_\_  
Signed \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_  
Researcher's name \_\_\_\_\_ Signed \_\_\_\_\_

## **An exploration of the relationship between family memory, official history and what children are taught in school about the recent Cypriot history**

March 2018 to June 2018

### Information sheet for history teachers

My name is Melina Foris and I am a PhD candidate at the department of Pedagogy, Curriculum and Assessment of the UCL's Institute of Education in England. I would like to invite you to participate in this original, self-funded research project. You should only participate if you want to; choosing not to take part will not disadvantage you in any way. Before you decide whether you want to take part, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what your participation will involve.

I am hoping to understand what children are taught in the classroom about the recent local history and explore the role family members can play in young people's education about the recent troubled history of Cyprus. I am hoping to include in this study participation by history educators who work in three public lower secondary schools in the district of Nicosia. The participant educators need to have experience in teaching contemporary local history, from 1960 onwards. I very much hope that you would like to take part. Information from this study may benefit you and other educators and may help schools adopt a more informed approach to history teaching.

If I receive your written consent, I will contact you to schedule an interview in a time and location convenient to you (e.g. house, cafeteria). This interview will last approximately 45 minutes and will be audio-recorded and transcribed by me, subject to your permission. I also wish to make history class observations, so I am kindly asking for your consent in allowing me to attend your history class. It is up to you to decide whether to take part or not. If you decide to take part and be interviewed, you are still free to withdraw from the study at any time and without giving a reason (up until May 2018). Please note that the data collected will be treated as confidential; it will be stored securely and will be accessible only to the researcher. Any information you give will be fully anonymized and will only be used for this particular project. Pseudonyms will be used to protect the identity of both individuals and schools.

Because the research is focused on the recent history of Cyprus - a troubled past for many of us - it is possible that research conversations may become emotional at times. You will have the right to ask for the interview to be paused or stopped at any time if you wish. The interview will also be conducted in a supportive manner and environment. You will have the opportunity to review and approve the transcript of your interview. My analysis and findings based on the collected data will be presented in research reports, might be published in the form of a book or a journal article, and you are welcome to have a copy if you wish.

It is entirely up to you whether or not you choose to take part. I hope that if you do choose to be involved then you will find it a valuable experience. If you would like to be involved, please complete the following consent form and return it to me by [April 16, 2018](#). If you have any questions or require more information about this study, please don't hesitate to reach me at [melina.fori.15@ucl.ac.uk](mailto:melina.fori.15@ucl.ac.uk).

Thank you very much for taking the time to read this information sheet. This project has been reviewed and approved by the UCL IOE Research Ethics Committee [Z6364106/2018/03/59].

**An exploration of the relationship between family memory, official history and what children are taught in school about the recent Cypriot**

March 2018 to June 2018

**Consent form for history teachers**

Please complete this form after you have read the Information Sheet or listened to an explanation about the research. Thank you for considering taking part in this research. The researcher must explain the project to you before you agree to take part. If you have any questions, please ask the researcher before you decide whether to join in. You will be given a copy of this Consent Form to keep and refer to at any time. If you are willing to participate, please complete this consent form and return it to the researcher by April 16, 2018.

	Yes	No
I have read and understood the information leaflet about the research.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I allow the researcher to observe history lessons of my class.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I consent to my interview being audio recorded.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I consent to the processing of my personal information for the purposes explained to me.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The information you will submit may be published; please indicate whether you would like to receive a copy.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I understand that my answers will be confidential and anonymous and it will not be possible to identify me in any publications.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I understand that if I decide at any time during the research that I no longer wish to take part in this project, I can notify the researcher by May 2018 and withdraw from it without giving any reason.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

-----  
Name \_\_\_\_\_ Contact details \_\_\_\_\_

Signed \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

Researcher's name \_\_\_\_\_ Signed \_\_\_\_\_

## **An exploration of the relationship between family memory, official history and what children are taught in school about the recent Cypriot history**

March 2018 to June 2018

### Information sheet for students

My name is Melina Foris and I am a PhD candidate at the department of Pedagogy, Curriculum and Assessment of the UCL's Institute of Education in England. I would like to invite you to participate in this original, self-funded research project. You should only participate if you want to; choosing not to take part will not disadvantage you in any way. Before you decide whether you want to take part, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what your participation will involve.

I am hoping to understand what children are taught in the classroom about recent local history and to explore the role family members can play in young people's education about the recent troubled past of Cyprus. I am hoping to include in this study participation by parents and grandparents whose children and grandchildren attend three public lower secondary schools in the district of Nicosia. The adult participants need to have been residents of Cyprus in 1974, whether or not they became refugees following the Turkish invasion. The younger participants will take part in a joint interview with an adult member of their family. I very much hope that you would like to take part. Information from this study may benefit you and other parents and may help schools adopt a more informed approach to historical teaching.

If I receive your written consent, I will contact you to schedule an interview in a time and location convenient to you and the adult member of your family (e.g. house, cafeteria). This interview will last approximately 45 minutes and will be audio-recorded and transcribed by me, subject to your permission. I also wish to make history class observations, so I am kindly asking for your consent in allowing me to observe you during some of your history classes. It is up to you to decide whether to take part or not. If you decide to take part and be interviewed you are still free to withdraw from the study at any time and without giving a reason (up until May 2018). Please note that the data collected will be treated as confidential; it will be stored securely and will be accessible only to the researcher. Any information you give will be fully anonymized and will only be used for this particular project. Pseudonyms will be used to protect the identity of both individuals and schools.

Because the research is focused on the recent history of Cyprus - a troubled past for many of us - it is possible that research conversations may become emotional at times. You will have the right to ask for the interview to be paused or stopped at any time if you wish. The interview will also be conducted in a supportive manner and environment. You will have the opportunity to review and approve the transcript of your interview. My analysis and findings based on the collected data will be presented in research reports, might be published in the form of a book or a journal article, and you are welcome to have a copy if you wish.

It is entirely up to you whether or not you choose to take part. I hope that if you do choose to be involved then you will find it a valuable experience. If you would like to be involved, please complete the following consent form and return it to the history teacher of your child by [April 16, 2018](#). If you have any questions or require more information about this study, please do not hesitate to reach me at [melina.fori.15@ucl.ac.uk](mailto:melina.fori.15@ucl.ac.uk). Thank you for taking the time to read this information sheet. This project has been reviewed and approved by the UCL IOE Research Ethics Committee [Z6364106/2018/03/59].

**An exploration of the relationship between family memory, official history and what children are taught in school about the recent Cypriot**

March 2018 to June 2018

**Consent form for children**

Please complete this form after you have read the Information Sheet or listened to an explanation about the research. Thank you for considering taking part in this research. The researcher must explain the project to you before you agree to take part. If you have any questions, please ask the researcher before you decide whether to join in. You will be given a copy of this Consent Form to keep and refer to at any time. If you are willing to participate, please complete this consent form and return it to the researcher by April 16, 2018.

	Yes	No
I have read and understood the information leaflet about the research.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I allow the researcher to observe me in history lessons.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I consent to my interview being audio recorded.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I am interested in participating in a joint interview with my (grand) parent and I consent to this interview being audio recorded.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I consent to the processing of my personal information for the purposes explained to me.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The information you will submit may be published; please indicate whether you would like to receive a copy.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I understand that my answers will be confidential and anonymous and it will not be possible to identify me in any publications.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I understand that if I decide at any time during the research that I no longer wish to take part in this project, I can notify the researcher by May 2018 and withdraw from it without giving any reason.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

-----Name \_\_\_\_\_ Contact  
details \_\_\_\_\_

Signed \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

Researcher's name \_\_\_\_\_ Signed \_\_\_\_\_