



Graduate School of Education

**The role of 'the language of the other' in the segregated education system of
Cyprus as a vehicle for developing intercultural dialogue
for reconciliation and peace through education**

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ABSTRACT

The conflict in Cyprus is rooted in identity, and the importance of the island's languages to conflicted groups has become a contentious subject. This study explored the various roles that language plays in the island's post-conflict context: the potential to bring an intercultural dimension to teaching the 'language of the other', and understanding what it means to employ the language of a former enemy, along with its relationship to identity, across the divide in public education. After Cyprus joined the EU in May 2004, the Northern Cypriot authorities (TRNC) partially lifted the border in Nicosia, the last divided capital in Europe, and the Republic of Cyprus (RoC) in the South introduced optional Turkish in schools for the first time. Turkish and Greek language students' and teachers' experiences shed light on challenges for language policymaking post-conflict, and implications for peace education in the future. I interviewed seven Turkish teachers of Greek and six Greek teachers of Turkish. I interviewed 25 secondary school students in the North and 27 in the South. Students' motivation to study Greek and Turkish includes the political aspect of learning the language of the former enemy; they are aware of the importance of language for future peace on the island. Students' views should guide top-down educational policymakers, teachers, and unions, for why and how to develop and promote learning the language of the other. Given that no lasting solution has been reached in Cyprus, such language learning to bring about understanding is essential for political future, for security, and for daily use.

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List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

BiH: Bosnia and Herzegovina

CEFR: Common European Framework of Reference for Languages

CoE: Council of Europe

CTM: Cyprus Turkish Sovereignty Movement

CTP: Cumhuriyetçi Halk Partisi

DP: Democrat Party-Demokrat Parti

EFP: Education for Peace

EOKA: Ethniki Organosis Kyprion Agoniston

FL: Foreign Language

FLE: Foreign Language

FLE: Foreign Language Education

GCY: Greek Cypriot

ITP: Integrative Peace Education

LEP: Language in Education Policy

LP: Language Policy

LPP: Language Planning and Policy

M+2: Mother tongue plus two

MFL: Modern Foreign Language

MoEC: Ministry of Education and Culture

NGOs: Non-Governmental Organizations

OELMEK: Οργανωση Ελληνων Λειτουργων Μεσησ Εκπαιδευσησ Κυπρου

OSCE: Organization for Security and Co-operation in Eurpe-Representative on
Freedom of the Media

RoC: Republic of Cyprus

SLA: Second Language Acquisition

SPO: State Planning Organization

TCY: Turkish Cypriot

ToE: Treaty on European Union

TRNC: Turkish Republic and Northern Cyprus

U.N: United Nations

UBP: Ulusal Birlik Partisi

UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization

Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

This chapter presents an overall picture of language including its political aspect and function as a vehicle for communication in developing social relations with the former enemy in the post-conflict context of Cyprus. The chapter commences with a brief introduction of my inspiration and then proceeds to the rationale of the study. Illuminating the existing problems and challenges and then discussing the main constructs of this research, the chapter explores the significance of the study. The research aims and objectives are presented thereafter. In the following section, the research questions are introduced after which some key terms and concepts are explained. The chapter concludes with an outline of the overall structure of the thesis.

1.2. Inspiration

Born and brought up in a family whose Turkish-Cypriot father became a refugee in 1974 after the ethnic war in Cyprus, I grew up in an island divided by politics and barricaded into two halves as the North side and the South side. The narratives of ‘the other side’ were ever present: the lost land, lives, war memories of the past, and the thought that returning home one day was not even a dream. I was curious to discover my father’s roots and his family’s life before 1974 in the village of Alekthora, Limassol District, in the southern part of Cyprus. I was curious to learn their stories,

who they were, how they got along with 'Urumlar' - Greek Cypriots, how they lived together, what stories they had and how their social lives would have existed in the mixed villages with Greek Cypriots, before the ethnic clashes and the division.

After division, Turkish Cypriot refugees displaced from their regions were considered as those who came from 'the other side', meaning Urum tarfi, the Greek side. It was the same for those Greek Cypriot (GCY) refugees in their respected communities. They were labelled as 'prosfyies', meaning 'poor refugee from the north'. Thus, in post-conflict Cyprus, 'the other' is not always between intergroup members (Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot) but intra groups (Turkish Cypriot and Turkish, Greek Cypriot and Greek). There are various dimensions and reflections of the culture of post-conflict Cyprus. The Turkish Cypriots who were displaced from the southern part and the Greek Cypriots who were displaced from the northern part of Cyprus in 1974 seem to be viewed as 'the other' (the refugees) among their respective communities.

The ethnic clashes and the 1974 war has not only meant a physical displacement to those affected, but also detachment of the memory from the social landscape. They have not only left behind a house as a physical construct but also a family home with memories and the lost ones in the graveyards. In their new chapter, the future has always been related to uncertainties and fear of attachment to the land of the other. As a child growing up in a half-refugee family, (my father's side; my mother's family were not refugees) it was interesting to hear and learn through my grandmother that refugee Turkish Cypriots (TCY) who had previously been settled into lands in the south that now belong to TCY have a concern. Their concern is that as they belong

nowhere, they want their bodies to be buried in graveyards in places anywhere that belong to TCY. So, as the Nobel Peace Prize nominee, Sevgul Uludag, puts it, the people of Cyprus with her missing people since 1963 are called the shell that lost its pearls.

Inspired by the complex and conflict-ridden context of Cyprus, although I can now put my curiosity down to my interest in understanding the inter-group contact and relations of people in the conflict-ridden context of Cyprus, in fact, my spirit of inquiry into learning about my father's life before their expatriation to the north in 1974, his home town and their relations with the GCY were all embedded in a child's question, "Daddy, tell me about your village, Alektora". I used to ask this question to discover what was in my father's and the other refugees' pasts, as Cypriots lived together with 'Urumlar'- Greek Cypriots.

The 'other side of the island' (for me, the south) existed only in the imagination through family stories. The imagination became reality when the borders were partially removed on 23 April 2003 for free movement in the island. Then, my father and I had our first trip to the 'other side' for the first time in my life. When we met my father's GCY friend at a traditional coffee shop (*gahve* in the Cypriot dialect of Turkish), my father, who cannot speak English, used his limited Cypriot Greek as a tool to communicate and remember the past with his GCY friends. The language he used was in fact a broken language. Nevertheless, that limited language competency with a very poor grammar enabled him to communicate with the old fellows and locals. And although I was not able to understand them, the atmosphere was lively enough to feel that these people have a lot in common other than a traumatic past.

Therefore, the conflict-ridden context of my country and my family's history are highly influential on my research interests and motivation to conduct this empirical research to face the challenge of discovering the other truth, through crossing the border to the other side, exploring and understanding what role the language of the former enemy plays in inter-group contact, and how language can become a vehicle for peace-building through education systems across the divide in post-conflict school settings in Cyprus.

I possessed an intrinsic motivation to understand Cypriots' language preferences in their social inter-group contacts and I therefore decided to research Greek and Turkish Cypriots' attitudes towards the English language as part of my MA research in Applied Linguistics in 2007 at the University of Leicester. This was my first bi-communal research and was also one of the first one undertaken after removal of the borders between the Republic of Cyprus and the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus. Whilst living in Leicester I took the opportunity to socialize with the Greek Cypriot students and interact with them for the first time in my life and through this I came into contact with people from the neighboring state in my home country, people that 'we' (both Turkish and Greek Cypriots) each consider as 'the other'.

My communication with both Greek and Turkish Cypriots while undertaking my dissertation project brought me to an awareness that Cypriot history did not start with an invasion in 1974, but in fact goes back as far as the 1570s when Greek and Turkish Cypriots were the characters of good stories and inhabitants of a unified island. The notion of undertaking a bi-communal research study appealed to me

since I had started to recognize that there was far more to the story than just a divided island where each state views the other as the enemy.

1.3 Language and diversity

Language has a strategic importance for people and the planet since it has a complex implication for identity, communication, social integration, education and development (UNESCO, 2006). The crucial role of languages is highlighted extensively by international organizations like the European Union (EU), Council of Europe (CoE), and United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). What these international bodies stress is that language has utmost importance in promoting cultural diversity and engaging in inter-cultural dialogue, reinforcing cooperation, creating knowledge societies, preserving cultural heritage and stimulating policymakers for promoting linguistic diversity and applying the benefits of science and technology to sustainable development. Linguistic diversity and multilingualism has become an important asset in the world today (Gorter, 2009). The large number of endangered languages, and the relationship between language loss and power, discrimination and marginalization have encouraged both international organizations and scholars to call for sustainable language education policy to encourage language diversity and multilingualism. This is also the driving force of the Mother tongue plus two policy of the EU.

Crystal (2000) is one of the scholars who propose five reasons to support the importance of language diversity:

1. Ecological diversity

2. Language expresses identity
3. Languages are repositories of history
4. Languages contribute to the sum of human knowledge
5. Languages are interesting in themselves.

The scholastic interest in researching the multidimensional aspects of language linguistically and socio-linguistically, growing social importance of language as a cultural heritage, and changing demographic structures of nation-states due to immigrations have made it necessary to consider language as an important element of the cultural mosaic, locally and globally. Therefore, language policy and planning have started to develop in parallel to changing global trends in policymaking, economy and technology. Consequently, the needs of the individuals and communities, their interests, social and political circumstances have started to become a driving force of language learning for various reasons.

1.4 Language within inherited diversity

Since language is employed values relating to identity and politics, language with various labels such as foreign language, regional, minority, colonial or enemy language has been imposed various meanings. Given the multiple roles, norms and values of language, national policy regarding language may receive reactions from different agents (e.g. intellectuals, elites/non-elites, unions, minorities or majority groups/communities) within a society. In Nelden's (1987) view, contact between the languages or their users at the same time suggest conflict and it often indicates underlying socio-political oppositions. While in Belgium, for instance, the governmental crisis goes hand in hand with the highly-politicized tension between

francophone and Dutch-speaking communities, the current political crisis regarding declaration of Jerusalem as national capital of Israel caused changes in the constitution. The Israeli Knesset passed a new Basic Law on the 18th July 2018 stating that Israel is the Nation State of the Jewish people. In the new Basic Law, while Hebrew remained as only official language of the state of Israel, status of Arabic is stated under article 4 as:

4. Language

A. The state's language is Hebrew.

B. The Arabic language has a special status in the state; Regulating the use of Arabic in state institutions or by them will be set in law.

C. This clause does not harm the status given to the Arabic language before this law came into effect.

(The Constitution of Israel, 2018)

While religious and linguistic distinctions function as divisive political elements, the top-down policymakers create a ground for battle through top-down manipulation of status of minority/regional languages causing tension in practice. The case of Israel and Palestine (Arabic speaking Muslims and Hebrew speaking Jews) is one of the very recent one. In the troubled context of Cyprus, the first and most obvious question to address in any discussion of Cypriot political culture is the thorny issue of identity (Faustmann & Ker-Lindsay, 2008). This would soon constitute one core element within the wider conflict that eventually became labelled the 'Cyprus

Problem' (Faustmann & Ker-Lindsay, 2008). The processes by which they found their identity, and the ways in which these were transformed, have, since the late nineteenth century, been shaped by a conflict of interests between both communities. Consequently, conflict between the two communities has shaped their sense of identity. As presented in the findings and discussion chapters, language and religion have become major markers of their identities, along with a sense of belonging to two political systems in Greece and Turkey.

It appears that contemporary conflicts are often framed in historical terms (De Keere & Elchardus, 2011). The oppositions (e.g. elites, not elites, lay people, politicians) form the dynamics of the particular context. These dynamics are, as already stated, not only top down, but also bottom up. Since language-based policies are not only about language itself linguistically, it is also historical as stated by De Keere & Elchardus (2011) and other (ethnicity, identity, power) social issues that determine its status in a community, or vice-versa. National identity is one of these elements whose relationship between languages is very complex and multidimensional. The complex aspect of language and identity involves sociopolitical, socioeconomic and sociocultural factors (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2003, in Gorter, 2009, p.15). Thus, in some multicultural societies (Belgium, Cyprus, Israel), where ethnicity is source of conflict, language gains a 'symbolic and marking function' (Kymlicka and Patten, 2003; Phillipson et al, 1995). Thus, language is not only a tool for communication but the primary indicator of its users' power in the inheritedly diverse society as far as ethnicity is concerned. Consequently, the promotion of linguistic diversity and multilingualism in conflict-ridden societies requires top-down and bottom-up

commitments from international and national bodies and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) for raising public awareness and spreading the value of language learning for social, economic and technological development other than just a linguistic code or an identity-based image of language.

1.5 Nature of the Problem

The linguistic diversity is a fundamental value in the European Union (EU, hereafter) as a respect for the person and openness towards other cultures and languages as incorporated into the preamble to the Treaty on European Union (ToE), which refers to 'drawing inspiration from the cultural, religious and humanist inheritance of Europe' and 'confirming [the] attachment to the principles of liberty, democracy and respect for human rights'. In this regard, The EU and CoE are two major actors that have played a major role within the euro region in recommending and promoting mother language plus two policy (M+2), linguistic diversity and multilingualism respectively. The EU and the CoE have a catalytic effect in encouraging countries to define their language policies for creating a cultural mosaic in the region through the promotion of linguistic diversity and multilingualism as they have made promotion of linguistic diversity and language learning one of their central agendas since the 1990s (Krzyzanowski & Wodak, 2011, p.116). The process of adapting to the EU and interest in improving and developing the education system has made it necessary to revise and modernize the education systems in the northern and southern parts of Cyprus. With this increasing interest, the policymakers engaged in substantial educational reforms during and after integration process into the EU. One of the fundamental reforms was that the communities introduced Greek and Turkish

languages as one of the confidence building measures into their respective curricula as optional languages and acknowledged that they recognized Greek and Turkish as neighbouring and foreign languages respectively. The Turkish language in the Republic of Cyprus (RoC) and Greek language in the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC) were acknowledged elsewhere to be a political initiative that is just lip service. When TRNC authorities decided on partial lifting of borders across the divide in Nicosia, the last divided capital of Europe, as a political gesture, the RoC introduced Turkish as an optional foreign language for the first time in the secondary schools in RoC. In fact, this policy is informed by changes and obligations brought by the entry of Cyprus into the EU in May 2004. The question of linguistic as well as cultural integration of Turkish and Greek Cypriots became more urgent for the policymakers and education professionals on both sides of the divided island.

However, despite the fact that there was an observable political motivation to recognize and promote the learning of Greek and Turkish languages in 2004 and 2008 respectively as part of confidence building measure, the implementation policy in offering Greek and Turkish languages throughout all public schools in the northern and the southern Cyprus remained null since implementation. As stated by Caglar (2011) and Ozgur (2006), two leftist MPs back then in the TRNC parliament, this issue receives attention occasionally from leftist member of parliaments in the north. The situation remains the same in the south as reported in the annual Strasbourg Report (2003, 2017). Additionally, there is a lack of empirical research on exploring how policy-based decisions are perceived and interpreted by Turkish (based in the north, speaking Turkish) and Greek Cypriots (based in the south, speaking Greek),

living in a divided island since 1974. The thorny issue of identity, its relation to language and implications of a Cyprus problem to social, political and economic lives in Cyprus has affected the growth of multilingualism in the island since 1974. Since 2004, there is a wave of revival of languages of the former enemy as part of rapprochement.

The introduction of Greek and Turkish languages into the curriculum was arguably the most significant step towards peace in education. It is an undeniable fact that the EU's overarching policy as stated in the Article 165(2) of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU), which refers to "Union action shall be aimed at developing the European dimension in education, particularly through the teaching and dissemination of the languages of the Member States", while fully respecting cultural and linguistic diversity (Article 165(1) TFEU)" (Article) was influential in the foreign language education policy across the island in Cyprus. However, no special educational policy has been developed across the divide for Turkish and Greek for rapprochement. As widely known, the most common imposed label for Turkish and Greek is 'language of the other-enemy' apart from offering these languages along with other EU languages at public schools.

In the politically sensitive context of Cyprus, the adaptation of this language policy, its implementation and the continuation of this (foreign) language policy are challenging socially and politically. While the unresolved political problems, along with the segregated and centralised education systems, cause a political barrier in integrating education systems for a social cohesion, promoting the Greek and Turkish as regional languages in communities across the divide is possible but

requires enthusiasm and political commitment on the part of the stakeholders in education and especially the policymakers who have a monopoly on the centralized education systems.

As a Turkish-speaking Cypriot, living in the northern part of Cyprus, I am interested in researching the views of Turkish and Greek Cypriot public school students regarding learning the Turkish and Greek languages. Focusing on language as a cultural asset and establishing the relationship between linguistic diversity and peace building from sociolinguistics and educational perspectives lie at the very heart of this research.

1.6 Statement of the Problem

Fifteen years on introduction of Turkish and nine years on introduction of Greek in the South and the North respectively, it is observed from the language-related policy and practices in the current situation in Cyprus that there is a lack of encouragement and policy (top-down/bottom-up) by all concerned to promote the adopted policy and spread the economic and emotional value of both the Greek and Turkish languages. This suggests poor implementation policy.

While Turkish is in competition with six other EU languages in the South (e.g. German, Italian, French, Spanish), the teaching of Greek remained at the pilot school level in the North by the time I conducted this research. The RoC Ministry of Education report (2017) shows that only 86 (1%) Greek-speaking students attend Turkish language classes in public schools in the South in more than ten schools and six teachers are employed. There is no document reflecting on the

implementation process and consequences of teaching Greek in the North, which appears to be a significant omission. While there were seven teachers of the Greek language employed by the Ministry of Education in TRNC; however, it is not known whether Greek is available with other EU languages in all schools in the TRNC or why Greek was chosen instead of the other languages. The Strasbourg Report (2003), however, clearly states that the students prefer Italian to French since they find French difficult and want to gain a higher mark with an easier language. Again, it is emphasized in the Strasbourg Report that there is a need to undertake empirical research to explore the students' views and examine their language learning choices. The absence of textual documentation of language policy is indicative of planned and sustainable policy at a glance.

It is at this point that there is a need to pay particular attention to employing a sustainable language policy and planning for promoting the Greek and Turkish as 'regional languages' under a planned policy and a different scheme for 'rapprochement' instead of offering them among the six other EU languages. The reason is that, while Greek and Turkish Cypriot students may consider each other's language as 'the other's language', associated with the traumas of their ancestors, it is not surprising that they choose to study French, Italian or German.

According to the findings of research undertaken by Zembylas et al. (2010) and Bekerman (2010b) what has been taught at schools in both sides is narrating to the students what happened in 1974. However, as a Turkish-speaking Cypriot, I posit the view that it is time to tell the students how both communities achieved to live together in peace and coexistence, where they used to communicate neither in

English nor French, but in Greek and/or Turkish. Apart from this, living in diversity seem to make it necessary to learn regional languages for security, intercultural integration and linguistic investment for instrumental reasons. So, I aim to call for language revitalization in undertaking this research for raising awareness on the role of language as one of the key elements of intercultural citizenship. The role of language in this conflict-affected context is important in breaking down linguistic barriers as obstacle for communication and blur the distinction between language and the other through unpacking cultural baggage and its relation to language and identity.

Additionally, there is a need for revising implementation policy and exploring the strengths and weaknesses of the current policy in relation to the teaching and learning of Greek and Turkish. This revision in teaching/learning of Greek/Turkish is important due to the shortcomings of the present implementation of the schemes at the pilot schools and adopting curricula for social cohesion.

Apart from key role of language of each other for rapprochement, in the current context, political circumstances have created a condition for TCYs to have a dual citizenship (TRNC and RoC) and claim their individual rights and benefit from the bi-communal RoC (Turkish and Greek are official languages as stated in the article 3 according to the 1960 Constitution) as they are individual members of the EU according to the *acquis*. Although Turkish is one of the official languages of RoC, there are number of complaints from TCY as individual EU citizens that though RoC is a bi-lingual state, their linguistic rights are undermined and they face linguistic discrimination in various domains in the south (in communication for public service,

the job application in the RoC and criteria for language requirement as part of the Mother language policy and two within the member states).

1.7 Research aims and purposes

The main aim of this research is to conduct an investigation into the students' knowledge of the native speakers of Greek and Turkish and explore their attitudes towards learning of Greek/Turkish. In Breckler's conception, attitude is made of the cognitive component (e.g. stereotypes), the emotional component and the behavioural one, as perceived from "a favourable or unfavourable assessment of things, people, places, events or ideas" (1984, in Zembylas et al, 2010, p.12). These concepts are applied here in relation to the learning of the Greek or Turkish language. It also aims to explore the perceptions of the stakeholders (students and teachers, parents, unions, policymakers) of education in promoting Greek/Turkish languages in the northern and the southern parts of Cyprus. The exploration of various perspectives is due to the belief that although the policies are proposed and implemented by the governing bodies at a political level, the implemented policies are shaped and re-shaped in every school that houses tens of different views, through students, their families, teachers and administrators (Garcia and Menken, 2010, p. 250-51). Researching language policy issues from various perspectives is important since the communities play a major role in giving an important status to the proposed foreign languages (Greek/Turkish). The issues regarding language as an asset for social cohesion and linguistic rights of individuals require bringing issues of language to the attention of top-down policymakers as well as voicing the unvoiced challenges experienced in the field by teachers and students as in the case

of Greek and Turkish. In this regard, bringing together policy and practice requires a bi-communal research to voicing the unvoiced and shading light into the development of the practice.

1.8 Objectives of the study

This study will attempt to achieve the following objectives:

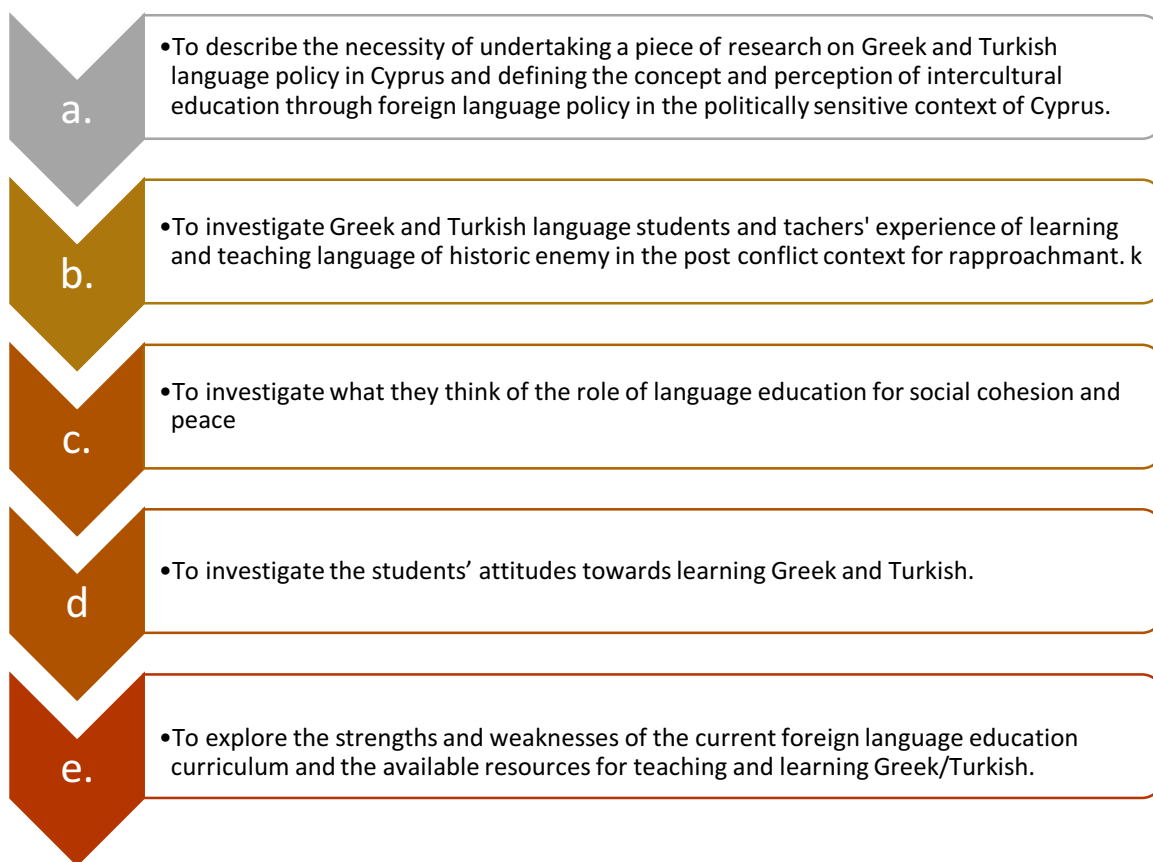


Figure 1.1: Objectives of the study

1.9 Research Questions:

Based on the aims and objectives of the study and its theoretical framework, the specific research questions have been formulated to be addressed to Greek and Turkish language teachers, teachers' union leader(s), Ministries of Education

administrators, and Optional Greek and Turkish language students and policymakers, since it is aimed to ‘integrate the perspectives’ (Hornberger, 2006 in Garcia and Menken, 2010, p. 249) to develop a well-informed research study, which is mostly exploratory and concerned with the development of knowledge and understanding as far as bottom-up and top-down language policies are concerned in the segregated education systems in Northern and Southern Cyprus. Having revised, this study will be nurtured around the following research questions:

- 1- What are obstacles to promotion of Greek and Turkish language across the divide in Cyprus?
- 2- What roles and functions has language played in its socio-historical context in Cyprus?
- 3- What is the value of learning language of historic enemy, Greek and Turkish in the post-conflict context of Cyprus?
- 4- Is there a potential for bringing intercultural dimension in language education as part of peace education?
- 5- What are the implications to the current policy and practice of introducing the language of the historic enemy into public education as an element of *rapprochement*?

It is aimed to gather knowledge about the reality of language policy and politics from stakeholders of education since it is believed that (Garcia and Merten, 2010, p. 250) ‘community’ is actually the implementers, who activate or neglect the presented policy. Although a multiplicity of perspectives will bring also complexity to this

research, it will enable me to take 'integrative' and a 'dynamic' approach, as suggested by Spolsky (2004).

1.10 Significance of the study

This study is significant because there is a gap in the national and international literature with reference to language policy and language in education policy in exploring bottom-up and top-down policies multi-directionally, locally and globally (Ramnathan, 2005a; Ricento, 2000, 2006; Schiffman, 1996; Wiley, 2000). The accessible database (e.g. eThos) shows that this project will be the first bi-communal evaluation project researching the teaching of Greek and Turkish languages in the northern and the southern parts of Cyprus after the partial integration into the EU.

An interpretative framework for my research will enable me to explore the views of different stakeholders from various perspectives. Therefore, it is hoped that this study could prove valuable in the emergence of findings that could provide suggestions to the policymakers and serve as a guide in promoting a context-specific Greek/Turkish language teaching/learning model.

1.10.1 Local significance

At a local level I aim to contribute to the growing body of language-policy literature in the context of conflict-ridden Cyprus, explore and understand what factors influence language policy agendas and identify where there is available space and common ground for bringing intercultural dimension into language of each other education within and between the post-conflict curricula effective across the divide. As a PhD candidate native to Cyprus and familiar with the context of the Cyprus

Problem, I have a desire to uncover the hidden educational agenda with regard to language policy in Cyprus and examine the implications of my local research findings in the context of the wider international debate surrounding relationship between language and identity, potential ways of bringing an inter-cultural dimension into language of the other education and what roles the language of the other group may play in a de-escalation of hatred in the post-conflict context.

In the case of Cyprus, the significance of this study will be to raise awareness amongst top-down policymakers and attract the interest of policymakers and educational policy programmers in the CoE that it is not sufficient to propose policies for regional languages for social cohesion and linguistic diversity but development of language policy models for conflict-affected contexts such as Cyprus with the last divided capital of Europe. Such a top-down language is crucial to empower local authorities' and their political agendas on language policy development; there is a need to develop a common agenda for an honest language policy at national level running parallel to the EU's linguistic diversity policy and the CoE's multilingualism policy. The introduction by policymakers of Greek and Turkish as optional 'regional language' rather than 'foreign language' in all public schools in the north and south would change the public attitude towards these language, make an impact on the status of these languages, generate significant numbers of jobs parallel to Cyprus peace process and empower people to learn each other's languages in the long run.

Having gained experience in the field across the divide at school settings in Cyprus during data collection, I assume that one of the contributions of this research to wider literature regarding educational research in the post-conflict context could be on the

ethics of research and methodologies in post-conflict context. The reason is that when the researched and the researcher come from the same conflict-ridden context, access to the gatekeeper may have created an alternative agenda and it seems that the research process itself plays a key role in breaking the barriers and taboos due to the political aspect of the researched context. When the researcher is part of the researched context and viewed as a brother whereas also s/he is viewed as the other -the former enemy in the other context - confidence building with the gatekeepers and participants becomes a puzzle. Consequently, given the fact that various contexts have their own dynamic systems and beliefs along with challenges, researchers' experience of approaching research participants, their observations and strategies in breaking taboos and entering the world of the other in the hope of discovering the other truth seem to contribute knowledge and encourage peace-players in building bridges.

1.11 Structural organization of the thesis

This thesis embraces seven chapters, viz. *Introduction, Context of the Study, Literature Review, Methodology, Data Analysis and Findings, Discussion, and finally Conclusion and Implications*. The first chapter provides some introductory insights into the very nature of this research, inasmuch as it introduces the aims of the study as well as research questions. The second chapter offers some fundamental information connected to the context of the study, i.e. Cyprus. The language policy and planning, relation of language, culture and identity will be addressed in the literature review chapter. Identifying the gap in the literature, this chapter touches on the state-of-the-art knowledge of language planning and policy in relation to conflict-

affected context will briefly review some models in intercultural dimension in language education. Afterwards, the thesis proceeds to chapter four which is aimed at casting light on the methodological issues. Referring to the theoretical and philosophical assumptions deployed in this study in order to approach the phenomenon under investigation, the chapter thereafter examines research design, data collection and analysis strategies along with ethical considerations. Chapter five is allocated to data analysis in which the obtained findings will be reported. Drawing on the findings, chapter six will discuss the most important dimensions of the ideas garnered and generated through the analysis of the collected data. The thesis will eventually end by drawing conclusions and examining the subsequent implications to this study.

1.12 Summary

Introducing the essence of this research, this chapter aimed to present the rationale behind this study, as a result of explaining the current problems and challenges in the context of this research. Providing a rationale for significance of this study, the chapter discussed the aims and objectives set for this research project. In this section, the research questions were reviewed. In the final part, the overall structure of the thesis is presented.

Chapter Two: Sociopolitical context of the study

2.1 Introduction

This chapter explains how **historico-political situation** have become influential on Cypriots' linguistic, religious and ethnic identity building processes. Delving into the contextual dimensions of the site of the study will hopefully produce some precise information thereby contributing to a better understanding of the present research. To do so, general but nonetheless essential information pertaining to the country is presented in the country profile section. Then, the history of the Cypriot education system will be explained. A brief account of higher education system in different periods will be presented afterwards. The emergence of the Cyprus Problem and implications of this dynamic political phenomenon to teaching of Greek and Turkish languages in the educational context of the last divided European country, Cyprus will be highlighted.

Language policies have important role to play in management and prevention of conflict for territorial integrity and national sovereignty and security needs. Echoing Ferguson (1977, p.9), Cooper (1989, p. 3) explains that Language Planning and Policy can be understood when the audience is given an insight into the socio-political context (Cooper, 1989, p.3). The proposition of Ferguson (1977, p.9) is that, "All language planning activities take place in particular sociolinguistic settings, and

the nature and scope of the planning can only be fully understood in relation to the settings". This is followed by Spolsky's (2004, p.15) point that the non-linguistic factors, e.g. demographic and political, that affect language activities, practices and beliefs, should be discussed and illustrated to the audience in order to give insight into the sociolinguistic setting and contextualize the 'language related issues'. In the same line, Liddicoat (2008, p.150) acknowledges that conditions, approaches and contexts that language policy and planning activities are carried out requires a more sophisticated comprehension. For this reason, I will be exploring some important historical issues which have affected the present linguistic situation in Cyprus. With this in mind, the socio-political context and the factors that have been influential on covert and overt language policies in Cyprus will be described in this section.

As has been suggested, the language planning in a specific context requires recognizing the history that creates the linguistic context. Therefore, there will be a brief historical review of the context of Cyprus and a discussion on how socio-political changes have become influential on the teaching of Greek language to Turkish Cypriots and Turkish to Greek Cypriots.

2.2 Country profile: geographic structure of Cyprus

Cyprus is a Eurasian island, which is in the south-eastern part of the Mediterranean Sea (figure 2.1, map of Cyprus, circled in green). It has been a cradle for different cultures due to its geopolitical position. A great majority of Turkish Cypriots live in the North of the island and the Greek Cypriots the South in a divide since 1974.

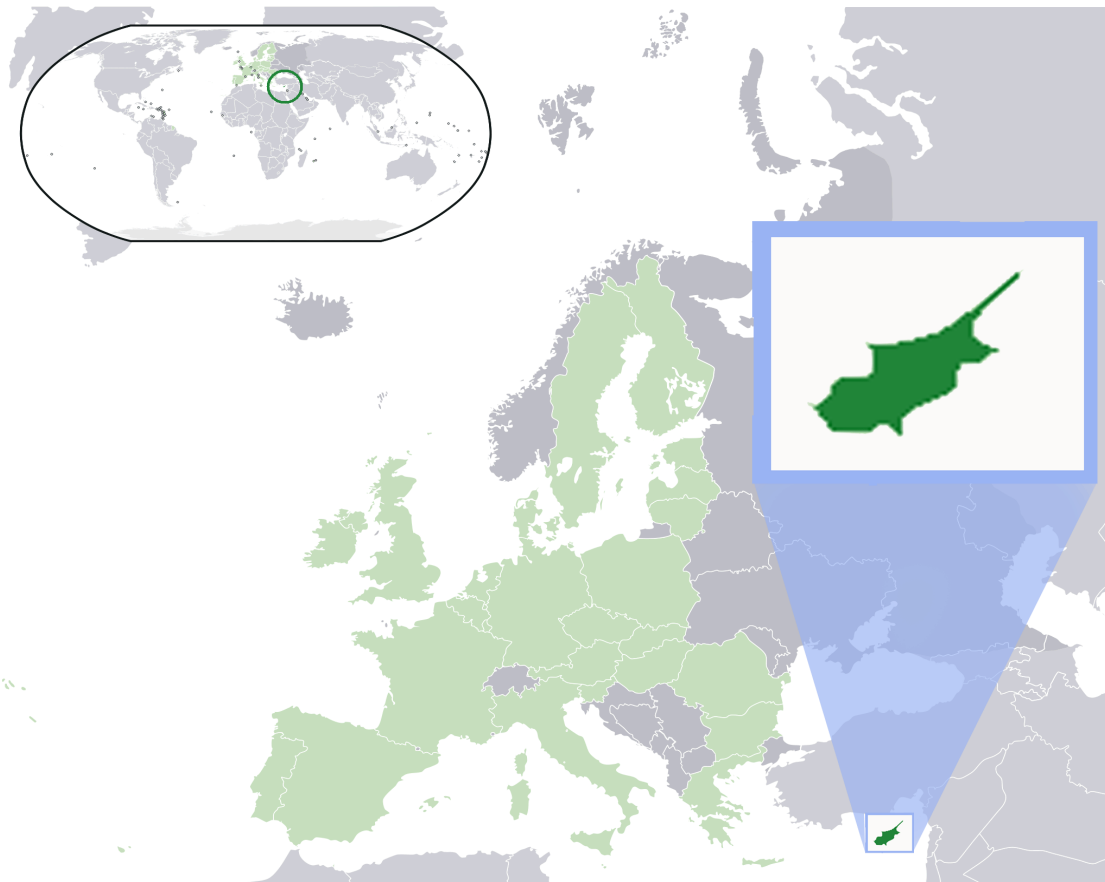


Figure 2.1: Cyprus Geographical Location

2.2.1 Demographic structure of Cyprus

According to the 2017, the statistical service of Cyprus, the population of the Republic of Cyprus-government controlled area is estimated at 864.200 at the end of 2017. As from 2016, the net migration became positive. In 2017, it was estimated at 6.201. Long-term immigrants (Cypriots and foreigners arriving for settlement or for temporary employment for 1 year or more) were 21.306 in 2017, compared to 17, 391 in 2016. According to the Demographic report (2017), published by the

Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus State Planning Organization (SPO), total population is 351,965.

Apart from Greek and Turkish Cypriots, there are also 279 Maronites (in the North), 3.658 Armenians (in the South), and the Latins of Cyprus, recognized as “religious groups” under the Constitution of the RoC. In 1960 referendum, the Latins, the Maronites and the Armenians were asked to choose to belong to either the Greek Cypriot (GCY, hereafter) or the Turkish Cypriot (TCY, hereafter) community. As they opted to belong to the Greek Cypriot community, they enjoy the same privileges, rights and benefits as the member of the Greek Cypriot community, including voting rights, eligibility for public office and election to official vote in the parliament. The number of enclaved Maronites, who remained in enclaved in Karpasha, Asomatos and Kormakitis in the north, shrank to 332 in 1985 then to 234 and today there are about 120 Maronites in Kormakitis, 15 in Karpasha and 1 in Asomatos. Maronites who remained in their villages in the North are also eligible for Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus citizenship. Lack of educational institutions and fractures chose to go back to the South for earning their lives (the Maronites of Cyprus-Cyprus Religious Groups, 2013, p.14). The number of Greek Cypriot (GCY) living in enclave in Karpaz Peninsula is estimated at 300. Pyla is the only mixed village inhabited by estimated at 450 Turkish Cypriots and predominantly 850 Greek Cypriots (from my interview with TCY and GCY Mukhtars of Pyla).

While the expatriate population in the north, is from eastern Turkey, the fairly large foreign and expatriate population on the island is in the south. As statistical data is shown, 13,7% of the total population-118, 100- are foreigners who came into RoC

after integration into EU. Foreign residents by country citizenship follows as Greece (29,321), UK (24,046), Romania (23,706), Bulgaria (18,536), Phillipines (9,413), Russia (8,164), Sri Lanka (7,269), Vietnam (7,028), Syria (3,054), India (2,933), Poland (2,859), Ukraine (2,742) and 31,312 other countries.

2.2.2 Linguistic profile

According to the 2001 population census, undertaken in the South, 91.7% of the south's population, speaks Greek, 0.2% Armenian, 0.6% Arabic, 2% Russian and 99% of Turkish Cypriots, mainly living in the TRNC, are native speakers of Turkish language (Goustos & Karyolemou, 2004: p, 4).

Both Greek and Turkish Cypriots speak dialects of their mother languages (Turkish and Greek) and associate them with their ethnic-identity. According to the Constitution of the Republic of Cyprus (RoC hereafter) (1960), Greek and Turkish are both official languages, but they are used in the south and north Cyprus respectively. On the other hand, Turkish is the only official language of the Turkish Cypriots as acknowledged in the constitution with the establishment of Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC hereafter) on 15 November 1983.

The English language does not have an official status (court proceedings in the RoC was exception until 1985 (Karmellou, 2008) in neither of the states. Nevertheless, in the RoC, the tourist, banking and trade sectors widely use English. On the other hand, although the medium of instruction at universities and private schools is English, the use of English in daily life is very limited in the Northern part of Cyprus. One of the reasons is that the great majority of tourists come from Turkey and there

is no direct international trade/business as a result of political embargoes. English language is also used between Greek and Turkish Cypriots.

Private primary and secondary schools are established in the RoC in order to meet the needs of foreign/expatriate population. The medium of instruction in these schools is English, Arabic, French or Russian. Partial lifting of borders enabled tens of TCY parents to register their children to private schools. These schools especially in Larnaca and Nicosia have created multilingual and multicultural school settings in the RoC.

2.2.2.1 Inherited diversity and regional and minority languages in Cyprus

The Armenian and the Maronite Arabic languages are spoken by Armenians, living in the South and the Maronites, living in the villages of Kormacittis, Karpasha, north Cyprus. The Armenian language and the Maronite dialect are spoken by the respective groups (euromosaic, 2010). The Maronite Arabic, as a regional and minority language of Cyprus is a mix of Arabic and ancient Aramaic, known as the Sanna language. Since Maronite language is a spoken dialect, the children of Maronites attend schools where the language of instruction is Greek in the RoC (euromosaic, 2010). This severely endangered language by UNESCO, spoken by 800 people in the island has received a writing system very recently, as publicized on 19 February 2019 on Cyprus mail, with the help of linguist Alexander Borg, who created alphabet in order to preserve the language.

There are Armenian schools one dimotiko scholeio (δημοτικό σχολείο) (primary school) in Southern Nicosia/Lefkosia (NAREK), Lemosos and Larnaka. The medium of instruction in these schools is the Armenian language at primary level. English language is used at secondary level whereas Greek is taught at both levels.

2.2.3 Timeline of Cyprus history

In the context of Cyprus, there are six major social changes which can be considered as cornerstones in the social and political lives of Cypriots. These are occupation of the island by the Ottoman Empire in 1571, its annexation to Britain in 1878, establishment of the RoC in 1960, partition of the island in 1974, the establishment of TRNC in 1983, and the accession of the island to the European Union (EU, hereafter) in 2004, April. Considering these social changes, the sociolinguistic situation in Cyprus is unique compared to other islands in the Mediterranean. A sociolinguistic approach to the social, historical and political matters show that language planning and policy debates are nested in the political debates in the country.

An Overview to History of Cyprus and Socio-political Changes

1050 .C Complete Hellenization, ten city states.

58 BC -1191AD part of Roman/Byzantine Empire

1191 Richard the Lionheart- Knights Templar

1192-1489 Lusignan dynasty

1489-1571 Venetian control

1571-1923 Ottoman control

1878-1960 British administration (British crown colony from 1925, annexed 1914)

1960 independence

1974- partition until present

2004- Integration of Republic of Cyprus into EU

2.2.4 Religion and ethnicity as elements of identity construction in Cyprus during the Ottoman and British periods

2.2.4.1 The Ottoman period

The people of Cyprus were principally identified according to their religions as Muslims and Orthodox during the Ottoman period (1571-1878) not along national lines (Eraklides, 2002; Pollis, 1973 in Lytra and Psaltis, 2011, p.11).

Pollis (1973, in Lytra and Psaltis) informs us that the “Greek Revolution” in Greece against the Ottoman Empire in 1821 was the beginning of recognizing the word ‘Greek’ in Cyprus. This revolution against Ottoman also was felt in some sections of the Orthodox population in Cyprus. Consequently, the Archbishop and all the bishops “were hanged nominally for their suspected involvement in revolutionary conspiracies with mainland Greeks, even though existing evidence suggests that they were opposed to such a revolution” (see Pollis, 1973, p.588). Following this incident, the educated Orthodox Christians from Cyprus began to define themselves

as Greek and acknowledged their interest in union with Greece (Pollic, 1973, Lytra and Psaltis, 2011, p.11).

The Turks defined themselves as Turkish at the beginning of the 20th century mainly for the purpose of distinguishing themselves from the Arab-speaking Ottoman population (Pollis, p.586). As Pollis and Panayiotou's, 2009, analysis of Kyrris's work inform us, "On the whole, during most of the Ottoman period the inhabitants of the island were not divided in terms of their religious affiliations but rather it was the differences between the poor oppressed peasantry (both Muslim and Christian) and the tax collectors and ruling elite (again both Muslim and Christian) which were more prominent" (Lytras and Psaltis, 2012, p.11).

2.2.4.2 The British period

Although, some immigrant Turks repatriated to Turkey in the 1920s, 18 % of Ottoman Turks preferred to stay in the island. During the Ottoman administration (1571-1878) the Turkish & Greek communities in Cyprus coexisted in peace and mutual respect. However, the relations of the communities were affected by the Treaty of Alliance, known as the Cyprus Convention, signed on 4 June 1878 between the Ottoman Empire and Britain (Kizilyurek and Gautier-Kizilyurek, 2004:41). The presence of Britain in the island between 1878-1960 seems to lead a social divide.

According to Kitromilides (1977, in Lytras and Psaltis 2012, p.14-15), the British established the Legislative Assembly. The Britain kept the religious distinction of the Ottoman millet system and integrated it into the political and administrative system.

Establishing such a system “politicised and nationalised the existing primarily religious communal identities and cemented them” in the early 20th centuries (ibid).

The census undertaken during the British period informs us about various details of the population. Identity is one of these categories. The census records show that the inhabitants of Cyprus were categorized as Muslims and Non-muslims in 1881 and 1921 respectively. The Cypriots were identified according to their religious and ethnic identities (Greek Orthodox and Muslim–Turk) in the census dates back to 1931. “The nationalization of the Cypriot religious communities did increase the separation tendencies between them as the number of mixed villages dropped steadily during the British period from 346 out of 802 in 1891 to 114 out of 623 in 1960 (Patrick, 1976a). However, incidences of inter-communal violence were very rare until the very end of the British period.” (Lytras and Psaltis, 2012, p.11)

The history documents show us that Britain recognized the two communities according to their religion followed by ethnic distinction between two communities. The Greeks and Turks or as initially known Orthodox and Muslims lived along together in peace whereas after politization and nationalization of identity, two communities has begun to fight against each other for their existence in the island; by religion, ethnicity, and nationality. In 1920s, the Greek/Orthodox community was superior economically then Muslim community and dependence on Greek/Orthodox businesses was considered as an existential threat for Muslims’ cultural identity. The Muslims would have gained their autonomy with the ‘Turks should exclusively support fellow Turks’ campaign in 1950s (An, 2006, p.166). As Psaltis and Cakal (2016, p.229) acknowledges, given the complexity of Cyprus problem, internal

conflict between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots along with external interventions by different countries, Cyprus problem has multidimensional dynamics. As Papadakis (2003) and Psaltis (2012) highlight, identity politics lies at the very heart of the Cyprus problem.

2.2.5 Language and Education under the Ottoman Period in Cyprus

Reviewing the history, we see that religion was a primary indicator in defining the inhabitants of Cyprus in the Ottoman period. The Turks and Greeks based their education systems on religion. Emergence of separation in education systems between two communities dates back to the Ottoman period (1571-1878) when religion became an element of their identity.

Under the Ottoman Empire, the two major folk groups on Cyprus were allowed to establish learning institutions, which were separate from one another. There were no inter-group relations in the educational environment. Each group had the right to be independent of the other and to find intra-group solutions for its educational problems (Ozer, 2001, p. 256).

After 1571, in addition to Mosques, the Orthodox churches on the island became a part of the Ottoman Empire as illustrated on the Figure 2.2. According to Keshishian (1960), during the Ottoman rule, the Ottoman government acknowledged the Archbishop as the official representative of the Greek-Cypriots. This acknowledgement strengthened the Church and at the same time forced the Greek-Cypriots to strengthen their ties with their church. The church considered itself to be the responsible body for the education and enlightenment of the younger Greek-

Cypriots. As a result, the educational sector developed toward schools based on the Old Testament, which used a high-status form of old Greek. The difference between this language and the every day language of the Greek-Cypriots was great. As a rule, it was the rich monasteries that took the role of education and enlightenment for the younger generation. Besides Greek, Latin was a subject in the Greek-Cypriot school system (Lytras and Psaltis, 2011).



Figure 2.2: A mosque- the Cathedral of Ayia Sofia converted into a mosque by the Ottomans in 1571- (in the northern part) and a church in (the southern part of the capital city after 1974) Nicosia, Cyprus.

2.2.6 (In)visible Spread of Greek and Turkish Languages under the Britain in Mixed villages/towns in Cyprus (1878-1960

There is a very limited source regarding language education and society under the Ottoman and the Britain in the literature. The available sources shown that both Muslim-Turk and Orthodox-Greek communities were equal under the law at the time of the British takeover (Ozerk, 2001, p.257).

It is generally accepted fact that almost every language has contact with other languages. The contact can occur via technology, industry, economics, politics and mass media, which results in 'borrowings' (Papapavlou, 1997, Pehlivan, 2003, Yalcin, 1988, Babiniotis, 1993). According to Papapavlou (1997, 218-249), the main reasons for borrowings are nations' relations with each other. As he explains, this happens inevitably and he considers it as a natural and unconscious process that affects the corpus of the dominated language. Langacker (1973) explains that the borrowings are consequences of a shared historical past in multilingual situations. Kizilyurek and Gautier-Kizilyurek (2004, p. 46) follow Weinreich (1967), Langacker (1973) and explain that one of the results of living in heterogeneous villages is linguistic borrowings which may affect the linguistic corpus of a language. Their (socio)linguistic description leads us to the linguistic situation in Colonial Cyprus that influenced lexical and structural derivation of languages from their standard varieties.

As will be discussed, foreign borrowings entered into the corpus of Greek and Turkish through bi-communal interaction and affected the mother-tongues. Goustos and Karyolemou (2004) describe this reciprocal influence as a linguistic phenomenon which caused interlinguistic and intralinguistic changes (phonological and morphological structure of a language).

Living in the mixed villages enabled Greek and Turkish Cypriots to strengthen their social contacts with each other. This contact enabled emergence of a distinct variety of Greek and Turkish languages that one can easily recognize that the speaker is using a Cypriot variety of Turkish or Greek. This variety in the accent/dialect usually

creates language identity difference between 'motherland' Greece and Greek Cypriots and 'motherland' Turkey and Turkish Cypriots. Therefore, those who try to emphasize his/her 'Cypriotness' usually define their language as 'Cypriot Dialect of Turkish' or 'Rumca/Cypriot Dialect of Greek'.

The studies of Browning (1969), Anastasiadi-Simeonidi (1994) and the investigations of Pehlivan (2003), Emecan (1998), and Aksan (1996) found that the Greek and Turkish languages respectively borrowed from Armenian, Arabic, French, Italian, German, and English languages as a result of shared historical past in Cyprus. As Swanson reports (mentioned in Papapavlou, 1997, p. 219), the Greek language owes 800 Turkish, 25-30 Arabic and about 200 French words. As Papapavlou (1997, p.221) explains, the Greek language borrowed from Turkish and Arabic in cacophemisms (the author's word), swearing and cursing. While Papapavlou (1997) gives us insight into borrowings of Greek, the Turkish Cypriot author, Pehlivan (2003), investigates the language contact of Turkish with Greek and English languages in his book, "Kibris Agzi ve Sozvarligi" (Lexical Borrowings in Turkish dialect in Cyprus). He concluded that as a result of social interaction of Greek and Turkish Cypriots in the heterogeneous villages, the languages of communities owe some words to each other. Moreover, it is stated that the borrowed words are unique to the dialects, spoken in the region and do not exist in the standard varieties of Greek and Turkish. Greek Cypriot Iakovos Hadjiperis and Turkish Cypriot Orhan Kabataş published the first bi-communal dictionary in 2016, reflecting Greek and Turkish Cypriots' memories and words in the dialects of Greek and Turkish. The

publication comprises 3,500 common words, reflecting commonality in the daily lives of Cypriots.

According to Konur (1938: p. 23), the density in the Greek Cypriot population and their socioeconomic power in the island enabled them to become powerful in many domains like education and trade. The table below shows the density in the ethnic population, number of (mixed) villages between 1891-1970 (Lytra and Psaltis, 2011 p. 17).

year	mixed villages	Greek Cypriot Villages	Turkish Cypriot Villages	Total Villages	% Mixed	% Greek Cypriot	% Turkish Cypriot
1891	346	342	114	802	43%	43%	14%
1931	252	358	84	694	36%	52%	12%
1960	114	392	117	623	18%	63%	19%
1970	48	444	11	503	10%	88%	2%

Table 1. Ethnic Population Segregation from 1891 to 1970

(Adapted from Patrick, 1976a)

Although Greek and Turkish-speaking Cypriots shared the same villages and towns in 1800s, the number of heterogeneous villages/towns decreased in 1970s. As a result of communal living and socio-economic power of Greek population in many sectors, a great majority of Turkish population acquired Greek either in small-scale

business or at mixed schools. Similarly, Karoulla-Vrikki (2004: 22) and Kizilyurek and Gautier-Kizilyurek (2004, p. 46) share the similar view. In support of these views, Ammon (1995, p.30) suggests that economically powerful ethnic groups' language always attracts the attention of other nations who want to have a contact with the rich ones. The earlier linguistic situation in Cyprus seems to be well explained by Ammon. As widely known and heard from the elderly Turkish people, Turkish Cypriot villagers had a trade relationship with the Greek Cypriots as Greek Cypriots were rich and had a good market for trading. Thus, instrumental reasons motivated a sizable number of Turkish Cypriots to learn Greek.

2.2.7 Language Education under Britain in Cyprus (1878-1960)

As will be discussed in the body of literature, a language can gain power when it is given a status in administration, education and in the job market through planned and unplanned language policies (Cooper, 1996: p.110). In late 1930s, the British commissioner(s) converted the official languages, Greek & Turkish, used in the administration into English. Consequently, a planned spread of English was begun in Cyprus. As Yolak (1989:26), Pehlivan (2003), and Karoulla-Vrikki (2004: 22) illustrate in their studies, English language was also given an official status in administration by the appointed British commissioner(s). Nevertheless, the communities were given a right to communicate with the government authorities through their mother-tongues at the initial and final stage of a communication procedure. Thus, the British government employed translators for bridging the authorities and the Cypriots that they can get assistance in understanding the legal documents. However, the administration violated the language rights of the Cypriots

after a while by suspending the translation of the official documents from English to the native languages. Subsequently, the Cypriots felt the existence of the empire and the English language in the island. Consequently, communication problems began a result of linguistic discrimination.

2.2.7.1 Teaching of Greek in Turkish-Cypriot schools

Since Greek language became a lingua franca among the Greek and Turkish-speaking Cypriots, as Ozer (2001, p. 258) puts it, "It was in this demographic, sociolinguistic, and political/legal situation that the Turkish Cypriot School board made the decision to offer Greek as an academic subject in Rusdiye in 1896". Therefore, Greek and Turkish bilingual teachers were employed in 1902 at the primary schools around mixed towns/villages since Greek language was in use as a lingua franca in areas where there are mixed villages/towns (Blue Books for Cyprus: 1902-1904, in Ozerk, 2001, p. 257).

Echoing Ozer (2001), Turkish board's decision is rather indicative of positive attitudes towards learning and using the language of Greek-speaking Cypriots. The board's policy of placing Greek language in the curriculum, in particular primary schools, and at the higher levels as an academic subject under a bilingual teaching approach until the beginning of the 1950's (Behcet, 1969 in Ozerk, 2001, p. 257) show us how both communities achieved to live together once upon a time.

In next section, I discuss Britain's language spread policy through education and administration, followed by Greek and Turkish Cypriots' attitudes towards rising

status of English in 1960s and rationale of banning the use of Greek language within the Turkish Cypriot community.

2.2.7.2 The spread of English under Britain

In order to make English a prominent language, the British government enacted criteria for job recruitments. According to these criteria, those who were able to speak language of his/her neighbor and English as an additional language were given a position in the public offices. Thus, the Cypriots were motivated instrumentally to acquire both English and their neighbour's language. In parallel to involvement of English in administration, education was another sphere of influence that the British government aimed to diffuse English through its language policy. As explained by the appointed Colonial commissioner, policy was to offer a quality education to both communities. Although there were many changes in education during the British administration, educational systems were kept separate and Turkish and Greek Cypriot communities' educational boards, led by English High Commissioner, took decisions. The English School Superintendent was also a member of the Greek and Turkish Cypriots' administration boards (Süha, 1971, p.226; Vural, 1996; p. 66).

The power of Britain was felt in the island when new legislation was accepted with reference to the course books. Under the new legislation, it is acknowledged that the government banned the export of course books from Greece and Turkey (Weir, 1952: 34-37). As Süha (1971, 226) and Vural (1996: 66) interpret, the rationale behind this decision was to lower the status of Greek and Turkish in the island. Thus,

the English language would be promoted and its status would be raised as in that of India, where English-only education policy was applied in 1835 by Britain. As far as Kizilyurek and Gauter-Kizilyurek (2002; 2004, p. 44) explain, the British colony activated this decision in order to deter the Cypriots' contacts with their motherlands by preventing Greek Cypriots from strengthening their contacts with the Greeks, who view language as a linguistic heritage. Therefore, the language policy of Britain usually considered as an element of British Imperialism (Canagaraj, 1999). This is followed by another innovation in education, which was increasing the allocated time for teaching English language in the school curriculum. Consequently, the importance of establishing English-medium schools was diffused. Thus, either mixed or uniform schools were established both at state and private-level. Among those schools were 'The Rusdye School in Nicosia' (Rusdiye or secondary high school corresponds to today's junior high and high schools), 'The Victoria School for Girls, and an additional twelve schools. French was also adopted as an elective for students (Behcet, 1969). "Since neither of these languages was spoken by the folk groups of the island, they can be defined as foreign languages for the Cypriots. (Ozerk, 2001, p. 257)". The British government directed the administration of the schools, the staff appointment, the curriculum and textbooks (Weir, 1952, Given 65:1997, Ozerk, 2001).

2.2.7.3 Cypriot attitudes towards the spread of English during colonial Cyprus

In the island, under British administration, Turkish and Greek Cypriots had an opposing view towards the use of English language. Their attitudes were clearly

explained in the study of Karoulla-Vrikki (2004), where she gives insights into the Cypriots' petitions and raised language crises in the media.

As she explains, the Greek and Turkish Cypriots had opposing views towards the spread of English. The Greek Cypriots petitioned against the British administration as they considered the spread of English a threat for the Greek language. The reason for their struggle to protect their language was the fear of losing their ethnicity. The objection of Turkish Cypriots, however, was the over use and dominance of the Greek language in many domains, which is due to the higher Greek population. On the contrary to the negative attitudes of Greek Cypriots towards rising status of English language, Turkish Cypriots did not have a reaction to the spread of English. Nevertheless, the dominance of the Greek language in various domains was considered as a threat to the survival of the Turkish identity. The Turkish Cypriots' argument was that "...each element of the population" be served "in its recognized official language" (Vatan Gazetesi (local newspaper), 1925) and not only in Greek.

Since Turkish Cypriots' concerns included the dominance of Greek language, they proposed changes to the language policy of the British administration. What they targeted to achieve was that to change the order of the translated notices and publications. Thus, a priority would be given to English, the status of Greek would be lowered and the order would be English, Turkish and Greek. According to Vatan gazetesi/gazette (1925), the reason behind their struggle was that the high status given to the Greek language seems to make it an official language of the island. As mentioned earlier, the repatriation of Turks from the island in 1920 caused a

decrease in the Turkish Cypriot population. Parallel to this, the Greeks of the island began to spread all around the country. Thus, their social status in many domains like education, business was gradually increased. Furthermore, employing more Greek Cypriots in state offices strengthened the dominance of Greekness and the language in the island. Thus, as stated in Halkin Sesi Gazetesi (Newspaper, 1946), the use of the Greek language was considered as a “national pride”. This in Turkish Cypriots’ opinion was a degeneration of Turkish language. Therefore, they were against receiving publications in Greek only and considered the language matter as an insult.

In 1946, the Turkish Cypriot leader, Dr. Fazil Kutchuk proposed that having English as an only language in the island would halt the heated debates on language policy. According to Karoulla-Vrikki, the proposition made is unique to minorities as they consider the existence of another language, which is spoken by a great majority, as a threat to ethnic identity. As seen, in late 1940s early 1950s, the Cypriots had negative attitudes towards each other’s languages. To remember, these dates were when Greek Cypriots began to struggle against Britain’s de-hellenization policy and fight for independence from Britain.

The picture below shows the Greek Cypriot students’ demonstration in 1955-59 against the British rule. They are holding motherland Greece’s flag (Source: Aspects of Cyprus).



Figure 2.3: The Greek Cypriot students' demonstration in 1955-59 against the British rule

(Source: Aspects of Cyprus)

Karoulla-Vrikki (2004) and Kizilyurek & Gauter-Kizilyurek (2004) interpret Turkish Cypriots' concerns as political for struggling to protect their bonds with Turkey via language. As seen, although language matter is linked to heated political issues, the users of Turkish managed to protect their identity in the island at any rate. Moreover, the language became an element of Greekness/Turkishness and a prime indicator of national identity since Greekness/Turkishness was measured with the presence and dominance of Greek/Turkish language, number of its speakers and the culture in the island.

It is seen that the language policy in the island and differing propositions of the communities tends to remind us the widely known phrase, 'the balance of the power'. In the island of Cyprus, where the communities were subjected to heavy social changes, the language matter became a prominent issue. English in colonial Cyprus

was considered to play an intrusive and direct role on education between Greek and English language.

English would fracture Greek Cypriots' link with 'mainland Greece'. On the other hand, as far as Turkish Cypriots were concerned, the battle was with the Greek language rather than English. Reading between the lines, in actual fact, it seems that differing and clashing positions on the language issue was rather political as historical documents shown.

2.2.7.4 The end of the British period in Cyprus - 1960

As mentioned, during the British period, the Cypriots experienced a social change, which was felt particularly in administration and education. Hence, having Britain as a third party in the island caused a social rift divergence between Greek and Turkish Cypriots. One of the reasons was the Britain's 'divide and rule policy'. The Greek community called for the unification of the island with the Kingdom of Greece in 1960. The governing body of the island, Britain, suppressed the riots and banned political parties in order to stem their political ambitions. However, a desire and demand to unify the island with Greece continued until late 1960s. Greek Cypriots organized campaigns against Britain. These actions resulted in political talks in 1959, which were held among the United Kingdom, Turkey and Greece. Consequently, it was decided to leave Colonial Cyprus independent on 16 August 1960. Turkey and Greece, the motherlands of Turkish and Greek Cypriots, and Britain became guarantor countries to the Republic of Cyprus (Kizilyurek, 2010; Ozer, 2001).

2.3 Official Languages in Cyprus under the Republic of Cyprus (De Jure)

1960 Constitution before Division

Article 3 (paragraph 1) of the 1960 Constitution states that the official languages of the Republic of Cyprus are Greek and Turkish. Paragraph 2 of the same Article goes on to say that legislative, executive and administrative acts and documents must be drawn up and published in both official languages in the official Gazette of the Republic of Cyprus. As it was decided at independence from Britain that the Communal Chambers of each community would be responsible for education, each community, Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot, was to provide instruction in schools in its respective language at all educational levels.

The Republic of Cyprus Language Act 3 aims to give an equal status to both Turkish and Greek languages in accordance with population 7/3 ratio in the legislative, executive and administrative acts and documents. Consequently, the aim was to legislate the linguistic rights of Cypriots. In the same constitution, it is also written under article 189 that:

Notwithstanding anything in Article 3 contained, for a period of five years (untill 1965) after the date of the coming into operation of this constitution:

All laws, which under Article 188 will continue to be in force, may continue to be in the English language. The English language may be used in any proceedings before any court of the Republic (The Constitution of Cyprus Republic, 1960: p. 3).

On the other hand, depending on the 7/3 ratio, the radio and television of the Republic of Cyprus allocated no less than 75 hours within a week for broadcasting in Turkish and 140 hours in Greek. Thus, the Cypriots were given an equal opportunity to enjoy the rights of accessing the audio-visual media in their mother tongues.

Although the linguistic rights of two communities were secured under legal basis, nationalization and politicization of ethnicity and issues regarding power-share in the newly established independent state, the Republic of Cyprus, became major sources/elements of conflict. Thus, from a sociolinguistic approach, it is seen that language planning was a deliberate, government-sponsored activities developed mainly under the umbrella of political issues.

2.3.1 Inter-communal conflicts between Greek and Turkish Cypriots and partition of the Island

The unification of the Cypriot communities, however, lasted only three years due to the Greek Cypriot leader's and his supporters' request to the Greek community for ENOSIS (the integration of Cyprus and Greece). This desire for unification led to ethnic conflicts, first in 1960, between Greek and Turkish Cypriots, which continued for eleven years (Spyrou, 2006 p, 2).

Delving further into the history, in 1974, the political leader Makarios was expelled from his position by Greece when he launched a political conflict among Greek Cypriots. A negative atmosphere in the country prompted Turkey, as one of the guarantors of Cyprus, to take military action to save the (Turkish) Cypriots from the

conflict. However, the war of 1974 caused displacement of thousands of Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriots. While Turkish Cypriots (around 60.000) living in the South were moved to the north-in the 37% of the land occupied by the Turkish military-, the remaining Greek Cypriots (around 160.000) living in the north were moved to/displaced to the south (Lytra and Psaltis, 2011, p. 17-18).

In 1964, the country was partitioned by a Green Line, a ceasefire line drawn up by UN forces, known as a buffer zone, between the two sides, to the east and to the west between the north and the south of the island extending the capital city Nicosia. Following this, in 1974, the Turkish Cypriots separated themselves from the Republic of Cyprus and established the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus in 1983, which is recognized by Turkey only and is not recognized by the world. The de facto recognition of the TRNC in the south and in the world is due to the presence of Turkish Military force in the Northern portion of the island. As a result of presence of Turkish military force, Turkey is considered in the world as the occupier of the northern portion (Arvaniti, 2006, p.3; Goustos and Karyolemou, 2004, p.1-2). Since then, 1974 has been known for 'intractable conflict in the region' (Bekerman, 2009, p. 5; Kizilyurek and Gauter- Kizilyurek, 2004, p.39-44; Pehlivan, 2003, p.12-18; Lytra and Psaltis, 2011, p. 18).

2.3.2 Official Language in Cyprus under Turkish Republic and Northern Cyprus (TRNC) in 1983

Turkish is the only official language of the Turkish Cypriots as acknowledged in the constitution with the establishment of Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus on 15 November 1983.

From a sociolinguistic point of view, it seems that the region housed diversity both linguistically and culturally. However, Cypriots' understanding of language and ethnicity created differing attitudes towards languages in Cyprus. Banning the use of Greek in the Northern Cyprus after 1974 and lowering the status of Turkish in the Southern Cyprus is one of the results of conflict emerged after the colonization of the island, followed by the war and the division in 1974.

2.3.3 Integration into the European Union and the present situation

The proposed solution plan which was proposed by the U.N General Secretary Kofi Annan to the Cyprus problem in 2003 was one of the latest solution plans proposed by the U.N to the Cyprus Problem. While 65% of Turkish Cypriots voted 'YES', 76% of Greek Cypriots voted 'NO' (Lytra and Psaltis, 2011; Sozen, 2005, p. 465) in the referenda on 24 April 2004. The negotiation talks are being held as usual between the Greek and Turkish Cypriots, led by the U.N General Secretary Ban Ki Moon and in the following year by U.N General Secretary Anotio Gutteras. The negotiation talks ceased in 2017 given the political disagreements and triggered by when celebration of ENOSIS day was proposed by the rightist political party in the South. Although the problem is still a subject of political agendas, those who are eligible to hold a citizenship from the Republic of Cyprus (whether Turkish or Greek Cypriots) have been full members of the European Union under 'the Republic of Cyprus' since 1 May 2004, whereas the de facto recognized Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus,

the northern portion, is not. The application of the *acquis communautaire* -referring to the cumulative body of European Community laws, comprising the European Commission's objectives, substantive rules, and policies in EU- is in operation only in the areas where the Government of the Republic of Cyprus has control (Eurofound, 2007). Cyprus is the only country with a divided capital in Europe. Despite joining the EU as a de facto divided island, the whole of Cyprus is EU territory and only Greek is an official EU language. Cyprus like Spain has more than one official language and in such linguistically diverse countries language can become a discriminatory element politically in practice. As stated, "[e]very citizen of the EU has the right to write to any of the institutions bodies of the EU in one of those languages and to receive an answer in the same language, pursuant to Article 24 Treaty of Fundamental rights of European Union (TFEU). Since Greek is mother language of the Greek-speaking community, Turkish Cypriots' linguistic rights needs to be reconsidered both in the RoC and the EU in the current circumstances.

2.3.4 Implication of the conflict-ridden context of Cyprus on its educational systems

Raised within this socio-political context and within the Turkish and Greek education systems, the post-war generation students studied the war and the conflicts between the two communities since 1974. As pointed out by Zembylas et al. (2010, p. 7), the educational systems in Cyprus are often criticized for supporting the idea of 'the other' as 'enemy'. In Charalambous et al.'s (2015, p.12) term, fear and enmity guide

people's perceptions of each other. In the same vein, studies by Kizilyurek (1999), Bryant (2004), Spyrou (2006) and Zembylas (2008) drew attention to the fact that the curricula employed in the education systems since 1974 have created a background for the students to have negative feelings towards 'the other' and to have preconceived ideas on 'who the other is'. The findings of this study reveal this reality, as will be presented.

2.3.4.1 A brief review of the objective of education in the North after 2004

In 2005, the leftist party, Cumhuriyetçi Halk Partisi (CTP), controlled the Ministry of Education in the TRNC. The rationale underpinning the revision of the system was explained as "a rapid change in every aspect of life that Cyprus has never had in any historical period" (Ministry of Education for Turkish Cypriot Education System, 2005, p. 4). What is noteworthy is accepting the Greek Cypriots as a "neighbouring society" and introducing Greek language in "the programs as an optional subject as from the 6th grade after the pilot implementation in some schools whenever possible" (Turkish Cypriot Education System, 2005, p. 15).

This was an important revision in providing society with a modernized and internationalized curriculum. It was also an important vision for the future of the Turkish Cypriots for inter-ethnic dialogue between the two communities through language education. History education was revised for ethnicity-related elements and also considered as an important step for goodwill across the divide by the pro-peace supporters. This adjustment suggests, therefore, a political vision developing in parallel with the changing world. It was also indicative of a political will for moving towards a desire to create a society which recognizes its linguistic resources – the

introduction of EU languages and Greek - as a richness rather than a threat as it had been in the late 1950s. Borrowing from Wernstein (quoted in Riley, 1996, p.111), “educational planning has an important role to play since planning is the instrument of leaders who desire to change the society”.

This quotation reflects the fact that policy-makers may use language as their political tools; however, in the present time, this revision in language policy indicates a liberal agenda (Birikim, 2006); from an educational perspective, this initiative suggests the education of a generation that recognizes ‘Greek’ as the ‘neighbour’s language’ rather than ‘the other-enemy’s language’. However, the motivation in revitalizing the system seems to progress very slowly since the previous government, the CTP, went to early elections and the elected rightist party, Ulusal Birlik Partisi (UBP), has changed the cabinet and the Ministry of Education twice since 2010. By the time I was revising this chapter, in March 2018, Turkish Democratic Party (TDP), which is part of multiparty coalition, is in charge of MoEC. Since 2010, it is the first time there is an announcement from the MoEC that two Greek language teachers going to be appointed two schools in Rizokarpazo area.

An access to an interim report to understand the present situation as far as the Greek language (teaching materials, allocated hours for teaching, number of students learning/choosing Greek and number of teachers employed as a Greek language teacher) is concerned has not been possible. Therefore, data collection process will not only enable me to find an answer to my proposed questions but also I will be able to access some useful technical data as far as Greek language teaching is concerned in both parts of the island.

In the description of objectives of Turkish Cypriot Education system, it is aimed to raise a generation who feels attached to their 'motherlands', aware of the conflicting past and the times that their community was perished in the struggle, they are belong to their past and ancestors, peaceful but protect their rights. It is stated in the report published that "it is aimed to instill students with feelings of belonging to their families, country, and to their 'native lands-motherlands' that is Turkey".

2.3.4.2 A brief review of the objective of education in the South after 2004

In the latest education profile of Cyprus, it appears that 'multicultural' dimension of concurrent context of Cyprus is taken into account. Similar to TCY education system objectives, in the description of the Greek Cypriot educational system, 'the strengthening of national identity, cultural values, and universal ideals for freedom' along with the 'preservation of the national identity' emphasized. It is a well-established notion that, as written elsewhere, Hellenic Pedaia informs education system in the South. (Charalambous, 2010, Rampton&Charalambous, 2015)

There is a reference to different communities living in the island and need of being in harmony with all through education, learning of each other's language and including them into Cypriot culture is mentioned throughout the report. However, there is no explicit (peace) policy regarding Turkish Cypriots and building bridges between the two communities through education. Report mentions free language courses offered to TCY students at school and adults for free of charge. However, there is no specific policy and plan for promoting Turkish as a language for rapprochement. Informed by data emerged from this research, I now turn shading light onto 'new educational change' in the RoC, the South.

2.3.4.3 New structural changes in education

Based on the structural changes and reforms, students (Classes B' and C') will attend common core lessons and at the same time choose optional subjects for systematic and in depth study of subjects which interest them.

One of the main reasons the Turkish language teachers in the South expressed in the interviews is that the new educational policy which is effective since September 2017. In order to gain a detailed information with regards to new implementation from a different source, other than Turkish language teachers; I requested to have an interview with the responsible person at the school. The headmaster of school in Pyrgos arranged my meeting with the councillor teacher Mrs. Skevi. According to this new implementation the students will choose school subjects as a package (MoEC, 2017). For instance, if a student who wants to study law at the university level, s/he will choose the lessons offered in the package so that if there is no optional foreign language, s/he is not allowed to choose that particular language. As of the academic year 2017-18, the implementation of the new education policy in the South, students' choice of foreign languages in the curriculum is limited to category (social and/or science package) they choose to study throughout 3 years in the Lyceum. This suggests that the number of students who will choose foreign languages among other optional subjects are limited to category. In the revised education system, the history education as one of the major source of hatred remains.

2.4 Summary

I have tried to frame the socio-political context informed from history in order to give an idea of how third parties have become influential on politicization and in

stimulating the nationalistic feelings of Cypriots to strengthen their ties with their motherlands and the language. Therefore, I focussed on the place of language (Greek, Turkish and English) language in social lives and education in Cyprus under the Ottoman, British, before the 1974 invasion/intervention of Turkey, and after the 2004 (partial) integration of the Republic of Cyprus into the European Union.

Chapter Three: Literature Review

3.1 Introduction

In previous chapters, the notion of language and its relation to identity and language policy and planning in the context of post-conflict Cyprus was introduced within the historical context at different periods. Drawing on the proposed research questions, this chapter reviews the literature from different perspectives as a result of identifying the lacunae in language policy and planning, along with the intercultural dimension in foreign language education in the context of divided Cyprus, and in other conflict-ridden parts of the world. This literature review chapter is divided into four main sections for the thesis. I review the relevant theoretical concepts, supporting them by empirical research undertaken in conflict-ridden contexts. Additionally, I address present issues and patterns of the cited research relevant to the context in Northern and Southern Cyprus.

In the first section, I will explain Foreign Language Education (FLE) policy and how I use the terminology in my study. In the second section, I shall outline the

relationship between language and culture. This will be followed by what is understood by 'culture' and the role of 'language' in education policy in conflict-ridden contexts. The discussion will be nurtured around socio-political changes and challenges: whether learning the language of the other creates barriers or enables us to break the cycle of fear and enmity for mutual understanding and perception. This discussion will be developed in the field of intercultural communication in foreign language education. The fundamental aim is to contribute to peace and reconciliation by exploring and understanding how integration of the 'language of the other' and 'culture' can mediate languages and cultures in a particular polity.

3.2 The context of Language Policy and Language Education Policy

The field of Language Policy (hereafter LP) has evolved over the last half century (Garcia & Menken, 2010, p.249). Language planning (Cooper, 1989; Eastman, 1983; Ferguson, 2006; Fishman, 1971; Fishman, Ferguson & Das, 1968; Haugen, 1959, 1966; Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997; Kennedy, 1983), language policy (LP) (Corson, 1999; Ricento, 2006; Shohamy, 2006; Spolsky, 2004; Tollefson, 2002), and language policy and planning (LPP) (Fettes, 1997; Hornberger, 2006; Hornberger & Ricento, 1996) or language policy and language planning (LPLP) (Wright, 2004) are comprehensively described by Hornberger and Ricento (1996) in their invaluable contribution, 'Introduction to Language Policy'.

While after the Second World War many countries tended to adopt a language policy for determining their national identity and official language, such as Cyprus, Turkey, and Malaysia in 1957 after independence from colonial rule (Gill, 2005), some other

countries like India, Kenya, Thailand and Nepal challenged a one-nation-one language policy (Ricento, 2009, p.27) and asked for recognition of their mother tongue or retained the language of their former colonies (Bambogose, 2003, p.422). Shifting language ideologies and calls for recognizing a liberal and anti-racist political behaviour made it necessary to develop alternative theories and frameworks and to redefine concepts in LPP in the beginning of the 1990s (Hornberger, 2009, p.153). In parallel to the globalization today, changes in the ideologies and the encouragement of UN, EU and CoE have encouraged the promotion of multilingualism and diversity.

The rise of diversified populations, globalization and internationalization seem to create a variation of nation-states and necessitate adopting new language policies in order to integrate peoples, linguistically and culturally. Emerging from these changes, communities' demands for their linguistic rights in education and recognition in the societal/institutional level have led to "renewed interest in issues of language policy" (Shohamy, 2003, p.278-287). In parallel to these changes, national and official languages, and (foreign) languages to be taught in educational systems are questioned. This reformation in many countries has led to looking into issues such as the political and ideological forces behind LP, the authority of making wide-ranging LP decisions for whole populations, the systems by which LP is introduced, different aspects of language(s), and the connection between LP and actual language learning. Although there are number of nations, especially in Europe, making attempts to promote the idea of plurilingualism as a language education policy (LEP), the success rate, policy practice nexus and implementation

policy and progress may be influenced by various contextual dynamics. Thus, Shohamy (2003, p.279) points out that there is a need for more attention to the convolution of languages and societies as far as LEP is concerned (Shohamy, 2003, p.279). Before delving further into challenges and changes in language policy as far as policy and practice are concerned, in Shohamy's (2003, p.279) term, LP is understood as:

Decisions that people make about languages and their use in society and language education policy is perceived as conducting such decisions in the specific contexts of schools and universities in relation to home languages (previously referred to as 'mother tongues') and to foreign and second languages (Shohamy, 2003, p.279).

Having identified what LP and LEP is, it is important to set the related terminological understanding first. Therefore, I will give insight into some of conceptual definitions of Language Policy and Planning (LPP, hereafter). While the researched contexts show how complex the issue of language planning and policy is, the LPP research literature contains various definitions of LPP. As a result of contextual complexities, Ricento (2006) considers the LPP field as a 'domain of inquiry'. As he explains, researchers are usually interested in particular issues regarding language. Given the variations in contextual dynamics, each policy is unique and issues regarding languages may vary. As Spolsky (2005, p.2162) puts, "it is not surprising that a simple theory of language policy has not yet achieved consensus", and thus

definitions are inconclusive. Ferguson (1979, in Spolsky, 2005, p.3) points out that applied linguists' struggle in naming concepts.

Scholars in the field use various terms to explain the activities carried out and decisions taken by the language planners (Cooper, 1996, p.29). According to Tollefson (1991, p.16), "the commonly-accepted definition of language policy is that it is a language planning by governments". To Ager (2001, p.5), LPP is officially implemented by the political authorities and their policy on language is similar to "any other form of public policy". According to Pelinka (2007, p.130),

Language reflects power structures and language has an impact on power structures. Language can be seen as an indicator of social and therefore political situations-and language can also be seen as a driving force directed at changing politics and society. Language is an in-put as well as out-put factor of political systems: it influences politics - and is influenced by politics.

As Cooper (1996) illustrates, language policy can be accepted as a synonym of language planning. While some use planning, engineering, or treatment, Spolsky (2004) chooses management and to him language management is an activity that can be carried out by legislative assembly, national legislature, state or governmental body, a special interest group aiming to influence a legislature for making a new law, or an institution or business, deciding which languages to use or teach. Although Cooper (1996) regards language planning and language policy as synonymous, he considers language policy rather as the goal of language planning

and explains that “there is no single universally accepted definition of language planning” (1989, p.29).

Having the word ‘government’ as a key term in the provided definitions suggests that language planning is inseparable from political matters, developing in the country. Phillipson (2003a, p. 14-16) emphasizes that all levels of government are connected with language policy and the related matters. As he points out, the domains that play a role in language policy are culture, commerce, foreign affairs, and education. As Phillipson (2003b, p, 13) and Cooper (1996, p.162) argue, language policy is manifestly an integral part of social policy. Jernudd and Das Gupta (1971, p.211) and Pelinka (2007, p.130) share the same ground, pointing out that language-oriented strategies are rather political and administrative in nature. Similarly, Gorman (1973, p. 73) explains that language planning was and is generally considered as a political phenomenon rather than a linguistic issue. Gorman is right in that planning is not a linguistic but a political issue. His point is taken up by Spolsky (2004) who claims that non-linguistic environmental factors are influential in linguistic decisions. This reminds us of Cooper’s view, that understanding language planning in a particular context requires conceptualization of the social context. Building on Cooper’s (1989, p.3) explanation, it can be said that a great majority of existing definitions refer to the specific contexts for which they were written. And, this leads to inconclusive definitions in LPP. It may be suggested that this is due to the fact that language related issues are context dependent and the produced definitions fit into that particular policy depending on the language problem, form of policy and ideology.

In explaining language policy, it seems to me that Spolsky's (2004) definition will help me in formulating my approach to understanding the (foreign) language issues in the conflict-driven context of Cyprus. Spolsky (2004) brings forward the following concepts of language policy. According to Spolsky, LP is composed of

1. Language practices (the language we use in various domains and in certain sociolinguistic settings, often conflicting with policies and beliefs);
2. Language beliefs (ideologies of community about the language, for example 'nation equals language'); Language management (the planners who try to either maintain or change the practices or beliefs of others);
3. Language management includes status planning, corpus planning, and acquisition planning (language education).

The rationale behind why I prefer Spolsky's definition of these concepts is that his definitions fit into the sensitive context of Cyprus, as I described in Chapter Two. Similarly, I agree with Cooper (1996, in Hornberger, 2009, p.24) in defining and discussing LPP since he bases his accounting framework around the question, "What factors attempt to influence what behaviours of which people for what ends under what conditions by what means through what decision-making process with what effect?". And, in this framework, Cooper (op cit) does not restrict us to a particular context or does not tell us who the actors are. Therefore, one can explore the language planning and policy related issue through answering the set questions.

The above definitions of LP refer to political motivation for developing a language policy. By referring to history, Spolsky (p.61) emphasizes underpinning reasons of successful language policy as “other social phenomena” that reinforces links between language policy development [and practice]. I discuss LPP framework(s) in the next section.

3. 2.1. Framework(s) of Language Planning and Policy

The phrase LPP was introduced into the literature by sociolinguists after World War II (Fishman, 1968; Rubin & Jernud, 1971). The early theories usually refer to policies whereby actions are taken to change the language behaviour of a group of people (Thornburn, 1971) or the systems of language code, or focus on problem solving (Rubin & Jernud, 1971b, xvi; Das Gupta, 1973, p.157). Calvet (1998, p.114) explains language policy as “the conscious choices made in the domain of relationships between language and national life”. After the 1990s, the emerging problem in the field of LPP was shortcomings of the existing frameworks to explain foreign language teaching policies. As Liddicoat et al (2008, p. 2-3) point out, the consensus in the LPP field is that language policy theories are not fully developed and there is a need to extend the number of studies researching and describing LPP in order to move from an incoherent “notion of an underlying theory”. Additionally, it is pointed out that there is no ‘coherent paradigm’ available to “address the complex questions of language policy/planning development (Liddicoat et al, 2008).

As described in the first chapter, the history of Cyprus shows that internal conflict between Greek and Turkish Cypriots and the external factors (such as integration

into the EU in 2004) have always been influential on language policy and planning in Cyprus. There are many variables that come into play, especially in a place like Cyprus. No other model is enough to inform my study given the complexity of the language policy of the two sides in Cyprus. Therefore, a model of framework will be developed that has elements from different models to help me study the phenomenon.

While I will borrow elements from Spolsky (2004), I will use Haugen's framework (1966, 1988) to discuss the language situation before 1974, and refer to Hornberger's (2009, p.29) integrative framework to analyze language policy after integration into the EU in 2004. In the current context, language has a political role to play and it has been viewed as an element of rapprochement by policy makers who introduced Greek and Turkish into the curriculum in the secondary education at public schools. As I will be discussing later in the next section, while Byram's framework seems not to be applicable but adjustable in a post-conflict context, Haugen's might be useful in understanding the ideological agenda behind language policy. In the researched context, what happens is that language is an element dividing communities, along with religion. Language is attached to ethnicity and identity of the conflict-affected TCY and GCY communities but at the same time language has a powerful role to play in breaking the cycle of hatred and in communicating with each other.

Since I will focus on LP in the educational domain, the main discussion will be developed around LP and its implementation policy in Cyprus after 2004. Therefore,


I will pay particular attention to the importance of status and acquisition planning while theorizing the Greek/Turkish language policy and the present situation in Cyprus.

3.2.1.1 Review of Haugen's Model

Building on his first framework, developed in 1966 and revised in 1983, Haugen considered his works as a framework instead of a theory of language planning. In his model, selection, codification, implementation and evaluation were four major elements. The model was elaborated on further by Rubin (1971). This was followed by a need for language planning in complex multilingual contexts in the 1990s. These contexts provided linguistic cases that “challenge the one-language-one-nation ideological tenet of modernization and development theory” (Hornberger, 2009, p.27). Thus, in the 1990s, there was an agreement in the literature about the necessity of generating new theories and knowledge in cases of multilingual contexts as in countries such as India, Nepal and Thailand.

In the early work of Haugen (1966), the four-dimensional model provides four basic elements that fit into the contexts where there is a need to officialize the state's language, and give a status to it in the various domains. Haugen's language planning framework seems to describe how language planning was carried out in the 1960s in Turkey, Israel, India, Indonesia and Sweden (Hornberger, 2009, p.26). While Haugen's model and the revised model in 1988 were sufficient to describe language policy and planning before 1974 in Cyprus, the present foreign language policy and tendency of the communities to offer each others' languages in schools for the first

time in their history requires a broader framework that offers concepts on foreign language planning. Therefore, it seems that regarding Hornberger's (1994; 2006a; 2009) framework, although it contains aspects that are not relevant to this study, some elements are useful when theorizing the foreign language situation in a particular context. This is because there are range of choices available within those parameters (Hornberger, 2006, p.30). The framework with range of choices reflects complexity of LPP and also shows interrelatedness of language policy and language planning (Hornberger et. al, 2018, p.156). This six-dimensional integrative framework, as presented in figure 2.1, seem to be an essential conceptual framework in describing the language-related social change phenomenon. I will discuss Haugen and Hornberger's models respectively.

Approaches Types 	Policy Planning Approach (on form)	Cultivation planning approach (on function)	
Status planning (about uses of language)	Officialization Nationalization Standardization of status Proscription	Revival Maintenance Spread Interlingual communication- International, Intranational	
Acquisition planning (about users of language)	Group Education/School	Reacquisition Maintenance	

	Literary Religious Mass Media Work	Shift Foreign language/Second language/Literacy	
	Selection Language's formal role in society Extra-linguistic aims	Implementation Language's functional role in society Extra-linguistic aims	
Corpus planning (about language)	Standardization of corpus Standardization of auxiliary code Graphization (defining the written form of the language)	Modernization (new functions) Lexical Stylistic Renovation (new forms, old functions) Purification Reform Stylistic simplification Terminology unification	

Figure 3.1: Language planning and policy: An integrative framework of approaches, types and goals

Hornberger (1994; 2009, p.25)

Since the fundamental aim of this model was language selection for a nation or nation state, the government should make a decision on giving a status to a

language as an official or national language. Corpus planning is another important element in Haugen's model. According to Cooper (1996, p. 100) status and corpus planning cannot be separated. The corpus of a language is identified as a building block of a language. The aim here is codifying the acceptable words or linguistic structures in order to determine the forms of the language. For instance, the Academie Francaise in France (1635), the Academia della Crusca in Italy (1584) and Turk Dil Tarih Kurumu (TDK) in Turkey (1935) were established for the purpose of planning the corpus of those countries and purifying the mother tongue from the foreign borrowings. Their mission is to produce the correct version of vocabulary, grammar, punctuation and spelling at regular intervals (Phillipson, 2003, p.14).

Corpus planning is followed by implementation of the proposed language policy. However, it is at this point that there might be polarization within the society since some groups might accept while some others reject the chosen language as a national or official language. This is an issue that concerns multinational communities and linguistic rights. For instance, while the Kurdish community in Turkey is against the idea of Turkish being the only official language, Turkey's accession process into the EU has made it necessary to consider the Kurdish community's linguistic rights. It is for this reason that Turkey recognizes the Kurdish people's right to broadcast in the Kurdish language via the Turkish National channel. At the turn of the 21st century, it appeared that there were moderate ideological changes happening in some policies such as in that of the reunification of Northern and Southern Cyprus and the resolving of the Cyprus problem Mertkan for establishing a dialogue between the peoples of Turkey in order to stop ethnicity-rooted deaths.

International interests and the desire to become part of the EU is a common political aim in both cases. The reason is that the EU encourages countries to recognize people's linguistic rights, and views the presence of languages in one country as a resource and an enhanced motivation to learn the languages of bordering countries (Krzyzanowski & Wodak, 2011).

Given the dynamism in countries like Cyprus, Hornberger's integrative model enables us to explain which languages to foster and for what purpose to develop "local, threatened languages in relation to global, spreading ones" (Hornberger, 2009, p.28), whereas Haugen's models (1966, 1983) guide us in the process of language officialization.

3.2.1.2 Review of Hornberger's Framework

Hornberger's integrated framework includes the same elements as Haugen's models, such as status planning, corpus planning and acquisition planning, and it appears that Hornberger's model recognizes multilingual and multinational contexts. Therefore, regarding the introduction of foreign/second languages into various domains in society (language revival, maintenance or spread), Hornberger's (2009, p.32) integrated framework seems to fit such a political context. Compared to Haugen's models, Hornberger's model (2009) tends to be also useful in analyzing and discussing foreign language planning with a liberal worldview.

As I highlighted in figure 3.1, I will explain what is meant by status and acquisition planning types. These elements of planning will enable me to provide a theoretical

insight into language policy and planning activities in Cyprus. I will explain each one in turn.

3.3. Status planning

There are various ways of securing the position of a language. As Phillipson (2003, pp.14-16), Cooper (1996) and Spolsky (2004, p.13) explain a particular language is identified and strengthened as a working or official language by legislating the gained status in the law, in education or various other domains. This policy was used in the constitutions of the RoC in 1960 and the TRNC in 1983.

The position or importance given to a language is named as 'selection' by Haugen and renamed by Kloss as 'status planning' and 'codification' or 'corpus planning' (Kloss, 1967, cited in Cooper, 1996). Generally, a (foreign) language gains status when there is socio-political and economic contact between countries.

The RoC, established in 1960 as a bi-communal republic between GCY and TCY, enacted a Language Act (3) which aimed to give equal status to both Turkish and Greek languages in accordance with population 7:3 ratio of Greek: Turkish in legislative, executive and administrative acts and documents. The aim was to enact into legislation the linguistic rights of both Turkish and Greek Cypriots.

The radio and television of the Republic of Cyprus allocated no less than 75 hours per week for broadcasting in Turkish and 140 hours in Greek, due to the 7:3 ratio of GCY to TCY nationals. Thus, Cypriots were given an equal opportunity to enjoy the rights of accessing the audio-visual media in their mother tongues. From a sociolinguistic approach, it is seen that language planning was a deliberate,

government-sponsored activity developed mainly under the umbrella of the political domain.

However, a language which is given a deliberate prominence does not secure its position unless it is accepted and used by the community (Kloss, 1967). As Tollefson (2002) explains, the attitudes of the community towards the chosen language either preserve or destroy the status given to the chosen language. The linguistic situation in Cyprus supports this claim. As explained in the first and second chapter, in the post-conflict context of Cyprus, internal conflict, fear and enmity, and the borders set up since 1974 between GCY and TCY people have paralysed linguistic diversity and intergroup contact. Although it is one of the official languages of the RoC, the Turkish language lost its status as a result of division, which created a homogenous community on each side of the division who believe there is no need to learn language of the enemy.

The community has the power to change the given status of a language. As highlighted by Graddol (2000, p.15-16), social networks, social and geographical changes and mobility also activate and foster linguistic changes, language learning and attitudes. Although it was attempted to give equal status to Turkish and Greek, the legislation of Turkish as an official language right of Turkish Cypriots was left as a theory. This calls to mind Haugen (1966), who posits that 'the language planners propose and the community disposes'. The ideology underpinning this belief was that speaking Turkish or Greek not only means using the language as a tool to communicate but also giving a status to Turkishness and Greekness. However, the

social changes since 2004 have encouraged the Greek and Turkish Cypriot authorities to place Greek and Turkish as an optional module in their syllabus. It can be understood that language gains or loses its function as a result of political factors. At this stage, Stewart's (1968 in Cooper, 1996, pp.100-118) function of status planning makes it essential to have an overview to discuss the function of Greek and Turkish in the domain of education in Cyprus.

3.4. Function of status planning

According to Stewart's (1968, cited in Cooper, 1996, pp.100-118) targets of status planning, the function of a language can be seen in ten different domains (official, provincial, wider communication, international, capital, group, educational, school subject, literary, and religious). Official language, which is selected as a language for political and cultural purposes, is also a legally appropriate and constitutional language. Moreover, official language has three subcategories when it is used for symbolic purposes (Stewart's, 1986, cited in Cooper, 1996: 100-118). These are statutory, working, and symbolic official languages. As Cooper explains (1996, p.100), equal status is given by law to Hebrew and Arabic in the state of Israel. However, between the two languages, Hebrew is the dominant one. Although both languages represent nationality, the Hebrew symbolizes the Jewish state. Moreover, English, though it is not protected by law, has an important function. For instance, English is a language which appears on the paper currency, metal coins, and postage stamps in addition to Hebrew and Arabic. The orders of languages in government publications are Hebrew and then English rather than Arabic. As

Fishman illustrates (referred to by Cooper, 1996, p.100), English is used for the chapter headings.

In the next section I will discuss the status of a foreign language in the field of education when the language is chosen as a school subject. In Hornberger's (2009, p.28) integrative framework, 'acquisition planning' is an important element of the framework to discuss the status of Greek and Turkish in education.

3.5. Acquisition planning: status of language in education

Schools, which are supervised by the Ministry of Education, are considered as one of the most important domains for language spread and implementation. Kloss was the first who used the status planning/corpus planning typology in 1969 and this typology was followed by Cooper's acquisition planning in 1989. Hornberger (2009, p.33) added Cooper's 'acquisition planning' into her framework. As Bakmand (2000) explains, the policy is to spread the language in schools as a national, second or foreign language. In Hornberger's (2009, p.28) integrative framework, 'acquisition planning' is an important element of the framework to discuss the status of Greek and Turkish in education. Spolsky (2005, p.2155) says that language management and planning at home is based on practice and ideology and that students may not be given an opportunity or motivation to acquire the language, whereas schools take the responsibility for the students' socialization and offer students the opportunity to develop language competence. This can occur by allocating the language at primary, secondary or higher education. However, Cooper (1996, p.109) highlights that political concerns also play an important role in the choice of language in schools.

According to Kennedy (1983, p.50), the domain of education is one of the fields that cause important debates, and is a powerful instrument of change. As he explains, if language planners do not pay attention to the attitudes of the community towards the chosen language, the language users show resistance and a lack of motivation to study in that language. In the 21st century, English is in high demand by many non-Anglophone countries since it has a universal importance (Graddol, 2000). For instance, in Turkey, as Dogancay-Aktuna (2005) points out, there has been a great pressure from parents to increase the amount of time allocated to teaching English.

As pointed out in the introductory section, globalization and internationalization lead to changes but at the same time because intercultural and linguistic challenges as far as LP and LEP are concerned in a growing number of countries worldwide. Many of these changes and challenges, as will be discussed, are marked by different political events and support Cooper's (1996) remark that politics play a part in school language choices.

A closer examination of the European continent shows that the EU and CoE promote 'linguistic diversity' and 'plurilingualism' and the U.N is involved in the LP activities world wide, and what happens at the level of local policies is that, as in the case of Cyprus, the schools offer EU languages. However, parental demand insists on the importance of learning English for its cultural capital, and market value in the areas of economy, policy, tourism, culture-arts, and science-technology (TRNC Ministry of Education & Culture, official document, 2005). Apart from the fact that English marginalizes other languages, offering two ethnically conflicted societies' languages,

Greek and Turkish, together with other languages seems to be a political gesture. However, there is a need for a radical educational reform across the curriculum in order to spread peace and reconciliation in all subjects. While proposals of peaceful initiatives occur after important political events, the implementation process seems to require endeavour and is timely. I delve into potential problems that may occur when it comes to implementation of the proposed language planning and policy later in this chapter.

The above discussed the political and general issues as far as LP is concerned, and in the next section I will look at the relation of language, identity and ethnicity, before moving on to link language and intercultural education.

3.6 Language and identity

Identity is a controversial topic. The 18th century German philosopher Herder defines national identity as something with an “unchanging characteristic and unique, based on fixed and objective criteria that include common biological descent”, whereas the opposing social constructionist view is that all types of identity are a political choice and not given biologically or naturally. “In the 1960s and 1970s assertion of ethnic identity was frequently associated with so-called objective socio-biological measures. Critics saw such ethnicity as an outcome of political myth-making in the strategizing of group advantage”. Bugarski (2005, p.67) defines identity as

a set and continuation of essential characteristics with which a human group or individual define themselves against others, thus ensuring their own 'sameness'. It is therefore a feeling of belonging to a given collective (we) and the consciousness of one's own personality (I).

According to Petrucijova (2005), identity is a "defining element of subjective reality". Their definitions suggest different types of identities. One of them is self-identity 'I' or 'I am' and the other is 'we' that refers to belongingness to a particular group of people that makes us different from the other, or how others define us by language, religion, or ethnicity. Thus, our awareness of 'self' is based on our awareness of a particular group ethnically, nationally, religiously, linguistically. Our self-identity 'I' makes us who we are, while 'we' represents our 'social identity'. I will delve further into 'subjectivity' while theorizing language and identity in the next section.

In understanding why or why not Greek and Turkish Cypriots view each other as 'brother'," it seems necessary to define the concept of identit(ies) since the issue of identity has been one of the highly debated issues in the post-conflict Cyprus with the last divided capital in Europe. In the context of Cyprus, it can be observed from the media and literature in different disciplines that the Cyprus problem, with economical problems in the embargoed North Cyprus, is influential on Cypriots' political choices and daily lives. It is, therefore, at the heart of this thesis to investigate how Greek and Turkish Cypriots perceive and view each other as two social groups with similarities and differences; it is also important to understand how they define their social identities. The reason is that while some people categorize themselves

as Turkish/Greek Cypriot, others are proud of their Cypriotness. Or, some Cypriots living under RoC controlled areas view those living in the North as Turkish Cypriot while linking Cypriotness with Greekness. Therefore, ethnic group identity is important for this research. Given this multiplicity in the perception of identities in the context of Cyprus, it seems necessary to understand the basic principles of Tajfel's 'social identity theory'.

Tajfel's (H. Tajfel & J.D. Turner, 1979, pp.94-109) 'social identity theory' is based on three fundamental ideas, as identification with a group, categorization, and comparison. People create categorization by using social categories. For instance, racial, ethnic, occupational, marital, and religious categorizations that create social categories in the communities. This leads us to cultural identity. As Petrucijova (2005, p.81) explains, "cultural identity arises from the consciousness of the common, shared present and past we are usually proud of". She also bases cultural identity on "self-preserving efforts and is supported by internal self-awareness and affirmation, as well as by external acceptance".

Social comparison is made in order to define a group that someone belongs to. What happens here is that 'otherness' comes into this social comparison when one makes an attempt to describe what or who they or their group is or is not. By doing so, people try to find patterns in common, similar and different identification signs between 'our' and 'their' groups. Quoting from C. McGarty et al (1994, p.267-293), Petrucijova (2005, p.81) points out that "generally, group/culture members tend to

make comparisons in ways that reflect positively on themselves. They do this by using dimensions that are favourable to their group as a basis of comparison.”

When a member of one group interacts with a member of another group they already have a background view of each other, stereotypes of the target culture or preconceived ideas (Lucas, 2003, p.302; Psaltis, 2018). In the next section, I delve further into stereotyping since this concept is one of the main consequences of educational systems in divided Cyprus. Gavur (meaning, not a Muslim) is the offensive and discriminatory term used by Turkish Cypriots and bello Turko (meaning, crazy Turk) is the one used by Greek Cypriots to refer to each other.

3.7 Stereotyping and Prejudice

Social psychologists, linguists, and language educationalists have researched prejudice, de-legitimization, collectivizing, stereotypes and othering in various fields from different perspectives. In this thesis, ethnic stereotypes and othering are relevant to my study.

Emerging in the 1950s, personality traits, attributions, intentions, and behavioural descriptions began to create a set of beliefs and form the characteristics of social categories of people. In stereotyping, one social group usually makes negative connotations and oversimplifies the image of another group (Allport, 1954; Bar-Tal, 1996, p.342). As mentioned above, interlocutors already have a background knowledge of each other and this is influential on their perception of the other. As Bar-Tal (1997, p.493) points out, some of their background knowledge comes from their own group’s set beliefs about the other. So, a widely held but fixed idea about

a particular social category informs behaviours and discourses throughout conversation. As Schollon and Wong Schollon (2001, p.169) point out, stereotyping is also ideological. While in-group stereotypes are termed as 'auto-stereotypes', 'hetero-stereotypes' are linked to an out-group (the other) (Bar-Tal, 1997).

On one hand, comparison of one group with another creates an opportunity for improving self-awareness of groups, their solidarity and integrity, but on the other hand, cultural/group comparisons can lead to stereotyping and prejudice (Petrucijova, 2005, p.81). At this point, it is worth remembering that schools as institutions in many post-conflict countries are where 'otherization' practices are spread through the curriculum by describing the other as the enemy, through social comparison and identification markers like 'enemy', especially in history lessons. The ethnocentric curricula thus raise a generation full of hatred of 'the other'. Cyprus, as in the examples of Israel, Northern Ireland, Bosnia-Herzegovina, is one of the important polities where stereotyping and otherness exist due to the intractable conflict between Greek and Turkish Cypriots. Stereotyping and prejudice create a gap in building social bridges for a dialogue so that positive peace is eluded. I build on this in the next section while giving insight into researched contexts of Cyprus, Macedonia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina.

3.8 Nations as imagined communities

People interact with members of many communities unknowingly and are involved in various communities through their neighbourhood, workplace, education, and religious communities (Norton, 2013, p.422). The conflict-affected communities are

affiliated with their former enemies in the imagination. Anderson (1991, p.6) coined the influential concept of 'imagined communities' and explains it as:

An imagined political community and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign. It is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation never know most of their fellow-members, met them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion. (1991, p.6)

The case of Cyprus is informed by conflict-affected curricula, the implications of living in a war-traumatized community, where each community voice their version of events; members of communities talk with prejudiced views of their imagined communities (enemies) with whom they have never had interaction across time and space. So, in Anderson's view, we "can feel a sense of community with people we have not yet met and with whom we may never have any direct dealings". This leads the way to "imagined communities" and "imagined identities" (Anderson, 1991, p.6). Further discussion on imagined communities and identities is in section 3.9 regarding language learning and its relation to identity in post-conflict contexts, where members of communities learn each other's languages.

Since issues of identity are complex, it is essential to set my understanding of what I mean by ethnic groups by quoting from Smith (1986, p.15) who defines ethnic groups as "people, whose members share a common origin and common historical memory, who associate themselves with a particular territory and possess a feeling of solidarity". As claimed by Miller (1995, p.22) nations exist in the world with beliefs that people maintain about them. Geertz (1963, p.109) explains that the nationalistic

perspective understands ethnicity as given by social existence and to be static. However, in the era of globalization, the notion of the predominating presence of a single and cultural identity is considered meaningless by Gellner (1983, p.13).

According to social constructivist views, ethnic identity is not given biologically but chosen by the group based on what a group believes they have in common and different from other groups, so as Barth (1969) explains in Petrucujive (2005, p.82), language is not a fundamental characteristic of ethnic identity.

According to Shorter and Gergen (1990), cultural changes are influential on identity and in the modern time a set of identities are developed and defined in relation to the relational self. Viewing identity as a dynamic and changing entity, it is proposed that in the present day, “[an] individual may have a number of identities that intersect, so they can select which identity they profess in different contexts”. Informed by historical and cultural circumstances as a social construction, people’s behaviours are influenced from this (P. Berger. & T. Luckmann, 1966, in Petrucujive, 2005, p.82).

3.9 Emergence of nationalistic discourse: language and Identity in the conflict-ridden context of Cyprus

Building on Edwards (2009) and Joseph (2004), it is generally accepted that language plays a major role in discussions of national identity. As Sheyholislami (2010, p.291) paraphrases Brubaker (2004) and Wodak et al. (2009), national identity is indicative of belongingness to a cultural or national group, and, at the same time, it indicates a difference from other nationalities. As Smith (1998) explains,

national identity is a social construct, which has historical and ethnic roots, though Hobsbawn and Ranger (1988, cited in Sheyholislami, 2010) consider such roots as inventions by particular people active in the society.

This perception of language and identity is true in the case of constructing Turkish and Greek identities in Cyprus. While the Greek and Turkish languages were used to differentiate the communities linguistically during the Ottoman time, this later became an issue with the fear of not being assimilated within the dominating power (Britain) when the British attempted to spread English through administration and education as they did in other colonies (Pennycook, 2004). Then, as Kizilyurek and Kizilyurek (2004, p.46) explain, the 'Turkish' and 'Greek' nations were constructed in Cyprus in the late 1950s through the adoption of each language in official matters, in the curriculum, religion and national celebrations. So, this ideological harmony with the motherland constructed the notions of 'Turkish' and 'Greek' Cypriots, but, at the same time, undermined the 'Cypriotness' that had characterized the inhabitants of the island, where the original Cypriot culture and language emerged from the shared cohabitation of the Turkish- and Greek-speaking people before 1974.

As acknowledged by the leaders of the time, in 1958-1974, Dr. Fazil Kutchuk of the Turkish Cypriots, and Archbishop Makarios of the Greek Cypriots, there was an ideology that created a population who believed that "language equals nationality and nationality equals language" (Karyolemou, 1999, p.1; Kizilyurek and Kizilyurek, 2004).

3.10 Empirical research on language, identity and ethnicity in Cyprus

There have been relatively few studies researching the Greek and Turkish Cypriots' desire to learn each other's languages or the implications of social changes for both communities in the classroom setting and inter-ethnic communications. Osam and Agazade (2009) undertook two separate quantitative studies researching students' attitudes towards Greek and Turkish. A 5-point Likert scale attitude test was employed to measure participants' integrative and instrumental motivations, the social psychology and ethnicity. The questionnaire was administered to 1160 randomly selected Greek Cypriot university students and 3297 (62.5%) female and 1987 (37.5%) male Turkish Cypriot university students, aged 18-24 years old. The data were analyzed through SPSS 11. Their findings suggest that the Greek Cypriot university students hold negative attitudes towards the Turkish language and Turkish Cypriots whereas Turkish Cypriots show positive attitudes towards the Greek language and Greek Cypriots. Their findings seem to substantiate those of other researchers, for instance, Spyrou (2006), Trimikliniotis (2004) and Zembylas et al. (2010a, 2010b), who investigated Greek Cypriots' attitudes towards Turkish Cypriots, Turks and immigrants from various perspectives, and ethnic discrimination in a divided education. For instance, Zembylas et al. (2010a) undertook two separate studies in 2010. The first study, ethnographic in nature, in three primary schools in the Greek Cypriot educational system explored the Greek Cypriot teachers' constructions of Turkish-speaking children's identities: the children had Romany parents, an ethnic minority living in Cyprus, or Turkish Cypriot parents who had immigrated from TRNC to the RoC as workers. In the second study (2010b, p.15),

the researchers surveyed Greek Cypriot students' attitudes towards immigrants and 'the enemy-others', who, in this context, were Turks and Turkish Cypriots.

Based on their data, Zembylas et al. (2010a, p.1373, and 2010b) suggest that teaching and learning are influenced by 'contingent cultural, political and historical structures'. The research team suggests that there is a need for anti-racist teacher education programmes, since "it is shown that Greek-Cypriot teachers perceive Turkish-speaking children in racialized, ethnicized and classed ways, and the socio-political structures in Cyprus influence teachers' negative discourses and practices towards these children" (2010a, p.1387).

These studies are important in that they support the assumptions of the Cypriot researchers (Ozerk, 2001; Kizilyurek, 2004; Karmellou, 1999; Karoulla-Vrikki, 2007) that the Turkish and Greek Cypriot education systems are based on the notion of 'ethnicity'. Additionally, the studies can lead the stakeholders of education to adopt a policy to accelerate peace education across the curriculum in order to raise an anti-racist generation that knows 'how to live together in peace'. Given my space limitation, although it would be helpful to examine the changes throughout the whole education system, I will pay particular attention to the Greek and Turkish languages.

A review of the limited literature available gives an insight into what happens in the current context as far as education is concerned. Although there are socio-political initiatives towards reconciliation and peace-building, what can be stated by reviewing the existing literature is that there are challenges in developing, promoting and implementing intercultural education in a divided country where conflict has

arisen from ethnicity-rooted based problems. I delve further into the role of language and cultures in mediating dialogue and mutual understanding between or among cultures in post-conflict countries such as Cyprus through the language of the other in the next section.

3.10.1 Language and Culture

According to Vygotsky (1962), language is constructed within particular sociocultural and historical contexts. Therefore, sociocultural and historical characteristics of a specific context are conveyed in language. In Geertz's (1975, p.9) view, language and other semiotic systems are culture themselves. From a linguistic perspective, language is a linguistic code; from a sociolinguistic perspective language is a social act; and according to the psycholinguistics perspective, language is a cognitive process. And, as Vygotsky (1962) and Bourdieu (1982) explain, language is an "intercultural process" (in Luissier, 2011, p.36). Thus, language acts are neither poor nor neutral linguistic elements (Vygotsky, 1962; 1978). The speaker of the language transmits his/her values, beliefs, culture and history within the language and through the way s/he uses the language (Tsui & Tollefson, 20 p.41/133).

Crozet et al., (2003, p.49) describe culture as "a complex system of concepts, attitudes, values, beliefs, conversations, behaviours, practices, rituals, and lifestyle of the people who make up a cultural group, as well as the artifacts they produce and the institutions they create" (Liddicoat et al. 2003 p.49). According to Hofstede's view (1991, p.4), culture is a "collective phenomenon, because it is at least partly

shared with people who live or lived within the same social environment, which is where it was learned. It is the collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one group or category of people from another” (Hofstede, 1991, p.5). When we look at Hofstede’s explanation of culture, we see that culture, a complex entity, is shaped and re-shaped by its people at the place where it emerges. A further review of the literature suggests the dynamism of culture. Casnir (1999, p.91) explains ‘culture’ as ‘changing, chaotic systems’, which are ‘dynamic’ and are ‘developing processes’.

There are various models of culture for language education in the literature, as I will be discussing. Of these models, the common view is that culture is “a highly variable and constantly changing phenomenon” (Liddicoat et al., 2003, p.7). The different scholars have different definitions of what culture is. Although there is no shared definition of culture, it seems that the great majority agree on the dynamism of culture and the idea that language and culture are interconnected, where language embodies culture and speakers transmit it through their communication. One may posit the view that communication is intercultural if we consider the fact that their speech and thought are influenced by the geographical, linguistic and socio-political context they have grown up in and lived.

In the same vein, Kramsch and Widdowson (1998; 2003, p.3) point out that “language is the principal means whereby we conduct our social lives. When it is used in contexts of communication, it is bound up with culture in multiple and complex ways”. Words also reflect their authors’ attitudes and beliefs, their points of

view, which are also those of others. In both cases, language expresses cultural reality. The way in which people use the spoken, written, or visual medium itself creates meanings that are understandable to the group they belong to; for example, through a speaker's tone of voice, accent, conversational style, gestures and facial expressions. "Through all its verbal and non-verbal aspects, language embodies cultural reality". So, culture is embodied in language. (Kramsch, 1998; 2003, p.3). My view also overlaps with Holliday's (1999) remarks on culture, that all conversations have an intercultural aspect. According to Lüsser (2011, p.34) language education must be considered as the discovery of another culture. Hence, it is awareness of "otherness without changing into someone else". According to Kramsch (1999), culture has an important place in education since it is important for interlocutors for communicative competence and negotiation of meaning. Bourdieu (1982) points out that language embodies symbolic orders of power relations that shape the perception of the other and affect how the world is perceived (Lüsser, 2011, p.35). It is beyond doubt that language, thought, and culture are interrelated (Stern, 1983).

According to Guilherme-Durate (2000), language encounters can be turned into intercultural relations. Various models focused on the relation of language and culture and the importance of these two in mediating cultures to remove sociocultural barriers in communication with people from the other communities. However, what happens when 'the other' is considered an enemy with whom you shared a tragic past, had a war, and lived in the same but divided land under the same sky and were raised with negative narrations of 'the other'? Is it possible to turn language

encounters into intercultural relations in such a conflict-ridden context? Is it possible to develop positive cultural representations of “the other”? Is it possible to raise awareness on ‘intercultural citizenship’ through language education?

Building on Guilherme-Durate’s (2000) view, Luisser invites those concerned with teaching other languages to consider the role and function of culture as a mediator in “situations of misunderstandings, lack of incomprehension, and even conflicts” and taking into account “affective and psychological factors as well as cognitive factors” through education (Luisser 2011, p.37). According to Rampton and Charalambous (2012, p.32), there is a need for more academic studies researching into language learning and the teaching process in conflict contexts.

3.10.2 An overview of some models developed for foreign language education

The term ‘intercultural education’ is equivocal. Terminological complexity has been discussed by many scholars (Deardoff, 2009; Markou, 1997; Surrian, 1998). Couldby (2006) discusses the terminological shift that occurred in the early 1980s, from ‘multicultural’ to ‘intercultural’ education. In North America, ‘multicultural education’ is used whereas ‘intercultural education’ is widely preferred in Europe. While in many papers both terms are used interchangeably, Couldby’s (2006) critical papers on theory and practice regarding intercultural education suggest paying more attention when using these two terms.

Multiculturalism represents the presence of diversity of cultures in a particular space. In multiculturalism, although people with different backgrounds live side by side, their

presence in the same space does not suggest interaction with one another (Bailly & Filiod, 2000). Interculturalism, however, suggests contact between different groups that exist in the same place.

Cushner's (1998) view is that interculturalism suggests 'exchange', 'cooperation', mutual understanding, recognition of cultural similarities and differences, whereas cultural diversity is symbolic and not strong enough to mediate between cultures sharing the same discourse. Therefore, its feature of dealing with racism and xenophobia and placing the other at the heart of education makes interculturalism action-oriented. While multiculturalism is precisely the opposite of monoculturalism, interculturalism seems to "have no opposite, no enemy". Moreover, it is "wide-ranging, comparativist and international" (Coulby, 2006, p.255). The European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia appears to be precise in their perception and use of 'interculturalism', since there is a call for "recognis[ing] the challenges of racism and the need to build an intercultural society" (EUMC, 2004).

Taking into account Coulby's (ibid.) remarks on clear cut differences between interculturalism and multiculturalism, the absence of xenophobia and racism in interculturalism, and extensive use of this term especially in wider socio-political, historical, and educational literature in the European area, I will widely use the term 'intercultural education'. In fact, a fundamental reason is that the basic principles of interculturalism fit into the context of Cyprus, where xenophobia and racism are entrenched in a society that has a conflicted past and there is a desire to spread interculturalism through teaching the language of the other: for encouraging Greek

and Turkish Cypriots to interact with each other through their languages spoken on the shared territory/land for mutual understanding. Given the fact that multiculturalism and interculturalism are used in some papers and heavily used in American literature, I will make reference to multiculturalism at some points in order to avoid essentialism.

A variety of models of Intercultural Communicative Competence has been discussed by scholars such as Hymes (1972), Canale and Swain (1980), Van Ek (1986), Beneke (2000), (Byram 1997), and Fantini (2000) (cited in Lazar et al., 2007, p.8-9).

Awareness, skills and knowhow are key components according to the Common European Framework (CEFR). While intercultural awareness consists of “knowledge, awareness and understanding of the relation (similarities and distinctive differences) between the world of origin” and the “world of the target community”, intercultural skills and knowhow is composed of the following:

- a. The ability to bring the culture of origin and the foreign culture into relation with each other;
- b. The ability to identify and use a variety of strategies for contact with those from other cultures;
- c. The capacity to fulfil the role of cultural intermediary between one’s own culture and the foreign culture and to deal effectively with intercultural misunderstandings and conflicts;
- d. The ability to overcome stereotyped relationships.

CEFR (2001, p.103)

The 'Language Education and Awareness' (LEA) project takes 'identity', 'knowledge of languages and cultures', 'interaction skills in intercultural and plurilingual communication' and 'attitudes towards languages and cultures' as fundamental elements of the project (in Lazar, 2007, p.54). However, this model lacks the identifying of intercultural awareness between troubled communities.

3.10.3 Model 1: Canale and Swain's model (1980)

In Canale and Swain's model (1980), communication is viewed as 'sociocultural interpersonal interaction, to involve unpredictability and creativity, to take place in a discourse and sociocultural context, to be purposive behaviour, to be carried out under performance constraints, to involve use of authentic language, and to be judged as successful or not on the basis of behavioural outcomes' (Canale and Swain, 1981, p.29). Their model falls under three basic components, as

1. Grammatical competence
2. Sociolinguistic competence
3. Strategic competence.

As illustrated in Liddicoat et. al. (2002, p.12), Canale and Swan's model is built on the cognition of social factors and as Crozet and Liddicoat (2001, in Liddicoat et al, 2002, p.12) define, 'pragmatic norms', including linguistic structures.

Bachman expanded communicative competence by introducing a more detailed model. Bachman (1990) categorized his model as 'organizational competence' and 'pragmatic competence'. Under these two divisions, Bachman places grammatical competence and textual competence as subdivisions of organizational competence.

While grammatical competence echoes the fundamental aspects of the code and the procedures for putting lexical items into bigger chunks, Bachman borrows Canale and Swain's (1981) rules for constructing his discourse and text. The scholar divides pragmatic competence, where sociocultural knowledge is dealt with, into two, as illocutionary competence and sociolinguistic competence. Under this division, linguistic and sociolinguistic competences are dealt with. Here, linguistic and metalinguistic awareness is dealt with.

Van Ek introduces one of the psycholinguistic models where the specific cultural component is prioritized. According to Van Ek, linguistic competence, sociolinguistic competence, discourse competence, strategic competence, sociocultural competence, and social competence make up 'communicative ability' in his model.

1. Linguistic competence: the ability to use the rules of the language to create and interpret utterances in that language.
2. Sociolinguistic competence: the ability to understand the selection of linguistic forms in a particular context and understand the meanings conveyed by those forms in that context.
3. Discourse competence: the ability to use appropriate strategies in the construction and interpretation of texts.
4. Strategic competence: the ability to use compensatory strategies to resolve communicative problems or deficiencies.

5. Sociocultural competence: a degree of familiarity with the frame of reference used by the target culture, i.e. a familiarity with the world view held by the cultural group with which one is interacting.
6. Social competence: the will and skill to interact with others and the ability to handle social situations.

On the basis of Van Ek's definition of 'sociocultural competence', Byram and Zarate (1994; 1997) refine 'sociocultural competence' as "four savoirs, four dimensions of knowledge, skills, and attitudes". In 1997, in his monograph (where the widely-known phrase 'intercultural speaker' was introduced and 'intercultural competence' refined as 'intercultural communicative competence') that was built on the CoE paper and in his book called 'Teaching and Assessing Intercultural Competence', the scholar was critical of what is proposed by 'sociocultural competence' in Van Ek's model. To Byram and Zarate (ibid.), given the fact that a native language does not necessarily belong to only one context (as in the case of American English vs. British English), not all learners can learn the language spoken by the native speakers and in its native context with the assumption that a language may not belong only one context as a native language (in Deardoff, Byram, 2009, p.321).

In his monumental work, Ned Seelye (1976) writes that unless an individual learns the cultural roots of a language, socialization into the target culture is difficult without knowledge of the socio-political, belief or economical systems of the target language. Therefore, one needs to gain insight into different levels of culture as well as linguistic structures in order to engage in social activities. In her controversial claim,

Wilga Rivers (1981) proposed that forcing students to become “near-native speakers” or “be like native speakers” could have been achieved through experiencing deeper levels of culture.

3.10.4 The Intercultural Speaker model

Byram and Zarate (1997) coined the phrase ‘intercultural speaker’ in a working paper written for a group preparing what eventually became the Common European Framework of References for Languages(CEFR) of the Council of Europe in 2001 (Byram, 2009, p.231). Developed as a model to redefine ‘intercultural speaker’, Byram and Zarate’s (2001) model recognized an alternative to ‘the native model’ in foreign language education. ‘Knowledge’ is the main focus in the ‘intercultural speaker’ model. Byram and Zarate base their model on the idea that in intercultural education, stakeholders of education need to develop their ability to see cultural similarities and differences: see relational linguistic, cultural patterns of one’s culture in the target culture and act as mediators between their own and others’ languages and cultures. Thus, learners can develop their abilities to understand underpinning reasons of ‘the other language speakers’ behaviours, attitudes, and values with a common sense and from a third angle. According to Byram and Zarate (1997), learners’ tendency to develop an ability to see how the other views them and why they view each other as such, along with a desire to learn about the other and awareness about themselves, will enable them to broaden their perspectives and develop intercultural human relationships in what is called “the intercultural speaker” (Byram et al, 2001, p.10).

According to Byram's intercultural model, "[t]he components of intercultural competence are knowledge, skills and attitudes" along with the values that the interlocutor holds because of his/her belonging to a number of social groups. "These values are part of one's social identities." (Byram, 2001, p.11)

3.10.5 Byram's Intercultural Competence model

Byram's model introduced what he called Savoirs ('knowings'): 'knowledge of self and other, of interaction: 'individual and societal';

1. Skills of interpreting and relating (savoir comprendre): 'knowing how to understand';
2. Savoir apprendre/faire: 'knowing how to learn/to do': skills for discovering new knowledge and for interacting to gain new knowledge;
3. 'Knowing how to be' (savoir etre): 'attitudes involved in relativizing the self and valuing the other';
4. Critical cultural Awareness/Political Education (savoirs' engager). The fifth savoir was added as a fifth component in 1994 by Byram.

Foreign language (FL) study, or in other words, study or research into the language of the other has a political aspect. The underpinning reason is that language brings together learners' and the foreign language(s), cultures and stereotypes associated to those languages (Byram, 1997; Georgiou, 2010, p.1). The political dimension of Foreign Language Education (FLE) brings challenges into the learning environment since stakeholders in education have ideological views.

If we move beyond the Chomskian (1965, p.11) view that language is understood as an “ability to form any and all of the grammatical sentences of a language” and posit the view that culture plays an utmost important role in foreign language education then we must accept that FLE is beyond solely grammar competence. At this point, we need to acquire or learn different levels of culture to gain communicative and cultural competence. The nature of the conversation may change depending on the society and culture. While conversing with people of the target language, one needs to know “when to speak, when not, what to speak about, what not, with whom, in what manner, and so on” (Byram, 1997, p.2). This suggests a rich repertoire of cultural knowledge in the target language as well as linguistic competence (Fenner, 2008). Hymes (1971, 1986) and Saville-Troike (1989) introduce ‘communicative competence’. “What a speaker needs to know in order to be able to communicate appropriately within a particular speech community” is what ‘communicative competence’ is meant to be.

While Stern (1983, p.229) defines communicative competence as “the intuitive grasp of social and cultural rules and meanings that are carried by any utterances” this tends to show similarity to Chomsky’s grammatical definition in its application (Liddicoat, 2002b, p.10). Therefore, the definition of communicative competence is updated by introducing the following terms that are used interchangeably in the literature: ‘intercultural competence’ (Buttjess and Byram, 1991; Liddicoat, 2002b), ‘transnational communicative competence’ (Baumgratz, 1987) and ‘cultural competence’ (Nostrand, 1991).

The conceptualization of interculturality in relation to language proficiency requires analysis of 'intercultural competence' (Liddicoat et al., 2002, p.10). Developing an ability to 'decentre' is trying to understand your own assumptions from the perspective of 'the other' lies at the heart of Byram's publication, entitled 'Teaching and Assessing Intercultural Communicative Competence' (1997).

Sercu et al. (2005) and Bennett (2009) explain interculturality as a willingness to communicate with the people of another culture with a self-awareness and ability to view oneself from outside by stepping out from his/her shell. This suggests overcoming issues regarding stereotypes and prejudice (Byram and Risager, 1999, p.91). The fundamental aim here is to encourage learners of the target culture/language to find not only differences but also cultural patterns similar to their own.

As acknowledged by Chomsky and presented in this chapter, although language is formed by codes, foreign language learners develop the skill of forming sentences by forming grammatical sentences. However, foreign language education is beyond solely grammar, but has a cultural baggage. Following Fenner (2008, p.274) one needs to gain cultural competence along with linguistic competence. What happens in this post-conflict context is that there is a tendency to teach the language of former enemy as solely grammar. What underpins this is political conflict and the association of language with its native speakers. Therefore, language has a political role to play based on contextual dynamics.

A CoE guide book produced for teachers by Byram, Gribkova and Starkey (2002, p.9) put the following question: “What is ‘the intercultural dimension’ in language teaching? and Byram et al. begin their answer by stating that, “When two people talk to each other...”, where they stress that when two people converse, their talk goes beyond linguistic interaction. Their emphasis is on the role of ‘social identities’ that “are [an] unavoidable part of the social interaction between them”. The scholars’ second important remark is that interlocutors view each other as representative of the national culture of the foreign/second language they speak. In case of Cyprus, the spoken language is either Greek or Turkish to a great extent and social identity refers to Greekness or Turkishness (the other = enemy). In such a case, expecting the language learner to imitate the native speaker may not be realistic. As described, Cypriotness as an identity is a politically controversial issue. So, in such a context with political asymmetries the native speaker model tends to be a problematic for Cyprus or other societies with conflict. So, there is a need to use the concepts like ‘national speaker’ loosely when it comes to discuss the learner, target language and language learning context as target language may be the language of the former enemy and the purpose of language learning is security rather than integration or national representation of foreign/second language.

In this regard, elements such as identity, ethnicity and religion are some of divisive elements form the dynamics of a particular context that influence intergroup relations in multicultural contexts such as Cyprus. Nevertheless, bringing intercultural dimension into education in general and language education in particular for raising awareness on ‘intercultural citizenship’ (Byram, 2008) seem to partly fit in the context

of Cyprus. In this view, engagement with important issues related to environment, political or historical conflicts (Porto and Yolita, 2017) enable students to gain knowledge, competence, develop skills, language proficiency and learn about the 'intercultural speaker'. As proposed as a model activity by Rauschert and Byram (2017 in Byram and Wagner, 2018, p. 147), students can study an environmental issue in their community and in the target community and go beyond the classroom by conducting survey outside and get actively involved with issues affecting their immediate community.

Adopting a particular model that fit in a particular researched context is very much related to the dynamics of language learning context/classroom (political sensitivities and tolerance as well as desire of students in talking about the target community=former enemy through language class, teachers skills of managing in-class conflict and involving peace education into language class) and the socio-political context. While there is undoubtedly a case for sustained study of 'otherness', and of cultural and ideological traditions in the language of the learner (e.g. the study of Zen philosophy in English) these studies are not likely to be as behaviour changing as the study of cultural traditions in the language which produced them would be, (e.g. the study of Zen philosophy primarily in Japanese), provided of course that the study of culture in the target language uses an intercultural approach to language/culture learning.

3.11 Peace-oriented curriculum through an intercultural dimension in education

Reflecting on the literature reviewed, it is seen that language policy development for reconciliation in conflict affected context is highly complex and there are many factors. Of these are post-conflict curriculum is highly important since on one hand “the historic enemy’ is represented thoroughly across the curriculum in different school subjects (e.g. history, geography) and on the other hand, as in the case of Cyprus, the language of the other is offered as part of confidence building measure and reconciliation with the historic enemy. This contradiction in the curriculum may create source of tension in practice at various levels. Therefore, there is a need to adopt a peace-oriented curriculum throughly. The notion of peace education is exceedingly evasive and complex. According to Danesh (2006, p.55), peace is based on the concept that “peace is, at once, a psychological, social, political, ethical and spiritual state with its expressions in intrapersonal, interpersonal, intergroup, international and global areas of human life”. There are four prerequisites for successful peace education: a unity-based world view, culture of healing, culture of peace, and peace-oriented curriculum. In the Integrative Peace Education (ITP) model, some of the conceptual elements of the ITP will be adopted. However, first I will visit peace education in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) regarding their experience of introducing the principles and practices of Education for Peace (EFP) into the curriculum and the operation of BiH schools.

Although there is a great interest in peace education, programmes informed by peace educations vary, based on their conceptual and practical objectives, where

emphasis is placed on different modules of curriculum that may vary from context to context. According to Salomon (2002, p.4), there are four categories of peace education:

- peace education 'mainly as a matter of changing mind-set'
- peace education 'mainly as a matter of cultivating a set of skills'
- peace education as 'mainly a matter of promoting human rights (particularly in Third World countries)'
- peace education as a 'matter of environmentalism, disarmament, and the promotion of a culture of peace'.

Ten goals of effective peace education are identified by Harris (2002, p.20):

to appreciate the richness of the concept of peace; to address fears; to provide information about security systems; to understand violent behaviour; to develop intercultural understanding; to provide for a future orientation; to teach peace as a process; to promote a concept of peace accompanied by social justice; to stimulate a respect for life; and to end violence.

Although there is discussion in the literature regarding the absence of an agreed approach to peace, this is not only due to conflict and war across the world but also the power of education that plays as a springboard for ideologies where the curriculum is used as a tool for diffusing ideology through knowledge. Following Dewey (1897, pp.77-80), "education is the fundamental method of social progress and reform". Therefore, choosing conflict or peace as the orientation of the curriculum is important.

Every new generation has been raised through conflict-based perspectives since the beginning of mankind. According to Firer (2002, p.55), what underpins the view that peace education is a challenging task are the continuous conflict, violence and war issues that have always informed pedagogies and approaches to teaching youngsters and adults. So, the family and school contexts introduce conflict-based views as the culture of otherness, conflict, competition, aggression, bullying and violence. The culture of conflict is supported when students are exposed to these concepts through textbooks and teachers in the school environment.

There are various components of curriculum that can be used as a tool for teaching monolithic narratives of the past. History and history textbooks play a major role in such education. Similarly, literature lessons are used to deliver the same process in a dramatic and emotional way. Apart from social science classes, biology classes are important since they are about existence. However, prominence is given mostly to survival and struggle at all stages of life. Issues regarding coexistence, interdependence and cooperation are underestimated, although these are the fundamental elements of life. It is through social science school subjects that students learn about foreignness and otherness (Danesh, 2006, p.55).

Northern Ireland is a major context with decades-old issues between Protestants and Catholics, where the conflict is religious. Promoting change and encouraging the younger generation to question the traditional sectarian values of their homes is a challenging task as discussed in conflict-affected contexts. Reviewing the peace efforts in education in Northern Ireland, Duffy (2000, p.26) comes to the conclusion

that “it is difficult to be optimistic about the long-term possibilities of promoting change”, unless a “dynamic model of education” is introduced. According to Duffy (ibid.), given the efforts and financial support, approaches to peace education in Northern Ireland are not satisfactory. According to Danesh (2006, p.58), “a comprehensive programme of peace education should constitute the foundation and provide the framework for all curricula in schools everywhere”.

Another conflict-affected context, where education has become a springboard of promoting a conflict-based worldview, is Cyprus. Given the long history of conflict between Greek and Turkish Cypriots, with hostility and hatred toward each other, there are some positive signs that awareness is rising regarding the need for a change in approach to education. In fact, the EU, CoE and integration into the world through these world systems along with the peace process have played an important role. As discussed thoroughly in this thesis, after partial lifting of borders and opening of some check-points across the divide on 23 April 2004, a demand for a new approach in education delivered within the framework of peace principles was voiced by those who support long-lasting peace. Initiatives have been taken by Home for Cooperation (H4C), and the Association of Historical Dialogue and Research Centre (AHDR). Regarding the promotion of peace in education, the AHDR has become a home for many students and teachers across the divide since 2003 for promoting history education as a vehicle for peace education in Cyprus. Although AHDR is not well known in education, a number of teachers and students have got together at the buffer zone since the beginning of this project. However, neither in the North nor in the South are efforts for peace education sufficient, and the political aspect of

peace education is still an obstacle for bringing radical changes across the curriculum.

An absence of the principles of peace within the curriculum still exists in Cyprus. While the introduction of Greek and Turkish as optional school subjects is an important step, the revision of history books in the North in 2005-06 opened up critical debates. A Rightist political view claimed that removing the past in the textbooks would raise a generation without knowledge of their enemies and what they did to the students' ancestors. Nevertheless, the use of the new textbooks continued until a Rightist government came back to administration in 2010.

The removal of prejudicial elements against Palestinians for Israelis and vice versa was an issue in Israel in the late 1990s. While authorities in Palestine agreed to clear textbooks of all prejudicial elements against Israel, a lack of fulfilment of this commitment was observed by an Israeli in 1999 and this had a negative contribution to the Israeli-Palestinian relationship. This suggests that there is a need to make a mutual initiative at all times in order not to pave the way towards another ambiguity.

Based on my review of its website and one-to-one interviews with ministry officials, the MoEC had no reference to optional Greek language education in the curriculum. While in the North there were efforts in the period up to EU accession and during the Annan Plan referendum, as explained before, history curricula and textbooks were revised in the North. However, as Johnson (2007, p.29) explains, efforts regarding a review of history curricula and texts in the South slowed down after defeat of the Annan Plan in 2004 parallel to ethnocentric and nationalistic sentiments. The

Ministry of Education postponed the review and official work toward history textbooks, though has signed up to the CoE's call for history textbooks to be reviewed. Although the MoEC of the multi-coalition government (appointed since 07 January 2018) in the north seem to make peace-oriented political acknowledgements, there is no system-wide curricular implementation of components of peace education (for instance: citizenship education, textbook revision) relevant to literature. Of course, educational changes require political will, time and budget allocated particularly for development and implementation of peace education.

Bridging the societal divide through education is challenging, as those proposing a change face resistance from traditionalists. There is a tendency to retain the status quo in the name of preserving cultural heritage and national identity. This is what happens in Northern Ireland and Cyprus. This happened very recently in Cyprus after a proposal was given to the parliament by a far-right party, proposing the introduction of 'OXI-NO' day for celebrating the establishment of 'Ethniki Organosis Kipriakou Agonos' (EOKA) at schools, meaning Greek National Organization of Cypriot Struggle, established in 1954. This proposal opened up heated debates and received a negative response from the majority of TCY authorities and those who support peace in Cyprus across the divide. The negotiation talks were shaken by this proposal in the midst of a critical phase of the negotiation process while trying to find a solution and bring lasting peace. Therefore, the cycle of events keeps conflict living and dynamic.

Kruvant (1996, p.13) explains the cycle of the conflict. In Kruvant's continuum, phases in the continuum are from non-violence to violence. At the first phase, there is a harmony (absence of conflicting interests); this continues with durable peace (high degree of cooperation addressing conflicting interests); followed by 'stable peace' or 'cold' war (clear tension and episodic violence); and the last phase of the continuum is crisis (open confrontation). Thus, "the life cycle of a conflict progresses from harmony or durable peace, to crisis and wars, to return gradually to durable peace or harmony (Kruvant, 1996, p.19).

Based on the stages of peace or conflict, a peace or conflict resolution programme applicable in one context may not be applicable in another (Rampton & Charalambous, 2012; Reimers & Chung, 2013). Therefore, what happens in educational institutions requires exploration. As far as conflict and peace are concerned, there is an assumption that "the maintenance of peace requires understanding the relationships between education and conflict and to identify ways in which education institutions contribute to conflict at each of the particular stages of this continuum" (Reimers and Chung, 2013, p.505). Therefore, what they suggest is that human rights education must be relevant at all stages of education no matter whether it is during peace or open war.

According to Johnson and Stewart (2007, in Reimers & Chung, 2013), the socio-historical contexts and education that lead to violent conflict are linked together. Referring to Marshall (2007), Reimers and Chung (2013, p.506) state that of 110 conflicts around the world in the last two decades, 45 conflicts were ethnicity based.

Among these are in Rwanda, Northern Ireland, Sudan, the Kurdish problem in Turkey, the Cyprus question, and the Former Yugoslavia in which we observe ethnicity-based conflicts and violence. The educational system is influenced by the troubled history.

As I have pointed out, language and ethnicity are interrelated. Language on the other hand has various roles to play in education. Language as a component of peace-oriented curriculum, we observe that there are many bilingual immersion programmes aiming to reduce prejudice and discrimination and intended to spread intercultural awareness, the linguistic rights of minorities or recognise one another as brother rather than other (br-other). Therefore, these programmes intend to develop students' intergroup contact and make a change in attitude and behaviour (Genesee & Gandara, 1999, p.665). Nevertheless, language as a single school subject is not enough to play as a vehicle for peace education. De-construction of the whole in education through structural changes and reforms in History, geography, language of each other is a must in bringing an interdisciplinary approach to education for a change.

3.11.1 Local study - Cyprus

Although there is limited research into language policy in education for peace, often the existing literature gives an insight into what happens in classrooms in the Greek Cypriot education system. Charalambous, Yiota Charalambous, and Rampton (2008; 2010; 2015) are among the prominent scholars researching language

crossing, language and identity/ethnicity in Cyprus. However, researching inter-ethnic relations from psychological perspectives in Northern Cyprus is limited to only a few studies.

In Charalambous' (2009) ethnographic study, in 2009 in the GCY school settings with Turkish language secondary school lessons and adult afternoon students, Charalambous observed adults in general, who deliberately attended these classes, which was seen as a sign of adults' "opposition to nationalist discourses". However, Charalambous's observation is that "the dominance of Hellenocentrism in formal education had a very significant impact, and the history of conflict was salient as a constant backdrop" (in Charalambous & Rampton, 2012, p.197). In her research, Charalambous (2009; 2012, p.197) finds that Greek Cypriot students' representation of the other was negative, showing resistance toward their teacher when he attempted to introduce positive representations. When we look at the researcher's observations from' outside the classroom we learn that the Turkish language teacher Mr. A was exposed to negative comments by fellow teachers, family, and friends in his social circle. The students also revealed that they are viewed as "traitors" by some people around them since the language they choose to learn is known as "the language of the enemy".

Based on her observations, Charalambous (ibid.) points to the complication of this situation as far as language pedagogy is concerned. Based on her experience in the field, researching Turkish as a former enemy language in the GCY context, Charalambous (2010, p.5) claims that

the teacher could not endorse traditional discourses of inter-ethnic hostility, as these would construct Turkish as the language of the enemy. But at the same time, explicit talk of reconciliation would generate negative reactions from the students and was likely to be seen as introducing political bias.

The strategy for teacher development was to “disassociate the language from its speakers and its cultural context, as well as from the political situation on the island” (Charalambous & Rampton, 2012, p.199). During the observed 32 hours, the teacher forbade political discussion. Discussion of any cultural aspect of the language was avoided, and grammar, vocabulary and reading were the basic elements of the language taught during the course. As explained by Charalambous (2012, p.198), the teacher referred to Turkish and Turkish Cypriots only four times in the hours observed. The teacher’s reference to Turkish Cypriots was only to point out that since they do not have any contact with Turkish Cypriots, they can learn this language in the class, and that language is best learnt either through studying it or when living among people speaking that particular language, as in the case of learning English while living in England.

3.11.2 Other conflict-ridden contexts

Bekerman (2005) undertook research in two Israeli schools where an ‘egalitarian bilingual educational environment for Palestinian and Jewish children’ prevails. Bekerman (2005) investigated “whether peace education in an isolated context, such as school, can achieve goals of tolerance and recognition of otherness” (Bekerman,

2005, p.235). The previous research findings suggest that young children have negative representation and attitudes towards “the other” as a result of what they learn from their environments (Abbink & Aboud, 1987 cited in Bekerman, 2005 and Bekerman, 2005, p.238). In his research, Bekerman (2005, p.241) points out that “the ones needing to be educated for peace” are adults (Bekerman, 2005, p.241). He goes further and also brings attention to the fact that peace education needs to continue after school and reach beyond the school walls, “the worst-case scenario ... allows for the replication of an unjust and unpeaceful world, but this time under the banner of repair, amendment and reform” (Bekerman, 2005, p.240). As in the case of Cyprus (Charalambous & Rampton, 2012, p.203), Israeli and Hebrew parents and relatives view the other as the enemy and they disagree with the idea of bilingual schooling (Bekerman 2005, p.11). This is considered as “joining with the enemy”. Another complexity with integrated or bilingual schooling is the inequality of status of Hebrew and Arabic due to the dominance of one language over the other.

The students’ linguistic achievements are affected by the Israeli and Palestinian parents’ expectations since Hebrew retains a higher prestige among the public than Arabic (Bekerman, 2005; 2004). As Charalambous and Rampton (2012, p.203) put it, “for Palestinian parents, the schools offered their children access to an education in Hebrew that could improve their future socioeconomic position, whereas for Israeli parents, Arabic was seen as ‘a worthwhile addition but not necessarily an essential one’, their main concern being to “bring the two people together” (in Bekerman and Horenczyk, 2004, p.394).

3.11.2.1 The case of Macedonia and Albania

Tankersly (2001, p.107-124) informs us about the role of integrated language programmes and schooling in bringing together Macedonian and Albanian kindergarten students. Established by the 'Common Ground Foundation in Macedonia', it aims to enable Albanian and Macedonians to interact and improve their relations.

As in the case of Israelis and Palestinians and Turkish and Greek Cypriots, the Kosovo war in 1999 in the Balkans between Macedonians and Albanians was due to ethnic conflict between these ethnically and linguistically different groups. There is unequal power between Macedonians and Albanians. Tankersley (2001) gives us insight into how to structure "bilingual programmes that build community between language groups where there exists an unequal power structure between the two languages" (p.107). However, in this model of bilingualism, it is observed that a way for dialogue and a positive view of one another was made possible through the use of both languages in the classroom and by creating an atmosphere in which to discuss the conflict between Macedonians and Albanians. In this case, we again see that the power and prestige of a particular language is influential on students' desire to choose it to learn. Therefore, as in this case, it requires creating a learning environment that gives peace a chance and equal status to both languages, as was achieved by teachers working in this bilingual immersion programme (Tankersley, 2001, p.117).

Ethnically rooted conflicts in Cyprus between Greek and Turkish Cypriots, and Arabs and Jews in Israel, and conflict rooted in religion between Protestants and Catholics in Northern Ireland, are some of the major challenges that need to be resolved through reconciliation and trust building. Thus, it appears to me that while Greek Cypriots' stored knowledge of France or Britain are more likely to be of a prestigious French or British culture, it is not the same with Turkish or Turkish Cypriots, and vice versa. Taking into account the root of conflicts in these countries and in the countries where the native population and expatriates have a neutral past, seems to bring pros and cons into the implementation process of intercultural education. Therefore, it should be highlighted that intercultural education aims to have a different role in a multi-religious/lingual context in London or France compared with those in Macedonia, Cyprus and Israel.

Coulby (2006) highlights the vitality of interculturalism, and that teaching and learning of all subjects needs to be informed by intercultural education from kindergarten to university in order to prevent 'nationalist' and 'religious' fundamentalism across the education for peace. As discussed elsewhere in this chapter, Cyprus is one of the important polities in which to explore the process and consequences of nationalistic education systems as xenophobic and stereotyping (Psaltis and Chakal, 2018; Cirali, 2016).

As I stated earlier, what makes the implementation of intercultural education as part of peace education difficult is that unique history of every country; politically

speaking, different intra and interrelations between countries, and local practices. Raised in a multiplicity of contexts under different socio-political circumstances, each individual has a view of the other. This multiplicity in the views from cultural backgrounds brings different elements into any proposed model. Consequently, this brings theoretical and practical complexities in theorizing a research study in or building an intercultural education curriculum for a particular context.

Given the fact that the implementation of intercultural education for peace is based on normative standards, what is common in many countries is a (political) desire or need to prevent xenophobia and racism. In recent decades in Europe, the number of countries showing interest in intercultural education has increased, especially after the fall of Berlin Wall, the break-up of the Soviet Union, and the expansion of the EU in 2003/4 (CoE, EU docs, reports, Byram & Zarate). Coulby (2006) states that expansion of the EU and developments in policy and practice have been in cooperation with the emergence of theoretical and educational interests in intercultural education. He builds on this and also states that educational policy makers take into consideration the importance of interculturalism in various aspects of education (2006, p.247). While in the Southern part of Cyprus a start has undoubtedly been made, it is necessary to develop political proposals into practice in the northern part of Cyprus. As I have pointed out, language as a component of peace-oriented curriculum has a societal dimension and I will discuss its role under the second language acquisition theories next.

3.12 Conceptual frameworks

My conceptual framework is informed by second language learning theories and my own conceptual understanding of the language of the former enemy in a post-conflict context. Since the components of the curriculum across the divide lacks elements of peace education and is heavily informed by conflict-affected understanding of education, the de-escalation of hatred through education lies at the heart of the chosen framework. Informed by theories of SLL, the interdisciplinary aspect of this research and the dynamics shaping educational policies regarding the language of the former enemy requires borrowing and combining some concepts from sociocultural theories of language learning, where I will look at various roles of the language of the former enemy and its relation to identity, emotions, and learners' view of language as cultural capital. One of the targets of this research is to inform current policy by exploring what happens in practice when language as a school subject is introduced into a conflict-affected curriculum and school environment, therefore the absence of a curriculum informed by peace education is an important missing piece to success. As discussed in the previous section, language, especially the language of the former enemy in post-conflict contexts, is societal, political and psychological. Since the sociocultural approach pays attention to the influence of the context and views identity as an important entity during language learning, I put forward my argument for adopting the sociocultural approach and its elements while setting out my conceptual framework.

3.12.1 Sociocultural theories of language learning

There are multiple approaches in the literature to discuss and research SLL. Sociocultural understanding, derived from Vygotsky's work, focuses attention on to the social nature of human development and views the learning process as part of this process. Although Vygotsky's work was about first language learning, SLL theories are heavily influenced by the Vygotskian school of thought. Mediation is a key notion in his work, where an individual is in charge of controlling his/her relationships with himself/herself and his/her environment for interpersonal (social interaction) and intrapersonal (thinking) by using cultural and historical tools. Thus, those in interaction engage in conversation for culturally valued activities by using cultural tools (Lantolf, 2000, p.8). All in all, SLA studies are frequently informed by sociocultural theories no matter whether their orientation is psychological (Lantolf & Thorne, 2006; Swain et al. 2010), or anthropological and sociological (Kostogriz & Tsolidis, 2008; Toohey & Norton, 2010). In sociocultural theory, learners belong to social and historical collectivities in which language learning is no longer a stable system but a dynamic process. Therefore, conditions conducive to learning a particular language and the potential challenges that create issues of access for learners are important while undertaking research under this framework.

As language and its context are interrelated in this theoretical framework, according to Van Lier's view, context defines language and language is defined by the context in which it exists. Following Bakhtin, "language had no independent existence outside of its use, and that usage was of course social". Duranti and Goodwin (1992) and many other social researchers share the view of Bakhtin, and as Noels et al.

(2012, p.55) explain, understanding language and context is a complex phenomenon and if people have access to those languages in which they are competent, they can be able to engage in conversations and position themselves. Since language has a political and social dimension (Bourdieu 1977, p.648, in Noels, 2012, p.55) structuring a discourse is also related to power. Since language is inextricably linked to context and context is linked to language, in socio-cultural investigation, language and its relation to power and dynamics of power such as ethnicity and identity are all seem to be related.

3.12.2 Identity and SLA

The social psychological theories of intergroup dynamics and sociocultural perspectives inform the role of identity in language learning and intercultural communication (Zuengler & Miller, 2006). According to the sociocultural perspective, language is viewed as a vehicle for “achieving social and psychological ends and hence as a resource for managing everyday activities, including the negotiation of identities” (Noels et. al., 2011, p.54). Another important point is the role of language, identity and intercultural communication in understanding the power dynamics during interaction “where one or both parties must use a language they have not yet mastered” (ibid.).

In the Vygotskyan/social-historical perspective, the emphasis comes from the individual-society relationship along with cultural artifacts created for understanding individual and collective human development. In this view, learning is a socially and culturally mediated process and this is how an individual gains autonomy. As

individuals interact with their environments, they gain fuller control of their environments and themselves. Therefore, competence in L2 and use of it for conversation is a mediation, which leads one to a “renewed or additional identity for an individual” (Lantol & Throne, 2006, in Noels, 2011, p.55).

The issue of identity and language learning has been taken up by Block (2007), Norton (2000) and Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004), informed by Bourdieu’s (1977) conceptualization of cultural and symbolic capital. In this conceptualization of identity, there is an emphasis on symbolic imbalances among those holding a conversation along with the right to speak. What is very important and fits into this research in particular is that, according to the poststructuralist view, “language is not a neutral medium of communication, and the value of speech cannot be separated from who uses it”. In this view, the social positioning of the individual is highly influential on the way speech is used and understood. In this conceptualization of identity, while language negotiates identities during conversation, identity is re-constructed through interactions within the social world, as it is not a fixed identity.

The Cypriot researcher Maria Hajipavlo’s (2003) research on the issue of collective identity has shown that a great number of people define themselves as “Cypriot” [in the South]. According to her, this is a promising change in people’s understanding of identity as it indicates “a hopeful shift in the sense that people now relate more to the land and geography of Cyprus than to ‘motherlands (e.g: Greece)”. In Hadjipavlo’s understanding, “the new citizenship should be built on relatedness and

in conversation with, rather than competition and domination of, one group over the other. In Hadjipovlo's view, identities are in a state of constant transformation.

3.12.3 SLA, investment and motivation

Most studies of motivation view it as a stable characteristic of a language learner. According to these studies, a learner's success or failure is related to their degree of motivation and it has been hypothesized that (in)sufficient motivation to study the target language determines success or failure. What is underestimated in these studies were, as found by Norton Pierce (1995) and Norton (2010), the power relation of the language learner and target language speaker. Norton's finding confutes the view that high motivation results in 'good' language learning. What Norton (2000, 2010) found in her learners was that "unequal relations of power between language learners and target language speakers were often salient". Therefore, as Pierce Norton (1995) and Norton (2010) conclude, developing "knowledge, credentials, and modes of thought that characterize different classes and groups" form the construct of 'investment'. Investment, suggesting economic metaphors, is associated particularly with the studies of Bourdieu, where he used the term 'cultural capital'. According to Norton, the learner invests in the target language in particular times and contexts given the futuristic value of competency in a foreign language. Thus, an individual may increase the value of their cultural capital through acquisition of various languages' symbolic and material resources.

3.12.4 Language and emotions in post-conflict contexts

A review of Modern Foreign Language (MFL, hereafter) literature shows that mostly the relation of 'learners' emotions' to 'language production' are researched in SLA. As viewed by Charalambous (2013, p.310), foreign language creates a space where learners "construct different emotional experiences and negotiate different identities and different emotional stances towards their own and the target community and culture". Charalambous's emphasis on the role of MFL is highly critical and important when MFL means the language of the former enemy in a post-conflict context as in that of Arabic and Hebrew in Israel or Turkish and Greek in Cyprus.

According to Pavlenko (2012, p.462) there is a societal level to multilingualism. In the same vein, those in sociolinguistic research underline that language has a power to represent ethnic identity, in addition to its cultural aspect. What is important regarding a foreign language from a sociolinguistic perspective is that research in this field show that "a sense of sameness and difference" make people find linguistic and cultural patterns through language that give them strong attachments.

As mentioned initially, putting an intercultural dimension into MFL suggests that language learning gives learners the opportunity to gain access to the culture of the target language and creates a space for intercultural citizenship (Porto et al, 2017p; Porto and Yulita, 2017). In Byram's (1997) and Phipps and Gonzales' (2007) view, learners go through various emotions, make meanings and construct knowledge about the language and culture. As highlighted thoroughly, language, culture and its socio-political context does not take place in a vacuum. Therefore, in the conflict-

affected context of Cyprus, learners' emotions, meanings they employ to the target language and what underpins their motivation to learn it is in the scope of this research.

As claimed by Norton (1995, p.5), the conceptualization of the relationship between the language learner and the social world has been difficult for the SLA theorists. What underpins their struggle to conceptualize it from an SLA perspective was due to the absence of a comprehensive theory of social identity blended in the language learner and language learning context. In addition to this relationship, the attention paid to power relations, affecting interaction between the language learner and target language speakers in SLA theories is not sufficient. Norton (1995) prefers reconceptualizing "the individual" by drawing on "the poststructuralist conception of social identity as multiple, a site of struggle, and subject to change" to explain the findings from her study (p.5). Additionally, she proposes a conception of "investment" instead of "motivation" when explaining the "complex relationship of language learners to the target language" and their equivocal aspiration to speak it.

Given the role of emotions between GCY and TCY due to ethnic conflict, and the growing body of literature on the interplay between language learning and emotions, it seems that the theorization of a conceptual framework in the context of Cyprus requires the involvement of emotions as one of the important concepts, where hatred and enmity play an important role and security is an issue at all stages of life in Cyprus. Learners' desire to learn a language for the purpose of investing their future on the condition of a potential solution in Cyprus, on the other hand, suggest that

Norton's (1995) claim on using the term "investment" rather than "motivation" fits in this context.

3.13 Summary

It is through education that our views are profoundly influenced and shaped. As discussed thoroughly in this chapter, ideologies are channelled through education. Various components of the curriculum, especially history education, are used to serve its society in transferring knowledge about the past. The fundamental aim, in Johnson's (2007, p.27) view, is transferring its history and shaping its future. In the researched context, while there is a reservation to reform history education, the language of former enemy has been introduced into the conflict-affected curriculum as a political lip service.

Reviewing the literature, we see that in the contexts where there is a negative peace as in the case of Cyprus, the implementation of language programmes for bridging the gaps between societies is challenging, politically charged and requires great endeavour as well as educational reform across the curriculum. As Shohamy (2003, p.) puts it, while policy makers intend to take a step towards introducing the language of the other, their promises usually stay in theory as a political gesture as a promise in limbo. Building on Shohamy's view, the flow of political agendas, hidden and heavy political dis(agreements) within and between the countries in conflict change the pace of these steps towards reconciliation and peace.

The literature, though limited, gives us insight into what is happening in the current context as far as education is concerned. Although there are socio-political initiatives

towards reconciliation and peace-building, the challenge is developing and implementing intercultural education in a divided country as communities in conflict have not reached a long-lasting political agreement.

Influenced by its context, researching the role and place of language of the former enemy in post-conflict curriculum and theorizing such complex issues related to language, identity, learner and context requires an interdisciplinary approach in SLA. I have reviewed various ideas and concepts in the field of language planning and policy with a particular attention to foreign language issues in a post-conflict context. As part of the cultural and political aspects of language education, I visited some trends in language policy and intercultural dimension in language education. It is seen that language policy, planning and implementation are a challenging task, requiring positive political context for a change. Since each polity is guided and shaped around various factors and dynamics, there is no single model to apply and treat language policy issues. Understanding polity-based dynamics preventing progress in policy implementation requires exploring and understanding what happens in practice. It is understood that scant attention was given to the conflict-affected context of Cyprus regarding peace education and the de-escalation of hatred and enmity along with the societal dimension of learning the language of the former enemy. Although the language of the other community has been introduced across the divide, it does not seem true to claim that progress has been gained in promoting Greek and Turkish sufficiently.

As I argued thoroughly in this thesis, there is a gap in the literature, reviewing the language policy and the case in a bi-communal empirical research. Therefore, there is a need for further investigation into the case of Greek and Turkish in public education across the divide. Although there is a gap in bi-communal independent studies, the existing literature is mostly related to history education given the fact that history has a fundamental role in education, whereas language is one of the elements in the curriculum that can be used as a complementary piece within the curriculum, informed by peace education.

Having reviewed some of the post-conflict context in different parts of the world together with theoretical justifications, I draw my conceptual framework on sociocultural theory since context is a prominent factor in language learning. In addition to this, the political dimension of language is emphasized and the power relation of interlocutors as target language learner and language speaker are elements that have been distinguished.

Chapter Four: Methodology

4.1 Introduction

This chapter concerns my research design and methodology. The intention in this chapter is to introduce the audience to the guiding principles and chosen methodology for the present study. I will discuss my rationale and methodological stance with regard to particular aspects of data collection and data analysis methods, research participants and the research field sites. Here, I also discuss the ontological and epistemological approach underpinning this study. This is followed by a discussion of the robustness and trustworthiness of this study, the ethical considerations in undertaking a research study in the conflict-ridden context of Cyprus, and how I planned to deal with some anticipated problems that may arise during the research process. Further details are given in Appendices 2, 3, 4 regarding ethics and the participants' interview excerpts.

4.2 Objectives of the study

The general purpose of the current study is to research Turkish and Greek language students and teachers' experience of learning and teaching each other's languages in practice, explore potential to bring intercultural dimension into language of each other education, understand obstacles and challenges for language policymaking in the post-conflict context and its implications for peace education in the future.

This study will attempt to achieve the following objectives:

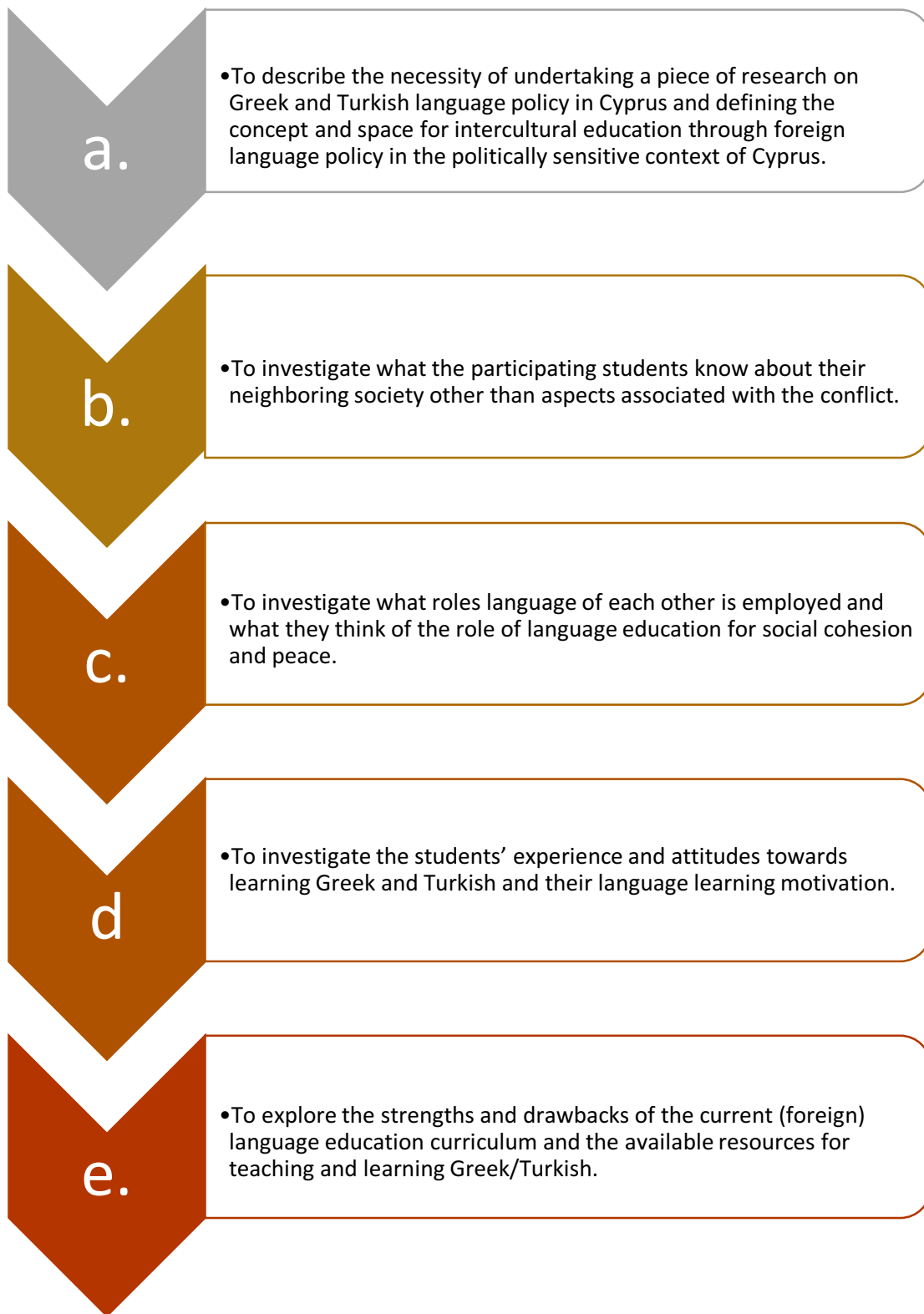


Figure 4.1: Objectives of the Study

4.2.1 Research questions

Based on the aims and objectives of the study and its theoretical framework, the specific research questions have been formulated to ask the participants as follows:

- 1- What are obstacles to promotion of Greek and Turkish language across the divide in Cyprus?
- 2- What roles and functions has language played in its socio-historical context in Cyprus?
- 3- What is the value of learning language of historic enemy, Greek and Turkish in the post-conflict context of Cyprus?
- 4- Is there a potential for bringing intercultural dimension in language education as part of peace education?
- 5- What are the implications to the current policy and practice of introducing the language of the historic enemy into public education as an element of *rapprochement*?

4.3 Philosophical perspective

There are number of reasons play as a driving force in conducting educational research. The research should be considered as a “systematic method of gaining new information, or a way to answer questions” (Glinear and Morgan, 2000, p.4). In this systematic and controlled enquires, as defined by Cohen et al. (2000; 2007) or MacKenzie and Knipe (2006) it is aimed to improve practice. This requires adopting theoretical framework which is a “basic structure of the ideas that serve as the basis or a phenomenon that is to be investigated” (Lester, 2005, p.458). The researcher’s

theoretical perspective to conceptualise and choice of methods to conduct the research will allow creation of knowledge under investigation. Educational research is influenced by various philosophical perspectives. Of these, positivist (scientific paradigm) and the interpretivist paradigm (interpretivism) are most known. While the traditional debate was nurtured around the so-called 'the paradigm wars of 1980s', the question of legitimate inquiry, what counts as research and ethical inquiry have been the basic criticism between positivist and interpretivist research. According to Denzin (2017, p.8), there is a need to unsettled those traditional concepts. In Teddlie and Tashakkori's (2003) historical overview at paradigm wars, the wrestle has been between the postpositivist-constructivist versus positivism (1970-1990). The paradigm shift from 1990-2005 to the conflict between post-positivist, constructivist, and critical theory paradigms. Since 2005, the current paradigmatic conflict is between evidence-based methodologists, the mix-methods, interpretative and critical theory school (Denzin, 2017, p. 10). I will overview the most common conflict among the paradigms and justify my choice for employing interpretative paradigm.

4.3.1 Theoretical paradigm

As described, educational research like other scientific inquiries are based on underpinning philosophical assumptions. The adopted research paradigm guides the research venture. Originated from a Greek word 'paradeigma', meaning pattern, was first introduced by Thomas Kuhn in 1962, in a book called *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (Mertens, 2012, p.255). In Kuhn's (1977) understanding 'paradigm' refers to "a set of beliefs, values, and assumptions", which is a shared

belief by a scientific researcher community. In Guba and Lincoln's (2005) understanding, paradigm is a worldview that reflects assumptions underlying the research question and researcher's view about the reality and methodology. Assumptions regarding ethics and epistemology are two categories added by Guba and Lincoln in constitution of a paradigm. While positivist paradigm stance to answer the truth about the world waiting there to be discovered by conducting quantitative oriented data collection, interpretivist stance enable researchers to adhere to the principles of interpretivism, where individual's or group's construction of experience are researched through qualitative-oriented data collection. Following Bryman (2001, p.106), "the distinction between qualitative and quantitative research perspective is really a technical matter whereby the choice between them is to do with their suitability in answering particular research questions". Following Bryman's suggestion, I chose interpretivist paradigm as my philosophical framework and this paradigm will provide a guidance for my methodological approach.

I am mainly interested in exploring the students and teachers' perceptions, which are socially constructed, of the learning and teaching of the language of the other in the context of a conflict. I hold the view that views are constructed according to sociopolitical changes and attitudes are shaped and re-shaped by what happens in the society. Therefore, an interpretative paradigm is adopted in this exploratory study since this paradigm is also certainly rooted in a human rights agenda and inspires the employing qualitative research accessible for policymaking, policymakers, public education and transformation of the communities (Denzin, 2017, p.8). As Mertens et al (2009, p.89) puts, inequalities are redressed through this paradigm (e.g: critical

qualitative research) and the voices of the least advantaged groups get heard. In this approach, interpretivists base their arguments on the claim that understanding human nature is possible when the researcher understands how the people being researched interpret the world. Guba and Lincoln (1994), Robson (2002), and Woods (1999) share the view that the fundamental aim is discovering the researched population's view on a particular topic. Le Compte and Preissle (1992) state that in the hermeneutic circle, which is commonly accepted as a 'major branch of interpretative philosophy' (Boland, 1985; Gadamer, 1976; Ricoeur, 1998), the conception is that the human being understands "from the whole to the part and back to the whole" (Gadamer, 1976b, p. 117, cited in Klein & Myers, 1999, p. 71). This means that if we want to understand the phenomenon in a particular context, we need to explore it from different perspectives since the parts make the whole and the whole is understood through its parts. Thus, the researcher seeks to get a complex picture from what is referred to as 'the thick descriptions' (Geertz, 1988). While Cresswell (1998, p. 15) uses "a complex, holistic picture", Denzin and Lincoln (1998, p.3) use the term "bricolage", which means "a pieced-together, close-knit set of practices that provide solutions to a problem in a concrete situation".

Weber (2004) explains that interpretivists hold the belief that reality and the observer cannot be separated. Those interpretivists explain that, "our perceptions about the world are inextricably bound to a stream of experiences we have had throughout our lives" (Weber, 2004, p.V).

The interpretivist researcher aims to present those socially constructed meanings, which are dependent on his or her interpretation, as theories of human behaviour

(Pring, 2004, p.98; Cohen et al, 2000, p.19). Thus, the belief is that the participant and the researcher create the data collaboratively. While the subjective characteristic reflects 'the perceptions', the objective characteristic indicates the negotiated meanings between the interlocutors. This suggests that there is an intersubjective reality, since the constructed reality is co-constructed by the researcher and the participant (Olesen, 1994).

According to Denzin and Lincoln (1994) and Schwandt (1994), subjectivity lies at the heart of the interpretivist research tradition. The advocates of this approach value this subjectivity as reflexivity in the interpretation. This reflexivity occurs when the researcher accepts and acknowledges the fact that his/her presence in the researched setting may influence the research participants and s/he is aware of the fact that s/he works with the data informed by the participants' constructed realities (Altheide & Johnson, 1994; Atkinson, 2000; Burr, 2000; Marcus, 1994; Punch, 1994; 1998; Vidich & Lyman, 1994, in Canagarajah, 2006). Therefore, rigour has the utmost importance in this research tradition since the data is collected mainly through employing qualitative methods, such as observation and interviews. Researchers have to be very careful in addressing the perceptions of the research participants' social realities and need to avoid reflecting their own ideologies (Holliday, 2001, p.23). Although there are different ways of employing an interpretivist study, my research will employ elements, which are ethnographic in nature. I explain my ontology, epistemology and rationale next.

4.3.1.1 Ontology

Ontology, which refers to the nature of what exists, if it exists at all, is the way the world is viewed (Guba and Lincoln, 2005). In other words, the researcher's 'lenses' that s/he wears in questioning the nature of the reality according to a particular worldview, affect the questions, as well as the possible interpretations of the answers. While some believe that reality is "out there" waiting to be discovered objectively, others believe that reality is socially constructed (Allison & Pomeroy, 2000, p 13). According to Crotty (1998) and some other researchers, ontology and epistemology tend to amalgamate and they emphasize the nature of reality. Whereas, for some researchers like Grix (2004, p.59), an ontological stance is separated from epistemological and methodological stances. Given the inconclusive definitions and understandings of the relation of ontology, epistemology and methodology, my viewpoint in this research is that the ontological assumption is that reality is constructed through the perception and experiences of people. In Creswell's (2013) understanding, there are multiple realities. Therefore, shared meanings and culture play an important role in how a person constructs meaning, since there is a belief that culture and the social world we live in affect our behaviours (Guba & Lincoln, 1994).

Taking into account the nature of my research interest, the political nature of LPP suggests the importance of how people are influenced by the implemented policies and what their attitudes are towards the foreign language based policies in Cyprus. Therefore, the perceived meanings and constructed realities are important in order to understand the LPP and its implications for the society at micro level. This

suggests viewing the reality from a relativist worldview, where in this ontological stance different subjective meanings create multiple realities in the researched context (Guba & Lincoln, 1994, p. 110).

4.3.1.2 Epistemology

As Cohen et al. (2007) and Crotty (1988, p.3; 2003) explain, the epistemology is a way of comprehending and explaining how we know what we know. Guba and Lincoln (1994, pp.110-111) indicate that ontology and epistemology are difficult to differentiate. Guba and Lincoln (1994), along with Tashokkorie and Teddie (2010) are among those who advocate the view that ontology determines the epistemology. In the same vein, Crotty (2003) lists epistemology, theoretical perspective, methodology and methods as elements of research, and claims that these four elements inform one another and appear together (Crotty, 2003, p.4). Whereas, Biesta (2010, p.9; 2015) suggest treating epistemological questions separate from methodology, methods, ontology. John Searle (2000; 2013) sets out the view that ontology can be viewed as a separate entity from epistemology. In this proposed research, paradigmatic structure is linear, as proposed by Guba and Lincoln (1994) and Crotty (1998).

Epistemology refers to the 'nature of the knowledge'. In Blaikie's (2000, p.8) understanding, epistemology is "the theory or science of the method or grounds of knowledge". As Guba and Lincoln (1994) explain, epistemology is inquiry into sources of knowledge. Epistemology can be further described as answering the questions: "What do we know?" and "How it is possible to know about the world?" Creswell (2013) views that epistemology reflects the power and it is also related to

social relationships within the society. Therefore, the society can be improved through construction of knowledge. So, there is a power, knowledge and social relation triangle. While it is difficult to separate individuals from society and historical structures, power captive people (Howell, 2013). While Savage (2007, p.1401) claims that there is no common view on epistemology adopted by ethnographers, on the other hand, Allison and Pomeroy (2000, p.97) explain that researchers employing an ethnographic study usually rest their studies on constructivist epistemology, where the aim is to understand subjective experiences “owned by, or belonging to, the individual and the collective group”. Therefore, in the proposed research, I employed a constructivist epistemology.

While conducting this study, as a researcher I interacted with the research participants. As Guba and Lincoln suggest (1994, p.111), since the collected data is formed from constructions of individuals’ realities, these constructions are interpreted by using “conventional hermeneutical techniques, and are compared and contrasted through a dialectical interchange”, and processed between and among the researchers and participants. Following this premise, I employed interviews (face to face, in-class group interviews) and class observation as bases of data collection. For the data collection, analysis and the presentation of findings please see Appendix 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 respectively.

While reality is constructed individually and socially, observations in the held researches are value laden. Therefore, it could be claimed that the findings are “literally created” (Cohen et al, 2007; Guba and Lincoln, 1994, p. 110). I engaged in the investigation process through a strategy of qualitative data collection, where I

engaged in the investigation process as both interviewer and reporter. Since I am familiar with the research context socially and politically, the research possessed a value-laden aspect of interpretivist epistemology. However, it is possible and necessary to ensure the validity and trustworthiness of the study through clearly defined and explained methodology, as well as robust and ethical research practices. A subjectivist study is considered to be epistemically trustworthy if 'authentic' and 'true voices' are represented (Guba & Lincoln, 1994, p.111).

4.3.2 Methodology

Wellington (1996, p.16) explains 'methodology' as "the activity of choosing and justifying research methods". To Teddie and Tashakkorie (2010, p. 21), a research methodology is an extensive approach to scientific inquiry describing "how research questions should be asked and answered". The methodological orientations are driven by particular worldviews, philosophies, theories and values that form the basis for that particular approach to research (Teddie & Tashakkorie, 2010, p. 21; Somekh and Lewin, 2005, p.346).

In the following sections, I will discuss some issues with regards to elements of ethnographic research in LPP and the interpretative tradition. While introducing certain philosophies and assumptions underpinning qualitative methods, I will highlight the strengths and weaknesses of the chosen approach as well as its fitness for the purpose of this study.

4.4 Research design

Undertaking a robust empirical investigation requires an appropriate research design that fits the purpose. The reason is that whatever the chosen strategy to investigate

the phenomenon is, it is interrelated with every stage of the research. Therefore, to have robust findings requires establishing a coherent whole. This can be possible through defining the purpose of the study: identifying the problem, constructing the questions that enable the researcher to reveal the (hidden) issues in a particular policy and choosing the most appropriate methodology in researching that particular context, collecting, analyzing, interpreting, reporting data and publishing the findings (Punch, 2014; Teddie & Tashakkorie, 2010; Pring, 2004).

In preparing the research project I took an interpretivist stance, meaning that the research was framed by an exploratory methodological approach, which primarily employed interview as a qualitative data collection instrument following the conventions of an interpretive paradigm. Therefore, the research is ethnographic in nature.

4.4.1 Qualitative research in Language Planning and Policy

One of the mainstays of this research is to explore and understand the so-called policy-practice gap in the post-conflict context of Cyprus. Therefore, it is intended to understand how the researched people create, interpret, engage or resist LPP within their contexts based on their ideological and implementation spaces. Exploratory orientation of this research and my research questions required exploring and understanding individuals' and groups' construction of experience. As Bryman (2001) puts it, an interpretivist stance enables researchers to employ qualitative-oriented data collection. In this research, the qualitative strand manifests through group and individual interviews with Turkish and Greek language students, individual interviews with Turkish and Greek language teachers, school heads, a teachers'

union leader, and MoE officials. This gave the opportunity for participants to report their views, attitudes, first-hand experience and narratives with regards to LPP across the divide in their respected communities. In this regard, the interpretivist strand enabled me to slice through layers of ideological and implementational LPP in practice from bottom-up. The interpretivist approach in LPP enabled spaces to uncover indistinct voices, and explore and understand local ideologies and practices that seem to contradict intended policy (Hornberger & Johnson, 2007, in Hornberger et. al, 2018, p.1513; Shohamy, 2006). By following an interpretative paradigm, I gained rich data to understand language planning and policy from the researched population's perspective. I had an emic orientation to language practices. In order to observe what happens in the language classes, I was present in the language learning/teaching settings. This enabled me to have first-hand experience of observing what happens in a particular learning context. As Canagarajah (2006) summarizes, LPP is a top-down practice, where the intention is to comprehend language-related issues. Using a qualitative research strand in LPP, we can explore the community's viewpoints, standpoints and sentiments against LPP activities implemented or injected by the policymakers. The local communities and the contexts where the language policies are implemented have paramount importance in determining the function of the policy within society. That is, the gaps in the policy and practice may be revealed and "the distinct voices and acts of individuals in whose name policies are formulated" are acknowledged (Canagarajah, 2006, p. 154). Therefore, as I discussed in the second chapter, the schools are important places, where language policies are institutionalized, and the students and teachers

take active roles in hindering or facilitating the use of the language offered by the government bodies. My extensive reading and personal experience based on my observations suggests that although it is usually the policymakers who service the language-based policies, it is the members of the society who operationalize, accept or reject the proposed language policy. I observed that instrumental and integrative motives are also influential in their decisions. And, as discussed, language policy has always been shaped and re-shaped in the midst of sociopolitical changes. As I pointed out in the second chapter, although the Greek and Turkish languages were introduced into the school curricula in both parts of the island, there is no documentation in the northern part of the island about what happened after implementation. Since there is a lack of information, it appears that examination of the implementation is a weak point in Cyprus. Therefore, undertaking an empirical research that is qualitative in nature also enabled me to find out what underpins the current weaknesses and strengths of the implemented policy. In this study, the findings can shed light on the current policy and guide us in revising policy and practice for the future.

As Spyrou (2013, p.13) explains, “voice is a central feature of inquiry”. Moreover, accessing and capturing people’s voices through my engagement with their social world and their interpretations is supposed to reflect ‘their truth’ based on their views. In the case of conflict-ridden Cyprus, considering the voices of the community and getting them involved at all stages of the implementation process is important for producing a consistent national policy. This may enhance the communities’ motivation to learn/teach Greek/Turkish languages in schools.

The need to strengthen the spread of the Greek and Turkish languages in educational establishments requires cultivating LPP in Cyprus and bringing an intercultural dimension into education – regional language teaching and learning as a vehicle for dialogue in Cyprus. Therefore, there is a need to understand what status the stakeholders of education give to Greek/Turkish, what they think about the importance of learning the Turkish/Greek languages and in what ways they associate Turkish/Greek with their ethnic identities in the current context of Cyprus.

Following Cohen and Manion (1994, p.36), Creswell (2003), and Yanow and Schwartz-Shea (2011), I intended to discover reality through participants' views, background and experiences. In my research, the school is an important setting where language practice is institutionalized. Therefore, it is important to observe how the policy is put into practice, understand the effect of pedagogy and the curriculum in its implementation, and identify the sensitive matters, if any, that are influential in the given and gained status of the offered language, in this case, Greek and Turkish. In the light of my data I will be able to put forward "recommendations that can make an important contribution to the formation or revision of language policies" (Canagarajah, 2006, p. 159). This also overlaps with Atkinson and Hammersley (1995, p.15) who recommend that qualitative research should seek to bring change to the researched policy through the application of the findings, for strengthening and revising the policy, if needed.

4.4.2 Research participants and sampling

The research was carried out in six Turkish Cypriot schools in the North (Lefke, Omorfo, Kyrenia, north Nicosia (2 schools), and Famagusta regions, as shown on the map), and five Greek Cypriot schools in the South (Pyrgos, south Nicosia (2), Pafhos (2) regions as shown on the map). Excepting the joint school in Lefke, in the North, the rest of the schools were secondary schools. The main participants of the study were students and teachers. I undertook this research with GCY teachers of Turkish in the South and TCY teachers of Greek in the North, and their students, with the purpose of exploring and understanding their experiences of learning the language of the former enemy and their own perceptions of this policy. Since I worked with seven teachers employed to teach Greek in the North, and six teachers employed to teach Turkish in the South, I interviewed 13 teachers in total across the divide.

As recommended by Vaughn et al. (1996, p. 29), the average size for a group interview is 10-12. Although the number of students I interviewed as groups depended on the class sizes, I conducted group interviews with five in some classes in the South and around 10-12 students in the North. Although I was expecting less participation by the time I started this research, having built trust with the interviewees, the number of participants reached 25 in the North and 27 in the South. For the curriculum available in the North, the age of Turkish students learning Greek was 15, who were attending secondary school, and this was the same with the Greek Cypriot students. Since the Greek and Turkish languages had been offered at particular pilot schools since 2004-2005, I gained access to those schools. In this bi-

communal research, the related bodies had been visited at the Ministries of Education on both sides of the island for formal interviews. Although my initial plan was to get a wider picture of the situation by involving the bureaucrats, policymakers and parents of these students both in the northern and southern parts of the island, this did not work as they were busy or did not respond to my invitation. Only a few were available to contribute to my research. Regarding parents, there was only one teacher, Katie, whose student, Maria, requested me to interview her as she was curious about this topic. Maria's mother wanted to join in the interview as an observer to understand what the research was about. While the students and teachers were at the heart of the research, the policymakers and the parents enabled me to collect complementary data, which enriched the overall picture of the research context and provide an important insight into attitudes and behaviours, which are vital for this study.

As Silverman (2001) suggests, purposiveness and accessibility are prioritized as far as the sampling strategy is concerned. Therefore, my sampling strategy was convenience and opportunistic sampling (selecting from whoever happens to be available) while choosing teachers and students for my observations and interviews (Cohen, 2009, p. 176) on both parts of the island. I did, however, use snowball sampling (using the first interviewee to suggest or recommend other interviewees) in guiding me to access families for their complementary views on the researched issue. Patton (1980) says that snowball sampling is important in "sampling politically important or sensitive cases: to draw attention to the case" (cited in Cohen, 2009, p.176). Given the fact that this study is ethnographic in nature, it appears that there

is a cyclical process at all stages of the research (data collection, analysis and reporting). That is, there is a recursive and iterative instead of sequential process (Cohen, 2009, p. 178).

4.5 Data collection methods

As introduced in my research aim and in this section, the nature of LPP makes it necessary to engage in dynamic research. Also, I emphasized the priority given to subjective student and teacher experiences in both parts of the island. Therefore, I focused on one-to-one and group interviews and observations, which had paramount importance in the study in obtaining the data. This way of data collection is usually called the 'emic' perspective, that is, the researcher relies on the 'insider's or native's' perspective (Atkinson & Hammersley, 1995, p.3). However, I did not take what I observed for granted but triangulated the data through various strategies.

Given the fact that I intended to seek different perspectives (teachers, students, parents, MoE authorities) about the foreign language policy (teaching Turkish in the South and Greek in the North) in Cyprus, I conducted interviews and observations (Canagarajah, 2009, p.156; MacDonald, 2001; Merriam, 2000). Furthermore, I aimed to investigate sentiments regarding the teaching and learning of Greek and Turkish at the micro and macro levels of the students and the teachers (as complementary data). I explain each of these data collection tools in depth in the next section.

Figure 4.3 illustrates that access to gatekeeper and volunteer student participants was smooth. The time span between teacher, student interviews and observations is short.

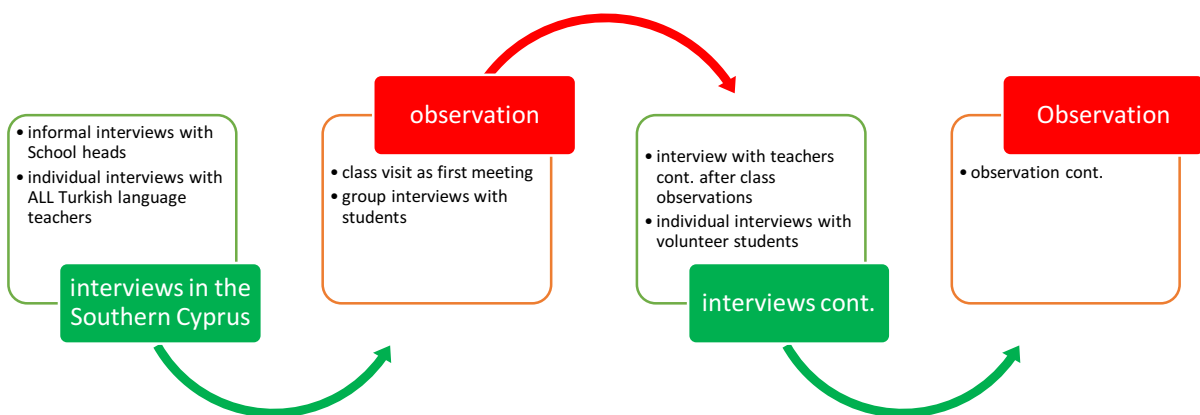


Figure 4.3: *Chronological order of data collection methods in the Northern Cyprus*

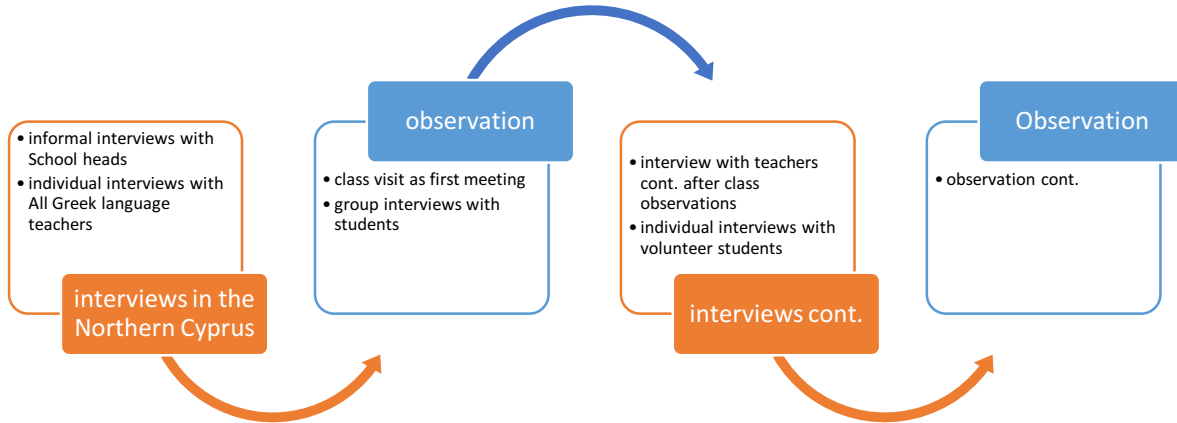


Figure 4.4: Chronological order of data collection methods in the Southern Cyprus

Figure 4.4 illustrates that there was a long timespan between teachers' interviews and access to schools and entrance to the classes for individual student interviews and group interviews. This emerged as a challenge and necessity of a period of time for building trust between the gatekeeper and the interviewee in a conflict-affected context.

Table 4.1: Purpose of data collection methods used

Main Data collection methods		Purpose
Observations	School setting observation	Observation of post-conflict school landscape for elements of division, representation of otherness and symbolism in relation to learning context and education system.
	Class setting	Observation of post-conflict school landscape for elements of division, representation of otherness and symbolism in relation to learning context and education system.
	Teacher-student	Exploring and understanding what happens in actual learning environment, what issues raise, how teachers manage, how language is taught and how students learn language of each other. What happens in this learning environment was my fundamental question.
Interviews	Individual interviews	Learning about students and teachers' experience of learning and teaching each other's languages
	In-class group interviews	Learning about students' representation of individual views within a group context, understand dynamics of their learning motivation and explore their experience of learning each other's languages

4.5.1 Interview

Of the various methods of data collection in qualitative research, interviews are one of the main methods. As a classic ethnographer, Melinowski highlights the role of talking to people in order to understand their views (in Burgess, 1982a). This is due to the fact that social research recognizes personal accounts as central, and language has the power of clarifying meaning. The interview gives both interviewee and interviewer a flexibility and freedom regarding planning, implementing and organizing interview questions (Bell & Waters, 2014; Gubrium & Holstein, 2002, p. 35). According to Rorty (1980, in Kvale & Spencer, 2003, p.138), knowledge is constructed in the social world through interaction. In this research, I employed semi-structured interviews. The aim was to explore and understand the experiences of the interviewee, and following, to reconstruct knowledge (Rubin & Rubin, 2005, p.3; 2007, p.39). Since semi-structured interview fits the epistemological considerations of this research, interviewing the participants was “a uniquely sensitive and powerful method for capturing the experiences and lived meanings of the subjects’ everyday world” (Kvale, 2007, p.11). Taking into account my epistemological standpoint and the exploratory nature of this research, I worked closely with the research participants to explore their views: to understand what lies at the heart of their current view, and what their proposals are with regards to learning Greek/Turkish and removing the image of ‘the other’ in their minds, for preparing a space for the present generation for a positive social interaction. The problem is that some steps have been taken in theory or in principle by the policymakers towards change but it seems important to investigate what happens in the contexts where the policy is put into

action. Therefore, there is a need to explore pitfalls or gaps in this system that weaken or strengthen the teaching and learning of the Greek and Turkish languages in practice.

A useful insight into data collection methods was gleaned from Vaughn et al's (1996, p. 29) study, whose focus group interviews enabled researchers to observe key stakeholders' actions-reactions and ascertain their perceptions and feelings towards current practices (Vaughn et al, 1996, p.29). Likewise, in a similar study, Bekerman et al. (2009, p.7), employed interviews with students, teachers and parents. As they acknowledge, their interviews took approximately one hour. I had 60-90 minute interviews where I used pencil and paper in addition to a voice recorder, after gaining consent from the interviewees to use it.

Interviewing is a challenging and demanding task on the mental and intellectual abilities of an interviewer. One of the fundamental issues in this research is that interviews were conducted in the school setting, where the researched topic is related to language of the former enemy and the researcher belongs to that 'other' community. Here, I should mention that these interviews were sensitive for my participants across the divide. In addition to this, interviewers themselves are research instruments (Kvale & Spencer, 2003, p. 143; Rubin & Rubin, 1995; Thompson, 2000). Therefore, interviewing is a sensitive process. In such cases, as mentioned by Kvale and Spencer (2003, p.62), the "reassurance of confidentiality and anonymity at the outset of the interview" helped me to put the participants at ease about disclosing potentially sensitive information. Although conducting a successful interview depends on how the interviewer manages the process, semi-

structured interviews give researchers the opportunity to exercise judgement about what to pursue, and simultaneously formulate the relevant questions.

4.5.1.1 Focus group interviews

Differences and diversity of views can be explored in a social context through group discussion. The researcher encourages the group to work together and generate in-depth data. During this process, dimensions of difference are explored and explained, and the cause-and-effect relation can be voiced according to the perceptions and views of the participants. Group dynamics enable and encourage participants to recognize and challenge the normative view, while this gives confidence to those who holds the opposing view to voice it (Denscombe, 2007; Kvale and Spencer, 2003, p.185-189).

Morgan (1996, p.134) states that researchers usually prefer to combine focus groups with in-depth individual interviews or surveys. Among these combinations, those who ideally prefer mixing two distinct qualitative methods with different advantages and disadvantages frequently choose individual interviews. While the individual interview is considered to offer depth, the focus group provides breadth (Crabtree et al., 1993, cited in Morgan 1996, p.134). The use of group interviews enabled me to establish straightforward conversation with the participants after classroom observations (because my presence in the class helped me to set a contact with the students before the interview).

Although (focus) group interviews encouraged the interviewees to speak and provide me with a breadth of knowledge, I had the chance to balance and manage the participation of the passive interviewees or very active ones through this interview

technique. However, in order to avoid bias, I requested face to face semi-structured interviews with students and teachers. Thus, the bias was minimized. Since there were multiple voices during group interviews, I sent back the interview reports to the participants for them to review.

Although I had planned to use questionnaires at the initial stage for the purpose of generating my interview questions, conducting this research in the post-conflict context and being a member of the TCY community meant that gaining the approval of MoEC, RoC for accessing the schools took longer than expected. After gaining access to the schools, given the time limitation, and issues regarding use of the allocated time for teaching, I had to use time efficiently for making initial contact with the participants, introducing myself and building confidence. Although at the initial stage it was planned to corroborate and complement the verbal interview data with the non-verbal written responses through a questionnaire, and use quantitative data to corroborate qualitative research findings (Morgan, 1996, p.135), this was not possible in practice given the challenges of the sociopolitical context, political and logistic issues regarding access to schools, the political aspect of this research and the number of students who choose to study Greek and Turkish.

4.5.2 Observation

As Cohen et al. (2000) suggest, classroom observations enable the researcher to learn about and understand the actual learning situation. So, classroom observations gave me the opportunity to analyze whether the available resources enabled successful teaching and learning. They enabled me as a researcher to build trust and a reciprocal relationship with the research participants. Although my

presence in the class as an outsider could disturb the natural class setting, my informative meetings with them before the observation prevented this. I also took notes in the form of an observational journal, as recommended by Cohen et al. (2000). Since the language classes were once a week, I attended the class observations in various schools as I was given access by the school heads, and in some schools this was once a week for eight weeks.

Although I had the opportunity to gain some observational data, this was not continuous, for various reasons including the political context in the schools' settings, the allocated time for Turkish language lessons in many schools (07:30 a.m. first class for 40 minutes), and travelling across the divide with its border crossing issues. Although I made an arrangement with one of the teachers in Nicosia (150 km away from where I live) for observation, this continued for only four weeks since the teacher then took sick leave for three months after surgery. In this event, Turkish language classes were not covered here as there was no cover teacher, and students missed nearly half a term. Religious and national holidays were another reason for missing classes on both sides. In the North, the Cyprus Turkish Secondary Teachers' strikes put a stop to my class observations at frequent intervals. So, sitting in a class as a non-participant observer was not a convenient and sustainable way of data collection, given the circumstances presented in these post-conflict school environments. Nevertheless, I used my limited amount of time across the divide for observing Greek and Turkish language classes since my intention was to understand what happens in the actual teaching and learning contexts. See Appendix 6 for my observation notes.

4.6 Qualitative data collection process

The qualitative data collection process comprises various stages. These are gaining permission and access to the research field, carrying out a qualitative sampling strategy, recording and storing the data and being ready for unforeseen ethical issues that may arise during the research (Creswell, 2013, p.145).

This research is informed by exploratory underpinnings since, first, there is an absence in the literature regarding TCY students' and teachers' views of Greek as a language of the former enemy and its role in peacebuilding in Cyprus. Second, there is a lack of bi-communal research, representing what happens in practice as far as policy relating to the language of the former enemy is concerned. Third, there is a gap in the literature discussing a de-escalation of hatred through the language of the former enemy, and what happens when this particular language is introduced into a post-conflict context. Following Merriam (2009, p.15), one of the basic features of qualitative research is that the qualitative researcher should "gather data to build concepts, hypotheses, or theories rather than deductively testing hypotheses as in positivist research". Being in the field is necessary for intuitive understanding, and what lies at the very heart of qualitative research is "there is a lack of theory or an existing theory fails to adequately explain a phenomenon".

As posited by Nisbett and Wilson (1977, in Noles, 2011, p.61), although intercultural studies undertaken in the field of psychology widely employ surveys or experimental methods as tools for data collection, the action-oriented aspect of language and communication requires correlation of data by providing insight into research participants' behaviours. As part of intercultural research, it is obligatory for a

researcher to supplement his/her reports with observations, no matter whether research is undertaken in a laboratory or in the field.

The paradigmatic nature of a particular research along with theory building for informing practice are heavily influenced by the researched context. During this process, while some themes are revealed, others are concealed (McIntyre et al., 2010 in Noels.). Therefore, choosing the most appropriate methodology to fit the study is a crucial aspect of research. As pointed out by Norton et al. (2013, p.427), researchers investigating identity issues must explore and understand political and economic issues, and “interact with language learning, constraining or enabling human action”. As Norton (ibid.) reports, a researcher working in the field illustrates this with Foucault’s (1980) understanding of the relation between knowledge and power, and the complex and elusive ways in which power circulates in society. Since it is of great interest to language educators to study the learning environment, power in this respect is highly important.

Given this background, “learner and teacher narratives, collected through fieldwork” (Barkhuizen, 2008; Botha, 2009; Goldstein, 2003; Miller, 2003; Norton, 2013, p.427; Stroud & Wee, 2007) or “autobiographical and biographical accounts” (Benson & Nunan, 2005; Johnson & Golombek, 2002; Nunan & Choi, 2010 in Norton, 2013, p.427; Pavlenko, 2001a, 2001b; Todeva & Cenoz, 2009, Wildsmith-Cromarty, 2009) supply rich data and insight into the L2 learning and identity relationship, along with the socialization process and the phenomenon being researched.

4.6.1 Semi-structured Interview

Interviews are a source of rich data. Various strategies and procedures for conducting interviews have been introduced by prominent names in the field (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009; Creswell, 2013). During the dynamic process of interview, knowledge is re-constructed (Kvale, 2007, p.1). Kvale and Brinkmann (2009, p.143 in Helen Phtiaka, uni of Cyprus book review) placed interviewing “as craft, skill, and as an important contributor to knowledge”. Therefore, during a project where interview is one of the main tools of data collection, a researcher is similar to a craftsman who needs different tools in the toolbox. As mentioned, although an interviewer goes to the field with pre-prepared questions and prompts, the interviewer can delve further into the raised issue by using alternative questions. In this regard, Flick (2006, pp.156-157) introduces three types of interviews, as: “open questions, theory-driven questions and confrontational questions”. Interviewing requires developing this skill and having interpersonal skills. According to Bernard (2002, p.205), when the researched subject is driven by complex political issues and ethnic conflict, it is recommended that the researcher avoids structured interviews. As introduced by Oppenheim (1992, p.65), two kinds of interviews are “standardized and exploratory”. Taking into account epistemic and methodologic along with the political nature of this research, I preferred being in the field physically and observe and interview my participants from two ethnically troubled contexts from up close. One fundamental reason for this was using my interpersonal skills in order to access the gatekeeper in the GCY context; to undertake this research in the GCY context as a TCY for the first time, and understand whether it is possible to break the barriers

and become a peace player in a conflict-affected context rather than being a bystander. Therefore, in my case, interviewing is going beyond the barriers and unpacking the Pandora's box to explore the other truth from the emic perspective of the other. Thus, interviewing has a political role to play as a data collection tool. Although interviewing brings some ethical concerns along with the questions, and criticism regarding bias towards the data, entering the context of the other as a qualitative researcher for interviewing in post-conflict contexts like Cyprus is indicative of a change in the researched context, as it is very much a sensitive issue to gain access to the context of the other as a researcher.

The first phase of data collection was when I gained access to schools and went to meet the school heads and students. This occurred as informal group interviews, with conversations in Turkish and Greek language classes. Although the classroom is a formal setting, I tried to make the participants, some of whom had refugee family members and had heard about the war and what happened in the past from third parties, feel comfortable and confident.

During the interviews, I asked my participants about their experiences of learning Greek and Turkish, practising this language and what they know about common words and culture, along with their experiences and observations of visiting the other side. Although I never guided them to talk about any incidents they had observed or experienced with the people from the other side, they felt confident to raise these daily issues and ask me questions. Although I did not prompt them to talk about the Cyprus Problem, most of the participating students took the opportunity to discuss this subject, and used the interview as a vehicle to communicate their views on the

subject. In all the schools I visited, no matter whether in the North or the South, students invited me to visit them again, as they thought talking about these issues enabled them to communicate their views, and meet someone, in this case me, who was an outsider. They could voice unvoiced feelings and develop their viewpoint while unpacking the past, not from textbooks but by building on what they knew with information from an outsider.

The group interviews gave me the opportunity to have self-confidence, to build initial contact with the participants and familiarize myself with them, and understand their interests, sensitivities and concerns. Note, once again, that while I was a visiting PhD researcher in the GCY schools and labelled as 'a visitor from the other side' - the North - referring to the former enemy, I belonged in the context in which I conducted this research.

After spending some time with the teachers in classes and staffrooms, meeting with school heads and students in the initial stage gave me the sense that when preparing interview questions, I understood that Greek and Turkish language classes were already highly political in various ways. Avoiding politics, and managing any conflict that may arise due to the set questions, was not an easy task. Therefore, managing interviews as a method of data collection in a post-conflict context has challenging phases and requires negotiation skills. According to Creswell (2013), producing interview protocols has a series of steps. Kvale (2007, pp.35-36) and Kvale and Brinkmann (2009, p.102) introduce us to seven stages of interview. These are:

1-Thematizing

2-Designing

3-Interviewing

4-Transcribing

5-Analysing

6-Verifying, and finally

7- Reporting.

According to Kvale (2007, p.50), thematizing and analyzing are highly important at the pre-interview stages as these two stages enable researchers to conduct high-quality interviews. Kvale and Brinkmann's (*ibid.*) stages of interview were taken into account, along with nine steps introduced by Cresswell (2013, pp.163-166):

1-Deciding on research questions

2-Identifying interviewees

3-Determining the type of interview

4-Using adequate recording procedure

5-Developing an interview protocol

6-Refining the interview questions

7-Determining the place for interview

8-Obtaining consent for the interviewees

9-Using good interview procedures.

4.6.1.1 Interview guide

An interview guide is built up from a list of questions in the areas that should be covered through the interviews. The list of questions is there to structure the course of the interview and it is an outline of the questions, functions as a guideline, and allows the interviewer to be flexible (Silverman, 2013). As agreed by many qualitative

researchers in the field, an interview guide is like a cheat sheet for the interviewer. However, there is still a need “...to ensure that the same general areas of information are collected from each interviewee; this provides more focus than the conversational approach, but still allows a degree of freedom and adaptability in getting information from the interviewee” (MacNamara, 2009). Therefore, there is a need for assuring that “everything is covered and nothing is missed out by accident, wording of questions are appropriate, there is a list of probing questions, a template for opening statements exists and there are comments to be considered” (Dörnyei, 2007, p.137). In the classic sociologist Burgess’s (2002) definition, through one-to-one in-depth interview it was aimed to have a conversation with a purpose.

I developed an interview protocol for this study, as seen in Appendix 4. The protocol was combined from some personal and factual questions, in the language of the interviewee (Turkish and Greek) and language was used as a tool for breaking prejudice, providing the interviewees with a confident zone of communication between each other and showing respect to their language, along with the importance of language in communication. This was a warm-up stage. In this stage, I learnt some words common to both Greek and Turkish, learnt the Greek alphabet and became competent in reading Greek. In addition to this, I learnt basic Greek in the Cypriot dialect in order to be accepted by the students during my presence in their class. I used my survival Greek both in the Turkish and Greek language classes in breaking the barrier between me as an outsider and the Turkish and Greek language students. I put probing questions, and this was followed by closing questions, which I asked participants to reflect on as final remarks. Here, the majority

asked questions regarding their TCY-GCY peers and expressed views about the future, mainly informed by politics and the division in Cyprus.

4.6.1.2 Piloting the interview

Given the limited number of Turkish and Greek language students, I piloted my interview questions through a small pilot phase. This gave me the opportunity to refine the interview guide and procedures. A pilot interview was carried out face to face with two students (one TCY and one Turkish origin) who were learning Greek, and two GCY students, learning Turkish. After the pilot phase, I detected ambiguous questions and refined them. This stage also gave me an opportunity to gain insight into students' backgrounds. Most importantly, piloting enabled me to practise and develop my interviewing skills, change the arrangement of my questions for the flow of the interview, and add alternative questions. After a few pilot interviews, I developed a better questioning style and interview strategies. I realized that one of the most important elements of an interviewer is being calm and making the interviewee feel relaxed. Creating a positive interview setting and being natural rather than reading questions from a piece of paper removes a source of stress for both interviewee and interviewer. Therefore, the crib sheet approach, with pointers towards questions, was a desirable technique.

During my conversation with these students and based on my experience of travelling in the North and the South, I realized that 'Cypriotness' is an important element of people's identity in Cyprus and it is attached to language. As explained in my ethical form before, as an anticipated problem, researcher identity might cause a problem in the researched context. Therefore, once my identity was revealed in

the Turkish language classes in the South, potential challenges might arise given my ethnic identity and my presence in their learning zone. Therefore, I made my best effort to gain information about the demography of the class, and students with potential political sensitivities. Having gained some knowledge about the class from their Turkish language teachers, I entered the class with confidence, and choosing not to wear a hijab. This was the same when I visited classes in the North, as there might be students who would assume that as an outsider I am a political supporter of the peace process or was visiting their class for spying or a political reason. Here again, I tried to gain as much information as possible from their Greek language teachers about their sensitivities in order to judge the best possible way to approach them while building contact and trust with them for conducting the interviews.

4.6.1.3 Constructing interviews

Having piloted the interview guide, I refined and revised it and made it ready to administer. Taking into account the suggestions of Kvale and Brinkmann (2009), I avoided ambiguous questions which are double-barreled. After simplifying them I re-sent my interview questions to my supervisors and after their approval, I was ready to administer them. What I observed during the pilot interview was that interviewees sometimes divert from the original subject of conversation. This inspired me to generate alternative questions in the form of probe questions. The probe questions ensured interviewees stayed on track. As reminded by Kvale (2009), since each interviewee has a different background, views and attitudes, their answers to questions may vary. This happened throughout my interviews. Although there was a consistency in the research questions that had been set, and were addressed,

different sub-questions emerged during the interviews. This happened especially when the interviewee was from a Turkish background and perhaps visiting Cyprus temporarily due to a parent's occupation, or GCY students, living in Rizokarpazo, an enclaved GCY community. Their interpretation brought an alternative dimension to the subjects discussed, along with students' views.

4.6.1.4 Constructing the final interviews

I discussed my sampling strategy and number of participants in the previous section. Given the political aspect and challenges that emerged, I contacted the gatekeepers to gain access to as many students as possible. Therefore, I conducted interviews at different schools based in different districts across the divide. Since the number of students in each class varied between two and five and in one case ten (in Geroskipou, Pafhos region) in the South, and five to 15 in the North, I had full participation. I conducted interviews with 25 students and 7 teachers in the North and 27 students and 6 teachers in the South. Additionally, I interviewed one counsellor teacher in the South, one literature and one history teacher, whose contribution functioned as secondary data and gave me insight into the schooling (history, religion, and literature education) in the South, along with their attitudes towards TCY and their views regarding educational policy in practice.

The teachers' union leader in the South rejected participating in my research whereas the Cypriot Turkish union leader did take part. At the initial stage, I also conducted a Skype interview with GCY students in the Pafhos area who wanted to meet me first online and make decisions based on our informal Skype interview. Contacting these students in the Pafhos region took a year since the region is well

known as having the Church's influence on the education system and the dominance of rightist political views, as reported by Ms Chrissa (like all the names, a pseudonym), the teacher of the Turkish language. Therefore, when I asked Ms Chrissa to ask some of her students if they would volunteer for interview, she informed me on our very first meeting that Pafhos was the most difficult region in which to access the gatekeepers, and contact students and their parents for this particular research, as I am a TCY. However, as time passed and I got the opportunity to work with Ms Chrissa in Pyrgos region, which is in physical contact with TCY as the TCY village Limnitis and GCY village Pyrgos are border villages and neighbours, we spent some time together aside from the research and built a social relationship in time, which paved the way towards a confidence and trust between us. At the end of our first year of contact, Ms Chrissa informed me that the time we had spent together had given her an opportunity to know me and she felt confident in bringing up my research and the need for Turkish language student volunteers to the heads of schools in the Pafhos region, so that I could get access to the schools. Once she received a positive response from one of the schools where she worked, she asked her class whether some of the students would volunteer to join my research. The class came back with an offer, which was a Skype chat first to get the gist of what my purpose was, and based on our Skype chat then we would proceed to for interviewing. Eventually, I got the opportunity to Skype and then visit those students in their school twice, for interviewing and observing them.

What underpins their request for meeting them online was that I was from the other community and there was a political dimension to this. So, they wanted to learn what

questions I wanted to ask them, who I am and what my purpose was. Breaking taboos through the internet was extremely exciting and inspiring since we were together with a group of GCY students with no concern of political borders, or transportation from one corner of the island to another as a barrier. Through this way, the issue of showing passports while crossing the border was removed, as many students and their parents acknowledged that they are against this politically. Apart from this, the use of Skype enabled me to show them around in the location where I was in the North at the time of the Skype chat. It was at this stage that technology helped us to connect and make a contact in the air in seconds with the help of the internet and the brilliant idea of these students.

4.6.1.5 Language as an ice-breaker

After introducing myself and using some Greek and Turkish common words as icebreakers, I informed the students about why I was in their class and what I would do. I used the Greek words as a gesture and as a tool for communication as an outsider, a PhD student who belongs to the other community, in their view. Their teacher informed me that she could allocate me 20 minutes towards the end of the class so I could chat with the students. This was a great activity for the students and me for building trust mutually and breaking the psychological barriers. In both classes, I asked students about their experience and observations of learning Turkish: the opportunities for practising the Turkish language and their experience and observation of crossing “the border”, or of “the other side”, as they termed it throughout the conversation with me. Through this group discussion, they wanted to ask about people living “on the other side”. The main themes were the religion of the

people and their image of the Müslüman (Muslim) in their minds; the identity and ethnicity of people living on the other side; who is and who is not Cypriot?; what makes you Cypriot?; and, if people on the other side want peace or not?

There was a student, Mihaili (like all the student names, a pseudonym), who was keen to voice his views against the “Turks and Turkish Cypriots”. Their teacher, who was helping me in communication through translating our conversations, warned him not to be offensive, but I requested her to let the student voice his thoughts because I was just there to listen and understand them. This made the student, Mihaili, ask and tell me what he wanted, as he realized that I was not there to judge him but to listen and understand.

At the end of our conversation, we asked the students if they would volunteer to contribute to my research through interviews. They said that Saturday suited them to meet me. I went their village on a Saturday and interviewed six students, (three girls and three boys) from two different classes. Mihaili, a fanatic, as his teacher described his political view, was there for interview too. So, my attendance in their class and visit to their village gave me the opportunity to observe and understand them from up close and build a network with them. This first visit to Pyrgos also prepared important ground for my other visits to other schools and played an important role as I could refer to it upon my visits to other schools, so it was apparent that this way of networking led to a snowball effect while contacting schools throughout the process.

Building confidence and trust before conducting group interviews; giving the students the opportunity to address their questions; using common words to break

the ice in the class with the Greek Cypriot students; all show what role the language of the other may play in building bridges while interacting with 'the other' in the post-conflict context. In some schools, I was given the opportunity to visit the class in person. I used that quality time for building a bridge with the students and that required also building trust, so in our first meetings in the class, I wanted the students to address their questions to me so we could have a conversation together. This was my strategy both in the North and the South. This gave students a chance to reflect about the language they learn, the culture and their motivation to study it. This enabled both parties to learn more about the other.

I used a digital voice recorder to record the interviews. After each interview, I backed up audio files on my laptop. Firstly, the backup copy was a precaution in case I lost data, and secondly, my personal laptop was the safest place to store it. Using a voice recorder saved my time and let the interview progress smoothly as there was no distraction of taking notes and asking interviewees to repeat themselves so I could take notes.

I conducted most of the interviews with students in the school environment, whereas some of the students met me at a venue they preferred and where they felt more relaxed. Apart from one teacher in the North, I interviewed the Greek language teachers in schools. Turkish language teachers, however, preferred being interviewed outside of the school environment, except one teacher. What underpins in this was that most of the teachers of Turkish were not based only at one school and they drove to various schools to complete their workloads. So, they did not have the free time. Secondly, since they had a sensitive case as a language teacher of

the former enemy, joining a bi-communal research, conducted by a TCY would have become a problem in the school setting as some of the teachers were bullied by their colleagues for being a language teacher of the former enemy. Given these reasons, they preferred to be interviewed in a stress-free setting outside of school. I became quite aware of the challenges of conducting interviews in a post-conflict context as I got into this project in practice. But, at the same time, I experienced how inspiring it is to tackle the challenges and make progress towards reaching the target. I reflected on my experience of networking with the gatekeepers and participants and the role of language in the data collection process for contacting participants. I will present all this later on in this chapter.

4.7 Data analysis

Data analysis is another important stage in ethnographic research since the researcher works on in-depth data that requires sensitivity in the analysis. This is followed by a decision-making process regarding presentation of the data (Creswell, 2013). Another difficulty the qualitative researcher has to manage is the amount of data emerging during data collection and analysis (Bryman, 2008, p.538). This is due to the fact that the rationale behind the interviews is “to take research participants ‘at their word’...” (Block, 2000, p.757). The approach taken to analyzing the data, and the strategies used in coping with the potential problems arising during data collection and analysis, also required the researcher to bring transparency to the research through sharing these steps with the audience.

Since I collected data in the conflict-affected context of Cyprus, the content of interviews with my Turkish and Greek Cypriot participants was rich and broad but at

the same time difficult to manage. This is due to the fact that history, politics, conflict between two ethnic communities, the past, hatred and enmity guide participants' views. The huge amount of data enriched my knowledge on the topic, gave me insight into what happens in practice, and played an important role in the robustness of this research. The large amount of data was reduced after coding (Neuman, 2007; Dornyei, 2007) and it took me some time to decide on the best possible way of approaching this interdisciplinary and complex but promising data. As Atkinson and Hammersley propose (1995, p.158), there is "no formula or recipe for analysis of ethnographic data" that promises success. Although some methods of analysis suggest grounded theorizing and provide a set of steps, Atkinson and Hammersley (op, cit) reject such implications; however, they suggest some inherent strategies. They say that analysis is an iterative process. Therefore, in this process the researcher is advised to move backward and forward between ideas. So, fruitful analyses occur when the researcher goes beyond the data and generates ideas. Following Hammersley, Atkinson and Silverman (2000), I analyzed my observational data, interviews, and available documents by using a generally inductive approach. Through this approach, I looked for patterns and thematic issues. So, I identified, grouped and coded the relevant patterns (see Appendix 8). Although I used Maxqda data management software for data analysis, at the initial stage I preferred using pen and paper for making notes, not only on the facts in the data but on the insights and patterns that emerged during this analytical, as well as intuitive, process. Thus, the coded themes and patterns led to the emergence of findings from frequent and significant themes. I also took a reflective approach by taking into account

interviewee-interviewer interaction as suggested by Creswell (2009) and paid attention to the interviewee's body language and gestures, in that non-linguistic aspects represent 'unsaid data' (Tamly, 2010).

Since I collected data through employing various strategies (documents, interview, and observation), the wealth of data gathered and different types of data collection methods enabled triangulation. While this gave me a complex picture, I had a so-called thick description of the details and included narratives in my report. This gave me insight into the audience through the language practice that emerged from the complex context (Canagarajah, 2009, p. 156).

4.7.1 Qualitative data analysis

Qualitative data analysis as part of exploratory research is a complex subject. Researchers face a large and complex multidimensional process of data analysis (Bryman, 2012, p.145). This multidimensional and complex process is a thrilling phase and requires following creative and logical pathways. Although it appears to be a mechanical process, where the researcher immerses herself/himself with the data while looking for conceptualizations and connections, every stage of this process requires an amalgamation of "...leaps of intuition and imagination" (Ritchie, 2011, p.17). As different researchers claim, the early phase of data analysis begins when a researcher decides on the topic s/he would like to investigate (Robson, 2011; Silverman, 2010). When actual analysis commences, the researcher decides on which approach to take while analyzing the data and ends when writing up the results, which is an ongoing process pertaining to qualitative research (Kvale & Brikmann, 2003, p.199).

The researcher's decision is mainly informed by his/her epistemological stance and role (Spencer et al., 2003, p.200). The process of selection is involved after having read and thought about the theoretical and analytical strategies. Having read interviews thoroughly for comprehension, as reminded by Coffey and Atkinson (1996, p.26) I started to notice the patterns and connections, and felt excited about the emergence of data.

In this interesting process, after spending much of my time exploring and understanding the data and to what extent it answered my research questions, the feedback and supervision I received from my supervisor enabled me to step out from the data and I decided on cutting down the number of categories by merging the categories which had a tendency to be repetitive. Following the emergence of key themes and patterns, I revisited the data and familiarized myself with the content in depth. This gave me confidence in qualitative data analysis. A detailed analysis of various stages of analyzing semi-structured interviews, group discussions, observation and field notes are discussed in the next section of this chapter.

4.7.1.1. Interview data analysis

The literature suggests a number of guidelines for strategies for data analysis (Creswell, 2013; Kvale & Brikmann, 2009). In Kvale and Brikmann's (2009, p.197) guideline, analysis focuses on meaning and analyzes language and general analyses. In line with Kvale & Brikmann (2009) share the same view, that access to "the subjective world of those being studied, the focus of analysis is on the use made of language and the rules governing the use of language". What happens here is that questions derive from the described culture in the text into the use of language

in constructing a particular view of the world. So, language is not thought of as neutral talk simply describing what happens, but “as rhetoric or persuasive speech”. As Kvale and Brikmann (2003, p.200) point out, there is no single approach to qualitative data analysis. The researcher’s interpretation and epistemological assumptions about the nature of the enquiry play an important role, along with the focus and aims of the analytical process. Regardless of strategies for data analysis, the management of data occurs first when the researcher prepares and organizes the data. Second, data is explored through reading and memoing, which is followed by the third step, in which data is condensed by describing, classifying and coding. The fourth and last step is interpretation of the data. Here, the researcher represents and visualizes the data.

As I became familiar with the context and content of the data, I commenced collecting, analyzing and reporting data simultaneously, as highlighted by Creswell (2013i p.109). After collecting data, I assigned five different files on my laptop to each of instruments adopted for data collection. Of these were semi-structured interviews, group discussions, observations, and field notes. These were followed by transcription of the interviews. Then, I had to decide on suitable data analysis software for the analysis of qualitative data. Although I have attended sessions for using NVivo, I had some confusion and doubts about the feasibility of doing analysis by NVivo as I have never used it. I selected Maxqda qualitative data analysis software, which is user-friendly and advanced in data analysis; it provides the data analyst an opportunity to visualize the data in various forms. Since there was no training session, I used video tutorials and soon I was competent to use the software

very well. The use of Maxqda allowed me to easily make descriptions, memos, annotations, attributes, and compare, contrast and map the data.

4.7.1.2 Transcription

As soon as I had completed data collection in the North, I started transcribing the audio recordings in order to have written text along with my field notes. I used this gap time since it took nearly nine months to receive approval from MoC, RoC for entering the schools in the South. My immersion was with 90 minutes of interview with seven Greek language teachers, 35-40 minutes of interview with each student during face to face interviews, and 40-minute long group discussions at three intervals. This gave me the opportunity to explore and understand what happens in the North as far as the Greek language is concerned. Also, the data transcription stage with TCY participants was a great experience as this was my very first time conducting an interview and trying to manage a large amount of data. Although I expected to have a great amount of data, it was my plan from the initial stage to transcribe the whole text of teachers' and students' interviews (see samples of transcriptions in Appendix 4, 6, 7 and 8). I decided to do so because during semi-structured interviews, the questions I addressed to them were interrelated and excluding some parts could bring the risk of losing important data.

Additionally, the amount of data obtained from class observations was less in both the North and the South as explained due to lessons missed for national holidays, a teacher's sick leave and a nationwide strike organized by Cypriot Turkish Teachers' union for demanding teachers' rights in the North. I preferred transcribing chunks of data only if it was related to interviews. What I observed was that teaching was very

technical, where language teaching was considered as the teaching of grammar. The data regarding class observations across all schools visited informed this research about the fact that there is less a place for bringing an intercultural dimension into teaching the language of the other. So I focused on the overall situation in observations and asked myself if there was a place for bringing the other and their culture into the language class, and how teachers managed any particular incident about the language of the other that the speakers of the target language could have raised in class. So, I was interested to find out whether the observation data shed light on my research in relation to my interview questions. According to Cohen et al., (2007) specific parts of interview data should be selected for transcription if it is significant and contributes to the research.

4.7.1.3 The language of the interview

The languages in which the interviews were conducted were very important. The language of telling might interfere with what is presented (Richards, 2009). Therefore, concerns regarding quality and quantity of the data can be reduced if the interview is conducted in L1. Since I interviewed teachers who speak Turkish as a native language, I conducted the interviews in Turkish with the interviewee teachers and students learning Greek in the North. My interview with the teachers of Turkish in the South was in English. I had a minimum of two phone conversations with each teacher of Turkish before I met them in person for interviews. Therefore, during setting the agenda for the interviews, I also asked teachers about which language they would prefer the interview to be conducted in. I informed them that a bi-communal translator could be with us during the interview if they felt speaking in their

own language – Greek – was better. All the teachers of Turkish preferred English as a tool for communication.

The language of communication with students learning Turkish was in Greek, and a bi-communal translator was in the class at all times and also during the interviews in order to help me with conducting the interviews. I was present in the setting as a reporter and the interview questions were translated by a trilingual Greek, English and Turkish translator for participant students. Given the sensitive issue of translation from one language into another, after transcription of the texts, I sent them to teachers and students to be double-checked as planned. Any complication was avoided through the employment of this translator.

During the process of translation, I found it easier and less time-consuming to translate TCY teachers' and students' interviews directly into English since the language used was simple enough in the Cypriot dialect of Turkish. Since GCY teachers' and students' interviews were available in English by the time I conducted interviews, I transcribed them directly.

4.7.1.4 Coding

The data analyst's responsibility is searching for 'meanings' from participants' interviews (Turkish and Greek language teachers, students, a union leader and MoEC heads, group interviews, plus class observation) for coding. After coding, themes, categories and subcategories emerged that contributed to the development of this thesis. In this method of analysis, patterns and themes were identified, analyzed and reported. Braun and Clarke (2006) identify 'Thematic Analysis' (TA) as a method for identifying and analyzing patterns. The field of psychology embraces

various versions of thematic analysis (Aronson, 1994; Joffe & Yardley, 2004; Tuckett, 2005). Following Braun and Clarke (2006, p.78). TA gives researchers the flexibility to apply it within a range of various theoretical frameworks, from essentialist to constructivist. Since TA gives a theoretical independence to its user (naïve researcher, researcher candidate, analyst), as Braun and Clarke (2006, p.98) put it, “TA can be learned without some of the potentially bewildering theoretical knowledge essential to many other qualitative approaches”. Additionally,

- a. TA works with a wide range of research questions, from those about people’s experiences or understandings to those about the representation and construction of particular phenomena in particular contexts;
- b. It can be used to analyze different types of data, from secondary sources such as media, to transcripts of focus group interviews;
- c. It works with large or small data-sets; and,
- d. It can be applied to produce data-driven or theory-driven analyses.

I followed this method in generating my own codes.

4.7.1.5 Data management: preparing and organizing the data

As Strauss (1987, p.55) argues, the researcher is forced to interpret data to a higher level of abstraction rather than description in the process of coding. As Richards and Richards (1994) remind us, in order not to lose the originality of the data, they put emphasis on the importance of constantly revisiting the original data. Taking into account Strauss (1985) and Richards and Richards (1994), I retained links to the original data and revisited the data continuously for consistency with the original data, and developed codes. I chose a thematic coding strategy since it seemed to

best fit the nature of the research questions and the purpose of the study (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p.81; Mason, 1996; Patton, 2002).

Reporting and presenting is the final stage of the qualitative research process (Kvale & Spencer, 2003, p.301). In this critical process, it is the researcher's task to "explore, unravel and explain the complexity of different social worlds" as well as paying special attention to representing the findings "in a way which both remains grounded in the accounts of research participants and explains its subtleties and its complexities" (Kvale & Spencer, 2003, p.288). So, this daunting task is not simply an act of recording the findings of the analysis but also of representation and reconstruction of the phenomena being investigated. Consequently, the explored phenomena are conveyed to the target audience in a coherence and consistent way. Taking into account the fact that I collected data in a conflict-affected context of Cyprus, my presence in the field was another challenge and open to interpretation when it comes to questioning the interpretation and representation of findings in an unbiased way. In this respect, this stage of data analysis was rather challenging in this politically and ethnically troubled context, where the researcher is attached to one side of the researched context. Although this is an important aspect, another is breaking barriers and taboos in accessing the gatekeepers and undertaking research in this context and digging into the past for the 'other truth', then representing the other truth from multiple dimensions in the hope of informing the current policy and practice.

I assured the trustworthiness of the findings through feedback from the participants. This iterative process led to the emergence of concepts regarding the researched

Turkish and Greek Cypriots' attitudes towards learning and teaching Greek and Turkish and their views of using the neighbouring language for communication beyond linguistic aims.

As a Cypriot, I am familiar with the history of Cyprus and can empathize when a Greek Cypriot labels a Turkish Cypriot as 'the other' ethnically. However, I was present in the research setting to understand the Greek and Turkish language learning opportunities from the researched participants' perspectives. So, I was able to put the collected pieces together to complete the whole picture and hope to make the hidden issues visible locally and internationally.

4.8 Research quality

Questioning what makes good qualitative research is an aspect of the utmost importance in research (Tracy, 2010, p.837). One of the debates regarding quality is how validity and reliability is assessed in interpretative research (Guba & Lincoln, 2005; Rolfe, 2006). At the heart of this is the quantitative vs qualitative debate. The nature of the project plays an important role in approaching the issues of the validity and reliability (Cohen et al., 2007). Given the nature of qualitative research, where the researcher strives for understanding clarity of purpose in qualitative methodologies (Altheide & Johnson, 1994; Cresswell, 2007, p.201), the amount of collected data is different than data collected through the employment of qualitative research methods. Nevertheless, there is no consensus on criteria for evaluating the quality of qualitative research. Thus, assessing the quality of qualitative research remains elusive (Tobin & Begley, 2004, p.389).

4.8.1 Trustworthiness

As Spencer et al., (2003, p.59) state, “objectivity, reliability and validity” which are the “holy trinity” are not sufficient for evaluating qualitative research. This causes a dilemma for qualitative researchers in determining criteria for evaluating the quality of qualitative research. This raises the issue of robustness in qualitative research. While Tobin and Begley (2004, p.388) acknowledge qualitative research as a necessary way of advancing knowledge, they posit the view that “rejection of rigour undermines acceptance of qualitative research”. Demonstration of integrity and competence (Aroni et al., 1999) in research and legitimacy is possible through rigour. Morse et al. (2002) caution that in the absence of rigour, there is a potential that research becomes a fictional journalism and has no value in contributing to knowledge. In the interpretivist view, robustness of qualitative research is demonstrated by authenticity, trustworthiness and goodness.

This research will contribute to the development of educational policies by giving insight into what happens in practice; this can be used by researchers and practitioners. In this research, every action was considered carefully and thoroughly during the process. Given this background, it is important to explain clearly why and how a qualitative researcher has chosen specific criteria in ensuring the robustness of their research study (ibid). Theoretical and methodological assumptions are important factors in decision making when it comes to evaluating the quality of a study. In this research, robustness is ensured by adopting credibility and transferability to other contexts along with dependability (Scott & Usher, 2011)

Since data is collected by taking an interpretative approach, it is worth presenting the concepts of interpretative research. These concepts are “credibility, which parallels internal validity”, “transferability, which parallels external validity”, “dependability, which parallels reliability”, and “confirmability, which parallels objectivity” (Bryman, 2012, p.390; Denzin and Lincoln, 2005a, p.24). Each is presented below.

4.8.2 Credibility

In interpretative language, credibility is comparable with internal validity in the positivist paradigm. The issue of ‘fit’ between respondents’ views and the researcher’s representation of them is addressed through credibility (Schwandt, 2001). The major question addressed here is the fit between the explanation and the credibility of description. The qualitative researcher employs a number of strategies to demonstrate the credibility of his/her research project. According to Danscombe (2003), the researcher’s interpretation during the data collection and analysis process is unavoidable. Since the researcher’s interpretation occurs, credibility is related to data collection and analysis processes. In this research, I took a number of actions throughout to demonstrate credibility. First, various methods (classroom observations, member checks, prolonged engagement, teachers’ interviews, students’ interviews, group discussions, meetings with head teachers, and meetings with history and literature teachers), were used in order to give a fuller picture of the complexity of the participants’ experiences of the situation at the school setting, as part of field research (Lincoln, 1995, in Tobin & Begler, 2004, p.392).

I spent extended periods of time at the schools while trying to access the gatekeepers for gaining access to schools in the North and the South. I had video conferencing with school heads and/or vice directors of 15 schools in the South and eight schools in the North in the pre-stage of data collection. Since I was one of the very few PhD students from the other community who gained approval from the MoEC, RoC, teleconferencing with the school heads was an initial stage and guided me for the next step. Then, I visited the schools whose head teachers agreed to meet me in person. This was followed by my meeting with the Greek and Turkish language teachers. I have approximately 640 minutes of audio recorded lessons, more than 1000 minutes of audio recorded student interviews in the six schools in the North and 1080 minutes in the five schools in the South, 600 minutes audio recorded group interviews in the classroom, more than 1080 minutes of teachers' interviews, 240 minutes of discussion with teachers other than Greek and Turkish language teachers, and 400 minutes of engagement with teachers in the staffrooms in the north and the south. The number of hours spent in and out of the field with teachers and students of Greek and Turkish in the school environment along with my engagement with Turkish and Greek language teachers thoroughly demonstrates the credibility of the data for being sufficient in richness and scope (Cresswell, 2007).

Given the fact that I am a researcher, belonging to the TCY community ethnically, and a member of 'the other community - the other' in the GCY community, I put every effort and ability not to bias participants' views and manipulate their attitude towards 'the other'. In qualitative research, the researcher's abilities and efforts are important

in guaranteeing credibility. This in mind, I kept my distance from the learners but at the same time gave them the confidence to feel secure when asked about their experiences of learning Greek and Turkish. Group interviews and discussions held in the early stages of data collection were used carefully as a tool for confidence building between the interviewee and interviewer. Then, I took into account the political sensitivities and concerns of the participants, if any, before organizing the interviews and meetings with them. Group interviews in class, video conferencing across the borders with Pafhian students, and teleconferencing with the school heads, gave my participants the opportunity to get used to the interview, interviewer and content of the research, resulting in a natural participant behaviour.

4.8.3 Transferability

Transferability of an inquiry means research findings can be transferred to other contexts (Jensen, 2008, p.886). Transferability is comparable with external validity. It should be emphasized that qualitative researchers need to be aware that external validity in positivistic research and transferability in qualitative research are significantly different, given the fact that in a naturalistic-qualitative research there are multiple interpretations of what is researched and there are alternative truths (Tobin & Begler, 2004, p.392). Also, there are various contextual dynamics. Therefore, transferability may not perform the role of generalizability in positivistic research. According to Donmoyer (1990), what is central in qualitative research is individual subjective meaning. In qualitative research, transferability which is comparable with external validity pertains to case-to-case transfer.

Following Lincoln and Guba (1985, p.316), I hold the view that researchers need to recognize and prove transferability in qualitative research by providing readers with sufficient and rich data. Through this approach, the reader can decide whether the research is transferable or not (cited in Cohen et al., 2007, p.137). One of the major strategies I used in this research was 'thick description' and the other was 'purposeful sampling' (Jansen, 2008). By giving detailed description of the setting, the participants and the themes of the study, I demonstrate the credibility of this research (Creswell, 2007; Cresswell & Miller, 2000, p.128). As provided in Chapter 2, the sociopolitical context is described as much as possible for portraying the context of the study. Given the fact that this research is conducted in a conflict-affected context of Cyprus and I am more familiar with the TCY context in the North, I made every effort to describe every step I took in order to avoid bias. Apart from thick description, I paid attention to provide a full picture of participants' backgrounds along with visited areas, geographically. Thus, background information regarding participants and demography of the research area was provided.

4.9 Anticipated problems

As foreseen initially, there were several potential difficulties I encountered in this research. One of these was due to my ethnic identity and being from the North, with which historically GCY has had wars. The other challenge was language. Since I was raised in a politically and physically divided country, Greek was the language of the enemy and it has never been part of my education system and culture. Therefore, language was a barrier when I tried to communicate with MoEC in the South, school heads, teachers and students. Additionally, language was a barrier when I tried to

access official documents and circulars regarding foreign language policy published in the South. Employing a bi-communal translator enabled me to conduct this research, but did increase the costs. Although my personal communication with the authorized people in the MoEC in RoC informed me that I was given permission for this research, there might have been some potential problems at the research setting, because I am a Turkish Cypriot and the policy-laden aspect of the research might have deterred them from participation.

Another potential difficulty that I might have encountered is related to the number of participants. Since Greek and Turkish are elective language courses, the number of students could increase or decrease. Depending on my personal communication with teachers, the students attending these courses have varied from 10-15 at one school in the North and 5-10 at one school in the South. Therefore, the number of students participating in this research was based on the number of students enrolled in the elective classes. However, it was only in one of the schools in Lefkosia/Nicosia that one of the students did not want to participate in this research.

4.10 Ethical considerations

The fundamental aim in undertaking research is interest in contributing to knowledge accumulation and dissemination. However, producing quality research, which is free from bias, requires transparency. Therefore, conducting research within ethical boundaries is important at all stages of the research process (Mertens & Simpson, 1995, p, 23; Pring, 2004, p.150). Among the important issues were gaining access through gatekeepers to the setting, and making agreements with the participants (Pring, 2004). Taking into account the guiding ethical statements in the British

Educational Research Association (BERA Ethical Guideline, 2014), I conducted this research within ethical boundaries by prioritizing issues like “the person, knowledge, democratic values, the quality of educational research” (p.5).

Having human beings as subjects of the study and having LPP and intercultural education as the focus of this research made it necessary for me to meet the requirements of ethical guidelines, as in those of every research, since educational research “serves a political agenda” (Cohen et al, 2007, p.3). As stated in the purpose of the study, the chosen context-sensitive issue under investigation is highly political. Adding this to the ethnographic nature of the research, where I undertook interviews and classroom observations, I tackled ethical considerations in the research setting while dealing with the participants, and harm to research participants was avoided, or at least in Hammersley’s (2015, p.435) term “harm ought to be minimized”. I narrated any issues that arose in order to prevent distortion and make it transparent.

4.10.1 Institutions’ ethical approval

In this research, I have a responsibility as a researcher to respect and adopt the ethical principles of the University of Exeter. After gaining ethical approval from the University of Exeter’s ethics committee (see Appendix 1), the next step was the challenging process of application to the MoEC in the North and the South of Cyprus. As part of schools’ policy, I had to obtain permission from the Ministry of Education (see Appendix 1) and approach the school directors with the given permission (Flick, 2006, p. 44-45).

4.10.1.1 Access to schools in the North and local informed consent policy

Gaining access to schools for data collection as part of research requires approval from the Ministry of Education in the Northern part of the island, as in many other contexts (see Figure 4.5 Chronological order of data collection in the TRNC).

Since I do not work in public schools and have neither contact with Greek language teachers nor with headmasters, first I contacted the MoEC in TRNC and learnt the procedure for accessing the schools. Compared to my experience in the South, since Turkish is the medium of communication in terms of language and I am not an 'outsider', the approval process was less complicated. I was requested to provide them with the aims of this research, the expected outcomes and how I would protect the participants. I gained the approval within two weeks. I was asked to gain permission from the school heads and Greek language teachers (see Appendix 3). When I asked for the list of schools offering Greek as an optional language, I was informed that the list had not been updated for a long time. Therefore, I called every public secondary and lyceum to learn whether they offer Greek or not and if it was possible to visit their schools for data collection. This was a time-consuming process. Once I built up a new list of schools offering Greek in the North and made contact with the Greek language teachers, I contacted them and requested meetings.

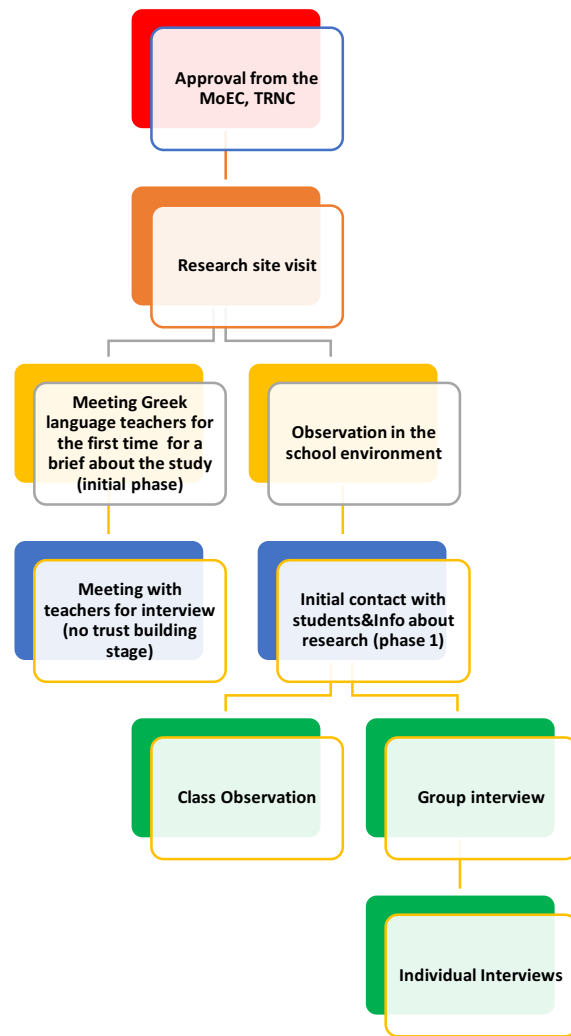


Figure 4.5: Chronological order of data collection in the the TRNC.

Compared to Turkish language teachers, there was no (un)official Greek language teachers' community or group made up by Greek language teachers. Therefore, I contacted each teacher individually.

The teachers all agreed to meet me without hesitation, informing me that I was the first person contacting them to conduct a piece of research with regards to the Greek language since the commencement of Greek in 2008 as a neighbouring language in the North. On the consent form I informed the participants about the study's aims and the participants' rights (BERA, 2011). Taking article 15 of BERA's (2011, p6)

guidelines, I informed my participants about their rights and was assured that they were aware of their right of withdrawal at any time for any or even no reason. As proposed by Creswell (2013, p.153), six necessary elements should be stated on an informed consent form. While in the North some of school heads as gatekeepers decided that there was no need to gain parents' informed consent, in one of the schools in Kyrenia region and all school heads in the South of Cyprus were highly stringent regarding informed consent. This recalls Cohen (2007, p.52) who expresses that while in some contexts participants are flexible with informed consent, in some other contexts participants are strict with informed consent. On the consent form I informed my participants about their rights to withdraw, the purpose of my research, participants' confidentiality, the known risk of participation, the expected benefits of participation and the signature of both participants and the researcher. I should emphasize that BERA's Ethical Guidelines for Educational Research (BERA, 2011, p.5) is the base of the informed consent forms I created (Appendix 3 Turkish, English and Greek) and as stated on page 5, articles 10, 11, 12, 13, "Voluntarily Informed Consent" is my fundamental responsibility to participants. Each participant was first briefed about the purpose of this research along with their right to withdraw at any time; additionally they were invited to ask me any questions if they needed clarification regarding this research. Since the majority of teacher participants were all excited to contribute, I received full support and participation from them.

The next step was visiting classes to meet students and request their participation. Given the political aspect of this research, I verbally explained to students my

purpose and who I am. Having done this, I then moved on, explaining to them every step of this research, the importance of their contribution, how I will use their data, and their anonymity and confidentiality. This was followed by distributing to them the consent form and asking them about any point they needed for clarification. Excepting one student, who said that he did not want to talk about the Greek language and his experience of learning Greek, the rest of the class agreed to participate in this research.

4.10.1.2 Access to schools in the South and local informed consent policies

The approval process in the South was the most challenging part of data collection, as expected. Figure 4.6 shows the chronological order of data collection in the RoC. Negotiating access to school gatekeepers, teachers, students and their parents was difficult, and a challenging part of the process of data collection in this particular post-conflict context.

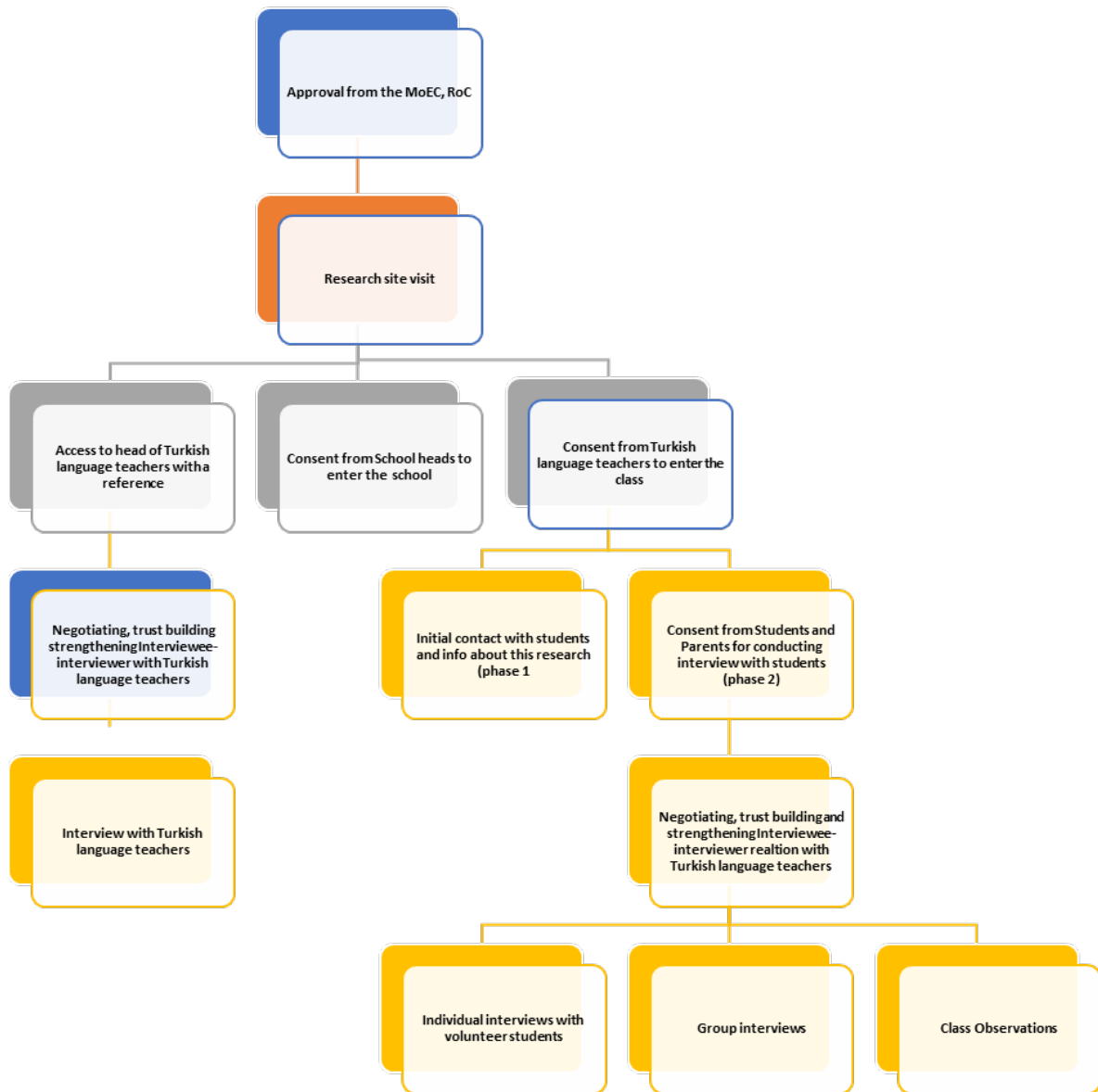


Figure 4.6: Chronological order of data collection in the the RoC.

Gaining approval from the MoEC in the RoC took nine months of waiting. Although Turkish is one of the official languages of the republic, I was requested to make my application in Greek. Here, I dealt with the issue of translation from English into Greek. In order to prevent any communication issues due to language, I employed a trilingual professional Greek-English-Turkish translator. The ministry requested detailed information regarding this project and my questions. In addition to this, I assured them by informing them about the University of Exeter's research ethics and data protection rights, along with the negative implications of potential ethical issues that may emerge if as a researcher of this project I give or cause any harm to research participants through this research. Finally, I received the research approval document from the MoEC, RoC and was informed that parental approval is needed before I conduct this research. According to Byram (2008, p.122), informed consent has a pivotal role in ethical considerations. This was a challenging and also a time-consuming process, requiring much effort and patience given the fact that I am 'the other', attempting to collect data.

Since it was unethical to obtain parents' contact details from the schools, I had to wait for teachers to pass the forms to the students, explain clearly to them the purpose of this research and request their parents' consent on the consent form. This took weeks, along with process of confidence-building between the interviewee and interviewer. This required approaching Greek teachers of the Turkish language in order to build a confidence and trust between us.

Although the researcher may gain access, s/he has to also build trust with the participants (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007, pp. 4-24). With this in mind, I arranged

a meeting with the teachers teaching Greek or Turkish and with students who were learning Greek or Turkish in order to inform them about the purpose of the research, how I would use the data, why their participation was important but voluntary, why it was not a survey but interview and observations. After gaining informed consent, I informed those who volunteered to join my research that they had the right to withdraw at any stage throughout the research. I also requested both teachers and students to decide on the setting and time for undertaking interviews. However, I requested the head of each school to approve the preferred place and time since the students were aged below 18 at the time. I also made attempts not to disturb anyone during the class hour or change the flow of the weekly programme.

After visiting one of the Turkish language teachers, with the pseudonym Chrissa in this thesis, in the Pafhos area, I asked her about the possibility of visiting one of her classes for class observation and to interview students who had volunteered to contribute to my research. She informed me about challenges we might experience in this area since the Church is influential on the education system and also gets involved in the politics. Additionally, some parents and students have extreme or fanatical political views about the Cyprus Problem. This was the case with many teachers I have spoken to.

Based on my experience during this period, I observe that direct contact with each other breaks down barriers in the mind and enables people to overcome or manage prejudice towards one other. So, I did not want to take this for granted and accept that the students in the South view me (as a researcher from the Turkish Cypriot community) as an enemy and they do not want to be in contact with me, or that it is

impossible to contact them. Otherwise, I would have had to give up this research. This hatred is not personal and the key issue here is to understand the roots of, and reasons for, their feelings, and find a way to approach them on ethical grounds. I emailed the schools, then contacted them by phone and used the approval letter I received from MoEC Republic of Cyprus as an introduction, and visited those schools in person if the directorate invited me. So, I could observe the school setting from up close.

4.10.2 Privacy, confidentiality, anonymity, data storage and disclosure

BERA (2011, p.5) recognizes confidentiality and anonymity as the norm when carrying out research, and I followed BERA's ethical guidelines. Given the political sensitivities of the researched context, some of my participants, teachers and students gave reasons for not crossing the border to the other side: they were afraid of their surnames being taken by the police, since they used to work as a Turkish-Greek language translator in the military, or their grandparents from whom they inherited their surnames got involved in the troubles during and before 1974 in the ethnic wars and incidents between GCY and TCY. Therefore, in such a politically sensitive context, assuring participants of their privacy, confidentiality and anonymity is of the utmost importance, and a particular emphasis should be made on protecting the identities and locations (BERA, 2011, articles 25 to 31; Christians, 2005, p.145). Therefore, each participant was given a pseudonym and school locations are identified only by region, since GCY and TCY participants' contact with each other might vary given the geographical closeness to each other. While individuals from Limnitis and Pyrgos may see each other every day, a GCY from Pafhos (the western

end of Cyprus) rarely sees a TCY from Famagusta (the eastern end of Cyprus). The views of the participants were cemented, given the physical distance and lack of contact.

All in all, the data collection process was the most sensitive part of this research project since it was undertaken at a post-conflict school environment. Although my presence in the classes in the South as a researcher from the other community is open to interpretation, there were some possible contextual variations that affected the data beyond my control (Pring, 2004). In addition to this, I have provided a section on the limitations of the study as a personal obligation for the purpose of preventing misleading the audience. Special attention was paid to the ethical dimensions to avoid giving harm to any of my participants.

4.10.3 Accuracy

The 'absence of truth' is a criticism leveled at qualitative researchers as being one of the unique negative attributes of qualitative research (for history of paradigm wars see Teddie and Tashakkorie (2010)). What underpins this is the fact that qualitative research is highly contextual and its social constructionist nature maximizes bias, robustness and distortion of the data. Therefore, maximizing the accuracy of the data is possible through collecting as much as information possible regarding what the research participant is thinking or experiencing at any moment in time, as explained by Roller and Lavrakas (2015). Therefore, fabrication of data is strictly prohibited. In this research, I paid a special attention to accuracy as an ethical code: I explained the research objectives overtly to participants and avoided fabrication of information and the construction of knowledge.

4.11 Challenges and limitations of the study

It is obvious that every piece of research has its own limitations given the social, political and contextual factors. In this current research, I confronted practical challenges due to political problems as this was a post-conflict context. I anticipated and have explained many of these challenges and limitations. Conducting this research in the southern part of Cyprus was a product of patience, efforts and a will to break barriers and reach the other side. My fundamental aim was finding out what happens in practice as far as the language of the former enemy is concerned across the divide and how I can inform the current policymakers and contribute to policy making.

My curiosity was to explore and understand whether there is a chance to get into the other context as a researcher from the other community and conduct a qualitative research study. Similarly, I was curious to explore and understand gatekeepers' attitudes towards the Greek language in the North and Turkish in the South; what initiatives have been taken to create a sustainable language policy and what students, as the future of this country both in the North and the South, think about the role of each other's language in this post-conflict context, along with their purpose for learning the other language.

My greatest anticipated concern was that there was the possibility that MoEC, RoC was highly unlikely to allow me access to the schools. However, they gave me the opportunity to contribute to peace education through language. Given the contextual dynamics, I expected to be rejected by some schools while receiving approval from some others across the divide. Tackling challenges, and considering what ethical

issues may arise, are the researcher's job and it is his/her responsibility to recognize and minimize possible issues (Cresswell, 2014, p.171). No matter how challenging the process, I always had an alternative plan to de-escalate challenges and make it possible to access participants. Negotiation, trust and confidence building, dialogue building as well as crisis management and patience, were the key skills needed for conducting research in this post-conflict context at the pre, during and post stages of data collection. In the next sections, I reflect on my field notes and observations.

4.11.1 Transportation to the research field

I used the bus in the South and shared cab in the North for travelling to the schools. Since partial lifting of the borders on 23 April 2003, dozens of attacks have been reported to the GCY police. Most these attacks were against cars with TCY plates, travelling in the South (Gutteras, UN report, 2017). Therefore, my travel to the South for school visits could have been risky. Consequently, I preferred using public transport. Immersion in the local community enabled me to overcome my concerns about making contact with 'the other'. Additionally, I practised ways of communication with them, explored and understood what similarities and differences GCY and TCY have in terms of behaviour, language, and attitude, while building social contact with the others along with the strangers around their neighbourhood.

4.12 Participant-researcher relationships and power dynamics

Another concern in this research was the relationships between the researcher and the participants. Apart from participants' confidentiality, being aware of the fact that this is a conflict-sensitive context, I became more aware of my political position. I made every effort to build dialogue with the participants by using language that

crossed between Greek, Turkish and English, through common words and establishing dialogue with them at the initial stage of participant networking. Obtaining background information about the participant students was another important point, which needs to be considered before entering the post-conflict school environment. Therefore it was important to be aware of sensitivities in advance and develop strategies in approaching participant students. This is important in order to avoid in-class conflict.

Another important point was the power relation between the interviewer and interviewee (Malone, 2003). Therefore, I paid particular attention to the data collection process and my communication with the participants, to avoid their answers misguiding me. This would happen if they viewed me as 'the enemy'. What happened in my case was that I built a positive rapport with the students, where they were given every opportunity to ask what they were wondering about the language, culture and future of Cyprus on the basis of respect for the other. As they informed me after every class visit, they enjoyed my presence and invited me to visit them in their next lesson as they had more to tell me. For instance, in one of the schools in Pafhos district, though it took a year to build trust with the school and the administration, students of Turkish invited me to visit them a week later as they wanted to get me together with their grandparents who used to live together with TCY before 1974. In addition to this, as many GCY students informed me, it was their first time meeting a TCY from the other community and they acknowledged that they did not know that we look like them. In considering my experiences of visiting

the North and the South, regardless of the challenges, on balance I am confident that a level of intimacy was maintained.

4.13 Summary

In this chapter, the theoretical and methodological assumptions underpinning this qualitative research were addressed. I introduced the philosophical underpinning and the theoretical and conceptual frameworks that informed the research. I presented the different approaches which were adopted for data collection and data analysis. I then proceeded to the ethical considerations relevant to this project. As foreseen, there were challenges and limitations. I presented and discussed these in the final section.

Chapter Five: Data analysis and findings

5.1 Introduction

This chapter reports on the data analysis and the findings of this study. In this chapter, I present the major themes, categories and subcategories, and subsequently provide interview extracts, field notes and observation-based anecdotes as evidence for supporting the themes that emerged in this qualitative research. Interview, field notes, and class observations were used as tools for gathering data. The group interviews that were conducted for the purpose of building trust between the researcher and the researched groups, and face to face interviews with students, teachers and school administrators, enabled me to access a rich source of data, and understand what happens and what role the language of 'the other' may play when the language of the former enemy is introduced into the post-conflict curriculum in the still unsettled Cyprus problem. As explained, interviewing (face to face and group interviews) was the major instrument employed for data collection in this research. The interview questions were developed to accordance with my research questions. Following Coffey and Atkinson (1996, p.26), I have read interviews thoroughly for comprehension for identifying patterns, connected pieces and exploring and understanding how and to what extent the emerging data enables me to answer my research questions. Codes and categories are two fundamental elements of data analysis through which themes are developed (Cresswell, 2013, p. 184), Having read about strategies for developing codes, I employed similar methods for generating my own codes. I searched for 'meanings' from participants' interviews

(Turkish and Greek language teachers, students, a union leader and MoEC heads, group interviews, plus class observation) for coding. Although the coding process is a challenging enterprise conceptually and methodologically (Scott & Morrison, 2005, p.46), as planned initially, I used thematic coding for the analysis of the data. Following the emergence of key themes and patterns, I revisited the data and familiarized myself with the content in depth.

There were times that participants explicitly referred to a concept. Additionally, there were concepts that emerged from the data, which were linked to the relevant literature. Of these were language and identity, language and religion, and ethnicity as a source of bullying. However, since this research was undertaken in a particular conflict-affected context, some themes were inspired and informed by this particular polity. For instance, the Cypriot dialect of Greek or Turkish as an element of identity, marks the difference between GCY and TCY but at the same time it connects TCY and GCY through lexical borrowings. So, on some occasions I developed a category or code that was informed by my participants and best reflects their view or attitude regarding a subject we discussed during the interview. All in all, informed and inspired by interviewees' thoughts and the literature, in this recursive process, the emergent data was coded by using a combination of strategies. In this method of analysis, patterns and themes were identified, analyzed and reported. After coding, themes, categories and subcategories emerged that contributed to the development of this thesis. The feedback and supervision I received from my supervisor enabled me to step out from the data and I decided on cutting down the number of categories by merging the categories which had a tendency to be repetitive.

This chapter starts with the core concept of the challenges as nexus of the language of the other in policy and practice in the post-conflict school environment across the geo-political division, in which the major themes and their relevant categories and subcategories will be presented. The challenges will be presented as the first theme of the study. Political asymmetries, financial constraints and de facto policies in the school environment form the categories of the first theme. The chapter will then proceed to an exploration of the elements of identity formation in this post-conflict context whereby language, dialect and religion have multiple roles to play within the geo-political division. The language of the other in the post-conflict school environment will be the next theme to be reported. Another aspect of this research will then be examined, the 'emergence of policy- and prejudice-related verbal bullying as complications in learning the language of the other'. In this section, the bullies hold the belief that they are the only victims, and group members, those who choose to learn and teach Turkish, represent 'the enemy' in the school environment in the South. Finally, the chapter will end with the last theme of the study, 'teachers' strategies in the de-escalation of hatred for rapprochement in the language of the other for peacebuilding'. I will examine some strategies used by the teachers of the Turkish language in order to de-escalate hatred faced in the school environment. The evidence used for supporting themes, categories, and subcategories are from qualitative data: the verbatim quotes from face to face interviews with teachers of Greek and Turkish and their students, in-class group interviews with students, limited class observations, an interview with a teachers' union leader in the North, MoEC authorities, and field notes.

5.2 Five major themes

Having considered the research questions set forth in this study and given the findings that emerged from the data, seven major themes were initially developed, which were then reduced to five major themes, each of which embraces a number of categories and subcategories. As illustrated in figure 5.1., they are: Challenges; Students' identity formation in Greek and Turkish language classes in the post-conflict context; The language of the other in a post-conflict school environment within a geo-political division; The emergence of policy and prejudice-related complications through the language of the other; and Teachers' strategies in de-escalation of hatred for rapprochement in the language of the other for peacebuilding.

theme I Challenges	Political Asymmetries and stakeholders' stance in the process
	Question of Greek and Turkish language as a compulsory school subject across the divide in Cyprus
	Financial Constrains as Obstacles for promotion of Greek and Turkish
	De facto Policies in School setting
Theme II Students' Identity formation in Greek and Turkish language classes in the Post-Conflict Context	Cypriotness as element of Identity
	Language as Identity and Ideology
	Religion as Ideology
Theme III Language of the other in post-conflict school environment within geo-political division	Students' motivation in choosing the other language
	Teaching Resources and Intercultural dimension in language education
	Hindrances and Opportunities for practicing Greek-Turkish languages
Theme IV Emergence of Policy and Prejudice-related Complications through Language of the Other class	Prejudice informed Bullying: 'Us' as the other language teachers in the South
	Bullying Intervention
	Factors Flourishing Bullying
Theme V Teachers' Strategies in De-escalation of Hatred for rapprochement in Language of the Other Class for Peacebuilding	Navigating students' attention to non-selective history reading: Be critical and objective!
	Accessing alternative history and narrations through School Projects: 'The Life we did not live'!

Figure 5.1. Major themes generated for the core concept of challenges as the nexus of 'language of the other' policy and practice in a post-conflict school environment across the geo-political division.

5.3 Political asymmetries and stakeholders' stance in the process

- 1- Theme I is a response to Research Question (RQ)1: What are obstacles to promotion of language of other for rapprochement?

Education is one of the fields in this post-conflict context that has been used as a vehicle for the perpetuation of different political ideologies. Teachers as deliverers of the selected curriculum and their students are at the very heart of these

contradictory policies as deliverers of knowledge and learners. Apparently, teachers can play an important role in perpetuating or breaking the cycle of conflict through education (Bar-Tal, 2004; Murphy & Gallagher, 2009 in Zembylas & Charalambous, 2010, p.334). As a consequence of the still unsettled Cyprus problem, there are various challenges that still surround the decades-old unresolved political issue at different layers of life in various discourses. The current political context in the 'neither one nor the other' political situation with a history of intractable conflict seems to be a cradle of multi-dimensional political issues. As emerged in the data and is known in practice, it is difficult to claim that there is a sustainable educational policy across the divide to teach the language of the other in order to foster peace and reconciliation. Educational policies regarding peace and reconciliation seem to develop parallel to the peace process, political will towards a solution, and contextual dynamics. However, neglecting language policy in the curriculum has enabled other challenges in practice, as will be discussed in this chapter.

Given this contradictory context, this section attempts to discuss the strengths and weaknesses of enhancing the implementation of language policy in public schools across the divide in introducing the Turkish and Greek languages into the curriculum. As explained thoroughly, the curriculum on both sides is heavily influenced by the teaching of a single version of the truth of the conflicted past. There is a tendency to perpetuate selective narrations of the past, where 'the other truth', which is about the other community and their sufferings, pains and traumas, is underestimated (Psaltis & Chakal, 2016; Zembylas et al., 2015). In the current context, both sides present their past in which they are the victim and the other is the oppressor, the enemy. As

will be discussed, the introduction of Greek and Turkish into the post-conflict curriculum raises contradictions. Given this background, the several reasons I mentioned guided me to look into participants' opinions concerning stakeholders' stance in the process of educational policy development and implementation and gain insight into their roles.

I used interview as a main instrument for gathering data. I addressed these two questions to Ministry of Education officials, the teachers' union in the North, and teachers, students and heads of schools across the divide in order to explore and understand the policy practice nexus. The interviews with teachers of the Turkish and Greek languages, a TCY union leader and MoE officials raised three major challenges of political, financial, and de facto policies underpinning as hindrances to the promotion of Greek and Turkish in the post-conflict school context across the divide in Cyprus. These sub-themes are analysed next under the overarching theme of obstacles to promoting the study Greek and Turkish languages.

5.3.1 Obstacles to promotion of Greek and Turkish languages

Teachers' unions are one of the stakeholders in education; they function as a vehicle for promoting or hindering an educational policy (Gindin & Finger, 2013). Teachers' unions play a great role in the process of educational transformation, especially in a conflict-ridden context. The introduction of Greek into secondary education in the South and Turkish into lyceums in the North as optional languages as part of a peacebuilding measure was a controversial issue. In this regard, the Cypriot Turkish Secondary Teachers' Union (Kıbrıs Türk Orta Eğitim Öğretmenler Sendikası,

hereafter, KTOEÖS) has been playing an important role for many years now for a reform in history education, introduction of Greek into the curriculum and educational reform in general. Therefore, it was important to obtain teachers' union views regarding language of each other across the divide as they have a key role in the process.

While the KTOEÖS leader allowed me an interview as part of this research in the North, the leader of the Cypriot Greek Secondary School Teachers' Union (Οργανωση Ελληνων Λειτουργων Μεσης Εκπαιδευσης Κυπρου, hereafter, OELMEK) by the time I was collecting data (2016-2017), informed me through his secretary that he declined to participate in this research as I will explain

5.3.1.1 Cypriot Turkish Secondary Teachers' Union (KTOEÖS)

I interviewed the KTOEÖS union leader in the North about the union's view of the introduction and implementation of Greek and Turkish languages into the curriculum across the divide in Cyprus. My fundamental purpose was to explore and understand what the major hindrances are in the promotion and development of Greek as an optional language from the union leader's emic perspective.

Expressing the union's supportive stance towards the policy of introducing Greek in the North and Turkish in the South, KTOEÖS's leader made it clear that it was their great success to force policy makers in 2007-08 to introduce Greek into the TCY formal education curriculum as a pilot school subject. Following this, he rationalized the political background as the hindrance to implement Greek in the North as follows (the interview excerpt below is my translation):

The leftist Republican Turkish Party, Cumhuriyetçi Türk Partisi (CTP), appointed Greek language teachers, whereas the rightest National Unity Party, Uluslararası Birlik Partisi (UBP) never increased the number of Greek language teachers when they were in the government. The students choose Greek at secondary school and they cannot continue since this subject is not offered at lyceum. Or, they employ a relative of a minister and move the teacher from one school to another, and cause another problem by discontinuing Greek as a foreign language in some schools. This is a parody! This is such a shame! According to me, this is not a serious language policy. Yet again, this language has been introduced into the curriculum. And, the Turkish language was introduced into the education system when the leftist AKEL was in the government in the South!

The union leader underlined and emphasized that in order to put this foreign language policy into practice, there is a need for a policy beyond party politics for developing the implementation and promotion of both Greek and Turkish as important languages, needed for rapprochement between the TCY and GCY communities. In the union leader's view, Greek should be a second foreign language; putting this policy into practice requires a leftist ideology that has a strong capability to deal with potential nationalistic challenges. The stakeholders of education and policy agents may have various reactions. In fact, these reactions are indicative of political asymmetries and implications to policy regarding the language of the other. The political asymmetries suggest that there are multiple mechanisms

and the education system does not function according to a single peace and reconciliation guide.

5.3.1.2 Politics of language: ‘Turkish speaks Turkish’ vs ‘Greek speaks Greek’

One of the distinct language ideologies is the ‘one nation - one language’ belief, which has become a policy, adopted in many conflict-ridden contexts. In Cyprus, when there is heated debate about recognition of the language of the other in their respective communities, nationalistic ideologies and reactions emerge across the divide as ‘Turkish speaks Turkish’ and ‘Greek speaks Greek’, and those proposing the introduction and promotion of the language of the other are viewed as traitors by those nationalistic groups.

As mentioned by teachers of Turkish, Ms. Derya and Mr. Polat (pseudonyms), and the TCY union leader, at the fourth and then the fifth Education Assembly, held in 2010 in the North, the TCY KTOEÖS union leader emphasized their decision of proposing the introduction of Greek into the curriculum in the North and Turkish in the South. According to the TCY union leader, the rightist government refused their proposal. He said:

There were heated debates in the South regarding the Turkish language, and in the North, especially by Volkan [rightist newspaper published in the North], and the nationalist wing had very bad comments, viewing those who proposed this policy as accuser, incriminatory and traitor. According to them, those

proposing this policy are paid by the EU and they are spying, so better to declare the taken decisions null!

The issue of language is highly political, and it has been the subject of contentious debate. The photo (photograph 1) from the protest conducted by the North Cyprus Turkish Solidarity Movement is in confirmation of the TCY union leader's claims about negative attitudes from different layers of society against the decision taken by the Education Assembly proposing Greek and Turkish as compulsory languages in the North and the South. The poster reads, from left to right:



Figure 5.2: Photo taken 28 March 2015, from a North Cyprus Turkish Solidarity Movement protest against decisions taken by the Education Assembly, proposing Greek and Turkish as compulsory languages in the North and the South

1 - "Türkçe in, Rumca out" meaning "Greek dialect of Cyprus out, Turkish in"

2 - "Bizi kurtaran KTÖS değildi" meaning, "It was not KTOS (Cyprus Turkish Teachers Union) that saved us from the war"

3 - “Türküm, doğruyum, çalışkanım”!, meaning “I am Turkish, I am righteous, I am hard-working”!

4 - “Türküz. Dilimiz Türkçe”, meaning, “We are Turkish. Turkish is our language”.

In the above poster, held by nationalistic protesters, it is seen that language and ethnicity are heavily related to each other (slogan 1); the view held is that there is no place for the Greek language in our community. The slogan disregards the presence of the Cypriot dialect of Greek and emphasizes the status of Turkish, by saying “Dialect of Greek out, Turkish in”. The third poster states that being Turkish is a source of pride, where true Turkishness is explained as, “I am Turkish, I am hard-working, and I am righteous!”. In the last one, slogan four, it is clearly reflected that hard-working Turkish people speak “Turkish” as it is “our language”. It is clearly seen that ‘Turkish only’, that is, a ‘mother language, one nation-one language’ policy is intended here and voiced, while protesting against decisions that had emerged from the 5th Education Assembly in 2010.

5.3.1.3 Cypriot Greek Secondary Teachers’ Union (OELMEK)

My efforts to interview the leader of OELMEK resulted in failure. This is expected since schools, teachers’ unions and the society in general may have intense emotions towards issues of peace and conflict (Bar-Tal, 2004; Zembylas and Ferreira, 2009) and a lack of trust may create prejudice. Although I visited OELMEK in person, I could not get hold of the president of the teachers’ union during the time I was collecting data (in December, 2016 and during 2017). Following my visit, I made every effort to contact him by telephone. When I eventually got hold of him on

the phone, he was not positive about an interview. I was later informed by his secretary that this is a contentious topic and he did not want to participate. Nevertheless, as a secondary source, interviews given by Greek teachers of Turkish give an insight into the stance of OELMEK in the implementation process as a policy agent.

Indeed, since my topic of research is around issues of peace and conflict and given the fact that I am a TCY researcher, access to this particular union leader was difficult as this is a political topic, and perhaps the interviewee might not trust the interviewer.

Although I could not gather primary data directly, as mentioned earlier, during interviews it emerged that teachers of Turkish face technical and practical challenges that require leverage to bring to the attention of the MoEC, RoC. However, these Turkish language teachers voiced their complaints throughout the interviews. This was indicative of issues regarding policy in practice and a weak network of stakeholders. The next sub-category gives insight into the political position of the union with regards to Turkish as a *foreign* language in the public schools in the South, from teachers' perspectives.

5.3.1.4 The Union and Turkish language teachers' network in the South

The socio-political and cultural landscape of a country seems to play an important role in the emergence of spaces for forming a discussion and dialogue between unions and governments (Vaillant, 2005, p.76). The OELMEK is viewed as bystander by a majority of teachers of Turkish, since the union had failed in representation of Turkish language teachers and in the formulation of educational policies for solving

issues related to teaching Turkish in public schools. Bullying in the school setting, a debate on the future of Turkish as an optional language, the effect of the new curriculum upon optional languages, and teachers' losing their positions in schools were some of the political complications thoroughly highlighted by Turkish language teachers. By the time I was collecting data, bringing these matters to the attention of the union, Turkish language teachers were claiming that the union remained silent. In the same vein, the KTOEOS leader reported experiencing challenges in building dialogue with OELMEK for tabling bi-communal activities that required cooperation. During interviews with the Turkish language teachers, they complained about the union not listening to their concerns and not producing a solution to their problems. The failure of the union to assess the extent of the problem regarding the Turkish language and teachers' concerns of losing their positions due to insufficient teaching hours, and the union's silence regarding the process hindered the effective participation of teachers. Thus, Ms. Katie, Mr. Chrissa, Mr. Adamos and Ms. Miranda decided to withdraw their support for the secondary teachers' union as it was ineffective in representing them and voicing and processing their complaints and problems.

As Ms. Katie claims,

Teachers [were] not involved in the decision-making process by the key stakeholders and the secondary school teachers' union, OELMEK ... is not hearing, communicating with us, and the silence of MoEC as a major

stakeholder of education regarding the future of the Turkish language and Turkish language teachers leaves us in the middle of nowhere!

In this particular context, while the teachers' role is underestimated in the process of educational transformation, they are left in the middle of controversial political issues, ambiguities and uncertainties. This is in line with Hargreaves' (2005) remarks regarding issues of policy reform initiatives and the implications to stakeholders of education, such as teachers.

It was revealed in the interviews that the efforts of teachers to build a network among the stakeholders remained in limbo. By the time I was undertaking this research, educational changes had been made with the active involvement of OELMEK, as reported by Turkish language teachers. The new curriculum was put into practice by MoEC from September, 2016. As Ms. Chrissa informed me upon my question on their cooperation with the teachers' union:

The OELMEK! Now? It is not good... our relations is not good because they changed the whole curriculum and from September, I mean, from this that we passed and they left out the languages. They left Turkish, German, Italian, Spanish and Russian and we won't have many hours of teaching! Only if some of the students choose them but they made the curriculum in such a way that students won't be able to choose language!

Ms Chrissa, Turkish language teacher, face to face interview. Paphos, 2016

In the face to face interview with Ms. Chrissa and in similar interviews as shown in the Appendix 6, it is borne out that Turkish language teachers of Turkish, Mr. Adamos, Ms. Miranda, Ms. Chrissa and Mr. Yorgos, were all concerned about this change when we had the interviews in 2016, then they lost Turkish language teaching hours in the schools so in order to reach a set number of working hours, they were assigned various jobs at the Ministry of Education. Thus, the number of teaching hours of teachers was reduced, parallel to the number of students choosing Turkish as part of their new education programme. In the academic year 2019, as I was informed by Turkish language teacher, Ms. Chrissa, there are only 24 Turkish language students in the South. This suggests a dramatic decrease in the number of Turkish language students.

While the new educational policy restricted the number of teaching hours allocated for foreign languages, it also suggested no more jobs for the 400 unemployed Turkish language graduates in the South, as I was informed by the Professional Development and Research office at MoEC, RoC. Mr. Adamos brought up the same issue during our interview by criticising the new curriculum and the policy. He claims that students graduating from the Turkish language department at the University of Cyprus and in universities abroad will have an employment issue in the near future since the Turkish language has a fluctuating status in the wider community politically and socially in the South. This is another indication of sporadic and inconsistent educational policies regarding the 'language of the other' in the post-conflict context of Cyprus, which leads to issues such as the loss of jobs, lack of employment for

new Turkish language graduates, and the state requiring the acceptance of fewer students into the University of Cyprus's Turkology department.

So, part of the problem is an anti-foreign language attitude and decisions and this is not only a position against Turkish and Greek. This suggests another dimension to the problem. On one hand, the policy makers by the time I undertook this research prioritized science lessons (maths, biology, physics, etc) whereas languages become a secondary subject, are offered to students along with e.g. law, or literature. On the other hand, some of the teachers, (Ms. Charoulla, the Counselling teacher, Ms. Katie) informed me that there is a hidden agenda. According to these teachers, students in the South are guided to study at Greek universities in Greece. Although there is no official direct agenda against the Turkish language aimed at lowering its status, this policy seems to restrict the learning of foreign languages in general. This also suggests re-thinking the EU's suggestion for mother tongue plus two policy in Cyprus.

Languages, however, play an important role if we take into account the language diversity policy of the CoE and EU. However, neither Turkish nor other EU languages receive the necessary attention from the policymakers. As was raised clearly by both the KTOEÖS union leader and Mr. Adamos, it is necessary to learn each other's language in order to understand each other with less of a language barrier, and build a social network through the language of each other. Thus, most importantly, as Mr. Adamos highlighted, language must be a part of the peace process rather than leaving it behind, in the political agenda.

5.3.1.5 The Greek language teachers and MoEC network in the North

Greek language teachers in the North mainly complain about the MoEC, TRNC regarding the future of the Greek language, and its sporadic and inconsistent educational policies that leave teachers behind in many cases.

This is similar to the case of teachers of Turkish in the South. In this interview, Mr. Polat, one of the representatives of the teacher's union, suggested what needs to be done. As Mr. Polat informed me during our interview, the last time they discussed a need for arranging a meeting for Greek language teachers was when they randomly met a member of the MoEC, TRNC at the school on other ministerial business. In this informal chat, Mr. Polat and the expert from the ministry agreed to arrange a meeting at the MoEC for discussing the needs and challenges of the Greek language. However, they had never heard from the authorities then after. In the excerpt below, Mr Polat informed me about what basic problems they have in practice:

The procedure is ... as in the other school subjects: we the teachers go to the ministry and work voluntarily. We do not have a Greek language supervisor. So, we have to prepare our syllabus, design curriculum and, you know... To appoint a Greek language supervisor, one needs to have 11 years of experience in the field. However, we have all entered teaching since 2008-09. So, there is no expert to lead our meetings or give us expert knowledge.

Mr. Polat, Greek language teacher in the North, March 2016

Echoing Mr. Polat, Ms. Ada reports her experience and observations regarding the authorities' ignorance of the Greek language and language teachers and various issues surrounding this.

I am trying to figure this out. On the homepage of the Ministry it appears that Greek is still a pilot school subject - no Greek language is offered to the students after secondary school although they have optional foreign languages to choose from. To me, this is so bad for students because the parents ask us about continuation of Greek in the lyceum. Otherwise, if a student chooses Greek as an optional school subject at 6th year and studies it till graduating from secondary school, they want to continue the same optional school subject at the lyceum. What happens is that since there is no Greek language at lyceum, parents encourage their kids to choose German or French instead as these languages are offered at the lyceum and so students do not have to change school subjects when they go to lyceum.

As reported in the interview extracts above, Greek is not only offered among the competing European languages but also the absence of policy, resources and discontinuation of this language at the lyceum create a *hidden agenda* which slows down its implementation. This makes the Greek language lose its status, not only due to political reasons but to relatively practical, economic and pedagogical reasons too.

Top-down policy makers' silence and neglect to value teachers led to demotivation and created a culture of silence in the North. Emerging in the analysis of face to face interviews with language teachers of Greek, it is seen that in the North communication is weak among the teachers of Greek: they have no discussion group for communication. As quoted below, Mr. Polat and Ms. Ada contacted each other in the past nine years only when they substituted for one another due to Ms. Ada's maternity leave and Mr. Polat's short-term study leave in Greece. There is no collective initiative for questioning the future of the Greek language in the North. Teachers seemed to accept being a teacher of Greek as a passive role or duty. They viewed their position as a deliverer of knowledge-education, based on the central education system; teachers who are not involved in the system and are left behind with many uncertainties. However, during the interviews, Ms. Ada, Ms. Derya and other teachers reflected further, saying that their silence and lack of enthusiasm is due to the above-mentioned top-down indifference that they have not questioned or voiced their concerns for the future.

The educational change and transformation is mostly viewed as a rational and a technical process whereas the emotions of teachers, school communities and society are ignored. Teachers are viewed by many stakeholders as 'instrumental' in educational reform process (Datnow, 2000; Zembylas, 2010; Schultz & Zembylas, 2009; Hargraves, 2005). In this conceptualization of educational change, teachers and students of Greek in the North and South seem to be left behind. As I was informed during my face to face interviews with teachers, to grasp what happens in practice in the school setting, the majority of teachers stated that they are losing their

passion for teaching Greek since no authority deals with their problems, and similar to teachers of Turkish, they are left with uncertainties technically and pedagogically.

5.3.1.6 Financial and political constraints as obstacles to the promotion of Greek and Turkish languages: voices of various stakeholders

An expert in the MoEC and member of KTOEÖS, Mr. Hüseyin acknowledges in our face to face interview that the government's political agenda on language plays an important role, however, since its implementation there has been no political agenda on the subject of Greek as an optional language or its future. From my contact and interview with Mr. Sarp, an MoEC official, I understood that in the past three years neither political, pedagogical nor technical steps have been taken towards reviewing, improving or discussing the current and future state of the Greek language in the North. Echoed by many teachers of Greek, Mr. Sarp pointed out that there is no specific policy regarding the Greek language so that teachers are left in limbo, in a state of uncertain future. When asked him about a responsible person within the body of MoEC for Greek for an interview, I was informed that the person had retired and no other person had yet been appointed. So, there was nobody in charge and to employ someone there is a bureaucratic process to be followed. Thus, the appointment of an expert in charge of Greek as a foreign language will take some time. Mr. Sarp gave two underpinning reasons with regards to the implementation of Greek as an optional language and its promotion: as discussed earlier, one of them is political and the other is financial, which are in line with teachers', union leaders' and the interviewed Greek language teachers' views.

As reported by Mr. Sarp, the budget allocated for education as announced by the Ministry of Finance, TRNC is GBP 114,982,263.52 or TL656.968.300, insufficient for improving education and developing educational policies since the allocated budget cover teachers' salaries, transportation and other expenses. obstacle As reported by Mr. Huseyin, the amount allocated is for the general education and is not sufficient for employing language teachers, organizing in-service training for Greek language teachers' professional development, and meeting schools' needs for designated language classrooms, materials, and textbooks.

The secondary school teachers' union leader raised the financial dimension and insufficient budget allocated for education in the North when asked why not all schools offer Greek as optional language and about hindrances to its promotion:

Ministry tells you that you are going to employ 20 teachers, it is all about employing 20 teachers! ...nobody cares or take into consideration employment of teachers according to their field! Say there is a need for 101 teachers, the government says "employ 35 and just handle it!" and, they did not do anything about the Greek language!

Echoing the KTOEÖS leader, Greek language teachers emphasized financial constraints as an obstacle in promoting Greek in the North. According to a majority of the teachers, Greek should have become a priority and educational needs should have been reviewed. The teachers of Greek, who also act as union representatives at their respective schools, Mr. Salih and Mr. Polat, reported that due to lack of

cooperation and communication with the MoEC, nobody knows about the future of the Greek as an optional language.

As Ms Özge claims, what underpins finance-related educational problems is Turkey and the decades-old deadlock in the Cyprus problem. According to her, given the political status of the North, no other country other than Turkey recognizes TRNC and funds provided from Turkey are not sufficient to afford educational expenses and infrastructure.

Since the election in 2008, the government has consisted of rightist and leftist coalition parties, where the rightist party held the MoEC at the time I conducted this research. Since the Ministry of Education resigned and transferred to another rightist party on 2 November 2017, there was no minister, leading the education ministry; the coalition party leader, Democrat Party-Demokrat Parti (DP) was responsible for the ministry temporarily. By the time I was writing this thesis, no political agenda regarding Greek as an optional language was set. No budget was allocated for investment in foreign language education in the North or in the South though according to strategic budget policy, amount allocated for education in the South increased 38,69 million euro. So, the budget allocated for MoEC in the RoC for the academic year 2019 is 1 billion 78 million 125 euro (Ministry of Finance, 2019). There is no specific budget for Turkish as a language for rapprochement. It appears that language in education policy for peace and reconciliation require a separate budget in the transition stage from post-conflict education into peace education.

As emerged in the face to face interview data with teachers of Greek in the North, there are fossilised issues caused by financial constraints. In line with teachers' concern and their de-motivation in practice, teachers' strikes for employee rights and benefits by the time I was conducting class observations, and teacher shortages at various schools in different compulsory school subjects show that financial constraints determine priorities in education as well as political agendas. It is seen that Greek as an optional language is not a priority, or a concern in the educational **agenda of the policy makers.**

5.4 The question of Greek and Turkish language as compulsory school subjects across the divide in Cyprus

This sub-theme is related to RQ1: What are obstacles to promotion of Greek and Turkish language across the divide in Cyprus?

The highly-debated issue across the divide pertaining to the question of Greek and Turkish language as compulsory school subjects was discussed in an attempt to project the future of Greek and Turkish by exploring the views of those who have a stake in education in practice.

Quoting from Zakharia (2010, p.157), “[l]anguage is a complex site for ideological contestation, where asymmetrical power relations exist”. These asymmetrical relations exist between and among the stakeholders of education. In Cyprus, as explained thoroughly in this chapter, asymmetries in education have been observed between those who are in support of the introduction and implementation of Greek and Turkish and those who are against this policy, mainly far rightist groups. Beyond this, the introduction of Greek and Turkish into the curriculum in

this post-conflict context has created new vulnerabilities for teachers and students. This is triggered by a proposal from the 5th Educational Assembly in the North, which has become one of the contentious debates about introducing Greek and Turkish as compulsory school subjects into the curricula of secondary public education across the divide. Inspired by this contentious debate, I asked teachers and students about their attitudes towards making Greek and Turkish compulsory school subjects.

5.4.1 Students' views in the South

Many students interviewed in the South view that Turkish is a must-learn language due to its geo-political status; the majority of the participants indicate that learning of this language will be essential once a long-lasting settlement of the Cyprus problem is reached. Both Sotia and Effie (pseudonyms) show enthusiasm to learn Turkish, but believe that although there is a need to learn the language of the other community, making it a compulsory school subject may have a negative counter-effect. Students Sotia and Effie (see Appendix 5 for Sotia's full interview) base their view of not making Turkish a compulsory school subject on two factors. One of them is "not liking the Turkish language" and the other is "being the victim of invasion in one way or another", and therefore "not having positive attitudes towards the Turkish language". This answer of Effie, who is a daughter of a refugee father, brings an important dimension to our interview. She, once again, makes reference to the unresolved Cyprus problem and its implications on daily practices and common sociocultural problems. The face to face interview with Effie and Sotia from Pyrgos is below:

Me: Should Turkish language be a compulsory school subject? What do you think?

Sotia: ...there are people that don't view in the same way and ... kind of believe that these people have done so much stuff to the Cypriots, and so we should not force them to know it...!

Effie: I think we should not force students - people - because they might not like Turkish as a language or [they might] have the thing that the invasion made them become a refugee and they would not want to be involved!

(Interview with Ms. Chrissa's class; students Sotia and Effie, Northwest region school, South Cyprus, 2017)

In this particular context, while French, Italian, Spanish, German and English are considered as neutral European languages in the curriculum in both the North and the South, Turkish and Greek are the 'language of the (former) enemy' (Zembylas & Charalambous, 2016) and those who choose to study the other language is viewed as a 'traitor'. This is not the case with the other foreign languages offered in the curriculum.

Despite obstacles and given the fact that no settlement has been reached in Cyprus, from the students' perspective, making Turkish a compulsory school subject is perceived as '**forcing**' them to learn the language of the community with whom they had a war.

5.4.2 Students' views in the North

When TCY students are asked whether Greek should be a compulsory school subject or not, Esra acknowledged that “Greek is a necessary language to learn, however, it should not be compulsory given the fact that there are people who are not allowed to cross the border to the South for political restrictions or personal reasons ...”. In line with Esra, Vehbi thinks that “[Greek] should not be a compulsory school subject since no one can force the other to study or not to study it; however, it is a must-learn language”.

Ali, Esra’s classmate, is one of the very few students who answered this question by relating the use of Greek to the current political state across the island. According to Ali, “since English is a universal language, it is relatively a compulsory school subject as it is used across the geographies. However, compared to English, Greek is only needed in Cyprus and Greece. Not being a widely-needed language seems to limit its use and does not make it a necessary language to be learnt in the first place.”

Similar to his GCY peers, Ali is one of the very few students in the North who takes into account the unsettled Cyprus problem and its implications. According to Ali, in the case that all the physical borders are lifted and Cyprus is reunited, then there might be a need to make Greek in the North and Turkish in the South compulsory school subjects. But, only if “on the condition that they make Turkish compulsory on the other side!” Ali also emphasizes that it is essential for TCYs to learn the Cypriot dialect of Greek rather than standard Greek since the Cypriot dialect of Greek is spoken on the island and the language has traces of the shared past.

According to Nil, whose father is in the military on duty in Cyprus, she is not allowed to cross the border since she holds Turkish citizenship, like Leyla in Lefke, and Esmâ in Kyrenia. Being curious to learn Greek, Nil thinks that for those who are not allowed to cross the border, and discover and experience what happens in the South socially, learning their language is a way of unpacking the way of living of the target culture. According to her, learning a language should not be compulsory as there are many people with various learning motivations. Making Greek a compulsory school subject is not desired in the North, as in that of the South, as this is perceived as **'enforcement'** in education.

5.4.3 Teachers' views in the South

When teachers were asked about their views of political debate regarding Turkish as a compulsory school subject in the South, it was found that teachers' views vary and the political aspect of language and the unsettled Cyprus problem tend to determine the participants' views. During our interview, Turkish language teacher Mr. Adamos was critical of the political leaders over the last 40 years, that they systematically excluded Turkish in the public discourse even though it is an official language of the TCY community, according to constitution of the RoC (1960, article 3).

Referring back to a letter to the Mr. President of the time in the late '90s, Mr. Adamos says that revival of Turkish language as an official language in the South must be a part of the peace process and be on the political agenda for solution, as Greek and Turkish are the languages of RoC. According to Mr. Adamos, the issue of language competence must be solved before the solution is reached, "given the fact that you

cannot learn a language overnight”. To Mr. Adamos, language is a part of the solution, not something to leave until after the solution. So, he is critical of those who scheduled the revival and promotion of Turkish to be on then political agenda after solution, reminding and emphasizing that as Turkish is an official language by law, it should have regained its status in the government's offices and official circulars as one of the official languages of RoC. Given this background, Mr. Adamos underlines that learning the Turkish language should have been a priority in all sectors.

On the same question, Ms. Miranda acknowledged that it is her dream to see Turkish offered in schools as a compulsory language. As she puts it, it is promising to hear that there is a proposal to introduce Turkish as a compulsory language. According to Mrs. Chrissa, learning the language of the other “makes you more open minded and this helps [in communication of] the people living together. When you speak somebody's language, he is not a stranger to you or an enemy anymore! you can communicate, you can come closer”!

While Ms. Miranda, Ms. Katie and Ms. Chrissa agree that it is a promising step to learn Turkish as a compulsory language, they explain that “things have not been moved forward” since the proposal of this idea of introducing Greek and Turkish as compulsory school subjects across the divide. Given the political aspect of the language of the other, no priority is given to the Turkish language before reaching a comprehensive settlement on the Cyprus issue. Therefore, given the sensitivities of various stakeholders, timeliness is in parallel with the course of political affairs across the divide.

As opposed to Mr. Adamos, Ms. Miranda, Ms. Katie and Ms. Chrissa, Mr. Prodromos points out the political aspect of issues regarding Turkish as a compulsory language in the post-conflict context, and views that the right time for making Turkish compulsory is after solution, and expects that some people may react to this, but accept it in time.

In the same vein, Greek language teacher Mr. Polat and Turkish language teacher Ms. Miranda acknowledged that in practice some stakeholders might challenge the implementation of this policy, therefore determination is needed in tackling the challenge. Referring to the introduction of Ancient Greek into the curriculum in the South, Ms. Miranda voices the opinion that there were many parents who were against this policy, however, there was no change and this language was consequently accepted by stakeholders. On the other hand, Ms. Miranda thinks that the Church, actively involved in education policies in the South, will probably get involved to make the policy null and void as they are against the reunification of the island and Turkish is the **'language of the enemy'**

5.4.4 Teachers' views in the North

In the North, a lack of educational and economical infrastructure together with politics seem to shape Greek language teachers' view regarding Greek as a compulsory school subject. According to Mr. Salih, it makes sense to offer Greek as a compulsory language since more than half of the island speaks Greek as their native language. Given this reason, to him, Greek should be given a higher status than English, though not many people have the same view with regards to raising the status of Greek. According to him, learning Greek is not a priority for many. Agreeing with Mr. Polat, Mr. Salih refers to the current political state in the

island and says that it is not feasible in practice as already there are inequalities in education due to financial constraints. Making reference to the past six years of piloting Greek in the North as an optional language, the teacher voices that the current policy has not even reached 60-70% of the schools, not to mention the introduction of Greek as a compulsory school subject in all schools across the island.

Despite the fact that Mr. Polat supports the idea of introducing Greek and Turkish as compulsory school subjects into the curriculum, he holds the view that this policy sounds positive in theory whereas in practice it is not promising, since there are many political and practical challenges. Reminding of the attitude of far rightists' protests regarding proposals to introduce Greek and Turkish as compulsory school subjects, Mr. Polat claims that the current political state and negative attitudes of various stakeholders in the island do not allow this policy to be implemented or succeed in practice. Emphasizing political asymmetries with regards to this language proposal, according to him, "if an initiative is taken to put this language policy into practice, those who are against this policy may be halted by a group from the government, or school heads may reject implementation of this policy in their schools....". Mr. Polat's judgement reminds us that there are various (un)predictable human factor at various positions in education resisting change.

5.4.5 The stance of Cypriot Turkish Secondary Teachers' Union (KTOEÖS) vs Greek Cypriot Teachers' Union (OELMEK)

Despite their varying political and educational views, the unions across the divide organized bi-communal events, held on 16 January 2016. The EU representatives for education and MoEC, RoC met at the Buffer Zone for tabling 'Education in

Federal Cyprus'. The decisions of the bi-communal conference are presented in table 2 below. One of the core agenda items was introducing Turkish and Greek languages into curricula across the divide as compulsory school subjects, and the other was the question of the education system in the reunited, Federal Cyprus. In this bi-communal meeting, with a futuristic agenda, TCY and GCY unions took their stance in different camps, as follows:

Table 2: The stance of teachers' unions across the divide towards compulsion of language of each other in public education

Cypriot Turkish Teachers' Union	Type of Education System	Language	Cypriot Greek Teachers' Union	Type of Education System	Language
Cyprus Turkish Teachers' Union (KTOS)	Support single educational system under federal administration	Compulsory teaching of Greek and Turkish	Pancyprrian Organization of Greek Teachers ΠΟΕΔ (Παγκύπρια Οργάνωση Ελλήνων Δασκάλων)	did not take a position on having one or two educational systems	Supports the teaching of Turkish and Greek language but not clear whether it will be mandatory or on voluntary basis
	mixed schools			supports contact of GC-TC students and teachers	
	contact of GC-TC students and teachers			supports contact of GC-TC students	

				and teachers	
	revision of how history is taught				
Cyprus Turkish Secondary Teachers' Union (KTOEös)	Support for a single educational System under Federal Administration	Compulsory teaching of Greek and Turkish language	GCY Secondary Teachers Union (O EAMEK)	Supported separate educational systems	Teaching of Turkish on a voluntary basis
	support for mixed schools			did not take position on contact of GC-TC students and teachers	Compulsory teaching of Greek and Turkish
	contact of GC-TC students and teachers			supported the revision of history teaching	
	revision of history teaching			revision of history teaching	
			Teachers Union (OATEK)	Support for mixed schools	
				support of contact of GC-TC students	

				and teachers	
				revision of history teaching	
			MoEC	He supported contact of GC-TC students and teachers, did not take position on other issues.	
			MoEC		

While the TCY secondary school teachers' union, KTOÖES, supported and proposed the introduction of Greek and Turkish as a compulsory school subject across the divide, the OELMEK posited the view that "Turkish should be offered in the schools as optional and attendance to Turkish language class should be voluntary basis". In the conference, the MoEC supported the contact of GCY and TCY students and teachers, however, the ministry preferred taking no position against other issues tabled. This is in line with claims of the KTOEÖS leader's view and Turkish language teachers' claim that neither secondary teachers' union OELMEK nor MoEC in the RoC break their silence to communicate with Turkish language teachers with regards to pedagogic and technical issues related to the Turkish language and its future. The MoEC representatives of TRNC were not at the event, given the de facto recognition of the TRNC. Additionally, views of both unions

show that teachers' views as deliverers of educational policy into practice, and parents' and students' views with regards to their will to study Greek and Turkish as compulsory school subjects are underestimated. However, school heads, teachers and learners are at the heart of the policy-practice nexus, who guide the flow of educational policy in practice and create hidden agendas. I will be presenting this shortly in section 5.5 under 'De facto policies'.

5.5 Obstacles to the promotion of Greek and Turkish: de facto policies in the school environment

The cluster of problems relating to Language-in-Education (LEP) policy have emerged in practice in the midst of political contradictions, as foreign language policy and education itself has a political dimension. As opposed to top-down language policies created by policymakers, various groups (teachers' union, parents, students) take charge of creating new practices as far as LEP is concerned (Shohamy, 2010). In the context of Cyprus, de facto policies are created by those in practice with the aim of challenging and prohibiting the promotion of language and defeating the language of the other in their own area. As highlighted earlier, what underpins policy agents' attitude is primarily political and financial motives. I present next de facto policies that are created by policy agencies in practice to slow down implementation.

5.5.1 Administrative: head teachers' role in the process

Based on my observations and experience throughout this research and my contact with the school head teachers across the divide, I observed that head teachers have an important role to play and they are at a critical position between policy makers on

one side, and learners, teachers and parents on the other side. When it comes to implementing politically sensitive educational policies, the head teachers are authorities in their respected schools, who have their own policies based on their own political views, and in some cases, they have to consider the demography of the schools in decision-making and educational policy implementation in order not to cause conflict in the school setting. In the midst of politically sensitive situations, while some head teachers act as bystanders some are political in their school administration policies as gatekeepers. It appears that school demography plays an important role in school heads' support or resistance against policy implementation. Therefore, in some circumstances I observed that the weak communication among the key stakeholders (MoE, teachers' union, teachers) and the absence of head teachers and teachers in the decision-making process may cause a conflict in practice, which emerged in this research.

Based on his experience, one head teacher in the North highlighted that his school in Kyrenia consists of 550 students, most coming from Turkish expatriate families. Given the majority of students' and their parents' sensitivity to political issues, the head acknowledged that in his opinion offering Greek in this school might cause conflict. To this head teacher, allowing me into Greek language class is "... a waste of time, a burden on the school administration and there is no need as the Greek language is just there and nobody cares about it".

Similar to the head teacher's attitude towards the Greek language in the Kyrenia School, I had a similar experience in a school I gave the pseudonym Larnaca Border School, in the South East of Cyprus. Based on my field notes, dated 31 May 2016, I

visited the school to collect the informed consent form left at the school by Turkish language teacher Ms. Chara. At the school, I met the vice head teacher, Ms. Elenor. Apart from the fact that she wouldn't like the responsibility for having a TCY person in the class for observation or conducting interviews, her judgement was that there is no need for conducting research on such a politically sensitive topic. This was also a reflection that Turkish is a sensitive school subject at this school.

As opposed to other head teachers in the North and the South, the demography of school, social environment and political stance of some head teachers has a positive effect on them taking the initiative in the promotion of Greek or Turkish. Although he admits that he holds a rightist political view, head teacher Mr. Hasan in Omorphoe/Güzelyurt views that Greek was a language spoken by Turkish Cypriots when they lived in mixed villages before 1974. As he says, learning Greek is essential for instrumental and political reasons. As Greek language teacher Mr Salih reports, 70% of the school consists of Turkish-speaking Cypriot students whose parents or grandparents were refugees from the South and living in the North since 1974. As Mr. Salih reported, "...these students come from families who are competent in the Cypriot Dialect of Greek and the head teacher commenced afternoon Greek language classes for adults in the district of Omorphoe/Güzelyurt in cooperation with the KTOEÖS". According to him, the head teacher Mr. Hasan is very active, and he used to work very hard for a project along with the MoEC, funded by the EU, for having a designated foreign language class at their school. The head teacher also worked in cooperation with the Greek language teacher in order to organize an event on Language Diversity Week and at the End of Year

Demonstration in Greek, along with other foreign languages. In Lefke Apliç School, however, the head teacher prefers silence, and the stance of head teachers in many schools seemed to be highly influential on Greek teachers' motivation and passion in carrying out school-wide activities on language diversity week or end of school demonstrations.

5.5.2 Teachers and parents' demands

Shohamy (2010, p.281) explains that bottom-up initiatives may be taken by students' parents who want to demand their children's right to learn foreign languages. For instance, it was parents' demands to introduce English as early as possible, believing that English is a prestigious language that will play an important role in their child's career. Parents' bottom-up initiatives (Hornberger, 1996; McCarty, 2011; Wiley, 2014b in Garcia, 2016, p.50) suggest that they view foreign languages or the language of the other as an asset in various contexts. The majority of the teachers of Greek, Mr. Polat, Ms. Derya, Mr. Salih, and Ms. Ozge, pointed out the role of head teachers in the implementation process and how their decisions determine policy and practice. As they voiced, in some schools they have received the support of head teachers who either unsuccessfully demanded initiating Greek language classes, or requested their Greek language teachers to work full time at their schools.

In the extract below, Ms. Ada talks about her struggle in a school pseudonymed School Ata, based in the divided capital, the North Nicosia. The head teacher wants her to stay at this particular school as a full timer whereas in the other school, School Sanver, the head teacher refuses to initiate Greek as a foreign language, which

would provide Greek language students this opportunity to continue optional Greek at the lyceum.

As Mrs. Ada says:

The parents ask me what will happen with regards to students' choice of Greek language after year 9! [What I suggest to them is that] you should go to the ministry and make a demand for Greek as an optional foreign language at the lyceum. I tell them that if you become a group, consisting of 10-15 people, you can put pressure on the ministry and they might begin a class for those who want to study Greek. As far as I know, they opened a class in Famagusta for lyceum students.

Mrs. Ada guides parents to demand Greek language classes from the ministry. However, this does not go beyond verbal advice. Ms. Ada reported that the head teacher in the Sanver School, in the North, acknowledged that he does not want Greek to be taught in his school even though students and parents demand continuation of Greek in the lyceum.

While there is an absence of political interest or official educational agenda with regards to the future of the Greek language, it can be seen that there is also no interest in some schools at local level for taking the issue of Greek to school administration for the next step. This is what I observed when I had a meeting with one of the joined lyceums, Lyceum Apliç, in the North West, Lefke region. Although Ms. Derya was doing her best to teach Greek to secondary and lyceum students, it is understood from my interview with the head teacher of the school that they have

never taken an opportunity to bring issues and concerns regarding Greek to the MoEC. This suggests that there is a very weak communication between and among the stakeholders of education.

A similar case is seen in the Mountain School (secondary school) in the Kyrenia district. However, here parents regard Greek as an important language, necessary for those living in Cyprus, and for their children's future. In this school, there was cooperation between the language teacher, students and parents, who successfully demanded a Greek language course at the lyceum. This is a great achievement and example of what people who have a stake can achieve if they are determined. As in the case of Tel Aviv, Israel, where parents demanded that their children be taught Arabic, it seems that teacher-parent-student cooperation and initiatives created a form of LEP at grassroots level. They believe that Greek is necessary since it is one of the languages spoken on the island. Additionally, they seem to consider each other's language important for the next generation, if one day they happen to live under a Federal Cyprus. Therefore, to some TCY parents, Greek is a language of a majority of pre-war generation TCY.

5.5.2.1 Teachers' place in education in the North and the South

A number of Greek language teachers deplore the key stakeholders' unwillingness to table and produce educational policies for Greek as a neighbouring language. Since there is a hierarchical power relation, if one of the key stakeholders acts as a bystander, a number of other issues emerge, where teachers are left alone in the system. Lack of cooperation among and between the teachers of Greek and the MoEC seem to create an issue for teachers in the North. These provoke other

problems as far as education in the Greek optional language is concerned. Since this is a central education system, while some teachers feel the pressure of following the official line, others are critical of this given the current situation. However, there is an issue of silence, and lack of collaboration and networking. In fact, Mr. Salih's view remind us Biesta (2015, p.75) who question purpose of education and discuss teachers' as professionals who need space for judgement as they are considered important for education as agency. Embedding Mr. Salih and Mr. Polat's analysis into Biesta's discussion, though teachers are one of the key elements of education function as important agency, their space for judgement is intimidated recently in education and school heads and their roles in education is forgotten. In Hargreaves' (2010) terms, the implementation of educational reforms in the midst of political conflicts, aimed at educational reform and transformation, do not always result in success since teachers, school, and society as stakeholders may not support what is proposed as an educational policy.

5.5.2.2 Prejudice-informed bullying: 'Us' as the other language teachers in the South

Although Greek and Turkish language teachers and students were asked the same question regarding their experiences of the languages, it is only teachers of Turkish who reported that some incidents affected them profoundly, especially in the early years of their career. Similarly, students of Turkish came across with prejudice-related attitudes which emerged as a theme in this research. As Mr. Prodromos reported, Turkish language teachers and the status of the Turkish language are underestimated by various stakeholders in education. Most importantly, the school

administrations have a negative attitude towards this language, and ethnicity-related bullying in schools seems to receive no penalty. In the school, where Mr. Prodromos works, no status was given to Turkish in the annual school catalogue. Echoing Mr. Yorgos, Ms. Miranda put forward the same school policy, where teachers of Turkish are underestimated.

Similarly, Ms. Argyro reports on a similar hidden agenda in her daughter's school who wish to study Turkish as an optional language, but she was informed by the school administration that there are not enough students to open a class for Turkish. However, Ms. Argyro claims that there are many students who wish to study Turkish but administrators guide them to alternative lessons.

It seems that Greek and Turkish language teachers and students tackle various socio-political challenges as a reflection of the political context. While Greek language teachers lose their motivation, borrowing Garcia's (2016) terms, as a result of the null policy, Turkish language teachers do not only face top-down political challenges, they also have workplace conflict in the form of bullying in different school settings as some head teachers as heads of school administration acts as bystanders. Thus, securing their position in schools as teachers of the language of the enemy and gaining respect and status is a challenging enterprise. I will be shortly looking at bullying in

5.6 Students' identity formation in Greek and Turkish language classes in the post-conflict context

Theme II is related to RQ 2: What roles and functions have language play in its socio-historical context in Cyprus?

Language and identity are inseparable, as La Plage and Tabouret-Keller (1985) explain. In the troubled past of Cyprus, language, religion and history determine the borders of identity. It is widely known that each historical period has an impact on identity formation, evolved around religion and identity. Starting from the Ottoman era (1571-1878) and continuing after the annexation of Cyprus to Britain (1878-1960), people of Cyprus were categorized as either Moslems or Orthodox Christians. People of Cyprus transformed their religious identities into ethnic identities after independence from Britain in 1960s. “[L]inguistic/native languages” have become part of the identity of people who identify themselves as Cypriots (Bryant, 2004). This led to the birth of identity-formation based on ethnicity (e.g. Cyprio-centrism) as I explain next.

5.6.1 Cypriotness as an element of identity

Inspired by one of the heated social and political debates on identity and its relation to Cyprio-centrism, there is a debate about whether people living on the island are Turk-Greek (rightist view of identity), Turkish Cypriot-Greek Cypriot (ethnic and linguistic identification), Cypriot only (pro-peace supporters-activists view), and Turkish-speaking Cypriot or Greek-speaking Cypriot. In all categorizations there is a linguistic reference to identity: differentiation of identity through language under the overarching term of ‘Cypriotness’. As can be seen, the language and identity

relationship has been brought to attention and is a contentious subject of controversial politics within and between the communities in Cyprus (Papadakis in Cakal, 2017, p.229).

Informed by controversial societal discussions on “Cypriotcentrism”, I wondered how my participants as individuals define their own identity, rather than social identities defined and created by various public agents for the communities. Exploring the personal definition of identity formation of an individual participant would have informed me about where ‘the other’(enemy and/or TCY-GCY, living across the divide) is placed; if there is a space and place for ‘the other’ within the definition and social construction of identity in the minds of TCY-GCY or vice versa.

Since this research looks to the future but was conducted among the participants living in a politically and socially divided country, it is important to understand the political and societal roles of language in relation to identity formation. What is important to understand here is whether there is a place for TCY and GCY and vice versa in their form of identity. While the majority of interviewed GCY participants associate Cypriotness with the Cypriot dialect of Greek and Orthodox Christianity, in this form of identity conceptualization TCY people who feel Cypriot are left behind. What underpins the debate regarding identity is asymmetrical political views, proposed by various political groups as: “We are all Cypriots, we can live together” as opposed to anti-solution activists voicing that “We are Turkish. Turkish people speak Turkish only” or nationalistic language policy aimed to perpetuate the wider community as “Dialect of Greek out, Turkish in”, as mentioned earlier.

Analysis of this research question leads to the emergence of elements of identity in this particular context as dialects of Cyprus as languages determining 'who we are not', 'religion and religious practices' as elements of difference between one community and another, and proud history, comprised of troubled past and collective memory, silencing the other truth and perpetuating itself as the only victim.

5.6.1.1 The role of dialect in identity formation

In the troubled context of Cyprus, identity emerged as a major theme. I explore the emergence of identity in the post-conflict context of Cyprus and the relation of language to identity and culture. In this particular context, language has a number of roles to play. As Shohamy (2006, p.41) noted,

languages express national (or other) identities that are often embedded in shared history and cultures; they are also ideological because they are associated with aspirations of unity, loyalty, and patriotism; they are social because they are perceived as symbols of status, power, group identity, and belonging, and they are economic because knowledge of language can be linked to different types of economic consequences, positive as well as negative.

Emerging from in the data, dialect is one of the important elements of linguistic identity of those viewing themselves as native Cypriots. As Kızılyürek (2010) puts it, the Turkish dialect spoken by Cypriots and standard Turkish spoken by people living in Turkey have an "uneasy relationship". From the analysis, while talking about 'Cypriotness', no matter whether the students identify as Turkish, Turkish Cypriot or

Greek, Greek Cypriot they used lexical and phonological elements as indicators of ethnolinguistic differentiation of Turkish Cypriot-Greek Cypriot from Turkishness/Greekness and vice versa. Elements of identity also play both divisive and unifying roles.

5.6.1.2 Cypriot dialect of Turkish as an element of linguistic identity; hard vs soft language in the North

When asked about what Cypriotness means to them, a majority of secondary school students studying Greek as an optional foreign or neighbours' language in the North identified themselves as Turkish Cypriot, but some used Cypriot interchangeably. In their analysis, they particularly made reference to 'Cypriotness' at various levels in identity formation (see Appendix 4). For instance, secondary school student Can studying Greek as an option relates the features of being Cypriot to the dialect of language spoken, and says it is this language that represents his characteristic as a Cypriot, differentiating himself from the others. As quoted below:

Can: Obviously, Cypriotness is something I like... It really fits into my characteristic...I am not a polite person... I can't say that I am a polite person... that is why Cypriotness is something I like...

Me: What do you mean by 'politeness'?

Can: Our way of speaking, there is a difference compared to Turkey...People from Turkey are politer, speak politer ... Cypriots are more tough, hard...that is to say, since my way of speaking is hard, I feel more attached to Cypriotness.

*(Interview with Can, student,
Güzelyurt, January 2017)*

In the above quotation, in Can's view, his behaviour and the language dialect he speaks are interrelated, represent who he is and show his belongingness to this particular native culture in Cyprus. Can shows how he forms a group identity through his behavioural characteristic and the linguistic features of the language he uses. So, as Shohamy (ibid) highlights in her definition, group identity is formed through **accent-dialect** used by a particular community and this is an indication of a group identity and reflection of belongingness. Here, Can emphasizes the phonological relationship of his language to his personality and the interrelation of his personality and language. Can's explanation of his language and identity relation and perception is very much in line with Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985), who state that "[l]anguage acts are acts of identity".

In the same vein, a number of Greek language students at different schools reflect on the relation of dialect and the characteristics of speakers. Hira, from one of the schools in Omorphoe/Güzelyurt in the North, echoes Can in Beşparmak school in Kyrenia region. As she notes, "We are tough people, we speak like a 'chav' but people in Turkey, they are very polite. Sounds polite"! As she explains, while Turkish is a polite language spoken by warm-hearted people, the Cypriot dialect of Turkish, spoken by Turkish Cypriots is a hard language that also represents its speakers, who are distant compared to Turkish people. Mertkan echoes Cem and says that Turkish people sounds politer compared to TCYs. Born in England and brought up in North Cyprus, Mertkan compares Turkish and Greek saying that "Greek language

is polite: indicates a high-culture language, as does Turkish spoken in Turkey” whereas “the dialect of Greek spoken in Cyprus is different, it is similar to Turkish we speak in Cyprus”.

Another student, Esra, talks about language as one of the elements in distinguishing her from in-group members who are speakers of Turkish in Turkey. It is understood that elements of language shape contours of her Cypriot identity. According to Esra, Turkish is a polite language and the Cypriot dialect of Turkish sounds hard. Based at Lefke region, Northwest of Cyprus, Esra relates her speaking style and dialect as not as polite as Turkish spoken in Turkey and says that she finds the standard pronunciation “strange”. Born and brought up in an inter-marriage family, Esra’s father speaks standard Turkish. She says that she cannot pronounce the word “badadez” (potatoes) as “patates” as it is pronounced in standard Turkish, since what is most common and acceptable in her social circle is “badadez”. That is, in the dialect Turkish ‘P’ is substituted with ‘B’ as in the example of “Badadez” and “Patates” in standard Turkish. It is ‘badada’ in Greek. In this example, students use linguistic elements as a boundary between varieties of language, spoken by in-group members. It emerges in this face to face interview that the lexical choice of the interlocutor also determines the linguistic variety and form of a particular language.

5.6.1.3 Cypriot dialect of Greek as an element of linguistic identity; hard vs soft language in the South

In the same vein, a number of GCY students emphasized the role and importance of language in forming their identity (see Appendix 5). Sotia, who is a student of Turkish at the lyceum level, explains the relation of language and Cypriot identity:

Sotia: It is the language [that] should be representing Cyprus, because we are all Cypriots, even Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots again, it is the element of Cypriots, so ...

Me: That means a dialect of Greek?

Chrissa: Yeah!

Me: Greek dialect of Cyprus?

Sotia: Greek dialect of Cyprus yeah but it is not Greek! Greek is... different in Greece.

Me: But, you mean the language the majority speaks in the South?

Sotia: Yeah...! Like we learn Greek at school, but the dialect we speak in everyday life is Cypriot!

*(Interview with **Sotia**, student, Pyrgos, South Cyprus, February, 2017)*

Reflecting on participating students' perceptions of identity across the divide, it is seen that "Cypriotness", or one element of "Cypriotness", refers to the language dialects spoken in this particular geography. That is, identity represents both *locality* and *linguistic identity*. While language differentiates in-group members from the major group, they feel attached to it in terms of nationhood; shaped in the midst of their shared past, the unique Cypriot dialects of Greek and Turkish play an important role in understanding and exploring what Cypriotness means.

5.6.1.4 Lexical borrowings as part of shared history and culture

In their bilingual dictionary of Cypriot dialects of Turkish and Greek, with the history and etymology, Kabataş and Hacıperis (2017) inform us that there are 3,500 common words. While the Greek dialect borrows 1840 words from Turkish, the number of loanwords in Turkish from Greek is 840 words. In fact, lexical borrowings between Turkish and Greek dialects were actively transferred from one language into another until the ethno-political division on 20 July 1974. This is also a reflection of shared history and culture, shaping the linguistic repertoire. The diagram below visualises the linguistic relationships of in-group and outside-group members as well as the linguistic relationship within and between Cypriot communities. Indeed, socio-political and economic relations and inter-communal relations are major factors in shaping and re-shaping the forms of languages.

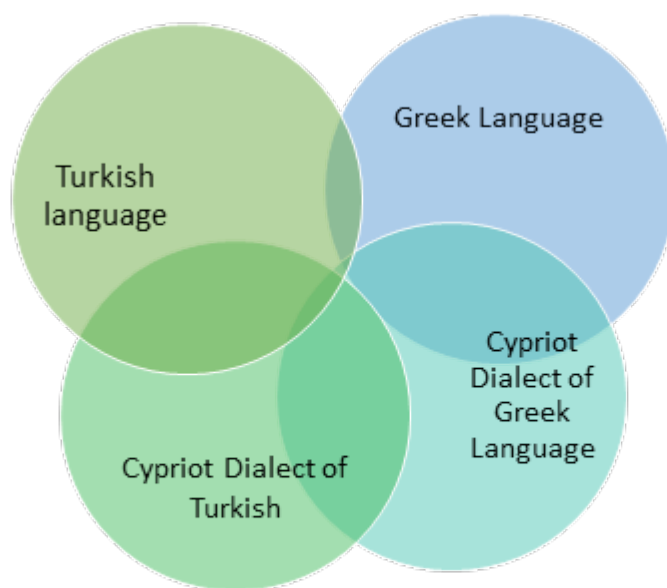


Figure 5.3: *Linguistic interaction of language in Cyprus*

5.6.1.5 The Turkish Cypriot context and lexical choices and relationship as elements of linguistic identity

In our face to face interview, one of the secondary school students, Mertkan, reflects how he acquires the Cypriot dialect of Greek. Mertkan says that they occasionally learn some words of Cypriot Dialect of Greek (CDP) in the class. Although limited, he says that he has some competence in CDP through his grandparents. In the same vein, Cem, Esra and Can at various schools also focused attention on the lexical relationship of Cypriot dialects of Greek and Turkish and the differentiation caused by lexical choice between dialect and standard varieties of Greek and Turkish as elements of Cypriotness, which also suggests a shared past and the emergence of common linguistic repertoire between GCY and TCY.

A student named Cem, who has a TCY father and a Turkish mother, notes that, “for instance, if ‘they’ say ‘dönemeç’ (roundabout), ‘we’ say ‘roundabout’”. The difference he mentions here is lexical. While ‘dönemeç’ is a word used in standard Turkish by people in Turkey, ‘roundabout’ is borrowed from English as a result of the British Administration in Cyprus from 1871 until independence from Britain in 1960 (Kızılyürek, 2010). Many British words entered into dialects spoken in Cyprus through contact with Britain and foreign words become stronger in the language as a result of daily use. So, its controversial history also shaped and reshaped the use of language linguistically, phonetically, and grammatically not only in English, as I will be turning to discuss, Turkish and Greek languages spoken in Cyprus have borrowings from each other as well.

Another example is about the word “asparagus”. Cem says that “they”, referring to people in Turkey, say “kuşkonmaz” (asparagus in standard Turkish); “we”, indicating TCY people, say “ayrelli” (asparagus in Cypriot dialect). That is to say, quite different. Traces of dual lexical borrowings are visible in Cem’s example. While Cem says Turkish people name asparagus as “kuşkonmaz”; in the Turkish Cypriot dialect and the dialect of Greek spoken in the South, asparagus is named as “Ayrelli and Ayrella-σπαράγγι” respectively (Kabataş, 2017). Not only the word but the way this wild plant is cooked is unique to Cyprus. While Greek and Turkish language students and Sotia gave the same example, they also highlighted differences of Turkish, Greek and Cypriot cuisine as elements, differentiating their Cypriot cuisine from the motherlands of Greece and Turkey.

In this next example, Cem talks about the uneasy relationship of the TCY dialect and Turkish. According to him, “in the past, our grandfathers” used to say “gavorkana”; meaning “Damn...God!”, that is, “kahretsin!” that a person uses to express his/her surprise. This expression does not exist in standard Turkish. In Cem’s opinion, this expression and similar expressions are inherited from our grandparents and “our talk sounds funnier” compared to language spoken by those from Turkey. Another student, Ajda, reports that there are some common words between dialects of Greek and Turkish languages though she did not recall them at the time of the interview. She also says that she assumes there are common songs since Greek and Turkish Cypriots used to live together in the past in the mixed villages, however, she does not remember hearing a Greek song. Although Ajda comes to this conclusion that those lived together borrowed from each other linguistically, it seems that the

majority of students build common words through their relatives, members of family who are in contact with GCY people through business. This is how Sinem learns common words between dialects of Greek and Turkish, when her uncle, who works as a lorry driver in the South, uses some common Greek words when they interact at family gatherings. Similarly, Mertkan reports that his granddad, who got involved in the clashes between GCY and TCY in 1974 as a war prisoner, can speak Greek and uses lexical borrowings so this is how he knows some common words. In the same vein, Arda shown awareness that there are intercultural similarities and not many differences, since her grandparents used to live in the same neighbourhood as GCYs.

In a group interview in one of the Greek language classes with lyceum students in the North West of Cyprus and Omorphoe area, I was informed by Mr. Salih, Greek language teacher that the class consists of a number of local students who have relatives displaced from the South to the North. Those people used to live in the GCY neighbourhood and worked together or lived in mixed villages before 1974. Therefore, Mr. Salih's students seem to be more competent in the Cypriot dialect of Greek, compared to students in Nicosia, Kyrenia or Famagusta. As described in the methodology section, the demography of classes in Kyrenia, Famagusta and Nicosia is mixed, consisting of students born and brought up in families who arrived in Cyprus in 1975, mainly from Turkey. So, the linguistic competence of these students in dialects of Turkish and Greek is weaker compared to those born and brought up in Cyprus with family members displaced from the South. This suggests that inter-group contact facilitates the mutual transfer of words, creating a common ground for

the interaction of languages, cultures and traditions. Taking into account the inseparable aspect of language and identity, language plays an important role in determining the borders of TCY and GCY identity in this post-conflict context.

5.6.1.6 The Greek Cypriot context and lexical choice and relationship as elements of linguistic identity

In the category of lexical borrowings, in this part, Turkish language students' awareness of lexical borrowings and common words from Greek into Cypriot Turkish are explored. Based on my school visits, formal and informal talks with language teachers of Turkish, group interviews and face to face interviews with students, I observed that talking about the past in the family is rare among the social circle of these interviewees, who were GCYs displaced from the North to the South in 1974. For instance, when asked about how she learns about the past, Sotia in Pyrgos said that her father does not want to talk about the past. While talking about his war prisoner father, Turkish language teachers Mr. Yiannis mentions the traumatic experiences of his father and how he refuses to talk about the past. At a number of schools I visited, I observed that questions put by students in our group interviews reflect a knowledge gap and lack of intercultural awareness. What underpins this is that there is a silence or reservation in talking about the past in the students' social circles. Additionally, there is censorship in formal education. Thus, the collective memory of the shared past, before the 1960s when TCY and GCY used to live together, seems not to be narrated to the post-conflict generation.

Savvia and Savvia's mother, who was present during our interview, along with Savvia's Turkish language teacher, Ms. Katie, informed me that they come from a

refugee family, displaced in 1974. Based on this information, I asked them whether or not members of their family can speak Turkish as they used to live in a TCY neighbourhood. While Savvia's mother says that she knows some words and according to Ms. Katie, since "most of the Greek Cypriot people that learn Turkish, from TCY, they learn it from people who are not educated!" Therefore, linguistic competence of most of the laypeople is Cypriot dialect of Turkish whereas language taught in the school is Turkish spoken in Turkey.

When asked about their awareness of Turkish spoken in Cyprus, in a group interview with Theodora, Karmella and Solomo, the following data emerged regarding the role of contact and awareness about 'the other':

Me: OK, what about the language? What do you learn about the language?

Theododo: Yes...We learn common words about the 'gave', 'kaffe', 'drabez'

Karmella: There are many words that we took from them! ...from Turks...

Solomos: We are using them today...

Me: Is it Turkish Cypriot dialect, or Turkish?

Theododo: Turkish...

Karmella: I think it is Turkish Cypriot...

*(interview with students, Pyrgos, South Cyprus,
February, 2017)*

In the above excerpt it is revealed that three of these students are aware of lexical borrowings between Greek and Turkish languages. While 'kaffe' is 'gavve' in the

Cypriot dialect of Turkish, these coffee shops are mainly visited by men for traditional Cypriot coffee and they play the common game, as it's called in TCY and GCY dialect, tavli/tavla, that is, backgammon. These students are not aware that these words very much reflect Cypriot dialect and culture. In my class observations (see Appendix 7), face to face interviews with teachers, my engagement in teachers' room discussions, and activities in the classroom, I observed that there is limited awareness and almost no involvement of common words or lexical borrowing while teaching Turkish as a foreign language.

For instance, “maşallah-işallah” are two common words, used by both Greek and Turkish Cypriots as an indicator of wish. Both words entered into Turkish through the Arabic language with the spread of Islam in the region. The Cypriot dialect of Greek borrowed this word from Turkish, or the Cypriot dialect of Turkish, and the word falls within the religious linguistic repertoire. One of the GCY students, Costas, who acknowledged himself, and this was confirmed by his Turkish language teacher, that he is prejudiced against Turkish, TCY and Muslim people and the way they live, frequently used this word while answering interview questions. However, he is unaware that this is a religious word in Islam, transferred into CDG through GCY contact with Muslim TCY before 1974.

5.6.2 Language as identity and ideology

In the first phase of group interviews, conducted at the visited schools for the purpose of building trust between the researcher and the participant students in the South, I was able to access rich data, informing this research with the concerns and questions of the students about the other community. The data below emerged when

I conducted a group interview with students in one of the schools in Yereskipou and central Paphos in South Cyprus. As revealed, in these schools, the students attach identity (Cypriotness) to language; in this case, being Cypriot means being able to speak Greek, otherwise you are not a “pure/native Cypriot” since they think that the ancestors of people living in the North are originally from Turkey, who cannot speak Greek and are Muslim by religion, not Christian. I explain the relation of identity and religion in a separate sub-category (see **5.3 Religion as an element of identity**).

Andreas, a student, wonders why I, as a Cypriot, do not speak Greek even though I say that I am a Cypriot. According to lyceum student Andreas, a Cypriot speaks Greek. In line with Andrea’s way of relating language and identity, Nicholas accentuates that “I am from Cyprus, and I speak Greek”. Costas in one of the schools in the North West of Tilliria area, Pyrgos, he posits the following view of being a Cypriot:

Me: Who are Cypriots, then?

Costas: The definition for me is one who was born in Cyprus, lives in Cyprus forever and someone who has to come [from] one country, Cyprus with no other connection ... Ideally, they live in Cyprus as such, Turkish Cypriots, but ... they are not in the same category as Cypriots because it is their grandparents and all the aged people that came to Cyprus. ...They were from Turkey! Essentially, so they are not the same!

Me: OK

*(interview with Mitsi, student, Pyrgos, South
Cyprus, February, 2017)*

In this interview extract above, the student tries to figure out the question of being Cypriot but not speaking Greek. As their teacher Ms. Chrissa explains, what is perpetuated in the community is that “to be Cypriot means, I speak Greek” otherwise you are not Cypriot. According to Costas, being born in Cyprus does not necessarily mean you are Cypriot; in his view, no matter when, member of people living in the North have Turkish roots, speak Turkish and they are originally from Turkey, who were moved to Cyprus from Turkey.

In the following interview extract, to this student there is no difference between a Turk from Turkey and a TCY, living in Cyprus. In fact, I observed this knowledge gap and attachment of ‘Cypriotness’ to ‘speaking the Cypriot dialect of Greek and being Orthodox Christian’ throughout my interviews with the students and class observations in the South. This is not only the exclusion of the other from this particular social identity but also reflects the need of learning to live together in harmony with each other (TCY and GCY along with other minorities) no matter what religion, language and ethnicity people belong to. It is seen that different elements of life have shaped their concept of ‘Cypriotness’ as they lived in a divided country. This again reflects the shortcomings of the education.

Pampos: How [to live] in Cyprus and not speak Greek?

Me: OK.... Hmmm

Ms. Charra: It is something difficult for them to understand, because to be Cypriot means, “I speak Greek!”

Me: OK.

(in-class group interview with Ms. Charra and student Pamos, Paphos, South Cyprus, March, 2017)

In Pamos’s understanding of Cypriotness, one must be “born and brought up in Cyprus”, “have no attachment at all to any other country” and speak Greek as one’s native language. Given this definition, in his understanding, Pamos detaches TCY from the concept of being Cypriot. He depicts boundaries between and among the otherness through elements of language and history. One of the heated debates in the political discourse and in the literature on the question of identity, Cypriotness and historical 'motherland nationalism' is who the native Cypriot is (Kizilyurek, 2003; Papadakis, 2018; Psaltis and Cakal; 2016; Cirali, 2016)

5.6.2.1 In-group conflict: Elleno Gibriya vs Gibriya

In the example below, a student shows awareness that Greece is influential on her language and identity. Since ‘Gibriya’ was coined by the Cypricentrist view (Papadakis, 2000), meaning originally from Cyprus, with language, traditions and customs unique to the people of Cyprus living in Cyprus, ‘Elleno’ emphasizes one’s attachment to Greece as their mainland, stressing Hellenic Paidea. ‘Gibriya-Cypriot’ is used to emphasize belongingness to Cyprus as one’s homeland: ethnically, politically, culturally, and linguistically. However, ‘Elleno Gibriya’ refers to

belongingness to the mainland, Greece. Maro gives insight into perceptions of Elleno Gibriya and Gibriya in the interview:

Maro: But...I know that we have the Greek language and we are influenced more by Greeks, and we are very similar to them...

Me: How do you express your identity?

Maro: Greek Cypriot.

Me: What do you call this in Greek?

Maro: Elleno Gibri.

Me: Gibriya and Elleno Gibriya, are they the same?

Maro: Eh, it depends!

Me: Can you tell me about that?

Maro: Some people ... they do not think that they belong to Greek, Greece, and ...we belong... I don't know, I don't know how to say it. **We are not the same people but we have much in common ... like religion and language.**

Me: When people say 'Gibriya', do they feel more attached to Cyprus as homeland?

Maro: Yeah... but on our ID cards, it says, 'Elleno Gibri'.

*(in-class group interview with student Maro,
Paphos, South Cyprus, March 2017)*

This student, Maro, explains that they are not 'the same' as Greeks but share some common features through language, religion and history. Another student, Yota,

reports that her classmates do not like it when she expresses herself as 'Gibriyaga', meaning 'Cypriot' rather than 'Elleno Gibriya'. To her friends, refusing to say 'Elleno Gibriya' is refusal of your ancestors. Her friends blame her to be a traitor as she refuses to say 'Elleno Gibriya' but says 'Gibriya'. What bids Maro to Greece is common features, as she describes. As can be seen, language and identity is a controversial issue, not only between two ethnically and religiously different communities but also within in-group members in the wider community. This seem to cause political fanaticism in Cyprus.

5.7 Religion as in-group identity

Religion is another element that plays an important role within conflict-affected and divided communities. Diez de Velasco (2007) describes four models of religion, as theocratic, official religion, secular and multi-religious models. In the theocratic education model, religion and education are interrelated, while in the official national religion model, religion is viewed as a fundamental element of the national identity as in that of Cyprus, Greece, Israel, and Pakistan, for example (Loukaidis & Zembylas, 2017, p.178). In the third model, the state and religion are completely separate as in that of France, where there is no religious instruction in schools. In the fourth model, proposed by Diez de Velasco (2007) and others, the core idea is that all religions are equal, aimed at promoting "high-minded principles of tolerance, intercultural understanding and empathy" (in Loukaidis & Zembylas, 2017, p.179) While most Turkish Cypriot people living in the North identify as Sunni Muslim, most Greek Cypriots in the South are Greek Orthodox (Loukaidis & Zembylas, 2017, p.177).

5.7.1 Islam as an element of identity in North Cyprus

In the example below, Vehbi explains his pride of being a Cypriot. He describes being a Cypriot as a joy and pride. As he says, “being a Cypriot is a freedom”. Being a Cypriot is the most important difference, suggesting “you are not Turkish”. When asked what this ‘freedom’ embraces, he said that to him, freedom is “freedom in religion, where there is no religious oppression, meaning nobody forces you to practise religion”. To a great majority of students, religion is not politicized but it is personal in the North, to those who identify themselves with ‘Cypriotness’. According to him, “they”, top people in the political circle in Turkey, interfere with everything, whereas religious practice is different in the Cypriot way of living: culture, politics and public life.

When asked about Cypriot culture, one of the Greek language students, Melek from Turkey, makes observations about religion as a cultural practice in Cyprus. According to Melek, “everything is different in Cyprus... everyone believes in religion but they do not have much open religion” and, “it is not only the religious culture but the cuisine, way of dressing and living, that are different compared to Turkey”. In the same vein, Melek’s classmate Esma observes that people living in North Cyprus have different ways of religious practice, where religion is not as visible as it is in Turkey.

Religion is not a primary element of TCY students’ identity. Rather, its practice is personal and the absence of religious oppression is their freedom in the socio-political environment of North Cyprus. Attempts to politicize religion generates reaction, as it is viewed that Turkey has a top-down policy desiring to interfere with

religion in Cyprus through building mosques and opening schools offering Islamic education. It is widely voiced in the island that this political behaviour is an attempt to assimilate religion into Cypriot culture and the Cypriot way of living. From the interview with Cem and Can, it appears that in the view of some of these students, freedom is related to an absence of political suppression through religion. To them, Cypriotness embraces freedom. Another element is language, as expressed thoroughly, in that dialect differentiates members of major groups from members of sub-groups.

5.7.2 Orthodox Christianity as an element of identity in South Cyprus

When asked about what Cypriotness means to them, most students in the South reported that Cypriotness is related to their 'language, traditions and customs, religion and history'. As opposed to students' answers in the North, religion emerges as one of the main elements, defining their identity from a religious perspective, which is in line with religious education. Religious education here is theocratic education, as classified by Diez de Velasco (2007). Loukaidis and Zembylas (2018, p.178) explain that religion and education are interlinked in [South] Cyprus. Based on my field trips, and observations in schools, a heavy influence of religious symbolism is obviously present, on the school walls as pictures of the archbishops, and through morning prayers, where students stand up voluntarily and pray to God about protecting their country from the enemy and from bad people. The pictures of saints are present in the administrative buildings, most obviously in one of the schools in Paphos.

In one of the morning classes in Paphos region, where I was present for a group interview, students stood up after greeting the teachers of Turkish and were ready for morning prayers as their morning routine. On the question of their communication with TCY people in the nearby village, Costas highlighted that he would avoid approaching a TCY woman in case he falls in love. According to Costas, “being from two different religions may cause conflict at home on various issues”. He said that one of the basic issues would be whose portrait to hang on the wall, since one would insist on having Jesus Christ’s portrait as part of religious tradition, and the other would want a portrait of ‘the Prophet Mohammed (PBUH)’. Based on Costas’s reply, his teacher informed him that in Islam, there is no portrait of the Prophet (PBUH) Mohammed. On one hand, this suggests a lack of knowledge regarding Islam, and on the other, it shows the strong ties of GCY with religion as it has become the Church’s policy to perpetuate Christianity through various domains. In the interviews with Greek students of the Turkish language in the South, it seems that religion is an ideology in this particular context, which I will explore further in the next sub-category.

5.7.3. Religion as ideology

When asked what Cypriotness means to them, some of the Greek Cypriot students mentioned their pride in their identity, and their ‘history’, referring to Greek Cypriot history and Greek history, along with religion. In the example below, Nicholas gives prominence to the relationship between language, religion and history as elements of Cypriotness:

Nicholas: Cypriot[ness] to me ... [is] religion, the language, the family, our history, my identity!

Me: When you say history, what history do you refer to?

Nicholas: Both GCY and Greek history...

(group interview with student Nicholas, Paphos, South Cyprus, March, 2017)

Similar to what Nicholas said, in our group interview in his school, Mihailida says that “religion, language and customs” are fundamental elements of his way of forming identity. When I met with Turkish language student Costas and other student volunteers at Pyrgos for face to face interviews, Costas interrupted the interview when the church bell rung for the service and immediately stood up, and pointing towards the Church, inflamed with passion, he said that he is “...proudly Orthodox Christian and Cypriot”. His attitude did not only reveal his passion for religion but also connected to an ideology, confirming his thoughts with regards to the controversial issue of identity that “Cypriots are Orthodox Greek and Cypriots speak Greek”, leaving no space for TCY and other minorities who belong to other ethno-religious and linguistic groups in Cyprus, and who identify themselves as ‘Cypriot’.

It is seen that national identity and religion is a prominent element in identity formation among the Greek-speaking community and it is visible in the classes as portraits on the school walls, and in the morning prayers in the classes. This is in line with Loukaidis and Zembylas’s (2018) description of the technocratic religion model in South Cyprus. Some of the students and teachers were observed wearing a holy

cross as an indication of commitment to the Christian faith, especially in the Greek Cypriot enclave of Rizokarpazo peninsula in the North, where the majority of the population in the village consists of Turkish Muslims who moved from Turkey to North Cyprus in 1975 as part of T-TCY policy of increasing the population in the North.

In the interview extract below, Olga and Mihailida talk about religious customs and practice. Olga, in one of the Turkish language classes in Paphos area, tells me what Cypriotness mean to her.

Olga: (other students contribute as well) ...every Green Monday, last Monday was Green Monday, we all go out and we only eat vegetables! We don't [eat] meat at all! and, we fly kites! It is a custom!

Me: Yes...

Olga: About Easter, we paint eggs in red ...

Me: And, do they do it in Greece as well?

Olga: Yes, we do! And, of course, the traditional games, as we told you at the other class, those traditional games are from Cyprus, Cyprus custom...

(In-class group interview with student Olga, Yeroskipou, Paphos, South Cyprus, March, 2017)

In line with Olga, Mihailida highlights religion and tells me about traditions and customs.

Me: What do you think of Cypriotness?

Mihailida: It is our religion, it is our language, customs ...

Me: An example, please?

Mihailida: We play some games at Easter, the egg, we colour an egg and we crash it, and...our food, *pilavounes*, my mother makes it at Easter..."

(In-class group interview with student Mihailida, Yeroskipu, Paphos, South Cyprus, March, 2017)

“Egg-colouring at Easter” (*pasxa* in the original interview), “baking *pilavounes* pastry” and some of “the games from religious customs” and traditions are practised in the South. Some of these traditions are also enjoyed by many Turkish Cypriots, as reported in the interviews by those students whose relatives used to live in the mixed villages before 1974. Those used to living in mixed villages were familiar with this tradition of exchanging coloured Easter eggs and eating *pilavounes* during Easter in their villages.

5.7.3.1 Religion as attachment vs detachment

Like language, religion is another strong element in multi-ethnic communities that plays an important role in the formation of identity. According to Brubaker (2013, p.2), language and religion are two controversial topics of the political sociology and the modern world. Unfortunately, in many contexts, religion and language are divisive and have political elements; they are double-edged swords, as in the case of Israel between Jews and Arabs. Although one may view language, religion and ethnicity as divisive elements of society, the fundamental aim should be the

construction of a society regardless of language, religion, and ethnicity, where no matter their religion or language, people can live in harmony, enjoy unity within diversity and learn how to pave the way towards a peaceful society. In this respect, education has a major role to play.

In the case of Cyprus, as opposed to the views of Nicholas, Mihalides and Olga, there is no place for religion in TCY student Vehbi's perception of identity. While Nicholas, Mihalides and Olga view religion as an element of identity that unifies them with in-group members in 'the motherland Greece', in Vehbi's view, religion plays a divisive role between in-group members in 'mainland Turkey'. To him, his Cypriot identity is a symbol of freedom, he differentiates himself from the people of Turkey and Turkishness since he believes that there is more religious freedom in Cyprus. In TCY's Cypriotness, religion is personal, however it is political in Turkey. In the South, religion is one of the main elements, and in the participant students' understanding religion is an important part of Cypriot identity. As is widely known and emphasized by most of the Greek students learning Turkish, this is a reflection of the role of the Orthodox Church and its impact on schooling.

Being selective and political about what to teach and avoid teaching seem to create prejudice in the absence of robust education about religions. That is why many students' knowledge of Islam is distorted, as they think: "Muslims kill people". In the interviews conducted for building confidence with the students, I observed that many students in both the North and the South lack knowledge about the religion of the other. While in the North some of students differentiate themselves from Greek-speaking Cypriots as those who eat pork; they describe themselves as people "who

do not eat pork”, which is haram (forbidden) for Muslims. While TCY students’ religious knowledge about the GCY is limited to “GCY as pork eaters”, GCY students wonder why TCY do not eat pork or drink wine, or they question why some TCY who call themselves Muslim drink the traditional alcoholic drink, produced in Cyprus, called Zivania. Very few students, for instance Arda from the School Bayrak, when asked what they learnt about the culture of the target community, said that they learnt in Greek language class that GCY people go to the church for religious practices whereas TCY people go to the mosque. When asked the same question, Halide from School Aplıç, reported that they learnt about “Christmas-Merry Christmas”, which is about their celebrations. In the South, in Lyceum River, Sotia echoes her TCY peers regarding religion and cuisine as follows:

Sotia: I know that there are differences in food, religion, about the Ramazan/Ramadan and this thing and Easter, and differences between ‘Ramazan/Ramadan and Easter’...

[...] I think they do not eat pork!

Me: How do you know?

Sotia: We hear it a lot, about the religion, about not eating the pork....

(face to face interview with student Chrissa, Kato Pyrgos, South Cyprus, March, 2017)

Another interesting topic from the interviews is GCY students’ curiosity about the religiousness of TCY people. As I learnt during my formal and informal chats with

teachers of Turkish, they wonder whether TCY people are atheist or Muslim, and why their mother language is not Arabic but Turkish, since it is Arabic that is the language of the holy Quran.

Many GCY students articulated their fear of Muslim people, informed by the media coverage of terrorist attacks by “Jihadists”, indicating Islamophobia, and questioning whether they can live together with a community belonging to the other religion. Students, especially living close to the Buffer Zone/Green Line (dividing the island as North and South) hear the Ezan, the call to prayer coming from the local mosques in Nicosia five times a day across the divide. These students question why Muslim people stop whatever they are doing when the call for prayer comes from the local mosques. They are also critical of the dress code and the veil/hijab worn by Muslim women, wondering whether TCY people follow the same religious traditions and practices or not.

Lack of knowledge in both communities regarding the religion of the other community suggests an absence of intercultural competence, and distorted knowledge entailing preconceived ideas about each other. As I will be discussing in Chapter six, absence of religious knowledge seems to leave itself to distortion of knowledge about one another and cause prejudice. This seem to be influential on building intergroup contact.

5.8 Students' motivation to choose Turkish in the South: "One day it will be needed!" in the future in the United Cyprus

Theme III: Language of the other in post-conflict school environment within geo-political division. This sub-theme is a response to RQ3: What is the value of learning language of historic enemy, Greek and Turkish in the post-conflict context of Cyprus?

It emerged from the interviews that a potential solution and settlement of the Cyprus problem plays an important role in students' motivation to choose Turkish as an optional language, as they view understanding the language of the other community a necessity. This quote from Sotia, from Tilliria school in southwest Cyprus, studying Turkish, reveals why she chose Turkish:

Because, there are chances of this solution to be made ... now, so I want to get the chance to communicate with these people... 'when everything will be OK' or whatever, so I like this language!

Therefore, her motivation is informed by a futuristic political will, viewing Turkish as a language of the united Cyprus. In the quote above, it emerged that 'time' plays important role in determining her choice of Turkish as a foreign language, which is what she is doing "now", and the political discourse, "chances of this solution to be" underpins her decision and goal to "get to chance to communicate with these people" on the condition that "when everything will be OK...". This suggests that learning the language of the other is highly interwoven with the unresolved Cyprus problem and the current socio-political context accommodates some challenges that require

settlement. In actual fact, here, Sotia sets conditions conducive to learning the language of the other community for her ideal for contact and friendship with members of the other community through language.

Accentuating Sotia's 'right time' for learning and teaching of Turkish, Mr. Yorgos makes reference to the current political state in Cyprus and interprets it from his perspective. Indeed, his interpretation gives insight into the political milieu and how it influences people's attitudes one way or another. He sees the presence of Turkish military troops on the island as an obstacle to a possible resolution between the two communities. Mr. Yorgos, for instance, is critical of GCY leader Mr. Anastasiadis' idea of filing a letter to the EU Commission about recognition of Turkish as one of the EU languages. This political step is beyond its aim and he views this proposal of Mr. Anastasiadis as a "help to Turkey, which is a country in conflict with many of her neighbours". Therefore, Mr. Yorgos reflects that 'issues regarding language of the other is highly political and interwoven' with the Cyprus problem and this is part of 'give and take' political strategy on the negotiation table regarding peace talks. Here, Mr. Yorgos reflects an opposing view on policy regarding the Turkish language and raising its status internationally.

Karmella from Nicosia reveals some issues that seems to relate to her peer Sotia's and Mr. Yorgos's answers, indicating why everything is "not okay", and the right time for learning will be when the Cyprus problem is resolved. As Karmella reports, while members of her family were very supportive, at school her classmates and teachers had a negative attitude towards the Turkish language:

in the school, they are very... they don't like at school ... for them to learn Turkish! They think that this is very strange to learn Turkish, the classmates and also teachers think is very strange!

According to Karmella, she is determined to learn Turkish language no matter what others think. As she reports, the negative views of peers and teachers lead to fear, threats, and create hidden agendas against this language. As revealed from Sotia, Effie, and some other students' and teachers' interviews, both students and teachers had experienced being treated as traitors since they are learning the language of the other. I will present the issue of bullying elsewhere in this chapter, but it is seen that de facto challenges exist and the desired learning environment has not been reached yet as there is an unsettled political conflict, causing in-group hostility.

Karmella, born and brought up in an Arabic-speaking, Maronite family (a Christian sect of Syrian origin), visits her grandparents who live in a Maronite village in the North. Karmella is familiar with the TCY way of living, has direct contact with TCY people and the concept of living in a mixed village. She crosses the border to the other side every weekend. Karmella wants to learn the language spoken by TCYs and to build dialogue with them when she meets her co-villagers in the North. While she has a positive motivation, teachers and students around her found her desire to learn Turkish "strange".

Adopting a similar stance with Sotia, Karmella added weight to needing to speak each other's language when the Cyprus problem is resolved:

Karmella: I chose it because I am going to the North, I want to communicate. It is a nice language and we must learn Turkish! Now, if there is a resolution, we must know Greek and Turkish!

Me: OK.... Many people can speak English, why not English instead of Turkish or Greek?

Karmella: Because our language is Greek and their language is Turkish! We must know your language and you must learn our language to communicate with each other!

(In-class group interview with Mr. Adamos's class; student Karmella, Nicosia, South Cyprus, March, 2017)

Karmella values the language of the other and it seems that learning Turkish has a political aspect. In Karmella's narrative, Turkish is the language of the other party in the Cyprus peace talks; their side has been trying to negotiate for more than four decades now. Based on my field notes during class observations and as voiced during the interviews, Karmella thinks that since they are TCY and GCY, the best possible way of communication is through each other's language, rather than adopting a third language such as English.

Savvia had a similar view and explained that competency in Turkish is a must for her since, "there will be some time that we will have to communicate, talk, understand Turkish!" What is controversial here is that learning the language of the other is 'futuristic': its benefits will come in the future once the 'Cyprus problem' is resolved.

In a similar vein, Theododo explains his motivation to learn Turkish as follows:

Theododo: I will tell you the truth [all students laugh] I heard that it is easy...but the reason I chose it is because I like to talk with Turkish Cypriots in their language... We can communicate better and they like that I am learning Turkish [smiles]! and, I know that when I go to the North and they say something [student emphasizes here] 'bad to me' I know how to answer back! [student smiles again] I know what to say!

*(In-class group interview with Mr. Adamos's class;
student Theododo, Nicosia, South Cyprus, March,
2017)*

The analysis of Theododo's interview indicates that his motivation to choose Turkish is more likely integrative. His response leads to the emergence of four important notions. Firstly, language and culture are interrelated. Theododo views language learning as a way of accessing the culture of the target community, which leads to understanding the other at various levels. To him, speaking the language of the other has an intercultural dimension that suggests a cultural baggage.

Secondly, it appears that although there is a limited language contact, since the native speakers of Turkish are viewed as the historically former enemy of GCY, Turkish language in this context is a private code, may cause insecurity, beyond being a foreign language. As understood from Theododo's concerns, contact with this language may require decoding what happens around him, when in contact with speakers of Turkish. Thus, security is an issue for these students. Surveillance is

what underpins their motivation to learn Turkish. And, he will use language to 'defend' himself if necessary. So, in his interpretation, competency in the language of the 'enemy-other' is a measure for confidence for oneself when getting to know the other in this particular socio-political context. This case also recalls one of the teacher's, Yorgos's motivation to learn and become a Turkish language teacher: the language of the enemy is learnt for 'security purposes'. This is also what happens in the military, as reported by Ms. Mari, Mr. Adamos, and Mr. Salih. While in the North and the South interpreters and translators are employed in the military, in the GCY military, Turkish is offered as a language of the other. The purpose is training, as many volunteers are competent in language of the other community with whom they had an ethnic war. I will be examining this further in the discussion chapter.

In a group interview with Solomos, he bases his motivation to learn Turkish on the fact that "if we only talk in English [...] the other languages [will] disappear"; therefore, being competent in the languages spoken in this divided island is important and necessary for instrumental reasons.

Thirdly, like Costas and Solomos, Theododo reminds us that English as a world language is a threat to other languages; in Phillipson's (1992) term, it causes linguistic imperialism, since it is the most common international language and causes competition linguistically. However, in this group interview, Theododo emphasizes that language is not only a tool to communicate but it also plays an important role in going beyond the barriers, building bridges between you and the interlocutor who is from the other community. Therefore, while English serves only a linguistic purpose, speaking each other's language has other roles to play in this particular context.

Fourthly, learning the language of the other may function as a vehicle for understanding the other in building peace and reconciliation. According to Theododo, in this particular context “learning the language of the other community” is “a way of showing respect to ‘the other’”. In the same vein, Arda said that speaking the language of the other will create a very strong image in the eye of the target community as they will think “this person speaks my language”. To him, building good relations is interrelated to understanding each other through a common language. In the same vein, Hira believes that speaking each other’s language rather than English is better and communication through interlocutor’s native language shows respect towards his/her native language. According to this student, English is not a language we know. Although it is a barrier to set up a dialogue, once learnt, language plays an important role where it is regarded as an element to pave the way towards building bridges and removing barriers politically, physically and linguistically. Thus, as Theododo indicates, language has a psychological and political role to play.

5.8.1 Students’ motivation to choose Greek in the North: language as a passport for survival when crossing the border

Travelling across the divide emerged as one of the motivations for TCY students to choose Greek as an optional language. According to Hira, learning Greek is her priority since she has a close contact with this language, and GCY travelling to the North make it necessary in order to communicate. Hira occasionally crosses the border to the South. According to her, being able to speak Greek enables her to use the language nicely for interaction. In her understanding, choosing a physically

distant language, like French or German, requires “going there to practice what you learn”, and she does not have any contact with those countries. Her only visits to those countries would be as a tourist and English is a key language there. However, “speaking Greek as one of the languages of this island, divided as the South and the North is practical and feasible” as she lives in this country and is “geographically close to the Greek-speaking community”.

Sharing the same motivation, Kemal views Greek as a vehicle of communication with the GCY. The student says that he chose Greek rather than French and German as Greek is more needed in a country where the other half speaks it as their native language, and did not consider French and German languages to be as useful or necessary as Greek, since they are in contact with GCY through crossing the border, and exploring ‘the other side’. In this case, unpacking the other context, culture and people through language is this student’s motivation: “The reason I preferred Greek is that we speak with the GCY, we already learn English, and we do not communicate with the Germans.”

Thus, students’ learning of Greek and Turkish languages seems to be different than learning other foreign languages (French, German, English, Spanish and Italian in the South, and French and German in the North), which are in a way neutral. This neutrality is due to the fact that while Turkish and Greek are languages of the former enemy, German, French or Italian seem to be purely foreign languages for these students. Therefore, these students of Greek or Turkish chose learning each other’s language not for passing the time but political reasons Ajda chose Greek, based on two important factors. One of them is that she wants to earn money as a Turkish-

Greek translator in addition to her occupation. This is an instrumental motivation. The second reason again looks to the future. As she puts it, 'how am I going to communicate if Turkish and Greek sides are united in the future'! Here, there is a political element. On the condition that Cyprus problem is resolved; Greek is an utmost important language for people in their communication with the members of other community. So, socio-political conditions also make it an important language to consider learning and promising language of the future.

Can, another student, is familiar with Greek through his father and believes that learning Greek will be to his benefit. Like other students, he "likes Greek". Also, his father is competent in Greek language and the student views this as an opportunity to get support from his father. The father seems to play an important role in encouraging him to choose to learn Greek. Like some other students, this student explains his distance to French and German and feels more in touch with Greek.

As opposed to GCY students' futuristic motivation, in the TCY context, it emerged that students are encouraged by family members to choose Greek, who are competent in this language and can help students. When asked how decided to choose Greek as an optional foreign language, Arife said that she took the decision with her father and friends, who thought learning it would be to their benefit. There is a highlight on "crossings"; "speaking mother language of GCY"; "usefulness of the chosen language in practice". This student compared offered languages and how she might benefit from using each language. She says that although she might go to France, she will not need French as much as Greek, since speakers of Greek are physically and geographically closer to her. Here, it is understood that learning the

language of the other is geo-politically, culturally, economically and socially important. In similar research in Israel, it was found that parents have an important role in students' choosing to learn the Palestinian dialect at school. Learning the language of the other in this contradictory context was influential on students' attitudes towards the people and the culture (Schmidt et. al., 2004, p. 217) Teachers, principles, and municipal officials have also promoted the learning of the Palestinian dialect at an early age, in order to change attitudes. (Inbar et. al., 2002, p.298)

5.9 Teaching resources and the intercultural dimension in language education in the post-conflict school environment

- 1- Theme III: Language of the other in post-conflict school environment within geo-political division. This sub-theme is a response to RQ4: Is there a potential for bringing intercultural dimension in language education as part of peace education?

It is interesting to investigate whether bringing an intercultural dimension into teaching practice in this conflict-affected context is possible or not when teaching the language of the former enemy. Although there is little room in the curriculum for Greek and Turkish languages, it is still possible to explore and understand what is possible. Teachers' self-reported experience reveals that elements of politics have implications to instructional material selection and an obstacle to bringing an intercultural dimension into teaching Greek and Turkish.

5.9.1 Turkish language instructional material selection policy in the South

Another sensitive issue is the provision of foreign language course books and materials in the target language. With the target language of Turkish, the language course books, such as 'Gökkuşığı', are designed in Turkey, and are intended to introduce 'Turkish culture' to an international audience. As I will be discussing in Chapter six, one may view that this book, as a monolithic conceptualization of culture, fails to bring an intercultural dimension into language education.

In the GCY political discourse, socially and politically, Turkey has been the enemy in this occupied island, since 1974. Turkey refuses to recognize the Republic of Cyprus, stating that the Republic - as established by the Constitution of 1960 - ceased to exist when the inter-communal violence that commenced in December 1963 ended Turkish Cypriot participation in the Cypriot government (Sozen, 2011; Meyers, 2012). Regardless of the political discourse, it emerged from the interviews with Turkish language teachers that the Turkish language books came from Turkey upon the orders of the Ministry of Education and Culture, RoC. The teachers, the committee and MoEC authorities took an active role in the textbook selection procedure and chose this particular book since the publisher agreed to review the book for 'elements' that the target audience in the South may find sensitive. I was informed by the teachers, Ms. Katie, Ms. Miranda, and Ms. Chrissa, Turkish flags and any symbolic elements with regards to Cyprus or maps of TRNC were required by the MoEC to be removed. So, symbols of nationalism and/or division were removed by the publisher in Turkey. Since this book, 'Gökkuşığı' is prepared for an

international audience, standard Turkish is taught. The book targets teaching basic Turkish.

Although there are some elements of culture, it is difficult to argue that this book brings an intercultural dimension into foreign language education. The current political situation limits reference to the involvement of Cyprus and the language and culture of the other in textbooks, since the island is geographically divided and the Northern part reminds most refugee GCY of “displacement, the lost property, home in 1974”, and “the lost land” (Zembylas, 2010, Kızılyürek, 2009). It is the same situation for refugee TCY when they hear about Paphos, Larnaca, and Lemessos since TCY people left their homes, villages, and towns in 1963, and/or became refugees and were then displaced to the North following 15 July 1974 (Kızılyürek, 2015; Bryant, 2012).

During our interview and after in-class observation, I asked Ms. Katie how she includes, if at all, the North in her language classes. She told me they are not allowed to give examples or use the North geo-politically in their classes: that she avoids using “the North”. Say, if she wants to teach about fruits produced in Cyprus, referring to Güzelyurt/Omorphoe, a town in the North with a hub of citrus gardens, which was a mixed (123 TCY and 7465 GCY in 1960 (Hatay, 2010)) town before 1974, may cause an issue in the class. The reason is political sensitivity towards ‘loss of land’. One of the main issues on the negotiating table is the demand by the GCY side for the return of Omorphoe (its name before 1974)/Güzelyurt (name after 1974) to the GCY, whereas the majority of rightist TCY claim that the return of Güzelyurt/Omorphoe is impossible. The leftists (CTP) and centrals (TDP) view the

issue as open to negotiation. Similarly, Ms. Chrissa (see Appendix 5) informed me that as a result of displacement, talking about the geographic and demographic structure of the island and its contentious history are controversial and sensitive topics, banned by the MoEC from the classroom, as discussion of these topics may cause conflict in the school setting.

It emerged that teachers have concerns with regards to the use of materials, content of materials and avoidance of using the North and TCY in their examples. Being a teacher in this conflict-affected context is a challenging enterprise in many ways. The multiple challenges therefore leave teachers a limited space for developing a creative language class, informed by multicultural aspects of Cyprus. Nevertheless, I observed that Turkish movies are played in the class hour in order to give students a glimpse of Turkish culture, customs and traditions since Turkish as a language and its people are the target culture.

Since Turkish and Greek languages are offered once a week, as two slots (40 mins each), I had a limited time for in-class observation given the difficulty of accessing schools by travelling long distances from my home, crossing the border and arriving on time for early morning class observation. Nevertheless, I had the opportunity to observe and grasp what happens in the class, what materials are used and how the book is used. I observed three classes in Paphos area with Ms. Chrissa; one class in Pyrgos area with the same teacher; two classes in Nicosia, one each with Mr. Adamos and Ms. Katie; and one class in the mixed village of Rizokarpasso in the North with Mr. Adamos.

While Ms. Katie and Mr. Adamos studied Turkish in Bulgaria, Ms. Chrissa studied Turkish in Cyprus, at the only university offering Turkish language education, in the Turkology department. It can be observed that the teachers use standard Turkish, and their examples are selected from the Bulgarian context, where they gained experience of practising the language with people speaking Turkish in Bulgaria. So, when a teacher wants to contextualise a particular element of culture, say in cuisine or tradition, they refer to the Bulgarian context rather than the Turkish or Turkish Cypriot context. One of the reasons is that although they were born and brought up in Cyprus as second generation (post-)war people, they had either a limited or no contact with Turkish Cypriots. Their only available resource at the time I visited the class was two Turkish movies, which Turkish language teachers screen in the class at the end of semesters. One is called 'Zoradam' and the other is 'ΠολιτικήΚουζίνα (PolitikiKouzina) - 'Bir Tutam Baharat (A Touch of Spice). While 'Zoradam' (The Tough Man) is a popular culture movie, 'PolitikaKouzina-A Touch of Spice' portrays the important role that politics play in the lives of the main characters. 'A Touch of Spice' is a story about a young Greek boy (Fanis) growing up in Istanbul, whose grandfather, a culinary philosopher and mentor, teaches him that both food and life require a little salt to give them flavour. Fanis grows up to become an excellent cook and uses his cooking skills to spice up the lives of those around him. He leaves İstanbul during clashes between Greeks and Turks, and migrates to Greece. Thirty-five years later he leaves Athens and travels back to his birthplace of Istanbul to reunite with his grandfather and his first love; he travels back only to realize that he forgot to put a little bit of spice in his own life. Turkish language students watch the

life of young Fanis in İstanbul, and his family's relations with their neighbours there. Although the film is in Greek, Turkish is used with Turkish neighbours, and elements of Turkish customs and traditions are embedded so that students have an opportunity to learn about İstanbul, or as they historically and politically call it, Constantinople.

These teachers' ignorance of TCY culture suggests a need for Turkish language textbooks informed by TCY culture, to bring into the foreign language classroom an intercultural dimension, with updated educational pedagogies. As I will be discussing in Chapter six, language and dialect carry a shared past, with which the pre-war generation was familiar and with words borrowed from each other. Although these dialects were inherited by the post-war generation, there is a lack of awareness. Language classes are therefore a good opportunity for teaching linguistic similarities, with an intention to pave the way towards rapprochement.

5.9.2 Greek language instructional material selection policy in the North

The teachers of Greek took an active involvement in the preparation of the Greek language curriculum, resources and materials, as there was no educational department responsible for the curriculum and materials design for this language. It was explained by Mr Polat, Mr. Salih and Ms. Eda that they voluntarily took an active involvement at the MoEC in the process of designing the curriculum, deciding what textbook to use as a teaching resource, and ways of proceeding with teaching Greek at the pilot stage in 2008. As Mr. Polat and Mr. Salih informed me, having designed the curriculum and the syllabus, they contacted Ankara, Turkey and the Greek side

to obtain advice on a textbook. As recommended by the University of Ankara's Greek Philology department, the board of teachers decided on using 'Epikinosti Elinika-I am learning Greek' as a textbook since it is the most common Greek language textbook, designed for Greek language learners of other nationalities.

However, this book was found to be beyond the students' levels and some sections were skipped while in use by the teachers in Cyprus. Following this, a Greek language philologist was appointed as an acting head in the process of writing and compiling secondary school textbooks. Although this teacher was not an expert on textbook writing, they compiled first, second and third level textbooks, say Mr. Polat and Mr. Salih. Although the initial decision was writing and producing Greek language textbooks and improving the curriculum accordingly based on piloting, six years passed, and nothing happened, said Mrs. Eda:

No progress has been made. We had no meeting. Mrs. Dağsever organized a meeting for the Greek language on the 28th May, however, this date was cancelled. They said in June. So, we tried to organize a meeting at the ministry. Nobody has called so far.

5.10 Elements of politics and its implications on the intercultural dimension of language teaching

Based on teachers' experience of using the current textbook and materials, it seems the textbook does not include any intercultural dimension, nor do most teachers embrace an intercultural dimension in their teaching pedagogy. Many teachers said there is a need to revise the curriculum, and adopt a new book appropriate for

students' educational levels and interests. It is worth clarifying that this was not a textbook analysis.

In our interview and on our second meeting, Ms. Ozge shared with me her experience of using this book. Since there are not many interesting activities for the students, she wanted to bring variety into the lessons. Since there is no contact between MoEC and teachers and among teachers, she decided to take the initiative to introduce Greek mythology. As she explains, this was when a supervisor visited her class from MoEC for invigilating her as a newly employed Greek language teacher. But the supervisor gave her a strongly-worded warning that the use of Greek mythology is not allowed in Greek language class and she should have been aware that using resources (materials/textbooks) other than assigned by the ministry is not allowed. Being warned, Ms. Ozge says that since then she had not used any other resources, even though the prescribed book and materials are boring and insufficient for students. Ms. Ozge is critical of the situation that they are limited to using what they have and there is no authority to which they can communicate their problems regarding teaching resources. This, she says, "limits our creativity".

On the other hand, Ms. Derya explains that although she wants to teach students about Easter, she has reservations; she hesitates since "Easter is celebrated by Christians" and the book lacks inter-culturalism. Her assumption was that students' parents may react to the idea of bringing coloured eggs into class, and talking about Easter and its culture, as Christian culture and religion is a sensitive topic. She thinks that parents may view the teacher in a negative light as manipulating students'

feelings by bringing into class unacceptable activities, related to the 'religion of the former enemy'.

It is seen that the use of some elements of the target language and culture bring some sensitive dimensions into Greek language classes. In none of the schools visited was there a map of the Republic of Cyprus. It was only in Mr. Salih's class in Güzelyurt/Omorphoe that there were pictures of Greek islands. When asked, he said that he had no problem as they are popular Greek islands, many with the typical small chapel.

5.10.1 The intercultural knowledge gap and its implications for teaching practice

Since the Greek language teachers were born after 1974 and brought up in the divided island as the third generation, their competence of Greek Cypriot culture is limited to what they hear from their relatives who used to live together with GCY before 1974. Therefore, Greece and Standard Greek is the target culture and language. Bringing an intercultural dimension, using culturally and linguistically rich multilingual-multicultural Cyprus is limited, given the socio-political situation and lack of contact between the communities. In a similar study, Charalambous et al. (2015, p.12) highlighted the absence of the intercultural dimension in teaching Turkish in Cyprus, where the approach is the teaching of lexis, rules of language. As reported in their work conducted in the South only, Charalambous et al. (ibid) highlighted that treating Turkish as a "lexico-grammatical code" is one of several strategies developed by Turkish language teachers in order to avoid conflict in school, as they

have reservations about attempting an intercultural approach given the socio-political context in the Greek-speaking part of Cyprus

5.10.2 Alternative strategies in language teaching and learning

On the other hand, Melek and Esma, for instance, reported that they found the Greek alphabet very interesting, like decoding something secret like a code or password as you learn the language, since Greek and Turkish alphabets have completely different scripts. Derived from the earlier Phoenician alphabet, the Greek alphabet has distinct letters for vowels and consonants and serves as a source of symbols in the domains of mathematics and science. Given this uniqueness of the Greek alphabet, it is possible to adopt an interdisciplinary teaching approach. I found that some students showed an awareness of this aspect of the Greek alphabet and interrelated their knowledge from chemistry and maths lessons. Thus, it seems that there is already an interdisciplinary aspect to the teaching of Greek, given the relation of this language and science. Raising students' awareness on the richness of this language, and encouraging students to use creative techniques while learning the language seem to bring an interesting dimension and neutralises the view of Greek as simply the language of 'the other'.

It seems that language and ethnicity are mostly interlinked in Cyprus. In this context, teaching Greek in the North and Turkish in the South is an arduous process. This requires developing alternative teaching approaches. During class observation in Mr. Polat's class, I saw how he avoids bringing politics into class and turns learning into an entertaining activity through developing language teaching pedagogies. He

brings an interdisciplinary dimension into language education from science while teaching Greek in an exciting and creative way.

5.11 Inter-group contact at geo-political division: checkpoint crossing as a barrier to language and contact

As a result of political restrictions, it emerged in this research that border crossing is another politically contentious issue which restricts inter-group contact among the students. Therefore, their opportunities for language practice are limited. One of my questions was exploring and understanding how, if at all, GCY and TCY students use Greek and Turkish learnt in school in their daily lives, and how travelling in 'the other side' North or South' changes their view of the other. This question was informed by the current context: although borders were lifted partially on 23 April 2003, not everyone can travel freely, due to political reasons. The existence of physical borders has created hindrances, not only to physical travel, but causes psychological complications and perpetuates invisible barriers and imaginary enemies in the minds, affecting some Cypriots' view of the other in many ways, socially and politically.



Figure 5.4: Political map of Cyprus

5.11.1 Inter-group contact at the geo-political division: checkpoint crossing as barrier to language and contact in the South

The majority of interviewed participants during face to face interviews acknowledged that they have not crossed the border to visit the other half of the island, for various reasons. While some GCY participant students in Paphos district (seven students in School St. Central Paphos and eight Students in School Yeroskibou) said they have never crossed the border to the North, they have never had contact with a TCY. As they informed me in group interviews, I am the first TCY they have ever met. While

six students in Northwest Cyprus agreed that they are “not interested”, had “no time” for travelling, some of the participating students, teachers or their relatives reject the idea of border crossing the border, due to political reasons. To them, their “lands are occupied by Turkey” and they refuse to showing passport or ID card within the territories belonging to them.

When asked about her experience of crossing the border to the North, Sotia reported it as follows:

Sotia: It was kind of weird, ... they used to come and check what we have in the car and stuff ... the Turkish police checks what we have in the car ...!
So, then we got used to it...

Me: Do they still check the cars?

Sotia: It used to be more tough, but it is not really now.

Sotia is from one of the head villages in the Northwest of Cyprus area 7km from the nearest TCY village in the North, divided by a GCY village P-a TCY village L checkpoints, where both GCY and TCY have been able to use checkpoints to travel since 2008. While Ms. Chrissa and her classmates live 7km away from her Turkish-speaking peers in the villages of L and other areas, the village is connected to Paphos through the North West. Sotia reports that although she travels through L village, she has never stopped there. Sotia complains about tough process of checkpoint crossing due to police and security check. As revealed in the below extract, this student also gives insight into her observations about ‘the other side’ by reporting that she never stopped to discover the Turkish village. But, based on her

observation they differ from themselves “in appearance, faces, wear scarf and leave their shoes outside”.

In her interview (see Appendix 5), Sotia voices her feeling when she first crossed the border. This is critical as it is the moment that taught history, imaginary other and the real people are all out there and real. She was crossing through their space. When asked about her feelings while travelling through the streets of the North by their car, Sotia started questioning her connection to the land as ‘their property’, since they were passing through a town that used to belong to GCY and the church that made her feel that it belongs to them, the Orthodox Christian Church of Cyprus. The conversion of the church into a mosque reminded her of the conflict between TCY and GCY and made her question ‘whom the property belongs to’. To Sotia and Effie, this is a confusing and a strange moment of truth. The unavoidable consequence of the moment was thinking that “it should be ours!” while comparing people of both sides by religion, customs and traditions and questioning whether they can get along together or not.

Echoing Katie and Sotia, Savvia, who is a Turkish language student at Nicosia Hillside School acknowledges how critical she is of the rule of showing ID or passport while travelling within your country as a result of the Cyprus problem. To her, it is such a tough situation to accept that ‘Turkish police’ checks out you for security while they occupy your lands and have the authority not to allow you to cross the border and visit your birthplace and ancestors’ home town, your home. She felt anger, sadness and at the same time fear, as understood from Savvia’s mother’s warning

about not arguing with the police otherwise they can use their “authority not to allow” them to pass.

The procedure at the checkpoint and behaviour of the police, and the feeling of being ‘foreigner-stranger’ in your own country seem to perpetuate negative behaviour and cause insecurity while searching people at the checkpoints for security purposes. For instance, as can be noticed in the interview extracts of Sotia and Savvia, they both rejected getting out of the car and having direct contact with the people and the place, as both were angry at the border procedure. So, checkpoint crossings and the experience seem to affect their behaviour as soon as they attempted to travel within their country. As expressed, they do not want to be under surveillance.

In the following question on how this experience of border crossing to the North changed her view, Effie reported:

Me: How did your view change after your experience of travelling to the North?

Effie: When the border opened [in 2003] I went to see, I changed my opinion because ... I [previously] had the image in my mind that they ...these black people are ready to kill us, you know, and then I saw that they are just ordinary people, just like us!

In the interview extract above, by saying “...these black people are ready to kill us, you know”, Effie reflects on her knowledge, informed by selective history education, where ‘the enemy-Turkish people’ are presented and perpetuated as ‘barbaric’, and portrayed as ‘black and hairy people who kill like devils’. This depiction of ‘the enemy-

Turkish' allegedly appears in history books in the South. Here, it is seen that crossing the checkpoint and travelling to and from 'the other space across the divide' enabled this student to re-construct her knowledge about the other by comparing taught knowledge from school and in real life through first-hand experience.

Another issue is the 'Turkification' of the original names of towns and villages after 1974. For instance, while Limnitis became Yeşilırmak-Green River, Kithevre became Değirmenlik. Based on my experience, when a group of Turkish and Greek Cypriots gather around a table, they talk about a particular place using two different names as the post-war generation is not aware and is not taught original names of places in Cyprus. Consequently, travelling across the divide becomes a battle of emotions, remembrance, re-discovery of your own land, re-construction of the knowledge about the other and a growing realization of unifying and divisive elements, as they contact each other in social spaces.

The social space in the post-conflict landscape is an important factor that does not banish fear. While a particular war monument, for instance, reminds one group of victory, it reminds the other how they became victims. As reported by Ms. Katie's student, Panayiotis, when she sees the TRNC and Turkish flag on the outskirts of Five Finger mountains (Besparmak-Pendadaktilos) it reminds her of the unknown other, living on 'the other side', who might be a potential threat to their existence and a reminder of 'Turkish occupation', as taught at school. Whereas to those TCY in the North, the same flags mean that TCY and Turkey have a strong relationship, symbolizing their existence on the island. Thus, competency in the language of the other would give her confidence in sharing the same space. As in the example of

Estonia, the Russian-speaking minority views 'Bronze Soldier of Tallin' (the Soviet WWII war memorial in Talin, Estonia) as a shrine whereas it reminds Estonians of the Soviet occupation (AnuMasso, Tonu Tender, 2008, p.152; Trames, 2008, pp.151-182).

As Turkish language students Panayiotis reported, immediately after checkpoints were opened, she started developing a fear of being assimilated as she was exposed to TCY people around her: dozens of TCY cars (number plates reveal crossing from the North) in the South, numbers of TCY people sitting in the restaurants and queuing in hospitals, along with GCY. While taking this as occupation of her space by the former enemy, she worried also when she saw cafes, restaurants and shops using the Turkish language on their signs. A similar fear was voiced by many GCY people I met and talked to during the data collection process. Like Panayiotis, some reported that their worry encouraged them to choose Turkish in order to be competent in the language of the former enemy. So, while one learner may consider the target language as a component in the curriculum for rapprochement through education, another may view it as a thread to his/her culture, in the form of linguistic assimilation.

5.11.1.1 Inter-group contact at the geo-political division: language in practice

When asked about whether they can practise the language they learn in the class in their daily lives, many said that despite political and practical obstacles, they practise Greek and Turkish with their relatives and their GCY-TCY friends. Savvia says she practises her Turkish with her uncle, aged 60, who attends Turkish adult classes, as he believes that "one day he will go back to his village and will need Turkish".

On the other hand, Effie and Sotia say that their grandparents have TCY friends in the North since they used to work at the same place as GCY and TCY before 1960. The area became a hub for miners, where Cypriots across the island were hired by Cyprus Mines Cooperation (CMC), run by an American company from 1914-1960. While CMC in this region was the only multi-ethnic work environment at the time, it also became a space where GCY-TCY had friendships, and stood together against the company for claiming their rights, protesting against the company's old-fashioned and paternalistic attitude towards workers (Varnavas, 1997). Greek and Turkish-speaking Cypriots were living together in mixed villages and interacting with each other until the 1960s. After the gates and check points were opened on 23 April 2003, their grandparents and TCY friends reunited and continued their friendship, as in the example provided by Skevi, Effie, Sotia, Rasiha. When I asked them their grandparents' medium of communication, Sotia, Effie and Arda said that they speak "mostly Greek, but Greek dialect". Many TCY students' grandparents gained competence in the Cypriot dialect of Greek, from their work as mine workers in the North West of Lefke region in the same workplace as GCY.

In a similar quantitative research study as the current one, Charis Psaltis (2018) investigated checkpoint crossing behaviours from a psychological perspective through surveying TCY and GCY people. He found that regardless of restrictions, 50% of TCY have crossed the border continually and have at least one GCY friend in the South; the percentage for GCY is 18-20%. In the same survey of Psaltis (ibid), as opposed to TCY, no more than one third of GCY have systematically crossed the border to the North. On the other hand, one third of GCY have never crossed the

border since the war of 1974. There is a student friendship programme; however, at the time I was conducting interviews across the divide, most of the students had not heard of it. Neither Turkish nor Greek Cypriot students reported that they have a direct contact on the other side.

5.11.1.2 Inter-group contact at geo-political division: checkpoint crossing as a barrier to language and contact in the North

In the Northern part of the island, when Turkish and TCY participants were asked whether they cross the border to the South, Melek, Esmâ, Aslı, Ahmet and Nil, a Turkish descendent with no RoC citizenship, reported that due to political restrictions since they are Turkish citizens they are not allowed to cross the border from the North to the Greek side.

Indeed, when GCY students were asked about their motivations to choose Turkish, the majority as presented in 5.8.1, indicated that they view Turkish as a language needed “after a solution”. Many students, although they travelled across the border as a shortcut to another GCY village or town, did not have direct contact with local TCY people. However, when TCY students were asked about their motivation to choose Greek, they said that they need Greek when they cross the border and visit the South.

On the question of their first-time experience of border crossing, some of TCY students in School Apliç reported in the group interview that they mainly visited their grandparents’ birthplaces in the South, and while travelling they found that the police’s attitude did not give them a positive impression, however, they got used to

ignoring this or became familiar with checkpoint crossings and the arduous procedure there. Regarding checkpoint crossings, Mertkan and Vehbi delivered their grandfathers' concerns of being under surveillance. As Mertkan reports, he and his parents and enjoy travelling to the South for shopping or excursions, however, his grandfather who used to be in the police and, served for the TCY army during the armed conflict between 1960-1974, warned them not to cross the border to the South since the police might have their surnames listed as far as intelligence is concerned. However, Mertkan believes that "what happened, happened in the past and we are not living in that time anymore and there is no war!"

On the question of the Cyprus problem and whether they talk about the past, Sotia said that political issues are discussed by members of her family. Since her grandparents were a young generation Cypriots, during the British colony and after independence in 1960, they narrated that they fought against each other during the ethnic war between TCY and GCY. Sotia and many students of her age have access to the human resource as far as knowledge about the enemy is concerned. As with Mertkan's grandparent, Sotia's grandparent gives her some advice, which is more of the political issues again but their grandparents advice them to be careful of the Turkish Cypriots, and again, "the fear comes in...!", says Sotia.

Two months before I conducted this interview at Ms. Chrissa's school, a TCY-plated car and the TCY family was attacked by a group of GCY fanatics in the South at the Troodos holiday resort. Following this, both in the North and the South, some people voiced their fear of attacks and the utmost importance of taking precautions for preventing xenophobic attacks across the divide. On the day I visited Ms. Chrissa's

class for our first meeting, when asked whether they cross the border or not, Sotia, Costis, Stelios reflected their concern and fear of potential attacks by referring to what happened few months previously. Sotia said that on their way from Pyrgos to Nicosia, they had followed the connection road in the North for a short cut to access a GCY village, and some people who were visiting the memorial of the Turkish martyr, Dr. Cengiz Topel, who was killed by GCY in 1974, threw lemons at their car and this made them feel insecure.

Similar to what students highlighted in Pyrgos region, the concern was occasionally raised in the North regarding the incidents TCY people experienced when crossing to the South in their private cars. Since 2003, a number of attacks have been directed at TCY in the South and TCY-plated vehicles were damaged. The attacks have been reported in human rights reports by several countries. Nevertheless, “RoC has failed to take any measures to discourage or prevent similar attacks from reoccurring as a consequence of racism and xenophobia”, as reported in 2017 by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, TRNC.

Given the current political circumstances, the unsettled Cyprus problem and its implications vary in the social and political lives of people in such a way that hinders inter-contact and cements the knowledge gap in social and cultural relations. Although checkpoint crossings have many socio-political, behavioural and human right matters and implications on daily lives of Cypriots, the partial lifting of the borders still created an interesting hub providing a ground for building dialogue, growth of bi-communal activities, and a cradle for unique border stories.

5.11.1.3 Inter-group contact at the geo-political division: language in practice

Although the importance of inter-group contact is emphasized elsewhere (Psaltis & Cakal, 2016; Psaltis, 2018), the role of language appears to be underestimated while discussing the importance of communication in inter-group contact. Although interaction with each other is limited, distant contact and practising of Greek-Turkish is still possible. Interviews with students in the North revealed that visiting ancestors' 'home-property' in their birth place or hometown, and visiting religious places in the South (Hala Sultan Mosque) are one of the major reasons for students and their relatives to visit the South. While these types of journeys are in fact journeys to the past, recalling collective memories, they enable students to gain first-hand experience of 'the other, imaginary Cyprus and the enemy' from up close.

Local festivals, visits to local attractions, touristic and historical places, and for shopping are more memory-free social spaces where TCY students and their parents have happy hours after crossing the border. Can from the Mountain School in Kyrenia district reports on his first-time experience of visiting the South for shopping. As he says, "they have quality roads, big buildings, international brands and it's a cleaner place in the other side" whereas sharing her experience of visit to the North, Sotia says that "[w]e don't have a contact, only at the border...with the police" while crossing. When asked what language he used in the shopping centre, Can said that although he felt shy about making mistakes, he tried to use some Greek words but they mostly used English. Esra is another student who has never crossed the border to the South but had an opportunity to meet a group of "GCY people at Famagusta". It was her and her friends' first time using some of the basic

words like “Kalimera” (good morning), and “Efharisto” (thank you) with GCY to communicate. This practice made her think that learning Greek is useful, and being able to speak each other’s language is a different feeling.

The GCY and Maronite villages in Rizokarpazo region and Kyrenia district respectively accommodate Greek-speaking enclaves in the North. When asked if they ever used Greek with GCY, Yasemin and Ela from School Apliç said that since they are Turkish citizens, they are not allowed to enter RoC by law, due to the presence of Turkish military in Cyprus since 1974. Therefore, these students meet GCY people in the North only. While Yasemin meets her cousin’s GCY neighbours in the mixed village of Rizokarpazo, they socialize while enjoying Cypriot coffee and spend some time together. Ela, on the other hand, practises her Greek when she visits her grandparents at Pyla in Larnaca district, where there are also British airbases.

Similarly, Karmell, who is the only student who has direct contact with both GCY and TCY at the same time, built knowledge about the other, and developed intercultural competence with regards to language and history through her experience and immersion with people across the divide. Karmella and her peers’ debate during the interview is indicative of gaps in education. Those who learn about the other through selective history education lack knowledge about the other truth and TCY narration of the past, or vice versa. Therefore, Karmella’s access to knowledge in the North and her contact with TCY, and TCY narration of the past, gives an insight into the importance of contact, de-construction of preconceived ideas, and of perseverance

in creating opportunities to bring together GCY and TCY for building bridges while practising languages.

Similar to the case of Karmella, Aydın lives in Karpasa, where there are now very few Maronites. As Aydın reports from a TCY perspective, relatives of elderly Maronite people visit the village at the weekends since they have access to education in the South, and living in South Nicosia is convenient for accessing what they need. Sharing his experience, Aydın reports that living in a mixed village encouraged him to choose Greek in order to be able to communicate with local people. As he reports, the Maronites and TCY people go to separate coffee shops, however, business connects them occasionally. For instance, when asked if he had the opportunity to practise Greek, Aydın said he enjoyed using Greek in his father's plumber's shop with a Maronite villager. Since his father, who is competent in Greek, was not in the store and the Maronite man was unable to speak either in Turkish or English, Aydın was able to use his basic Greek to take some notes and give his father's telephone number. Asked how he felt, Aydın said he enjoyed using the Greek he learnt in class in practice, and it motivated him to learn more.

When I asked the same question in the South, I found that fewer students visit social spaces in the North, compared to those TCY students and their relatives who cross the border from the North for shopping or entertainment. For instance, Troodos is one of the famous areas in the South that visitors enjoy both in summer and during the snow season in the winter. Theododo practises his Turkish in the summers while working at an ice-cream shop in this touristic area of Cyprus, which became a holiday

destination for Turkish Cypriots. This is how he contacts TCY and practises his Turkish, though limited.

Bi-communal friendship programmes funded by the U.S.A, and EU exchange programmes are opportunities for students to get together. While conducting this research, I asked every student and teachers about their awareness of bi-communal friendship programmes in which GCY and TCY students get an opportunity to meet their peers, camp, socialize and spend a month in the U.S with host families. Unfortunately, most of the students said they had never heard of these and only one said he had. Solomos said that he went to Italy with an EU exchange programme, where he met a Turkish person from Turkey for the first time in his life. When asked about this experience, he said that while practising his Turkish with that Turkish student, he also got to know him and realized differences between what he knew through history lessons and experienced in reality. This suggests that inter-group contact may enable people to crack the taboos and encourage them to investigate the other truth. In this respect, the capacity to speak or be competent in each other's language plays as an icebreaker and paves the way towards communication, and in the long run, rapprochement.

5.12 The emergence of policy and prejudice-related complications through the language of the other class

This sub-theme is related to 'Theme IV Emergence of Policy and Prejudice-related Complications through Language of the Other class' and is related to RQ5 (What are the implications to the current policy and practice of introducing the language of the historic enemy into public education as an element of rapprochement?)

Since this is an exploratory qualitative research, it is at the very heart of my research aim to understand the practical complications of the language of the former enemy in education. In the paradoxical socio-political context of Cyprus, while the other is perpetuated in the minds of post-war generation students as a former enemy, at the same time the language of the former enemy is offered as an optional language. This situation is also raised in a study by Rampton, Charalambous and Charalambous (2015, p.177).

When asked about their experience of being teachers and students of the Turkish language, a great majority of my interviewee Turkish language teachers and students said that they received different forms of negative attitudes from their colleagues and peers in their schools in the South. While some teachers and students used the term 'bully' to describe the form of 'attack' they faced, they were also viewed as 'traitors' or 'Turkish lovers'. What underpins this attitude is that 'they are Turkish language learners of the language of the enemy'. The language and ethnicity-related prejudice against the Turkish language students and teachers created in-group conflict as 'us' (who learn or teach the language of the other) and 'them' (who are against the language of the other) (Taj-fel, 1979). The interview extracts show prejudiced-related verbal bullying in schools as teacher on teacher, student on teacher and teacher on student bullying, as presented in the next section.

5.12.1 Teacher on teacher bullying: language of the enemy as an occupation

Choosing to teach the 'language of the former enemy' as an occupation seems to be an issue for some teachers in the school environment in the South. Teachers

reported their experiences of the first day at school as a Turkish language teacher and some of the negative attitudes they received from their colleagues while introducing themselves. Mrs. Chrissa has taught Turkish at different public schools in the South of Cyprus since 2004. On her first day as a Turkish language teacher at a school in the city of Paphos, in the Southwest of Cyprus, a Maths teacher refused to shake her hand and left when Mrs. Chrissa introduced herself as a newly appointed Turkish language teacher. Ms. Miranda reported a similar incident at one of the schools she went to when she tried to use a computer in the teachers' room. When he realized that Turkish language textbooks by the computer belonged to her, the chemistry teacher refused her using the computer and left the teachers' room.

On the same subject, Mrs. Chara said:

We are always on the defence to excuse ourselves and to explain ourselves. Why we chose [Turkish] and we have to explain that 'we are not Turkish lovers...because we studied Turkish'...and we have to give a reason why we studied Turkish! I hate that! Why we have to explain [ourselves]? Does an English or Italian language teacher [explain herself/himself]? ... I argued with one of the teachers! I asked her, 'Why did you study English? You do not know what the British did to Cyprus? ... For how many years we were occupied? ... Are you British? ...How many people did they kill? The British organized the whole thing

... the trouble between Greeks and the Turks in Cyprus! Isn't that the British?'... Why d[id] you study English?' and 'Why do you go to England and study there?'

In the quote from Mrs. Chara's interview, she depicted how she met the challenge of facing verbal bullying at the workplace, the school environment; there is an absence of respect towards one's occupation. Having this experience encouraged this teacher to resist her colleagues' negative attitudes by developing a self-defence mechanism. As revealed here, the conflict arose between the Turkish language teacher and another language teacher. Those who are against the teaching of Turkish base their argument on the fact that they had ethnic conflict with Turkish people. When defending herself, this teacher reminds those who are critical of her of the other history, by questioning why they do not attach being an English language teacher to Britishness (language and nationality) or reminds them of the previous conflict between British and GCY.

5.12.1.1 Teacher on teacher bullying: status of language of the enemy in the post-Conflict curriculum and school environment

A controversial discussion is reported by Mrs. Chrissa, when one of the English language teachers heard that she will join the school event with her students to represent Turkish at the European Day of Languages. As Ms. Chrissa reports, Maria, an English language teacher, challenged Ms. Chrissa that "Turkish is not a European language" so, since Turkish is not recognized as an EU language, Turkish language teachers are not supposed to participate in this day along with German, French, Spanish, or Greek language teachers. As Ms. Chrissa spoke, Ms. Maria argued with

her that “(w)e had so much from the Turks and you are going to speak Turkish in front of the students!” ... “They put this lesson in our schools and now we have to hear (your) Turkish language,” is what Mrs. Chrissa answered back to Ms. Maria.

According to Ms. Chrissa, Ms. Maria “pushed” her and “attacked” her so much and made her “cry” and she did not know “how to defend” herself. As a form of defence, Ms. Chrissa preferred showing Maria the circular sent by the Ministry of Education and Culture as proof that Turkish language teachers have a right to represent the Turkish language on this day.

Like Ms. Chrissa, Mr. Yorgos shares the criticism they received as Turkish language teachers regarding their presence at the European Day of Languages. Below is the interview extract:

Mr. Yorgos: ...It is by the fact that we have the language, ehh, we celebrate one week-two weeks of European day of languages, er... our colleagues, they say ‘Turkish is not a European language!’...to celebrate with us...! But it is not like... ‘it is not the European language’... [Mr. Prodromos emphasizes] It is ‘European Day of Languages’...! It is not *the* European Languages...!

Me: During Linguistic Diversity Week, right...?

Mr. Yorgos: Yeah...ehh, we have a little bit war from them ...from colleagues, from English teachers ... or from the teachers’ organizations...from the unions, teachers’ union OELMEK-... hidden agendas...ehh... They don’t respect that we are in the school...! Not only the Turkish, all of the other languages, and now with the new programme...

(Face to face interview with Mr. Prodromos, Turkish language teacher in South Nicosia)

As seen in the extract, the stakeholders of education, “language teachers, teacher`s union, colleagues” do not respect that the Turkish language and Turkish language teachers are present in the schools. In fact, their attitude is towards the status of the Turkish language and to teachers, who are viewed as GCY teachers who lead and represent the language of the other-enemy in their public school. This is very much related to language status, alternative/de facto policies created by local people, and the ‘politics of language’, where different members of the school community play an active role in hindering the language of the other community in practice; in this case, the enemy. It seems that an objection, reaction, resistance has arisen in the post-conflict school environment regarding the Turkish language until this language is accepted by everyone in every school community.

5.12.1.2 Teachers’ and students’ bullying of students

As Turkish language teacher Ms. Mary emphasizes, her daughter’s literature teacher argues with them about why they chose the language of the enemy. In a similar vein, Ms. Katie mentioned one of her colleagues, who was assigned to cover her class, and was critical of students for studying the language of the enemy. As these teachers report, teachers create external pressure upon students and make them feel they are traitors.

Similar to Ms. Mary's daughter's experience, Savvia, from Lyceum Nicosia, is another student who was exposed to her friends' verbal abuse. She was keen to learn Turkish and demanded the set up of Turkish language classes. However, some of her friends were critical of her and they made an issue out of this:

Me: When you chose Turkish, how did your friends perceive this?

Savvia: Yesss....*[her facial expressions reveal that the process was challenging but Savvia and others battled those who tried not to allow them to Turkish language classes]*

Savvia: I was expecting this question.... *(smiles)* In the beginning everybody was telling me that we are not enough pupils to make this class, thus, *(she increases tone of her voice)* No Way! And the class was created *(laughs, saying she is very happy upon their claim that there is a way for having Turkish language class...)*! Why did you choose this language...? Why learn it? ... And, they found that I was telling them ...! *(smiles)*...I was tutoring them...! *(smiles)*

Me: You were!

Savvia:tutoring them!

Although her friends had a negative attitude at first, in time Savvia and her friends' success made some other students curious about what happens in their Turkish class and began to ask her about it. It seems that students individually resisting their

peers and breaking taboos and preconceived ideas regarding learning Turkish as a school subject.

Student on student bullying is another form of bullying. It emerged in the face to face interview data and group interviews conducted in the class, that some students attacked each other verbally. A number of GCY students who chose to study optional Turkish reported incidents of bullying or pressure with regards to their decision, being treated as a 'traitor' and 'Turkish lover'. Some students are pressured and intimidated. One of Ms Miranda's students was bullied by her peer, on the school bus. Ms Miranda said:

They are afraid at the beginning! They feel embarrassed because, they know that most of them... err ... will bully them... A student of mine told me that on the bus ... when she was going home...they attacked her verbally. 'Why do you decide to study Turkish?' 'Are you Turkish lover?' and, she did not feel so comfortable about choosing this language... Some of them are very brave; very outgoing and they said: 'I chose it because I want to find a job!'...Because, it is an official language of Cyprus. 'Because, if there is a solution...and after the Greek problem, the Cyprus problem...When there is a solution, I will find a job!'

It is borne out here that Turkish is a sensitive school subject. The student on the school bus treated as 'traitor' as she chose to study Turkish language. In another example, reported by Ms. Miranda, her son who was a student at one of the private English schools with TCY, GCY and international students, was attacked verbally by

his GCY peers. Ms. Miranda said that what underpins this verbal bullying was that her son became a close friend with a TCY student, Levent, and he got together with him during holidays, visiting each other at weekends. Ms. Miranda says that her son's friends blame Mertkan "Charalambous gets together with the enemy, sits together with him" and they wonder why Charalambous enjoys spending time with Levent, the Turkish Cypriot classmate. In this case, reported by Ms. Miranda, it is seen that the contact and closeness of two students with different group identities cause in-group conflict.

Similarly, verbal attacks make some students feel embarrassed due to their choice of Turkish. According to Tajfel's (1974) terms, this creates in-group conflict as 'us' and 'them' among in-group members, and peer pressure leads students to develop a personal defence mechanism, similar to what teachers experienced. Here, it is seen that a teacher categorizes those who chose the Turkish language as 'brave', and 'outgoing', and students with instrumental motivation intending to learn Turkish at a cost of bullying. The reason is that they see Turkish as one of the official languages of Cyprus rather than language of 'the other-(former)enemy'. Learning the language of the other requires being 'brave' in the teacher's term. This suggests issues of insecurity and an absence of a high-quality learning and teaching environment. To those learning Turkish, once the Cyprus problem is resolved there will be a need for the Turkish language and opportunity for finding a job. So, language has an important role to play and this learning at the school environment comes with a cost.

5.12.2 Prejudice-informed bullying in the North

The situation is not much different in the North regarding the perpetuation of hostility towards the curriculum. However, no major incident of bullying against teachers or students of Greek was observed or reported during data collection when I asked about teachers' and students' experience of learning and teaching the Greek language in the North.

5.12.2.1 Bullying intervention

It emerged in the interview extracts that it is very difficult for those being bullied to defend themselves; however, the challenge is doubled when there is no or little help at the workplace to tackle the bullying. Mr. Prodromos, Ms. Charoulla, Ms. Chrissa and Ms. Miranda reported the forms of bullying they experienced while teaching Turkish and the challenges they faced while trying to voice their problems as teachers of `the other language`. Most of the teachers say that they report bullying to school administration and their supervisors at the MoEC, RoC. The complaints were received by the related bodies, confirming that they will get back to them within a few months. However, the time passes and "[t]hey don't do anything", claims Mrs. Chara. When asked about what management strategies have been developed at the school by the administration, Ms. Miranda puts forward that:

...`you do not get support from schools` ... because, ...um... it is the majority against us who are offensive and have prejudice against us! No... you don't get support from the school you get support from your colleagues...who teach Spanish, Italian...they learn languages... they went abroad, they are

'open minded' ... but, especially those who studied in Athens, Greece ... No!

We don't get support from the school!

Peer support was mentioned only by Ms. Miranda, whereas Ms. Chrissa, and Mr. Yorgos shared that their colleagues acted as bystanders and their attitude left them alone. Nevertheless, there is a need to struggle tenaciously to resist bullying, develop professional strategies and intervene in prejudice, hatred, and verbal and physical bullying at the school environment.

5.12.3 Factors allowing bullying to flourish

It is important to find out the mechanisms that underline the development of prejudice-informed bullying in schools. Guided by the data, it is obvious that 'history education' plays an important role in the construction of the knowledge about the other, as well as the whole curriculum. Many participants in the South explained that history education is selective, recognizing GCY as 'the only victim and TCY members of the other community as the enemy through *δεν ξεχνώ*, meaning 'I do not forget'. Thus, there is one truth, where the other truth is distorted in history education (Bryant, 2000; Kızıyürek, 2001; Psaltis & Chakal, 2016, p.228; Zembylas, 2010).

5.13 Absence of the other truth: history textbooks

When asked how textbooks and teaching materials contribute to the culture of development of peace, tolerance and reconciliation, teacher of Greek Mr. Polat put forward his view that textbooks are one of the main sources that contribute to the creation of the imaginary other. Referring to history books, he says that when we

look at history from the perspective of a TCY, “Greeks are always the enemy. I assume that history textbooks more likely fuel conflict”. He says, for instance, “the students are taken to the martyrdom of Karaođlanođlu in Kyrenia district on the days of remembrance”. Based on his experience, he says that “...students return to class with sympathy, talking about the enemy and reflecting their hatred. There is a display of the war, a soldier reports about the suffering and the tragedy”. “In my opinion”, says Mr. Polat:

...these are all done to obtain sympathy [and] agitation, encouraging the arousing of public concern about this issue. And, it seems to me that the book and the curriculum tend to escalate the hostility. Hence, there is no social dimension in the books but very much academic, targeting teaching of grammar, like in our Greek language textbooks. There is a tendency to perpetuate hostility.

In the same vein, Mr. Sabri emphasizes the absence of reconciliation in education and stresses that there is a serious problem of treating GCY and the South as the other: “We view them as the other, this is our problem. The community used to live together, had wars, conflicts with each other. We view them as the enemy, unwanted people. ... I believe that there are still negative thoughts with regards to this.”

In the following interview extract, Mr. Sotiris compares history education in the South and the North and says that although they learn about “1974”, “refugees”, “prisoners”; he says that “...Cyprus history is ... it is not entering the problems” Here, it is seen that History is one of the school subjects; the other is created by victimizing

one side and blaming the other through teaching part of the history. Like Mr. Sotiris, Ms. Christiana highlighted the same subject on the role of history books in creating the image of the enemy in the minds of students and not teaching what really happened in the past. Mr. Sotiris's remarks regarding the history textbooks in the North remind us of an example of a leftist educational policy on the revision of the history textbooks and an initiative for reconciliation. This takes us back to the question "Can we do reconciliation in education while the Cyprus problem is pending"? This is what I am going to discuss in the next chapter.

On the question about what the Turkish language means to her, Lyceum student Savvia echoed Mr. Polat, Mr. Sabri, Mr. Sotiris regarding the influence and role of (history) education on students' attitudes towards the former enemy. Given the political aspect of language and its relation to ethnicity, Savvia talks about her fear and how she overcame it:

Me: What does presence of Turkish mean to you?

Savvia: OK, before choosing to learn Turkish at school, it was a little bit shocking...Aww my God...! What's going on now! It was shocking...! But after I decided that I want to learn the language and study it, I get excited (smiles) when I see something in Turkish...!

Me: What made you feel shocked?

Savvia: Because of the things that they tell us at school...that Turkish occupied Cyprus, I had the feeling that (*Savvia's emphasizes*) all Turkish

people are over me...! So, I was feeling ehhh...ehhh...it was the feeling like suffocation ... this was what the feeling [was]!

(Savvia, Turkish language students, Lyceum Nicosia)

In this particular example, Savvia tells me how she overcame her worry of being invaded linguistically when she began to see the language of the former enemy around her in her social space. Indeed, as she acknowledges, what is taught in school as 'Turkish' has been influential on her attitude. At first, when she came across Turkish in some of the public spaces, observing that Turkish is becoming more visible at some restaurants, shops or pharmacies located close to checkpoints in Nicosia, or meeting cars with TCY number plates in the traffic, hospitals, or in social spaces in the South, she got the feeling that Turkish people are dominating them. To her, her space is conquered through the language and she felt that sooner or later GCYs will be overwhelmed. However, in time, especially when she chose Turkish as an optional foreign language, she built confidence as she was able to decode the Turkish alphabet, words, develop reading skills and gain some competency in the language.

One of the Greek language classes in Lefke region raised a critical question and voiced that they really want to learn, 'what we really did to them'. Lyceum student, Besime, says that "they do not tell us what we did to them. We should have done something too". Besime's classmate, Güznem says, "[w]e do not believe that we are the only victim". As I observed, the students show motivation to dig past and find out

the missing pieces of the other truth by being critical and rejecting to take everything they are taught for granted. I observed in the Greek language classes in the North that a majority of students come to class with unofficial narratives of their grandparents who belong to the war generation. Most of these students come to class with the knowledge of the other and show that they have awareness of missing pieces of history education.

In our group interviews in some of the Greek language classes, when I asked students to compare what they know and what they learn, they were critical of the history education that leaves them unaware about the social dimension of GCY and TCY interrelation before the division. I observed that grandparents' narration of the past also involves a social dimension in terms of the relation of GCY and TCY in war time. For instance, Nurten narrates that when Lefke, where their grandparents were living, was occupied by the GCY, TCY women were hiding themselves from the 'enemy' while their grandfathers were taken by GCY as war prisoners. But, what is important in this narration is that GCY friends of their family brought some milk, and flour for those TCY people to make bread and feed their children. As highlighted by those students and teachers, the inclusion or involvement of the social relations between GCY and TCY before the division, informed by true life stories, may bring an alternative dimension into education and pave the way towards reconciliation. This may happen if education is used as a vehicle for the de-construction of preconceived ideas by avoiding portrayal of the former enemy across education.

In this group interview, students were asked about how they build knowledge about the other. While some gain knowledge through their grandparents' narratives, some

said that their grandparents keep silence since the past means tragedy for them and they avoid talking about it. In the dialogue below, Theododo explains his discomfort of TCY people occupying his grandparents' house in the North. On the other hand, Karmella, who was originally Maronite Christian, and uses their Maronite village in the North as a weekend house, interrupted to inform Theodoro that in 1974, GCY people were placed into TCY people's house in the South, so there is another dimension to this. As she reports, there are two ways to the other truth, which has always been underestimated. Theododo admitted he was not aware that TCY people lost lands. So, Karmella informed him that there are some lands that had belonged to TCY but are now occupied by GCY people.

Theododo:... I didn't like the fact that other people are living in my grandparent's house! They invited us to come to their house for coffee....

Kartella (*interrupts*)... There are Greek Cypriots who live in Turkish Cypriots' houses in Paphos due to the fact of 1974! (*Karmella and Theododo discuss this*)

Kartella: This is the same thing because as Turkish Cypriots are living in Greek Cypriots houses so, what is happening in this area is that Greek Cypriots are living in Turkish Cypriots' houses!they both lost their houses...

Me: And, what is your view, Theododo?

Theododo: I didn't know what Karmella said, that Greek Cypriots are living in Turkish Cypriots' houses! I am not against Turkish...I like Turkish and we

are talking, we are getting along with each other! But, I do not like Turkish people, taking, invading and taking our fields and our houses and what we did to them, they did to us also!

Me: All right...!

(Group interview, Turkish language students, Karmella and Theododo

The other truth is the missing piece in history education, as the education system across the divide tends to adopt a selective history education informed by a post-conflict curriculum.

5.14 The design of post-conflict school environment political graffiti:

nationalistic and religious symbolism as elements of division

Based on my field notes, taken during my fieldtrips to various schools across the island, I realized that school is not only an environment designed for raising a generation through teaching various school subjects informed by various ideologies, but that schools are also living museums of the past. In the case of Cyprus, the troubled past; the wars, the victories, the memories, the remembrance, trauma, tragedy, hatred and sympathy are portrayed, represented and created in the school environment in various ways, especially in the South. In one of the schools in Paphos region, the school foyer adopts a war genre, with a painting covering the whole wall, portraying the loss of land in the ethnic war in 1974, the Old Kyrenia and the Harbour, the war victims' posters, and the tragedies, sufferings of their loss, and the statue of

a martyr in the school yard, who lost his life fighting against the British during the 1950s.

The flags of the motherlands, Greece in the South and Turkey in the North, are basic symbols in schools across the divide representing attachment, loyalty in reference to GCY and TCY's home country and their believing in its system of beliefs and values. In the North, the schools are mostly named after martyrs, who lost their lives during the ethnic wars in Cyprus. There are statues of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the Turkish hero, at every school, and the Turkish and the TRNC flags on the sides of the statue. In the South, most schools are named after Orthodox Christian saints, for instance, Lyceum St. Agious Neophytou, reflecting religious attachment. The Greek, the RoC and the EU flags stand together in the schoolyards. Religious symbols as portraits of saints, and crosses as symbols of Christianity are displayed in some of the school foyers and administrative buildings, and there are statues of heroes, as called by GCY in their community, and the war monuments in public spaces to perpetuate the memory of those killed in the war in the mid 1950's, 1960s and in 1974.

Another way of voicing political views is through political graffiti. While there is political graffiti on some school walls in the South rejecting the idea of federalism, and reunification of the island, I did not observe such graffiti in the visited schools in the North. In one of the schools in the heart of Nicosia, in the South, I observed political graffiti on the walls, promoting unification to Greece and reflecting a political view against a Federal Cyprus. During my visit to the school for interviews, Mr. Sotiris showed me around the school and gave me some information about the political

graffiti in and around the school. As I learnt, there are 10-15 per cent of students who are against unification. When asked how the school manages the political graffiti on the school walls, I was informed by the school administration and the Turkish language teacher that a small number of students are supporters of ELAM (far rightist group supporting the unification of Cyprus with Greece) repeatedly leave political messages: “Unification of Cyprus to Greece; against Federal Cyprus or against the idea of the reunification of Cyprus”. The school administration does not make any serious intervention. What they do is paint the school walls twice a year and clean the walls. No other precaution is taken as an intervention. Thus, it seems that there is no initiative to go to the root of the problem.

In one of the schools in Paphos, there was a student desk where the map of Cyprus was portrayed, depicting division, the North in red and the South, with a slogan, “Den Xheno”, meaning “Never forget 1974”. The same symbol appeared as a sticker in the teachers’ room on the teachers’ lockers at the same school.

The ethnographic representation of the culture is displayed in the school environment. This is another important approach, perpetuating attachment to Cypriot identity through folklore, customs and traditions, as opposed to attachments to motherlands. Cypriot culture, folk dance and clothing, daily life and tradition was displayed in one of the schools in South Nicosia, whereas this was not visible in any other school visited in the North, with regards to Cypriot culture.

5.15 Teachers' strategies in de-escalating hatred for rapprochement using the language of the other class for peacebuilding

As Hall (2007, p.7) puts it, “[e]ducation is a human, societal, and political process”. The teachers as deliverers of knowledge play a major role in this political process. In this respect, teachers do not only function as a bridge between educational policy and practice, being in direct contact with the students and parents, indicating direct exposure to any kind of feedback, their attitude targeting educational policy as much as teaching-related issues. Therefore, teachers have to take immediate decisions, have an authoritative voice, develop strategies to tackle issues that emerge in the post-conflict learning environment, especially in the classroom. However, it is observed that teachers receive lack of institutional and emotional support within the system. Being left behind in education, in the absence of peace and reconciliation in education, Turkish language teachers seem to take the challenge on their own and develop their own inspiring strategies to contribute to peace.

It emerged in this PhD project that avoiding bringing political matters into Turkish and Greek language classes across the divide is one option; however, using raised tensions as an opportunity to navigate students' attention to the other truth, awareness-raising is another way of de-escalating hatred for rapprochement in the language of the other for peacebuilding. I will state various strategies employed by Turkish language teachers, though limited, in the de-escalation of hatred in Turkish language classes in the South.

5.15.1 Navigating students' attention to non-selective history reading: Be critical and objective!

It emerged that some of the Turkish language teachers developed a strategy to de-construct students' preconceived ideas in history through raising awareness. In their approach, while some teachers use history as a source of knowledge through encouraging students to question and realize other historical incidents, others let students explore and discover the other truth by themselves.

Based on Mrs. Miranda's experience, students tend to be selective about their enemies, parallel to what they are taught in history education. In this context, as perpetuated continually, anything regarding Turkish-Turkishness is associated with the enemy. Therefore, ethnicity and language are attached and inseparable. In the extract below, the teacher intends to raise awareness of the fact that it is strange behaviour to view members of a particular community as your enemy even though you have never met them. The teacher tries to make students de-construct their preconceived ideas towards their enemy and re-construct their knowledge through adopting a different approach to history. The interview extract below gives insight into Miranda's approach as follows:

Do you know what I do in order to tell them that nobody is our enemy? ... they errr..., people that say Turk... 'Turkish is our enemy' ... ok.. 'Turkish [is] our enemy'! Do you have any problem with Turkish Cypriots? Have you ever met Turkish Cypriots? Do you ever have a problem with them? They say 'No!' [teacher's emphasizes]. So, how come you say they are your 'enemy' even if the students not met with those people! Do not you have 'other enemies' as

Cypriots? You are against the language [some of them...other kids] Why are not you against English? Ermm, 'Did the English in Cyprus come and did nothing'? Why do you go England and study? Why do you buy English products? If you want to be OK with yourself, you do not just say things only for Turkey, Turkish Cypriots or Turks, you have to put everybody in the same category in the same situation!

(Face to face interview with Miranda, February 2017)

In her approach, Ms. Miranda tries to insist that “nobody is our enemy”, however, contradicts herself by addressing Turkish as enemies. She asks questions about students' experience of the other, and when they admit they don't have any, makes them question their views, diffusing their preconceived ideas regarding the 'imaginary other'.

The teacher's second approach is raising some questions in order to encourage students to think about other major conflicts and enemies throughout their history. She asks students why they learn English even though England colonized Cyprus from 1878-1960 or why they go and study in England. The teacher advises students to approach not only specifically one particular nation or “enemy” but reminds them that Turkey was not their only enemy, when history is reviewed objectively. Here, teacher tries to teach students about adopting criticality in their approach to history and avoid being selective when approaching history or discussions involving elements of history.

The question here is whether there is an implication of addressing students' attention to other enemies while trying to de-escalate hostility with a particular country. This requires an in-depth analysis and discussion as I will be doing shortly, in chapter six.

5.15.2 Accessing alternative history and narrations through school projects: 'The life we did not live'

Reconciliatory activities at the school setting through the Diversity Conference, held once a year in the public schools, is mentioned by Mr. Yiannis. Although each group of students and teachers have different ways of preparing their activities and presentations for the diversity conference, Mr. Yiannis uses it as a vehicle to get students accessing unofficial history and narration of the other truth beyond the school environment. In his approach, Mr. Yiannis unpacked the past through various activities as part of optional Turkish language class. Here, the teacher used photographs, symbols, and stories to teach about the past, engaged students in various activities, and appointed students as student researchers. In this activity, the students were responsible for finding elderly people to be interviewed about the past, under the title 'The life we did not live'. The presentations prepared by Turkish language students were presented school-wide; the posters and photographs were displayed across the school walls.

The diversity conference, held on 21st March, gave the teacher the opportunity to engage with a series of activities and be shown with concrete examples that TCY and GCY used to share the same island, created a common culture and lived together in harmony before the ethnic clashes in 1963 and the war in 1974. The teacher referred to the past in the hope of showing students the other truth that

belongs to the same communities. That is why they named the presentation “The life we did not live”. As Mr. Yiannis stated in his interview extract below, the young generation grew up in the divide has no social network with the other. Moreover, there is a lack of knowledge about the past and the present, and so, his aim was awareness-raising through stepping back as a teacher and engaging students with people from the outside the school, who have the real story as opposed to the official history education. So, through students’ direct contact with the data outside, they accessed and explored ‘the common past’ with first-hand experience between the two communities as the culture, economy, social life, and the language.

In the next extract, Mr. Yiannis gives background information about what they did at the diversity conference:

...It was about these young people, they don’t know the people in the side! We start with historical events, [when] the two communities [were] together and we used photos from villages that Cami is built near the church. [B]efore the euro, we had Cyprus Lira (KıbrısLirası), 5 lira and there was a photo of this church and the minaret. Next, we found photos of the old people, we took interviews from the old people, like in weddings they were celebrating together. [Eid] Bayram, [Ramadan] Ramazan Bayram, or Kurban bayram..[GCY and TCY were] celebrating together YennaPaska, Hristuginna [Easter in April], Christmas [Noel], Paskalye [Easter] they were celebrating together! We f[ou]nd some not some...a lot of words they used, both of us!

It emerged in the interview, as shown next, that Mr. Yiannis tried to use every opportunity to build a dialogue with students and as he said, this requires patience and teaching students that dialogue is mutual and it requires giving an opportunity to the other to deliver his/her thoughts, but at the same time listening and trying to understand what is said in response. In his approach, the teacher intended deconstructing the preconceived ideas about the other and re-constructing knowledge by relying on the sources not available in the textbooks but in real life. Thus, this teacher aimed to expand his students' horizon of history through providing them an opportunity to look at history from different lenses. So, he showed that knowledge is dynamic and can be re-constructed, if there is a will.

What I am saying to them is that '***I can hear you; tell me!*** ***How did you feel?*** and **I don't interrupt them...**! I am hearing them and at the end **I ask them if they hear me.** Because, I [say] I [heard] you for 20 minutes, my friend, let me tell you something most probably you don't know! And ... a lot of these guys **when the approach is friendly, they can understand!** **They are kids, you have to explain to them, not to make them angry!**

Another event was Anti-Racism Day, as reported by Mrs. Miranda. In this event, TCY poets were invited to school for poetry reading, where the genre is Cyprus. In this event, the GCY literature teacher invited the poets and in Mrs. Miranda's class a volunteer student read the poem. In this event Ms. Miranda reported two incidents. One of them is the protest of the students, who left the conference room, and the other is Dimitra, one of the Turkish language students, who read out the poem voluntarily. According to Ms. Miranda, the MoEC does not get involved in the process

in opening up opportunities for providing GCY and TCY to meet for peace. As she suggested, although it is challenging to bring together the two communities, taking the initiative to do so has positive implications once a chance is given to promote peace and intercultural activities through education.

5.16 Reconciliatory attempts in the North

When asked about reconciliatory initiatives in education in the North, Ms. Derya reported that although she is not aware of any studies or initiatives, nevertheless, she holds the view that it is teachers who will carry out reconciliatory initiatives as they have a major role to play. Ms. Derya holds the belief that “teachers are natural advocates of reconciliation” whereas according to Murphy and Gallagher (2009) this belief is misleading (in Zembylas, 2011) since teachers, especially in small countries with strong family and friend networks are influenced by each other’s loss and trauma. Therefore, Murphy and Gallagher assume that teachers might be influenced by all the past events and experiences and their teaching might be influenced by teachers’ personal thoughts, knowledge and experience. In fact, this overlaps with Zembylas et.al’s (2010) view of teachers’ emotions as deliverer of policy in practice.

Ms Ada and Mr Salih are two Greek language teachers who were actively engaged in school-based activities with their classes on Linguistic Diversity Week. Mr. Polat, Ms. Derya and Ms. Eda informed me that they were passive in that week as they had lost motivation. One of the basic activities they do is preparing flashcards, where the intention is to promote Greek language on the Greek language stall. They try to teach basic Greek to other students. For instance, in last year’s linguistic diversity week, Ms. Ada and her students studied and formed a choir for singing a Greek

song. They sang their Greek song in the school garden to the whole school. Then, they used the Greek flag, posters of Greek artists, singers and actors, popular destination Santorini, and the religious symbol of the church to display some elements of Greek culture. Therefore, the target language and culture is Greece, in the teacher's examples.

When I asked teachers about their use of the language and culture of the GCY community, I was informed that due to a lack of teacher's competence of GCY language and culture, absence of materials designed professionally for contextualising Cypriot culture, the target language and culture is Greece. While the absence of materials and teacher competency about 'the other side' hinders developing intercultural competence between GCY and TCY communities, there is also a lack of awareness of the role of intercultural dimension in foreign language teaching. This is one of the elements I will be raising in the discussion chapter.

Based on in-class observations and interviews with students and teachers, it emerged that Greek is the preferred language to be since it is one of the languages of this island and there is a need to speak it when crossing the border. In the TCY school context I have not observed any act of hatred when describing the language of the other, or the other community, but a desire to know who they are, how different they are, then selectively taught history education.

5.17 Summary

Despite that Turkish and Greek languages were introduced into the curriculum across the divide in Cyprus in 2004 and 2008 respectively, it emerged in this

research that many teachers are not satisfied with the current state of Turkish and Greek as foreign languages in education, and intractable problems and weaknesses remain.

My analysis suggested that earlier attempts to introduce Greek and Turkish into the curriculum was a promising step towards giving the language of the other a status in the school setting. However, this policy has been delivered to only particular schools, and limited improvements made regarding reconciliation. It seems that policy making is very much influenced by the process and progress of the Cyprus peace talks, which have been continuing since 1975 under the auspices of the U.N. In this divided country, there are complex policy problems within and between the communities interrelated to the pending Cyprus problem.

It is striking that no research into the implementation of Greek in the North is being carried out, during the data collection in the academic years February 2016-February 2018. The Ministry of Education and Culture in the North and Ministry of Education and Culture in the South have not taken the language of the other onto their political agenda. The teachers of Turkish in the South, who complained and voiced their concerns, complained about the OELMEK teachers' union and MoEC for not being attentive to their problems; whereas teachers of Greek in the North, as they also explained in the interviews, have remained silent in this process and have continued teaching and only meeting the requirements of their positions in the public schools. While taking every challenge for tackling the issues emerging in their workplaces, these teachers complain that they are left behind by the policy makers

and they have concerns regarding the continuation of their jobs at public schools as language teachers in the future.

.Chapter Six: Discussion

6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents how my own investigation and findings have contributed to our understanding of the language of each other policy in this conflict-affected context for rapprochement through education and discusses ideas related to the language of the historic enemy in geopolitical division. The mainstay of this research is exploring the various roles that language plays in the post-conflict context, investigating its potential in bringing an intercultural dimension to teaching the language of the other, and understanding what it means to employ the language of a former enemy, along with its relation to identity. Additionally, investigating the implications of this language policy to educational policy development in the post-conflict context is one of the fundamental aims of this study. Drawing on the findings presented in Chapter 5, I discuss different roles and functions of language within its historical context in the conflict-affected context of Cyprus, the functions of learning

the language of the other and its most important dimensions of de-escalation of hatred and peacebuilding in the post-conflict context. The introduction of Greek and Turkish into curriculums has a political role to play in relation to **peace and reconciliation**. However, it is obvious that neither allocated time nor the language of the other alone is enough to contribute to rapprochement, due to the prevailing circumstances. Reconciliatory initiatives in education obviously involve politics. It requires language policy development, political aspiration and passion to tackle the potential challenges. I discuss the findings from a critical perspective, seeking to provide in-depth insights into the politics and pedagogy of language of the other in the post-conflict context of Cyprus.

The key dimensions of the findings addressed in this chapter include the following themes, which are linked to the three research questions:

- Language as a socio-historical phenomenon
- Relation of language to identity and its implications to rapprochement through language education
- Function of language and its relation to language choice
- Obstacles to Educational Policy development and implementation in a post-conflict context
- What is the potential of bringing an intercultural dimension into teaching the other language?

6.2. Language as a socio-historical phenomenon

Theme II, RQ 2: What roles and functions has language played in its socio-historical context in Cyprus?

Inspired by the troubled context of Cyprus and my curiosity to investigate what meanings participants impart to the element of language, I intended to find out what roles and functions language has played in its socio-historical context in Cyprus. The discussion in this section is linked to RQ2 and informed by Theme II, which is about 'the Greek and Turkish language students' identity formation in the post-conflict context'. The theme that emerged relates to native and target language and identity politics, as presented in the Literature chapter. In my investigation, theme II enables us to understand what meanings students impart to their native language and the language of the other in contact linguistically and politically. As highlighted previously, Cyprus has been a crossroads of languages and cultures at different times. The troubled politics and history have played a major importance in the social and political lives of Cypriots and these have implications on their perceptions of language, identity formation and ideology. Based on interviewees' views, language is about who we are and who we are not; it is a vehicle that convey our behaviours and attitudes, which through the voice, tone, and gestures conveys our inner world. Language is a way of thinking, mediating meaning to the interlocutor. It is an important element of identity, where the speaker eradicates the *self* when he speaks his language; and identity is widely believed to be a dynamic entity and interrelated to language.

Our beliefs, political views, personal experiences, and our contact within and between members of societies enable us to construct our worldviews and reconstruct our identities, which is a dynamic entity, as presented in the Literature chapter. Therefore, I will discuss the relation of language and identity in multi-ethnic communities such as Cyprus and how their relationship can inform us about improving the target language and attitude towards native speakers of the language by using a common identity model. Here, the focus is on the Greek and Turkish languages as Turkish and Greek Cypriots are the target communities of the political intention to teach language as a vehicle for rapprochement in Cyprus.

Language transmits cultural knowledge and enables people to access the contents of other's minds (Byram & Wagner, 2018, p.144). Attitude change, social perception, personal identity, social interaction, intergroup bias and stereotyping attribution, which are core subjects of psychology, are involved in language. Consequently, stimulus and response are core roles of language in social psychology (Krauss & Chi-Yue Chiu, 1998, pp. 41-88). It is difficult to claim that language is a neutral tool for communication, since it is widely known that it shapes perception and behaviour (Gay, 1999 in Natakunda-Togboa, 2017, p.79).

In Moscovici's (1961, 1976, in Luissier, 2011, p.42) view, language by all means is a socio-historical phenomenon. It relies on a complex ensemble of social, historical and political considerations which shape our schema of references and our representations of other people and other cultures. As with social representations, the first function of cultural representations is to interpret reality that surrounds us, by symbolizing it, assigning meaning to it, and mentally re-modelling it. In post-

conflict contexts like Cyprus, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Sierra Leone, and many other conflict-affected contexts, physical dislocation, psychological trauma and insecurity, loss of family members and friends in the clashes, experience of atrocities of war, and being forced to leave homes and becoming refugees, are fundamental sources of fear. Following the tragedy, suffering and pain of war, the conflicting sides become historic enemies. Concerns for the future and political uncertainties along with mistrust create challenging psychological conditions for people post-war, even in the presence of negative peace. People continuously develop deeply rooted negative views against the other informed by preconceived ideas, as in the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Danesh, 2006, p.69). The situation is no different in Cyprus. The war and its implications to communities are devastating. Therefore, learning a language, which is a “socio-historical phenomenon” in Moscovici’s (1961, 1976, in Luissier, 2011, p.42) understanding, is influenced by various contextual factors. From this perspective, language, as a socio-historical phenomenon, has cultural baggage. Given the socio-historical aspect of language, language is beyond a linguistic code but a doubled-edged sword in education: a political instrument, especially in a conflict-affected context. Language is a power, in Bourdieu’s (first published 1992; 2005) view. Language is a political instrument, especially in multi-ethnic communities: it has a divisive function but at the same time unifying power.

6.2.1 Language as identity marker

Finding a common identity may be effective in reducing intergroup bias (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1993). Several studies investigating social identity in divided Cyprus have been carried out in Cyprus. Psaltis and Cakal (2016, p.233) investigated “the social

psychological dynamics of social identity relating to intergroup relations between the two communities and relations with the so-called motherlands, Turkey and Greece, at the symbolic level of identification". Historically, the Turkish Cypriot and Turkish national were not differentiated. This is a historical 'motherland nationalism', advocated by the rightist political discourse. In this view, Turkey is a historical homeland, and Turkish immigrants and Turkish Cypriots are co-ethnics, or in other words ethnic-kins. Whereas, Cypriotness is a newer conceptualization of identity in the leftist discourse. 'Nativist Cypriotness' discourse gained momentum with the introduction of Cyprus's accession process in 1995 and reached a peak during the 'Annan Peace Process' (2001-2004) to unify the island within the European Union. A majority in the nativist Cypriotness discourse complain about the influx of Turkey, assimilation and loss of culture. (Cirali, 2018; Peristianis, 2006; Psaltis, 2012). Psaltis and Cakal (2016) found that there is a concern regarding the national identity of Greek Cypriots. As revealed in their research, while "Hellenocentrism" emphasizes Greekness, or the Greek identity of Cypriots, Cypriot identity is mostly represented by "Cypriot-centrism" by those people expressing their political orientation as leftist. As revealed in my investigation, in the group interviews and as reported by students, especially in Pafos region, there is a peer pressure against those who prefer to say "I am Cypriot". This finding is in line with Psaltis and Cakal's (2016) findings. Freedom of expression of one's identity seem to raise in-group tension when those in support of nativist Cypriot identity are viewed as traitors by those with Hellenocentric ideology. The findings I presented here are related to Theme II-Greek and Turkish students' identity formation, and they are in line with the

literature. For instance, in line with Psaltis and Cakal's (2016, pp. 232-233) findings, fig 6 shows "[t]he complexity of identity in a divided Cyprus" and "the transition to a Reunited Federal Cyprus".

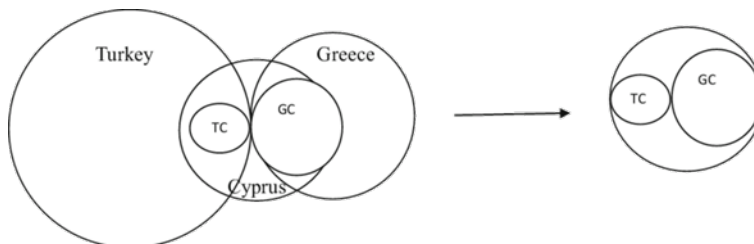


Figure 6.1: The complexity of identity in a divided Cyprus and the transition to a Reunited Federal Cyprus

Psaltis and Cakal (2016, p.232-233)

Based on my experience and observation among the GCY and TCY participants, language's relation to identity is an important aspect, determining its function for and during intergroup contact. In the context of GCY, Cypriot dialect of Greek is believed to reflect 'Cypriot identity', which aligns with Kizilyurek (2010) and Psaltis and Cakal (2016). As presented in the findings chapter, the Cypriot dialect of Greek is unique to Cyprus, and as proposed by GCY participants, their language is one of the most important elements of their identity, also reflecting an important aspect of their culture. It is the same with the Cypriot dialect of Turkish and standard Turkish spoken in Turkey. As Kızılyürek (2010) puts it, the Turkish dialect spoken by Cypriots and standard Turkish spoken by people living in Turkey have an "uneasy relationship". This is the same of Greek spoken in Athens and the Cypriot dialect of Greek spoken in Cyprus (Pavlou, 2010). Linguistic (im)properness and (in)correctness emerge between those speaking standard Turkish and Cypriot dialect of Turkish. While some

of the students explain Cypriot dialect of Turkish as 'villagey'-'broken', the perception of CDG is no different in the South. Karatsareas (2018) found in his study conducted in diaspora in London that CDG is found to be a "vareta-heavy-villagey and spazmena that is broken" whereas Standard Greek is perceived as 'proper and polite'. In fact, CDG and CDT are both important for the development of intercultural identity and dialogue. This is also important for intergenerational transmission of language as proposed by Karatsareas (2018).

Based on findings and on my experience among Greek and Turkish Cypriots during data collection, and as discussed in the literature, language is an important linguistic border/marker between and among communities in differentiating various ethnolinguistic groups and cultures. When investigating connections between language and group identity, we see that language has a dual function: a source of conflict and a vehicle for intergroup communication for strengthening mutual understanding and networking for rapprochement as part of peace-making. It emerged in the analysis, while talking about 'Cypriotness', participants of this research, no matter how they identified themselves (Turkish, Turkish Cypriot, Greek, or Greek Cypriot), used 'lexical' and 'phonological' elements as indicators of their ethnolinguistic differentiation. Both Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot students used phonology and lexis as linguistic markers in differentiating Turkishness from being TCY or Cypriot, and Greekness from being GCY or Cypriot. It is seen that both GCY and TCY participants use lexis and also dialect in conceiving group boundaries. However, using linguistic differentiation seem to create "us" and "them" between in-group and subgroup members (Allport, 1954 in Gaertner et al, 1994). As presented

in the findings chapter, it is seen that while describing who they are, the majority of TCY reported who they are not. In their narration, they took Turkey as a superordinate nation group and differentiated themselves by using linguistic, religious and cultural factors in categorizing “us” and “them”. The situation is very similar in the South. As presented in the findings, while one of the students, pseudonymed Zakaria, and her friends voiced that if they describe themselves as Cypriot, their peers blame them that they are traitors, denying their Greek roots. This creates peer pressure and a source of conflict among them. As some of them said, then they prefer acting as a bystander, or feel that they are not free to say who they are. The same was voiced in various schools visited in the South.

Taking into account the experience of Zakaria and her friends in Pafhos region and Sotia in Pyrgos region, there is an issue of identity. On one hand, there are students who acknowledge their dual identity as GCY and TCY with attachment to their motherlands. On the other hand, there is a rejection of Cypriot identity as it is assumed that one who acknowledges himself/herself in fact rejects his/her roots. Apart from these, there are also those who claim “Cypriotness” as their original group, rejecting the symbolic representation of concept of “motherhood” relations with Greece and Turkey but accepting “brotherhood” instead. As presented by Psaltis and Cakal (2016), those who identify themselves as Cypriots work towards a common identity. In the current context, although ‘**Kibrisli Turk**’ and ‘**Kibrisli Rum**’ are grammatically correct writings of ‘Turkish **Cypriot**’ and ‘Greek **Cypriot**’ (Turkish separated from Cypriot, referring attachment to the superordinate nation), those in support of a single Cypriot identity use ‘**Kibrisliturk**’ and ‘**Kibrislirum**’. This is a

deliberate manipulation of corpus through coining terms for representation of identity linguistically, which can be considered as a de facto language policy. The coined terms represent a single native identity, where Cypriotness is conceived as original nativist identity with elements of Turkish and Greek symbolizing ethnic/linguistic differences. In fact, this representation is indicative of a desire for perpetuating 'the common identity' in the hope of reducing intergroup bias and conflicts from the common past. As emerged in this researched and widely known in Cyprus, we cannot underestimate another group of people who defines 'Cypriotness' as people of Cyprus who speak Greek as their native language, born and brought up in Cyprus and Orthodox Christian by religion. This 'nativist' understanding with 'linguistic and religious categorization' suggest single identity with no space for Turkish Cypriots and other minorities who are Maronites, Armenians, Latin, Romani people of Cyprus. Therefore, I would borrow from Byram and Wagner (2018) and suggest that there is a need to address and raise awareness on 'intecultural identity' in Cyprus, which leaves space for all. Intercultural identity suggests respect, empathy, tolerance and acceptance of the other rather than exclusion of the other through language, religion and ethnicity. I discuss this next in detail.

6.2.1.1 Dual function of language and its implications for common group identity

The detailed discussion of the identity-language relationship seems to reveal a complexity of context and how knowledge of identity is constructed. In line with the wider literature regarding language and identity, in this study the majority of GCY hold the view that 'Cypriots speak the Cypriot dialect of Greek in Cyprus'. In fact, this

still reflects a monolithic thinking, if not a nationalistic ideology with a strong Hellenistic view. To some people, those who speak the Cypriot dialect of Greek and followers of the Orthodox Christian faith are those who belong to 'the Cypriot culture'. It is seen that intergroup and identity borders that differentiate GCY and TCY from each other are native language and religion. During data collection, it was interesting to discover how some of students and teachers explain Cypriotness when asked overtly, or sometimes revealed through the conversation covertly. This raises the question of whether 'Cypriotness' is seen as a 'common identity-shared by Turkish Cypriots, Greek Cypriots, Maronites, Latin' or a 'single identity, with no place and space for Turkish Cypriots' and other minorities by those who express themselves as 'Cypriots'. To some students and teachers, Cypriots are those who speak the Cypriot dialect of Greek and are Orthodox Christian.

However, looking into the interviews with these participants, it is seen that their reasons for excluding TCY from 'Cypriotness' vary. One reason is due to the decades-old segregation and absence of immersion with each other. Consequently, 'the existence of the other' does not exist, or if at all, exists as an imagined community as in Anderson's (1983) term. For instance, one of the Greek literature teachers, Era (GCY descent) and citizenship education teacher Christofias (Greek descent) wanted to meet me, since they are peace supporters, and have a conversation with me regarding the education system in the South, as part of the pre-data collection stage. While narrating her memories regarding TCY, the war and afterwards, Era was reminded by Christofias to be politically correct, as she was referring to Cypriotness as an identity of those who speak the Cypriot dialect of

Greek and belong to the Orthodox Christian church. Reminding her of the presence of Muslims and speakers of Turkish on the island, Christofias said that it is obvious from Era's way of thinking and delivering of this knowledge that Turkish Cypriots are absent in the GCY way of thinking, as a result of division, animosity and nationalistic symbolism. As presented in the Findings chapter, Costas and some of his friends said that "a true Cypriot is one whose ancestors are from Cyprus and has no relation to motherland Turkey. True Cypriot is the one who speaks the Cypriot dialect of Greek and is Orthodox Christian". To remember, Costas voiced his understanding of Cypriotness when he asked me how I feel and I said, "I am Cypriot". While Era's view reflects unconscious exclusion of TCY from Cypriot identity, Costas's is more likely conscious and political. In Costas's cognitive representation of Cypriotness, religion and 'native language' are major factors influencing his specific cognitive, affective and behavioural consequences in forming 'we' as a category. To remember, it emerged in the Findings chapter that identity becomes an issue between students who express themselves as Cypriot and Greek Cypriot since the rightist political discourse between those who recognise Greek as the national motherland and those who accept Cyprus as a native motherland. Therefore, in his representation of Cypriotness, Turkish Cypriots are excluded and represented as 'them'. However, Era was talking about her desire to have peace in the island while she was referring to 'Cypriots' and 'Turkish Cypriots'. In order to embed this finding in the wider literature for a discussion, one needs to look at ethnically heterogeneous countries like Israel, Turkey, Canada, China, and Spain, since ethnic group attachment is a tendentious topic. The reason is that in most cases ethno-

territorial/regional or subgroup identity and state identity in the form of national identity is present in such contexts and individuals may prefer to identify themselves in a sub-state minority within particular ethnically heterogeneous regions or use a dual identity (Psaltis & Chakal, 2016, p. 232). In the 'us' and 'them' virtue that emerged in this thesis, what causes this social identity categorization is the fact that there is a motherland nationalism leading to supra-national identity, religious identity and regional identities, along with linguistic differences. Therefore, as Moreno (2006) illustrates, the stronger the ethno-territorial identity, the higher the demand for political autonomy and self-government when it comes to sub-state communities. Reflecting on Era's and Costas's understanding of Cypriotness, it is seen that in Era's view, Cyprus is a home for TCY and GCY. It is premature to claim that Era tries to categorise people of Cyprus according to their religious, linguistic and cultural identities. Her words reveals division and voice the fact that living in a divided island for more than forty years make one familiar to a homogenous space physically, in the imagination and in the representation within a conversation. In Costa's view, however, 'us' and 'them' differentiation is made through religious, linguistic and cultural categorisation along with feeling that GCY has a stronger ethno-territorial power, as he believes that 'they belong to these regions from the birth'. This is also in confirmation of Vural and Rustemli's (2006; Vural and Peristianis, 2008, p.47) findings, where Greek Cypriots show agreement with statements such as, "I am characterised by Greek cultural origin, Cyprus is historically a Greek place and Christianity is an indispensable part of our identity". In the same vein, the same occurs in the TCY community with those who tend to accept Turko-centrism as

opposed to Cyprio-centrism. In their identification, “I am characterised by Turkish cultural origin, Cyprus is historically a Turkish place and Islam is an indispensable part of our identity”.

Turning back to the relationship of language and identity, these have a dual function in this particular context. Although there are similar diagrams in the literature, I designed the diagram below, which represents the influence of so-called motherlands, Turkey and Greece, and their in-group-sub-group relations. The interrelation of TCY and GCY is reflected in the middle diagram, taking into account living together before 1974, when there was a social interaction, which also encouraged development of linguistic and cultural interaction.

In this post-conflict context, while language plays an important role in distinguishing Turkish Cypriots from Turkish people in Turkey, the identity of in-group members (people of Turkey as in-group members and TCY as sub-group members) is indicative of the local culture, geography, demography and discourse that formed and shaped TCYs’ ethnolinguistic culture. This local difference seems to create major similarities between GCY & TCY linguistically, which is a reflection of relationships of people, contact and linguistic life in Cyprus before division in 1963 and 1974 respectively. In other words, it is a reflection of the societal dimension of language in time and space. Thus, raising awareness of linguistic connections opens up a space for two ethnically divided groups to find a common zone for communication. However, this requires a revival of the past, bringing good examples from the past through oral stories in history education and bringing the intercultural

dimension into language education through school-community cooperation, as will be suggested in the Conclusion chapter.

Finding common elements (e.g. linguistic, cultural) between two groups (TCY and GCY) may indirectly change attitudes towards each other. The similarities between them may enable a reduction of group bias (Allport, 1954). This could facilitate group members' positive views of each other in long term. Consequently, a space could be made for the other in an inclusive identity, in this case 'Cypriotness'. This seems to help conflict-affected people in overcoming their fear of 'being the other in the context of the other' as they cross physical, psychological and linguistic borders and immerse with each other. The linguistic repertoire (common words and borrowings) of language plays a contributory role and function as ice-breaker in the process of intergroup contact. As presented in the findings chapter, while Ms. Chrissa overcomes her fear and reservations in building a dialogue with a shopkeeper at the bakery shop in the North, her mother's use of the words "ayrelli-agrella-asparagus" and the shopkeeper's response surprised Ms. Chrissa. As she reported, while browsing the shelves for local food she started finding out more common words and cuisine and that put a big smile on her face, gave her confidence to communicate with the shopkeeper, and she became a loyal patron of the shop.

6.3 Various functions of the target language and its relation to motivation

Learners' language choices seemed to be also influenced by top-down policies related to the peace process in Cyprus. The RQZ I intended to explore and understand from teachers' and students' experiences was what happens in practice when the language of the historic enemy is introduced into curriculum as an optional

foreign language. This was important for gaining insight into practice from the stakeholders' perspective and reflect on language policy and pedagogy development for the future. As presented earlier, 'Language of the other in post-conflict school environment within geo-political division' emerged as a third important theme, where students' motivation to choose the language of the historic enemy informs us on language-learning motivation. Informed by the socio-political context, RQ2 and RQ3 enabled me to explore and understand what happens when the language of the historic enemy is introduced into the curriculum. The teachers' and students' answers enabled me to gain insight into various issues on important matters. Some of the important outcomes of the findings are that we gained knowledge about the type of motivation, relation and power balance between the target language and learner. The findings shed light into conceptualisation of language-learning motivation in the post-conflict context. As I present next, sub-theme III of Theme III, 'students' motivation in choosing the other language', enables us to bridge the knowledge gap between policy and practice with regards to language learning motivation and de-securisation in post-conflict contexts.

In corroboration of the seminal work of Gardner and Lambert (1972; in Cook, 2000), most studies researching the relation of motivation to foreign or second language learning view it as a stable characteristic of a language learner, which has a catalytic effect on success in foreign/second language learning (Dornyei, 1994, p.273). Categorized as instrumental and integrative, learners' motivation is guided by their desire to access materialistic ends (job, business, etc) or immersing with and accessing target culture (Gardner & Lambert, 1972). According to these studies, a

learner's success or failure is related to their degree of motivation and it has been hypothesized that (in)sufficient motivation to study the target language determines success or failure. Two important factors seem to be underestimated in these studies. First, as found by Norton Pierce (1995) and Norton (2010), there is a power relationship between the language learner and target language speaker. This power relationship seems to be undervalued. Second, (political/historic) status of language offered as a second/foreign language and meanings employed to that language within the community have implications to motivation to choose that language. What Norton (2000, 2010) found in her learners was that "unequal relations of power between language learners and target language speakers were often salient". Therefore, as Norton Peirce (1995) and Norton (2010) conclude, developing 'knowledge, credentials, and modes of thought that characterize different classes and groups form the construct of 'investment'. In the conflict-affected context of Cyprus, the futuristic value of competency in Greek and Turkish emerged as an important notion of language. Learning each other's language seems to be an investment for the future, if one day Cyprus is reunited. This can be explained with the construct of 'investment'. Investment, suggesting economic metaphors, is associated particularly with the studies of Bourdieu and Bourdieu and Passeron (1977), who used the term 'cultural capital'. According to Norton (2010), the learner invests in the target language in particular times and contexts, given the futuristic value of competency in a foreign language. Thus, an individual may increase the value of their cultural capital through acquisition of various languages' symbolic and

material resources. Norton's finding confutes the view that high motivation results in 'good' language learning.

6.3.1 Students' motivations

As explained, the research question addressed to students in group interviews conducted in the class and individual face to face interviews inspired the second theme, with students' motivation one of the sub-themes. This sub-theme informs us that security-related concerns, language for defence purposes for border security, mobility and the future drive students' curiosity to learn Greek and Turkish.

According to Inbar et al (2002), attitude and motivation do not occur in a vacuum as political events, as one of the variables external to the school setting may become influential on students' motivation. In relation to Inbar et al (ibid.), Dörnyei and Otto (1998) suggest that students' initial motivation in choosing a foreign language in complex political situations is influenced over time, and propose that their motivation is affected during the implementation process. There are two major factors influencing student motivation to study Greek and Turkish in the researched context. Firstly, based on mother tongue plus the two-language policy, students have to choose two foreign languages from secondary school (grade 6 to 9) until the end of lyceum (grade 10 to 12). In the South, students are offered Turkish in the lyceum along with other EU languages (German, French, Italian, Spanish, English, and Russian). Students in the North usually prefer German or French, as these are offered uninterrupted from secondary till graduation from the lyceum. In both cases, discontinuation of Turkish and Greek create an unfair competition among the

languages as students prefer choosing a language they can continue to learn during their schooling, and they can gain proficiency according to the CEFR.

Secondly, there are arbiters who influence the policy in practice. Their influence cause some school-based hidden agendas as revealed in teacher and student interviews. In the South, school heads and some teachers seem to encourage those who want to study Turkish to choose other languages, by creating de facto language policy agendas such as that studying the language of the enemy has no use, or there is no Turkish language class due to an insufficient number of students. In some schools in the North, French or German teacher shortage creates a no-choice situation and students are registered to Greek language class, the only available optional language. Since learning a foreign language requires high motivation, as is claimed widely in the literature (Clement, 1980; Dörnyei, 1994; Inbar et al, 2002), understanding what students' motives in choosing a particular language is important for the development of pedagogy for language teaching in post-conflict contexts: design of materials, textbooks and syllabus.

6.3.1.1 Security-related concerns

Security and insecurity are described as “ways of seeing and acting in the world, experiencing relationships infused with fear and hostility, and a similar approach is taken to concepts like the state, borders, and surveillance” (Charalambous et. al., 2015; 2016, p.3). The major influence of scholars like Foucault and Bourdieu on sociolinguistics seem to continue to influence critical studies as well. The securization is mainly researched in sociolinguistics and situated discourse analysis. As pointed out in Charalambous et. al., (ibid.), security dimension in language

creates considerable scope for language in society. In their latest study, Charalambous et al., (2018, p.1) propose that language development policy is informed by two active principles: “fear” and “enemy”. The question is how a member of one community can conduct a dialogue with a member of the former enemy while dealing with his/her fears. Emerging from this research, language also has a power and makes its user feel empowered against potential security issues as they can decode and understand linguistically what happens around them. Some of the students explained that competency in the language of former enemy is an important tool for communication during de-securisation. As stated by Bigo (2016, p.31), “fear” and “enemy” are active principles of language policy development. As presented in the Findings chapter, some of the teachers of Turkish reported that when they are criticized for choosing this language to teach as their occupation, they told students that it is important to know the language of the enemy and that this is what underpins their motivation to choose this language. By highlighting the “security rationale”, as noted by Liddicoat (2008, p.3), some of the teachers explain that “understanding the potential enem[y]” is important. This is also in line with motivation for many teachers, advised by their parents to learn the language of Turks as this would make them strong and powerful against the enemy, since they live in a conflict-affected country. Sometimes, ‘language power’ means using it against its native speakers.

As discussed in the Literature chapter, Arabs and Jews in Palestine and Greek and Turkish Cypriots in Cyprus are divided by language along with religion. It appears that ethnolinguistic differences play a major role in mistrust and potential conflict. Then, the issue of security may become a source of motivation to learn the language

of the other. Based on my experience in the field with participants of Greek and Turkish languages, it emerged that the language of the other is not purely a linguistic code system. From this research, language and security concerns have a strong relationship, especially in the GCY context in the South for choosing Turkish as an optional foreign language. In line with security studies in the field of international relations and as clearly demonstrated by Charalambous et al. (2016), Liddicoat (2008) surveillance and fear of being in contact with the (former) enemy are major issues in such contexts. In their recent articles, Rampton and Khan (2018) gave insight into issues of de-securisation, surveillance and the place of language in securisation studies. While pre-war generations shared the same space, with experience of living together, the generation raised in the divide of the monolithic education systems learned that they are the only victim of the war who lost loved ones, dislocated and lost in the war. Consequently, in Anderson's (1983) terms, the enemy in this context is the imagined other.

Regarding students' motivation, security concern seems to play an important factor learning language of the unknown other or imagined enemy. Although there is a limited contact, since the native speakers of Turkish are viewed as the historically former enemy of GCY, Turkish language in this context is a private code, may cause insecurity. In line with Charalambous et al (2016, p.6), "enemy, fear, and security" seem to be central concern of some of the language learners in this context. Therefore, some students' motivation like, Theododo's, suggests that they learn language of the other in order to decoding what happens around them, when in contact with speakers of Turkish as they feel that there is an issue of security and

surveillance. There is a group of learners who want to have competency in Turkish and use it to defend himself/herself if needed. In this regard, competency in the language of the (former) enemy is for self-confidence, self-defence in social space for security reasons. While it is expected to normalize relations thorough de-securitization by lifting of physical borders, communities in intractable conflict face their fears of sharing the same space with '(former) enemy' (Charalambous et. al., 2015). Therefore, a way to avoid potential conflict and deal with issue of mistrust is to learn language of the other. Given the security concern, competency in the language of the other may enable people to de-escalate potential conflict and calm down the situation in case anything undesired happens. As I will be discussing in the next section, competency in the language of the other plays an important role in the forbidden zone in the military.

6.3.1.2 Language for defence: forbidden zone

Teaching the language of the enemy is part of conflict management in some professional armies, as competence in the language of the enemy can be needed at any time for prevention and management of the conflict (Liddicoat, 2008, p.1). Military terms are taught in the other language where the same border is shared, for de-escalation of the situation during an act of breaking into the territory guarded by the opposing military forces. In the conflict-affected context of Cyprus, one of my participants, who preferred to remain anonymous here, who served in the military reported that Greek terms are taught to some TCY soldiers on duty at border posts in order to communicate with GCY soldiers in circumstances when civilian or soldier had infringed the borders, knowingly or unknowingly. This allows for warning the

enemy verbally in the first phase in his/her language, preventing him/her from going any further and crossing the forbidden military zone and so managing escalation of the conflict. This is followed by ceasing/stopping/paralyzing the civilian/soldier, and the last phase is firing into the air as warning. In the context of the forbidden zone, the language of the enemy has a lifesaving role and is an important instrument for managing conflict.

Another important function of language for security is accessing enemy information in order to collect data and analyse it for the purpose of managing and preventing conflict (Liddicoat, 2008. p.2). As mentioned, language is an utmost important element for security. This function of language in collecting data for intelligence reminds us of the role and importance of translation services as important bodies of state. As Muller (2002) states, language competence for intelligence-gathering became an important asset of national security after 9/11. Likewise, Turkish and Greek languages have an important role in the military. As indicated in the data, while enquiring whether there are job opportunities for those who graduate from Turkish and Greek Philology departments respectively in the South and North, I was informed that while some teachers used to work in foreign affairs and for newspapers as translators, some reported that they worked in the military's translation service across the divide. Since military service for men is compulsory in the North and the South, Mr. X in the North and Mr. Y, Mr. Z (letters are used as pseudonyms) in the South fulfilled their military duties as Greek-Turkish and Turkish-Greek translators respectively. As Mr. Y and Mr Z reported, they were the very first post-war generation with a diploma in Greek language who were assigned as translators during their

military service. Similarly, Ms. T used to work in the GCY military as a professional Greek and Turkish language translator.

6.3.1.3 Regional language as an investment for the future

In line with Norton (2010) and Peirce Norton (1995), students view learning language as an investment for the future. As opposed to GCY students' future job motivation, in the TCY context, it emerged that students are encouraged by family members who are competent in the language to choose Greek, as they can help students. In similar research in Israel, it was found that parents have an important impact on students' choice to learn the Palestinian dialect at school. Learning the language of the other in this contradictory context was influential on students' attitudes towards the people and the culture (Schmidt et. al., 2004, p. 217). When asked how they decided to choose Greek as an optional foreign language, Polat explained that he feels more in touch with Greek given geographical closeness to this language compared to the distance and opportunity to use and need French and German. As presented in the Findings chapter, Polat and Ajda chose Greek, based on two important factors. One of them is that Ajda wants to earn money as a Turkish-Greek translator in addition to her occupation. This suggests an instrumental motivation. The second reason again looks to the future. As she puts it, 'how am I going to communicate if Turkish and Greek sides are united in the future'! Here, there is a political element. On the condition that the Cyprus problem is resolved, Greek is of utmost importance for people in their communication with members of the other community. So, socio-political conditions make it an important language to consider learning and a promising language of the future. Also, there is a highlight on

“crossings”; “speaking mother language of GCY”; and “usefulness of the chosen language in practice”. Here it is understood that learning the language of the other is geo-politically, culturally, economically and socially important. Similarly, while Sotia explains her motivation by putting it, “One day it will be needed!” in the future United Cyprus, she acknowledges her belief in the probability of the unification of Cyprus, although unknown. In the same vein, Sophia’s motivation is based on solution of the Cyprus problem and need for using Turkish in the united Cyprus. Motivation is again nurtured by a future-looking political will, viewing Turkish as a language of the united Cyprus. Emerging from the interviews is that a potential settlement of the Cyprus problem plays an important role in students’ motivation to choose Turkish as an optional language, as they view understanding the language of the other community a necessity.

Given the obstacles and political interests regarding Greek and Turkish languages in particular, language diversification seems to receive a lack of attention. In fact, this is a top-down influence of historically sensitive issues. As Wiley and Garcia (2016, p.49) state, diversity on its own is a problem as it requires language selection. What is promising is that some of interviewed students are aware of the dominating effect of the English language and they prioritize learning of Turkish and Greek as both are languages of the same island. Thus, although there is no top-down policy regarding learning Turkish and Greek as official languages of Cyprus or giving Turkish and Greek regional language status, bottom-up awareness seems to have already created an important status in practice. Nevertheless, there is a need to spread the function of Greek and Turkish, other than solely as European languages.

So, some students' motivation is related to a concern to use an alternative language to English. As presented in the Findings chapter, Solomos thinks that, "if we only talk in English [...] the other languages [will] disappear". Therefore, being competent in the languages spoken in this divided island is important and necessary for instrumental reasons. Like Costas and Solomos, Theododo reminds us that English as a world language is a threat to other languages. In line with Phillipson's (1992) term, the linguistic power of English causes linguistic imperialism, since it is the most common international language. However, in the group interview, Theododo emphasized that language is not only a tool to communicate but it also plays an important role in going beyond the barriers, building bridges between you and the interlocutor who is from the other community. Therefore, while English serves only a linguistic purpose, speaking each other's language has other roles to play in this particular context. Like Solomos and Theododo, Karmella values contact with TCY and GCY in their local languages, rather than adopting a third language such as English. To a majority of my participants, true feelings are conveyed only through regional languages, which already show influences from each other historically and carry elements of cultural similarities. This suggests that students are important agents of educational policy and its implementation. This also encourage us to re-think mother language plus two policy of the EU in the conflict-affected context of Cyprus.

Language education has been one of the central subjects in Europe since the 1950s. The debate came into force in the 1970s and at Galway conference (1975) and Bordeaux Conference (1978), which were organized by the Congress of Local and

Regional Authorities (Solovoska, 2016, p.42). The linguistic dominance of English sparked the fire and the debate was inspired by the issue of linguistic diversity and nurturing linguistic heritage in Europe. In fact, English was already there as a powerful language in major domains in many Western European countries by that time. The fear was of English and its status as a lingua franca, which was believed to restrict people to learning only English as a foreign language. A reaction opposing the power of English and its linguistic colonialism was that, “acquired knowledge of multiple languages was constructed as an individual and societal source of enrichment and an asset allowing the access to a shared European cultural heritage and identity, to geographical and/or social mobility and to the labor market” (Solovoska, 2016, p.43-44). This linguistic diversity was a preventative step against the linguistic dominance of English and would pave the way towards a linguistic diversification in the European region.

6.3.1.4 Language is mobility

Competency and skills in (foreign) language and culture is the capital of an individual in many ways, as pointed out by Norton and Norton (1999, 2000) and has a direct relation with mobility. In Coselli and Cavalli’s (2015, p.12) terms, “the various form of mobility in turn constitute a kind of ‘mobility capital’ that may prove to be of value in itself, for example in a professional career”. This is in line with some of the GCY and TCY students’ motivation who view learning Greek and Turkish as important for their future careers. Being competent linguistically and culturally in a foreign language gives an individual a geographical mobility. This geographical mobility may shake up the status quo in a positive way. Statistically speaking, Turkish Cypriots

had crossed to the south more than 1.66 million times by the end of November 2018, while Greek Cypriots had crossed to the north 991,164 times (Cyprus Mail, 2018). While TCY people spent 10 million euro in the first half of 2017 in the South, GCY spending in the North was less. However, this changed when Turkish lira became weaker against the euro and sterling in August 2018. According to data released by JCC, a credit card processing company, purchases by GCY increased 32% whereas TCY purchase was down 22% in the first seven months of 2018. The crossing of GCY to the North for purchasing fuel was new, and created fear in the South as there was money flowing from the South up to the North. This mobility rapidly created a context in the North for discussing the importance of speaking each other's languages for instrumental ends. In fact, social interaction made language competency a necessity. Consequently, the proposal of closing crossings sparked public attention in the South but was not put into practice (ibid). The figures suggest that one way or another, members of the communities make use of space across the divide. And, have interaction.

Sparing a place for the other in the perception of Cypriotness in the current divide requires boosting social interaction. Travelling across the divide emerged as one of the motivations for TCY students to choose Greek as an optional language. Travelling as a motivation to choose Greek is in line with CoE (2001), Byram et al., (2001) and Byram and Wagner (2018, p.1) where one of the purposes of learning a foreign language is to use the language out of class to engage in conversation with native speakers. In the context of globalization there are various forms of mobility. Mobility is defined as:

Physical, geographical or migratory (involving actual movement), professional, school or education-related (change of position, duties, school, course) or social (change of role and status in society, including of a transgenerational nature). Mobility may also be virtual (with communication technologies), or even imaginary (for example, inspired by works of fiction). (Coste and Cavalli, 2015, p.15.)

There is a social agency or group of people making a movement to a different 'space'. Being competent in the language in contact is essential since this gives a person an opportunity to interact with the native speaker of the language and convey a dialogue. For instance, one of the students, pseudonym Kemal, chose Greek due to the fact that Greek is a language he can use as it is spoken in the other half of Cyprus. However, German is not a language he will need as he is not in contact with Germans. Kemal views Greek as a vehicle for communication with the GCY, since they are in contact with GCY through crossing the border, and exploring 'the other side'. In this case, exploring the other context, culture and people through language is this student's motivation. As he puts it, "the reason I preferred Greek is that we speak with the GCY, we already learn English, and we do not communicate with the Germans."

Mobility enables people to interact with each other, change perceived otherness, and develop their linguistic and cultural capacity through interaction. The data is indicative of how contact and geographical closeness may make it necessary to learn a language, no matter if it is a language of the enemy or ally. In the current context, the existence of borders still makes it challenging for Cypriots to travel freely

in Cyprus. Those below 18 are required to show parents' consent to cross the border, and as mentioned there is a fear of crossing the border for security concerns and also ideological reasons, as revealed in the GCY students' interviews. Since an absence of trust and the presence of physical borders create a challenge for developing stronger intergroup contacts, alternative ways are needed in order to break this cycle. This may be possible through individual teacher initiative and the involvement of peace education in the long run. I make some suggestions in the Conclusion chapter.

At the time I was writing this chapter, two more checkpoints were opened on 17 November 2018 in the North-West (Lefke region) and South-East (Dherinya) near the ghost town of Varosha, part of Famagusta. As acknowledged by most peacemakers and political parties, the fundamental aim is to enable people from various regions to interact and immerse with their local people in the North and the South mutually for social cohesion through contact. While there is a number of the pre-war generation competent in each other's languages, the post-war generation appear to study English as their only foreign language. It is since 2004 and 2008 respectively that new-generation students were offered Turkish and Greek in their schools. As discussed, Greek and Turkish languages are ignored by policymakers for various political and economic reasons, and left behind. Taking into account the opening of new checkpoints (there are nine check points open for mutual travel), it appears that language is going to be more visible and people seem to have more opportunity, if they like, to have contact with one another in social spaces (in 7.1 make some suggestions for ways for bringing the target community into class and in

figure 7.2 refer various mode of contact). This does not necessarily mean close contact but meeting random GCY-TCY at random places seem to make people develop tolerance towards each other. What is important here is taking political proposals/acknowledgements to a different level by turning them into educational policies, and developing policies for making a change in practice rather than paying political lip service.

6.4 The dual face of education post-conflict

One of the key concerns in the leftist political discourse and as highlighted by peace committees in Cyprus, is a need for reform in education across the divide. This section is related to 'Theme I in relation to RQ1 and RQ5'. As presented in the sociopolitical context discussion and in the Literature chapter, education has become a spring board for ideologies at different times in Cyprus. Breaking the historic educational taboos related to the historic enemy, changing the monolithic education system and involving the other into education for peace, tolerance and respect is a challenging endeavour. The investigation into the implications of introducing the language of the historic enemy into public education opens a window of opportunity to develop educational policy for peace education. As presented in the Literature chapter, language policy in education and implementation is challenged by various contextual dynamics. There are various political and personal sensitivities bring challenges. As emerged in theme I, these are, Political asymmetries; Compulsion of Greek and Turkish as school subjects; Financial constraints as obstacle for the promotion of language; De facto policies in school setting (ideologies and peace education). This section answers my RQ1 and RQ5.

Being born with the capacity of human consciousness and to develop ourselves as individuals, we form our society. Religious beliefs, philosophical concepts, political ideologies, personal experiences and environmental characteristics shape our worldviews (Danesh, 2006, pp.64-65). Likewise, education contributes to the development of our worldview that shapes our actions, beliefs, preferences and feelings (Bush & Saltarelli, 2000). The relation of education and conflict have been researched by prominent names in the field (Novelli & Lopes-Cardozo, 2008; Smith & Vaux, 2003). Education can be used as a vehicle for forging peace or perpetuating hatred and animosity (Davies, 2004). The literature on education and conflict falls into three categories. Firstly, the effect of conflict on education mostly deals with how educators, schools, teachers and students are influenced by the conflict as violence, attacks, and occupation of buildings by warring factions (Bush & Saltarelli, 2000, p.11). Secondly, literature focuses on understanding whether education is a vehicle for peace or catalyst for conflict. As supported by findings of Davies (2004), the role of education where a hate curriculum is adopted serves for division and conflict by excluding minorities, triggering class and gender differences or teaching a single version of the events after a war. Bush and Saltarelli (2000) highlighted how history education is used as a vehicle to manipulate history for political purposes, e.g. when Nazis were writing history in Germany, or when in the 1970s and 1980s Sri Lankans acknowledged that Tamils are the historic enemy of the Sinhalese (Novelli et. al., in Sussex, 2014, p.12). The content of the curriculum, teachers' role and attitudes and policy issues form the basic interest of the literature on the role of education in peacebuilding. As opposed to the conflict face of education, peace is the other face,

employing education in a dual role. Literature regarding education promotes its power, which is viewed as an important vehicle for peacebuilding, promotion of human rights and democracy (Bekerman & McGlynn, 2007; UNESCO, 1998). Human rights and democracy education is absent in the North and needs improvement in the South. Thirdly, as reported by Novelli et al (2016, p.12), there is a growing policy of literature related to “governance and policy of delivering education in conflict and conflict-affected zones”, seeking to guide and spreading good education practices.

Language can be an important component of peace education. According to Mitchell and Miller (2010, p.5), learning the language of the other has a contributory potential to the decrease enmity between groups in conflict. However, in the context of long-standing intra-group conflicts or negative peace situations, with loss of land, missing people, occupation and war crimes still awaiting resolution, introduction of the language of the other may not have a contributory role (Mitchell and Miller, 2010, p.5). A good policy may be turned into a source of conflict, which may have a counter effect. The proposal of the fifth TCY teachers’ education assembly to introduce Greek and Turkish into curriculums as a compulsory school subject was, borrowing Weinstein’s term (1983), a strategy for a peace initiative for rapprochement. In this case, the TCY teachers’ education assembly played a key role in influencing the policy agenda across the divide. Nevertheless, the striking feature of their proposal is the absence of any empirical research exploring the attitudes of various stakeholders of education. For instance, while the education summit viewed language as a tool for mutual understanding, the Cyprus Turkish Sovereignty

Movement (CTM) in the North responded to this by creating an alternative agenda, where they viewed learning the language of the other as a threat to existence, involving assimilation, and as an unnecessary act. Consequently, this proposal seems to reflect the political view of pro-peace supporters. Whereas there are political controversies and asymmetries within the communities as implications of the unresolved Cyprus problem. Therefore, timeliness of language policy-making is an important dynamic. The bottom-up efforts of stakeholders of education who can be influential on language choice may have a key role (McCarty, 2011; Wiley, 2014). In such a politically sensitive context compulsion in education may create tension, whereas offering Greek or Turkish as an optional language in all schools equally and improving the current practice for the time being may smoothly strengthen the status of these languages.

Similar to history education, language planning has a political dimension since one may use language planning as a vehicle to 'influence' and create a context for 'social control' (cf. Fairclough, 2013; Wiley, 2005). Leibowitz (1969, 1974 in Garcia, 2016, p.49) claims that language planning has a discriminatory purpose. From this perspective, as in the example of Cyprus and in line with Garcia (ibid.), it is seen that policies themselves seem to create problems. Consequently, political asymmetries seem to have a monopoly effect on language policy. Thus, formulating a language-related policy in multilingual contexts is highly political and affected by inter/national dynamics. In this regard, it seems that historical context and educational policy development seem to be inseparable.

Recently, tension arose when a glossary consisting of sensitive words and phrases was produced by a group of TCY and GCY journalists and launched by Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE- Representative on Freedom of the Media) on 10th July 2018. The aim was “to encourage sensitive communications, to promote the sharing of stories and experiences, and eventually, to help ease tensions” (Gutteras report 2018, p.1, article 4, Report of the Secretary-General on good offices in Cyprus). As reported by the Secretary-General on good offices in Cyprus (2018, p.1), 238 Greek Cypriot journalists protested this bi-communal glossary by signing a letter. Thus, context is created as a form of response to a particular policy regarding language. In such bottom-up policies it is aimed to create “oppositional groups as oppositional on the basis of a differentiated language, or of alliance on the basis of shared language. Conceptions of shared or differing languages are not objective linguistic decisions but rather subjective political identifications.” (Liddicoat, 2008, p.1)

As found by Davies (2009), the challenges regarding access to education in conflict-affected contexts and in alternative ways are related to funding, governance and evaluating education policies. There is a need to galvanise the implementation process through bottom-up and top-down policy initiatives, for encouraging those in government to realize the key function of the languages of each other for rapprochement, and empowering them to allocate budget for language policy and planning for Greek and Turkish. While the introduction of these languages into curriculum was tolerated, and to a certain extent promoted, there are political inconsistencies and contradictions. To use Wiley and Garcia’s term (2016, p.51), by

the time I conducted this research, one could describe the current top-down policy in Cyprus as 'null policy' since confidence-building measures have not gone beyond sporadic political lip service or leftist party politics. Linguistic rights of TCY in the RoC, the official status of Greek and Turkish and recognition of these languages as additional or regional languages in the education system remain unresolved. Applying Wiley and Garcia's categorization (ibid) into the context of Cyprus, language policy regarding Turkish and Greek is significantly absent, suggesting "policies aimed at erasing the visibility and even historical memory of [Greek and Turkish] language(s) from 1974 till 2004, given the political division".

Since 2004 and 2008 in the South and the North respectively, no step has been taken towards improving the standards of the Greek language in the North. In the past five years, since I began this study, there was one leftist-rightist coalition party, one rightist coalition, and lately a multi-coalition party which came into administration on 17 June 2018. In the South, leftist AKEL and central DISI have been in administration respectively. By the time I was conducting this research across the divide, Cyprus peace talks were at their most critical phase in terms of willingness to find a potential solution. As reflected in the Findings chapter, although some MoEC members in the North, responsible for languages, proposed their willingness to meet Greek language teachers, this did not happen. On the other hand, as presented, the secondary teachers' union, OELMEK, failed in supporting Turkish language teachers or providing solutions to their problems. As informed by Turkish language teachers, the Union and its leader rather created a hidden agenda for all languages when they changed the curriculum. So, numbers of students choosing languages dropped

dramatically as school subjects are presented to students as a package, based on what core subjects they would like to study at university. The changes in the education system, effective since 2016 in the South, seem to be changing the status of Turkish along with other EU languages, indicative of less interest in (foreign) languages. English, however, remains as a prestigious language in the curriculum in both sides. Similarly, it is revealed in my interview with MoEC bureaucrats in the North that there is no policy document in the North regarding aims, objectives and implementation plan, suggesting the lack of an implementation plan.

6.4.1 School environment

Some questions arise in the mind when we discuss what happens in post-conflict schools as learning environments. This is also related to my RQ5 (What are the implications to the current policy and practice of introducing the language of the historic enemy into public education as an element of *rapprochement?*). Based on the conflict-affected curriculum, it appears that there are political asymmetries in education. In the post-conflict context of Cyprus it can be seen that schools need to become more social institutions, contributing to social change. And, as one of the major elements of education, teachers need to have a space and have a voice in the system. There is a need to explore and understand what reproduces hatred and animosity in education and take necessary initiatives. Although language as a school subject is not sufficient for a social change, it can become a vehicle for raising individuals who develop skills for becoming intercultural citizens, change into the school environment is a political act and requires political will. The school subjects, methodologies, and materials need to be revised and modernized by involving

otherness and religious, linguistic, and cultural differences as richness rather than threats to individuals' or communities' existence. Therefore, the pertinent questions are: Is school a social institution contributing to social change, or preventing it? Does school function as a place for the reproduction of hatred? And, is school an agency for peace and reconciliation?

As described thoroughly, students are not given equal opportunity to choose Greek as an optional language as it is still at the pilot stage with no initiative to promote it in schools across the divide in the North. Offering Greek, which is a language of the other community with a history of conflict, with German and French create a competition between languages if we take into account language and its relation to power (Bourdieu, 1992) and use and its political status. Thus, there is an aggravation of inequalities within and between schools since a shortage of foreign language teachers becomes an obstacle when there are students who want a particular subject, but there is no teacher. In no-choice situations students are guided to choose or have to choose what is available in practice.

6.4.2 Language teaching as a profession and teachers' place within the education system

Embedding the discussion of teachers' role as one of the stakeholders of education in reconciliation requires contextualizing the phenomenon around teachers' attitudes towards educational policies. As reported by Novelli and Sayed (2016, p.21), the status of teachers in the workplace, morale, motivation and salary along with working conditions are contextual dynamics more likely intensified in conflict-affected situations due to the governance system and hindrances to resources. Although it

varies, teachers' status declines, they receive low payment, salaries are not paid regularly and working conditions are continually eroded. In the contexts of Pakistan and South Africa, there are more women in teaching as a profession compared to men, and in Uganda low morale and high attrition rate are linked. High absenteeism and low motivation erodes "teachers' potential to be more moral leaders and agents of change".

As presented in the Findings chapter and brought up during my interviews and field experience with Turkish and Greek language teachers, teachers' morale, motivation and political conceptualization of the teaching profession and its relation to ethnic struggle on both sides was brought up many times. The secondary teachers' union and Turkish language teachers' relationship and teachers' frustration at not being given the opportunity to voice their problems to policy-makers in education, their fear of job loss as a result of hidden agendas regarding the Turkish language, the loss of status of Turkish in the curriculum, and the strike by the teachers' union in the North, all prove the difficulties regarding teachers' rights, demands, pay and working conditions across Cyprus. Turkish language teachers' exposure to work-place bullying, rooted in hatred towards Turkish and Turkish Cypriots as their former enemy and teachers' choice of teaching Turkish as a profession create another form of occupation-related de-motivation in South Cyprus.

As pointed out, while pioneers of motivation discuss the catalytic effect of high motivation in succeeding in foreign/second language learning, learning the language of the other requires 'bravery' and 'patience to fight against' those who view them as 'traitors'. As opposed to its function in practice, occupation in the language of the

enemy seems to be creating a threat and security concern for those working as a Greek-Turkish language teacher and/or translator in the military, foreign affairs, or other related services. As emerged in the data, these teachers reported that they do not cross the TCY border as they have a worry of being listed on the police register related to their job since they used to work as Turkish language translators and they have employment history in the Greek Cypriot military for intelligence. The same security issue is experienced by those teachers in public school education. So, a teacher of the language of the other is not merely or technically viewed as an ordinary teacher. Their occupation seems to cause distress and issues of insecurity and forces them to justify themselves when they are bullied or have the fear of being listed by the intelligence service of the other, enemy. As seen, the counter-effect of employment in a translation service for intelligence is insecurity for human translators and fear of being revealed as a spy by the participant teachers, which encourages teachers to develop a self-defence mechanism. (Further reading in Liddicoat, 2008; Charalambous et. al., 2018; and Rampton and Bloomart 2016.)

6.4.3 Bystanders in peace education

As thoroughly examined in this thesis, language policymaking has various agencies that influence policy development and policy implementation. Johnson (2013) refers to third-type actors, state educational agencies, schools, and universities as key actors, where their de facto policies as 'arbiters' may change the flow of the policy in a different direction. As Inbar et. al., (2002, p.298) state, the active involvement of stakeholders of education promoted the learning of the Palestinian dialect at an early age, in order to change attitudes in Israel. A number of Greek language teachers

deplore the key stakeholders' unwillingness to table and produce educational policies for Greek as a neighbouring language. Since there is a hierarchical power relation, if one of the key stakeholder act as a bystander or arbiter then, a number of other issues emerge, where teachers are left on their own in the system. Lack of cooperation among and between the teachers of Greek and the MoEC seems to create an issue for the teachers in the North. These problems concern education in the Greek optional language. Since this is a central education system; while some teachers feel the pressure of following what is official, others are critical of this given the current situation. Based on my experience in the field and observations, the teachers have to make various decisions at their own risk, and practise them with a concern of whether the decision taken fits into the Ministry's central education system or not (Hall, 2017). As voiced by Biesta (2015, p.75) although there is a high expectation from teachers within the education system, the fact that teachers are professional with ability to form valuable opininons and make good decisions, their voice is forgotten. However, teachers, as stakeholders of education, should have a right to develop opininon, make judgements, discretion and be heard by the necessary body in such an education system where teachers and schools are viewed as key elements for making difference.

As presented in the findings chapter, there is an issue of silence, lack of collaboration, and networking in this context across the divide. In Hargreaves' (2010) terms, implementation of educational reforms in the midst of political conflicts and transformation do not always result in success since teachers, school, and society as stakeholders may not support what is proposed as an educational policy. In the

case of Greek and Turkish language teachers, it is observed that the education system seems to forget or silence the teachers in the system. Similarly, Bush and Saltarally (2000, p.12) argue that an absence of political willingness is highly influential on the success or otherwise of educational policy.

6.4.4 Can we bring an intercultural dimension into language teaching?

Inspired by the literature on an intercultural dimension in language education, I found it very interesting to explore and understand what space there is, if any, for bringing an intercultural dimension into teaching the language of each other in the post-conflict curriculum across the divide in Cyprus. It was also important to find out historical and political sensitivities and shed light on teachers' strategies on de-escalating sensitive issues in practice through Turkish and Greek language classes. The teachers' responses concerning what and how they teach about the target culture, the RQ4 and RQ5 led to the emergence of themes III, IV and V. While sub-themes in theme III inform us about teaching resources and the intercultural dimension in language education along with hindrances and opportunities for practicing Greek-Turkish languages in and out of the school environment, theme IV gives us insight into attitudes towards Greek and Turkish language in the school environment. The factors allowing bullying to flourish, bullying management in school, and language students' sensitivities on the matter of the historic enemy and taboos about the other are also part of the same theme. So, while we learn about the potential for using language class as a vehicle for rapproachment in theme III through the use of materials and resources from language teachers' perspectives, in theme IV we learn about what makes it challenging to bring an intercultural

dimension into the language of the other class. In theme V, we discover teachers' strategies in de-escalation of hatred for rapprochement in the language of the other class. The responses provided led to the emergence of various sub-themes, as presented earlier. As I discuss next, RQ4 and RQ5 provided rich data and gave insight into elements of the language of the other as part of peace education.

Byram and Zarate (2010), Byram et al. (1994), and Kramsch (2013) researched how language learning is influenced by culture. According to Kramsch (2013, p.61), when language learners communicate with 'the other' they learn who they are. As she puts it, "[t]hey cannot understand the other if they don't understand the historical and subjective experiences if they do not view them through the eyes of the other". Kramsch (2013) bases her idea on Bakhtin scholar Michael Holquist (1990 in 2013, p.58) who talks about "relationality of Self and Other 'dialogism'. Dialogism is a differential relation." For Bakhtin, cultural and personal identity do not advance the encounter with a foreign other, but rather they get constructed through the obligation to respond to that Other, through dialogue. Dialogue, composed of utterances and responses, links not only two interlocutors in each other's presence, but readers to distant writers, and present texts to past texts. Learners of German recognize themselves in a Goethe poem, learners of English in a Hemingway story in ways they would never have expected in their mother tongue. Bakhtin (1990 in Kramsh, 2013) calls the ability of speakers to see themselves from the outside 'transgredience'. Through transgredience, language learners learn not only to use the language correctly and appropriately, but to reflect on their experience. They

occupy a position where they see themselves both from the inside and from the outside - what Kramersch (1993, 2009a in 2013, p.62) called a third place.

Referring to Risager's (2006, 2007) work, Byram and Wagner (2018, p.3) highlight that the inseparable aspect of language and culture is a misconception in the field of language education as teaching language does not necessarily suggest a language teacher teaches culture. In his seminal work, Risager (2006, p. 194) highlights that from a sociological point of view, there are three ways that we can separate language and culture as follows:

- Learners of language X import into it the meanings and connotations from their existing languages, whether their first language or others;
- Discourse about a topic spreads from language to language even though translation processes may affect it;
- As people migrate, they carry their discourse and ways of thinking - and the connotations of what they say - into new contexts and languages (this is what happens when Ms. Katie gives examples from the Bulgarian context rather than Turkey or the North).

In post-conflict contexts, as also revealed in this research, language and culture are separated for various reasons, as presented in Chapter Five. The data did suggest that in the post-conflict classroom across the divide Greek and Turkish are taught as such, and it is seen that there is a de-culturalisation in order to prevent in-class conflict. As acknowledged by Chomsky language is formed by codes: foreign language learners develop the skill of forming grammatical sentences. Following

Fenner (2008, p.274) one needs to gain cultural competence along with linguistic competence. However, language is inseparable from its social environment, which is cultural, social and political. What happens in this post-conflict context is that there is a tendency to teach language of former enemy as solely grammar. What underpins this is political conflict and the association of language with its native speakers. This takes us back to the language and identity relation as discussed in section 6.2.1. While language and culture are attached, religious beliefs, philosophical concepts, political thoughts/views and personal experiences and environmental characteristics shape an individual and his/her world view (Danesh, 2006, p.64-65). As presented in the literature chapter, without knowledge of the socio-political beliefs or economical systems of the target language along with cultural roots of a language, language learner experience difficulty in socialization into the target culture (Ned Seelye, 1976). Therefore, on one hand we have our world view, which is shaped around particular dynamics like religion and politics, and on the other hand, there is a (foreign) language with a cultural baggage, involving religion, identity, and politics as basic elements of culture. According to Liddicoat and Scarino (2013), integration of culture into language teaching is essential, as in the continuum they created. In their continuum, they placed people's behaviour and culture at one end, which are interrelated, and at the other end they put language that represents/symbolizes cultural meanings. In the researched context, the target community is a historic enemy for communities, and so is the target language.

Although it is possible to separate language and culture, from a sociological point of view, Risager (2007) maintains that "the linguistic forms and practices, the

connotations, and the discourse practices” are not separable from a psychological perspective. What underpins this is that each learner has a unique experience of language and culture. Another point is linguistic-system oriented. As Byram and Wagner (2018, p.4) explain,

One can analyze a specific version of a particular language and identify the semiotic system and its relationship to the grammatical system. In this case, the relationship is tight and is one that many language educators have examined as they learned their language in depth, but when put into practice in discourse, the relationship loosens into the situations described under Risager’s sociological point of view.

As Byram and Wagner (2018, p.1-2) propose, “in the contemporary world, language teaching has a responsibility to prepare learners for interaction with people of other cultural backgrounds, teaching them skills and attitudes as well as knowledge”. They go further and suggest that world language education must have components from other disciplines: history, geography, mathematics, for bringing an intercultural perspective to the learning environment along with equipping learners with intercultural skills. Thus, blending language skills, knowledge and attitude is believed to play as a vehicle for intercultural communication, where students as language learners can engage in and negotiate problems in the complex world as “*intercultural citizens*” (Byram, 2008). CoE has been developing language education frameworks for promoting the role of language and importance of dialogue in social cohesion in the EU area in particular and across the world in general. This same regard of the function of language is declared by UNESCO under convention. What is

underestimated in the approaches and frameworks where language is viewed as a tool for rapprochement is underestimating/excluding conflict-affected contexts with intractable conflicts, where decades of enmity between two countries or communities are rooted in religion, ethnicity and language. This reminds us of the role and importance of approaches to language education in post-conflict contexts and the involvement of peace education into pedagogy and practice.

6.5 Implications to practice, and summary

In countries where conflict between groups is rooted in identity, the issue of language and its meaning to conflicted identity groups becomes a contentious subject. In such contexts, using the language of the other as a vehicle for political lip service is a double-edged sword. As raised in Chapter One, it is not surprising that TCY and GCY students choose to study French, German, Italian and other EU languages. However, what underpins their motivation to study Greek and Turkish in their post-conflict context, informed by post-conflict curriculum, is very interesting. The issue is not simply learners' motivation to study the language, but the political aspect of learning the language of the former enemy, and its consequences. Although this issue regarding the language of the former enemy is a highly political enterprise, the attitude of conflicted groups plays an important role in the progress of the spread of language; and the language, identity and conflict nexus requires endeavour. As shown comprehensively in this chapter, the function of language in practice seem to play a determinant role on participants' decision to choose Greek/Turkish as an optional language, if they don't study it in a no-choice situation.

Based on students' motivation to study each other's languages, it emerged that students showed awareness of how important language would be in the future and they take an active role in learning each other's languages. Their views are important in guiding policymakers as top-down stakeholders of education, along with teachers, educators and unions, in taking into account why, how and what is needed to be done in order to develop and promote policy regarding the language of the other. Students' motivation to choose each other's language and their needs can guide those in education to develop pedagogy and materials involving the intercultural dimension in language of the other education. Given that no lasting solution has been reached so far in Cyprus, this does not mean there is no way to promote Greek and Turkish as languages spoken on the island. Although in the context of post-conflict, the language of the other can be viewed as a double-edged sword, the political future of Cyprus, its economic ends and security seem to form the contextual dynamics, and inform individuals' motivation to learn the language of the other - for security-related reasons, for use on a daily basis, as a survival language, or for political reasons.

Chapter Seven: Conclusion

7.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses some implications for the main stakeholders in the post-conflict context of Cyprus regarding the roles of Turkish and Greek as components of peace education for rapprochement. The implications drawn are perceived to be important in the context of Cyprus in that this is the first time the 'language of the other' has been researched both in the North and the South by a Turkish Cypriot PhD candidate. As confirmed by the MoEC research department, this is the first time a TCY PhD researcher has gained approval to enter public schools for exploring and understanding the implications of language of the other through qualitative research. The history of the language of the other policy is recent in the troubled context of Cyprus. Although there is in-depth literature regarding language and its place in

peace education from various perspectives (anthropology, sociolinguistics, psychology), the related literature in the North is lacking. The absence of empirical research seems to create a gap in understanding about what happens in practice as far as language of the other policy is concerned. Empirical research is important in bridging the gap between the top-down policymakers and stakeholders in education across the divide. It is also important in bridging the knowledge gap regarding 'the other' between the North and the South. The related literature often seems to indicate bias regarding the socio-political context of the North and representation of the TCY. Therefore, there is a need for voicing the unvoiced and including both parties, the students and teachers, in the unrecognised state TRNC in the Greek language and the RoC in Turkish, in such educational research in order to have a better understanding of empirical research serving peace and conflict.

The implications are both theoretical and pedagogical. It is pedagogical since researched students and teachers' experience and observations reflect sensitivities, strengths, motivations and attitudes towards educational policies in practice. The implications of the findings are also theoretical since students' and teachers' experiences on being learner and teacher of the language of the other give insight into potential problems and strategies developed pedagogically for the de-escalation of hatred in the post-conflict school environment.

Having discussed and reflected on the implications drawn, the chapter will show my model of framework which is informed by the findings of the study. The future research agenda pertinent to language of the other policy in post-conflict contexts as well as some suggestions and recommendations for further research will be

discussed afterwards. Finally, the chapter will proceed to a conclusion section followed by a personal reflection on my PhD journey.

7.2. Theoretical and pedagogical implications for main stakeholders

In this thesis, I had interviews with diverse groups of stakeholders in education in order to contribute new understandings about the complex process of language policy in education and policy implementation on how language could be a vehicle for peace and reconciliation in post-conflict contexts. Informed from the insights from participants' interviews, this research has theoretical and methodological implications in addition to implications to LPP, peace education, language pedagogy and professional development of teachers working in practices in post-conflict contexts.

This research has enabled us to experience and see that conducting a piece of research is not impossible in the segregated education systems across the divide. This has implications at various levels. One of the main aims of this research from the beginning was to break the taboo that it is impossible for a TCY to conduct research in public schools in the South, Greek-speaking part of the island due to political reasons.

It is evident throughout the data collection process that qualitative research has a contribution to peace in breaking the taboos and opening up comprehensive dialogue with the researcher (in my case, the other-TCY) and the researched community (the other-GCY) in the post-conflict context. Surveying was convenient and feasible. Gaining access to public schools had a political and educational impact

at various levels. Although networking, trust-building and access to the school heads, teachers and interviewee students took some time, due to bureaucracy, the political aspect of this research and my identity, it is proved through this research that believing, dedication to a worthy cause and persistence when barriers are put in our way are the key elements in breaking the preconceived ideas and political taboos with patience, communication and courage.

From the data, findings are more or less in corroboration with the present literature referencing Cyprus. Additionally, the ideas generated from the data are significant regarding the context of Cyprus. The importance and necessity shown of the 'bottom-up' approach to data collection (Garcia and Wagner, 2018; Shohamy, 2010), processing and dissemination is one of the major contributions to the field.

As an interpretative researcher, I tried to access as many participants as I could whose opinions mattered (Pring, 2004). As an interpretivist researcher in the post-conflict zone, the data-collection process itself enabled me to contribute to the knowledge and to de-construct the whole. I specifically ensured the involvement of not only particular teachers and students but the inclusion of different school across the island, school heads, teachers' union members and MoEC officials, in order to bridge the gap. Although conducting this research in the northern, Turkish-speaking part of the island was more convenient and feasible since I belong to that community, I tried to bridge the knowledge gap by scouring bi-communal research in an attempt to paint a more comprehensive picture which reflected the phenomenon from both perspectives. I believe that the research itself created goodwill among Turkish and Greek language students and teachers, along with other participants. Hence,

volunteer participation of some Turkish language students in the South created a positive effect on their peers who had reservations about joining this research.

The challenges I faced, strategies I have developed in de-constructing taboos and de-escalating tension, and skills I have developed in building trust with the interviewees are the most important contributions to my personal skills throughout this journey. This is important in inspiring and encouraging other local researchers in the field of peace education to carry out more qualitative research in Cyprus, for bridging the knowledge gap across the divide.

This study manages to inform the theory in a variety of ways. This local study enabled me to marry the local and global. As pointed out elsewhere in the literature, language policy in education and the debate on bringing an intercultural dimension into (foreign) language education is a highly dynamic topic. My own investigation made me conclude that some of the existing literature on these topics is not always applicable since the role of politics, ideologies, history, culture, personal choices and individual motivations create different dynamics and challenges for educational policy implementation. Therefore, in this particular research, available theories on LPP, peace education and intercultural dimension in language education are used as supportive sources of information rather than guideline. Consequently, this study is informed by the qualitative data collected rather than available theories. This is another major contribution of this study-‘the bottom-up’ approach of selecting stakeholders of education as my primary source of information to explore and understand implication of language of historic enemy to policy and practice.

It emerged in this research that the role of language as an identity marker gives us insight into in-group, sub-group and out-group relations (Tajfel, 1979), and the data also indicated that languages and their users living together in the past seemed to connect people. Language, religion and identity are sensitive elements/factors and important components of culture. While a common identity for united Cyprus is highly important, accepting each other and respecting ethnic and cultural differences in a multicultural Cyprus is also vital for social cohesion. Therefore, there is a need for raising awareness on ethno-linguistic differences as a contribution to the cultural mosaic. This requires developing linguistic and ethnic tolerance. Peace education is vital in this regard. Therefore, language and identity relation is important for the development of pedagogy in teaching Greek and Turkish languages to the post-war generation. Referring back to Moscovichi's (1961, 1976, in Luissier, 2011, p.42) view that language is a socio-historical phenomenon, exploring and understanding language and its relation to history can enable us to find out who the target community is, what language means to the learners and what underpins their motivation to choose that particular language.

Taking into account the findings of this investigation, this research contributes to the knowledge with regards to epistemology of education in Cyprus. There is a need for changing the ethicized education systems across the divide. Although the current political situation does not allow de-segregation and restricts education from bringing an intercultural dimension, bridge-building initiatives must be encouraged by the governments for giving students the necessary opportunity to learn about each other, and use the opportunities given for peace to create the space for mutual

understanding, respect and mitigation of hatred. This is important for creating tolerance in the school environment. This requires those in education to have understanding of the positive face of education for raising generations who are knowledgeable about the past and equipped with the skills of peace-making rather than perpetuating a context for conflict.

Although bringing an intercultural dimension into language of the other education is quite difficult in Cyprus due to the unresolved Cyprus problem, it is not impossible (Charalambous, 2010; 2016). I propose my views in the next section. Bringing an intercultural dimension into (foreign) language education in this conflict-affected context requires changing epistemology of education, as mentioned. It has become evident during the development of this research that teaching Greek in the North and Turkish in the South is an arduous process. This requires developing alternative teaching approaches. This change should be transforming the teaching objective in history education from 'who the historic enemy is' into 'how we can get along with our historic enemy and what the consequences of the war' are. This requires re-visiting the history, digging out past living together to inform the new generation and find out the linguistic repertoire. This could lead us to create literary texts, books and to producing a dictionary for the Cypriot dialects of Cyprus.

This research enabled me to experience what is possible in the post-conflict context of Cyprus and to re-shape policymakers', language teachers' and researchers' notions of what is possible in public education across the divide in Cyprus. From my research, I can recommend that there is a need to build bridges between the policymaking side of education and teachers in practicing side. My research

contributes to knowledge in this regard for opening up a comprehensive dialogue between the stakeholders. It has become clearer that education ministries in the TRNC and RoC have lack of awareness on the fact that their educational policies have impact on the lives of teachers and students. There is a need to voice this. The educational change and transformation is mostly viewed as a rational and a technical process whereas the emotions of teachers, school communities and society are ignored. Teachers are viewed by many stakeholders as 'instrumental' in educational reform process (Datnow, 2000; Zembylas, 2010; Schultz & Zembylas, 2009; Hargraves, 2005). In this conceptualization of educational change, teachers and students of Greek in the North and South seem to be left behind. As I was informed during my face to face interviews with teachers, to grasp what happens in practice in the school setting, the majority of teachers stated that they are losing their passion for teaching Greek since no authority deals with their problems, and similar to teachers of Turkish, they are left with uncertainties technically and pedagogically.

Given the fact that conflict is ethnicity-related in Cyprus, in the current context, as emerged in the findings, while the pending Cyprus problem creates a major factor, changes in the governance in the North and the South create another political factor, along with economic constraints, as obstacles for policy development informed from peace education. After failure to reach a deal for solution to the Cyprus problem in 2017, it seems difficult to claim that there is a political will to prioritize Greek and Turkish as an instrument of intercultural communication. Consequently, an absence of political will and reform in education remain. However, grassroots movements and the desire and demands of people as they move across the divide make it more

obvious that contact requires communication, and the best communication is through speaking the language of each other. Although English does the job for the time being, the need for learning each other's languages becomes more obvious in bi-communal events. So, when there is an absence of top-down policy, it appears that communities can create their peace-context through actions, grassroots movements and calls for learning each other's language. Therefore, individual initiatives and institutional de facto policies for promoting the language of each other is key to turning ripples into waves.

As I emphasized in Chapter I, my investigation was futuristic in nature in the sense that it attempted to project implication of introducing language of the other into post-conflict curriculum as an element of rapprochement across the divide in Cyprus. Although top-down policies as textual interventions are important, what is really important is every individual's effect on change and involvement in peace activities in order to change matters. Therefore, creating our own agendas as teachers, setting our own goals for de-constructing institutionalized taboos and giving peace a chance should be the way. It is therefore important to empower each other to develop a vision, policy, more bi-communal and interdisciplinary research across the island in order to understand historically troubled communities in Cyprus to restore social cohesion at various levels.

7.2.1 Top-down implications: revival of linguistic rights of individuals at official level across the divide

There is an urgent need to revitalize Turkish's official status and institutionalize the language in the RoC since it is one of the official languages of the bi-communal republic, according to the 1960 constitution. The linguistic rights of the minorities (Maronites, Armenians, etc) the RoC recognises and promotes as part of the EU convention should also apply to the linguistic rights of the Turkish-speaking community. This is the only way to ensure their rights. The result of political obstacles and hidden agendas causes inequality between the Turkish-speaking and Greek-speaking citizens when it comes to job opportunities, competition and the linguistic rights of TCY citizens within the RoC and across the EU and related bodies. Although there is no binding convention for the unrecognized TRNC to recognise Greek, the same must apply for the Greek language in the TRNC as a single language state, for social cohesion and goodwill.

The information and knowledge gap about the North in the media and cyberspace exists in both the English and Greek languages. One of the instances that language becomes an obstacle between the communities is when there is a press release from the President's office regarding the Cyprus Peace talks or insights about the Peace Process. Taking into account political lip service paid to language across the divide, one should expect political leaders to release their information in both Greek and Turkish. This can be a top-down and political level recognition of the language of each other for providing communities with access to unbiased information and knowledge in their mother tongues.

7.2.2 Top-down implications: recognition of Greek and Turkish as ‘regional languages’ rather than ‘foreign languages’ for the development of intercultural citizenship

Although Kurbetcha, Armenian and Sana-Maronite Arabic are recognised as regional and minority languages of Cyprus in the RoC, Turkish as one of the official languages of the republic is recognised as a ‘foreign language’. The Greek language appears as a ‘neighbouring state language’ in one of the documents MoEC, TRNC but offered as a ‘foreign language’ in practice. Given the potential function and political status of Turkish and Greek, it seems that these languages deserve to be recognised as **‘regional languages’** in the current context in education and **‘additional languages’** along with English or as part of **mother tongue plus two policy** (M+2) in the current context and in the united Cyprus in the long run. This is important since the Greek and Turkish languages have linguistically influenced each other in the historic context and this has played an important role on the development of the Cypriot dialects of Turkish and Greek and the emergence of Cypriot culture and identity. Reconsidering Turkish and Greek as regional languages of Cyprus along with minority languages is important also for raising awareness on linguistic diversity, and neutralising language as an element dividing communities but as enrichment of and promotion for intercultural citizenship in Cyprus.

7.2.3 The city councils' role in transformation of the monolithic social landscape

City councils can play a key role in removing language barriers between Turkish and Greek Cypriots and promoting diversity by transforming their regions into multicultural cities and regions through paying respect to regional languages, religions and cultures by uplifting the hidden multicultural face of their cities. This requires a vision for diversity. Although challenging, this transformation will pave the way towards de-construction of the institutionalized monolithic whole in the social landscape locally.

The EU based project named “Inter-cultural integration project for cities” is an important and applicable model for TCY and GCY communities in their districts, close to checkpoints. This could be an important project especially in the heart of Nicosia, the last divided capital of Europe, where GCY cross checkpoints from (south) Nicosia to (north) Nicosia and vice-versa mutually and interact with each other while shopping. The use of each other’s language (Greek and Turkish) when providing service, on produce, on signposts, and in the public domain may gradually create multicultural linguistic integration through the social landscape.

Apart from transforming the social landscape, encouraging language learning at local councils is another goodwill gesture. Although there are adult Greek and Turkish language courses across the divide, offering courses at local councils may create a local hub for bringing together local Greek and Turkish Cypriots who learn each other’s languages at areas close to the buffer zone and checkpoints. Nevertheless, it should be kept in mind that developing such language policy and

implementation will not happen overnight but in time by taking every political opportunity to secure Turkish and Greek as additional languages across the island.

7.2.4 Top-down policy in education: setting up of the Committee of Experts of language education for Turkish and Greek in Cyprus

The promotion of the diversity of languages and importance of racial harmony along with intercultural understanding are important elements missing in policy and practice. To achieve these seems to require setting up a committee, consisting of experts in Greek and Turkish languages, peace and conflict studies, and curriculum design, textbook and material design, and who have expertise in intercultural education for post-conflict contexts. Setting up such a committee can be achieved through cooperation with volunteer universities across the divide. A committee of experts is necessary for:

- **Producing a policy paper and progress reports**
- **Designing curriculum informed by peace education and involving an intercultural dimension within and between school subjects**
- **Organising pre- and in-service training for Greek and Turkish language teachers in particular; organizing workshops on**

-Teaching language of the other in the post-conflict context

- Conflict management at school environment arisen due to hatred

- Bringing intercultural dimension into language education

- Designing projects with students: digging the past for building the future

- *Discovering the other Cypriots of Cyprus (Maronites, Latins, Armenians, Cypriot Romanis)*
- *Living together project: organizing excursion to Rizokarpazo and mixed -villages of Pyla.*
- *Building an oral dictionary of Cypriot dialects of Turkish and Greek with the contribution of student researchers.*
- *Legislating Greek and Turkish into language policy for multilingual Cyprus for rapprochement for strengthening the status of these languages in education.*

7.2.4.1. Quality assurance in language education

Another deficit of the current language implementation is the absence of strands for measuring the quality of education and achievement. For instance, progress in Greek and Turkish as modern languages need to be monitored in order to understand how students' competency has improved, what the programme lacks and how a framework for language can be developed. Therefore, there is a need to assure quality of policy implementation, teaching and assessment, for improving and reflecting on future practice.

7.2.4.2 Standardized test on language proficiency

The other issue regarding Greek and Turkish is the absence of national proficiency tests and lack of policy encouraging public school and adult language learners to prepare for and obtain proficiency certificates. Like English or other EU languages, students can be empowered to enter standardized tests and certify their Greek and Turkish proficiency according to **the CEFR**. This can encourage learners of Greek

and Turkish to have more willingness instrumentally to invest in Greek and Turkish as regional languages. Therefore, the Turkish and Greek language tests should be promoted, made more accessible and available for learners. Given the fact that most students tend to learn each other's languages for a political end, skills of speaking the languages of each other can be considered a priority when applying for jobs. Motivating and empowering people in government offices and in public and private sectors to gain proficiency in Greek and Turkish will also create a motivation for working people to invest in these languages of Cyprus. The points system through gained certificates in regional languages can be used for promotion at work. Thus, dropout rates can be reduced.

7.2.4.3 Extension of teaching period and length of study

As part of improving Greek and Turkish technically, there is a need to extend the period Greek and Turkish is offered for continuous language study, starting from secondary school until lyceum. Also, the number of hours needs to be increased because at present the length/period of study allocated for Turkish and Greek are not satisfactory. The continuation of Turkish and Greek can create fair competition between these languages and the others offered as optional languages. Consequently, improvement in their implementation and equal treatment of all languages offered in the curriculum might also influence the status of Greek and Turkish to gain prestige.

7.2.4.4 Linguistic diversity week

Efficient use of gaps/spaces in the curriculum as opportunities for empowering motivation to learn about the past beyond the official history, diversity and study

Greek and Turkish can create a de facto policy for promotion of these languages. In this regard, the linguistic diversity week is a great opportunity for celebrations of languages and multiculturalism on the 26th of September as European Day of Languages. Although the current political situation may create obstacles for integration, the barriers can be brought down through alternative approaches.

7.2.4.5 School and public (parent) cooperation

One alternative way of creating activities for teaching Turkish and Greek is School and Public (Parent) Cooperation. This is a bottom-up initiative to enhance motivation and create enthusiasm for teaching and learning these languages. It involves volunteer members of the communities who have some competency in Greek and Turkish, and is especially valuable for bringing the Turkish and Greek Cypriot dialects into the classroom, since many Greek and Turkish language teachers are competent in standard Greek and Turkish but not the Cypriot dialects. The dialects are common oral languages across the divide and have many common elements of culture. This public/parent-school cooperation can enthuse students who meet people from their own communities who can speak the other language in practice. So, students can hear Greek and Turkish in practice and have confidence to choose and study each other's languages. This can also be an opportunity to compare and contrast Modern Greek and Turkish spoken in Greece/Turkey and Cyprus. The school-parent cooperation for languages will lift the status of Turkish and Greek.

In geographically distant places, such as Pafos, random meetings between Turkish and Greek Cypriots are too low, and the students have very little opportunity for contact with others. So, inviting those who used to live together in mixed regions in

the past and have competence in Turkish can be a very good cooperation. The invited speakers will be role models, teaching beyond that which school books provide, and also teach how people used to learn each other's languages once upon a time. Precautions should be taken by the school administration and those who are invited should agree on particular issues in order not to create problems within the school environment.

7.2.4.6 Intercultural integration through religion

Religion is another important divisive element between the island's communities. Ignoring religion or considering it a threat since it is a sensitive school subject may contribute to students' knowledge distortion in multicultural contexts with multiple faiths and historically troubled pasts. A knowledge and experience gap emerged when students voiced their personal feelings about the other. While most TCY students described the difference with GCY as that they eat pork, many GCY students revealed their fear and concern regarding Islamophobia. In fact, students worry and wonder about the unknown other based on their differences. In this case, religious difference.

Students across the divide need to learn and recognise who the unknown other is. This requires equipping them with the necessary knowledge to fill the knowledge gap and prevent the creation of distorted and shadowed knowledge by involving the traditions and culture of the faith of the other as part of language and education, through well-designed teaching activities.

7.2.4.7 Language and music

Music can be used as an instrument for conflict transformation (Bergh & Sloboda, 2010; Skyllstad, 1997; Urbain, 2008), and in the post-conflict context in enhancing reconciliation (Lederach, 2005; Lederach & Lederach, 2010) or as proposed by Brader (2011) and Brader and Luke (2013) "as a tool to promote resilience" (Cabedo-Mas, 2015, p.82). In peace education, music and art create intercultural spaces for integration and de-escalation of prejudice (Diez Jorge, 2004; Honnethian, 1996). Music is important in shaping cultural identities and generating common identity; it can enable communities to set up a dialogue and remove cultural prejudice, and thereby to integrate communities. Music enables focusing on the cultural knowledge embedded in it rather than engaging in complex questions of what other says or doesn't say (Martinez Guzman, 2001; 2015, p.81). Music is a vehicle to connect people.

Involving Cypriot songs that are common to both communities in music education and designing Greek and Turkish language textbooks to include local Cypriots songs can create an intercultural space for language students to acquire each other's culture through music. As revealed in this research, the majority of GCY and TCY students interviewed lack awareness regarding intercultural similarities. In the Tilliria/Dillirga region, GCY students mentioned the Cypriot folk song named, 'Tilliriakotissa' in the South. This song is about a region that used to be invaded by pirates. This same song is a favourite of the TCY students in the North, who revealed 'Dillirga' as their local song. Nevertheless, neither in the North nor in the South were the students I interviewed aware that this song is common to both. Involving this and

other similar folkloric songs with their interesting and epic history that the communities have in common would create a context for learning both sets of lyrics in language textbooks, as it has versions in Cypriot dialects of both Turkish and Greek.

7.2.4.8 Democratic citizenship education

Although there is 'Democratic Citizenship Education' in the curriculum in the South, this school subject is lacking in the North, and students in the South do not necessarily learn skills to improve relationships with Turkish Cypriots and Turkish people as their historic enemies. What they learn is actually generalised concepts. Therefore, involvement of this school subject and topics concerning Cyprus on hatred, tolerance, and mutual respect should be part of syllabi all over the island. The citizenship education teacher's invitation to his class enabled a group of students in Pafos to ask me dozens of questions and unpack various topics they were curious about. This created a motivation for the students and their teacher to want to extend this and invite Turkish Cypriot academics to their school one day, if they are given a chance. This experience of me suggests that bringing together members of community and classes enable students to develop critical thinking skills and their capacity to question the past from various sources other than textbooks.

7.2.4.9 Active engagement of teachers' unions for language policy development and implementation

It is understood from this research that teachers' unions have a crucial role: they can function as a bridge or a barrier, based on the political stance of their leadership on the development and implementation in practice of educational policy. The active

involvement of teachers' unions can generate dynamism, voice challenges faced by teachers and students in practice, and galvanise policymakers into action.

7.2.4.10 Independent Association for Turkish and Greek language teachers

The case of Turkish language teachers in the South shows us that the silence of the union may trigger professional challenges for teachers. This silence has censored teachers' voices and caused them to despair. Given the place of teachers in education, it is important to have a stakeholder body voicing their unvoiced concerns to those in power and urging them into action. In this regard, it appears that having an association politically independent from mainstream politics may do the job. Therefore, the establishment of a Turkish and Greek language teachers' association could have a key role as an independent body between official top-down policymakers and arbiters and de facto policymakers at bottom-up.

7.3 Implications for teachers

The active involvement of Greek and Turkish language teachers in every stage of language policy development, implementation and monitoring is crucial for sustainable language policy and planning. It includes involving teachers in the policymaking process and encouraging the development of reflective teaching practices. A second point is that intervention needs to be developed in treating bullying in schools, both in relation to teachers' occupation and students' choice of studying the language of the historic enemy. Turkish language teachers in the South endure occupation-related bullying by their colleagues. Therefore, the status of Greek and Turkish language teachers at work needs to be secured, promoted, and language teachers should be empowered by the stakeholders of education; their

despair should be alleviated by action from the top-down policymakers. This again requires vision and a structured language education policy for rapprochement.

The political aspect of teaching remains an important question as language education in this context is highly politicised. On one hand, there is the fact that teachers have their own political views, which may interfere with their professional lives, and on the other hand, teachers can withdraw from their political stance and become mediators in language class. Nevertheless, the political aspect of education creates a contradictory context with asymmetrical views in the school environment. In this regard, the question of how teachers should be (a)political, cope with occupation-related work stress, tackle the challenges and manage conflicts professionally requires sustainable professional teacher development. Otherwise, ambiguities and contradictions between policy and practice leave teachers in between decisions, in no-choice situations, or they may have some reservations in their praxis.

The professional development of Greek and Turkish language teachers is of utmost importance for empowering teachers to build confidence in developing strategies in conflict management. Most importantly, it seems that there is an avoidance to bring politics-related subjects into class. However, creating space for students for voicing their concerns, views, commenting on what they think about the future in a confident and secure learning environment is essential. This is needed in order to release thoughts, voicing asymmetrical views in order to develop skills of debate, tolerance, mutual respect and negotiation skills in a democratic learning environment as part of education. However, the current education context across the divide does not

empower teachers to create such an integrative and democratic learning environment, but promotes silence and acting as bystanders. Therefore, there is a need to adopt a cooperative approach with all stakeholders and create a safer space for language of each other education.

7.3.1 Teachers' professional development

Pre- and in-service training for Greek and Turkish language teachers are important missing pieces of education. It is necessary to provide teachers with various opportunities to develop intercultural competence, be equipped with the skills of peace education and develop professionally for working in the post-conflict school environment, since they are raising a generation for the future.

The teachers' subject knowledge of the Cypriot dialects of Greek and Turkish, TCY and GCY culture, and past living, customs and traditions seem to lack, given the fact that language teaching happens in a divided country with little education and social contact. There are no reliable textbooks and insufficient materials on the language of the target community. In the current context, political complexity limits teachers' opportunities to gain cultural competence in the target culture and language. This is due to political constraints, mobility issues or the personal choice of teachers not visiting Greece/Turkey and North/South Cyprus due to ideological reasons, or as part of the troubled history and uninformed perceptions of the other.

Therefore, in order to bring an intercultural dimension into language education teachers need to be equipped with knowledge of the other. The mutual contact might occur through bi-communal organizations set up by universities. Consequently, language teachers' attendance of workshops and conferences as well as

appropriate short-term programmes on peace education will enhance teacher motivation. This will also encourage them to facilitate efficient work flow and intergroup cooperation across the divide within and between Greek and Turkish language teachers. In time, teachers can build on intercultural competence regarding the target community, gain experience on de-escalating ethnicity-related hatred in schools and promote language of the other as a vehicle of peace and reconciliation.

7.3.1.1 Allocating budget for professional development

The efficient use of funding for programmes aiming at bi-communal cooperation such as EU scholarships for the Turkish Cypriot community (provided by the EU for improving and developing education) or ERASMUS can be alternative financial resources for realising some of targets set for the purpose of making contributions to socio-economic changes: transformation through education for growth, jobs, equity and social inclusion.. The development of projects may enable each Greek and Turkish language teacher to receive funding for attending professional development programmes for language or cultural development, or attending certificate programmes for peace education and pedagogy.

7.4 Implications for administrators

School heads are in a key position where they are expected to scaffold policy and practice, but they can be bystanders, not voicing teachers' and students' education-related complaints. Their hidden agendas and silence may institutionalize ignorance, racism, discrimination, bullying and hatred if they do not challenge and punish at the right time.

7.5 Theoretical contributions: a suggested model

The communicative approach puts learners at the epicentre of the language teaching methods. From a socio-cultural theory perspective, collaboration in learning is one of the major elements with emphasis on the role of social interaction for developing learners' communication skills in the target language (Ellis, 2005). In the researched context, there is a nexus of politics, language and language education. Three major questions emerge: ***From a linguistic perspective***, how can we develop language pedagogy and redesign our approach according to mother language plus two language policy for bringing a multilingual approach in language education? ***From a political perspective***, how can we teach language of each other for rapprochement to **historically troubled communities**? And how can language, as an important component of peace education, be used to deconstruct the monoculture whole in the conflict-affected learning environment for creating and facilitating a positive language learning environment? These require a vision for using language **as a vehicle for peace and reconciliation** and employ a socio-cultural lens while designing the curriculum and syllabi. Adopting a plural-lingual approach, by using languages spoken by students and the target language along with cultural knowledge will enable students to become active participants, become aware of different dialects and common words, and develop strategies to compare and contrast similarities and differences of her/his language competence in Turkish/Greek and other languages. Inspired by Byram's intercultural language education model proposed for member states as part of linguistic diversity policy of the CoE and the intercultural dimension in language education, I developed the

suggested model in Figure 7.1 as a potential guide. This framework was developed by based on my observations across the Turkish and Greek language classrooms and school environment, and my interviews with teachers, students, and school heads. The guide is followed by another suggested model for ways of building contact in Figure 7.2 inspired by my personal experience as a TCY in building contact with GCY peers as a person born and brought up in divided Cyprus



Figure 7.1: Potential Guide

7.5.1 Practice dimension: language through language

An interdisciplinary approach in teaching the Turkish language (which belongs to the Altay branch of the Ural Altaic linguistic family) is used by some of the Greek and Turkish language teachers but this occurs unconsciously. This requires theorization of the way students and teachers approach teaching and learning in developing approaches to language education in conflict-affected contexts. This is very much context-specific and related to the target language and competence of students in other languages along with diversity in the class. In fact, the mother language plus two policy creates an important space for this to happen as students have already learnt English, French or German and speak a variety of Turkish. In the researched context, while teaching the modern standard Greek (which is the only language on its branch of the Indo-European family), it seems that Turkish teachers prefer to use English as Turkish and Greek have the same scripts, nevertheless teachers mostly use the grammar-translation method as a methodology of teaching as students find this way easier. Both Greek and Turkish languages are syntactically different from each other. Therefore, students' comprehension of the alphabet with different scripts, syntax and various forms of grammar rules pose fundamental challenges they experience while learning Greek and Turkish languages. Nevertheless, teachers' and students' approaches to learning Greek and Turkish are very interesting.

English tends to be the lingua franca in grammar teaching in some of the Greek language classes. In this context I would call this an auxiliary function of English.

This approach is adopted by Greek language teachers since students are competent in English grammar rules and language structure, students comprehend Greek grammar easily when the teacher interrelates and refers to English grammar rules. Apart from English, Moldavian students in one of the classes interrelate Russian, Turkish and Greek. Having competence in other languages through the M+2 policy or being a foreign student seems to bring dynamism to language classes with the encouragement of language teachers. Consequently students with different linguistic competences seem to scaffold each other in learning languages and finding patterns among the other school subjects and languages to ease learning.

Given the fact that Turkish is a completely different language from a different language family than Greek, I have not observed any technique adopted by Turkish language teachers to relate to Greek or other languages. Nevertheless, there were instances of some Turkish language teachers using common words.

7.5.2 Interdisciplinary approach in language education

The integration of other school subjects into language education seems to have a potential to facilitate language learning in an entertaining way if language is related to other school subjects. Based on my experience of Greek language students in the North, the strategies some of the students developed suggest that the Greek language and its richness along with linguistic borrowings in science extends the function of this language into other disciplines. Therefore, students' self-realisation that some of the elements in the chemistry, geometry or maths classes were connected made them enjoy the learning process and view language beyond words to include figures, elements and linguistic enrichment. Therefore, other school

subjects may function as auxiliary teaching instruments. This can naturalise the language of the historic enemy and language can be viewed beyond its ethnic code. This also generates linguistic cooperation among the students for scaffolding each other intellectually and creates dynamic and positive learning in language class.

7.5.3 The mode of contact with the target community

In the current context, politics and its implications are the major obstacles for the development of intergroup contact. Nevertheless, opening up spaces and creating opportunities to bring together ‘the imagined other’ and the target language and its speakers into the classroom is not impossible. There are various ways of breaking the cemented knowledge gap between the communities. Based on knowledge gained from the current context of language education and inspired from the related literature, I propose a potential guide in figure 7.1 and also suggest this in figure 7.2 as a method to bring together classroom, the target community and knowledge about the target community through various activities. In the figure 7.2 the blue represents contact, the yellow represents TCY and the green represents GCY.

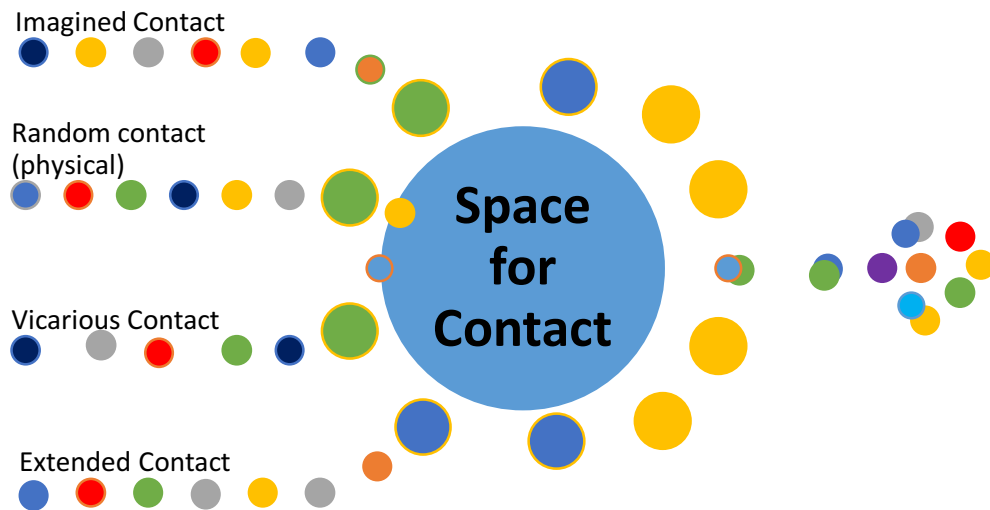


Figure 7.2 Creating space for de-constructing the concept of ‘the imagined enemy’ through various forms of Contact

7.5.4 Bi-communal programmes for *physical contact*

Firstly, I recommend that ministries of education across the divide should be more supportive in increasing the number of **bi-communal programmes** (music, dance, sport, folklore) and promoting these across schools in order to raise student participation. Integration of such school-related or independent bi-communal programmes can give students an opportunity to have ***physical contact*** and enhance their motivation to choose Greek and Turkish during the academic year, so that they will learn language for a reason. Such integrated events can create dynamism, motivation and an opportunity to learn each other’s languages for a good

purpose. This can also increase the promotion of Greek and Turkish languages in school environments across the island.

7.5.5 Virtual learning environment and virtual contact

I would suggest that there is a need to develop language teaching approaches, informed by socio-cultural theory and infused by intercultural education along with digital media and technology. Digital technology has become a major asset of contemporary education (Selwyn, 2011, Troudi, 2014). Technology can play a major role in removing physical barriers in accessing the target community, for facilitating language education and **peer** collaboration across the divide. Bringing technology into language classrooms may also enable effective use of designated language classrooms. Setting up a virtual learning environment will provide a linguistic and cultural repertoire with a resource pool for vocabulary index (for Cypriot dialects of Turkish and Greek, colloquial etc), projects for the development of cultural competency, co-teaching and learning activities, and students' language learning experiences and notes on their experiences of discovering their Cyprus. Based on goodwill, students and teachers will use this virtual space for education. Additionally, setting up a Skype class among learners of Turkish in the South and Greek in the North could create an unprecedented opportunity for teachers and learners to connect within and between their communities virtually. Such activities will contribute to collaborative and interactive language education.

This virtual learning environment can be independent and available on the cyberspace for schools to access and use on a voluntary basis whenever they wish. Given the fact that checkpoint crossing is a fundamental obstacle for intergroup

contact politically and practically, such a virtual learning environment can be named as a “border-FREE virtual language education environment”. This type of learning environment can become a hive of activity once the ethics and other requirements are realised in practice.

7.5.6 Imagined contact

Individuals actively engage in the simulation of a positive contact experience. This simulation can be created in the classroom by the use of textbooks and materials, and virtual learning environments involving common and different songs, literature, cuisine, customs and traditions, which all contributes to peace education.

7.5.7 Extended contact through third parties

People who knew that an in-group member had an out-of-group friend had fewer negative intergroup attitudes. Out of class narrations in the form of past experience or oral history (through school-community cooperation, involvement of (grand)parents’ narrations, people who used to live in mixed villages, or friends’ friends) helps students acquire knowledge of the past from the target community.

7.5.8 *Physical contact in public*

School excursions for raising awareness on multiculturalism can create space for students to engage in random contact and build confidence as part of history and language classes. This can be possible through multicultural excursion programmes. In this regard, Greek language students can visit Pyla (mixed village), Rizokarpazo (GCY enclave along with Turkish-speaking population of Turkish origin), and they can meet Maronite Arabic speaking community in Karpasha, Aya Marina, and

Kormacitis in the North. In the South, schools can use their annual excursion opportunity to take students to Moutallos in Pafhos, in which TCY ethnolinguistic landscape still exists, the mixed village Pyla to immerse with GCY and TCY villagers, and Lourijina villages.

Traces of the past are proof of the shared living that once occurred in historically shared landscapes. Therefore, involving the socio-cultural landscape of Cyprus can deconstruct some preconceived notions, and show students that living together is possible and there is always a way to solve problems. In the mixed village of Pyla, numerical symbols as neutral codes are used in identifying street names and apparently these overcome the issue of addresses for mailing services too. The village has a TCY and GCY mukhtars (local authority elected by the villagers), representing TCY and GCY. In order to avoid potential conflict, they decided use numbers such as 'Sekiznci Sokok/ όγδοο', meaning '8th Street' as street names across the village. The strategies developed in this mixed village for overcoming issues in their communities may shed light on similar issues causing a deadlock. This may show students how problems are resolved and what solutions are made for people's social cohesion, and they would be able to experience the sense of living together in a mixed village, ask questions, be critical and reflect afterward on their school excursion. Thus, Greek and Turkish language classes become a vehicle for learning about the past and living together. Such excursions may encourage them to think about the future-related hope of living together under a united Cyprus, or sharing the island in peace no matter what the political context is.

7.5.9 Cultural excursions for (inherited) diversity

While Umma Haram (religious place within a mosque) in Larnaca hosts many tourists in Larnaca district, there are many mosques in the South and religious places and the churches in the North. The students can be taken to these sites for sightseeing and awareness-raising. The social spaces in Pafhos and Larnaca region seem to change as there are hundreds of Russian residents. There are many German visitors to Seyh Nazim Kibrisi's tomb and his Dervish monastery in Lefke region. Although students see all these visitors as 'foreigners', their realisation of diversity requires external stimulation by the teacher and discussion on diversity. Excursions to these places can give students confidence and encourage them to see their inherited diversity along with the multicultural side of Cyprus.

7.5.10 Random Contact

Since the increase in the number of checkpoints, the number of mutual crossings seem to have increased. Encouraging students to think how the linguistic landscape has changed around their social space and that contact with the other people will raise their awareness to notice languages and their speakers in their social domain is part of goodwill. In this regard, city councils and their cooperative approaches for promoting inherited diversity are important.

7.6 Policy and practice implementation nexus

As Ball (1993) reminds us, policies developed by policymakers are "textual interventions". The will of a particular policy is determined, shaped and reshaped by stakeholders of education, with their own approaches, hidden agendas and

“manoeuvres” (ibid.) in practice during implementation. It emerged in this research that the nexus between policy and practice is imperfect, as illustrated in Figure 7.1, as follows: the proposed implications are between top-down and bottom-up policymakers, who are stakeholders of education.

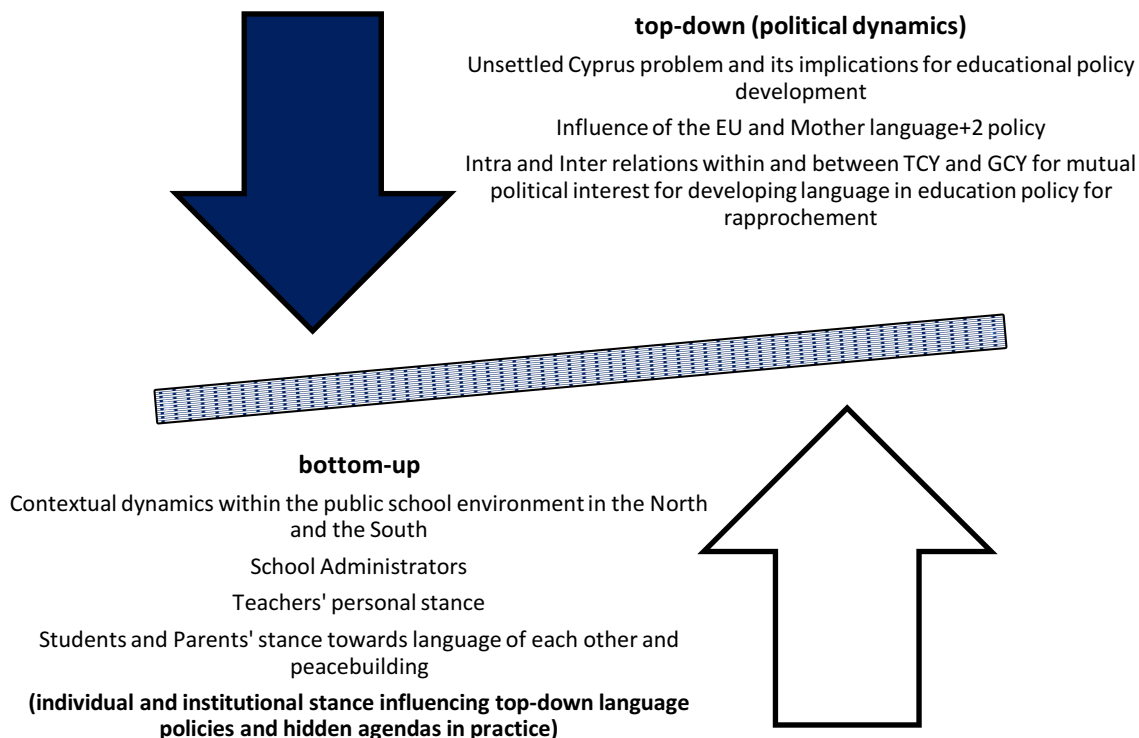


Figure 7.3: The policy and practice nexus

Two major issues are revealed. One is individual political stance, and the other is institutional stance against top-down policy implementation. These issues are related to the attitude of students, teachers, parents as individuals, and schools heads and teachers' unions as representatives of institutions. Students and teachers have a key role in policy change in practice. Their voice seems to be underestimated

by the majority who have a stake in education, but their involvement in the process seems to be a necessity.

From my research, there was no textual educational policy available or accessible in the North. Although there was a textual form of policy in the South, individual policies in the practice side seem to be manipulated by hidden agendas in schools. The controversial politics seem to create contextual asymmetries. Therefore, situational dynamics have implications for policy implementation. This hardship is later linked to the will of language policy implementation and (c) overt promotion of Greek and Turkish languages.

Although they are the top-down policymakers, the policymakers themselves as addressee of many issues seem not to get involved in the process. This causes a deadlock in educational practice. Their active involvement may bring a catalytic effect on language policy and practice.

The hard question remaining, which emerged in this thesis, is whether Greek and Turkish should become compulsory school subjects across the divide or not. Policymakers at the top of governance must decide on their vision. Nevertheless, the education departments of universities in Cyprus should take an active involvement on policy development regarding peace education in Cyprus, with particular attention to Turkish and Greek languages. There is a need for developing a wider language policy recognising Turkish and Greek as languages important for social cohesion in Cyprus. Development and adaptation of a separate language policy may strengthen the status of these languages in the curriculum and create a national-level motivation. It seems that making Greek and Turkish compulsory

school subjects is controversial given that some students still view each other's languages as a threat, treat their peers who have a passion and motivation to learn each other's languages as traitors, and view the presence of Turkish and Greek as a source for creating conflict. The future of such a language policy is also related to the politics of language and priorities in educational policy development. In the current context, it seems that this proposal of the TCY teachers' assembly is null, partly as change in the education system in the RoC has already put all foreign languages into a secondary position.

7.7 Suggestions for further research

This study is one of the very few attempts to elucidate language education policy regarding the implementation of Greek and Turkish as optional languages in the post-conflict context of Cyprus. While the analysis of the collected data demonstrated a number of thought-provoking ideas and implications for stakeholders of education, namely, policymakers, school administrators and teachers, it led to the emergence of other questions for which further research is needed. Given the political aspect of this research, it took too much time to gain access from the gatekeepers. Nevertheless, I tried to make the most of my time and accessed teachers of Turkish and adult students who join afternoon language classes. Although I collected data in the mixed villages of Rizokarpazo and Pyla, interviewed adult language class students and visited some of the afternoon classes for observation wherever they were available to volunteer participants, I kept that as complementary data because of the scope of this research. Due to the limitations of

a PhD project, funding, time and my access to the gatekeepers in the South both in policy and practice, I focused on all the Greek and Turkish language teachers and the students in public education who chose to study Greek and Turkish, as outlined in my research proposal.

Time constraints made it extremely difficult to access policymakers in the education department in the South due to the political nature of this research. Therefore, in order to have a more comprehensive understanding of the attitudes towards Greek and Turkish languages at policy level, it might be a good idea to attain secondary teachers' union, policymakers and communities' views and perceptions across the divide through a mixed method approach in an educational project, in order to explore and understand the nexus between policy and practice. This is of high importance since the question of introducing Greek and Turkish as compulsory school subjects into public education occupies the teachers' unions foreground in the North occasionally.

Further research also needs to be done to elucidate factors underpinning students' motivation in choosing foreign languages. In separate research, the intercultural dimension of foreign language education could be researched in foreign language classrooms. Interdisciplinary research on how students use their competence of other subjects while learning each other's languages could enable us to understand students' approaches to learning. Researching how students in the post-conflict context build knowledge about the other and the implications of knowledge building on identity are important. One of the important implications of this research is that Turkish language teachers and students have been exposed to bullying in the school

environment. In this regard, it is important to research and understand teachers' professional identity, how and in what ways their identities change over time, if at all, in the midst of sporadic educational policies. Elucidating knowledge and information on these topics can inform the development of curriculum, syllabi and pedagogy. Understanding the teacher unions' role in policy making and implementation in post-conflict contexts in the transition to peace and reconciliation is also necessary.

Researching intergroup contact in the mixed villages of Pyla and Rizakarpazo and mixed English schools can give us insight into the dynamics of intergroup contact in mixed spaces. As emerged in my complementary data in Pyla and in mixed private English schools in Larnaca and Nicosia, Greek Cypriot teachers explained that some Turkish Cypriot students were singled out, or Greek Cypriot students were bullied by others as they socialized with Turkish Cypriots. While people in Rizokarpazo and Pyla live in the mixed villages and have direct contact with one another, in the other districts Greek and Turkish Cypriots live in separation with no contact. Nevertheless, they learn about each other through selected textbooks, narrations of their social circle and through mass media. Therefore, while those in segregation have assumptions regarding the imagined community, those living in integration have an opportunity to construct knowledge through direct contact with the ethnically and linguistically other. So, how first-hand experience and co-constructed knowledge differ and affect knowledge-building and intergroup relations in such post-conflict contexts could be an interesting research topic. Re-thinking linguistic rights of Turkish Cypriots within the EU and the region in relation to mother tongue plus two policy is another important research topic in addressing policy issues in practice.

Finally, the role of digital technology in contact with the other and bringing down barriers in divided communities could be researched.

7.8 Conclusion

Greek and Turkish language teachers' and students' experiences of teaching and learning the language of each other in the post-conflict context of Cyprus, obstacles and implications of the implementation of the language of each other policy in the post-conflict context with the unresolved Cyprus problem were the main focus of this study. I will present a brief overview of the issues researched, reported and discussed in this study and conclude the thesis with my final remarks. In this research, six major themes were formulated, each of which embraced sub-themes. The first theme of this research is the policy-practice nexus: challenges of the language of the other policy implementation in post-conflict context, which has four major sub-themes. These included political asymmetries and stakeholders' stance in the process, the question of Greek and Turkish language as a compulsory school subject across the divide in Cyprus, financial constraints as obstacles to the promotion of Greek and Turkish, and de facto policies in the school setting. The second theme, students' identity formation in Greek and Turkish language classes in the post-conflict context was examined. Language of the other in the post-conflict school environment within a geo-political division was the third theme identified and explored in this study. Prejudice-informed bullying: 'us' as 'the other' language teachers in the South, bullying intervention, factors enabling bullying to flourish, were entitled as the 'emergence of policy and prejudice-related complications through the language of the other'. Teachers' strategies in de-escalation of hatred for

rapprochement in language of the other for peacebuilding enabled me to discuss how teachers navigate students' attention to non-selective history reading and access alternative history and narration through school projects such as 'The life we did not live'. These important elements raised a number of thought-provoking questions and led the way towards developing strategies in conflict management in the post-conflict language classroom. In general, this study has tried to deepen and broaden policymakers', school administrators', researchers' and teachers' insight into language policy development for rapprochement and implications of the language of the other policy in practice in the post-conflict context. The most important conclusions drawn from this study are as follows:

Education forms an important basis of society but entails a huge political risk and public reaction. Nevertheless, the development of educational policies for peace is not impossible. Educational reform for peace is a complex process with many stakeholders. Therefore, there must be top-down encouragement, and it requires educational policy beyond the party politics. In the current context, the effective use of time is vital as changing decades-old policy on recognising each other as the historic enemy does not happen overnight. The revival of Greek and Turkish as the language of each other for rapprochement should be a priority in education but compulsion in education should come later on. Since most Greek and Turkish language teachers graduated from Turkic Studies and Greek Language and Literature departments, intensive in-service training should be provided on peace education and bringing an intercultural dimension into language education. Once the curriculum is reformed, elements of hatred must be cleansed from textbooks, and

within schools, and a safer space created in the school environment for recognising, discussing and understanding 'the other', to heal the division between 'us' and 'them' Given the turbulent history of Cyprus, policymakers at various levels should prioritise multiculturalism in order to prevent societal gaps between ethnically different communities and raise awareness on the joy of living together. The governments and local governments such as city councils as district regional authorities should work towards transforming the linguistic landscape of cities and surrounding areas based on regional languages. The MoEC across the divide should raise awareness on multiculturalism: take the initiative for bringing together ethnically different communities through arts, festivals, sports, and under life-long learning projects, offer regional languages other than the native language of the participants, along with social projects in each respective community across the divide.

7.9 Reflections on my PhD journey

The process and progress of this journey was amazing as well as challenging. At the initial stage of this research, I was informed that it was highly likely that my entrance into public schools for data collection would not be possible. While bi-communal associations were promoting cooperation with each other and calling people from both sides to become peace players, in practice it appeared to me that believing was absent in the calls for peace-making. Many people along the way advised me to have a plan B for this research because the authorities in the South might not like sharing their schools' data with me, for various political reasons.

My choice of conducting a qualitative research developed my skills in communicating with the other, finding alternative ways to solve problems I faced throughout the

process. I developed strategies to approach the other. Learnt from the practice. Faced the reality. Voiced the unvoiced. I travelled across the whole island for the first time in my life, crossed the check points dozens of times and experienced the difficulty of accessing the other land even it is close physically. Experienced the role and importance of speaking each other's languages. This journey shaped and reshaped my own identity as an individual, as a PhD researcher candidate. My excursion into Cyprus for contacting people and finding out the best possible way of accessing them not only developed my skills of communication and managing this research project but also changed the geographical map of my mind as an individual raised up in the divide. As a person brought up in Cyprus, the South never existed in my mind map. Since it never existed, I never thought that it would be possible to discover it one day. I had had the feeling that like many of my peers, we as TCY belong to the North and we have no contact with the South. In fact, there is no divisive element in the narrations of our elderly people as there was no division in the united Cyprus in the past that we never lived. This PhD research journey has made me realise that we live in a multi-ethnic, multicultural and multi-religious island but with psychological and political barriers. This research enabled me to find out the missing piece of the peace and go beyond those barriers. Discovering and completing my mind map was amazing. Having a first-hand experience was thrilling. Using public transport as a way of transportation enabled me in breaking the barriers and overcoming my fears as well as developing confidence from observing 'the other' from up close as a third person from a distance. Sitting at the back of the bus while trying to access schools enabled me to observe the behaviours, attitudes,

communication styles and culture of Greek Cypriots. This enabled me to identify and compare differences between their attitudes when you are a decent commuter on a bus and when you are a TCY in their mind.

What I have learnt throughout this challenging but thrilling journey is that every individual can take an initiative for peace-making. This will turn ripples into waves sooner or later at home, school, and in the community. Therefore, I learnt comprehensively in this research along this long journey that believing is the first and one of the most important steps towards peace-making in post-conflict contexts. Believing, though, in such a politically troubled context is not enough; working at peace-making constantly is the key action required.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1. Ethical Research Approval

MSc, PhD, EdD & DEdPsych theses.



Graduate School of Education

Certificate of ethical research approval

MSc, PhD, EdD & DEdPsych theses

To activate this certificate you need to first sign it yourself, and then have it signed by your supervisor and finally by the Chair of the School's Ethics Committee.

For further information on ethical educational research access the guidelines on the BERA web site: <http://www.bera.ac.uk/publications> and view the School's Policy online.

READ THIS FORM CAREFULLY AND THEN COMPLETE IT ON YOUR COMPUTER (the form will expand to contain the text you enter). **DO NOT COMPLETE BY HAND**

Your name: Afet GUNEY

Your student no: 590059624

Return address for this certificate: Demokrasi Caddesi, ELYE/DOGANCI-LEFKE, No.1, via Mersin 10 Turkey, North Cyprus

Degree/Programme of Study: PhD in Education

Project Supervisor(s): Dr. Salah Troudi

Your email address: ag341@exeter.ac.uk

Tel: 0090 533 857 3069

I hereby certify that I will abide by the details given overleaf and that I undertake in my thesis to respect the dignity and privacy of those participating in this research.

I confirm that if my research should change radically, I will complete a further form.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be "AG" or similar initials.

Signed:.....date:... 02/10/2014.....

Certificate of ethical research approval

TITLE OF YOUR PROJECT: Role of 'language of the other' in segregated education systems of Cyprus as a vehicle for developing intercultural dialogue for reconciliation and peace.

1. Brief description of your research project:

The main aim of this research is to conduct an investigation into the Cypriot students' view of learning the language of "the other" (Greek and Turkish) as a foreign language. It also aims to explore the perceptions of the stakeholders (students and teachers, unions, policy makers) of education in promoting Greek/Turkish languages in the Northern and the Southern parts of Cyprus. The exploration of various perspectives is due to the belief that although the policies are proposed and implemented by the governing bodies at political level, the implemented policies are shaped and re-shaped in every school that houses tens of different views through students, their families, teachers and administrators. Researching language policy issues from various perspectives is important since the communities play a major role in giving an important status to the proposed foreign languages (Greek/Turkish).

2. Give details of the participants in this research (giving ages of any children and/or young people involved):

In this bi-communal research, participants will be from different stakeholders of education who are directly and/or indirectly get involved in foreign language policy making and practice in the Northern and Southern parts of Cyprus. In order to explore and understand what happens in foreign language policy and practice Ministry of Education officers; head of schools, Turkish language teachers, Greek language teachers, and secondary school students (high school, age range is 14-17) will be participants of this research project.

Give details (with special reference to any children or those with special needs) regarding the ethical issues of:

3. informed consent: Where children in schools are involved this includes both headteachers and parents). Copy(ies) of your consent form(s) you will be using must accompany this document. a blank consent form can be downloaded from the GSE student access on-line documents: Each consent form **MUST** be personalised with your contact details.

After receiving ethical approval from the ethics committee, I will visit the authorities at the Ministry of Education in the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus and Republic of Cyprus in order to explain the fundamental purpose of this research and request permission to access schools offering Greek language to Turkish speakers and Turkish language to Greek speakers. Once permission is given, I will meet the head of schools, teachers and students respectively. I will handed out consent forms to the head of schools, teachers and students in their mother language (Greek and Turkish) in order to inform them about my research aims and purposes of the project, how I will store the provided data and destroy it after completion of the project. I will ask them if they have any questions about the study and/or concerns regarding their participation. Once their questions are answered, I will request them to read and sign the consent form if they are truly agree to volunteer and contribute to my research project as participants.

4. Anonymity and confidentiality

Confidentiality

I will tape-record the interviews and focus groups after gaining permission from participants. Interview tapes and transcripts, diaries and questionnaire will be held in confidence. They will not be used other than for the purposes described above and third parties will not be allowed access to them (except as may be required by the law). However, I will inform participants that if they request data (e.g. interview transcripts), they will be supplied with a copy of their interview transcript so that they can comment on and edit it as they see fit. They will be informed that their data will be held in accordance with the Data Protection Act [For five years and then destroyed on an anonymous basis]

Anonymity

Diaries, interview data, and questionnaire will be held and used on an anonymous basis, with no mention of their name, but I will refer to the group of which they are a member.

I will ask head of schools', teachers' and students' consent to participate in this study. This consent forms include the aim of the study and declare the confidentiality and anonymity of the data. I will inform participants that they have the right to withdraw from the study at any time.

4. Give details of the methods to be used for data collection and analysis and how you would ensure they do not cause any harm, detriment or unreasonable stress:

In this qualitative research, observations, interviews, focus-groups, diaries, questionnaire and document analysis will be used as tools for data collection since they are the most suitable methods for collecting and analysing the participants' views towards the 'language of the other' in the conflict-ridden context of divided Cyprus. I will meet with teachers and students at their schools and schedule our meetings at their free time and avoid using their class hour. Then, we will decide what the best place for teachers and students for interviews and focus-groups meetings. I will have in-depth interviews and focus groups with teachers as "teachers' interviews and focus groups" and "students' interviews and focus-groups" and "individual interviews" with Ministry of Education officials. I will request students and teachers to keep diaries in order to gain insight into their learning experience through their eyes. The questionnaire items will be generated from the participant diaries, in-depth interviews and focus groups. I will distribute questionnaire (5 point likert scale) to both teachers and students as part of this qualitative research. Since I will collect data through employing various strategies (document, interview, diaries, questionnaire) the wealth of data gathered and different types of data collection method will enable triangulation. While this will let me to have a complex picture, I will have a so-called thick description of the details and include narratives in my report. This will give insight into the audience about the language practice that emerges from the complex context. Once I transcribe the data, the computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software, Nvivo will be used for the analysis of the qualitative data and statistical analysis for questionnaire.

5. Give details of any other ethical issues which may arise from this project - e.g. secure storage of videos/recorded interviews/photos/completed questionnaires, or

I will gain permission from the volunteer participants (teachers, students) to use digital voice recorder during each meeting for data collection. I will inform the participants that pseudonyms will be used for them. I will also ask them to see how I used the gained data and assure them that recorded data is stored at my password-protected own laptop and it is not available for public use. The participants will also be informed that all data will be destroyed after completion of this research project.

6. special arrangements made for participants with special needs etc.

N/A

7. Give details of any exceptional factors, which may raise ethical issues (e.g. potential political or ideological conflicts which may pose danger or harm to participants):

Given the fact that this bi-communal research will be undertaken in a context that Greek and Turkish Cypriots have had a troubled past, as a researcher I will pay utmost attention not to offend my participants with my questions. Based on my past research experience, this can be avoided by being cautious and using the terminology internationally accepted by law while discussing issues regarding Cyprus problem and education in Cyprus. For instance, northern part of Cyprus is recognised as 'occupied-area' whilst southern part is 'government controlled' state. Whilst Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus is de facto state, Republic of Cyprus is de jure state and is part of European Union. Say we discuss common Cypriot food and drinks during the interview. If I label coffee as 'Cypriot coffee', it may not cause reaction. However, labelling coffee as 'Turkish coffee or 'Greek coffee' in such a bi-cultural discourse may cause a tension and start the discussion on whom the coffee belongs to.

This form should now be printed out, signed by you on the first page and sent to your supervisor to sign. Your supervisor will forward this document to the School's Research Support Office for the Chair of the School's Ethics Committee to countersign. A unique approval reference will be added and this certificate will be returned to you to be included at the back of your dissertation/thesis.

N.B. You should not start the fieldwork part of the project until you have the signature of your supervisor

This project has been approved for the period: November 2014 until: November 2015

By (above mentioned supervisor's signature): 
.....date:..01/12/2014.....

N.B. To Supervisor: Please ensure that ethical issues are addressed annually in your report and if any changes in the research occur a further form is completed.

GSE unique approval reference:..... D 4 5 6 1 / 1

Signed:..... date: 17/2/14
Chair of the School's Ethics Committee

Chair of the School's Ethics Committee
updated: March 2013

Appendix 2. Informed Consent



GRADUATE SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

.....
(Signature of participant)

/ /

.....
(Date)

.....
(Printed name of participant)

One copy of this form will be kept by the participant; a second copy will be kept by the researcher(s)

Contact phone number of researcher(s): *0090 533 857 3069*.....
If you have any concerns about the project that you would like to discuss, please contact:

Afet Guney, School of Education, University of Exeter, Devon, UK.
e-mail: ag341@exeter.ac.uk

.....
OR

If you have concerns/questions about the research you would like to discuss with someone else at the University, please contact:

Dr. Salah Troudi, S.Troudi@exeter.ac.uk

.....
* when research takes place in a school, the right to withdraw from the research does NOT usually mean that pupils or students may withdraw from lessons in which the research takes place

Data Protection Act: The University of Exeter is a data collector and is registered with the Office of the Data Protection Commissioner as required to do under the Data Protection Act 1998. The information you provide will be used for research purposes and will be processed in accordance with the University's registration and current data protection legislation. Data will be confidential to the researcher(s) and will not be disclosed to any unauthorised third parties without further agreement by the participant. Reports based on the data will be in anonymised form.

Revised March 2013

Appendix 3. RoC Ethical Approval

ΚΥΠΡΙΑΚΗ ΔΗΜΟΚΡΑΤΙΑ
ΥΠΟΥΡΓΕΙΟ



ΔΙΕΥΘΥΝΣΗ
ΠΑΙΔΕΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΣΜΟΥ
ΕΚΠΑΙΔΕΥΣΗΣ



ΜΕΣΗΣ

Αρ. Φακ.: 7.19.46.7/23 Αρ.
Τηλ.: 22800664

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8 Δεκεμβρίου 2015

Κυρία

— Αφет Γκιουνέι

Ηλεκτρονική διεύθυνση: ag341@exeter.ac.uk

Θέμα: Παραχώρηση άδειας για διεξαγωγή έρευνας

Αναφορικά με τη σχετική με το πιο πάνω θέμα αίτησή σας στο Κέντρο Εκπαιδευτικής

Έρευνας και Αξιολόγησης, ημερομηνίας 6/11/2015, πληροφορείστε ότι το αίτημά σας για διεξαγωγή έρευνας, με θέμα «Ο ρόλος των ξένων γλωσσών στην εκπαιδευτική πολιτική στην προώθηση του διαπολιτισμικού διαλόγου στην Κύπρο: Η περίπτωση της ελληνικής και της τουρκικής γλώσσας», στα πλαίσια έρευνας για την απόκτηση διδακτορικού τίτλου σπουδών στο Πανεπιστήμιο Exeter, εγκρίνεται. Νοείται ότι θα λάβετε υπόψη τις εισηγήσεις του Κέντρου Εκπαιδευτικής Έρευνας και Αξιολόγησης οι οποίες επισυνάπτονται και ότι θα τηρήσετε τις ακόλουθες προϋποθέσεις:

1. θα εξασφαλίσετε τη συγκατάθεση των Διευθυντών των Σχολείων τα οποία θα συμμετάσχει στην έρευνα,
2. η συμμετοχή των εκπαιδευτικών θα είναι προαιρετική,
3. θα εξασφαλίσετε τη γραπτή συγκατάθεση των εκπαιδευτικών που θα συμμετάσχουν στην έρευνα,

4. δε θα επηρεασθεί ο διδακτικός χρόνος και η ομαλή λειτουργία των σχολείων για τη διεξαγωγή της έρευνας,
5. θα χειριστείτε τα στοιχεία των εμπλεκομένων με τέτοιο τρόπο, ώστε να διασφαλιστεί πλήρως η ανωνυμία τους
6. για τη χρήση μαγνητοφώνου ή οποιασδήποτε άλλης μεθόδου για τυχόν καταγραφή ήχου ή εικόνας, θα πρέπει πρώτα να πάρετε άδεια γραπτώς από εκπαιδευτικούς οι οποίοι θα συμμετάσχουν, και τέλος,
7. τα αποτελέσματα της έρευνας θα κοινοποιηθούν στο Υπουργείο Παιδείας και Πολιτισμού και στα σχολεία που θα σας παραχωρήσουν διευκολύνσεις για τη διεξαγωγή της.

Ευχόμαστε καλή επιτυχία στους ερευνητικούς σας σκοπούς.

Διευθυντής Μέσης Εκπαίδευσης
Λούης



Δρ Κυπριανός Δ.

BK

Υπουργείο Παιδείας και Πολιτισμού 1434 Λευκωσία
Τηλ: 22 800 600 fax: 22 428268 website: www.moec.gov.cy

Appendix 4: An excerpt from a sample Greek language student interview manuscript

Mert LGL

Background info

A: What year are you in?

MERTKAN: 8th grade.

A: Ok.

A: Where are you from?

Mertkan: I am from Cyprus. I am a **Cypriot. I live in the L....**

A: What does Cypriotness mean to you?

MERTKAN: Cyprus reminds me of oranges of Lefke, Strawberries of Limnidis, People, nice people Cyprus reminds me of nice people of Cyprus.

A: What are the characteristics of people, then?

MERTKAN: Well, we are far better than people of Turkey, our language and you know other things, they are different!

your native language

A: How do you describe your language?

MERTKAN: Cypriot? Turkish spoken in Turkey sounds strange!

Awareness of Multiculturalism

A: Who lives in this community?

MERTKAN: People from Turje, Rumlar/Greek Cypriots, university students from abroad!

A: Have you ever heard about Maronites?

MERTKAN: Well, I heard last week (when you visited our class!), but I don't really know what it is!

A: from whom?

MERTKAN: from you

A: Armenians?

MERTKAN: I don't know about them!

Communication with others

A: What attracts your attention regarding communication of people in this country?

MERTKAN: Eh, Greek Cypriots speak Cypriot dialect of Greek and Cypriots speak Cypriot and people from Turkey speak you know very urbanely!

A: What about custom and traditions?

A: What about traditions and customs?

MERTKAN: Nothing takes my attention!

Belongingness

A: Tell me about culture?

MERTKAN: Of course, I am attached to Cypriot culture!

A: Can you tell me about Cypriot culture, please?

MERTKAN: For instance, 'babutsa', 'Seftali Kebab', 'Mumbar' are some of our cuisines. These are not in the Turkish cuisine. Our celebrations are the same as Turkey, such as 23rd of April, our language but the way we speak is a bit chawy/tough!

Compare and contrast-Greek and Turkish Cypriots?

A: What are the similarities and differences between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots?

MERTKAN: For instance, our roads do not look like. Well, they have many differences like infrastructure! Their villages in the rural are similar though! Elderly people's language is similar. Because, they used to live in the same villages in the past! These are similar!

History

A: What do you know about the past?

MERTKAN: We had the war in 74. My grandad was telling me that Greek Cypriot police was stopping the cars and policy was punishing the Turkish Cypriots or kill them! Then, we had the war in 1974! My granma had to escape as they were bombing the Lefke region! My granma and other woman with their kids hidden themselves to the old theatre. My uncle, who was a child at that time, he suffered as he was not able to breathe because of the bombing and the dust! Then, few Greek Cypriot came and asked my grandma about my grandad. They took my grandad! First, she insisted not to tell. Then, they forced her to tell and apparently, she had to tell where my grandad hid himself! Then, they took him to the War prisoners' camp in Limassol. They fed them with 2 slices of bread, 3-5 olives and cucumber in the camp! Then, as they narrate, there were the journalists. They reported this to the journalists. They complained and then Greek Cypriot soldiers released them!

Language grandparents know?

A: What languages can your grandad speak?
MERTKAN: He knows some Cypriot dialect of Greek!

Network-interaction with the other?

A: Do you go to the otherside?
MERTKAN: My grandad does not go! He does not want me to go either but I go with my parents!

Border crossing?

A: Why?
MERTKAN: You know. They had a conflict! The war! We ask them to take him there with us, but he says that he does not want to cross the border! He got the fear that if people at the checkpoint notice his name, they might attack me again! What he means is that the Greek Cypriot police and soldier abduct my grandad from somewhere and tortured him for few days! So, he says that he has a fear of crossing the border and he advises us not to go either for security reasons!

Narrations

A: So, what do you think of all these experience of your grandparents? How does it affect you regarding checkpoint crossing to the South?

MERTKAN: He influenced me at the beginning! But, now there is no war anymore! Elderly people are developed a bit of grudge against each other! The war has finished there! So, I cross the checkpoint!

Peace

A: **Is there a peace now?**
MERTKAN: Maybe. Some do not want!

A: **What does it mean to you?**
MERTKAN: Peace means unification! It means friendship! Sharing the same space! It is about forgetting the past, you know forgetting about the 1974 and becoming a friend again!

A: **How can people overcome this?**
MERTKAN: We need to end this **hatred!** We need to forget the past! Old bad memories! For instance, my grandad tells me that “they killed our people, they became martyr but this needs to be changed now! We need to look into the future! We live in the same island! There is no other place! We should sort this out!

Peace education

A: **So, do you learn about how people with conflict can come together, get along together to live in peace?**
MERTKAN: They do not tell us about the 1974! Or, how we used to get along with the Greek Cypriots! They teach us about the GreenLine in the Cypriot History lesson,

they teach us what ultimaton means. They just teach us about the 21 December 1963-63, which is known as Bloody Christmas. The Greek Cypriots killed Turkish Cypriots!

A: What do people need to do in education?

MERTKAN: I think the authorities should find elderly people both in the north and the south, bring them together, learn about the past living in the mix villages and request them to communcate their experiences of living in mix villages to the current generation. I would like to hear the stories from the elderly people no reference to the History books!

What languages are visible to you?

MERTKAN: for instance, Cypriot dialect of Greek!

A: Why?

MERTKAN: Because, I do not know their language. I would like to talk them! We don't know their language! We would like to learn!

A: What will change when you learn their language?

MERTKAN: For instance, if you learn their language, you would not feel foreigner in the Greek side! I go there sometimes and I feel I am a foreigner there! Not knowing the language makes you feel stranger! Learning the language may enable you to communicate and do whatever you like. Gives you freedom! My parents speak English but I wouyld like to learn their language and have a skill to communicate with them in their languages!

A: What about speaking in English to them?

MERTKAN: It is different, If I speak in their language! Because, I wen tthere with my uncle once! We got lost and there was no one who could speak English in the village. If we were able to speak Greek, we would be able to communicate. They told us something, but we could not understand them!

compare-contrast

A: So, what do you know about interrelation of Greek and Dialect of Cyprus

MERTKAN: I think both are ery similar!

A: That is, the Greek language your grandad speak and Greek language your leanr in the class?

MERTKAN: There is! In the class, the language is slow and my grandad's language is faster!

Optional languages

A: What languages have you chosen so far?

MERTKAN: English and Greek!

A: How long have you been studying Greek, then?

MERTKAN: Since sixth grade. That is, for 3 years now!

A: How did you decide to study Greek?

MERTKAN: When we first offered languages, there were French and Greek as options. I didn't choose French because how much am I going to use French? I would not need French. SO, I decided to choose Greek because we cross the border to the South, we need it there! We need it to communicate with the tourists!

Idea exchange with friends?

A: Have you exchanged ideas with friends?

MERTKAN: We did! The students from Turkey did not want the Greek language that much! Because, they don't like Greeks that much!

A: What about your language level?

MERTKAN: It is elementary level!

A: How was the attitudes towards your decision to study Greek?

MERTKAN: No. There wasn't! Some said do not go to Greek class but we did not listen up! Not Cypriots though Turkish students!

A: What do you learn in the Greek language class?

MERTKAN: We studied the alphabet in the 6th grade. We study the verbs now. We learn forming sentences. We learn about asking about family name. Mother-father and their occupation!

A: What do you learn about communities speaking Greek as their native language?

MERTKAN: No, we don't know!

A: Do you learn how to use Greek in daily life @t a supermarket?

MERTKAN: not much because we have not learnt a lot!

A: Are you aware of common vocabulary-words?

MERTKAN: Some. We learnt few sentences. They are the same!

A: Awareness of intercultural connection of two culture? Is there a connection between two cultures?

MERTKAN: There is. Our and their culture is the same but in general different! Our language is different, Greek and Turkish but our cuisine is nearly the same!

A: Should Greek be a compulsory language?

MERTKAN: Maybe! We have Greek as an optional language! I think Greek Cypriots should have Turkish in their schools!

A: They have Turkish at school!

MERTKAN: Do they have? This really surprised me! We should learn more and more in order to be able to communicate with each other!

A: What would you like to learn?

MERTKAN: I would like to learn asking the price of something at shopping, at the market. Or, what is your name? Or, the directions for getting somewhere. Like, we learn in English! We can learn about the signs as it is needed while travelling. So, reading signs are important. Because, the language is Greek, we don't really learn about Cypriot dialect. When we go there, rural areas, we need their language. It is the same here. We should learn about their cities, regions. Like, Kyrenia, Nicosia-Lefkosia. For instance, I don't know about Pafos, I don't know about Limassol. I would like to learn about these cities. We learn about the countries like Italy, England, but we don't learn about the local places, cities, villages, regions.

A: So, what about villages with two names? Have they attracted your attention?

MERTKAN: It does. My grandad told me about these places. For instance, we learn Greek and we can have trips to these places with our Greek language class! We can have trips with our Greek language classes! So, they can teach us about those places, we visit those places and learn about the past. The same with Selimiye Mosque in Famagusta. We can learn their culture, their cuisine.

A: What would you like to know about your Greek peer?

MERTKAN: I would prefer talking to them in Cypriot dialect of Greek!

A: How would you feel if s/he speaks to you in your language?

MERTKAN: It would be a nice feeling because I learn that they learn our language and this is really good!

A: What do you think of communicating with people from the other culture?

MERTKAN: Like English people?

A: yeah

MERTKAN: I can talk to an English person but not much to a Greek Cypriot because we don't learn much from the books! We mainly have grammar!

Bi-communal activities

A: Do you have info about the bi-communal events?

Mertkan: Not really. I heard about this from you!

A: Would you like to join such an event?

MERTKAN: Yes. I would like to meet them. I would like to know about them and when we know each other, I can meet them again when I go to the other side. Or, we can go to their house as guests.

A: What would you like to learn about your Greek peer?

MERTKAN: I would like to learn what their grandad's tell them about the past. I really wonder about this! I would like to ask them about this!

A: How do you think people can get along with each other?

They can get along with each other and live together. What is needed is that people should refine themselves from hatred. Hatred does not make us progress. Once we become progressive, we can live together!

A: What do you dream in the future in Cyprus?

MERTKAN: I really want peace! I want to get along well with Greek Cypriots. No war. The war happened before. We have not had war then after. So. I don't want to have a war. I want peace!

A: What did you do in Foreign Language Week?

MERTKAN: We didn't!

A: Last year?

MERTKAN: No!

A: Thanks, Mertkan!

Mertkan: Thanks

End of excerpt

Appendix 5: An excerpt from a sample Turkish language student interview manuscript

Notes: I met Sotia at T Hotel in the Northwest of Cyprus on Saturday.

Katerina, a bilingual Greek-English speaker translated our interview simultaneously.

First, I gave them a general info about my research.

Sotia

1. A: Could you introduce yourself please?

Sotia: My name is Sotia and I live in Kato Pyrgos. I like Turkish, listening to music, and she want to study psychology.

2. A: How would you describe your ethnicity?

Sotia: "Gibri" hehehe. I am a Cypriot.

A: What does Cypriotness mean to you?

Sotia: She feels proud that she is Cypriot and not some mixture of the other ethnicities that meaning that I am very proud of being a Cypriot.

3. A: When I say Cypriot or Cyprus, what does it mean to you?

Sotia: it is sometimes I think invasion and Cyprus, they used to teach us about this thing.

A: So, what does it mean to you? Can you tell me about your feelings? your thoughts?

Sotia: The kind of feeling that because they made them feel that at the school and about the staff intimidated by the Turkish people and tehy have in their mind emmm some one as fighter, bad, so I am kind of intimidated to make relationships witht the Turkish people, but its

A: Say it again please?

Sotia: If it would happen, like I meet some one and make friend that would be Turkish, it would not be a problem...it is kind of weird!

A: Yeah, I understand that!

A: Did she tell us about her native language?

Sotia: Eh, I know that we speak Greek, it is kind of our ethnicity but for me we are Cypriots, I mean we have our own kind of country, our home, and language, Cypriot kind of thing, Cypriot[nes]s! I feel proud about that!

A: Let me repeat to clarify.

Sotia: On the on the one hand, I know that it is Greek, but on the other hand, language. The Greek language, but on the other hand, it is Cypriot they use in the everyday world and so yeah it is, bigger part of their lives, let's say.

A: How different is Greek and the Cypriot dialect? How do you feel when you speak language to a Greek?

Sotia: Eh, I feel that when we are in our country, we have to speak Cypriot, and for example, if the speak with a Greek Cypriot, that would be Greek...!

A: So, the language or the accent comes out

Sotia: yeah

A: and, how the Greeks perceive the language they speak, then?

Sotia Eh, I think it is political because sometimes there are fights between people telling her she is Greek but she thinks she feels No! She is Cypriot!

A: So, where this happens? How does it happen?

Sotia: Eh, so, it is in Cyprus people from Greece, I talk to, they believe that we are

like Cypriots **we are not Greek. So, we are Cypriots not Greeks!**

A: Who lives in your community?

Sotia: (what is your ethnicity?) ... so, the biggest percentage is Cypriots, but there are people from the other parts of the world.

A: Who are those foreigners?

Sotia She has relationships like with foreigners, from the other countries and there are people from the other countries that coming and going to Cyprus.

A: Do you have foreigners in your region?

Sotia: It is more of the Romanian kind of Country but they are not actually living here..

A: When she said that great majority is Cypriots, can she tell me who these Cypriots are?

Sotia: Eh, it is the people that were born here and they are lived most of their lives in Cyprus.

A: What about their language and religion?

Sotia: Eh, the first thing that you see when you meet is they are Christian, or they are Cypriot or whatever because the biggest percentage. They are from, they are Greek Cypriots and there are the Turkish Cypriots also.

A: the reason I ask her is to define and I don't know you guys describe your identity, Cypriot, Turkish Cypriot, Greek Cypriot or Greek. So, that is why..!

Sotia: She says just a Cypriot..! (smiles)

A: How does she view those who speak Turkish?

Sotia: Which Turkish speakers?

A: Turkish Cypriots

Sotia: I think it is good that they know Turkish because we have some kind of communication, contact with this people so and now with the solution of this problem going on with Turkish and Greek, so it is good that we have the sense of the language

A: Ok, I will come to that

A: Has she had a chance to come together and make contact with Turkish speaking Cypriots?

Sotia: We don't have a contact, only at the border!

A: with the police?

Sotia: yeah, with the police...

Religion

A: What does she know about these people, their communication style and customs?

Sotia: I know that there are differences in food, eh, religion, about the Ramadan and this thing and the Easter, and differences between Ramadan and Easter.

A: What is different between the food?

Sotia: I think they do not eat Pork...!

A: How do you know?

Sotia: We hear it a lot, about the religion, about not eating the pork!

similarities-religion

A: What similarities has she observed among the communities she knows?

Sotia: Eh, (laughs), I think that we have some things that they are similar but the differences are in religion, with Turkish and the Greeks, and Cypriots.

A: Ok

foreign languages

A: What other languages can you see around yourself? What languages are visible to you?

Sotia: So, eh, mostly at school we do English, French, German, Turkish and Russian. They do right now, and eh!

A: Why there is a demand to Russian language?

Sotia: because, eh, there is a lot of development by the Russian people in Cyprus, economy and investing money and like that so, jobs that they have, they want to employ people who know Russian language at some places.

A: and, how do you know about (different cultures and traditions and customs and) history?

Sotia: I know it mostly from the school because they teach them then encyclopedia and something like that.

A: Can you tell us about your experience of history knowledge?

Sotia: ...It is mostly about the INVASION, eh, and they used to tell us all of the killing and about moving from one village to another, sooo, it is mostly that!

History

A: What do you wonder about this invasion?

Sotia: Eh, we want to know, if, for example, there were other reasons for invading the country (because probably they wanted to get the half of Cyprus) or if there were other reasons or if there is a something personal about Cyprus...! We don't know about the reason why there was this thing going on! We don't know why there was this thing!

A: Ok. What do you think? Your opinion?

Sotia: The thing is because of the geographical position Cyprus is in the mediterranean its geopolitical location, natural resources like the cooper, the wood, and also England selling Cyprus to the Turkey-the Ottoman —I am not sure about this, I have a confusion about this—there was some kind of plan, let's say!

A: Do they have an opportunity to question what happened in the past in the class?

Sotia: Eh, we do have the chance to have a many dialogua but the thing is that can't really say because there is some thing of the political parties. The labour party and the other in Cyprus and if they say soemthing, someone else will say no and or whatever so it is not really what they prefer!

A: Have you experienced anything about this?

Sotia: I had some kind of fight let's say with someone else because one of them was thinking they are Cypriot and the other was thinking they are not Greek, so, yeah!

A: So, it is not fight but!

Sotia: Yeah, they were trying to convince each other!

A: and, how did teacher manage the class?

Sotia: ...the teacher was just telling them to stop...!

Narrations of grandparents

A: Do you have a refugee in the family?

Sotia: It is my father! Not my mother-No mitera sou, Ohi!

A: Have you had a chance to ask your family?

Sotia: Yes, me and my family communicate if there is something going around with the political staff!

A: Do you ask what happened in Cyprus?

Sotia: Yes, because they are older and they were kind of leaving at the time when this happened and they know more staff about what happened so I ask them...!

A: What did you learn?

Sotia: Eh (shy answer smiles shy smile) It is more of the political issues again but they tell me that we have to be careful of the the Turkish Cypriots and again "the fear comes in!"

A: Not only Turkish but also Turkish Cypriots?

Sotia: Yeah, ok...!

A: Have you crossed the border to the North?

Sotia: Yeah!

Checkpoint crossing experience

A: How was your first experience of visiting the North?

Sotia: It was kind of weird that they are kind of they used to come and check what we have in the car and staff about that...the Turkish police checks what we have in the car..! So, then we got use to it!

A: Do they still check the cars?

Sotia: It used to be more tough but it is not really now!

A: All right, ok...! And, after check point, what was your feeling? What have you observed there?

Sotia: I didn't really eh like go, get out of the car and meet the people, I don't know but I see that they kind of differ from us but eh my grandparents they are kind of eh they are ok with them!

A: Ok, in what way they differ from them?

Sotia: In like the appearance, like their faces, I saw that they are kind of different, they, the old ladies put scarf and when they were passing from the churches, they noticed that they put their shoes outside! So, yeah, I felt at the start that yeah ok these places should be ours but ok!

A: the church?

Sotia: No, the place! let's say the place but I think we are ok with that and ok it is a different religion and staff like that!

A: Like those places are our?

Sotia: Yes, that kind of reaction, may be "it should be ours!"

A: Was it church or Cami?

Sotia: Cami.

A: your grandparents was good with Turkish Cypriots?

Sotia: yeah, they are! We do have a contact untill now because our grandparents, my grandpa used to work with one of these people so they are actually coming and

eating with the grandparents, at restaurants.

A: and, what language do they speak to communicate?

Sotia: Not Greek but Greek dialect!

Contact

A: Do they know each other from before?

Sotia: yeah, they used to work together before but not sure when.

A: Have you met those Turkish Cypriots?

Sotia: No! (smiles)

A: Have you had a chance to visit historical places?

Sotia: Oxi-No! It did not happen. I would like to go but I have not so far!

A: Why she didn't go?

Sotia: When I go there, I just cross the border and I didn't really go for excursion or visit to the historical places!

A: How did they travel to Nicosia before the opening of the gates?

Sotia: the routes from the Pafhos is nearly two hours and the other route is from the mountains but you get dizzy! We shortcut through Limnidis!

A: Like me coming here! Limnitis roads!

Optional Foreign languages at the School

A: What foreign languages are offered at the school?

Sotia: Eh, It is whatever we want actually! we actually ask for! if there is a class set up, for example, if there is a lot of people wanting to do that language, the school arrange to build up the class!

A: What languages have you chosen so far?

Sotia: I have chosen French, English and Turkish!

A: Ok

A: What was your motivation to choose French?

Sotia: It was kind of compulsory to take French untill one and after, and after you go to the high school, then you would have the chance to choose, it is a big country, France, to go and I am like to go and contiouou there!

A: How did you decided to choose Turkish language?

Sotia: Because, there are chances of this solution to be eh to be made now so I want to get the chance to communicate with these people! When everything will be ok or whatever, so I like this language!

A: Have you exchanged ideas with your friends?

Sotia: Not really, we didn't go on to discuss that matter with my friends!

A: When you chose Turkish, how other people perceived your choice?

Sotia: Eh, my family supported my decision, they were positive with it!...but there are some teachers in my schools that they are kind of sound really negative, like, "why would you learn language, these people kind of did so much things to us and whatever!"

A: How did you manage to cope with these behaviours?

Sotia: Eh, I just told them that I am going to do what I like because I am gonna do what I like and this is my life and I choose to do this! it is my life!

Language proficiency

A: What is your language level now?

Sotia: It is my first year doing Turkish and so probably beginner let's say!

A: Are you first year of Lyceum?

Sotia: Second year of the Lykeum! It is our first year of Turkish and last year of the Lyceum is last year.

A: Will you choose next year?

Sotia: Yes.

Language education in the class

A: Can you tell me what you learn in Turkish language class?

Sotia: It is about Grammar, Syntax, vocabulary, numbers and that kind of things!

A: Do you learn about poems, common words?

Sotia: We know some words, 'cezve', 'hadde', 'ha siqdir'!

A: Ok

A: Do you compare language you know with the language you learn?

Sotia: Eh, there are some similarities obviously with Greek but there are also eh, and we think it is easy to get the accent! The pronunciation of Turkish because it is probably similar to Cypriot dialect of Greek!

A: When you learn Turkish, whose language do you learn?

(when she hears my question she puts a sarcastic smile on her face three of the girls!)

Sotia: "Turkis people!" *not* Turkish Cypriots!

A: Ok. All right.

Element of culture

A: Do you have element of culture in your activities/materials?

Sotia: Cypriot culture or whatever?

A: Cypriot culture

Sotia: No, we don't really have that probably because we just learn it from the books!

A: Ok! (girls smile)

A: What would they like to learn/know about the Turkish language?

Sotia: They would like to develop more of knowledge about the Turkish culture, like songs and traditions and the staff! because, now they just know the language, they don't really know more deeper things about the Turkish language, and, so when they know it!

Attitude towards language and people

A: When they start learning Turkish language, has this changed your view towards the (language and people)?

Sotia: I just view it as if learning a new language, our opinions did not change on the matter, it was the same as before.

A: Ok

Compulsion in education

A: Should Turkish language be compulsory? What do you think?

Sotia: We think that it should not be compulsory because there are people that don't view in the same way and eh kind of believe that this people have done so much staff to the Cypriots, so we should not force them to know it because they respect that (you) also!

Source of knowledge

A: For example, do you hear Turkish words from your grandparents?

Sotia: It is more from grandparents because they were present at that age and they had a contact with the Turkish Cypriots, so they use this language because they used it before!

A: Do you bring class what you know about Turkish language?

Sotia: We ask our teachers about these words when they here it like if they actually use them today because our grandparents use them before like lot of years ago!

A: Do you compare what you heard from your grandparents and in the class?

Sotia: It is the same! In speaking the words are the same, so we know the difference.

Sotia: Nei, If they know Cypriot, if they don't know, then it would be either English or Turkish although she does not really know about Turkish..!

A: Why Greek? Yiati Kypriaga?

Sotia: It is the language that connect us, the Cypriots, because we live in Cyprus and if they, if they (not clear...old?) Turkish Cypriots, they will probably know Turkish Cypriot so if they both know, there is a communication!

A: eh, that means dialect of Greek?

Sotia: yeah!

A: Greek dialect of Cyprus?

Sotia: Greek dialect of Cyprus yeah but it is not Greek!

A: ha?

Sotia: Greek is! Like, a different in Greece!

A: but, you mean, the language that majority speaks in the south?

Sotia: Yeah! Like we learn Greek in schools, but the dialect we speak in everyday life is the Cypriot!

Attitude and function of language of each other

A: If Turkish Cypriots speak Cypriots, how would you feel?

Sotia: It is a bit strange for us, to be Turkish Cypriot and speak Cypriot, but they would kind of be proud, like that they know the Cypriot dialect!

A: Who will be proud?

Sotia: Us! (my friend and I)

A: What do they think about building relationship with other cultures?

Sotia: It is good to stretch your horizons with people coming from different languages and cultures because you share stuff from your eh from your culture, your traditions and theirs so she feels positive about!

Bicommunal activities

A: Have you ever heard about bi-communal activities?

Sotia: We don't really know that!

A: Have they hear about bi-communal activities between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots?

Sotia: We have never joined and never know what happens?

A: Would they like to join? What kind of activity?

Sotia: I prefer to know the language well and then go on to joining such an organization!

A: If you meet with a Turkish Cypriot at her age, what would you like to ask your peer?

Sotia: I would like to know what is his opinion about this thing going on and not being ok with them let's say after the war! and, I would like to know if they would want for solution to happen, if they would want that! So, we could be friends let's say like before!

A: How do you think people from different backgrounds can get along with each other at the same place?

Sotia: I think that it would work, if both of the parties would want for solution to be made, and that in some way the mistakes that happened in the past can left behind and they would be ok with each other!

A: Can you tell me about your dream Cyprus?

Sotia: Leaving peacefully, supporting each other, accepting each other, working together to solve like the economical problems!

Peace

A: What does 'PEACE' mean to Sotia?

Sotia: I think that it should not be like thinking about yourself, so, in both parties you should try to support each other, like not try to solve the problem seperately, you should be looking out for each other! in order to leave peacefully!

A: Do they know that Turkish Cypriots also show ID?

Sotia: I know that they show it to the Turkish police!

A: Do they know that they show it to this check point?

Sotia: I know that they show it at the both check points!

A: Do you know that Greek is taught in the North?

Sotia: Yeah

A: How do you know?

Sotia: Our teacher told us and you (me) told us!

A: Last week, in your class!

A: Anything you would like to add?

Sotia: I would like for this thing to be solved, sorted out, and I don't want the fear to be there that the war will start going on...! We want it to stop!

A: What do you learn at school for managing this fear?

Sotia: We are taugh about the racism, like we should not be racist or all of that (this and that) but it is not specific as in Turkish, Turkey or whatever!

A: Does that help you to overcome this fear?

Sotia: Eh, it helps because when we were studying racism subject, they told us that all the people are the same and we should not discriminate against each other!

A: How does that match with history lesson and racisim class? What do they question?

Sotia:In history lesson, they do say that more of the bad things going on that used to happen but the teacher tries to point out that we should not be racist, which helps again to know that we should not think/feel in that way!

A: In which class do you learn about racism?

Sotia: It is in the Greek class, the language, that they talked about racism!

A: How many hours?

Sotia: Five hours a week!

A: About racism?

Sotia: No, no. Five times a week Greek and racism comes up as a subject like in the syllabus!

A: Right, Efharista Pollliiii

...

End of excerpt

Appendix 5: Observation in Ms. Derya's classroom in southern Cyprus

High School

Derya's class

Monday: 12:00-12:50

Date: 16/03/2017

Subject: Jobs

Language proficiency: Elementary

-

Class setting

-

Language: 90% of teaching conveyed in Turkish language. The school setting was decorated with Turkish and TRNC flag with the picture of Ataturk. Turkish leader. There were also students' term work, some phrases visualized on the notice boards. There was no element of Greek or GCY culture other than language as a linguistic code.

--

There were 10 students in this class with mix students (2 student from Turkey and rest was Turkish Cypriot).

--

Although students were disruptive, teacher managed to convey the lesson. The teaching materials were found to be boring by students as they complained during the class. The teacher seemed to use intelligent board only for visualizing the workbook and answering the questions. Although teacher's way of carrying out the lesson was very much student-teacher question-answer style, it appeared that this was due to content of the textbook and central education system that requires teachers to stick what they have in the textbook. This seems to limit teachers' creativity and leave a tiny space for teacher initiative.

Appendix 6: Observation in Ms. Katie's classroom in southern Cyprus.

Latsia region High School

Katie's class

Friday: 11:00-12:50

Date: 06/06/2017

Subject: Directions

Language proficiency: Elementary

-

Class setting

-

Language: 90% of teaching conveyed in Greek language. Phrases regarding directions were in Turkish. For instance, "sola don". Teacher is visualizing this physically through her movements. Most of the time she is teaching students how to get out of classroom, turn left and go to another class.

Teacher also uses map of Cyprus and teaches students location of Cyprus and direction to Rhodes and Greece. For instance, Rhodes is Northwest of Cyprus and it is located on the left of the island of Cyprus.

Yiati no skizede....! (Yoanna tells students about the rule in Greek)

Maria says: "Dİ-REEEK" (Yoanna walks out to act out and show students what Right-Left means and practice directions with the students. So, students give directions and she acts out...!)

In the meantime, the teacher approaches the door and one of the students say (Maria) "SAĞA DÖNÜN"...!

Again, Maria gives direction and says "DÖNÜN SOL"...!

Yoanna says: "Po sa ma pou me"; (She expects students to tell. So, she does this

to check and review whether they comprehend what “sola dönün-turn left” is...!)

Followed this instruction and review, teacher expects students’ replies. Here, Charalambous, and Maria join in.

Teacher comes back in and explains Maria why and what she did...! and, Yoanna speaks in Greek language here.

One of the students asked me about traditional dishes in our cuisine in the north. When I mentioned about Molekhia no one was aware. Teachers wanted me to give some info about this dish. She mentioned that she is not familiar with TCY cuisine as she studied in Bulgaria and prefer not to cross the border for ideological reasons. Another observation was that regarding one of the students and her choice of not being religious and practicing the religious customs. At some point (it was easter a week later and they were expected to fast and avoid eating meat and dairy produce). Student was curious to learn religious practice of TCY and how strict their parents with their children. The student proposed that talking about these issues are of their benefit.

This class was a designated language class and students had a good contact with their teacher. So, teacher-student rapport was good at overall and students were engaging in activities. Since this was a designated class, students were able to use intelligent board if they need to learn something. Nevertheless, there was no specific website they can get accurate cultural knowledge about TCY culture. Any info would not be good since cyberspace is full of ethnic division in Cyprus so having a direct link for educational materials, which are filtered could have been essential. I had the same observation in the North whereas while teaching directions teacher was using

Turkey as neighbor of Cyprus and there was no reference to the south. Although teacher was using the intelligent board for textbook activities, it was limited.

Appendix 7: A sample of coding process using Maxqda

The screenshot displays the Maxqda software interface. At the top, there is a menu bar with options: Home, Import, Codes, Variables, Analysis, Mixed Methods, Visual Tools, and Reports. Below the menu is a toolbar with icons for New Project, Open Project, Document System, Code System, Document Browser, Retrieved Segments, Logbook, and Teamwork. To the right of the toolbar are buttons for Save Project As, Save Anonymized Project As, Project from Activated Documents, Merge Projects, Open Exchange File, and Export Exchange File. Below the toolbar is a sidebar with a tree view of codes, including categories like Language and Identity, Source of Knowledge, EXPERIENCE of CONTACT, POLITICS-STUDENTS, ETHNICITY-IDENTITY, History, Refugee in the Family, TCY and GCY STUDENTS M..., IMMIGRATION in the FAMIL..., Greek as a Compulsory Lan..., motivation to study Greek, TARGET CULTURE in TEAC..., What do you think of Greek..., What Students learn in the ..., Experience of Visit-Border c..., Foreign language in Educati..., Status: Optional or Compuls..., Future Cyprus, curiosity about the other, Awareness of dialect of Gre..., optional languages at school, perception of PEACE, How do you know about the..., awareness of bi-communal ..., desire to learn about the oth..., Ana dilim, interrelation of culture-com..., attitudes towards choice of ..., Greek language learning Ex..., visible languages, Experience and Observa..., language and contact-r..., contact with the strangers, and free movement in the island.

The main window shows a table titled "Retrieved Segments" with the following columns: Docume..., Code, Preview, Author, Creation date, Document gro..., Coverage %, Beginning, and End. The table contains 28 rows of data, each representing a segment of text that has been coded. The segments are color-coded by code system. The bottom status bar shows 10 documents, 84 segments, 223 codes, and 0 variables. A search query is visible: "Simple Coding Query (OR combination of codes)".

Docume...	Code	Preview	Author	Creation date	Document gro...	Coverage %	Beginning	End
Yeroskip...	ETHNICITY-IDE...	*Student's que...	afetgune	.../06/2017 12:37	GCY student in...	3.76	10	13
Yeroskip...	History	One of the stud...	afetgune	.../06/2017 12:37	GCY student in...	3.01	14	19
Yeroskip...	motivation to st...	Language and I...	afetgune	.../06/2017 12:38	GCY student in...	2.28	20	23
Yeroskip...	motivation to st...	Turkish Cypriot...	afetgune	.../06/2017 12:38	GCY student in...	3.12	24	30
Yeroskip...	TCY and GCY S...	G: "Do you live ...	afetgune	.../06/2017 12:38	GCY student in...	2.17	31	37
Yeroskip...	POLITICS-STU...	United Cyprus ...	afetgune	.../06/2017 12:39	GCY student in...	4.90	38	40
Yeroskip...	POLITICS-STU...	Politics: Cyprus...	afetgune	.../06/2017 12:39	GCY student in...	10.90	41	48
Yeroskip...	ETHNICITY-IDE...	Language and I...	afetgune	.../06/2017 14:10	GCY student in...	3.12	49	57
Yeroskip...	ETHNICITY-IDE...	Language and I...	afetgune	.../06/2017 14:10	GCY student in...	2.30	59	69
Yeroskip...	curiosity about ...	ead question: T...	afetgune	.../06/2017 16:02	GCY student in...	2.96	70	74
Yeroskip...	ETHNICITY-IDE...	Language and t...	afetgune	.../06/2017 14:17	GCY student in...	8.31	75	84
Yeroskip...	POLITICS-STU...	Question addre...	afetgune	.../06/2017 14:18	GCY student in...	3.07	86	96
Yeroskip...	POLITICS-STU...	My question: A...	afetgune	.../06/2017 14:18	GCY student in...	5.21	97	107
Yeroskip...	ETHNICITY-IDE...	A: When she sa...	afetgune	.../06/2017 14:18	GCY student in...	7.13	108	127
Yeroskip...	TCY and GCY S...	C translates st...	afetgune	.../06/2017 14:20	GCY student in...	14.88	128	154
Yeroskip...	curiosity about ...	Houses Neofyti...	afetgune	.../06/2017 16:02	GCY student in...	17.31	155	171
done Mit...	TCY and GCY S...	We are at the S...	afetgune	.../06/2017 22:15	GCY student in...	1.68	1	7
done Mit...	TCY and GCY S...	We are at the S...	afetgune	.../06/2017 22:15	GCY student in...	1.68	1	7
done Mit...	ETHNICITY-IDE...	*self-identifa...	afetgune	.../06/2017 22:15	GCY student in...	1.55	8	12
done Mit...	TCY and GCY S...	A: Could you t...	afetgune	.../06/2017 22:16	GCY student in...	2.35	13	16
done Mit...	ETHNICITY-IDE...	A: What does C...	afetgune	.../06/2017 22:16	GCY student in...	2.03	17	21
done Mit...	TCY and GCY S...	*Language as a...	afetgune	.../06/2017 22:17	GCY student in...	3.98	22	36
done Mit...	ETHNICITY-IDE...	*Language as a...	afetgune	.../06/2017 22:17	GCY student in...	3.98	22	36
done Mit...	TCY and GCY S...	multicultural C...	afetgune	.../06/2017 22:17	GCY student in...	0.51	37	39
done Mit...	ETHNICITY-IDE...	emerged here: ...	afetgune	.../06/2017 22:17	GCY student in...	4.33	40	50
done Mit...	TCY and GCY S...	***A: "Do you ...	afetgune	.../06/2017 22:18	GCY student in...	2.32	51	58
done Mit...	TCY and GCY S...	emerged here: ...	afetgune	.../06/2017 22:19	GCY student in...	1.76	59	63
done Mit...	TCY and GCY S...	language visibl...	afetgune	.../06/2017 22:19	GCY student in...	0.82	64	68
done Mit...	History	History knowle...	afetgune	.../06/2017 22:19	GCY student in...	3.99	69	80
done Mit...	History	History knowle...	afetgune	.../06/2017 22:19	GCY student in...	1.79	81	89

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