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Cypriot Teachers, Nationalism, Cosmopolitanism and Education:
An Empirical Study

by

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Submitted in Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of
Doctorate in Education

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Abstract

The main aim of this dissertation is to analyse the perceptions of Cypriot teachers regarding a cosmopolitan future for the Cypriot educational system. The principal research question addresses whether an education system based on Hierocles the Stoic's cosmopolitan theory of concentric circles, as developed by Martha Nussbaum could improve understanding among the two main communities of Cyprus, Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots. Teachers are important actors in implementing innovations in the education system. Their perceptions are important and should be researched and taken into account before any innovation is designed and implemented.

This study's methodology deriving from the interpretivist paradigm adopts a hermeneutical, dialectical, perspective with face-to-face interviews being the method for data collection. To this end twelve semi-structured interviews were conducted with Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot teachers. Thematic analysis of the interviews revealed the perceptions of Cypriot teachers regarding Nationalism and Cosmopolitanism in education, the most important of which are:

- The positive perceptions of teachers towards any change in the educational system that embraces respect, tolerance and empathy among the people of Cyprus. The name of the educational system is not as important to them since, as the research showed, they are not familiar with the concept of Cosmopolitanism.
- The strong feelings of injustice among the teachers of Cyprus increased by the absence of any measures of restorative and social justice in education and society, after the conflict between the two communities and the Turkish invasion in 1974. The concealment of truth especially with regard to recent events of Cypriot history is a potent factor.
- Teachers believe that Nationalism is an important element in Cypriot society and education. Nonetheless, they do not believe that is cultivated through the official curriculum but rather through the unofficial, implicit, curriculum. They consider the individual classroom teacher as the most important agent in cultivating or resisting Nationalism in education.
- The teachers preserve a strong affiliation towards their own (specific) national identity which should be taken into account in implementing a respectful and tolerant

educational system and at the same time believe that a civic identity should be cultivated through education to help the people of Cyprus integrate to a common state regardless of their ethnicity.

- Cypriot teachers are supportive of teaching the other community's language in public schools. They believe that it is an obligation of the State which derives from the constitution of the Republic of Cyprus and that it will increase communication and collaboration among the people of Cyprus.

The results of the study are of value to current debates, between those involved in the negotiations for a solution to the Cyprus conflict, with respect to the ways Cypriot education could contribute to increasing understanding and communication among Greek and Turkish Cypriots. This implies that some level of cooperation is needed between the two educational authorities in finding new means of communication, which could involve the adoption of common general objectives based on respect, tolerance and empathy. Results show that the individual teacher is considered important and reveal the willingness of teachers to explore educational objectives based on respect tolerance and empathy. These outcomes demonstrate the need for empowering teachers and supporting them in their efforts to apply the objectives of respect, tolerance and empathy to the schools of Cyprus.

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Abbreviations

The Cyprus conflict/dispute/problem/issue/situation: The Cyprus dispute, also known as the Cyprus conflict, Cyprus issue, or Cyprus problem, is an ongoing dispute between Greek Cypriots, Turkey and Turkish Cypriots.

GCs : Greek Cypriots

TCs: Turkish Cypriots

EU: European Union

UN: United Nations

MOECYS: Ministry of Education, Culture, Youth and Sports (formerly MOEC)

TRNC: Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus

EOKA: National Organisation of Cypriot Fighters (A nationalist group which commenced armed struggle against the British colonialists from 1955 to 1960 aiming for ‘Enosis’ the unification of Cyprus with motherland Greece)

AHDR: Association for Historical Dialogue and Research

IDPs: Internally Displaced Persons

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Personal Statement

The current situation in Cyprus seems difficult and discouraging. Ethnic Nationalism is dominant, as an ideology and a discourse, in Cypriot society. Any attempt at articulating an alternative voice is treated as unpatriotic and stigmatised by authorities, institutions and persons who consider themselves guardians of Hellenism or Turkism on the island. This division is apparent within the educational system of Cyprus which is separate for the two communities of the island, Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots. A good case can be made that Ethnic Nationalism was the main cause of the conflict between the people of Cyprus and education served as an agent for cultivating Nationalism. Within the context of Nationalism, researching a Cosmopolitan future for Cypriot education can present several challenges that the researcher needs to overcome. Also, conducting research within one's own personal space could create issues regarding the objectivity of the researcher and generalizability of the results.

When discussing objectivity, it is important to discuss the fact that human nature influences all research. While some researchers might argue that their research is objective, it is reasonable to assume that no research is truly objective. What does this mean? Researchers have to make choices about what to research, how they will conduct their research, who will pay for their research, and how they will present their research conclusions to others. These choices are influenced by the motives and material resources of researchers. Three factors, among others, motivate the choices one makes when conducting research: 1) The intended outcomes, 2) theoretical preferences, and 3) methodological preferences.

1. The intended outcomes:

- a. My motivation regarding the intended outcomes of this dissertation derived from personal and professional reasons. Personally, I was born a couple of years before the Turkish invasion of 1974. As a child I have witnessed the atrocities committed by the Turkish Army and Turkish-Cypriot militia and relived, through the narration of family members, the pain, agony and loss of loved ones. My father was captured by Turkish-Cypriot militia and was killed in cold blood alongside several members of my family. Their remains were buried in a mass grave and they were considered as missing persons until 2013

when they were returned to us for burial. My family, like many Cypriot families, has paid a heavy price and still carries the conflict-induced trauma. So, one of the main reasons I selected this area of study rests in my concern about a recurrence of the conflict. I do not want, in any way, the younger generations of Cyprus to experience the pain and the trauma that my generation has endured. I want my children and all the children in Cyprus to grow in a peaceful, respectful environment, tolerant of the other cultures, communicating and collaborating with the other people of the island regardless of their ethnic origin. I believe that education could offer the foundations for the younger generations to live peacefully in Cyprus and that the Cosmopolitan theory of the concentric circles can offer a framework towards the implementation of respect, tolerance and empathy.

- b. The second reason is professional. As a teacher in the educational system of Cyprus for the past twenty seven years I have a real concern about education and the way several aspects of Nationalism are cultivated through the educational system. Unfortunately, education is an afterthought in the minds of those negotiating a solution to the Cyprus problem and teachers are rarely asked about important issues that affect their professional practice. It is therefore important to allow the teacher's voice to be heard and their perceptions investigated, especially regarding an issue that will affect not only their professional but their personal life as well. Allowing the teachers to have their voices heard would empower them and allow them to proceed with teaching the values of respect, tolerance and empathy. This would enable the people of Cyprus, regardless of their ethnicity, to communicate and collaborate in an effective and productive manner that could allow them to generate new and innovative ideas that would lead to a solution to the problem of Cyprus.

2. The theoretical preferences

- a. When deciding on the theoretical framework of the research, important decisions were made regarding the way several theories, which are proposed in literature as alternatives of Nationalism could be applied in the context of Cyprus. Even though the analysis did not 'dive' too deeply in those theories,

the reasons as to why they were dismissed for Cyprus were clear. The theories proposed in literature as alternatives of Nationalism were: Multiculturalism, Civic Nationalism, Constitutional Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism. Each of the theories presented some advantages and disadvantages but the main concern that needed to be answered was whether they were applicable in the immediate Cypriot context.

- b. Multiculturalism, especially the closed form which passively tolerates different cultures and encourages ethnic separation through separate schools and monolingual media for each community, is the system currently applied in Cyprus. It was used to divide the people of Cyprus because it encouraged division and ethnic isolation.
- c. Civic Nationalism could work in a nation-state with years of democratic tradition with the institutions that protect the citizen's rights and dignity. Unfortunately, Cyprus is a young state (created in 1960) and its institutions are not mature enough to guarantee the protection of human rights of every citizen regardless of their ethnic origin.
- d. Constitutional Patriotism relies on a constitution that embraces universal values. The Cypriot constitution was not a product of deliberation among the people of Cyprus but was drafted and presented by the countries which agreed to create the Republic of Cyprus. In that sense it does not represent the ideals and aspirations of the people of Cyprus but it focused on the division of power among them which led to conflict.
- e. Cosmopolitanism was chosen because it is based on the universal values of respect, tolerance and empathy. It pursues justice and human dignity for all. Additionally, Cosmopolitanism, and especially the Concentric Circles Theory, can be applied through education because it is represented by a geometrical model with the individual in the centre. This model corresponds to the stages of human and moral development starting from the care and respect for the

self, moving outwards to the family, the community, the nation and finally humanity. Additionally, the concentric circles theory represents a thin form of Cosmopolitanism which allows the individual to keep the local and national affiliations while drawing the outer circles of humanity closer to the centre.

3. The methodological preferences

- a. Decisions that affected the research were taken when the methodology was decided. These decisions regarded the selection of the participants, the ethics of the researcher and the language of the research. As far as the participants were concerned, the research design included both Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot teachers. Including teachers from both communities was important to me because I wanted to investigate whether the teacher's community of Cyprus shared similar concerns and aspirations regardless of their ethnic origin. Regarding the participation of Turkish-Cypriots, several issues emerged which I had not anticipated. First, the reluctance of the Turkish-Cypriot teachers to be interviewed by a Greek-Cypriot researcher created an issue of reaching the minimum number of interviews. Only a small number of Turkish-Cypriot teachers responded positively to my request for an interview. Additionally, the Turkish-Cypriot participants were approached through Greek-Cypriot friends which might indicate that they were already positively predisposed towards Greek-Cypriots.

- b. Decisions were made concerning the ethics of the researcher which influenced the research. The most important ethical decision I had to take was whether I should apply to the educational authorities of the so called Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus for permission to visit some Turkish-Cypriot schools in the occupied part of Cyprus and interview teachers there. I decided not to apply to the Turkish-Cypriot authorities because, given the political and my personal/family history as recounted above, I did not want to recognise in any way the State that was declared there. Moreover, in the current context of Nationalism issues of personal safety and the risk of public humiliation deterred me from pursuing interviews through the Turkish-Cypriot authorities.

- c. Language was another issue in which decisions regarding the research might have influenced the quality of the research. Since I was self-funded, I had limited resources for conducting the research. That is why I decided not to use a translator for the research but conducted the interviews in English, thus favouring Turkish-Cypriot teachers who were fluent in English. This resulted in acquiring less robust data from the Turkish-Cypriots than the Greek-Cypriots who were interviewed in their first language. Additionally, the transcription of the Greek-Cypriot interviews from Greek to English presented issues that an experienced translator might have solved more efficiently than I was.

Each researcher conveys to the research values, personal and professional experience and biases that affect every part of the research. Also, the political context in which the research is conducted influences in a similar manner. As far as this dissertation is concerned, the factors influenced regarded the intended outcomes, the theoretical preferences and the methodological preferences. The intended outcomes were influenced by my personal/family story during the Turkish invasion in Cyprus and my professional identity as a teacher in Greek-Cypriot schools for the past twenty seven years. The theoretical preferences were motivated by the dominant position of Nationalism in Cypriot society and education and the need for alternative theories which could lead to innovative solutions regarding the Cyprus problem. Finally, the methodological preferences were determined by my ethics as a researcher and the need for including both Turkish-Cypriot and Greek-Cypriot teachers in the dissertation.

Author's Declaration

I declare that, except where explicit reference is made to the contribution of others, that this dissertation is the result of my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree at the University of Glasgow or any other institution.

Printed Name: Frangis Frngopoulos

Signature:

Chapter 1: Introduction

The main aim of the dissertation is to investigate and analyse the perceptions of Cypriot teachers towards a cosmopolitan future for the Cypriot educational system based on Hierocles the Stoic's (2nd century AD) cosmopolitan theory of concentric circles as developed by Martha Nussbaum (1994, 2007). This theory advocates the cosmopolitan values of respect, tolerance and empathy without having to abandon communal and cultural characteristics such as nationality, religion, cultural identity and tradition (Nussbaum, 1994, 2007; Enslin, 2011). Teachers are important actors for implementing any innovation in the education system (Geijsel et al., 2001; Gorozidis and Papaioannou, 2014) therefore their perceptions are important and should be researched and taken into account before reforms are designed and implemented.

Ethnic Nationalism has been the dominant ideology in Cyprus for the past century (Kizilyurek, 1993, Mavratsas, 2000, Loizides, 2007). It is considered to be one of the primary sources of conflict between the two main communities of the island, the Greek and Turkish Cypriots (Richmond, 1999). Education was used as an instrument for enforcing the segregation because it reproduces and enhances Nationalism using generalisations which are often adopted in the formal narrative of a society (Spyrou, 2006, 2011; Yemini, Bar-Nissan, and Shavit, 2014). Johnson (2007:17) argues that for those familiar with the socio-political context of Cyprus it is obvious that far beyond the political negotiations for a settlement there, persists a 'fundamental need for comprehensive energies to be devoted toward building trust, mutual understanding, a sense of restorative justice and interdependence within and between the Turkish-Cypriot and Greek-Cypriot communities'. It is necessary, therefore, to investigate how education can help the two main communities of Cyprus overcome their ethnic differences, achieve meaningful reconciliation and work towards the unification of the island.

The present study aims to shed light into three areas of teacher's perceptions:

a) The current situation in Cyprus regarding society and education,

- b) The existence of Nationalism in schools and the ways it is shaping the identity of teachers and students and
- c) The possibility of a cosmopolitan education system and the perspective of a cosmopolitan future for Cyprus.

1.1 Purpose of the Study and Research Questions

The main purpose of the research is to investigate the perceptions of Cypriot teachers regarding a cosmopolitan future for education in Cyprus. To this end, the research attempts to address the following questions through a systematic conceptual study of relevant literature and an empirical study of teachers' perceptions of the theory of Cosmopolitanism as outlined above:

1. What are the perceptions of the Cypriot teachers about the current situation in Cyprus regarding the political problem and the relations between the two communities?
2. What are the perceptions of the Cypriot teachers about Nationalism in society and education?
3. What are the perceptions of the Cypriot teachers regarding national and civic identity and the image of the people of the other community?
4. What are the perceptions of the Cypriot teachers regarding confidence building measures through education such as teaching the other community's language as part of the national curriculum or the creation of integrated schools?
5. What are the perceptions of the Cypriot teachers about Cosmopolitanism?
6. What are the perceptions of the Cypriot teachers regarding the implementation of a curriculum based on Cosmopolitan values?

Based on these research questions, I was able to reach some conclusions about the possibility of implementing Cosmopolitan values in the curriculum and the degree of acceptance by the teachers to this significant paradigm shift.

1.2 The Political Background of the Study

The Cyprus problem, as it is commonly known, is a conflict in Cyprus that has remained unsolved for almost sixty years since the Republic of Cyprus was established in 1959. The two main communities of Cyprus, the majority Greek-Cypriots and the minority Turkish-Cypriots, driven mainly by nationalistic ideals, engaged in conflict supported by their respective motherlands, Greece and Turkey. The Greek-Cypriots demands concern the unification of the island with Greece and the Turkish-Cypriots argue for dividing the island between Greece and Turkey (Mavratsas, 1997, 2004; Loizides, 2007). During this conflict, many atrocities were committed and many people were killed or went missing. The atrocities continued sporadically until 1974 when Turkey invaded the island forcing about one hundred and sixty thousand Greek-Cypriots to leave their towns and villages in the North of the island and move to the Southern part as internally displaced persons (IDPs) while about forty five thousand Turkish-Cypriots were also displaced in the opposite direction (Richmond, 1999; Papadakis, 2005). Many people were killed as a result of the conflict and more than two thousand individuals from each side were declared missing. Most of them are still missing, prolonging the trauma and the pain of their families. The two communities were living in total separation for about thirty years until 2003 when the so-called Turkish Republic of North Cyprus (TRNC), which was formed in 1983 and is recognised only by Turkey, opened the barricades allowing transition from one part of Cyprus to the other. Since then many efforts for finding a comprehensive solution to the problem have been initiated without any success. The most important effort was the so called Anan Plan in 2004, a comprehensive solution of the problem proposed by the Secretary General of the United Nations at the time, Kofi Anan, put to referenda by the two communities with the Greek-Cypriots voting negatively and the Turkish-Cypriots voting in favour (Hadjipavlou, 2007). Since then negotiations for a solution have continued without any tangible results (Yiangou, 2014; Theodoulou, 2016; Dagli, 2017). This ongoing conflict has implications for education in Cyprus.

1.3 Rationale of the Study

Apple (2015:305) argues that education is an integral part of society characterised by a key set of social, economic, political and personal relations and should be treated as every place in which people and power interact. Education and society are 'interconnected' (Francois, 2015:1) and what happens to society affects education and vice versa. Education should act

as the gadfly in the Socratic metaphor (Gregoriou, 2004) in keeping people alert in pursuing truth and justice despite negative reactions by people or institutions within a society. Educators, especially in conflicted or post-conflicted areas, often feel powerless and overwhelmed by the negative reactions of society towards their efforts of teaching the values of respect, tolerance and empathy to their students. It is therefore essential to empower teachers, emotionally and professionally, and allow their voice to be heard regarding educational, social and national issues, in areas of conflict like Cyprus, to achieve a positive change in society.

Education in Cyprus was traditionally under the authority of each of the two communities and was created largely in the image of their motherland's education system leading to a culture which fostered aspects of Nationalism (Spyrou, 2011; Zembylas, 2016). A good case can be made that separate education systems cultivated two separate forms of Nationalism which was one of the main factors that led to conflict and the separation of the people and the island (Richmond, 1999; Trimikliniotis, 2004). In the current educational system, any solution agreed by the leaders of the two communities is not guaranteed success since suspicion is high between many people of the two communities (Johnson, 2007). In order to reduce the levels of suspicion actions must be taken beyond the political field. Education could be transformed into the meeting ground of the two main communities of Cyprus, and through education, respectful relations could be built among their members. These relations could lead to the creation of a positive climate towards a just solution to the perpetuating problem of Cyprus.

An educational system based on the principles of respect, tolerance and empathy with a clear vision towards the political unification of the people and the island could, in time, create the necessary circumstances for the unification of the island and the people, leading, hopefully, to a just and lasting peace. A new educational system, based on the theory of the concentric circles of affection as introduced by the Stoic philosopher Hierocles (2nd century AD) and developed by Martha Nussbaum (1994, 2007) could provide the necessary foundations for a re-evaluation of the educational structures and thus offer some encouragement to those seeking the unification of the people of Cyprus. The concentric circles theory was chosen because it represents a thin form of Cosmopolitanism which: a) allows the individual, who is

at the centre of the model, to keep family, community and national affiliations; b) at the same time, through education, provides the necessary confidence for students to draw the outer circles of humanity closer to the self; c) it is a theory which provides a visual, geometrical model, using circles of affection that can be easily explained and understood. It is necessary to stress that the current research is not an evaluative study of the concentric circles theory nor does it aim to analyse in depth the details of Stoic philosophy. Also, the theory is used as a tool to interrogate, through the answers of the participants, the dystopian reality of the present which strengthens the inner circles of self, family, community and nation, in contrast to the utopian, cosmopolitan vision of the future which allows the outer circles of humanity to be drawn closer to the centre. Teachers are in the front line of the change process (Moran, 1997 cited in Gray, 2001) and their perceptions regarding the proposed change are essential in providing the first indications as to the possible success, or otherwise, of changing the educational principles of the educational system from Nationalism to Cosmopolitanism.

Finally, while there is significant literature covering the area of Nationalism in society and education, and the area of Peace Education towards a solution to the problem of Cyprus, there is very little research connecting Cosmopolitanism and cosmopolitan education to the issue of Cyprus. Additionally, there is little research covering the perceptions of teachers towards issues like Nationalism, national and civic identity and of course Cosmopolitanism in the educational system of Cyprus. This research aims to cover a small part of this deficiency by attempting to connect Nationalism, Cosmopolitanism, education and the problem of conflict in Cyprus through the perceptions of Cypriot teachers.

1.4 Overview of the Dissertation

The dissertation has been organised into six chapters. Following this chapter which is Chapter One, Introduction, five chapters discuss the content as described below:

In Chapter Two, I will critically review literature on Nationalism and its alternatives focusing on Cosmopolitanism. I elaborate on works by Benedict Anderson, John Hutchinson and Ernest Gellner to introduce the theory of Nationalism and establish the ambiguity of the concept as a driving force for both positive and negative actions. The presentation of some alternatives to Nationalism based on the works of Will Kymlicka, Jürgen Habermas, Martha Nussbaum and Marianna Papastephanou and an investigation of identity formation in the context of Nationalism are presented. Finally the bilateral relationship between education and both Nationalism and Cosmopolitanism is examined through the works of John Dewey and Gerard Delanty.

In Chapter Three, I will explain the methodology used in this study. The interpretive paradigm has been selected as the most appropriate for investigating the perceptions of Cypriot teachers regarding a possible cosmopolitan future for the education of Cyprus. Twelve face to face, in depth interviews were conducted as data collection tools with Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot teachers in a three to one proportion relatively, which approximately represents the population proportion of Cyprus regarding the two communities.

In Chapter Four, I will present the results of the interviews based on the research questions and introduce the themes and sub-themes that have risen from the analysis, which reveal the perceptions of Cypriot teachers towards a Cosmopolitan future for Cypriot education. I will structure this chapter around the six research questions indicated above.

In Chapter Five, I critically analyse each of the themes and sub-themes that arose from the analysis and their connection to education. Issues of justice, transitional and social, were investigated and the ways education could contribute to their implementation. Moreover, the issue of Nationalism in society and education was analysed as well as the ways teachers'

identity is influenced. Finally, the concept of Cosmopolitanism is discussed and the application of a cosmopolitan education system based on the values of respect, tolerance and empathy towards others is considered.

In Chapter Six, I will offer my conclusions regarding the findings of the research, and discuss the contribution to knowledge, alongside several limitations of the research and recommendations for the educational authorities, the teachers of Cyprus and further research. Finally, I will reflect on the ways my personal and professional identity and practice have been challenged and changed by this study.

Chapter 2: Literature Review: Nationalism, Cosmopolitanism, Identity and Education

Introduction

In Chapter Two, I will critically explore literature about the various approaches to Nationalism and how they influence and are influenced by education. Alternatives to Nationalism are investigated, with Cosmopolitanism presented as the most promising one because it can be connected efficiently to the education system and through the values it represents can foster peace and reconciliation among people.

This shallow but broad engagement with the sources as reflected in the present chapter stems from the vast field of literature which is available. Given the necessary restrictions presented by length, I opted to focus on selected key texts and ideas in the field of Multiculturalism, Civic Nationalism and Constitutional Patriotism, rather than expand within the theories, since each of the theories identified above, could occupy a researcher for a lifetime of work. These theories provide arguments that would make them ideal alternatives to Nationalism in different circumstances. Nonetheless, for the purpose of this dissertation, the theories mentioned above were presented and evaluated according to their capacity to support respect, tolerance and empathy, among the people of Cyprus.

Through the critical investigation of literature Nationalism, Cosmopolitanism and Education are linked to Cyprus and the Cypriot Education System. Moreover, issues of identity and the ways national identity is formed, through families and education, are explored.

2.1 Nationalism

According to the Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (2014) the term 'Nationalism' is mainly used to describe two general ideas: the attitude that the members of a nation have when they care about their national identity and the actions that the members of a nation take when seeking to achieve (or sustain) self-determination. Hutchinson (2000) emphasises the fact that Nationalism is Janus-faced: at its worst oriented towards an ancient, imaginary in most cases, ethnic past while at its best mobilising communities towards collective autonomy and progress.

In 1861 John Stuart Mills (cited in Varouxakis, 2008) stated that a part of humanity could be considered to be a nation if its members are connected with common feelings of solidarity, which are absent in other groups. Due to these sentiments the members of the nation are more willing to co-exist and have a common government. That government should derive from the members of that nation. Benedict Anderson (1991), a political scientist who according to Chan (2015) transformed the study of Nationalism, considers the nation to be an imagined community which is created in the minds of the people through the cultivation and mediation of a number of institutions and processes including schools, public monuments, historical sites, and patriotic ceremonies. John Hutchinson (2000), a scholar and deputy editor of *Nations and Nationalism*, argues that the nation-state is a secular, political unit filled with ideas of popular sovereignty, with established borders controlled by a central state, culturally consistent and products of a linear process through which land and people were gradually incorporated.

Nationalism can be seen as a ‘top-down process’ of distribution of national ideas empowered by social developments and it is often conveyed by institutions like state schools and church (Gellner, 1983). The essence of Nationalism is the creation of myths regarding ones community, country or nation, myths that act as hegemonic stereotypes to any attempt of challenging the commonly accepted truth (Schue, 2008; Michael, 2010). It is a ‘slippery concept’ (The Economist, 2016a) which can assume various forms. At its best, Nationalism can take the form of a civic movement connecting people with different race, religion and origin, with common values and aspirations as was the right of colonies to demand self-determination by the colonial powers, or the human rights movement (Newman, 2000; Coller, 2006). At its worst, it takes the form of chauvinism which assumes that the deepest attachments are passed to people not by choice but by birth and that an imagined national community defines the individual, an approach usually leading to racial, ethnic or religious segregation of people (Yack, 2001, Anderson, 2002).

The nationalist’s field of play can often be driven by emotion and simplicity. It aims directly at the emotional centre of people and offers simplistic assumptions based on the binary choice of ‘we’ and ‘they’. For example, we are victims-they are perpetrators; we are civilised – they are barbarians; we did nothing wrong – they did everything wrong (McLaughlin, 1996;

Heaney, 2013). As Conor (1994 cited in Muller 2008:20) asserted, 'It is not what is, but what people believe is that has behavioural consequences'. Nationalism is often comparable to an authoritarian religion because it guides the thoughts and actions of individuals in the same way as an authoritarian religion or an extreme political creed. Both rely heavily on symbols, lead to the believing of myths and stories as universal truth allowing, in some cases, little room for rationality and disagreement (Hayes, 1961, Van de Veer, 2013).

2.1.2 The Fall and Rise of Nationalism

Nationalism is based on the assumptions that the human race is by nature divided into nations which are distinguished by race, language and/or religion and that the only form of governance is self-determination where every nation is a sovereign state. Nation-states are considered to be the result of modernisation or rationalisation since nations were conceived when the world moved from culturally and linguistically diverse empires and kingdoms towards the creation of monolingual, culturally and religiously uniform, nation states (Hutchinson, 2000). Shapiro (2016) explains that Nationalism was enhanced through the economic circumstances of the industrial revolution and the creation of economic communities of people who wanted a common language, religion, customs and narratives in order to function as a community.

The notion of the nation-state was widely accepted and pursued throughout the most of the twentieth century. In more recent years however, and especially after the Second World War, Nationalism was ignored as a topic in political philosophy, written off as a relic from bygone times (Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, 2014). It was believed that nation-states would abandon their sovereignty and join in new coalitions, assisted by a globalised economy (Godfrey, 2008; Abdulsattar, 2013). The weakening of the nation-state and the trend to transcend the nation globally were intended to be realised through military, financial, communicative and cultural interchange (Garrett, 1997). Some nation-states, willingly or not, have lost a part of their sovereignty since they were not able to regulate and influence domestic affairs, such as military, economy, and foreign affairs. In the context of globalisation, nation-states transferred many of their authorities to various supranational organisations such as the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) in matters of military power and defence, and the European Union in mostly financial matters (Grinin, 2012;

Dasgupta, 2018). Under globalisation, the nation is functionally and symbolically shrinking while the state is preserved as an administrative mechanism for local authority on one hand and global cooperation regarding globally concerning matters such as terrorism on the other (Cable, 1995; Resina, 2003). The state's citizens have come to belong to wider supra-national cultural frames making it difficult to preserve their national identity. The concept of a unified world, the development of communications and the increase in multinational flows disconnect the nation from the homeland and does not allow the creation of a common imaginary community as a symbolic and functional entity with common stories and myths (Steinvorth, 2016).

Despite the predictions for its downfall, Nationalism escalated during the early 1990s when the United Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR) and especially Yugoslavia collapsed because of lurking Nationalism (among other reasons) leading, in some places, to civil wars with many casualties (Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, 2014). In more recent years there is a turn towards Nationalism as we are witnessing a rise of nationalistic movements winning referendums and elections in countries around the world. The election of Donald Trump in the United States of America, the riots in the Spanish province of Catalonia demanding independence from the central, national government, and the positive vote of the people of the United Kingdom for exiting from the EU are examples of rising Nationalism in the so called western world. Ulrich Steinvorth (2016:177) recognises the 'seductive relationship' between the nation-state and the monopoly of power that it includes. Nation-states are fighting to preserve their power, in contrast to supra-national organisations that wish to reduce that power. Kaldor (2004:162) identified this trend as a 'new Nationalism' that is threatening the world for the first time since the Second World War. Leaders of several countries embrace the idea that foreign affairs compete with national ones and that the local should prevail over the global (The Economist, 2016b).

2.1.2 The Levels of Nationalism

Audi (2009), in measuring Nationalism proposes three levels:

1. Extreme Nationalism, in which everything that is even slightly prosperous for the nation is preferable even if it is extremely damaging to others. It can be encapsulated in the phrase 'my country, right or wrong' (Audi, 2009:367). In extreme Nationalism

love of country is considered a basic virtue, one that is inherit to people and allows for overcoming moral obstacles for the benefit of one's nation.

2. In moderate Nationalism, ones nation has priority over other nations but not absolute priority. People are willing to put aside secondary benefits for their nation if there is an urgent need in another nation. Audi (2009:369) presents the example of grain exports to starving countries even if this results to a slight increase in the price of bread domestically.
3. Finally, minimal Nationalism is the mildest condition for someone to be called a nationalist. A minimal nationalist would serve and acknowledge the interests of its country to the same degree as to the interests of others.

Some researchers (Yack, 2001; Kreuzer, 2006; Reifowitz, 2014) argue that Nationalism can be divided into a 'good' Civic or Liberal Nationalism and a 'bad' Ethnic Nationalism. Brubaker (2009) states that, even though Antoni Smith in his book 'Theories of Nationalism' (1983) identified many overlapping distinctions of Nationalism, there are only two main categories: Civic and Ethnic Nationalism. Civic Nationalism is characterised as liberal, voluntarist and inclusive in contrast to Ethnic Nationalism, which is illiberal, ascriptive, particularistic and exclusive. Others, (Habermas, 1992; Nussbaum, 2008) use the term Patriotism following an adjective like constitutional, republican or purified to declare their opposition to, and distinction from, extreme forms of Nationalism. These two concepts, Nationalism and Patriotism, are often used with similar meaning while other times are contradictory. Takeuchi et al. (2016) argue that Nationalism is understood in comparison and contrast with other nations while Patriotism is independent of comparisons with others. Viroli (1997:2) states that Patriotism is primarily connected to republic, democracy and the institutions that sustain it while Nationalism refers to ethnic, racial and religious homogeneity. He argues that whereas the enemies of republican patriotism are tyranny, despotism, oppression, and corruption, the enemies of Nationalism are cultural contamination, heterogeneity, racial impurity, and social, political, and intellectual disunion. The French president Emmanuel Macron, in a speech (November, 2018) during the National Armistice Day, honouring the victims of the First World War, said that Nationalism is the betrayal of Patriotism arguing that Nationalism was the main cause behind the atrocities which occurred during the First World War. Patriotism as Civic Nationalism is investigated further as an alternative of Nationalism in the next part of the literature review.

Hearn (2004:6) argues that since Nationalism is an ambiguous concept, we should be aware of our prejudice and the fundamental assumptions we have. Each person has a different way of recognising and defining Nationalism. On the primal level, Nationalism is identified as a feeling made of passions, emotions and sentiments, deeply subjective and thus irrational. On a psychological level, it is recognised as a provider of identity which fulfils the fundamental human need for belonging to a group. Nationalism is also seen as an ideology which fosters self-determination and could spread to entire populations creating a shared purpose that directs collective behaviour. In that sense Nationalism can be seen as a social movement that organises people to achieve nationalistic goals or even a historical process which is embedded in human societies starting from early communities with shared interests and moving towards the great nation states with common language, religion and race.

On the other hand, extreme Ethnic Nationalism could lead to conflict and atrocities among states or communities with ample examples around the world, Cyprus being one of them. It is necessary to have a closer look at Ethnic Nationalism which is the dominant conception of Nationalism in Cyprus and one of the major factors that created the issue of Cyprus.

2.1.3 Ethnic Nationalism Globally and Locally

The nation is a nebulous concept: Janus-faced (Nussbaum, 2012), easily manipulated and diverted with inherent and ambivalent character (Palonen, 2018). Muller (2008) asserts that the centre of the ethnic nationalist idea is that nations are shaped by a mutual heritage, which usually includes a common language, a faith, and ethnic ancestry. Smith (1983) explains that the basic elements in regards to the origin of the nation is first of all a named human population such as the Greeks or the Turks, with a myth of common ancestry which may or may not be genetic and on most occasions is perceived as a metaphor. Moreover, shared memories which are cultivated through historic narratives emphasise some aspects and persons while silencing others. History, in some cases, derives from myths and stories, rather than actual facts and is used to serve the nationalist narration such as the William Tell story for the Swiss nation (Heehs, 1994), or the myths of the ‘Founding Fathers’ of the American Nation and the ‘Promised Land’ of the first European settlers in America (Paul, 2014).

The creation of Ethnic Nationalism is often based on the existence of an arch-enemy whom the nation has fought for many years, with many heroic battles and great heroes whose triumph or death is a main theme of poems and stories, passed on from generation to generation (Kramer, 1997). Through these battles, songs and national celebrations, a common perception is formed to the people of a nation, firstly that their arch-enemy has caused many sufferings to the nation's people and secondly that they should be ready to fight at any given time in order to defend their nation (Zembylas, 2016:20). Ethnic Nationalism fills the motivational and solidarity gap between the members of a community who feel responsible for one another (Baumaister, 2007:485). Cultural elements, like food, dress, music, customs but most importantly religion and language, are used to justify the linkage between the people of a nation. In addition to this, a connection with a historic territory or homeland and a measure of solidarity, serve as a unification factor. As far as Cyprus is concerned, based on religion, language, culture and common ancestry, Ethnic Nationalism has divided people who shared a common space (Apostolides, 2018).

Ethnic Nationalism can be more dangerous when new states are formed and ethnically diverse populations are included in the boundaries of a state, or when formerly federations of states are dissolved and could lead to fierce conflict with many casualties. Examples of conflicts occurred because of Ethnic Nationalism (among other reasons) can be found all over the world, from Bosnia-Herzegovina to Rwanda, and from Kashmir to Cyprus and elsewhere. All events were disastrous to these countries' people (Morag, 2004; Franovic, 2008).

With regard to Cyprus, Marianna Papastephanou (Peters and Papastephanou, 2013:125) asserts 'when your country's name is also the name of an international problem', a brief overview of one of the main causes of the problem, Ethnic Nationalism, is essential. As Mavratsas (1997:717), states, Nationalism is the dominant political ideology in the modern history of Cyprus assuming the status of hegemony. As some researchers (Papadakis, 2005, Mavratsas, 2004, Loizides, 2007) point out, until the late nineteenth century, Turkish and Greek Cypriots were not ethnically conscious and many of the uprisings that happened during the Ottoman rule of the island (1571-1878) were commonly organised and executed and had economic demands, like lower taxation and corruption from Ottoman officials on the island.

In fact, many villages in Cyprus were of mixed population, partly Greek and partly Turkish Cypriots.

Intense bi-communal distrust and violence can be traced back in the 1950's a time when freedom movements around the world were demanding liberation from colonial powers. Greek-Cypriot nationalists commenced armed struggle against the British Empire which ruled Cyprus. The nationalist struggle for unification with Greece led to the development of an opposing nationalist movement among Turkish-Cypriots who demanded the separation of the island between Turkey and Greece. The two opposing nationalist movements were forced to cooperate, with catastrophic results, when the British Government created, with the agreement of Greece and Turkey, the Republic of Cyprus in 1960. Mavratsas (2000:197) argues that the imposed solution was an unorthodox way of solving the problem because it preserved the Greek-Cypriot nationalistic desire for *Enosis*, unification with Greece, while at the same time Turkish-Cypriot nationalists were preparing for *taksim*, the separation of the island. As Richmond (1999:43) argues, 'both communities in Cyprus are the victims of each other, each other's motherland, and also the failings of the international system itself'. Even though this part of the study is focused on Ethnic Nationalism of the two main communities of Cyprus, Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots, as Mavratsas (2000:198) states, Nationalism is only partly responsible for the Cyprus problem since it would be 'naïve to disregard the role of Great Britain, the United States of America, the Greek junta which ruled Greece between 1967 and 1974 and, Turkish expansionism' which is apparent through the years and continues today.

2.2 Alternatives to Nationalism

Valenta (2012) and Kymlicka (2002) argue that the real question is not to find one single alternative to Nationalism but to provide the answer to hundreds of smaller questions arising from everyday life. The smaller decisions to be made about education, immigration, citizenship, language policies, symbols, settlement decisions, legal structures, and so on are the ones representing the politics of each state and reflect the life of its citizens. They reflect the degree of commonality and homogeneity but also the measure of tolerance and diversity. Decisions on these issues are not necessarily consistent and could be interpreted in different ways. A decision on one topic can be inclusive/tolerant while on another issue could be

perceived as nationalistic. This is why any attempts to categorise groups as either ‘civic’ or ‘ethnic’ obscure this more contested and fluid reality.

As Yuval-Davis (2003) argues, people are becoming more and more ethnically conscious and a hidden Ethnic Nationalism is lurking beneath the tolerant surface, eager to emerge whenever a problem arises. Even liberal democracies, on occasion, turn to Nationalism in order to defend their conquests denying to minorities what is considered as a human right for the majority. As Miscevic (2002) claims, the demands for separation by minorities are not spontaneous expressions of a permanent and natural desire but usually depict the failure of the majority to provide genuinely equal conditions for the members of the minority and appear as reaction to the imposed isolation of the minority. The growing anxiety around the global rise of Nationalism has produced reaction with several researchers seeking alternatives to growing ethnic Nationalism (Miscevic, 2002; Kymlicka, 2002; Habermas, 2008; Valenta, 2011). In the current literature review, Multiculturalism, Civic Nationalism, Constitutional Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism are presented. Emphasis is given to Constitutional Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism as the most promising alternatives.

2.2.1 Multiculturalism

Miscevic (2001:123) endorses the notion of Multiculturalism as ‘an antidote to Ethnic Nationalism’, in order to prevent ethnic outbursts among the members of a nation-state. According to Kymlicka (2012) Multiculturalism could be expressed in two ways, closed and open. A closed Multicultural system passively tolerates different cultures within the state, allowing their different culture or religion. It promotes ethnic isolation by creating different schools for each community and encouraging or even financing monolingual media. Closed Multiculturalism could result into the creation of fear and suspicion between the people, and cause violent outbursts of the minorities within a multicultural state. On the other hand, open Multiculturalism endorses intercultural exchange with inclusive schools where children are taught the language of other communities within the state. The use of multilingual media is encouraged and the state actively promotes the connecting factors among ethnic communities. Open multiculturalism could result into a stable and secure framework for cohabitation which recognises the common humanity under the cultural and racial

differences. Especially in the European context, social isolation and residential segregation are the main causes for mistrust between diverse cultural groups (Uslaner, 2012).

Nonetheless, critics of Multiculturalism policies have argued that it remained an uncritical celebration of diversity without providing a solution to the severe problems of minorities, such as unemployment and social isolation, poor educational outcomes, residential segregation, poor language skills, and political marginalisation. Furthermore, these policies have been replaced, in most cases, by civic integration policies, and finally they have failed completely to deliver the results expected (Kymlicka, 2012:3). In order for multicultural policies to succeed, Raz (1998) and Kymlicka (2012) propose several measures: a) the de-securitisation of ethnic relations because the relations between the state and minorities should be seen as an issue of policy rather an issue of security, b) the respect of human rights across ethnic and religious groups, c) effective border control that limits extremists from penetrating to minorities, d) the existence of diverse minority groups instead of a great number of people from a single minority, and finally e) minorities to contribute to the society culturally and mainly, economically. These suggestions point towards the integration of multicultural societies under a liberal, civic identity, which could involve ‘some degree of identification with the society and the country, as a whole’ (Modood, 2020:309) as proposed by Civic Nationalism which is examined next.

2.2.2 Civic Nationalism or Patriotism

Civic or Liberal Nationalism refers to the individual identities that a person could identify with. Unlike Ethnic Nationalism which is based on genetic or hereditary factors, Civic Nationalism refers to the freely chosen and purely political identity assumed by the citizens of a nation-state (Yack, 1996:194). The civic-nation is, as mentioned by Ignatief (cited in Yack, 1996:195), ‘a community of equal, rights-bearing citizens, united in patriotic attachment to a shared set of political practices and values’.

Laborde (2000) argues that Civic Nationalism emphasises primarily democratic governance, underlines the necessity of the preservation of current ‘co-operative ventures’, and stresses the importance of democratic scrutiny over existing political cultures. It should promote a

political identity, with purely democratic political content which allows citizens to believe in the governing bodies or institutions. Civic Nationalism is in fact explicitly considered for old nation-states characterised by secure boundaries and the co-existence of a main majority and a recently formed community of immigrants. Miscevic (2002) identifies nine distinct characteristics of liberal states that promote Civic Nationalism, even though he questions the existence of Nationalism when these principles apply, beginning with the low level of pressure used to promote a common national identity with a more restricted conception of the public space within which the majoritarian national identity can be expressed. Moreover, liberal states allow expressing opinions against nation building, and accept arguments for secession, dual citizenships and loyalties. In addition to that, being a member of the civic nation does not require conformity in religion, race and ethnicity reducing the demands for participating in the nation to the acquisition of the language and a commitment to the well-being of the nation-community thus becoming more cosmopolitan in nature, accepting and celebrating different cultures within them.

Critical perspectives show that Civic Nationalism is a term often used by authoritarian regimes to disguise the true reason of their actions and to distinguish themselves from Ethnic Nationalism. It is a concept used to enhance the citizen's moral duty towards their nation-state but also to calm the feelings of those worried that ethnicity is the main concern of the government (Glasier, 2018).

Nonetheless, Civic Nationalism considers nations to be the means for the individual flourishing and the nation's value is measured by the goods it provides to the individual. It is, therefore, connected with Jürgen Habermas's notion of Constitutional Patriotism (Laborde, 2002), which will be examined below.

2.2.3 Constitutional Patriotism

Tonkiss (2013) supports the idea of Constitutional Patriotism, as proposed by Habermas (1992), as a viable alternative to Nationalism towards a post-national future. Constitutional Patriotism embraces the idea of an attachment to universal principles as interpreted through a constitution, which would provide diverse individuals with a source of allegiance, reflecting

on the ways these individuals are willing to live and flourish together, independently from their commitments towards their family or religion. Habermas (1992) sets the basic rational convictions of Constitutional Patriotism as the unrestrained flow of information, a democratic process of settling conflicts and the constitutional challenging of political power which lead to the control of illegitimate power and the equal distribution of administrative power. Ingram (1996) argues that the idea of Constitutional Patriotism is not a novel one but it has been around since the formation of the first nation-states, in different forms, alongside citizenship and identity, and it is based on the principle that the state is the source of its own unity through a constitution based on democratic values and human rights. Baumeister (2003:748) states that Habermas was searching for the ‘functional equivalent of Nationalism’, which would break the bond between citizens and the ethnic nation. Constitutional Patriotism as a political stance could be characterised as a safe place for identity in democracy, a place between the fantasy of civic liberal democracy and the nightmare of Ethnic Nationalism (Hayward, 2007).

A starting point for Habermas’s thinking on Constitutional Patriotism was the political identity of the German people after the Second World War and the Holocaust. He argued that the relationship between the people of Germany and their illiberal and anti-democratic past was not an unbreakable chain, connecting the past to present and future, but an artefact of public deliberation (Habermas, 2001). Such identity is constantly created and re-created through an ongoing public debate which allows citizens to decide the way they relate to *their* past, even though dense webs of human relationships tie them to *the* past. It is upon the people in the course of a public dialogue, to take a critical stance towards the past, through the lens of constitutional, liberal and democratic principles, and disconnect their ties to a disastrous past (Hayward, 2007:184).

In a similar sense, Habermas (1998) attempted to address the issue of identity in a globalised world. Focusing in Europe and the European Union he argued that a common identity could be built from European experiences and European traditions. This should include: a) the separation of religion from the public sphere, recognising that pre-existing religious ties should be treated with respect and could be considered as allies against alienating forces in the modern world (Skidelsky, 2005), b) dependence on the state to correct market failures on

a tradition of promoting social justice through collective action and c) the critical deliberation of European citizens with illiberal and anti-democratic incidents in Europe's past.

Fossum (2007) defines the minimum requirements for a shift to Constitutional Patriotism, the first of which is autonomy, both private and public, associated with the constitutional state and democracy, respectively. Private autonomy requires protective rights that are designed to limit state interference with the citizen's private affairs and public autonomy ensures the opportunity for participation of the citizen to the affairs of the state. This autonomy is subject to the thickness of Constitutional Patriotism regarding the right of a person or a community to exit the state, the extent that the citizen's voice is heard by the state and the degree of loyalty to the state. On the thick end, Constitutional Patriotism limits the rights to exit and voice while loyalty to the state is considered important, resembling Nationalism, for the sake of the state's unity. On the thin end is expanding these rights in order to enhance liberal democracy, weakening the allegiance to the state. This is the reason for several objections in Habermas's theory of Constitutional Patriotism. Cronin (2003:1) argues that critics have questioned the potential of Constitutional Patriotism to actually inspire such an attachment to preserve the unity and stability of a democratic state. It is considered a rather 'thin concept' (Hayward, 2007:186) that can not encourage civic solidarity and trust. It is often characterised as abstract or 'inappropriately characterised, as bloodless' (Muller, 2007:1). Others have argued that it is too thick, replicating in many occasions the forms and demands for obedience and conformity as Nationalism does. Muller (2007:9) identifies, in the commonly advocated forms of Constitutional Patriotism, three weaknesses that associate Constitutional Patriotism with Nationalism:

- The claim that Constitutional Patriotism is a form of 'static Nationalism' which sooner or later tends to reproduce the same problems identified with Nationalism.
- It demands a form of total obedience by the citizens, taking the form of a 'civil religion'.
- Finally, it is too rigid and demanding of a single identity in an era of changing and evolving identities.

Muller (2007) while identifying the weaknesses of Constitutional Patriotism, offers arguments in defence of Constitutional Patriotism as static Nationalism by accepting that

allegiance is not allocated to a constitution but rather on universal values, such as the United Nation's Universal Declaration of Human Rights, that should be included in the constitution. It cannot be separated from justice, democracy, or solidarity and seen only as means to the end of loyalty. It is connected not to a state but to the fundamental political principles that should govern the state. As Muller concludes, Constitutional Patriotism could provide an alternative to growing Nationalism, but at the same time has its weaknesses which should be addressed. As he asserts 'it is a bet on civil rights and democracy, not an insurance policy' (p.11).

Constitutional Patriotism claims common roots and shared aspirations with Cosmopolitanism. Fine and Smith (2003:470) argue that Habermas himself saw Cosmopolitanism as a successor of irrational Nationalism and reconcilable with Constitutional Patriotism. As Calhoun (2002:149) argues, Constitutional Patriotism is 'committed on the justification of collective decisions and the fair distribution and exercise of power', values that derive from human rights and justice and support a new movement for cosmopolitan democracy, a democracy not limited by nation-states. Both, Constitutional Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism, identify themselves as opposites of an extreme form of Nationalism. Both, are based on the idea that Nationalism will lead to the oppression of liberal ideals and democratic values resulting in horrific violence, disregarding the positive work that Nationalism has produced occasionally

Constitutional Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism are often seen as complimentary rather than identical concepts. The belief of Constitutional Patriotism on universal values and justice could compliment Cosmopolitanism's need for global justice in creating what Appiah (1997) refers to as cosmopolitan patriots. Fine and Smith (2003:473) however, find this relationship more or less based on the 'elastic nature of Constitutional Patriotism' which can assume any desirable form, thin or thick, in order to accommodate and affiliate any other ideology and political stance.

2.2.4 Cosmopolitanism

Cosmopolitanism could serve as a viable alternative for Ethnic Nationalism since it imagines a world where allegiance is owed, ‘first and foremost to humanity’, not to the contingent groupings of nation, ethnicity and class (Held, 2005:153). The Cosmopolitan standpoint is morally grounded into the ideal of respect that transcends national, cultural and political boundaries. It creates a global, moral community and polity, in which every living being deserves moral consideration. It is based on the full realisation of human rights and respect towards human dignity regardless of national affiliation or sovereignty. The principles of global ethics and justice establish human dignity as the moral imperative of every democratic society and ascertain every individual’s right to live in a just and peaceful social order (Snauwaert, 2009:50).

Cosmopolitanism claims its roots back to the Greek and Roman Stoics who declared that beyond the local community (polis) which is assigned to us by birth with its customs, traditions, common language and religion, there is a whole world (kosmos) which is a wider community of common ideals, human argument and aspirations. They proclaimed themselves as ‘kosmo-polites’, citizens of the world. The Stoic philosophers of Ancient Greece and Rome were the first to create a cosmopolitan theory which addressed people as citizens of the world. Even though Diogenes the Cynic (3rd century BC) renounced his origin when he stated ‘I am a citizen of the Kosmos’ using Reason (Logos), since for the Stoics the primal form of moral affiliation should be the affiliation with rational humanity they were aware that the cosmopolitans’ concern of global justice and fairness would be difficult to promote to those attached to local loyalties and psychological affection to their nation. It was not until the Roman Stoics that the term was formulated as Cosmopolitan and received its first philosophical development (Nussbaum, 1997). The Stoics set the foundations of universal morality and the moral principles that inspired the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UN, 1948). They inherited for humanity the terms stoic, stoicism and stoically to express the dignified dealing with difficult situations without the loss of inner freedom and self-respect (Dragona-Monachou, 1992).

Originating from the Stoic philosophy of the first centuries after Christ and mainly attributed to Hierocles (2nd century AD) who first described it in his book ‘Elements of Ethics’, the

Theory of Concentric Circles defined the bonds that connect the person with humanity as a continuum that consists of concentric circles with the person situated at the centre. The circle of close family members is the first which is created surrounding the person followed by the circle of relatives and friends, neighbours, compatriots, and finally the whole humanity (Nussbaum, 2007; Enslin, 2011). It is based on a continuum of cognitive evolution and moral development (Graham et al., 2017), beginning from natural self-confirmation to the gradual love and affection towards all living things. It is considered essential for the moral growth of the person to tighten the circles towards the centre leading to care about humanity as one cares about oneself.

Stoic thinking was ‘everywhere and nowhere’ (Ebbesen, 2004) between the 3rd and 14th century. It was everywhere as an attitude of ‘doing philosophy’ and nowhere since the spirit of Aristotelian thought was dominant and other philosophical currents were neglected. Elements of stoic philosophy can be found in some of Saint Paul’s writings even though neither he nor his contemporary stoics acknowledge any relation apart from some disputable letters to Seneca, a Roman official and Stoic (Grant, 1915). The writings of Cicero, who was not a Stoic himself but ‘his writings carried a wealth of stoic ideas’ (Ingham, 2015:100) influenced the early Christian philosophers such as Boethius, Saint Augustine and Saint Jerome (5th century A.D). They considered the cosmopolitan issues of human ethics, universal values and the ability of logic to find answers in every problem (Grummel, 1950). The writings of Seneca and Cicero were considered compatible with Christian ethics and saturated moral philosophy until the 11th century, an era which marks the creation of the first universities in Europe where the stoic ideas of logic, metaphysics and epistemology found fertile grounds among other philosophical trends (Sellars, 2018).

The ideas of Cosmopolitanism, endured until the 15th century with the ‘re-discovery’ of other stoic philosophers beyond Seneca. Stoic cosmopolitan morality and ethics were re-introduced with the writings of Immanuel Kant who debated about perpetual peace and who envisioned a society under a cosmopolitan constitution where everyone could be heard and the place of birth and ancestry did not provide extensive rights in comparison to others (Starkey, 2012). In modern times, Cosmopolitanism captures the imagination of scholars as a viable option for the future and as an alternative to Nationalism, especially after the rise and partial success of

supranational organisations like the United Nations and the European Union and the realisation that the problems humanity is facing are universal and the solutions demand cooperation of all the people on the planet (Nussbaum, 1994; Held, 2005; Hansen, 2008; Sluga and Horne, 2008; Lynch, 2015).

Some authors (Held, 2005; Dobson, 2006) distinguish between two forms of Cosmopolitanism, thin (weak) and thick (strong). In thin Cosmopolitanism the values shared do not apply to all human beings in the same degree and some values could apply only to a certain group of individuals with whom there is greater attachment. Thick Cosmopolitanism suggests that all values should apply to all individuals in the same degree, regardless of their proximity to others. Skrbis and Woodward (2013) and Hansen (2008) identify four main dimensions or strands of Cosmopolitanism: cultural which presumes an openness to the world; political which embeds the creation of a supranational government or organisation like the United Nations; ethical or moral, which includes hospitality, worldliness and community and the ways these are stressed in real life; and finally methodological or economic, which relates Cosmopolitanism to social and financial sciences and the need for extensive study of the global effects created.

Held (2005:14) distinguishes eight characteristics of Cosmopolitanism which represent the basic principles of the philosophy. These characteristics include the notion that every person deserves respect and dignity and has an equal interest in self-determination requiring that individuals have both rights and obligations at the same degree. Moreover, he describes the principle of consent, which enables individuals to non-coercive decisions and governance, tight with the need for majority ruling, without majorities imposing decisions on minorities but rather consulting with them for the best possible solution. In addition to this, decisions should be made by those closer to and affected by the results so that their lives improve and no harm would be done on them by those decisions. Also, special attention and priority should be given to those with the most vital needs without forgetting that we are part of a world that is running out of resources and thus sustainability should be a critical factor to our actions. Van-Hooft (2014) adds to the characteristics of the cosmopolitan citizen the measured endorsement of patriotism, the opposition to Nationalism and chauvinism, and the

willingness to suspend narrow national interests in order to tackle global problems such as those of environmental degradation or global justice among others.

Of course there has been severe criticism about the ability of Cosmopolitanism to act as a global philosophy beginning with the Stoic origins of the philosophy. Researchers (Miller, 2002; Papastephanou, 2013) claim that apart from the Greek Cynics and Diogenes who renounced his birth place, the Stoics were highly valued officials of the Roman Empire, infusing the notion with the imperialistic spirit of the conqueror. This rooted imperialistic dimension of Cosmopolitanism relates to the demand of strong cosmopolitans for a global government, a new imperium. Moreover, it is considered elitist, a theory for the rich and prosperous rather than the poor and needy because it is easier and more convenient to think about the prosperity and needs of other people when the individual and those closest to them have secured their well-being. Also, criticism (Papastephanou, 2002:69) focuses on the utopian view of Cosmopolitanism arguing that ‘the world is not a merry go round, happy and full of laughter place’, and consequently cosmopolitan education transfers this false image to the children, making them unable to face the real world. In addition to that, compassion and empathy are easy in theory and different from when it concerns others who have done nothing to hurt you, it is much more difficult to forgive and forget when the ‘Other’ is near and still threatening. Delanty (2008) argues that Cosmopolitanism will not be able to challenge the increasingly dominant Nationalism unless it can articulate notions of self, other and the world in a different way. Moreover, people who are not included in the social contract of a country do not contribute to the social well-being and ‘are not participating in a reciprocal relation with the others’ (Miller, 2002:83). Additionally, Kremer (2016) suggests that Cosmopolitanism suffers from nihilism, because it discards a set of values like citizenship, devotion to a country and its people, for another set of values like world citizenship, solidarity among the people, justice for all but ends up with no set of values held at all. As he asserts, ‘Ultimately, cosmopolitans are neither philosophers nor citizens and their attempt to be both means that they are nothing at all’ (p.34).

Nonetheless, despite these disadvantages Cosmopolitanism is considered a valid alternative to Nationalism and a possible solution for Cyprus. This is because it is based on universal values like justice, respect, acceptance and tolerance which could shape the conditions,

through education, for the people of the two main communities of Cyprus to improve communication and understanding between them. Cosmopolitan education focused on universal values, human rights and human dignity could be applied in areas of conflict and act as a counter-weight to Nationalism's hegemonic narrative (Delanty, 2008). It is therefore necessary to examine the relation between Education, Nationalism and Cosmopolitanism and investigate whether Cosmopolitan Education could act as Education for Peace in post-conflict areas such as Cyprus.

2.3 Education and Identity in the Context of Nationalism and Cosmopolitanism

In the following part of the literature review the issue of education within the contexts of Nationalism and Cosmopolitanism will be investigated, globally and locally. Nationalism and education share a bilateral relationship. Public education systems were created by nation-states to educate the children using a single language, religion and culture promoting the notion that the people belonged to a single nation and transport the values and narratives of Nationalism to the younger generation (Gellner, 1983). Cosmopolitanism, on the other hand, disregarded education until recently, when studies have been made (Nussbaum, 1997; Hansen, 2010; Papastephanou, 2012) for promoting cosmopolitan values through education. Some researchers (Papastephanou, 2002; Brown and Morgan, 2008; Snauwaert, 2008) emphasised the connection between cosmopolitan values and peace education suggesting that cosmopolitan education could be applied in areas with conflicts for promoting peace and reconciliation. Additionally, the issue of identity will be investigated in the context of Nationalism and Cosmopolitanism. Identity is defined by primordialist attachments which originate from the family and are inherited and instrumentalist attachments which are created by the person, the education system and society (Bačová, 2008). National identity is cultivated through education while ethnic identity is inherited and nurtured through family. Cosmopolitan identity is not considered as strong identity but rather an ideal that people are trying to achieve (Calhoun, 2003).

2.3.1 Education and Nationalism

Gellner (1983) points out that the industrial society of the eighteenth century, with its advances in technology, required a literate population with the ability to communicate in a common language as a labour force for the growing industry thus the relation between

Nationalism and education can be characterised as bilateral. On one side, education provided Nationalism with the tools for cultivating and spreading its views and ideas; on the other side, with the upgrade of educational systems and mechanisms which were at the service of the nation-state, the improvement and widespread of public and free education became possible. Stratification of Nationalism through education was intended for emancipation and equality, at least in the first stages after the French revolution. Linguistic and cultural homogeneity was functional towards the purpose of achieving sovereignty. Education became accessible to all the citizens through the nation-state and literacy was achieved through a common national language (Arnott and Osgat, 2016; Siebers, 2019). Moreover, national history was coded into books for teaching while education systems were consistent and equal throughout the nation-state. In addition to that, education functioned beyond the reproduction of Nationalism, as a social mobility vehicle allowing the lower and middle classes to ascend.

There is a continuing debate on the necessity of Nationalism being taught in schools. Historically, the building of national bonds among the members of a society or the citizens of a state was a primal objective for the thinkers of the first republican states and the creation of a working mass for the industrial revolution. Gellner (1983) argues that it requires homogeneity and identity formation on the national level, leading to the importance of cultivating Nationalism through public education. As suggested by Wiborg (2000), Rousseau in France and Herder in Germany were the first to introduce the notion that Nationalism could be taught in schools and one of the main purposes of nation-states was to create schooling systems that would cultivate Nationalism. The principles of nation building were the foundation of school systems, even though Rousseau's view was driven from political, civic Nationalism while Herder's was more cultural, and ethnically rooted. The role of education was to contribute in the creation and function of the modern nation-states and to the cultivation of nationalistic attitudes and concepts. Within a globalised environment, though changes in financial and political level had an impact on the educational policy of various nation-states, educational systems should adapt to the globalised circumstances and portray a global dimension to their curricula (Espinosa, 2016). The issues of respect for other cultures, the environment, and citizen education were issues that schools were now obliged to face. Moreover, the knowledge economy and related concepts like the human capital were introduced by globalised economy (Ho and Law, 2009).

Schools, with their formal and systematic construction of national identity, are the place where the ‘self’ and the ‘other’ are formed. Nelson (1978) identified three main domains of nationalistic education:

1. The creation of positive sentiments towards the symbols, ceremonies, and persons who express the national ideal like war heroes, poets, national icons.
2. The cultivation through education of national citizens in contrast to global citizens.
3. The development of negative emotions towards other nations, symbols, ideologies or persons that are considered anti-national.

In a period after the end of the First World War, which was an era of mass migration, ethnic tension and war, John Dewey (1916) pursued a concept of education and democracy that could unite students of different backgrounds. However, he came up against the hegemony of Nationalism in education and observed how previous traditions of individualistic Cosmopolitanism, in which the progress of the individual was connected with the advancement of humanity, were abolished. Education, under the agency of the nation-state, was considered a civic function promoting the subordination of the individual to citizen, setting the progress and advancement of the nation-state ahead of any personal needs and aspirations. Any other conception was considered unpatriotic and thus unaccepted. As Dewey (1916:98) argued, ‘The “nation-state” replaced humanity; Cosmopolitanism gave way to Nationalism’. Dewey’s analysis helps to explain the role of education in promoting Nationalism as a dominant ideology throughout much of the twentieth century, (Hansen, 2009a; Starkey, 2012) a role which was more than visible in Cyprus. Education in Cyprus was under the influence of Nationalism and reflected an ethnically divided society.

As Trimikliniotis (2004) argues, the ethnocentric model lies at the heart of Cypriot education. The Greek community handled the education of the Greek-Cypriots through the ‘Community Assembly’ (now Ministry of Education, Culture, Athletics and Youth) that was formed and similarly Turkish-Cypriot education is directed through a ‘Community Council’ (Karagiorgis, 1986). Education in both communities is organised to the standards of the systems in their respective motherlands, Greece is the model for Greek-Cypriot education while Turkey is serving as a model for Turkish-Cypriots. Up to this day, the two communities share text books with their respective motherlands, educate students to the ideals of the motherlands,

and celebrate their motherland's national holidays more intensively than their own. In every school, one can see the Greek and the Republic of Cyprus flags, waving outside Greek-Cypriot schools and the Turkish and Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC) flags outside Turkish-Cypriot schools. Education, it seems, does not work towards the unification of the island but towards its separation and the consolidation of ethno-Nationalism in both communities (Karagiorgis, 1986).

This separation is evident especially in the teaching of historical events. As Papastephanou (2013) argues, when recalling past events one chooses to preserve some events in memory while at the same time suppresses or silences others. The two communities developed, through education, separate narratives as far as their main historical events and positioned themselves towards these events with regard to their ethnic identity. Kizilyurek (1993) identifies these myths and stories of each community as part of the ethnic division; for Turkish-Cypriots there was not a peaceful moment in Cyprus and for Greek-Cypriots the two communities always lived in peace and harmony with each other until the Turkish army invaded the island in 1974. This differentiation in discourse among the two communities led to the creation of the image of the 'Other' in the collective memory of both communities: for Greek-Cypriots the enemy was the Turk and for Turkish-Cypriots the enemy was the Greek.

2.3.2 Cosmopolitan Education

Cosmopolitanism has been seen as a moral philosophical movement and idea rather than an educational one. Delanty (2008:11) argues that there is 'a clear educational dimension in Cosmopolitanism' that could provide the basis for an educational curriculum promoting the values of tolerance, empathy and respect which are necessary in a world with global issues. Education should include cosmopolitan aspects in ways of thinking, cognition and feeling that derive neither from the native culture nor from the culture of the 'Other', but from the interaction of both (Hansen, 2010). Cosmopolitanism as a social phenomenon and a process (Gizatova et al., 2017) could lead to the acceptance of Cosmopolitanism as an educational ideal, a way of negotiating the world and the interconnecting lives of people (Hayden, 2017). The principal aim of cosmopolitan education is to transmit cosmopolitan values in order to participate morally in the global community without losing the attachment to the local. As Hansen (2010:17) argues, cosmopolitan education can be viewed as 'orientation of

receptivity, of reflective openness to the new and reflective loyalty to the known'. Saito (2010) adds three more objectives of cosmopolitan education: a) to extend attachments to foreign people and objects, b) to understand transnational connections in which their lives are embedded and c) to act on these attachments and understandings to effect transformations across national borders.

The Commonwealth Committee for Respect and Understanding (2008), in their *Civil Paths to Peace* report, emphasise the need for cosmopolitan education linked with the promotion of respect and understanding. They underline the need for an educational curriculum which expresses clear and comprehensive messages about the relationships among diverse identity groups related to different systems of segregating, especially when diverse identity leads to conflict and violence. Nussbaum (2010:81) asserts that young people should understand the differences that make understanding difficult and appreciate the shared needs and interests that make understanding essential for solving all the problems that humanity is facing. Hansen (2008:296) embraces the idea of 'Cosmopolitanism being more than a lesson' and in need of curriculum change, but mainly as a method of teaching and learning that will enhance and illuminate the unsettling connection with the dynamic spaces between the local and the universal.

Cosmopolitan education in Cyprus could be addressed through the Concentric Circles Theory. As Nussbaum (1994) argues, cosmopolitan education allows students to expand their understanding of the world as a global community and cultivate respect and empathy towards those who are part of the outer circles without demanding equal amount of affection for all. Lecky (1869 cited in Graham et al., 2017:59) supports the idea of expanding the circles of affection as a developmental process driven by affection rather than reasoning. Enslin (2011) emphasises the role of education towards the creation of empathy, the ability to imagine oneself in the position of the less fortunate other, to walk in their shoes, with moral obligation towards others that would transcend national boundaries alongside critical examination of one's own tradition. Cosmopolitan education can nurture the centrifugal forces of compassion, fairness and equality which push the person to transcend the circles of self, family and nation towards the outer circles of humanity (Singer 2015).

Vinokur (2018) identifies five main disciplines of Cosmopolitanism that could have educational implications through the concentric circles theory:

- a) Moral Cosmopolitanism of Nussbaum and Appiah who promote the moral obligations of people towards the world. The objective of moral cosmopolitan education is to evoke feelings of respect, tolerance and compassion that derive from imaginative narrative which places the student in the 'Other's' position and situation. Moreover it attempts to change the image of the 'Other' projecting positive images of cooperation and understanding.
- b) Political Cosmopolitanism aims at promoting civic values, discussing the need for a global identity and citizenship that respects global rights and values. Students are encouraged to apply the rules and values of democracy across communities and appreciate the implications of human rights on a global scale.
- c) Cultural Cosmopolitan education promotes multi-cultural education aiming at the acceptance of cultural differences and the creation of a common culture based on universal human rights.
- d) Economic Cosmopolitanism which is often connected to globalisation focuses on global economic and political inequalities, and proposes solutions based on social justice and care for the underprivileged. Economic Cosmopolitanism is expressed with Amartya Sen's and Martha Nussbaum's (2007) Capabilities Approach which measures the ability of people to flourish, regardless of the Gross Domestic Product numbers. It is, in a sense, an economic theory influenced by Moral and Political Cosmopolitanism (Hansen, 2010).
- e) Sociological Cosmopolitanism (Beck, 2003) which views Cosmopolitanism as a transitional phase. The world connects beyond the national framework but without disregarding the local conditions. It provides the possibility of imagining alternative ways of life and ways to understand the world, which include the otherness of the 'Other', away from Nationalism's monological imagination (Vinokur, 2018). Delanty's (2012) Critical Cosmopolitanism is considered complementary to Beck's view who attempts to reconcile the universal rights of the individual with the need to protect the rights of minorities (Vinokur, 2018).

Nonetheless, there are many objections to cosmopolitan education. Popkewits (2008:11) argues that cosmopolitan education is ‘a form of abjection’, in which the child feels emotionally divided among the local realities and the global imaginary. Another problematic issue regarding cosmopolitan education is the extent to which strong cosmopolitan theories demand action, as a moral obligation, by the students and while the core cosmopolitan values are easily accepted, the response required often exceeds the abilities of the students (Miller, 2002). As Lu (2000:250) points out, ‘ironically, perhaps precisely because of its worldly aspirations, Cosmopolitanism has virtually no real world application’. Peterson (2012:231) argues that moral cosmopolitan education is not for the faint-hearted, since its demands seem unrelenting and, as Merry and de Ruyter (2011) argue, it should be pointed out to educators and their students that cosmopolitan education is more an ideal rather than achievable educational objective. Additionally, moral cosmopolitan education demands that students abandon their affiliations to their community or their nation-state, in favour of a vague and distant humanity (Peterson, 2012:232). Papastephanou (2002:72) questions the argument for teaching about cultures to demonstrate their significance and contribution to world development as a necessity of cosmopolitan education, because it is debatable which cultures are actually significant in a global sense and this might lead to the exclusion of many cultures as unimportant. However, Hansen (2010) defends the need for cosmopolitan education and encourages students to engage in learning about other cultures and the ‘philosophical diversity such as that which resides in different artistic, literary, scientific, vocational, and other traditions’ (p.7). This engagement will allow students to consider what it means to be a human being and help constitute their own humanity, something essential in multicultural educational contexts like the Cypriot one is.

Despite the efforts of Cypriot scholars like Marianna Papastephanou and Niyazi Kizilyurek, Cosmopolitanism and cosmopolitan education is an unfamiliar concept to Cyprus. As Ali Riza, a prominent London based Turkish-Cypriot lawyer (2017) states, the only connection he was able to make between Cyprus and Cosmopolitanism was the name of a Nicosia nightclub where he used to be a frequent customer when he was younger, and was called ‘Cosmopolitan’ serving the drink with the same name. This ignorance reflected the impact of the practically non-existent Cosmopolitanism in Cypriot society and consequently in Cypriot education. Even though Cypriot society and education are cosmopolitan microworlds with many students originating from different countries and cultures (Papamichael, 2008), the

educational authorities continue, to a degree, to treat schools as homogenous communities without taking into consideration the multicultural nature of Cypriot schools and their cosmopolitan nature.

Efforts have been made especially during the years preceding the induction of Cyprus to the European Union in 2004 and in more recent years to reform the ethnocentric status of education with limited success. As the Committee for the Reform of the Cyprus Educational System identifies (2004:4), the framework of the educational system of the Republic of Cyprus remains focused on Greek-Cypriots, is nationalistic and culturally monolithic, disregarding the cultural diversity and multi-nationalism of the Cypriot society and the Europeanisation and internationalism of Cypriot education. Moreover, it was stated that a reform of the educational system is necessary for the adoption of multicultural, ethnically diverse elements and the formation of democratic citizens, civic virtues and attitudes. Following that spirit of respect, tolerance and co-existence an attempt was made, by the previous government, for employing respectful and tolerant objectives to the highly centralised educational system of Cyprus (Pasiardis, 2004; Geneler 2009). In 2008, when a leftist government took over, the main objective for the school-year was ‘the peaceful coexistence of the two main communities’ (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2008) which stated that the two communities are intended to live together in Cyprus, and in order to do that they should be acquainted with each other’s culture. Greek-Cypriot teachers were expected to teach Turkish-Cypriot literature and cultivate a culture of peace and respect for all the inhabitants of the island. As inadequate and incomplete as it was, this aim was a first step towards the adoption of cosmopolitan elements in Greek-Cypriot education. Unfortunately, this objective ‘sparked strong emotional reactions’ (Zembylas et al., 2011) from the teachers’ community, the church and other nationalist circles, and was discarded a few years later with the change in government.

In accordance with cosmopolitan values, a significant step was taken by the Turkish-Cypriot side when they decided to change their history books and abolish all the negative comments about Greek-Cypriots (Papadakis, 2008). The new history books focused on unified elements between the two communities and the two motherlands, emphasising co-operation and common struggles for social justice. Papadakis (2008:23) states that an attempt to create

empathy towards the Greek-Cypriots was initiated by presenting them as victims of the situation and comparing their suffering with the Turkish-Cypriot suffering the years preceded the Turkish invasion in 1974. Nonetheless, after the Turkish-Cypriot political parties which made the decision lost the elections, the ethno-centric history books returned to the Turkish-Cypriot educational system (Makriyianni et al., 2011; Umut and Yakinthou, 2012) ending the initiative at least for Turkish-Cypriot high school students. Despite the incomplete efforts of the past the application of a cosmopolitan education system could be the first step towards cooperation and communication for the two main communities of Cyprus since cosmopolitan education could function as education for peace, especially in societies with ongoing conflict and division as the Cypriot society is.

2.3.3 Cosmopolitan Education as Education for Peace

Cosmopolitan education could function, in some cases, as education for peace. Education for peace can be defined as the kind of education which provides the necessary processes or techniques for a student to deal with situations of conflict without the use of violence. It promotes the cultivation of respect, tolerance and empathy towards persons of different race, colour, religion and ethnicity. Education International (2011) defines Peace Education as a process and situation which infuses all aspects of school life, affects students, teachers, and administrators, and it extends beyond the school to society as a whole. As Brown and Morgan (2009:283) argue, is a diverse, complicated and controversial in many ways, area of educational practice which includes children's rights education, human rights education, education for development, multicultural education, and international education, among others. Vinokur (2018:971) connects peace and cosmopolitan education stating that cosmopolitan education aims to 'nurture care, respect, concern and commitment for the other, both locally and globally'. Murphy et al. (2016:38) argue that educating for peace is a long-term project aiming, not only at the current generation but subsequent generations need to cultivate the skills, dispositions and behaviours that will sustain peace and human rights in a civil society without forgetting the past and its legacies. Associating with peace education Vinokur (2018) states that a cosmopolitan-oriented education may call for changing attitude towards otherness, be reflectively loyal to the known and open to the new and unknown, and finally take action for promoting justice and defending human rights locally and globally.

Grounded on universal human rights and justice, Peace Education and Cosmopolitanism are linked through the concepts of universal human dignity, universal moral inclusion and the abolition of war and violence which dehumanises people (Reardon and Snauwaert, 2015). Reardon (2013:3) identifies peace education to be consistent with the tradition of Cosmopolitanism and cosmopolitan citizen education with the existence of ethical values that are universally accepted by all human beings. She connects Peace Education with Cosmopolitanism when she argues that, for Peace Education, the fundamental area of concern is human rights, which are Cosmopolitanism's 'lingua franca', and a way of realising the conditions necessary for human dignity. Through the acceptance of human rights and the establishment of global justice cosmopolitan ethics are fulfilled (Reardon, 2013). Betty Reardon suggests that we imagine a cosmopolitan society where peace, social justice, and equity would be conceived as ethical imperatives, as fundamental human rights, a utopian cosmopolitan society where violence and conflict are resolved.

In areas of conflict, violence can create a certain culture that can be structural, cultural or direct (Galtung, 1996 cited in Reber-Rider, 2008:74). Direct violence is recognisable, the perpetrator and the victim are obvious; structural violence is the same as indirect violence and is apparent in reduced quality of life for certain groups of people; cultural violence comprises of the attitudes and ideas that allow unjust arrangements and structures to be present in a society, victimising people (Reber-Rider, 2008:75). Being a victim of a conflict is a powerful political and emotional statement. It is used by people or communities or countries to gain benefits both locally and internationally. At the same time, it obstructs a clearer view of the actual causes of the conflict and prevents humane connections with the adversaries (Zembylas, 2016:33). Peace education moves people out of their victimhood by reframing trauma stories, restores humanity both one's self and the other's and neutralise any attempt of confrontational content that will lead to conflict. In its attempt to reconcile with the past it creates new emotional environment to people who feel as victims allowing them to reconcile with the past and overcome their traumatic experience. Peace education and cosmopolitan education proceed in parallel manners, especially in areas of conflict, in order for healing the trauma on one side and cultivate respect, tolerance and empathy on the other (Reardon and Snauwaert, 2015:5). Peace and cosmopolitan education are about engaging in difficult discourse about themes that are painful but reposition human subjectivity into crossing the

constructed borders of our world and listen to the voice of the Other, challenging hegemonic narratives and myths and embody knowledge in being (Reardon, 2013).

As far as the approach to teaching goes, Reardon (2015) suggest a holistic approach that will affect every aspect of education, from teaching to methods and from curriculum to philosophy. She argues that peace education is both transformational and reformative and in that sense it can not be detained in a single lesson or course. It is transformational because it aims at the abolishment of war and violence, as they dehumanise people, it can strengthen the capacity to care, to develop a sincere concern for those who suffer because of the problems and a commitment to resolving them through action. It is reformative because it encourages the need for reform in the educational system regarding curriculum, materials and methods. Cosmopolitan education as education for peace transforms teaching and learning in a holistic manner, as Appiah (2006) argues, it is a challenging ideal running through education, not an educational objective.

Peace and cosmopolitan education share similar teaching and learning methods since Reardon (1988) proposes reflective inquiry as the appropriate method of dealing with peace education and controversial themes because all true knowledge starts not with the implanting of information but through a question that leads to a discovery by the student and the teacher. Three forms of reflective inquiry are predominantly appropriate to inquiries for dealing with the range of issues and aspects relating to organising and fulfilling the transformative politics necessary to achieve and sustain peace. These include: a) critical or analytic inquiry which explores the issues of power, b) moral or ethical inquiry for social values and political ethics, and c) contemplative or ruminative, essential for creative thinking and deeper awareness of the personal capacities (Reardon, 2013). All three methods are interconnected and complement each other comprising a core methodology for achieving social change through peace education. On a similar manner, regarding cosmopolitan education, Camhy et al. (2013) propose philosophical inquiry within a critical, reflective and caring community of inquiry which nurtures critical re-assessment of the self, as Hansen (2010:23) proposes, 'reflective loyalty to the known and reflective openness to the new'. Philosophical inquiry enables students to engage with a critical, reflective and caring manner in reconstructing an inclusive society and identity through the transaction of the self, the 'Other' and the world. A

similar, five stages approach is presented by Nussbaum (2012:246-250) which can be used as a guide for teachers wanting to introduce cosmopolitan, peace education:

1. Begin with love linked with good values.
2. Introduce critical thinking early and keep teaching it.
3. Use positional imagination in a way that includes.
4. Show the reasons for past wars without demonising.
5. Teach love of historical truth and of the nation as it really is.

2.3.4 Identity

Defining the concept of identity can be ambiguous and challenging since the term involves a complex duality, stating the common characteristics of a particular group of people involving symbols, views and characteristics while at the same time it is used to distinguish a group of people from others (Rusciano, 2003). It is stating a paradox, since it is used for uniting a group while separating it from others (Triantafyllidou, 1998). Necessary for an identity to be present is the very existence of people and society since identity is part of the realisation that a person is part of a structured society, retains a personal, social and national background and belongs to a group with a past, a present and a future (Oyserman et al., 2012). Ironically, Hayward (2007) points out that democracy needs identity but at the same time identity can be a problem for democracy since identity formation, as historically shown in the last century, is accompanied by the creation of the other as an opposing factor and the repression, often violent, of those defined as foreign others. It is clear that the issue of identity is multi-layered with biological, psychological, social, and cultural dimensions (Fearon, 1999). Each person can at the same time be a member of various social groups beginning with family, nation, gender, race, a religious group, a professional group, all of which combined form the person's identity. Smith (2000) states that identities formed through social interaction and are characterised by fluidity throughout a person's life.

Tronvoll (1999) argues that a collective or social identity is not a given or 'pre-existing' category. It is a symbolic representation of 'commonness' among a group of people, in contrast to other collectives. The boundaries of collective identities are flexible and constantly reproduced through social interaction. Since they are symbolic representations, their appearance are multivocal and they are generated through perceived aspects of shared

knowledge and recognised social routines with common behaviour and institutions. Collective identities appear self-ascribed or ascribed by others and they represent a relevant and meaningful category for its members (Van-Stekelenburg, 2013). There are three stages of social identity formation according to Tajfel and Turner (1986):

1. First is the social categorisation in which a person assumes an identity and develops its beliefs through the context created by socially fabricated groups such as class, social gender, race and nationality.
2. The second stage is social identification where a person identifies itself and is being identified as a member of a certain social group in contrast with other groups.
3. Finally is the stage of social comparison, in which the person belonging to a social group gains social self-esteem and appreciation when maximising the differences between the group in which the person belongs and other groups.

Among the strongest of any social identity assumed or created by a person is national identity, since it includes concepts like nation, ethnicity, language, culture, religion, morals and customs, and at the same time the political, economic and legal foundations of the society in which the person is residing (McCrone and Bechhofer, 2015:14). National identity is both social and political. It is social because it incorporates the social structures of a particular society and political because it is collectively charged to the members of a certain national group and it is developed through a certain ideology, Nationalism. Barrett (2005) identifies several components of national identity. These include: a) the subjective conviction as to which nation one belongs, b) a strong sense of national affiliation, c) positive emotions towards a nation, d) belief in stereotypes regarding the typical characteristics and traits of the people who belong to the nation or to other nations, e) a subjective experience of inclusiveness and identification with the aims and problems of the nation and f) the willingness to internalise national culture and follow national behavioural norms. The expression of national identity emotions is not consistent; belonging to a nation becomes salient during international sport events or when there is a potential threat to the nation (Tartakovsky, 2010). The creation of national identity is an essential element in Nationalism and is cultivated mainly through education.

The notion of cosmopolitan identity can be traced back to the first Stoic philosophers of ancient Greece who proclaimed themselves as Kosmopolites, citizens of the world owing allegiance not to a city (polis) but to the realm of rationale humanity. They argued that people's identities as humans and cosmopolitans are more important than their local or conditional identities (Roth and Burbules, 2011). As Waldron (2000:1) states cosmopolitanism represents 'a way of being in the world, a way of constructing an identity for oneself that is different from, and arguably opposed to, the idea of belonging to a particular culture'. A cosmopolitan identity is fluid allowing the transformation of the relation between the self and the other, leading to the potential of change within a society or culture unlike other forms of static identities which consider the other as an enemy and can create identity-based conflicts. The fluidity of cosmopolitan identity allows the person to engage in a dynamic process of discovery and provides the freedom to become more cosmopolitan, more compassionate, more sensitive, a better person (Spisak, 2009).

Apple (2015:307) argues that education clearly plays a key social role in the formation of identities because students spend a very large part of their lives inside the educational system. It is through education that students understand authority relations, with the emotional labour of creating an image of self and of coexisting with others who are both the same and different and at the same time, reproducing and sometimes challenging dominant norms and values. Deep learning, meaningful and significant stems primarily from the recognition and transformation of learner's identities. Learning process should lead to behavioural and identity transformational processes; the former leading to action and the acquisition of competence while the latter relating to representation of the self and the enrichment of identity with values, discourses and so on (Esteban-Guidart, 2019).

Nevertheless, while schools have been used to cultivate and reproduce the dominant national identity, family is the first educator and creator of ethnic, cultural identity through language, religion and race. As declared in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (United Nations, 1948, art.16) 'the family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society' and is the first source of learning for every child. Wakefield et al. (2016) identified a significant connection between family values and national identity, since students who stated a belief in family values also had a closer connection to national identity. Additionally, Muldoon et al. (2017)

concluded that ethnic, national identity is imagined, constructed and passed on mainly through families. As Alba (1990:126) suggests, ethnic identity is a matter of ancestry, and of understanding yourself, things that are created within the family and shaped on the basis of family history. Smith and Hendry (2007:101) emphasise the role of family as the primal inheritor of ethnic identity and have concluded that ethnic identity is stronger among older members of the family, those frequently attending church services, and those families who awarded greater levels of importance to religion.

Concluding Remarks

A critical view of the literature regarding the contrast between Nationalism and Cosmopolitanism and the ways Identity and Education are influenced was attempted in this chapter. Nationalism is a complex concept with two opposing sides. As a positive, it can stimulate the feelings of people to pursue the ideals of autonomy, equality and respect while on the negative side it can create feelings of hostility towards others resulting in fierce conflict with many casualties. By way of contrast, alternative theories, with Cosmopolitanism as the most prominent for Cyprus could replace Nationalism as the hegemonic narrative in Cyprus and offer an alternative view which could, in time, alter the circumstances of the Cyprus problem and allow the people of Cyprus to discover new approaches for the unification of the island. Issues of Identity and Education were investigated critically in the contexts of Nationalism and Cosmopolitanism and their main ideas were discussed. Cosmopolitan education could serve as education for peace and reconciliation in areas with ongoing conflicts, like Cyprus, through the cultivation of respect and empathy towards the 'Other'.

In the next chapter the methodology of the research will be presented. An analysis of the preferred paradigm, the methods for collecting and analysing data, and selection of the participants will be offered. Finally a section regarding the ethics of the study is presented and explanation of the ways the data were analysed and evaluated is offered.

Chapter 3: Methods Discussion

Introduction

In Chapter Three I will: a) critically assess the paradigm that has been adopted for my research and the organisational issues that emerged; b) justify the chosen method for data gathering; c) explain the procedure for selecting the participants; d) address the ethical concerns that occurred during the research and finally e) present the language issues that emerged and the ways they were dealt with.

I decided to use the constructivist/interpretivist paradigm for my research because this paradigm's principles align with my own regarding the subjectivity of reality and knowledge constructed by every individual. Also, the interpretation is based on the values of the researcher to draw the conclusions that will make the research trustworthy and credible. My methodology, deriving from the selected paradigm, is hermeneutical and dialectical using semi-structured in depth interviews as method of data collecting.

The organisational part of the methodology is equally important. Issues concerning participants' selection, interview technique, recording, language and most of all the ethics that arise are discussed and dealt with to a great extent in the rest of the chapter. Additionally, there is description of how a six step thematic analysis was used for analysing the data, revealing themes and sub-themes within the data. Moreover, the themes were assessed using the concentric circles theory as an evaluation tool to determine the forces created by each theme. Centripetal forces enhance the inner circles of morality while centrifugal forces weaken the inner circles allowing the outer circles of affection to be drawn closer to the centre.

3.1 Research Paradigms

Dating back to the ancient Greek philosophers, reason was predominantly the tool used to comprehend the world around them by using three dominant methods of thinking: deductive reasoning, inductive reasoning and inductive-deductive reasoning. Deductive reasoning which is based on the Aristotelian logic, in its simplest form, leads from the general to the particular extracting, in some occasions, valid conclusions (Kohen, Manion and Morrison,

2007:4). Francis Bacon's inductive reasoning, on the other hand, was the child of the logic and the scientific observations of the Renaissance period which adopted a critical stance towards deductive reasoning. As Maclaurin (1728, cited in Rees, 2002:383) argues, Lord Bacon's objective was to 'show how to make a good induction while Aristotle's was to teach how to make a good syllogism'. Bacon suggested a new road for the mind to take, establishing various degrees of certainty and producing reliable and demonstrable knowledge of nature (Lane, 1999:181). While Francis Bacon did not make any scientific discoveries, he achieved something just as profound: 'by revealing the true method for studying nature he created a new form of understanding that rejected received ideas and accepted none but the most vigorously tested notions' (Rees, 2002:385). Bacon's inductive reasoning led from particular instances to a hypothesis and eventually to generalisations and set the basis for scientific observations which, in turn, steered to the inductive-deductive reasoning, a back and forth procedure of induction and deduction where hypotheses are tested, accepted or revised, if necessary. Research, based on the inductive-deductive model of reason, empirical and self-correcting, is the second pillar, alongside reason, by which people are pursuing truth. Kerlinger (1970, cited in Kohen, Manion and Morrison 2007:4) defines research as the systematic, controlled, empirical and critical investigation of the relations among natural phenomena.

Coe (2012:5) suggest, that similar positions among researchers are often grouped and presented in the form of 'a commonly accepted set of principles and assumptions, a paradigm', which is a way of looking at, or researching phenomena, a kind of 'world view', that incorporates the researcher's beliefs about reality and scientific knowledge in conjunction with the values that the researcher conveys to the research. Paradigms are considered a prerequisite in doing or understanding any kind of research. Schwandt (2001) defines a paradigm as a shared world view that represents the beliefs and values in a discipline and that guides how problems are solved. Nonetheless worldviews affect and are affected by, our belief systems, decision-making, assumptions, and modes of problem solving (Hart, 2010). A paradigm on the other hand is considered a narrower concept; it represents a certain, organised, world view depending on the answers to certain issues regarding reality, knowledge and values. As Mackinnon and Powel (2008:23) state, a paradigm is simply one acceptable world-view, while Guba and Lincoln, (1994) state that paradigms are constructions of the human mind and thus subject to human error.

Researchers adopt a paradigm and defend it against other contrasting views. As Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2011:5) state, one cannot hold two distinct paradigms at the same time as the principles, standards and measures are not common. As Kawulich (2015) argues, there is not one 'correct' paradigm but it is up to the researcher to choose the appropriate paradigm and the way this will inform the research design in order to answer the research question.

The importance of the philosophical foundations of the research is profound because they act as a guide, framing the beliefs of the research in regards to important questions about reality, knowledge and values and in most cases determine the methodology applied (Schwandt, 2001). The researcher must be clear about the philosophical issues of ontology, epistemology, methodology and axiology in the sense that the position they adopt in regards to these issues determines the kinds of research worth doing, the questions asked, the methods used, and the values applied:

- Ontology raises questions concerning the nature of reality, whether is objective or subjective, single-layered or multi-layered. Bryman (2004, 2008) identifies two ontological positions according to how individuals view social reality, objectivism/positivism and constructionism/interpretivism. Objectivism identifies a single reality which is independent of social actors' beliefs, values and assumptions while constructionism accepts multiple realities that are socially constructed and revised through social interaction of actors.
- Epistemology introduces issues regarding the nature of knowledge and truth by asking questions regarding the sources of knowledge and their reliability. Moreover it examines the connection between beliefs and knowledge questioning the sources of data provided and their validity. According to Crotty (2003) one can distinguish three epistemological positions, objectivism, subjectivism and constructivism.
- Axiology, from the Greek word axio, meaning worthy (something of value), examines the values of the researcher which should be made known, and report any biases and what the researcher considers valuable in the new knowledge produced (Hogue, 2015).

- Methodology derives from the answers to ontological, epistemological and axiological questions and is the general research strategy which identifies the methods used in gathering the data needed. According to Scotland (2012) methodology attempts to answer the why, what, from where, when and how data is collected and analysed.

Based on the answers to the issues and questions posed by concepts such as ontology, epistemology, methodology and axiology, a variety of paradigms has evolved, each grouping a common set of beliefs about research. The main paradigms as presented by Lincoln, Lynham and Guba (2018) are positivist, post-positivist, critical, constructivism or interpretivist and participatory.

3.1.1 Positivist and Post-Positivist Paradigms

Positivist and post-positivist paradigms share the same belief for objective scientific knowledge. Both consider science and experiment as the best and only way of reaching conclusions. They aim to discover laws that are generalisable and govern the universe, thus Scotland (2012:10) refers to them as ‘the scientific paradigm’, considering them to be as one. They are informed mainly by realism, idealism and critical realism, acknowledging only one objective reality. They are based on a value-free system, yet many researchers, (Scotland, 2010; Kawulich, 2015; Davies and Fischer, 2018) question whether there is actually a value-free system when researchers and participants bring their values into the research and the value placed on empiricism, ‘the idea that genuine knowledge can be tested by experience and that claims of knowledge must be observable’ (Benton and Craib, 2001, cited in Howell, 2013:4). Positivism uses scientific methods of objective observation and quantification for collecting data, which in most cases derive from measurements and questionnaires producing objective results. While positivism is the strict form of paradigm concerning scientific truth and experiment, post-positivism is not as strict, allowing room for other interpretations and outcomes. As Crotty (1998) states, no matter how faithfully the scientist adheres to scientific method research, ‘research outcomes are neither totally objective, nor unquestionably certain’. Moreover, positivism focus on theory verification and post-positivism emphasises theory falsification. As Popper, (2002, cited in Howell, 2013:13) argues, ‘a million white swans observed cannot prove that all swans are white, while the observation of a single black

swan can prove that they are not'. Influenced by critical realism, post-positivism accepts the possibility of error in the observations, which can be biased by the experience and beliefs of the observer, and those theories could change or prove false at a later stage. The limitations of the scientific paradigm refer to the inability of transferring a paradigm used to interpret the natural world, to the social world. Variables in the social world are countless and complex, some may be hidden from the researcher and become known only when their results are evident. Moreover, inferential statistical tests may be misused and their results are often misinterpreted. Finally, positivists are often self-deluded into thinking that their research is value free, even though choices about the variables to be examined, actions to be observed, and interpretation of findings, are made, and the production of knowledge is always political and refusing to consider 'the political connections of produced knowledge is in itself political' (Scotland, 2012:11).

3.1.2 Critical Paradigm

The critical paradigm is based on historical realism which argues that multiple realities are socially constructed and shaped by social, political, cultural, economic, ethnic, religious and gender values which interact with each other to create a social system; reality that was formed and has now become crystallised (Guba and Lincoln, 1994:110). Bohman (2005) identifies the characteristics of critical research: it should identify and explain what is wrong with the current social reality, suggest ways to change it and finally provide both clear norms for criticism and transformation. Research based on the critical paradigm is anti-foundational and attacks the socially constructed reality that can be changed by human action (Scotland, 2012:13). Epistemologically, the critical paradigm is subjective and it is assumed that researchers affect the object of research with their biases and presumptions that should be clearly communicated.

In contrast with positivism and interpretive paradigms, critical researchers do not wish to create new knowledge about the social world or interpret the status quo, but bring to light the beliefs and interactions that limit human freedom, expose the oppressive structures that create inequality, and ultimately transform and emancipate society. They use dialogic and dialectical methodologies, engaging their participants in a dialogue, which aims in revealing the power relations among members of the society that deprive them of intellectual and social

needs. Critical methodology is focused at cross-examining values and assumptions, exposing hegemony and injustice, challenging orthodox social structures and encouraging social action (Crotty, 1998:157).

There are several weaknesses of the critical paradigm. First, the imbalance of power between the researcher and the participant which leads to inaccurate and inconsistent results thus leading to issues of collaboration, consent, coerciveness and autonomy. Second, as critical researchers have a clear agenda of change; it is not favourable to existing regimes limiting their funding. Third, researchers within the paradigm tend to use stereotypes about participants, in two distinct ways, first considering all of them to be oppressed and marginalised and second regarding that all have the same degree of oppression. Moreover, emancipation and improvement is not guaranteed since the lives of the participants may or may not change and not always for the better, leading to frustration and disappointment among those affected by the research. Finally, because most of the critical researchers are white males they were accused of excluding feminine voices and people of colour thus contributing to the maintenance of the status-quo instead of trying to change it (Scotland, 2012:14).

3.1.3 Constructivist/Interpretivist Paradigm

The constructivist/interpretivist paradigm was developed as a reaction to positivist and post-positivist paradigms. As Kawulich (2015) argue, it is philosophically based on a) phenomenology, which is the study of human consciousness and self-awareness, and b) hermeneutics, the study of interpretation. The objective of research based on the interpretivist paradigm is to understand and describe human nature. In contrast to positivism the interpretivist paradigm accepts multiple realities which are socially constructed and the different values of each are an integral part of social life (Cresswell, 2003). Reality in the interpretivist paradigm is limited to context, space and time to individuals or groups and cannot be generalised into a common shared reality. Knowledge is subjective as a social construction and truth is context dependent and rests on the researcher's objectivity, consequently, 'researchers need to make their agenda and value- system explicit from the outset' (Scotland, 2012:12). Therefore, stories, belief systems and myths developed by social groups could be accepted as legitimate knowledge. Methodology is qualitative and

naturalistic using interviews, observations, diaries and documents as tools for gathering data. Since the researcher is the one who gathers, evaluates and interprets the data, values, ideological biases, relationship to the participants and closeness to the research topic need to be examined and stated clearly because ethical clarity towards the research is necessary for its credibility. Cohen et al (2007) argue that research within the paradigm is considered good if it agrees with the criteria of internal validity (credibility), offering rich evidence with credible and justifiable accounts, external validity (transferability) when the results can be used by someone else in another situation and the research process and findings can be replicated (reliability).

The main disadvantages of the constructivist/interpretivist paradigm are first of all the inability to generalise the results and to reach an outcome or a universal law, extended into a wider population, in the way positivist/post positivist paradigm is able to. Moreover, research based on the interpretivist paradigm has limited transferability and knowledge is often fragmented and not unified in a coherent body (Scotland, 2012:12). Additionally, Moustakas (1994) argues that collecting and interpreting data from a large number of participants can be problematic and result in inconsistent conclusion biased by the researcher's values and beliefs, especially when it comes to novice researchers. As far as participants are concerned, they depend on the researcher as to the limit of exposing their identification, or having their opinions disturbed through the lens of the researcher (Scotland, 2012:13).

3.1.4 Participatory Paradigms

The participatory research paradigm was developed as an extension of the constructivist/interpretivist paradigm. As Heron and Reason (1997:274) argue, the constructivist/interpretive paradigm is unclear about the relationship between constructed realities and the original givenness of the cosmos, and that a worldview based on participation and participative realities is more helpful and satisfying. The ontology of participatory paradigm is subjective-objective. As Heron (1996:11) states, 'it is subjective because it is only known through the form the mind gives it; and it is objective because the mind interpenetrates the given cosmos which is shaped'. On one side it accepts the individual or the social mind as a creator of reality while on the other hand asserts that there is a given cosmos, a primordial reality in which the mind actively participates. It is within this dance of

given cosmos and mind that a new reality emerges as a fruit of their interaction. Heron and Person (1997:278) acknowledge an epistemology of critical subjectivity with four ways of knowing: experiential, presentational, propositional, and practical which establish the various forms of subjectivity, which in interaction with the critical mind form a reality unclouded by a restrictive and ill-disciplined subjectivity. Moreover, critical subjectivity involves a self-reflexive attention to the ground on which one is standing, as Maguire (1987:xv) points out, 'dig where you stand', the long journey to change the world, to empower and liberate starts with modifying the near environment. The methodology used is collaborative inquiry; researchers and participants engage in a democratic dialogue and collaborate to define the questions they wish to explore and the methodology for that exploration. Researchers and participants, as co-researchers, circle through the four forms of knowing (experiential, presentational, propositional, and practical) for finding ways of enhancing their knowledge of the existing world and their reality with practical patterns which are grounded in each other. Thus, the purpose of knowledge is enhancing the values of human flourishing that are connected with the participatory paradigm. As Heron and Pearson (1997:290) point out:

We hold that humans consummate such self-awareness as creative agents, whose practical inquiry is a celebration of the flowering of humanity and of the co-creating cosmos, and as part of a sacred science is an expression of the beauty and joy of active existence.

The participatory paradigm has some disadvantages. Tadevosyan and Schoenhuth (nd) have identified the quality of information, which in some cases, due to the participation of local communities, can be modest, alongside the limitation in producing statistical data, and the absence of a blue print, a guide for doing participatory research. Moreover, they argue about participation limitations due to low levels of democracy in certain areas of the world, where authoritarian regimes may obstruct people from participating. There is also the phenomenon of participation fatigue, by people who participate in research with high expectations but do not witness any actual results, like for example identifiable social/cultural change.

3.2 Presentation of Preferred Paradigm

As Kawulich (2015:2) states:

How you view what is real, what you know and how you know it, along with the theoretical perspective(s) you have about the topic under study, the literature that exists on the subject, and your own value system work together to help you select the paradigm most appropriate for you to use.

Since the objective of my research was to investigate the perceptions of Cypriot teachers towards a cosmopolitan future in education based on the Stoic's philosophy of the concentric circles as presented by Martha Nussbaum (1997), the paradigm that I used had to provide the necessary philosophical basis and tools to discover and interpret Cypriot teachers' views on Nationalism in the education system of Cyprus, and investigate their perceptions towards a shift from the current situation of Nationalism to a cosmopolitan future in education.

Based on the answers to ontological, epistemological and methodological questions the empirical part of my research followed the interpretive/constructivist paradigm because I attempted to understand the subjective world of human experience and the aim of the inquiry is to construct meaning through the direct experience of people. As Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2011:19) argue, 'the researcher in the interpretive paradigm is trying to understand, explain and interpret socially constructed realities through the experiences of different participants'. The interpretive paradigm accepts that multiple realities exist and are both local and specific; people interpret and make their own meaning of events which are distinctive and not generalised, therefore, there can be multiple perspectives to one incident and causation is determined by the interpreted meaning.

Knowledge, in the interpretive paradigm, arises from particular situations and gained through personal experience and interaction among the participants. The paradigm adopts the transactional or subjectivist epistemology which argues that the researcher-inquirer can not separate their-self from what they know and this inevitably influences inquiry. What can be

known is inextricably tied to the interaction between a particular researcher and a particular object or group (Lincoln, Lynham and Guba, 2018:109-112).

The researcher's understanding of axiology has to be in agreement with the ethics and values of the researcher, altruism, empowerment, and liberation (Lincoln, Lynham and Guba, 2018:110). In addition to that, the researcher adopted the role of the passionate participant as a facilitator of open speech and multi-voice reconstruction. Moreover, in the case of Cyprus, the researcher embraced a strong belief that education could bring a significant change to the island's political future, especially regarding unification.

A predominantly valuable function of methodology is to investigate the assertions of specific methods, while methods provide credibility to the often more abstract claims of a methodology (Ruane 2005:48-9). According to Hughes and Sharrock (2007:35) the terms 'method' and 'methodology' refer to two separate but related elements of research practice. The interpretive paradigm uses hermeneutical and dialectical methodology (Lincoln, Lynham and Guba, 2018:110) which determines the methods used. The word 'method' indicates those tools or techniques used to gather and accumulate data about an object of inquiry. In that sense, questionnaires, interviews, observation, ethnography, and so on, all represent different methods. As presumed in the paradigm, I used naturalistic methods combining interviewing with approaches that foster conversation and reflection. This reflective dialogic through interviews allowed me and the participants to engage into a fruitful dialogue which provided rich data regarding teacher's perceptions towards a cosmopolitan future for the education of Cyprus. The selection of interviews as a method of gathering data is justified next.

3.3 Interviews as Method of Data Gathering

Qualitative data can be gathered using a number of different methods or instruments. Rubin and Rubin (2012) mention participant observation, document analysis, conversational and narrative analysis and in-depth qualitative interviews. Interviews are considered as a widely used instrument of data collection within many of the paradigms of qualitative research. Barribal and While (1994:329) identify some advantages from using interviews as a method of data collection; first of all, it is well suited to the exploration of attitudes, beliefs and

values and motives. Also, it is personal and on-time in regards to the answer procedure. Additionally, it overcomes the poor response rates of questionnaires and provides the opportunity to evaluate the validity of the participant's answers by observing non-verbal indicators. Finally, it facilitates comparability by ensuring that all questions are answered by the participants. Savin-Baden and Major (2013:354) consider interviews to be a demanding task that requires critical attention and time, and researchers have the obligation to make choices regarding the type of interview to conduct, the medium in which to conduct them and the ways which they will position themselves within them.

There are different types of interview for the researcher to select based on the kind of data they would like to collect. The most commonly used are structured, semi-structured, unstructured and informal interviews (Savin-Baden and Major, 2013:358). For this dissertation I have selected semi-structured, in-depth interviews as my method of choice because of three shared characteristics of in-depth qualitative interviewing identified by Rubin and Rubin (2013:29). First of all, the researcher is not looking for yes-or-no, agree or disagree, answers but instead for rich and detailed information, examples, experiences, narratives and stories. Also, the questions are open-ended allowing the interviewee to respond in any way they choose, asking for clarifications, disagreeing with questions, raising new issues. Finally, the interviewer is not compelled to pose exactly the same questions to all the participants. There is a protocol for the interview but it is not as strict as structured interviews, allowing the opportunity for clarifications and comments, introducing sensitive elements gradually. The interviewer acts as a coordinator rather than an interrogator and asks open-ended questions, which allow the interviewees to express their perspectives freely and also allow comparable data that can be compared across participants. I have selected semi-structured interviews because I wanted to allow the participants enough space to express their views, feelings and concerns regarding the situation in Cyprus and the possibility of a cosmopolitan education system based on Hierocles the Stoic's concentric circles theory, as developed by Nussbaum (1997:61).

Another important aspect of the interview process is the style that the interviewer adopts during the interview. I followed a responsive style because an objective was to make the participants feel comfortable by building a relation of trust that led to a give and take

conversation using a friendly and gentle tone with little or no confrontation. Rubin and Rubin (2012:38) summarise the characteristics of the responsive interviewer in the search of context and richness accepting the complexity and uncertainty of real life, however the interviewer must be aware of their own opinions, experiences, prejudices and should be careful about emotional reactions to challenging or disturbing material. Moreover, as an interview establishes a temporary, meaningful, relationship, it carries some obligation for reciprocity and a responsibility for protection towards the interviewee.

There are, however, some disadvantages of face to face interviews as a method of collecting data (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2011). The most important of these is based on the 'reactive effect', the reaction of the participant to the presence of the researcher, since the researcher's presence, characteristics and behaviour may bias the results. It is not uncommon for participants to answer in a way that pleases the interviewer providing data that are not entirely accurate. Additionally, they are usually more expensive and time consuming than questionnaires and require strong interviewing skills by the researcher. The research participants are usually less, comparing to other methods, but the researcher needs, in most cases, to travel to the participant's location adding to the cost of the research. Moreover, issues of anonymity may arise and responses may be less honest and thoughtful. Finally, results are difficult to analyse and are subjected to the researcher's bias in a greater degree.

3.3.1 Organising the Research Interviews

Planning research, adopting paradigms, data gathering tools, modes of research, selecting participants, managing interviews and all the actions related to a proper and well-structured research are much easier in theory than in actual life.

Selecting the appropriate mode for the interview is not an easy task since it demands careful consideration regarding a number of factors like proximity, distribution of the participants and accessibility. The modes used for conducting interviews are distinguished as synchronous and asynchronous regarding time and place proximity (Opdenakker, 2006; Savin-Baden and Major, 2013; Oltmann, 2016). Synchronous methods of time and place are face-to-face interviews while asynchronous (time but not place) include computer conferencing, chat and

interviews in online places and spaces, telephone and instant messaging. E-mails are considered to be an asynchronous communication method.

My preferred interview mode was face-to-face, where the interviewer and the interviewee share the same space and time. Because of the limitation of the research area to the Nicosia district I was able to meet with the participants and interview them in person. Face-to-face interviews allow for more rich data to be gathered since the interviewer can listen and observe at the same time, while the interviewee is concentrated and focused on the interview process. Therefore, it is imperative to be organised and attend to issues like the choice of a quiet place without interactions, away from mobile phones, loud music and intrusive bystanders (Rabionet, 2011; Rubin and Rubin, 2012; Savin-Baden and Major, 2013).

In order to conduct a successful interview, the researcher should be a good listener avoid talking too much, but able to assist the interviewer with follow up questions and encouraging comments. Savin-Baden and Major (2013:361) suggest that the researcher, especially the novice, should practise their listening skills and attention, focus on the participants responses and not be judgmental, keeping an open mind to answers that might be displeasing or discomforting. Opdenakker (2006) suggests that the researcher could take advantage of social cues: voice, intonation and body language provide a lot of extra information that complement the verbal response. Observing the participant is another important aspect of the interview since interviewees tend to send messages through their body language and gestures. Non-verbal communication, nevertheless, can transmit different messages than the actual words and the researcher ought to pay attention to it but not overestimate their abilities of reading body language correctly (Oltmann, 2016).

Another issue is the media used for recording the interviews. I used digital voice recorders which allowed me to re-listen to the interviews while transcribing them. Reflecting on the interviews is important because I could recall to memory small bits of information that might have missed during the interview process. As Barriball and While (1994:332) argue, audio recording provides a comprehensive vision into the performance of both the participant and the researcher. Moreover, digital recorders are designed to focus on the human voice limiting

surrounding noise that could make listening to the recording difficult (Rohman and Rita, 2013:7). Some researchers (Bucher et al., 1956; Al-Yateem, 2012; Rohman and Rita, 2013) claim that recording the interview could result in making the participants nervous and less willing to share information, especially for sensitive issues. As Al-Yateem (2012:33) states, in their study ‘the interactions that took place when they were recorded were less relaxed and achieving a high level of conversational interaction similar to that before recording started was more difficult’. Moreover, less experienced interviewers may disengage and not give the interview their full attention which again may result into retrieving less information from the participant.

The organisational issues of the interviews were very important for a successful interview because the more organised an interview was the smoother it progressed and the more data I was able to retrieve. First of all, a good and functional recording device saved me a significant amount of time. Moreover, having two or three devices as back up allowed me to check the recording from multiple devices in case I was not able to understand something from the primary device. Additionally, transcribing the interviews required about six times the time of the interview and a good recorder can significantly reduce that time. Other important organisational matters included the selection of the participants for the interviews and choosing strong and intuitive interview questions. These will be discussed next in more detail.

3.3.2 Choosing Interview Questions

When conducting a semi-structured interview there are some general rules that should be followed in selecting questions (Rubin and Rubin, 2012). First of all the questions should be open-ended, allowing the participant to answer freely and in a descriptive manner without leading them. Asking probing or follow up questions is essential for clarifying the true meaning of the participant’s answers. That said, it is imperative that the researcher be prepared to respond to issues raised by the participant for clarification. In addition to that, questions should serve the general aims and questions of the research (Castillo-Montoya, 2016:812).

Research questions are different than interview questions. Maxwell (2013) points out that research questions express what the researcher wants to understand while interview questions are what the researcher asks people to gain that understanding. In that sense, questions should be articulated in simple language avoiding difficult theoretical terms. This increases their utility and necessity because questions are used for assisting the participant to describe complex experiences in a clear and understandable manner and not overwhelm them. I have used a matrix (see Appendix 4) for converting research questions to interview questions using simpler language but at the same time identifying the data I would like to retrieve during the interview (Castillo-Montoya, 2016). I associated interview questions to research questions taking into account the fact that each research issue was investigated by several questions during the interview. Moreover, in the case participants referred to a research issue outside of the questions of the interview; I included that part of the answer to the data of the research.

The format of the interview was as follows: some introductory questions regarding the participant and the topic which are not intrusive and threatening, followed by easy, transitional questions showing empathy and concern for the participant, leaving the tough, key, questions for the middle of the interview process, escalating the interest and the amount of data expected and finally, completing the interview with questions which tone down the emotional level before closing in a friendly and responsive manner maintaining contact with the participant. It was important that the interviewees left the interview feeling satisfied and willing to answer some follow up questions or be re-interviewed, if necessary (Creswell, 2007; Rubin and Rubin, 2012; Castillo-Montoya, 2016).

3.3.3 Participants' Selection Process

Generally speaking, qualitative research needs fewer participants than quantitative studies (Mason, 2010). Researchers (Patton, 2002; Creswell, 2007; Turner, 2010; Robinson, 2014) suggest the use of one of the various sampling strategies such as critical case sampling, criterion based sampling, or purposive, convenient sampling. For the selection of the Greek-Cypriot participants I used criterion based sampling strategy with specific criteria regarding geographical distribution since I was not willing to travel long distances for an interview. My sampling universe (Robinson, 2014:27) were all teachers currently working in the public sector of Cyprus limited by the geographical criterion of working in the Nicosia district.

Robinson (2014:28) points out that homogeneity of the participants reduces the level of generalisation of the research, which should be made cautiously and within the limits of the localised sample universe. Moreover, I favoured schools that had at least one teacher whom I have worked with or associated with in the past. Approaching the participants through a proxy rather than directly helped me establish a connection with the teachers of the school and reduce the number of negative answers to my request for an interview. I was planning on interviewing one participant from each school on a first agreed, first interviewed basis, for covering at least twelve public schools in the greater Nicosia area.

In order to select the Turkish-Cypriot participants, I used purposive/convenient sampling strategies; purposive because I wanted to ensure that Turkish-Cypriot teachers were included within the participants (Mason, 2010) and convenient because there were proximity, connection and language issues that I had to address which might influence the results of my research. I attempted to establish contact with Turkish-Cypriot teachers through common friends, colleagues and the Turkish-Cypriot teachers' union. I expected them to be favourable towards the research since they have opened up to the Greek-Cypriots and established a relationship. As Creswell (2007) argues, participants should be willing to openly and honestly share information. Through them I would attempt to approach other Turkish-Cypriot teachers that could provide me with more credible and diverse data for the research because it is vital that most or all of the important perceptions are revealed without being repetitive and meaningless (Mason, 2010). Another issue concerning the selection of Turkish-Cypriot participants was language. I favoured participants who were reasonably fluent in English because I was to conduct the interviews directly, not through a translator.

As far as the number of participants is concerned, Mason (2010:3) states that it is determined by the type of the study and the level of studies involved varying from three participants for undergraduate to fifty or sixty for doctorate. Taking into account the problems mentioned earlier, such as location and language, I was planning on conducting twelve interviews initially. Guest et al. (2006) in their study suggest that saturation occurs during the first twelve interviews while basic elements of meta-themes surface within the first six interviews. Since the population ratio in Cyprus is approximately eighty per cent Greek-Cypriots and twenty per cent Turkish-Cypriots, I was planning on following that ratio to my research,

interviewing nine Greek-Cypriot teachers and three to four Turkish-Cypriots. The number could have changed in regards to the data collected. In case I decided that I have collected insufficient data from the interviews I might raise the number of participants. Malterud, Siersma, and Guassora (2016:1753) share the concept of sufficient data collected as the decisive point regarding the number of interviews needed for a research and introduce the term of *information power* which indicates that the more information participants share about the researched subject then the fewer interviews are needed. This procedure demanded the simultaneous collection and analysis of the data rather than treating them as separate stages of a linear process (Bryman, 2004)

Regarding the issue of selecting the participants for the research, I wanted to utilise the wide network of friends and colleagues I have made as a teacher over the past twenty five years. As such, I decided to narrow the sample area of the dissertation to teachers currently teaching in the geographical area of the Nicosia district. I prepared a list of all the schools in the Nicosia district and favoured the schools in which I had at least one teacher whom I was familiar with, either a personal friend or an old colleague. Then through the websites of the schools I had a list of the teachers and I randomly picked one from the list. I contacted the teacher and ask them to enquire the randomly chosen teacher whether they were interested in participating in my research. In case I had a positive reaction, I contacted the selected teacher by phone, and arranged a meeting at a coffee shop or a place that was best for them. I had no problem in travelling to the Nicosia district so the only criteria I had for the interview were for the meeting place to be as quiet as possible. In case there was a negative reaction I contacted another teacher. This was repeated until an interview was agreed. I preferred interviewing one teacher from each school because I wanted to cover as much area and as many schools from different parts of the district as I could, both rural and urban area schools. This process, approaching participants through a proxy, even though it was time-consuming allowed me to have a more personal contact with the participants since I was not the stranger who wanted to interview them, but a friend of one of their colleagues. This resulted in them showing me more trust and opening to me more easily. Moreover, we had a common topic to talk about as an ice-breaker chat before the actual interview.

The selection of Turkish-Cypriot teachers presented a number of challenges. Even though I was able to approach some of them, again through common friends, colleagues and the Turkish-Cypriot teachers' union, they were not so enthusiastic to the idea of being interviewed. Most of them expressed concerns especially in regards to language issues, some argued about the lack of time for the interview and only one of them agreed to the interview. After the first interview with the Turkish-Cypriot teacher I could not find any teachers for interview despite my efforts through the teachers' union or other personal contacts. Approaching Turkish-Cypriot teachers through the official educational administration of the Turkish-Cypriot state was out of the question for me, for ethical reasons, since it is an administration recognised only by Turkey and it is considered illegal. I was starting to think that I might need to alter the initial thoughts about interviewing three Turkish-Cypriot teachers when a Greek-Cypriot teacher whom I had previously interviewed told me that she mentioned the research to some Turkish-Cypriot teacher friends she had and two of them were interested and agreed to meet me. I contacted them through social media and I was able to arrange interviews with them. Since I was a stranger to them, the levels of anxiety were higher than the interviews with the Greek-Cypriot teachers and as a result the data I retrieved were not as rich as the other participants, but nonetheless I was able to collect sufficient data and complete the preliminary number of interviews as suggested in the organisation of the research. Regardless of the problems I have faced in arranging all the interviews, I am grateful to the people that participated in the interviews and dedicated their time to help me collect data for this study.

3.4 Ethical Issues

Regarding ethical issues, this study was approved by the University of Glasgow's School of Social Sciences ethical committee (see Appendix 1). A Participant Information Sheet (see Appendix 2) was available to the prospective participants. All the participants signed a Consent Form (see Appendix 3), regarding both the interview and the recording, which clearly states that they were participating in the research out of their free will and are in liberty to withdraw at any time during the process. I explained what the respondent could gain from participating in the study and considered in what ways the interview might put the participants at risk in terms of stress, legal liabilities, ostracism or political repercussion. Needless to say, the data will be kept confidential and the identity of the participants is kept secret by assigning a pseudonym to each of the participants and using the female gender

throughout the dissertation when referring to the participants, regardless of their actual gender. My dissertation does not require any personal data other than the participant's name, ethnic origin and telephone number or social media account, for communication purposes. I will protect all personal data acquired by the terms of the dissertation. All personal data will be discarded right after the completion of the whole dissertation process no later than September 2021. Moreover all the other data collected for the dissertation will be retained for the appropriate amount of time, ten years after the completion of the dissertation as mentioned in the University of Glasgow's Code of Good Practice in Research.

As far as confidentiality is concerned, I reflected on the extent to which promises of confidentiality can be met as stated in the Ethics Approval Form. Additionally, I evaluated who has the right to access data and for what purpose. In addition to that, ethical issues about data collection boundaries were set regarding the extent of pushing for data. Since I was planning on conducting semi-structured interviews I did not press the participants to answer questions that would make them feel uncomfortable. I considered the interview to be a constructive conversation between me and the participants regardless of the degree of agreement or disagreement between us and I provided, upon request, a copy of the transcribed interviews for comments and approval (Savin-Baden and Major, 2013; Merriam and Tisdell, 2016). I tried to make the participants feel comfortable by building a relation of trust that led to a give and take conversation using a friendly and gentle tone with little or no confrontation. I allowed about 5-10 minutes for small talk and sharing information about school, family and common acquaintances. This kind of ice-breaking activity permitted the interviewee and me to relax and deal with the interview as a relaxed everyday conversation, something that was my intention in the first place. In case a participant disclosed an emotional, psychological, health, educational or other issue during the course of the research I would discontinue the interview and ask the accompanying friend or partner for assistance, a situation that has not occurred.

The location of the interview was important for me because I was planning on conducting interviews with Turkish-Cypriots which may demand my transition to the occupied part of Cyprus. This raised some ethical issues for me since I would have to cross the checkpoints to enter the occupied part of my country. I tried to convince the participants to meet in the

'buffer zone' of Nicosia, to a bi-communal establishment ensuring unobstructed conversation in a relaxed environment. If some of the participants were unable to meet me there, I would make arrangements to meet wherever they chose in order to facilitate them.

Keeping participants' identity confidential was an important commitment that I have assumed. Allocating pseudonyms and using the female gender for all participants when referring to them, regardless of their actual gender, assured that they would remain anonymous. Participants enter into the research freely and willingly and have the right to withdraw from the research at any time, even after the interview, since transcribed copies were provided upon their request. It is my belief that beyond ethical approval forms and other documentation, the ethics of the research is linked directly with the ethics of the researcher. My ethical code would not allow me to expose the participants to any kind of risk, physical or emotional during or after the interviews.

3.5 Language Issues

Language was a critical issue that had to be addressed in my dissertation because English is not the first language for me or the participants in my research. Therefore, as far as the Greek-Cypriot teachers were concerned, I would have to translate verbatim the questions of the interview from English to Greek and translate back to English when transcribing the answers. That process minimises the risk of information lost in translation (Merriam and Tisdell, 2013:299). Moreover, as far as the Turkish-Cypriots are concerned, I used the English language since I do not speak Turkish and did not afford a translator to translate from Greek or English to Turkish and then back from Turkish to English or Greek. This could result into either inadequate data because of modest use of the English language and misinterpretations, or the translator could project their own views as the participant's thus altering the results of the research. In any case, I preferred doing the interview without a translator therefore I favoured participants who were more fluent in English. This issue might affect the number of interviews with Turkish-Cypriot teachers since a large number of Turkish-Cypriot teachers were excluded from the research because they were not fluent in English.

3.5.1 Transcribing the Interview

Preparing a verbatim, word-for-word, transcript of the questions and answers of the interview is the first activity after the interview. Verbatim transcription is time-consuming since Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2013:537) estimate five or six hours of transcribing for an hour of interview and suggest as an alternative to write the analysis directly from the original source, avoiding being caught up in details and look at the bigger picture. Nevertheless, I undertook verbatim transcription because it is more convenient to retrieve information from written sources rather than listening to the interview over and over. Rubin and Rubin (2012) suggest that the precision of the transcript depends on the analysis planned. In some interviews pronunciation, mannerisms, pauses and grammatical errors are important but generally verbatim transcription is enough. Non-verbal events however should be included. Long pauses, hesitations, excitement and emphasis influence the interpretation and should be noticed by the interviewer. Apart from that, there are certain rules to be followed which provide validity to the transcript like giving a pseudonym to each participant, consistency in spelling, ensure that each line is numbered and wide margins and double spacing used (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2013:538).

Chapter Four of the dissertation provides a presentation of the interviews focused on the research questions and the themes and sub-themes that have risen through the interview process. I have quoted extensively the participants because I wanted to let their voice be heard and their perceptions be clear through their own words. Moreover, a copy of the interview transcript was sent to the interviewees, upon request, and prior to the analysis. All participants who received copies of their interviews allowed analysis without any changes to the transcription.

3.6 Data Analysis

Making sense and answering the research questions through the interpretation of the data gathered is the goal of data analysis. Collecting and analysing data is a simultaneous process in qualitative research and should intensify as the research progresses and more evidence accumulates. Merriam and Tisdell (2016:195) argue that all qualitative data analysis is both inductive and comparative, searching for common themes, patterns and categories that cut

across the data. It is an iterative and cyclical process that begins at the start of the project and continues until the submission of the dissertation. It involves synthesis, evaluation, categorisation, hypothesising, comparison and pattern finding (Hatch, 2002, cited in Savin-Patten and Major, 2016:435). Analysis of the data is, as Creswell (2007:267) suggests, a spiral process, ‘not off-the shelf but rather custom-made and choreographed’, in the sense that you enter with a text or audio or images, spin around in circles, and exit with an account or narrative.

There are many methods of data analysis but for my dissertation I used thematic analysis because I intended to identify, analyse and report patterns or themes in the data. Thematic analysis consists of considering connections and interconnections between codes, concepts and themes (Savin-Patten and Major, 2016:440). Originally, it was not considered as the most scientific of methods since it relies on intuition and is mainly described as ‘a method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data’ (Braun and Clarke, 2006: 79). Nevertheless, in recent years it is acknowledged as a reliable method of analysing data and there are many approaches to it. Unfortunately, it is not uncommon for researchers to use mixed and confusing approaches, leading to misattributed procedures and assumptions (Braun et al, 2019). Additionally, it is considered a very flexible method since it is not tied to a certain epistemological or theoretical frame (Maguire and Delahunt, 2017:3352).

Braun et al. (2019) suggest a six step procedure for thematic analysis. I used this procedure because it allowed immersion into the data in an organised manner and it also recovered the themes and patterns which form the basis of the research. Following the procedure step-by-step enables the researcher, especially the novice, to make sense of the data and draw valid conclusions. These steps include:

1. Familiarising oneself with the data, which requires the researcher to move from data gathering to analysis. Practically this includes re-listening to the interviews, rereading the transcripts, and making notes about the data.
2. More detailed and systematic engagement with the data, for generating some initial codes, using either inductive or deductive orientation. Inductive orientation means that the researcher approaches the data in an objective manner, trying to draw

concepts and ideas from the data while deductive orientation is approaching the data with ideas, values and concepts which are explored within the data.

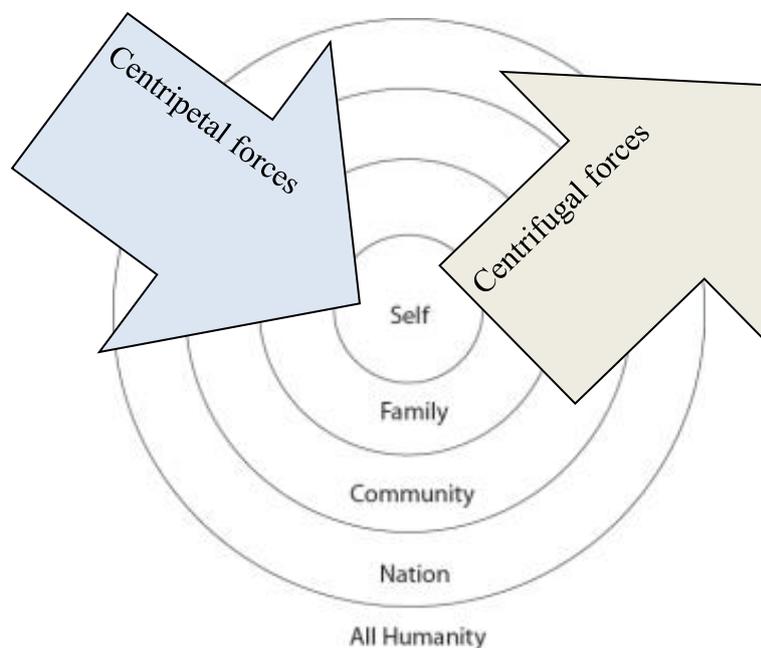
3. The third step is constructing and reviewing themes, which are either constructed by recurring codes or emerge as important codes promoted to themes. These are reviewed in relation to the research question.
4. The fourth step involved reviewing the themes. A procedure which connects the themes with the coded extracts and entire data set. A thematic map can be generated connecting all the themes with the data.
5. The most important step of the procedure is revising, defining and naming the themes. Having clearly defined the themes clarifies the essence of each theme and avoids overlapping or analytic thinness.
6. Finally, producing the report, which involves much more than just writing up. It includes revisiting the research question, the notes and themes and make sure that the themes selected provide the answers, making connections to the literature, and eventually weave into a comprehensive text.

It is important to say that this procedure is not linear and the researcher may move back and forth, especially when dealing with complex data.

The objective of the thematic analysis is to identify patterns or themes that are important or interesting and use these patterns to address the research questions (Maguire and Delahunt, 2017:3353). Buetow (2010:123) identifies two modes of identifying themes, recurrent and important. Repeated codes throughout the interviews provide the patterns for the analysis, while important issues raised by individual participants could also be considered. Themes can be distinguished into two levels, semantic and latent. Semantic themes are the ones which are clearly stated in the data, they represent an explicit or surface interpretation of the data resulting in a shallow analysis of data. Latent themes on the other hand move beyond the description of what have been said, and represent the interpretation and explanation of the data by the researcher (Braun and Clarke, 2006:84).

An ideal analysis includes both recurrent and important themes in the spirit of Buetow's (2010) analysis since important issues may exist equally in what the participants have said and to my interpretation of those issues. Semantic and latent themes were considered since

semantic themes revealed a shared view or a common understanding while latent themes revealed personal emotion and experiences not commonly shared. Identifying these patterns within the interviews provided the information needed in order to determine the perceptions of Cypriot teachers towards a cosmopolitan education. Additionally, the data were analysed under the lens of the concentric circles theory to connect each answer to the perspective circle of affection and present the way the circles are strengthened or transcended from the answers of the participants. The graphic representation of the circles allows the positioning of the participants' views to show which of these encourage the creation of centripetal forces which strengthen the inner circles and the views that create centrifugal forces that weaken the inner circles allowing the outer circles to be drawn closer to the centre.



(The image of the concentric circles was retrieved from: <https://bit.ly/3igLYY2>)

3.6.1 Data Interpretation – Quality Issues

An important issue faced by qualitative research is the issue of quality and value of the results. It is clear that since conclusions are based on the researcher's interpretation of the data collected, results are debatable and open to judgment in a greater degree than other kind of research. Researchers (Lincoln, 1995; Tracy, 2010; Benjumea, 2015; Brinkmann, 2018) have attempted to provide criteria for ensuring the quality of the research to a greater degree because, due to questions about the quality and transferability of the results, funding towards

qualitative studies was being reduced. Benjumea (2015:884) identifies four approaches among researchers for evaluating the quality in qualitative research a) those who think that no specific criteria are needed, b) those who defend the existence of criteria, thirdly, c) those who believe that different criteria should apply for different methods and, finally, d) researchers who believe that there should be an overlapping criterion that includes all the methods. The most common position is supported by those who believe that certain criteria should apply adjusted to particular methods. Tracy (2010:840) identifies eight criteria towards a quality research project, starting with a worthy topic which must be interesting, relevant, timely and significant, followed by rich rigour and sincerity by the researcher, and should be marked by credibility and resonance with ethical manners and significant contribution to the field achieved with meaningful coherence.

Even though there is a ‘monopoly of interpretation’ of the interviewer over interviewee’s statements, there are some good practices for data interpretation that could assist the validity of the research (Brinkmann, 2018:589). Focusing on interpretivist research, Lincoln (1995) identifies some criteria that emerge such as positionality, authenticity, a clear voice especially for those who are silent, reciprocity, and sacredness ‘which emerges from a profound concern for human dignity, justice, and interpersonal respect’ (Lincoln, 1995:283) and finally reflexivity, the acknowledgement of the researcher’s subjectivity, the ways that his or her social background and assumptions can intervene in the research process (Frels and Onwuegbusie, 2012; Noble and Smith, 2015). Additionally Merriam and Tisdell (2016:259) propose specific strategies for promoting validity and reliability in qualitative research such as participant’s validation, reaching high levels of saturation, peer review, audit trail, thick descriptions and maximum variation in participant’s selection. Moreover knowing that participants are telling the truth, or their truth, is essential because the researcher based on the data will reach some conclusion and ought to prove that they have gained the best available information.

Evaluating the interpretation of data is a challenging process which is often neglected. Savin-Baden and Majors (2016:466) argue that plausible results should be reasonable, useful, and lead to an understanding of meaning, while oversimplification and negotiation and renegotiation of meaning should be avoided. Cypress (2017) suggests that rigorous standards

should be applied when evaluating the results of qualitative research since they need to present conclusions that make sense to other readers and researchers and are worth paying attention to (Denzin and Lincoln, 2018:20; Golafshani, 2003).

Concluding Remarks

In this chapter I have presented the theoretical foundations of the research and argued about the selection of the interpretivist paradigm as the most appropriate for my study. Moreover, I have explained the selection of semi-structured interviews as the method for data gathering and the selection process of the participants. Language and ethical issues were discussed and ways of analysing the results were presented. Methodology is assessed in the conclusions section of the research.

In the next chapter the data from the interviews are presented. A brief, overall presentation of the participants' answers to the research questions is presented in the Appendices section of the research (see Appendix 5).

Chapter 4: Themes and Sub-themes

Introduction

In the Fourth Chapter I present the results of the interviews. I connect the research questions with the interview questions (see Appendix 4) and give prominence to the recurrent and important themes and sub-themes that have emerged from the study (Buetow, 2010). The presentation of the data is based on the answers of the participants. Some information about the participants and the interviews are presented in Appendix 6. Each of the themes and sub-themes that have risen are analysed in due course. The research questions and the subsequent themes are as follows:

Question 1: on the current situation in Cyprus:

- The dystopian reality regarding the prolonged division of the island, its effect on the people and education in Cyprus.
- The feelings of injustice felt by the people of Cyprus.

Question 2: on the presence of Nationalism in education and society:

- The issue of motherlands and their effect on education, especially history teaching
- The importance of the individual teacher and the hidden curriculum in the cultivation of Nationalism
- The importance of bi-communal projects

Question 3: on national and civic identity:

- The importance of national identity for Cypriot teachers
- The cultivation through education of a civic identity

Question 4: on teaching the language of the other community in Cypriot schools and the creation of common integrated schools for all the children of Cyprus regardless of their nationality:

- The importance of teaching the other community's language at school
- Teacher's unwillingness to accept common integrated schools at this stage

Question 5: on Cosmopolitanism in Cypriot education and society:

- Educating out of Nationalism
- The absence of any knowledge about Cosmopolitanism

- The values of Cosmopolitanism in education

Question 6: on cosmopolitan education:

- The necessity of a change in the educational system due to the dystopic realities
- The utopic nature of the change towards a cosmopolitan education system
- The implications of an educational system based on respect, tolerance and empathy

4.1 Research Question 1: The perceptions of Cypriot teachers regarding a solution to the Cyprus problem and the possibility for a peaceful unification of the two main communities of Cyprus.

The first research question explores the current situation regarding the Cyprus problem and the possibility of a peaceful co-existence of Greek-Cypriots (hence forward GCs) and Turkish-Cypriots (hence forward TCs) in a unified island. Teachers appear to have a common perception regarding the prolonged continuation of the division. Most teachers expressed their disappointment and anti-utopian feelings of despair and absence of hope which were obvious especially in their closing statements. Issues of justice and trauma were raised by many of the participants, GCs and TCs, though from different points of view.

4.1.1 Theme 1: The Dystopian Reality: Injustice, Trauma and Truth

The first theme referred to the current situation regarding the Cyprus problem and the possibility of the two communities co-existing peacefully on the island. Almost all participants believe that the situation continues for several reasons, mainly economic and cultural. Moreover issues of justice and trust between the two communities emerged. A feeling of disappointment is common to all the participants of the research, especially GCs. As far as the TCs are concerned their optimism may derive from their positive disposition towards the GCs since they were not selected as randomly as the GCs but through their connection to mutual GC friends and colleagues. As Daisy says ‘the Cyprus problem remains a problem after so many years’. Chrys admits that as years go by things are changing, more people are coming to Cyprus from Turkey, they live there, have built households, children are born in Cyprus ‘As years go by the problem is getting more complex and difficult to solve’. Amar says that the Cyprus problem is one of the most difficult and complex international problems, ‘I believe that is a very hard problem to solve. If it was easy then we would have

found a solution since we have been talking about it for decades'. She points out that the Cyprus problem is not solved mainly for two reasons. 'The first is the division between GCs and TCs since they have been living separately for many years and the second is the unfairness of a possible solution'. She makes a point about the need for educating the people of Cyprus towards a solution as she argues that the solution 'could collapse because we are not educated enough for a solution'.

TC teachers, on the other hand, are more optimistic since they believe that a solution will be found and the people of Cyprus could re-unite. Begon is confident that a solution will be found: 'I have hope. Probably we need a paradigm shift, to think out of the box but I am optimistic. The people of Cyprus will find a way to live peacefully together'. Bluebell is even more confident and says 'I believe that Cyprus will be united again because when they opened the borders, we all realised that we share the same culture'. Magnolia believes that increasing the contact between the people of Cyprus will have positive results, 'I think that the people should get close and meet each other. We can be friendlier to each other and through personal contact we can build trust'. Moreover she argues that the younger generation should be more optimistic and educated towards a solution pointing out that: 'It is our responsibility as the new generation to be optimistic about a solution to the problem because as years go by the new generation should be educated towards a solution'.

All the participants were either born just before the Turkish invasion in 1974 or in the years following. As a result they do not have any personal experiences of co-existing with the other community. As Chrys and Jasmine argued, their generation grew up with stories about their occupied villages and with the enduring hope of returning one day. Chrys says, 'Our generation grew up with 'Den Xehno'(I don't forget) as a slogan, We were raised with stories from our parents about our occupied villages, towns, our houses and of the peaceful times of the past'. Until 2003 when the barricades opened between the two parts of Cyprus, (the North which is occupied by Turkey and the South which is controlled by the Government of Cyprus), there was little or no contact between GCs and TCs and those who attempted such contact were characterised as 'peculiar' or even worst a traitor, as Peony and Rose argue in their interviews. 'Taking part in bi-communal activities and projects is considered mainstream but before 2003 those of us who had contacts with people from the

other side were considered to be unpatriotic or worse, traitors' said Peony. Amar on the other hand argues that the two communities can live together as long as there is a just solution that will satisfy both. She believes that justice is the most important factor for reconciliation.

I believe that the two communities can live together in harmony. As long as we have a just solution. This is very important. If one of the two communities feels that it is unjust then it is certain that members of that community will react and there will be conflict.

4.1.1.1 Sub-Theme 1: Feelings of Injustice

The most important part of peace that will endure in time is the enhancement of justice among the people. The participants engage into a blame game which increases their feelings of injustice. GCs are blaming Turkey for the invasion in 1974, the atrocities committed by the Turkish army and for not cooperating in finding a solution since then. The issue of fairness is pre-eminent for the GC participants since they feel that the Turkish invasion caused many sufferings to the GCs and believe that retribution should be achieved through a solution. TCs blame the GCs for the atrocities committed in the years before 1974 and consider the rejection by the GCs of the so-called Anan plan in 2004 (the 2004 proposed by the United Nations Secretary General Mr Kofi Anan comprehensive plan for a solution to the Cyprus problem which was subject to separate referendums by the two communities with the TCs voting in favour of a solution while the GCs voted against) as a crucial point. Iris blames Turkey for not reaching an agreement because as she says 'Mr Akkinci (the Turkish-Cypriot leader) made a few steps towards a solution but after meeting with the Turkish government he backed down and refused to proceed towards an agreement. Turkey is moving the strings'. Peony stated that she had high hopes when Mr Akkinci was elected as a leader of the TC community because he was known for his pro-solution statements and actions but she was deeply disappointed by the outcomes. Amar argues about justice for both communities, economic and political. 'I consider justice very important. Especially financial justice, if someone has lost many and doesn't take anything in return, but also political since there will be issues of political autonomy and human rights'.

Regarding the TCs, the referendum of 2004, in which the TCs voted positively for a solution while the GCs voted negatively is considered as a decisive factor. TC participants argue that their positive vote should be taken into account by the GC community and the European Union and express their disappointment that it was not recognised to the degree they expected. Begon, Magnolia and Bluebell in various occasions during the interview argued that TCs voted in favour of a solution while the GCs voted against. As Bluebell argued ‘I believe that we lost a great opportunity with the Anan plan a few years ago. If GCs agreed then we would have had a united Cyprus’.

Rose and Iris view the issue of fairness under critical lens and argue that courage is what is missing from the people of Cyprus. As they assert from the GCs’ side point of view, ‘we are just not courageous enough...’ Amar argues about the risk of any agreement as she claims that ‘any solution will be risky, and not many people are willing to take that risk’. Jasmine believes that a solution is within reach but as she says ‘not any solution but a viable, just and functional for our kids’. Amar, on the same tone, argues about the unfairness of the proposed and rejected solutions and points out that a critical element of any solution is fairness, economic, political and reciprocal. The general conception among the GCs is that the TC side is constantly asking for more while the GCs are always giving as Daisy claims ‘the Cyprus problem will not be solved unless we (the Greek-Cypriots) commit to huge concessions because behind Mr Akkinci (the TC leader) is Turkey which has a declared policy and Turkey is not willing to change’.

4.1.1.2 Sub-Theme 2: Social Justice

The issue of social justice and the distribution of power and wealth were mentioned, as basic elements of the Cyprus problem by many of the participants. Ortans argued that the Cyprus problem remains unsolved because the ruling groups who benefited from the division are not willing to share the wealth and the power they assumed. On the same tone, Begon argued that ‘Cypriots have two things to divide, land and power, and they will either remain divided on land or they will co-exist by sharing power’. Magnolia and Iris recognise the oppressive structures and the complex interests of those involved and the way they interfere with the solution to the Cyprus problem and argue that the Cyprus problem is like a game of chess and the people of Cyprus are like insignificant pawns. As Magnolia argued, in agreement with

Ortans, about the economic aspect of the solution emphasising the natural resources that were discovered; ‘It’s all about the money again. It is like a game of chess with strategy and some big players move the pieces. We are only pawns, and small ones I must say’, an argument shared by Iris. The conception that the powerful nations of the planet conspire against Cyprus is common and presented by Daisy who claims that:

the bi-communal conflict and Turkish invasion were pre-designed and the fact that they fanatise the people was a way of dividing and managing the situation in a way that would suit the interests of Turkey and the United States of America.

Distribution of power and the equilibrium of power were in the heart of the Cyprus problem, mainly after the declaration of Cypriot Independence in 1960. The nationalistic elites, which emerged after the British transferred the governing power to Cypriots, rewarded those closest to their functions with appointments to important state positions, using them to obstruct any attempts of revealing corruption. As Amar states: ‘The fact remains that some people have gained from the invasion while others were ruined financially’. This explains the mistrust some participants feel about politicians since Peony claims that ‘As far as GC politicians are concerned, personally, I don’t trust those who are in power regardless of their political stance’. Ortans argues that retention of power after a solution would be really difficult since ‘the political cost of anyone attempts to bring a solution forward will be so great that it will not be able to last in the long term’. As Rose argues,

the Cyprus problem is perpetuating. In my opinion the reasons for this are mainly economical and regarding the distribution of power among the members of each community. It is a static situation which allows the political system to function as it did so far.

4.1.1.3 Sub-Theme 3: Truth and Post-Conflict Trauma

The subtheme emergent from the data is the issue of truth and post-conflict trauma, which was mentioned in by Magnolia, Daisy and Iris from different points of view. Iris followed the dominant GC narrative on trauma and victimisation which asserts that the GCs were

constantly made to suffer by various conquerors and they need to keep fighting for freedom and liberation (Zembylas, 2016). As she claims ‘students should be aware that our country was in the past as it is now, in a constant struggle for freedom, a struggle they will need to continue’. Nonetheless she allows some space for contesting the official narrative when she speaks about recent history admitting that:

some things should be presented more objectively, some things are silenced, the period from 1960 to 1974 when atrocities were committed, the issue of TC refugees and missing persons...there are parts of our history that should be investigated further...

Daisy is the less optimistic of the two participants talking about the trauma of the conflict.

I think that the pain and suffering is recent and the problems and difficulties experienced during the invasion are still alive. We have refugees among us, missing persons, issues that are really difficult to put aside and make the necessary steps towards a smooth co-existence.

Drawing from personal experience she says that her grandmother, who lost two sons during the invasion, finds it very difficult to live peacefully with the TCs, even though she realises that not all TCs committed atrocities and not all TCs were hostile towards GCs. Daisy on the other hand, says that any atrocities were committed by the GCs cannot justify the invasion and the war crimes committed by Turkey during the invasion.

The issue of the missing persons from the bi-communal conflict and the Turkish invasion is central to the narratives of some participants to the research. Magnolia viewed the issue as common, shared pain with the two communities thus identifying a unifying element; Daisy focused on the atrocities that caused that suffering and argued that since there was so much hostility among the two communities then it would be very hard for them to live together in a unified state. The importance of post-conflict trauma inflicted to the people of Cyprus, either from people belonging in the GC community before 1974 or the Turkish army and TC militia during the invasion is still strong and growing within the two communities and interferes with any attempt for reconciliation. Adonis et al (2018) argue that trauma in the case of Cyprus

was not only embedded in the generations that experienced conflict but was transferred to the next generation with constant reminders of the losses by older relatives. As Peony points out in a more pessimistic tone 'because of the atrocities, co-existing for the near future is impossible, maybe in the next three hundred years and only if we work through education it might be possible but it needs a lot of work'. Daisy agrees and points out that 'we need more time to make this work. Many people live in the past so I believe that we need more time in order to live together'. On a different tone, Magnolia said that her grandfather and uncle were buried alive by GC and were missing since 1963. As she said, 'although my mother was deeply traumatised by the events, she never talked negatively about GC. Magnolia concluded that, 'Bad things have happened but they are finished now, those things belong to the past we need to focus on the future'.

Summary

The first research question revealed several themes especially in regards to the feelings of the participants about the Cyprus problem, the other community and the embedded trauma of the Cypriot people. Some the participants expressed feelings of injustice because of the prolonged division of the island, the absence of transitional and social justice and the concealment of truth.

4.2 Research Question 2: The perceptions of Cypriot teachers regarding the concept of Nationalism in Cypriot society and education

The second research question considers the issue of Nationalism in Cypriot society and education. Most of the participants acknowledged the existence of Nationalism in Cypriot society. Moreover Cypriot teachers do not believe that education formally cultivates Nationalism but rather this is attributed to the hidden curriculum and the beliefs of the individual teacher. Educating out of Nationalism and into a cosmopolitan education system based on respect and tolerance for the other could be realised with the cooperation between schools and families under the protection of the authorities. The dependency of the TCs from Turkey was an issue pointed out by both GC and TC participants as was the way the other community is presented in public school textbooks. The participants expressed the need for re-discovering the other community through education and educational programmes.

4.2.1 Theme 1: Nationalism, Motherlands and Education

Nationalism as a concept was investigated previously in this research (see Chapter 2: Literature Review). The participants were familiar with the concept of Nationalism as it represents a shared reality among the people of the two communities and a highly debated issue for Cyprus. Moreover some of them acknowledged Nationalism as the main cause behind the problem of Cyprus. Daisy agrees to the point that Nationalism is used to fanatise people, is an instrument of state or political control. She argues that ‘nation states used Nationalism to control people and use them as they wished’. Amar points out that Nationalism is a factor of the Cyprus problem; ‘It is definitely a factor of the Cyprus problem. Cultivating Nationalism created the Cyprus problem’.

Some participants like Rose, Daisy and Begon argued that Nationalism in Cyprus is a divisive instrument used by the ruling classes and the motherlands, Turkey and Greece, for controlling the island and the people. As Rose argued, ‘Motherlands are the ones who created the problem. Starting from 1963 or even before that, and reaching our days, sometimes more intensely, but we still have interference’. They argued that even though atrocities were committed in the name of an extreme Nationalism, by both communities, they were evoked by those who had interests on the island, especially local politicians for keeping their power over government or the motherlands. Daisy reaches the point of suggesting that Nationalism was flamed by foreign centres that were serving the interests of the United States in Cyprus. Nationalism as a divisive tool is seen by Begon who connects Nationalism with power.

When the people of Cyprus couldn't share the power, they used Nationalism as a tool to fight each other. And they still use it for that matter. I wouldn't say that the Cyprus problem happened because of Nationalism but rather Nationalism was used as a tool to divide the two communities.

Jasmine believes that Nationalism in Cyprus was created during the armed struggle for *Enosis* (unification) with motherland Greece, during the British rule of the island. She argues that ‘the lost dream of *Enosis* was used by some people, who served the plans of those who wanted to divide the island, those fighting for unification with Greece were naïve, or overly patriotic, caused the Turkish invasion’. Rose argues that since the Cyprus problem is between

two ethnic communities then Nationalism is a decisive factor. She asserts that the motherlands are a major part of the problem. 'Motherlands are the ones who created the problem'. Daisy and Iris are pointing towards the involvement of motherlands to the solution of the Cyprus problem and focus on the negative presence of Turkey which raises obstacles to any proposed agreement. As they point out 'Turkey is moving the strings'.

Another important theme that emerged from the interviews was the dependence that has developed between Turkey and the Turkish Cypriots, which exceeds, especially in the financial sector, the dependence between the GCs and Greece. Participants claimed that GC's dependence on Greece is mainly cultural while the TC's dependence to Turkey is economic. Regarding the relations between TCs and Turkey, Rose argued that there is a clear intervention by Turkey to the Northern part of Cyprus, especially as far as the economy is concerned. As she claims 'If Turkey decides to stop the financial support they (the TCs) are finished, bankrupt'. Moreover she argues that prominent TC industries were forced to close under pressure from cheaper Turkish imports. Financial dependence, though, creates demands from Turkey in matters of education, religion and relations with the GC. Peony agrees and says that 'they are totally depended on Turkey, in case funding from Turkey stops, they will go hungry'. The economy of the TC's is based on the contribution of Turkey which sustains all the public sector. As stated by Ortans, Rose, Begon, Magnolia and Bluebell, the government of the TC's will shut down if Turkey stops sending financial aid. Through this aid Turkey attempts to control other areas of TC's life, like education and religion by bringing teachers from Turkey and financing the building of mosques.

Moreover an important issue concerning both GC and TC participants is the issue of Turkish settlers who were brought to Cyprus after the 1974 invasion. Bluebell focuses on financial control of Turkey and the relations between TCs and settlers from Turkey. As she claims many TCs, especially young ones are migrating and settlers from Turkey are coming so the population is changing. And it is changing for the worst'. Magnolia argues that the settlers from Turkey who are relocated to the North of Cyprus are different than the TCs. 'They are more conservative, more religious, they are illiterate, and soon they will be the majority in the North. That is why a solution is eminent'. Chrys argues that TCs are more oppressed than the GCs since they live under the continuous pressure of Turkey and the settlers. She claims that

‘TCs are keener to the possibility of a solution because they feel the oppression from Turkey and the settlers every day’. Iris agrees adding that many TC teachers are thinking about moving to the South if this situation continues. As she states, ‘The anti-settlers feeling is really intense. Many TCs told me that they wish to leave the occupied part and live in the Republic of Cyprus’. TCs consider the settlers from Turkey as a threat to their autonomy since they have a different culture and habits which are really far from the TC’s mentality (Cakal, 2012). As Bluebell and Magnolia argue, settlers are religious, dress differently, have different customs and habits, usually undereducated and receptive to pressures from Turkey while TCs are more progressive, secular and more positive towards the GCs. As Magnolia states, ‘as a special education teacher I find it really hard to explain to people from Turkey that their child needs special assistance, they do not accept that’. Moreover, TCs are in danger of being a minority since the number of settlers increases daily. As Bluebell says, ‘in a few years TCs will not have a say about the future of Cyprus and all the decisions about Cyprus will be in the hands of Turkish settlers’.

4.2.1.1 Sub-Theme 1: Nationalism and Cypriot education - The Importance of the Individual Teacher and the Unofficial Curriculum

Another issue was the connection between Nationalism and education, particularly Cypriot public education. Begon states that education is highly political and is depended by political agendas. Nationalism is used as a tool in every possible way, so ‘definitely it is used and cultivated in education’.

Most of the participants argued that education does not cultivate or promote Nationalism officially through the curriculum or official directives by the educational authorities but it is promoted through the unofficial curriculum which includes national celebrations, raising the motherland’s flag in the school’s yard, using the same teaching materials as do schools in the motherland, and teaching the motherland’s history above and beyond local Cypriot history. Another issue raised was the importance of the individual teacher who as long as she/he is teaching within the limits of the official curriculum, can enhance or decrease nationalistic emotions among the students according to her/his beliefs. As it was mentioned by Rose, ‘once the teacher closes her classroom door she is the master of her classroom and she can teach in any way she wants according to her beliefs and values’. The importance of the

unofficial curriculum and individual teacher's beliefs are stressed by Amar when she claims that 'Nationalism is not cultivated through the official curriculum but mainly through the hidden one and personal perceptions of the individual teacher'. Ortans believes that there are some elements of Nationalism in the educational system, mostly indirectly though. Some teachers cultivate Nationalism while others avoid doing so. Bluebell, even though she claims that schools do not cultivate Nationalism, she attributes that mainly to the resistance among teachers rather than the official policy. In agreement, Ortans argues that:

There are not any direct instructions from the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports and Youth (hence MOEC) for cultivating Nationalism but some statements made by the Minister of Education for sharing the same ideals with the far-right, nationalist party of ELAM (National Popular Liberation Front) are sending clear messages that the Ministry is embracing Nationalism.

Nationalism in education is really a matter of the individual teacher, says Rose. 'Whatever the directives are from the Ministry, when the teacher closes the door of her classroom she is teaching what she considers being correct'. Referring to the unofficial curriculum she claims that again is on the individual teacher.

You can watch celebrations about the same thing and not understand that is the same thing they are celebrating. One might be extremely nationalistic while the other might be anti-militaristic focusing on the evil of war. No one will claim that any of the teachers is wrong; they just have different viewpoints.

Peony connects Nationalism with the one sided narrative of public schools regarding the atrocities as she claims that 'Nationalism is cultivated through the cover up of historic events since atrocities have been committed by both sides but we only teach about those performed by the other community'.

Chrys makes a point about the statements coming from the Ministry of Education promoting Nationalism. She says that 'It depends on the teacher's ideology, perspectives, beliefs, about

right and wrong, whether the teacher accepts different opinions, and what she expects from the children'. Daisy is arguing that 'even though efforts have been made to change certain things in the curriculum, Nationalism is still cultivated in certain areas, like history teaching'. She says that we need to find ways, without losing our identity, to become respectful and accepting towards others. Focusing on teaching historical events she discusses the issue of telling students the truth and states that 'things should be said as things have happened...should realise the mistakes committed by both sides and work towards not repeating them for building a new future'.

Iris and Chrys cherish the existence of Nationalism in GC schools. They argue that they are enjoying the signs and symbols of nationality embedded in Cypriot schools. As Chrys states:

I don't really feel the presence of Nationalism in our schools. We shouldn't reach to the point of not knowing our history, our country, our nation and our culture. I am in favour of the idea children having a nation, a flag, and values to believe in, in a peaceful manner. Those who don't learn their history, their culture, the struggle for freedom and independence, don't have a future.

Iris claims that Nationalism is not a part of education and is not evident in the curriculum, official or hidden. 'Maybe unconsciously we are cultivating Nationalism but in the form of patriotism'. She thinks that as long as Cyprus is semi-occupied children should grow with the belief that one day they should fight peacefully for liberation. 'In any case I don't believe that we encourage Nationalism, on the contrary we are fighting for a democratic school which accepts and respects those who are different'.

4.2.1.2 Sub-Theme 2: One Sided History Teaching

Most of the participants argued that one-sided history is taught, silencing or misrepresenting important facts of history especially recent events. Magnolia argues that teaching one-sided history poisons the relations between the two communities and connects the issue with critical thinking and teaching using many resources. Amar focuses on critical thinking and argues that history teaching should be about the Other's point of view since as she says 'we

need to understand the Other's narrative'. Jasmine argued about the 'dark spots of history' that we choose to neglect or silence in contrast to the dominant narrative which is emphasised and celebrated. Bluebell agrees with the idea of teaching controversial issues with impartiality and adds a global dimension by presenting the example of France and Germany who have been at war for many years with millions of victims but managed to overcome their hostility and are cooperating through the European Union. 'They understood that unity is power and with a united Cyprus we will be stronger'. Jasmine admits that history teaching is often one sided since 'we prefer to talk about heroism and success stories, rather than the dark spots of our history'. Amar recognises that history is often controversial. It usually depends on which side you position yourself. 'Take the EOKA (National Organisation of Cypriot Fighters was the name of the nationalist group which initiated the armed struggle against the British colonial rule in Cyprus. The struggle lasted for four years, 1955-1959, and resulted in the establishment of the Republic of Cyprus in 1959) struggle for instance. The fighters were considered as heroes for the local people, while for the British they were terrorists'. She agrees that some events of the modern history of Cyprus are silenced. 'Many things happened from both communities but it is not easy to access them, the person who wants to investigate needs to search deeply in order to find resources'. The absence of resources, especially regarding the modern history of Cyprus, is stressed by Ortans who argues that 'history in Cyprus seems to have ended about sixty years ago with the end of the EOKA struggle and no events have taken place since'. Peony shares the same opinion about teaching a one-sided version of history. She emphasises the importance of family in talking about these events because schools are not able to face these events. 'I remember my father often saying that the GCs have committed many atrocities to the TC'. She points out that teachers are unaware of many of the events that happened to our island indicating that the issue of history teaching is not limited to primary level.

When I was a pre-service teacher, I completed an assignment about the atrocities committed by GCs. Many of my classmates told me that they had no idea that things like that happened and that GCs have committed them...

Chrys is focusing on the importance of the teacher, especially when it comes to history teaching. If the teacher is willing to explore certain things further and usually outside the

textbook then the children might learn to think critically and not take everything for granted. ‘Our books are focused on Greece and are presenting things under nationalistic lens. If the teacher goes beyond the book and asks some questions then the students might start thinking critically’. Begon argues that history teaching should be multi-perspective. It should not be downgraded to a single textbook subject. Moreover, textbooks are usually approved by government officials who want to promote the dominant narrative, so it is difficult to find something that opposes hegemony. The teacher should search for various sources and be open to different perspectives and interpretations. She should cultivate critical thinking because that is history all about ‘when you downgrade it to the level of the one and only textbook and you say this is the book, memorise it and you learn history. No it is not like that. History is connected to critical thinking’. Rose enhances the argument about the importance of the teacher when it comes to teaching difficult subjects such as history. As she says ‘the teacher should be truthful and open to different opinions. I am glad to observe that this kind of teachers is increasing in numbers and it might be an indication for reduction in the levels of Nationalism’.

Iris disagrees, at least partly, with Bluebell and Magnolia, as she claims that her country and nation were historically victimised by various conquerors and suffered. She argues that students should be aware that our country was in the past as it is now, in a constant struggle for freedom, a struggle they will need to continue. She allows some space for contesting the official narrative when she speaks about recent history admitting that ‘some things should be presented more objectively, some things are silenced, the period from 1960 to 1974 when atrocities were committed, the issue of TC refugees and missing persons...there are parts of our history that should be investigated further...’. Daisy argues that ‘history cannot be written “as it happens” because people are emotionally charged and are not able to distance themselves from the facts and be objective’. She believes that: ‘In order to have a clear view we need to allow some time to pass and evaluate the events with logic not with emotion’.

4.2.2 Theme 2: The Image of the Other in Textbooks

Directly connected with teaching controversial and sensitive issues is the way the other community is presented in the textbooks. The participants in the research agree that while there are not any negative references about the other community, the others are more or less

absent from the textbooks. Iris said that there is not much reference of TCs in GC textbooks. Besides some chapters in Fourth Grade Geography where the communities living in Cyprus are explored she could not remember any other reference. 'Textbooks don't really mention TCs. It is up to the individual teacher to search and find literature, texts about unification, friendship and understanding between the two communities'. Jasmine agrees that there are very few texts with reference to the TCs. Even though the texts praise GC and TC friendship and brotherhood they are scarce. It is important to point out that there is a distinction between Turks, who are presented as barbarians and TC who are friendly and cooperative. 'TCs are presented as natives of Cyprus, neighbours, co-operators, all positive references, not many but positive'. She argues that the positive image is not affecting a possible solution to the problem, not in a decisive manner anyway. Amar claims that children do not have an image of the TCs as it is absent from textbooks. The individual teacher is creating the image according to her beliefs. 'What I personally do is try to clarify that TCs were people who lived in peace with us and few things separate us. Our problem is with Turkey and not the TCs'. Peony argues that since GC language textbooks come from Greece it is expected that there will not be any references to TCs. She agrees that creating an image of the Other is left to the individual teacher. 'Actually it is strange and a paradox, people who are living just a few miles from us and we know so little about them. They are non-existent in our books as though the TCs are not a community living by our side and we have been living together for ages'. Chrys is in agreement with Peony and Amar about the non-existence of TCs in GC books and the clear distinction made between Turks and TCs. Ortans shares the same opinion as the previous participants. She says that since the crossing points opened in 2003 the image of TCs and GCs changed for the better, in many ways. 'People understood that their differences were limited. Education though still behaves as though TCs and other communities do not really exist'. Begon on the other hand agrees that while there are no negative things about GCs in the books there is little reference of them and of the other communities that live on the island, like Armenians, Maronites and Latin. 'So yes it is good that we do not have something negative or hate speech, ok fine that's good, but at the same time ignoring some groups of people is a negative thing'. Rose agrees with the rest and argues that the image of the 'other' is not present in education. She remembers a few years back, when the Left was in government, the objective of getting to know the TC community was introduced. It was mainly about remembering that next to the GCs another community resides, with similar music, dances, food and language. As she claims, the image GCs used to have been much distorted. 'I remember a boy who has seen a TC for the first time; he turned

to his dad and said “They are humans, just like us”. Do you believe that? What kind of image did that little boy have?” She makes an important argument about co-operation when she argues about opening our classrooms to TCs and organising common visits. As she concludes, ‘We have a big problem in Cyprus since we are not building the common ground needed for the future. And I blame education for that’.

4.2.2.1 Sub-Theme 1: Rediscovering the Other Community – Bi-Communal Projects

The two main communities of Cyprus lived together, without any serious problems for about three hundred years. Magnolia, focusing on the relations among people from the two communities suggests that personal relations are the key to a solution. ‘I think that the people should get closer and meet each other. We can be friendlier to each other’. Amar is arguing that before the bi-communal conflict people shared many things in common, especially in ethnically mixed villages. ‘Many GCs spoke Turkish and many TCs spoke Greek. And the religion was not an issue, especially for the TCs who were secular’. As Kizilyurek (2002) argues, in 1834 there were about three hundred villages inhabited mainly by GCs, about one hundred and eighty by TCs and about two hundred and fifty mixed. Begon argues that living in peace does not necessarily mean living together:

I don’t have to live with you all the time or we don’t have to mix in the streets. The important thing for me is not doing harm to each other, at least in the beginning. If we can create a common vision of people living peacefully in Cyprus then one problem is solved and then we see how we can increase the contact between the communities.

In 2003 the TC administration opened the barricades to the North and the people of Cyprus were allowed to visit the other half of their country. The exchange of visits gradually led to the creation of bonds between the people of Cyprus, and many were involved with the other community. Rose mentioned that she was participating in a project teaching Greek to TC adults, while Bluebell had many GC friends and with the encouragement of the EU, Iris and Magnolia went to a bi-communal visit in Brussels. Moreover, this led to the creation of bi-communal associations and groups, like the Association for Historical Dialogue and Research

(AHDR) which was founded by academics and educators from both communities and aimed at educating for peace and reconciliation among the people of Cyprus. As Lily asserted education is an agent for co-existence and in order for the two communities to live together there has to be a change in society which will be initiated by education. She asserts that 'children should be taught some principles like respect and acceptance in order for society as a whole to accept the otherness of different cultures'.

Ortans argues that bi-communal programmes are helpful towards a solution since they bring the two communities closer. As she said 'I have participated in some bi-communal programmes. Mostly with other TC teachers, it is a useful experience'. Rose agrees with Ortans and says that she had participated in many programmes including one which she taught Greek language to TC. 'It was a life-changing experience because I understood that TCs and GCs are the same. Also, I had made some really good friends among TCs'. Chrys identifies eagerness among TCs for participating in bi-communal programmes while the GCs are more reluctant to participate. 'In a bi-communal seminar I attended there were about twenty TC teachers and only three GCs'. Begon also participated in bi-communal programmes. She stresses the importance of institutional support to these programmes. She claims that political consent among the two communities is necessary for building trust and confidence in people to participate in programmes like that.

A project which was mentioned during the interviews was 'Imagine', a bi-communal project created and implemented by the Association for Historical Dialogue and Research (AHDR) in 2017 aiming at bringing together children from both communities, in a safe and controlled environment, to engage in friendship building activities based on anti-racism education and peace education. The programme is under the protection of the Bi-communal Committee for Education, a confidence-building measure agreed by the leaders of the two communities, and is considered 'safe' for teachers to get involved. Reference to the 'Imagine' programme was made by three participants, each from a different view point, Daisy, whose son participated to the programme, Peony who accompanied children of her school to the programme and Begon who is one of the programme's facilitators. They all stressed the importance of the programme and the impact it has on children's attitudes and behaviour. Daisy was very impressed with the positive influence of the programme on her son. She argued that her son

wanted to ask the TC boy to visit them, even though they did not speak the same language they were able to communicate, cooperate, and had a great time together. She was amazed because with just one meeting they achieved great results in bringing the students from opposition to friendship.

This experience changed my view about bi-communal programmes and is mainly because of my son. When he came home after ONE (emphasis was given by the participant) meeting with TCs and said “I could be friends with that boy” imagine what would happen if we had many bi-communal programmes and meetings...

Peony, who participated in the programme with her students, was amazed by the way students put aside any differences and co-operate without any problem, even though they did not speak the same language. She expressed her disappointment because the programme did not have a follow-up meeting. She said that it would have been great if students visited each other’s classrooms, participated in lessons together, played together in recess, sang familiar songs, listened to our shared music and danced our common dances. ‘The children should be able to read a story in both languages, draw a picture together, and sing a common song together. Discover the things we have in common’. Peony argued about the authorisation needed from parents in order for students to attend bi-communal seminars. She considers this to be unacceptable because it allows parents to obstruct participation in these programmes. Moreover, she concluded that these programmes need to be continuous and extended for covering other areas like exchanging visits, common lessons and out-of-school activities. Finally, Begon who is one of the facilitators of the programme argued that they did not have any problems operating the programme and students from kindergarten to high-school cooperated and played together without any problems. She attributes the success of the ‘Imagine’ project to the safety that teachers feel since it is operated under the umbrella of the Bi-communal committee for education and the educational authorities of both communities are encouraging participation. She stresses the importance of institutional support to these programmes. She claims that political consent among the two communities is necessary for building trust and confidence in people to participate in programmes like that. ‘Imagine’ is very successful because it is supported. Teachers, students and parents feel much safer when they participate in a project that is supported by the leaders of the communities’. Lily agrees with Begon about the importance of institutional support and argues that these programmes

should remain on a voluntary basis for avoiding conflicts with the parents. 'Even though they are useful, some parents object and react to their children participating. The voluntary nature of these programmes prevents conflicts from escalating'.

Of course there is opposition to the programme with teachers like Amar and Jasmine arguing that they would not feel comfortable in participating in the programme because they believe that 'socialising with the enemy while your country is occupied' is against their morality.

It is against my code of ethics, doing things that will bring me closer to TCs. An unjust situation was created because of the occupation and my personal code of ethics forbids me from socialising with TCs unless this unjust situation is changed.

Jasmine adopts the same tone, arguing that she avoided participating in bi-communal programmes. She feels that participating would underestimate the struggle for liberation and support the status quo. 'I even refused going to the occupied areas to see my father's house and when I decided to go it felt like a pilgrimage rather than a visit. I didn't go there to associate with TC people'. They both believe that programmes like 'Imagine' should be part of measures for after a solution and not something that should be done prior to an agreed solution to the Cyprus problem.

Summary

The second research question and the associated interview questions allowed the participants to talk about issues familiar to them explaining the lengthy answers and the amount of themes from this section. The issue of Nationalism in society and education, the importance of the individual teacher in promoting or resisting Nationalism, the connection with the unofficial curriculum and one sided history teaching were themes raised from this section. Additionally the image of the Other in textbooks and the ways each community is re-discovering the other through bi-communal programs were also discussed.

4.3 Research Question 3: The perceptions of Cypriot teachers regarding national identity and the promotion of a Cypriot identity

4.3.1 Theme 1: Issues of Identity in Education

The third research question focuses on the issue of identity in Cypriot society and education. Many participants argued about the importance of national identity while some focused on the multiple identities which define a person. The need for a new Cypriot national identity was faced with scepticism since most of the participants stated that they were proud of their national identity, even though the need for a strong civic identity was emphasised, which could include all the people living in Cyprus regardless of their nationality.

4.3.3.1 Sub-Theme 1: Pride in their National Identity

National identity is a primordial form of identity cultivated by families and educational institutions. The complexity of Cyprus as a multinational state is of great importance to the issue of identity formation and realisation. Amar states that national identity is not the most important thing but at the same time says ‘I am proud to be Greek because I feel part of an ancient civilisation that excelled in literature, theatre, philosophy with a language spoken for more than three thousand years’. Chrys questions the necessity of national identity and argues that national identity is not a qualification about anything. The value of a person is not related to her national identity. ‘Is it necessary? It is fine to know that you are a part of a nation, just do not over-emphasise the fact. It should not be a criterion about anything, for work positions, for selecting officials in the government’.

Daisy connects the issue of national identity to the Cyprus problem pointing out that as long as there is the occupation of Cyprus, national identity is essential even though it should not stop the teachers from dealing with issues of respect and tolerance. As she claims ‘we need to build on the things we have in common without letting our differences break us’. Iris says that a national identity is necessary. ‘I am in favour of the idea children having a nation, a flag, and values to believe in’. Jasmine argues that schools cultivate the national identity to the expense of a local one. She claims that ‘We cultivate the notion that children are primarily Greeks and then Cypriots’. For Rose it is an issue of self-identification and nothing more. ‘I have no problem with national identity, I am GC, you are TC, that’s OK it is not a problem. The way you feel about your identity is important, not the actual identity...’. Begon

shares the same opinion about identity as Rose. 'I don't think that is a problem, however people wanting to identify themselves is perfectly fine with me. As long as they respect others'.

4.3.3.2 Sub-Theme 2: A Common Cypriot Civic Identity

Regarding the importance of a common Cypriot identity, most of the participants argued that it would create more problems within the communities of Cyprus since there would be intra-communal disturbances with people separated into those in favour of a national identity based on the motherlands and those promoting an exclusive Cypriot identity. Building a civic identity for Cyprus is considered important by a number of participants like Peony, Magnolia, Jasmine, Rose and Daisy. Peony and Magnolia argue about the multi-cultural society of Cyprus and the need for integration by the immigrants or refugees who decide to stay in Cyprus. Magnolia makes an interesting point when referring to the issue of children with different national identity who are born in Cyprus. A Cypriot identity would help them integrate into the population. 'In our schools we have many students from Turkey. Without a common identity how will they be part of Cyprus?' In agreement with the creation of a common identity is Peony as she argues that beside GCs and TCs there are other communities on the island, Armenians, Maronites and Latins. As she claims 'We need to start talking about Cyprus, about Cypriots. What does it mean to be a Cypriot? We have more things in common with TC than with Athenians or other inhabitants of Greece'. She stresses the importance of education in building a common identity, with small steps in order to avoid reactions. Schools are multicultural communities and the students with different identity will be citizens of the state at some point in time 'I am curious as to what we are going to call them, Romanian-Cypriots? Bulgarian-Cypriots? Syrian-Cypriots? Or just Cypriots?'

Ortans argues that the creation of a Cypriot identity could be helpful as long as we could find unifying elements of the existing national identities. 'There will be a lot of opposition and reaction though, from both sides. Maybe a better way should be adopting a civic Cypriot identity and work through that towards a common identity. A person could keep her national characteristics but at the same time be a citizen of Cyprus'. For Daisy the creation of a common identity is not important, she does not see a reason for changing. 'I really don't care about labels, TC or GC is irrelevant to me, both terms are acceptable and I don't really see a

reason for changing’. Jasmine argues that this could be a post-solution long-term project starting from civic education, which could promote a civic, inclusive, Cypriot identity. Peony suggests that a civic Cypriot identity would provide the opportunity for persons who live in Cyprus, beyond the two major communities, to integrate successfully into Cypriot society. Magnolia on the other hand favours a common identity and she argues that this could be achieved through education. ‘I think the curriculum should be more Cypriot to bring people together’. Chrys is also positive towards a Cypriot identity, she claims that a civic Cypriot identity is neutral, it is not emotionally charged like the national identities are. As she says ‘It could provide positive results in the long term. New cultures must be cultivated. It is not about changing the name on the identification card, it is something deeper that will need a lot of time’.

Amar has a different opinion about creating a civic Cypriot identity. She claims that it is not possible for people to abandon their affections towards their nation. She claims that GCs have many differences with TCs in matters of religion, culture, language. ‘I believe that this is impossible to alienate the national identity and follow an exclusively civic Cypriot identity. Moreover we have many contrasting elements like language, religion and culture’. Iris argues that the motherlands are the ones obstructing the creation of a common Cypriot identity. ‘As long as Turkey and Greece interfere with our politics, Cypriot identity will never happen. If we are left alone without intervention then it would be easy to create a common identity’. Jasmine, although personally she identifies herself as Cypriot, believes that a common identity is not an issue of the present but a necessity after a solution is found. ‘As long as the Cyprus problem exists we need national identity so that people would understand from which part of Cyprus you come from’. She says that is a difficult issue and people will not accept it.

Begon focuses on multiple identities and says that national identity is just one of them. In Cyprus, she claims, we downgraded all our other identities in favour of the national identity. ‘For me, the way people identify themselves is not important, Cypriots, Neocypriots, GCs, TCs, I think is perfectly fine because national identity is just one of the hundreds of identities a person has’. Rose argues that the new generation are identifying themselves as Cypriots first. ‘Even though I identify myself as GC my sons say: We are Cypriots’. The importance of the EU in building a common civic identity for the people of Cyprus was stressed by a

number of participants, who were engaged in bi-communal educational programmes organised by the EU. Bluebell argues that the issue of identity is not important for the moment. The most important is bringing the people of Cyprus together. As she claims, ‘We need projects to bring the people together, get to know each other and then we will realise that there are no differences between us, and the European Union could help for that matter’.

Summary

The issue of identity was raised through the next research question. Cypriot teachers feel strongly about their national identity and do not consider it to be an obstacle in their relations with the other community. Most of them recognise the necessity for a civic identity, cultivated through education which will allow all the people of Cyprus regardless of their primordial ethnicity to integrate in the Cypriot state. One participant argued about multiple identities and the need for exploring them through education.

4.4. Research Question 4: The perceptions of Cypriot teachers regarding language teaching and integrated schools

The fourth research question reflected the need for learning each other’s language in our schools and the creation of integrated schools. All the participants were in favour of language lessons through the curriculum. There were disagreements regarding the optional or obligatory nature of such a lesson, with teachers arguing that an optional language lesson would stimulate fewer negative reactions from society. The issue of integrated schools for children of all the communities of Cyprus was dealt with scepticism since some of the participants expressed views in favour of creating common schools while others viewed the issue as a point of conflict. An interesting opinion was expressed by Daisy and Magnolia who argued that integrated kindergartens would be a first option and gradually move upwards to other levels of the education system.

4.4.1 Theme 1: Teaching the Other Community’s Language: A Necessity

Most of the participants, regardless of their ethnicity, agreed on the necessity of teaching each other’s language in schools. They considered it an obligation of the state that derives not only from the need for communication but also from the constitution of Cyprus which ought to be respected. Iris believes that Turkish language should be taught in GC schools. ‘If we want to

live together then we need to communicate with each other'. She argues that some people object to that but she considers it to be imperative. 'After all, Turkish is one of the two official languages of Cyprus, it should be taught at schools'. Chrys considers the idea of introducing a Turkish language lesson to be a 'logical suggestion'. 'We should already be teaching the Turkish language'. Magnolia is a passionate advocate of learning each other's language. She argues that it should be mandatory. She connects the issue of language with culture as she claims that learning a language means that you get involved with the culture and the people who speak that language. As she asserts, 'It is not a luxury, it's a necessity'. Bluebell argues that there used to be Greek language lessons in TC schools but for some reason they stopped. She argues that: 'We should be teaching each other's language. I am one hundred percent sure about that'. Rose and Ortans are in agreement with Bluebell and Magnolia in regards to the obligatory nature of the language lesson. As Rose asserts, 'There is no country in the world where based on the constitution the state is bilingual but teaches only one of the languages in public schools. I consider that to be essential'. Peony argues that Turkish should be taught in GC schools and Greek in TC schools. 'Especially at elementary level, it would be easier to introduce, using a playful method, like a second language for each community'. Daisy also agrees and says that it would be lovely if people in Cyprus learned both languages. 'The issue of communication is very important. We should be learning each other's language already'.

Only one objection was documented by Amar who states that initiatives like that 'will not be accepted as long there are unsolved issues'. She disagrees with the need for learning each other's language since there is a continuing conflict among the two communities: 'as long as there is no closure in the issues of Cyprus; people will not accept moves towards the other side'. An alternative point was offered by Begon who argues that in case the two communities could not agree on learning each other's language then a good level of English could solve the communication problems. She considers language learning very important and claims that we should find other ways of communication if learning each other's language is not possible. 'Learning each other's language would be ideal, if not, then a good level of English language could be used as a common language'.

The issue that was debated among the participants was whether introducing the Other's language to the educational system should be on an optional or an obligatory basis. Participants argued about the issue, saying that in case it was introduced as an obligatory lesson, then it would produce much negative reaction among members or institutions of each community leading to failure of the initiative. If it was introduced on a voluntary basis those who wished to participate could and those who did not want to participate would not. Lily and Jasmine agree on the principle of teaching Turkish language to GCs but they argue that it should be on a voluntary basis, rather than obligatory. 'I believe that we should be teaching the Turkish language but not mandatory, it should be on a voluntary basis'. Those in favour of introducing the Other's language as an obligatory lesson argued that an optional lesson would divide the students and might lead to conflicts within the schools. Moreover it is an obligation of the state since Greek and Turkish are the official languages of the state.

4.4.2 Theme 2: The Creation of Integrated Schools for Greek and Turkish Cypriots

The issue of creating integrated schools where all the children could participate was raised next as an interesting theme. Participants were not as enthusiastic as they were about the induction of the other community's language in schools. Daisy argues that 'it is not possible, at least for the time being. It is an issue that needs careful planning and preparation. Probably it would be best if we started at the kindergarten level and move upwards'. Other participants argued that society is not ready for these schools. They argued that creating integrated schools would result to conflicts within the schools which could be transported to society. Amar objects to the creation of integrated schools because society is not ready for GCs and TCs to work together in the same space. As she asserts, 'having TC and GC students together will only create problems, and these problems will move to society'. Organisational issues such as the curriculum and language of teaching, the compatibility of the two separate educational systems into one were mentioned. Peony adds the involvement of church and religion in the GC education system and claims that 'integrated schools are not going to happen as long as the church is involved, especially with the current leadership that promotes hatred against Turks, refugees, homosexuals, communists... everyone who is different'. Moreover she believes that a big part of society would react to unification of schools, as a colleague's husband once told her, 'by the time you will have to work with Aishe (a random Turkish name) you will retire'.

On the contrary, Bluebell advocates the creation of integrated schools since people in Cyprus ‘need to cooperate, make friendships. We need to promote empathy because there is a lot of pain among the people of Cyprus and we need to make our students aware that is a shared pain’. She points out certain organisational issues regarding the curriculum and the languages of teaching but she concludes that ‘integrated schools are necessary; we need to celebrate our shared culture’. Begon is certain that integrated schools can work. She argues that integrated schools are already operating in the North and South of Cyprus. They are using English as the primary teaching language but with minor adjustments we can achieve trilingual schools. Of course she asserts that it needs planning and programming but it is a thing that we can achieve. ‘Again the two educational systems have to co-operate and set some common objectives and a basic curriculum. All the rest can be organised by the teachers’. Rose is also in favour of creating schools for all students regardless of their ethnic origin. As she claims, language will not be a problem, ‘Schools are multicultural, and everywhere in the world you will find bilingual or trilingual schools’. An interesting point of view came from Magnolia who argues that ‘integrated schools could start during pre-school and kindergarten when children are not educated into Nationalism and proceed gradually to elementary and high schools’. Of course, the issue of participating to integrated schools would still be an issue of choice among parents and communal schools could still be an option. Daisy though argues that creating integrated schools is not possible, at least for the time being, concluded that:

I would send my children to an integrated school because I feel confident about the values my children have. I believe that it should be optional though because obligatory situations create negative reactions, but in the long term, maybe, integrated schools would be the norm.

4.4.3 Theme 3: Reciprocity Between the Two Communities

Another important issue raised through the interviews was the issue of reciprocity as a necessary condition for implementing any kind of measures that would lead to improvement in relations and understanding among the two communities. Begon offers a new perspective regarding reciprocity when she claims that it is the basis of the Cyprus problem. ‘It is in the very heart of the Cyprus issue. That’s the way everything works in Cyprus. I am not doing anything because I expect the other community to do something in exchange. Maybe reciprocity is in our nature’.

Most of the participants argued that they would be in favour of certain measures, like language teaching in schools or bi-lingual schools as long as the other community did the same or at least something equivalent. Amar, Peony, Iris and Lilly believe that reciprocity is really important since it has emotional impact on the people. As they claim, it would make them feel good knowing that the other side is responding to a gesture of good-will and it will remove any arguments from those opposing positive gestures. As Amar points out ‘I need to see reciprocity, I would like to know that the other side is doing at least what we are doing’. Peony is in agreement with that statement because ‘it is important for me to see that the other community is taking steps towards unification’. Moreover, she considers reciprocal measures important because they would remove arguments from those opposing a solution. Lily agrees about the need for measures taken by the two communities. She argues that ‘it will make the two communities feel better and pursuit more measures for co-operation’. Chrys and Iris also focus on the satisfaction of the common feeling through reciprocal measures, while not consider them to be a true necessity especially regarding the issue of language teaching. Begon states that reciprocity is in the nature of the Cypriot people. She argues that it provides an excuse for not acting. ‘It is the perfect excuse for the in-activeness regarding the problem of Cyprus since neither of the communities is doing a positive move unless the other community does the same’.

On a different level, Bluebell and Magnolia argue that reciprocity is not necessary when doing the right thing. For Bluebell and Magnolia it is not an issue since moves have been made in the past without the other community responding. ‘When something is right, and you know that is right, you should proceed regardless of what the Other is doing’ while Jasmine points out that teaching the official languages of the state is not a gesture of good will but an obligation of the state and as such should be fulfilled without delay. Daisy does not consider reciprocity an important issue, especially when teaching the other community’s language. She argues that learning a new language enriches the person’s life and experiences. ‘Learning someone’s language does not mean losing something of my own identity, on the contrary’.

Summary

The fourth research question raised issues of language teaching and integrated schools. Almost all the participants agreed that teaching the other community’s language is a necessity for

Cyprus as a bi-lingual state. It is not only an obligation deriving from the constitution but is forcing the people to contemplate about the bi-communality of the state and the acceptance of the other community. Additionally, the issue of integrated schools was discussed with the opinions varying. Most of the participants argued that at the moment this seems premature and would lead to conflict among the students which would transfer to society.

4.5 Research Question 5: The perceptions of Cypriot teachers regarding Cosmopolitanism in Cyprus

The fifth theme regarded the issue of Cosmopolitanism in Cypriot society and education. The majority of the participants argued that the notion was not familiar to them and needed some level of clarification. Nevertheless, the teachers seemed to be in agreement with the basic concepts of Cosmopolitanism, as presented in this research, which are mutual respect, tolerance and empathy towards others. Participants showed preference towards a rooted form of Cosmopolitanism which holds on to the affiliations of the person, respects her national or other identities, and attempts to expand these attachments to cover other persons from different communities or nations.

4.5.1 Theme 1: Cosmopolitanism: Not a Familiar Concept

The participants showed ignorance about the concept of Cosmopolitanism and asked for clarification of the term. Most of the teachers, especially GCs, connect with the etymology of the term (meaning citizen of the world) but it was confused with 'globalisation'. Ortans claims that she has little knowledge of Cosmopolitanism. She argues that 'I am not really familiar with the concept. I think that it has to do with acceptance of all civilisations and cultures, to consider oneself a citizen of the world'. Iris argues that she had little knowledge of the concept and only because of the Greek etymology of the word, Kosmos + politis, she was able to understand the meaning of the world citizen. 'I believe that we are citizens of our state but we also belong to the greater ensemble of humanity'. Three participants came across the term as part of their Master's degree in education and showed some familiarity with the term. Chrys says that it was a concept known to her since she is currently studying for her Master's degree and they have a course that mentions Cosmopolitanism. However, she says 'I feel really confused about the concept; there are many variations and theories regarding Cosmopolitanism'. Magnolia shares the same opinion since she considers herself to be a

Cosmopolitan. She argues that 'I believe in the concept of Cosmopolitanism, I am a Cosmopolitan Citizen, but at the same time I love my country'. Daisy argues that Cosmopolitanism is a concept she came across very recently, during her Master's degree. It was introduced through the context of peace education. 'We had a charismatic professor who introduced these concepts. I really enjoyed her class and learned a lot about dealing with difficult issues in educational contexts'. She points out that 'through peace education I was able to understand the concept of Cosmopolitanism and the implications for Cyprus and its people'. Bluebell argues that it is a theory for the universal citizen, 'I like to think of myself as a Cosmopolitan, but with roots to my country'. Begon agrees that Cosmopolitanism is not a widely known concept, as Nationalism is, especially within the context of Cyprus. She says that she is familiar with the concept because she had been working alongside GCs for a long time and came across the concept within the context of peace education. 'It is very important for Cypriots to develop a vision of themselves outside the barriers of Cyprus, as citizens of the world'. Peony considers Cosmopolitanism to be a synonym of multiculturalism or at least connected to it. 'It is about learning and accepting every person and every culture. It is about being citizen of the world. Someone said that we are all born cosmopolitans until religion, language, and nationality divide us'. She argues that nations and borders are not a problem to her as long as there is respect and tolerance among the people.

Lily and Jasmine argue that they were ignorant of the term while Amar rejects Cosmopolitanism in favour of Nationalism. Lily pointed out that she has never heard the word before even though 'It seems like an interesting concept, it should be helpful in many problems around the world'. Jasmine was ignorant of the concept, even though she considers herself to be a person who reads and is involved with public affairs and social issues. 'It is funny but even though Cosmopolitanism seems a common concept, I have never come across it'. Rose argues that even though cosmopolitan values are very important, she often confuses the term with globalisation. 'Is Cosmopolitanism something like globalisation? Is it globalisation of values? A global identity? I am not sure...' Amar argues that Cosmopolitanism is a term she is not familiar with. She is rejecting the idea of a global citizen. She argues that her national identity is important for her to the point she is rejecting any theories not taking into account her national affiliations. 'If Cosmopolitanism rejects the idea of national and local affiliations then I reject Cosmopolitanism'.

4.5.2 Theme 2: Educating Out of Nationalism

Cypriot schools are multicultural and an educational system based on Nationalism excludes many of the students who do not belong to the prevailing community. Magnolia doesn't think that is an issue among the two communities. 'We live in a multicultural society. In the North we have Turkish people and in the South there are Russians, Pakistanis, Greeks and other nationalities. They will be part of a solution and should be taken into account'.

Most of the participants of the research agree that educating out of Nationalism is a necessity for Cypriot schools. They argue that an educational system based on the principles of respect, tolerance and empathy could be applied in Cyprus under certain circumstances. Issues like improvement of the infrastructure and teaching materials, methods fostering critical thinking and inquiry based learning, and empowering children to respect themselves and the people around them, would foster a change towards the improvement of the whole educational system. Lily believes that a change is necessary and education has a major role to play. 'I believe that many things are part of education, many things are passed on to children. It is much easier to influence the perspective of a child than the one of an adult'. As long as children are educated from the beginning towards a culture of acceptance and respect with a non-Nationalism mentality then a solution would be easier. Daisy is in favour of educating children out of Nationalism which she considers a negative concept. She emphasises the importance of curriculum and says that 'curriculum should set long term objectives and should be based on education for peace, respect, solidarity and acceptance'. She argues that programmes about empathy should be developed starting from the self and moving outwards towards the family, close community and reaching to all the people of the world. 'We should start nurturing acceptance not only for those close to us but for the distant others as well'. Daisy is arguing for cosmopolitan education as an alternative to Nationalism; 'Nationalism is getting us nowhere we need to change that perspective'. Ortans is also in favour of educating out of Nationalism. As she asserts, 'As long as you can be educated into Nationalism, you can be educated out of Nationalism as well. Education through formal and informal curriculum should amplify the perceptions of acceptance and respect'. Nevertheless, she connects education with family and society when she claims that 'family and society create the basis for acceptance or dismissal of what is taught through education'. Rose argues that through education everything is possible, 'the fact that schools are multicultural is a great starting point for teaching respect and empathy'. Unfortunately parents and teachers believe

that children from different cultures spoil the educational level of the school. As Rose asserts, 'Our main concern is teaching all the material without broadening our horizons and work beyond materials and books. It is up to the teacher to utilise every opportunity for changing the way children think'. She insists that the individual teacher has the power to teach about the values of respect, tolerance and acceptance within the limits of the curriculum. 'From the moment the teacher closes the door to her classroom, she is the master of her trait and her conscience'. For Begon, educating children out of Nationalism is a necessity. A starting point could be the promotion of multiple identities instead of a single national identity: 'Education should focus on multiple identities and not just national identity or religious identity. Education should not be about the promotion of a single identity but should provide the space and means for all the students who live on the island to flourish'. She states that children from other communities with many identities attend Cypriot public schools and promoting one national identity is excluding them.

Even though they agreed that a change is necessary towards a more respectful and tolerant school, they do not wish to change the image of the school. Moreover, they argued that 'schools and society are not ready for a significant change and it would be something that would cause many reactions from the parents, who must be taken into account'. Magnolia believes that the main problem of Cyprus is not Nationalism but the absence of contact between the two communities. 'We can make the students more friendly or respectful or tolerant and as a result they would be favourable towards a solution'. Chrys disagrees with changing the focus of education out of Nationalism. 'In the current situation we are not ready nor have the infrastructure to achieve or even attempt something like that'. She believes that a change of this magnitude should be a general effort and supported by the Ministry of Education with curriculum and policy changes.

4.5.2.1 Sub-Theme 1: Education and Social Change

The issue of education and society was raised next. Most of the participants argued that the most effective way for implementing a change is for education and society to be aligned and work together. Some participants expressed their frustration about the reaction of families to the values of respect and tolerance they are trying to teach. Ortans is optimistic saying that education could change society for the better; 'Society could change if education changes, if

we move away from the nationalistic model of serving the status quo then society will change. An example is the meetings between schools from both communities; they bring a change to the families of the children participating'. Lily agrees that education could be a decisive factor since bi-communal venues organised by the school would be more successful than organised by another institution. 'Parents, most of them at least, trust the school to do what is best for their children'.

Begon, on the contrary, argues that even though education is a powerful tool for change in a society is not able to perform, because of the way it is structured, in a classical authoritarian way, so education needs to change first and then we will see the change in society; 'If education is designed in a way that promotes equality, respect and prepares students for a democratic society I think that it will help us find a solution to the Cyprus problem because people will come with better ideas for a solution'. Daisy feels very frustrated for the response of society towards her efforts of teaching about respect, tolerance and empathy as she claims 'more than six months into the school year and I feel that these basic things are not understood by my students because the families are not supportive'. She argues that parental involvement is really important if an innovation is to succeed and social change is going to happen. 'A social change is not achievable unless the families are on the same side as teachers'. Chrys emphasises the importance of families as the first educators of children. As she claims, 'by the time they come to school children have formed a big part of their personality and their identity. It is not easy to change these, especially if the family objects'. Jasmine adds a new perspective to the issue claiming that the social media and the network of friends, is the most powerful factor for change since 'the time children spent on social networking and the internet is increasing as they get older, and this is their greatest influence, especially in their teens'. Even though she accepts that parents and teachers often teach more with their actions rather than their words. 'Actions speak louder than words, if a child sees her parent behaving badly to foreigners then probably will imitate the same behaviour'.

Summary

The participants revealed that Cosmopolitanism is not a familiar concept in Cyprus. Their ignorance reflects the absence of Cosmopolitanism as a concept from Cypriot education and society. Nonetheless, the majority of teachers would favour a turn of the educational system

towards Cosmopolitanism and out of Nationalism. They believe that values like respect, tolerance and empathy are necessary components of the educational system and should be cultivated through education.

4.6 Research Question 6: The perceptions of Cypriot teachers regarding Cosmopolitan education in Cyprus

Finally the question of cosmopolitan education was raised, a utopian vision of education which require, long term planning, cooperation among the authorities of the two communities, a curriculum based on the cosmopolitan values of respect, critical tolerance and empathy with an optimistic view of the future away from conflict and war. An in-depth analysis of the themes and subthemes is essential for extracting valid conclusions regarding the perceptions of teachers towards a cosmopolitan future for Cypriot education.

4.6.1 Theme 1: A Difficult but Necessary Change

The participants were not familiar with the term Cosmopolitanism and Cosmopolitan education and I was obliged to clarify the term as an education system based on respect, tolerance and empathy towards the other community and humanity in general. Most of them believe that an educational system based on cosmopolitan values is necessary regardless of the Cyprus problem since the current educational system creates a lot of problems to teachers and students and the academic results are very low.

Other participants stressed the need for long term planning in the implementation of a cosmopolitan education system and the cultivation of critical thinking for educating students into civic patriotism. Ortans, Daisy and Peony agree that it would be really difficult to change the educational system of Cyprus because of the hegemonic narratives of society and the limited resources for education. Ortans believes that a Cosmopolitan education system would be very difficult to implement. ‘Even with the current situation of multiculturalism and the free mixing of various nationalities, it would be very hard since we have two different authorities with different priorities’. Daisy agrees and argues that it would be very hard since it needs infrastructure and preparation because teaching against hegemonic values like Nationalism will produce a lot of reaction. Moreover, she argues about the importance of critical thinking. ‘It is important to change the way we teach, the methods, the objectives, we

need to cultivate critical thinking'. Peony also argues about the difficulty of such endeavour. She claims that the current situation of multiculturalism is difficult enough, without having students of TC community. Parents are not accepting non-Greek speaking children because they assume that they create problems to schools. 'Even though schools are multicultural as we speak, many parents are not accepting that and in case their school has many non-native children they create problems'.

Additionally Begon and Amar argue that since two separate authorities are dealing with education then they need to harmonise, find common objectives and co-operate because a large scale innovation needs the co-operation of all the factors of education, authorities, teachers, students and parents. Rose is more optimistic arguing that cosmopolitan elements exist in Cypriot education and we need to extend these circles of affection to cover the other community and the whole of humanity. Amar on the other hand believes that education would improve in case Cosmopolitan values were introduced. She argues that education needs to change deeply, regardless of the Cyprus problem. 'We have a lot of problems as education system of Cyprus. We teach superficially and students learn superficially, the education system needs to improve despite the Cyprus problem'. She argues that this change should involve the Ministry of Education, teachers, pre-service teachers, students and parents. As she says 'cultivating responsibility and respect and solidarity is a long term process which must involve everyone, from the Ministry to the families'. Rose believes that elements of respect and empathy exist in the educational system of Cyprus but are guided towards certain groups of people like children with disabilities, people with different sexual orientation, people with different religion etc. She argues that 'we need to find a way to extend these cosmopolitan elements to cover the rest of the world'. She believes that the first step is getting to know the other community, make friendships, and create bonds. Then a radical transformation of the educational system based on respect, tolerance and empathy would provide the basis for a united Cyprus. 'When education is based on Cosmopolitan values, it will help in solving many problems that appear between the two communities. There are many examples about that around the world'. Bluebell and Magnolia agree with Rose and argue that an educational system based on the cosmopolitan values of respect, tolerance and empathy is very important for Cyprus and it will help towards a solution to the problem. 'I think that communication is the key and a cosmopolitan education system will enhance this'.

4.6.2 Theme 2: Cosmopolitan Education as Education for Peace and Reconciliation – A Utopian vision

When confronted with the assumption for a change in the education system towards Cosmopolitanism, some of the participants smiled and argued that this was rather science fiction story than reality. Jasmine focuses on the role of teachers in implementing Cosmopolitan education and argues that work should be done among teachers because there are many with nationalistic emotions that will react negatively and oppose to change. Moreover, it must be a long-term effort that should continue regardless of whom is in power. As she claims ‘A continuous effort is needed, to redefine objectives, to educate teachers, to have a vision and a schedule to accomplish, innovative ideas and perseverance’. Iris argues about the need for long-term planning for having the desired results and asserts that cultivating the values of tolerance and respect will create a totally different mindset to children who will eventually find more innovative ways of solving the Cyprus problem. ‘Miracles are not part of education; it is a long-term objective that requires a lot of effort’. Begon claims that an educational system designed to promote equality, respect and democracy would, indirectly, contribute in finding a solution to the Cyprus problem. She also argues about the role of teachers who are willing to work for changing the educational system but are not supported by the Authorities. As she says ‘There are many teachers who are willing to work for implementing cosmopolitan values of respect, equality for everyone, social justice, promote co-operation and communication between people but they are not supported institutionally and end up going with the flow’.

Chrys and Iris focus on the European aspect of Cosmopolitanism arguing that many cosmopolitan values are cultivated through European educational projects. As they claim, they had the opportunity of co-operating with schools from Turkey and faced very little problems while they gained a lot in matters of respect and tolerance since students and teachers understood that not all Turkish people are bad. As Chrys argues ‘I believe that European Projects are a great opportunity for creating understanding and bringing people from diverse backgrounds and different beliefs together’.

One participant, Daisy, used the word utopia to describe a future cosmopolitan education system. This observation raised a theme about the utopian vision of education and ways

towards the realisation of educational utopias. Iris argues that she would like to see improvement in many areas since there is a lot of quality in teachers and if they are supported by the Ministry of Education we will see great things happening. ‘Despite the difficulties I believe that we have the quality to overcome them and build a better society’. Lily argues that she thinks about her children when she thinks about the future.

I would like to see my children grow up in a peaceful, respectful and tolerant society, with employment opportunities for everyone. I would like to see the people of Cyprus living together again and I believe that education has an important role to play.

4.6.2.1 Sub-Theme 1: From Dystopia to Utopia

Jasmine is pessimistic about the future of Cypriot education and Cyprus in general. ‘I wish I was optimistic but things do not seem well for Cyprus. Education is not achieving its goals, teachers are unhappy, students are unhappy; there is a lot of frustration. Regarding the issue of Cyprus, I believe that finding natural gas will cause nothing but problems to Cyprus. We are not capable of handling the pressure from Turkey’. Peony shares the pessimism especially regarding Cyprus. In a dramatic tone she argues that ‘I am afraid about a war happening, I have experienced the Turkish invasion in 1974 and I still have nightmares. My son went to the army, I don’t want him to fight and become a hero, I want him to excel in the field of his studies and make me proud with his achievements, I will not be proud if he is killed in a war...’ As far as education is concerned, the glimpse of hope that she finds is based in the perseverance of teachers as she argues that:

My only hope are the teachers, there are many inspired teachers who try to make a difference despite the obstacles by the Ministry of Education and part of the society. The situation is not in standstill but unfortunately is worsening as years pass. I believe that partition is the most possible scenario...we will build a wall dividing Cyprus, like the Berlin wall, separating GCs and TCs.

A change in Cypriot education towards Cosmopolitanism and away from Nationalism is a utopia because it is grounded on the need for a solution to the Cyprus problem.

Papastephanou (2016:33) urges to view life as it is in contrast to what life should be, to imagine a different future better than the present. Chrys has the same opinion since she says that ‘it may sound ideal or utopian but if the people of Cyprus are left alone they could achieve peaceful co-existence, not just tolerate each other’. Jasmine agrees with Iris and Chrys, adding that Cyprus is a multicultural society and asserts ‘if we can live in harmony with Syrians, Pakistanis, Indians, Romanians, Bulgarians, Russians, English, with so many nations why not with the TCs?’ Rose and Iris share the same point of view saying that the reason we are not reaching a solution is the lack of courage among the people of Cyprus, especially the politicians who are afraid of the political cost, of losing their chairs’. Also she asserts from the GC side that ‘we don’t know what we really want’. Amar recognises the utopic nature since she argues that a solution will be a risky leap of faith for the people of Cyprus, a leap that not many are willing to take:

Taking risk is a characteristic of few people; most of us don’t really want to take risks. The current situation is conflict free, we might have political conflicts but we don’t have any real violence. I believe that the reason is that we are afraid to take the risk. In the current situation people believe that is more dangerous to have a bad solution that will collapse rather than no solution at all.

The utopian vision is enhanced by Begon, Jasmine and Bluebell who are confident that a solution will be found. As Begon argues:

I have hope. Probably we need a paradigm shift, to think out of the box but I am optimistic. I don’t think that the model of the solution is important. It could be federation, co-federation, one state, two states, I don’t care. As long as the people of Cyprus find a way to live peacefully together, I don’t really mind about the names.

Bluebell is even more confident and says ‘I believe that Cyprus will be united again because when they opened the borders, we all realised that we share the same culture’. Jasmine believes that a solution is within reach but she visions ‘a viable and functional one for our kids’.

4.6.2.2 Sub-Theme 2: Curriculum based on Respect, Tolerance and Empathy

Chrys, even though she is not optimistic, would like to see a united Cyprus. As far as education is concerned she would like to see better and long term planning with policies aiming to the well-being of the people. As she asserts, the people of Cyprus should adopt 'policies that will encourage the frequent and wider participation in bi-communal programmes for unification'. Begon argues about the co-operation and harmonisation of the two educational systems at the level of a shared vision and common objectives. She states that 'if the two educational systems harmonise it would be my ideal solution to the problematic issues that we have in education'. Magnolia and Bluebell in a more optimistic tone argue that everything starts from the individual person, the people of Cyprus need to create friendships, create bonds that will allow them to co-operate more efficiently. As they say 'I am not hopeful about the leaders I am hopeful about the people'. Iris and Lilly put their faith on the young people of Cyprus who are working together. Iris argues that she would like to see improvement in many areas since there is a lot of quality in teachers and if they are supported by the Ministry of Education we will see great things happening. 'Despite the difficulties I believe that we have the quality to overcome them and build a better society'.

Summary

The participants argued that changing the educational system of Cyprus would be difficult. Nonetheless, it seems to be necessary because of the changes in society and the demand for improved academic results. The educational system should turn towards the cultivation of values like respect, tolerance and empathy. Some participants characterised the vision for change as a utopia that could lead Cyprus out of the current dystopia in Cypriot society and education.

Concluding remarks

The participants identified some important issues regarding the future of education in Cyprus and whether a change of the education system could be a positive factor in the re-unification of the two main communities of Cyprus, GCs and TCs.

1. They identified the difficulties created by the separation and the absence of any form of justice and reconciliation processes that are necessary in creating conditions of trust and a feeling of fairness among the people of Cyprus.

2. They emphasised the importance of the individual teacher in promoting or resisting change in the educational system towards educating out of Nationalism and towards a system that fosters respect, tolerance and empathy.
3. They stressed the importance of their existing national identity and at the same time their belief that cultivating a strong civic identity would be helpful in integrating all the people living in Cyprus under a unified state which could provide the basic capabilities for every person living on the island to flourish according to their potential.
4. The participants argued that teaching the other community's language in public schools, through the official curriculum, is a necessity for all and an obligation for the bi-lingual state of Cyprus. Moreover, the creation of common, integrated schools for the students of Cyprus was discussed and the difficulties of such an endeavour were pointed out.
5. They were ignorant about Cosmopolitanism and after the clarifications showed willingness to experiment with rooted forms of Cosmopolitanism that would allow them to expand their circles of affection without losing their national or personal affiliations.
6. Finally, a Cosmopolitan education system based on respect, tolerance and empathy was debated. The positive changes that such an endeavour would bring to education and society were discussed as were the difficulties. The characterisation of Cosmopolitan education as a necessary utopia for Cyprus could possibly lead to the unification of the people and the island.

In the next chapter, I will investigate the themes raised by the participants regarding social and transitional justice and the ways education can play a part in implementing these processes. Moreover, I will critically assess the opinions of the participants regarding Nationalism in Cypriot society and education and their views on identity. Additionally, I will evaluate their opinions about teaching the other community's language in public schools and the creation of common, integrated schools for students from both communities. Finally, I will critically discuss the participants' perceptions regarding Cosmopolitanism and cosmopolitan education in Cyprus.

Chapter 5: Critical Analysis and Discussion of Themes

Introduction

In this chapter I present a critical analysis of the teachers' perceptions that were presented in Chapter Four and a discussion of the themes and sub-themes that had risen. Each theme is analysed into sub-themes and connected to the specific research question. The research questions and the main themes developed include:

- a) Research Question 1: About the current situation regarding the Cyprus problem.
 - The issues of truth, justice and reconciliation and the ways education could contribute towards their implementation.
- b) Research Question 2: About Nationalism in Cypriot society and education.
 - The importance of the individual teacher and the unofficial curriculum in promoting or resisting Nationalism in education.
- c) Research Question 3: About national and civic identity in Cypriot Education
 - Teachers' pride in their national identity and promotion of a civic identity in Cypriot education.
- d) Research Question 4: About the importance of confidence building measures in Education
 - The issues of language teaching and integrated schools.
- e) Research Question 5: About Cosmopolitanism in Cypriot society and education
 - The perceptions of Cypriot teachers regarding Cosmopolitanism.
- f) Research Question 6: About Cosmopolitan Education in Cyprus
 - The issue of a cosmopolitan education based on the values of respect, tolerance and empathy.

Additionally, the themes will be evaluated regarding their ability to create or enhance centripetal or centrifugal forces in the moral, concentric, circles of affection as proposed by Hierocles the Stoic and developed by Martha Nussbaum (1997). Centripetal forces push inwards strengthening the inner circles of nation, community, family and self while centrifugal forces move outwards enhancing feelings of affection towards other communities, humanity, non-human animals and all living things (Graham et al, 2017).

Theme 1

5.1 The Issues of Truth, Justice and Reconciliation and the Ways Education could Contribute Towards their Implementation

Concerning the first theme, the expressed views from Cypriot teachers as to the absence of truth and justice regarding the Cyprus problem and the feelings of injustice that arise as a result of unresolved issues will be analysed. The ways education is involved in sustaining these feelings and approaches through education, that can possibly address these issues will be investigated. Cypriot schools seem to enhance the feelings of insecurity and are considered among the agents that transmit the conflict-induced trauma to the students. Social and transitional justice policies can be implemented through education, thus decreasing the feelings of injustice. Furthermore, truthful investigation of the recent events in Cypriot history could, in time, reduce the conflict induced trauma to Cypriot students.

5.1.1 Issues of Truth and Trauma in Education

Participants argued that both communities in Cyprus are traumatised by the events during and prior to the Turkish invasion and politicians have used trauma to promote Nationalism and direct the people's frustration towards the other community. Even though most of the participants were born after the bi-communal conflict or the Turkish invasion, they expressed strong feelings regarding the conflict period. The issues of missing persons, loss of property and displacement are still of concern to the people of Cyprus and are transmitted to and by education. The trauma is passed on to the generations that were not part of the conflict as shown by Ergun et al (2008) who, in populations of GC and TC students, found evidence of psychological trauma due to the conflict which significantly increases in Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs). The evidence of trauma is intergenerational since children learn from their parents and grandparents through their stories and experiences. Additionally, Adonis et al. (2018) argue that mass media presentations regarding the conflict act as a constant reminder and enhance the discomfort and anxiety of the victims and through them are passed to the next generations.

Schools in Cyprus play a significant part in preserving, enhancing and transmitting the conflict. Cypriot educational institutions transfer post-conflict trauma to the younger generations through images and narratives that point to the other community as the

perpetrator who caused suffering to the student's kin. Zembylas (2016:20), drawing from personal experience, states that one of his first childhood school memories was a picture of a monster-like Turkish soldier who wanted to eat the Greek-Cypriots and argues that both communities competed in an attempt to show who the bigger victim of this situation was. The two biggest communities of Cyprus tried to politicise victimhood, as a means towards gaining support and scoring moral and political points, mainly on a local level, but also in international organisations which were involved in the negotiations for a solution to the problem. Schools continue to preserve and enhance the feelings of separation, as Johnson (2007) reports that in ethnically divided education systems, as the Cypriot one, mistrust and hostility are enforced by negative rumours or experiences which can be transferred, consciously or unconsciously, by teachers, family or peers.

Having in mind all this, the issue of truth can be an objective to be pursued by those involved in education. Participants argue that many things are silenced and concealed by the people of Cyprus. As W.F. Steinmeier (2009:3) states, 'the search for truth sooner or later comes to haunt societies'. Truth in Cyprus is considered a controversial issue, especially with regards to the recent events of the bi-communal conflict and the Turkish invasion. Each side has constructed its own narrative which in turn it considers truthful and which has assumed a hegemonic role in each community, not allowing alternative narratives to be heard, voiced or discussed. Hess (2004) points out that schools are the best places for discussing controversial issues because they contain more ideological diversity than a family, a club, a church or a mosque. Through education, a debate about the concealment of events regarding the recent history of Cyprus and a truthful, fact-based approach that will, hopefully, lead to reconciliation with the past and among the people of Cyprus, could be initiated and pursued. As the former Secretary General of the United Nations, Ban Ki Moon (cited in Ambos, Large and Wierda, 2009) declared, peace is directly connected with truth and justice and sustainable peace is unachievable without them.

5.1.2 Issues of Justice

Post-conflict trauma and the absence of truthful investigation of the recent past lead to feelings of injustice among the participants, since issues of justice and injustice were raised by participants from both communities. For GCs justice includes the restoration of human

rights and the return of the occupied areas with the withdrawal of the Turkish army; for the TCs justice includes restoration of their human rights and functional part in the island's government. In light of these differences among the participants, the role of education in transitional justice leading to reconciliation and the issue of social justice through education for the people of Cyprus will be examined next.

5.1.2.1 Transitional Justice and Reconciliation

The participants expressed feelings of injustice that are directed towards both, the other community and each community's respective motherland. This is not surprising since the hegemonic narrative of each community is diverted towards the creation of the hostile 'Other'. Such frustration could be a direct result of the absence of any measures of post conflict, transitional justice procedures that could allow the people of Cyprus to express their discomfort and anxiety towards each other and act as a way of catharsis to victims and their families. Sandell (2009:16) argues that the feeling of injustice among people is vital and can define their position towards a certain situation. As Sen (2010) states, what motivates people is not the realisation that the world is not completely just, because this is more or less expected, but when obvious, manifested injustices are done. As far as Cyprus is concerned, teachers such as Amar, Daisy and Magnolia, feel that they have suffered because of certain actions of the other community and want retribution. That may be financial, as in the case of Amar, who lost her property because of the Turkish invasion; or it can be emotional and judicial, as in the cases of participants Daisy and Magnolia, who lost loved ones in the years before or during the Turkish invasion of 1974.

One of the ways of confronting the injustices occurred before and during the Turkish invasion in Cyprus is applying, through education, some of the procedures of transitional justice which acknowledges the victims as human beings with dignity and demands accountability from those responsible. Putting the victims and their dignity above other matters, demonstrates the commitment of the authorities to provide security and protection to their citizens and ensure that their rights will be safeguarded from violations (Seils, 2017). Hughes and Kostovica (2018:618) state that there is an almost universal consensus that successful implementation of reconciliation and transitional justice, through education, is a necessary precondition for the establishment of peace and stability. It can also supply interrelated incentives and benefits,

such as democratisation, nation-building and post-conflict economic and social reconstruction. Transitional justice policies in education could include, as Davies (2017) argues, challenging injustice, supporting freedom of speech, respecting the rights of others, resisting power abuse, and the application of non-violent approaches to in-school conflicts.

A basic assumption of transitional justice is that addressing the past is a way to a better future. As simplistic as it may seem unresolved issues from the past could, potentially, lead to the recurrence of conflict. As Walters (2015) points out, fifty seven per cent of the countries that faced armed conflicts between 1946 and 2006 experienced the recurrence of conflict at least once, and ninety per cent of all the conflicts that occurred after 2000 took place in countries which experienced conflict in the past. Davies (2017) claims that even though education alone does not have the power of preventing a re-occurrence of the conflict, a political agreement without educational reform would endanger ‘the parallel goals of greater equity, restoring trust between people or between people and the state, and establishing a rights-based democracy may be partial or compromised’ (p. 333). This calls for a justice-sensitive education informed by the practices and ideals of transitional justice which could assist in the restoration of trust and justice among the people in post-conflict areas. Cypriot education could play a crucial role in applying procedures that will enhance and promote the processes of transitional justice and possibly decrease the possibilities of a re-occurrence of the conflict in Cyprus. Schools applying transitional justice processes could move from promoting negative conflict with intolerance, stereotypes, allegiances, and hate speech, to cultivating positive conflict through critical thinking, dialogue, accepting human rights and challenging rights violations, thus enhancing the possibilities of a peaceful future (Davies, 2017). However, as Bellino et al. (2017) argue, the educational sector remains, in most cases, an afterthought in the minds of those making the decisions in the case of post-conflict negotiations.

5.1.2.2 Restoration of Human Rights and Social Justice

Education can play a significant role in addressing some of the issues regarding social justice and human rights raised by participants, who argued that the people of Cyprus are simply pawns in a greater game of power and politics. Social justice or injustice can be understood as socio-economic and cultural or symbolic (Fraser, 1997). Socio-economic injustice derives

from the political and economic structure of a society and refers to the exploitation and marginalisation of a social group while cultural or symbolic injustice points to cultural domination, non-recognition and disrespect. These forms of social injustice are mirrored through the participants of the research since GC participants feel that they suffer socio-economic injustice because of the loss of their properties and the oppression by Turkey while the TCs experience cultural-social injustice because their state is not recognised and they feel culturally dominated by Turkey. Additionally, issues of power sharing between the two communities were raised, since each community demands the application of their basic human rights like the right to safety, justice, free movement around the island, respect, human integrity, and property possession (among others) that were violated either by Turkey for GCs or by the GC community for the TCs.

Cypriot education has, to a certain degree, failed to identify the conflict created realities of social injustice in schools. Hajisoteriou and Angelides (2014:159) argue that even though the espoused objectives of the curriculum include elements of social justice it is 'often accompanied by witting or unwitting inaction at the school or classroom levels'. Teachers' and society's reluctance to discuss issues of privilege and oppression on a general level and not just schools, has led to failure in addressing inequality, bi-communal conflict and violence (Bettmann and Moore, 1994). The purpose served by educational institutions as social institutions is twofold; primarily educational which promotes learning for all and also selective which classifies individuals in social positions based on individual merit (Autin et al., 2015). Education is one of the prime institutions where social justice could be realised with equitable access to inclusive, relevant, and quality education and could serve as an index of a state's democratic commitment to citizens (Rose and Greeley 2006). The participants' views regarding social injustice and violation of human rights depict, at least partly, the failure of the state to introduce elements of social justice to education and society. Cypriot authorities could have introduced aspects of social justice to the education system, since post-conflict societies have the opportunity of transforming their education system towards social justice, introducing changes that, in time, and with local involvement, transform the whole society (Sommers and Buckland 2004:150). This failure has an impact on human rights and human rights education in Cypriot schools.

Schools are considered to be a basic factor in establishing the basic human rights for the people. The main objectives of Cypriot education include the enhancement of freedom, socio-economic stability and human rights among the people of the state (MOEC, 2010). Reardon (1994) suggests a holistic approach that considers all human rights as interrelated and interdependent, leading to the central principle of human dignity. Education could act as a stepping stone for reducing the fear of human rights violations expressed by the participants and can play a significant part in realising the potential of each child and offering a safe environment for all the children in Cyprus. As Hart (2012:276) argues, it is time for education authorities to move beyond simple access to schools and consider the potential of individual freedoms, both in and through education, which could be realised through the capabilities approach. The curriculums of the GC (2010) and the TC (2005) educational systems offer a good basis for the enhancement of human rights. As Zembylas et al. (2016:23) argue, the GC curriculum 'is framed around notions of equality, non-discrimination, democracy, humanism, and respect to human dignity'. Nonetheless, while the espoused goals as mentioned in the curriculum are aspiring and point to the direction of human rights application for all the people of Cyprus, actual practice shows that the aims remain part of the theoretical frame of the curriculum and are not connected to actual human rights teaching, in most cases (Hajisoteriou and Angelides, 2014). The absence of specialised human rights education training, forces teachers to follow their own interpretations of human rights and teach according to their beliefs and understanding (Jerome, 2018). The absence of training is also evident when it comes to teaching about Nationalism, establishing the central role of teachers in resisting or cultivating Nationalism, as acknowledged by the participants, in the following theme.

Theme 2

5.2 Nationalism in Cypriot Education: the Teacher, the Curriculum, the Motherlands

The second theme I will critically analyse is the relationship between Nationalism and Cypriot education. The participants identify the individual teacher as the most important agent in how questions related to Nationalism are addressed in the educational system of Cyprus. The key point raised is that Nationalism is best addressed through the hidden, unofficial curriculum. Moreover, a critical analysis regarding the presence of the other

community in textbooks, which is connected with the image each community has constructed for the people of the other community and the usefulness of bi-communal projects involving students and teachers is attempted. Additionally, the issue of one-sided history teaching which leads to victimisation and justification of the actions of a community or of the motherlands is analysed, alongside the absence of critical thinking and anti-hegemonic discourse in the two communities.

5.2.1 The Importance of the Individual Teacher

The participants acknowledge the existence and hegemonic nature of Nationalism in Cypriot society. Nevertheless, they do not accept that Nationalism is part of formal education, or even when they acknowledge the existence of Nationalism it does not annoy them. Only one participant argued that schools are part of a nationalist society and they are bound to be affected by Nationalism. Most of them argue that Nationalism is cultivated mainly through the unofficial curriculum and pointed towards the individual teacher as the most important element in resisting or promoting Nationalism.

The most important agent in education, according to the participants, either for supporting or resisting Nationalism, is the classroom teacher. Teachers, in their classroom, can push their students towards a nationalistic approach and mindset or against Nationalism towards a more respectful and tolerant school and society, as the participants argue. The importance of the teacher who acts as a ‘transformational educator’ is stressed by Apple (2013:97) who identifies the characteristics of such educators as a) the profound recognition of cultural work over established knowledge and memory, b) the understanding of the importance of committed teachers and educators, in understanding power relations and the willingness to change them, c) the importance of community building, and a true belief in democracy, and human rights which will infuse every action and institution and d) resilience to endure the long revolution because change in education and society is not something that will occur spontaneously or immediately, but is a long term project that will take years to be fulfilled. The participants argue that the number of teachers in Cyprus possessing the characteristics of the ‘transformational educator’ is gradually growing, which allows some optimism regarding the changes needed in Cypriot education.

Nonetheless, the majority of teachers appear reluctant in applying changes or in resisting hegemonic narratives. The reason for their reluctance, as the participants argued, was that teachers need institutional support and protection when attempting to teach controversial issues. In her study McCully (2005) found significant intellectual and emotional challenges for teachers dealing with controversial and divisive themes in a society in conflict. Teaching controversial and sensitive issues could be a stressful endeavour that might bring the teacher in contrast with opposing parents or their employer or even their own beliefs. Controversial issues are separated into two main categories: those which refer to issues of social interest like the issue of abortions, or euthanasia, that could rise some sort of controversy; or those referring to alternative interpretations of historical events and views that challenge the hegemonic narrative and face anger and frustration because they challenge the emotional core of a person (Zembylas and Kambani, 2012). The teachers of Cyprus are often found in a situation where controversial issues arise, and in the absence of any institutional support or coverage they choose to support the dominant narrative or face negative reactions by the parents or the Ministry of Education officials, as participants Peony and Daisy argued.

Negative reactions from part of the society and the absence of institutional support are among the reasons that Murphy, Pettis and Wray (2016:46), discussing the reforms in Northern Ireland, argue that most of the work was done by committed individuals rather than the majority of teachers who for their part remained reluctant to engage in a peace-building process. Nonetheless, it is important for these pioneers to continue their struggle, for as John Dewey more than eighty years ago declared:

If a sufficient number of educators devote themselves to striving courageously and with full sincerity to find the answers to the concrete questions which the idea and the aim put to us, I believe that the question of the relation of the schools to direction of social change will cease to be a question, and will become a moving answer in action (1937:417).

5.2.2 The Official and the Unofficial (hidden) Curriculum

The hidden or unofficial curriculum is considered by the participants to be the main area contributing to Nationalism in Cypriot education. By Hidden curriculum we mean all the

things, attitudes, emotions, values and skills that students learn, or are affected by, during their presence in school. Blasco (2012) argues that most of the phenomena that consist what we refer to as hidden curriculum are tacit and taken for granted in most cases. The word hidden nevertheless may not be that appropriate since it implies some sort of conspiracy to keep them hidden when everyone is aware of them and they have been studied for a long time. As Hargreaves (1978, cited in Skelton, 1997) asks ‘from whom, one wonders is the hidden curriculum hidden from?’ Probably a more suitable name would be ‘unofficial curriculum’ or as Cornbleath (1984) and Burton (1998) suggest, ‘implicit curriculum’ because in contrast to the explicit curriculum which is carefully designed, applied and tested by teachers and students before it is published, the implicit curriculum is formulated in the minds of teachers and students of each school and can not be institutionally tested or approved.

In the education systems of both communities in Cyprus, there is a controversy between the official and the unofficial curriculum. While the aims expressed in both communities’ official curriculums promote respect and tolerance alongside the endorsement of democracy and humanism (TCMEC, 2005; MOEC, 2010), the unofficial curriculum tends to promote elements of Nationalism. These include the respective motherland’s flag outside each school; pictures of Ataturk and Turkish military men in the TC schools while in the GC schools pictures of heroes who fought either in the 1955-59 struggle against the British colonial government or against the Turkish army in 1974. Additionally, the national celebrations of each community include mostly celebrations of their respective motherlands, like the National Day of Greece on March 25th or the National Day of Turkey, which again create fertile circumstances for Nationalism (Johnson, 2007). Many aspects of the hidden curriculum are taken for granted and may not be noticeable by teachers but any attempt to change this iconography produces negative reactions among sections of the teachers and the parents (Blasco, 2012). Also, the messages from the educational authorities, at least for the GC community, point towards Nationalism. For example, the official webpage of the Ministry for Education of the Republic of Cyprus (GC community) states that the one of the main responsibilities of primary education, for the GC educational system, is the cultivation of ethnic-national identity, religion, language and history:

A basic responsibility of Primary Education is to help pupils become acquainted with their civilisation and tradition and to develop respect and love for their national heritage, become aware of their national identity, the Greek language, the Greek Orthodox religion and their history.(MOEC online source, nd)

The unofficial curriculum appears to enhance the centripetal forces which strengthen the inner circles, especially those of community and nation. Some of the recommendations in the conclusions section aim to decrease the impact of the implicit curriculum to the educational system, weakening the centripetal forces allowing the outer circles of humanity to be drawn closer to the centre.

5.2.3 The Issue of Motherlands and their Effect on History Teaching

The participants emphasised history teaching as one of the main factors in permeating Nationalism in Cypriot schools. They argued about the absence of critical thinking and critical investigation of historical events and pointed out that the focus of history teaching is on memorising historical events and dates that derive from a single, chosen and assigned text-book, which depicts the ethno-centric view of history. Using multiple primary sources could allow the students to engage in a critical understanding of history. As the participant Begon argued, history should not be narrowed to a single text-book lesson, but should instead be a multi-sourced lesson which cultivates critical thinking and understanding of the ‘Other’s’ narrative. Moreover, other participants argued that a one-sided view of historical events could lead to one hegemonic narrative without mention of any other contesting narratives that might exist. For example, Peony said that the guerrillas of the armed struggle against the British were considered ‘heroes’ in GC literature but in the British narrative were deemed as ‘terrorists’.

Davies (2004:237) suggests that the one who controls history and memory holds the key to any conflict. The participants believe that one-sided history is taught in Cypriot schools which is ethno-centric and aims at establishing and perpetuating a hegemonic narrative regarding the role of each community: for the GCs their arch-enemy enemy is the Turk, while for the TCs their enemy is the Greek. Psaltis et al. (2011:16) in their research about history teaching in the GC educational system, verify the perceptions of the participants in this

research since they argue that history teaching aims at training students towards their belonging to a Hellenic-Christian lineage that has been dominant on the island for thousands of years and their ancestral enemy are the Turks. Moreover, teaching methods tend to emphasise instruction and teacher's authority without any development or encouragement of student's critical thinking, integration of diversity and alternative interpretations. Cypriot history is marginalised in favour of the motherland's history and each community considers their narrative to be truthful and objective while disregarding the narrative of the 'Other' (Papadakis, 2008; Kimitris, 2017). As Papadakis (2008) argues, history in Cyprus is used to illustrate a narrative focused on the suffering of the nation and to legitimate its political goals. Bekerman and Zembylas (2011) state that the basic question regarding history teaching is not what to teach but how we teach, a position shared by many participants who pointed towards the importance of the individual teacher as to the teaching of history in a critical manner, using many sources to investigate alternative narratives. The way history is addressed in education has a direct impact on the projection of the 'Other' in the minds of students.

5.2.4 The Image of the Other: Bi-Communal Projects in Education

The issue of the invisible 'Other', the neighbour that we know is there but we avoid any contact with and act as though they do not really exist, is prevailing in GC and TC textbooks and in the minds of the students, as most of the teachers claimed. Beyond the absence of the other community from textbooks, the participants argued, based on their experience in schools, about the distorted image of the 'Other' in each community. A teacher mentioned that her students were surprised when they first saw a TC because they looked 'human', in contrast to the image created in their minds.

Some of the participants insisted that the only way of solving a difficult problem, as in the case of Cyprus, is moving beyond politics and negotiations, by bringing the students from the two communities together, mainly through educational projects. Participating in bi-communal projects would allow students to build friendships and create bonds that will lead to the collective understanding of the other community and the acceptance of them as friendly equals. After 2003 and the opening of the barricades between the two communities, many people came close and friendships were built. Moreover, the implementation of confidence-building measures by the two communities' leaders led to the creation of bi-communal

technical committees which promote cooperation and understanding between members of both communities. As far as education is concerned, a Bi-communal Technical Committee on Education was formed as part of the confidence-building measures agreed by the leaders of the two communities. Under the supervision of the Committee, educational projects were developed, aiming at bring students from the two communities closer. The project that was mentioned extensively by the participants was 'Imagine' which aims at bringing students from the two communities together in a controlled environment, and at promoting cooperation among the students participating in the programme.

Projects, such as 'Imagine', which bring students from conflicting sides together, are based on the 'contact hypothesis' formalised by Allport (1954), which suggests that under certain circumstances, intergroup contact can reduce intergroup prejudice and increase tolerance and respect (Brown and Hewstone 2005). The positive effects of the contact hypothesis on reducing prejudice are documented in research (Brown and Hewstone, 2005; Roets et al., 2015; Paluck et al., 2018) and claim that the 'contact hypothesis' affects positively not only those who interact directly, but it could also have a positive effect on the people of their immediate environment. Moreover, Amichai-Hamburger and Mackenna (2006) argued that online contact through the Internet could also have beneficial results in reducing prejudice. These positive outcomes are embraced by some participants, who argued that increased contact would provide the necessary basis for reconciliation among the people of Cyprus.

Nonetheless, Mackeown and Dixon (2017) point out that there are three main gaps in contact hypothesis research. First of all, contact in everyday life, outside the controlled environment could result into a negative experience that increases rather than decreases reactions such as prejudice, anxiety, and avoidance. Second, contact in real life can be undermined by informal practices of segregation that are often overlooked by researchers in controlled situations and finally, contact can undermine the group who is historically disadvantaged, in demonstrating their social injustice and reduce their ability for social action. These drawbacks of contact among the people are shared by a number of participants, mainly GCs, who argue that contact without a solution would bring increased hostility and conflict among the people of Cyprus.

As mentioned earlier, the most successful bi-communal project in education is 'Imagine', a project organised by the Association for the Historical Dialogue and Research (AHDR) under the auspices of the Bi-communal Technical Committee on Education. Three participants had actual experience of the 'Imagine' project, each from a different point of view. Daisy experienced the program as a parent since her son participated; Peony participated as a teacher, taking her students to the project and Begon is one of the program's facilitators. All reported positive views of the project even though they all acknowledged the need for programmes such as 'Imagine' to expand in order to cover a greater part of the population. This would enable a kind of continuity of a greater scale with students exchanging visits in schools, studying together, creating bonds and friendships that will eventually lead to a better understanding of each other's views and restore the distorted image that students have regarding the people of the other community. Begon insisted that the programme enjoys a wide acceptance among teachers and students because it is under the auspice of the Bi-Communal Technical Committee on Education. The supervision of the Committee legitimises teachers to participate in the project and reduces negative reactions from the parents. Moreover, the optional nature of the project allows teachers and students to abstain from the program, thus removing most of the negative reactions from teachers, students and parents.

Theme 3

5.3 The Perceptions of Cypriot Teachers Regarding National Identity and the Promotion of a Civic Cypriot Identity

Schools are one of the institutions that national identity is formed and cultivated. The teachers argued that they were proud of their national identity but without considering nationality to be a crucial factor regarding their relations with others. Moreover, they believe that a strong civic identity, cultivated through education, would allow the people living in Cyprus but are not part of the dominant communities to integrate into the Cypriot society. Schools in Cyprus are multicultural communities with students from different countries. The European Union has an important role to play in fostering Cypriot's civic identity by providing the means for cooperation among the people of Cyprus, especially through projects for education.

5.3.1 Pride in National Identity

National identity is considered of great importance for Cypriots. Anagiotos (2014) claims that identity issues in Cyprus are complicated, especially regarding the generations that did not experience the violent events of the bi-communal conflict and the Turkish invasion. He argues that differences involving national identity were among the reasons of the bi-communal conflict which led to the Turkish invasion in 1974. Cypriot teachers from both communities take a lot of pride in their national identity. They consider it to be a big part of their lives and their primordial form of identification. The participants do not view national identity as a problem, as far as their relations with the other community are concerned, and accept the Other's identity which they accept as equal to their own. Moreover, they identify themselves as Greek Cypriots or Turkish Cypriots respectively without excluding the civic, Cypriot, element of their identity. An important observation was made by one participant, who argued that while she was identifying herself as GC, her sons insisted on identifying themselves as Cypriots which could be an indication of a younger generation turning towards a Cypriot identity. An observation verified by Psaltis and Cakal (2016) who researched issues of identity in Cyprus and concluded that a significant part of the research population, especially younger people, identify with Cypriot identity, in contrast to a much lesser percentage who identify with the motherland's identity. Nonetheless, the majority identified themselves using both terms as did most of the teachers who participated in this research. As expected, those who identify themselves as Cypriots exhibit significantly lower levels of threat, prejudice and mistrust towards the other community compared to those who identify themselves as Turks or Greeks (Psaltis and Cakal, 2016, Gulseven, 2020).

Education in Cyprus is one of the most important agents in the formation and cultivation of national identity. Philippou (2006) argues that national consciousness is among the elements of identity that a child develops in schools because of its importance in interpersonal and society relations. The emphasis given on language, religion and history in the early years of schooling forges national identity in a particular and systematic way that is always predetermined. Barrett (2000) showed that the importance of national identity increases significantly during the years of elementary schooling but declines later, remaining, nonetheless, the most important element of a person's identity. Researchers (Orbe, 2003; Ross, 2007; Kosnik et al., 2013) point to the direction of accepting and cultivating through education the multiple identities that a person acquires during school years.

Multiple identities were mentioned by one participant who expressed the opinion that national identity is just one of many identities that a person has during a lifetime and that education should focus on promoting and encouraging multiple identities. Stentoft (2007) argues that in educational context, students are often placed in pre-determined identities used to predict their performance in school. Transcending the borders of a single identity, in most cases the national identity, can be an objective for education. Alongside national identity, many personal and social identities could be cultivated through education providing a multi-identity environment of acceptance for students. Ross (2007) compares multiple identities with a 'palette of pigments from which colours and combinations can be selected at will'. Within the context of multiple identities a form of identity, inclusive of human rights, that could be cultivated through education is civic identity.

5.3.2 The Need for a Civic Identity and the Role of the European Union

Some participants argued that a form of civic identity could be cultivated through education so as to provide the people of Cyprus with a sense of allegiance to the state, to allow them to participate in a common group with other inhabitants, regardless of their ethnicity. A strong civic identity could enhance the civil and human rights of the citizens and at the same time enhance the role of the civic-state in comparison with the nation. Jasmine identifies the undervaluation of the Cypriot state when compared to the Nation, in education and society alike, arguing that even when it comes to National celebrations in the GC educational system, October 1st, the national day of Cyprus is under-estimated and under-celebrated compared to March 25th, the national day of Greece. Begon, regarding the TCs argued that most national holidays in education are connected to Turkey and not to the TCs. Other participants argued that the creation of a civic identity could solve many of the problems that the people of Cyprus face in regards to their nationality. They suggested that a stronger form of civic identity could contribute to the integration of all the people of Cyprus under one state regardless of their initial national identity. A strong civic identity for Cyprus, democratic in nature, would pave the way forward to a community of equal rights-bearing citizens, 'patriotically attached to a shared set of political practices and values' (McLaughlin, 1996).

Education could be a significant factor in cultivating a stronger form of civic identity to the students of Cyprus, not in contrast to national identity but as supplementary to it. The

attachment to the civic identity is not exclusive or intolerant of any other forms of identity and could be the unified factor as the communities of Cyprus are searching for a post-conflict reconciliation. A civic citizenship could provide a sense of security and trust among the people of Cyprus, especially the TCs since as Kende et al. (2018) value that a strong civic identity is related with increased participation in collective pro-minority actions especially in the presence of high empathy and low fear while a strong ethnic identity is related with pro-majority actions. Yuniss (2011) suggests three ways in which education can promote a stronger civic identity:

1. Public discussion and debate of critical issues in which speakers have to listen to each other and share perspectives. This will lead to a critical view of the issues and acknowledge the existence of different narratives and perspectives.
2. The enhancement of student participation and involvement in the social sphere, youth clubs and organisations which could provide students with the necessary autonomy to intervene in issues that concern them.
3. Provide services through social work which could allow students to get involved in social issues that concern society and offer assistance in many ways, from cleaning a nearby park to collecting clothes and food for families in need and organising events for raising money.

Philippou (2009) argues that a strong civic identity understood on legal-political forms, under the European Union (EU), and based on human rights education could, in theory, provide the basis for unity among the people of Cyprus. Some participants agreed about the importance of the EU to the cultivation of a common civic identity for the people of Cyprus. The EU projects for education such as 'Erasmus', provide the opportunity for teachers and students alike, from both communities to participate and exchange views about the future of Cyprus and Cypriot education. Mitchell (2012) argues that the 'Erasmus' projects of the EU act as civic experience that instils the European consciousness among the participants and as such could influence towards reconciliation and understanding between the people of Cyprus. Peristianis (1998) identifies a strong civic identity as an integral component of a future federal Cyprus within the EU, even though he stresses the fact that membership to the EU is not a panacea for the problems of the island, but rather a secure framework, within which, the two communities can learn to trust each other again. Within this framework, the EU could

encourage the learning of the other community's language in public schools and the creation of integrated schools for GC and TC students, as discussed in the following theme.

Theme 4

5.4 Cypriot Teachers Regarding the Other Community's Language Teaching and Integrated Schools

One of the most important findings of the research was the eagerness of the teachers of Cyprus to introduce the language of the other community to public schools. The participants agreed, almost unanimously, that teaching and learning each other's language would be an important step in the reconciliation process. Language is more than a code for communication. It encapsulates the culture and civilisation of the speaker, learning a language means coming closer to the people who speak that language. Moreover, in a bilingual state, as Cyprus is, learning the language of the other community makes the people contemplate that there is another community, linguistically different, which is part of their world and deserves their respect. Regarding the issue of the creation of common, integrated schools participant's views were not as encouraging. Many participants believe that mixing students from different communities before the solution of the Cyprus problem would only create problems that would be subsequently transferred to society, resulting in possible bi-communal conflicts.

5.4.1 Learning the Language of the Other Community - A Necessity

The participants almost unanimously emphasised the necessity of teaching the other community's language in the public education system. They acknowledge the cultural and emotional gains from learning the other community's language and argue that it is a necessity and not a luxury for Cyprus. Moreover, the participants argued that it is a legal obligation of the state which derives from the constitution to teach both languages, Greek and Turkish, to public schools.

Language is a unifying factor and an essential part of national identity. Many conflicts around the world were initiated by the refusal of the dominant community to allow the local language to be taught in public schools. Abdullah Ocalan, the leader of the Kurdish Resistant

against Turkey (cited in Laitin, 2000:531) considered the restrictions imposed on Kurdish language by the dominant Turkish state as the main reason for their rebellion, emphasising the importance of language teaching and the disastrous effects of suppressing one's language. As far as Cyprus is concerned, while the constitution acknowledges two official languages for the state, Greek and Turkish, the education system which was assigned by the constitution formed in 1960 to each community, is teaching only one, the motherland's language, disregarding the language of the other community. Learning the language of the other community was considered, until recently, an act of betrayal (Ozerk, 2001) and anyone trying to teach or learn was stigmatised.

The benefits from a bilingual education are profound since: a) it promotes tolerance and reconciliation in divided societies; b) it serves as a moderating factor in situations of tension between people of different communities; c) it provides students with a window to a different culture, art and literature, having significant effect on cognitive skills and creativity; and finally, it improves the social and communicational abilities, especially in regards to the other community (Duffy and Gallagher, 2016; Wang, 2016; Bialystok, 2018). Learning the language of the 'enemy' though, carries a significant emotional burden which should not be neglected since for many GCs and TCs, learning the language of the other community seems unthinkable and the absence of an official educational policy that enhances reconciliation, adds to the emotional stress of those attempting to learn the language of the other community (Charalambous, 2013).

Cyprus is not the only bilingual state in the world. The case of multilingual Switzerland should be taken into account as an example of bi-lingual or in some occasions tri-lingual education within one democratic sovereign state. The paradigm of Switzerland, though not a blueprint, could be applied in Cyprus, with the motherland's language being taught as prime language for each community's schools, the language of the other community as a second language, followed by an 'international language' of choice. This would, in time, enhance the communication among the two main communities of Cyprus and develop understanding between the people since language is more than an instrument of communication but rather an element of culture. Moreover, learning the other community's language would act as a constant reminder of the bi-communal nature of the State, and that respect and tolerance are

vital components for all the people who inhabit the island. As Schoch (2000:12) argues about the Swiss multilingual education:

...multi-lingualism compelled the Swiss very early on to seek compromises and maintain a liberal and tolerant stance. One dimension of this is the recurrent and challenging experience, known to every Swiss child, of realising that there are people who, though linguistically different, are unquestionably also part of its own world, and must therefore be respected.

An important observation was introduced by the participant Begon who argued that learning the other community's language would be ideal, but in case this was not possible, then the use of the English language as a third language could be used for understanding among the people of Cyprus since almost seventy six percent of Cypriots speak English, (European Commission, 2018). She claimed that the use of a language without the emotional burden (Charalambous, 2013) of Greek or Turkish would facilitate the efforts for reconciliation and create common ground for the people of the two communities to exchange ideas and communicate their desire for unification. She asserts that English could be used as a sort of 'lingua franca' for Cyprus (Savoglu, 2017), a third language without the negative emotions of either Greek or Turkish, which would allow the people of Cyprus to communicate effectively.

The use of a third, neutral language such as English for the communication of the two communities is valued as a temporary measure and is currently utilised for bi-communal meetings, but in the future the need for learning the other community's language is essential. It will facilitate communication and engage the people of Cyprus into a consideration of the bi-communal character of the state, leading to the acceptance of the 'Other' as an equal citizen of the Cypriot state. Additionally, using English as the language of communication would mean that any form of bi-communal communication would be restricted until children from both communities acquire a fundamental knowledge of the English language. This would mean that children under a certain age, like those attending kindergarten schools, could not communicate efficiently. Linguistic research by Stevahn et al. (2000) and Abbott (2010) has shown that language learning could be more effective when children are exposed

to the target language in a younger age and in an integrated environment. Additional benefits stemming from this integration could include the enhancement of social skills, acceptance and tolerance towards others. The creation of integrated schools for GC and TC students is discussed next.

5.4.2 The Creation of Integrated Schools

The participants are not as positive and optimistic about the creation of integrated schools which can accommodate students from all the communities of Cyprus. Even though they are not negative about this suggestion in their majority, they do not consider the issue to be of a priority for Cyprus at the moment. They said that it is an issue that could be dealt after an agreed solution of the Cyprus problem. Some of the participants argued that schools integrating children from both communities could create more problems and conflicts that could eventually be transferred on a social level and generate bi-communal conflicts. On the other hand, others pointed out that a few bi-communal or international schools are already operating in the educational context of Cyprus. They claim that with the proper management and institutional support, integrated schools could work prior to an agreed solution.

Education in areas of conflict has an important role to play, according to its function in either preserving or breaking the cycle of violence (Bekerman, 2018). Integrated education in conflict areas serves a double aim: first, to provide students with the necessary knowledge, attitudes and skills for flourishing in an ever-changing world, and second, to equip students with essential tools for coping with the challenges generated by the reality of conflict (Ben-Nun, 2014). The creation of integrated schools is based, along with the bi-communal projects mentioned earlier, on the 'contact hypothesis' (Bekerman 2018), according to which, promoting contact between members of different racial, ethnic and religious groups will reduce tension, and subsequently result in more tolerant and positive attitudes. The contact hypothesis is effective when it occurs under conditions of equality and mutual respect that permit continuous interaction between participants as well as friendships. Under institutional support they might help in reducing conflict among groups and in improving negative intergroup attitudes. Critics of the approach argue that while it may be effective in small groups and under controlled conditions, in real life there are many unpredictable elements

that determine the actions of the people and could result into severe conflict rather than understanding.

As Davies (2017) and Bekerman (2018) argue, segregated schools are the norm in divided societies and areas of conflict. The general perception and international experience is that integrated schools do not attract a big part of the population. In Israel, for example, the 'Hand in Hand' initiative for integrated Palestinian and Hebrew children, twenty years after its initiation in 1998 has progressed to the creation of six bilingual schools with a total of under two thousand students and Northern Ireland's integrated schools average about seven percent of the total population (Donnelly et al., 2016). Zembylas and Bekerman (2011) and Abbott (2010) argue that the seemingly low number of students is not attributed to the unwillingness of parents or students to enrol to integrated schools but to the small number of schools which are unable to accommodate all of the students who wish to attend. In South Africa's desegregated schools students moved from the all-white public schools to privately funded private schools, sustaining the segregation. This created a different kind of division based primarily on socio-economic status and financial ability rather than race (Vandeyar and Esakov, 2007).

The benefits of integrated schools are not as obvious as one would expect. Research shows diverse results (Donnelly et al., 2016) with some researchers (Hayes et al., 2007; Stringer et al. 2009) presenting positive outcomes from the integration such as the capacity to allow young people to make cross-group friendships or break down negative attitudes. Others (Donnelly and Hughes, 2006) indicate that teachers often strive to preserve a positive climate in their schools whereas positive behaviour towards people across the divide is a result of family attitudes rather than school's influence (Hayes and McAllister, 2009). McGlynn et al., (2004) argue that the integrated school programme of Northern Ireland has achieved positive results on identity, out-group attitudes, forgiveness and reconciliation and could be used as an example for other areas of conflict. Other studies in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Komatsu, 2019) showed that schools sharing the same space could intensify ethnic emotions and national identity and possibly be detrimental to trust building and social cohesion. Ben-Nun (2014) emphasises the three R's of integration: respect, recognition and reconciliation as the main objectives and achievements of integrated education and the way they are realised

alongside the traditional three R's: Reading, wRiting and aRithmetic. Creating integrated schools is part of peace process and reconciliation programmes around the world especially in areas with undergoing conflict like Israel and Northern Ireland and previously divided states like South Africa.

As far as Cyprus is concerned, the experience regarding the integration of students from the two main communities is not positive. Research (Johnson, 2007; Zembylas 2010a; 2010b; 2013) regarding a private high school and some elementary schools in the GC side which accommodate a small number of TC students shows that students are not creating any friendship bonds and segregation is evident in all aspects of school-life. Zembylas (2013) argues that the students of each community were not associated with students from the other community. He witnessed physical segregation of the students in classrooms, in recess, school trips and in most social events, indicative of the social and psychological division that existed. Moreover, in some occasions there were conflicts, sometimes overt but mostly hidden, between the GC and TC students of the school which on some occasions involved GC students from other schools (Johnson, 2007; Zembylas, 2013). They also noted negative reactions among the GC parents towards some teachers who supported the unification of the island and the people. Zembylas (2013) argues that, in the absence of structural efforts towards integration the impact of any reconciliatory attempts was minimised and voices of teachers and students who called for empathy and respect were silenced. A good case can be made that educational policies based on respect, tolerance and empathy, which are central in Cosmopolitanism, could be supportive and should precede any attempt of creating integrated schools in Cyprus as discussed in the following themes.

Theme 5

5.5 The Perceptions of Cypriot Teachers Regarding Cosmopolitanism

Cypriot teachers are not familiar with the concept of Cosmopolitanism in contrast to Nationalism which is a widespread concept that affects their lives. This could be attributed to the focus of Cypriot education to Nationalism without any reference to alternatives. Moreover part of society's inward nationalistic views obstruct any cosmopolitan voices from being heard or voiced and have an impact. In order to overcome this obstacle, I had to present the concept of Cosmopolitanism into familiar concepts which, in my opinion, capture the

essence of Cosmopolitanism. I consider the concepts of respect, tolerance and empathy to be universal values which should be accepted and cherished. Additionally, a form of rooted Cosmopolitanism could be the participants' choice of preference because they seemed unwilling to abandon their national or personal affiliations in favour of a cosmopolitan theory.

5.5.1 The Values of Cosmopolitanism

Cosmopolitanism is not a well-known concept, in contrary to Nationalism which is a lived reality for Cypriot society and education. This ignorance raises issues regarding the nature of Cypriot education and the need for a comprehensive education in Cosmopolitanism. In essence, the students and teachers of Cyprus are focused on Nationalism and are not educated in the alternatives. Cosmopolitanism as an orientation towards the self, the other and the world, is being open to change in an ever changing world (Hansen et al., 2009) and could provide an alternative to Nationalism as far as Cyprus is concerned. The fact that teachers, most of whom obtained a post-graduate degree, were unfamiliar with the concept of Cosmopolitanism is an indication of the level of familiarity with the concept inside and outside educational contexts since it is not studied extensively in any level of the educational system. As Peters and Papastephanou (2013) argue, while the problem of Cyprus is an issue of settlements of damages, forgiveness, utopian promise and dystopian realities, and mainly a Cosmopolitan issue, people are unaware of its true nature.

In order to render the concept of Cosmopolitanism more understandable I referred, during the interviews, to certain values that I consider to be embedded in the nature of the concept, such as respect, tolerance and empathy, which though are not exclusive to Cosmopolitanism, lay at the centre of the theory. Those are among the principles that Gibbins (2011:62) indicates as the values that each person should follow in order to 'maximise their authenticity and expressive potential' within a cosmopolitan society. Kögler (2005), drawing from Nussbaum's capabilities approach, identifies three main characteristics of the cosmopolitan values, that a person should identify with, in a cosmopolitan society: an orientation and commitment towards universal values; engagement in a critical dialogue with differently situated agents and backgrounds, and finally, to distance oneself from hegemonic assumptions using critical thinking and social reflexivity. Hansen et al. (2009:605) argue that

Cosmopolitanism creates a context in which human values are consolidated, considering their power in providing people meaning, direction and purpose. Even though there is a broad spectrum of values embedded in Cosmopolitanism, I have decided to focus on those that Kogler (2005) identifies as meta-values, most notably respect, tolerance and empathy among others. Wardle (2015:41) includes these among the main perspectives of Cosmopolitanism alongside the universal values of human dignity and world peace.

5.5.2 Rooted Form of Cosmopolitanism

In order to clarify the unfamiliar concept of Cosmopolitanism, I was obliged to clarify and rephrase the question about Cosmopolitanism and refer to concepts that I believe are embedded into the core of Cosmopolitanism such as respect, tolerance and empathy. The participants' response after the clarification was that many of them considered themselves cosmopolitans, people who respect other cultures and nations, albeit with roots to their nation. They would prefer a form of rooted Cosmopolitanism as their Cosmopolitan image of Cyprus, which would be respectful towards their national affiliations, identity and culture. National identity is a form of identity cultivated from birth by the families and the education system. The participant's strong affiliation and pride for their national identity, leads them to choosing weaker forms of Cosmopolitanism which allow them to preserve their national affiliations. As Miller (2002) argues, it is natural that a person's affection is directed firstly and rigorously to the persons close to them rather than those distant, despite the cosmopolitan ideal of treating all persons equally. An argument shared by Skovgaard-Smith and Poulfelt (2018:129) who state that assuming a cosmopolitan stance does not necessarily imply embracing 'all otherness' that thick cosmopolitan forms demand.

Participants agreed that the educational systems of Cyprus, both the GC and the TC, are in need of substantial structural change in order to be more respectful, tolerant and improve learning, which is currently below average in international evaluations (Hadjioannou, 2019). The teachers expressed their despair regarding the current situation of education in Cyprus mainly because of the absence of respect on behalf of the students and their families, towards teachers and their work in schools. Moreover, the lack of institutional support forces teachers into selecting the dominant narrative, ignoring alternative views. A rooted form of Cosmopolitanism would infuse the current curriculum with the values of respect, tolerance

and empathy which are embedded in Cosmopolitanism and at the same time engage the educational community of Cyprus into a critical constructive discourse regarding the issues of truth, justice and reconciliation.

The position of the participants in favour of rooted forms of Cosmopolitanism is concurring to the turn that many cosmopolitans like Kwame Anthony Appiah (2006), Martha Nussbaum (1994) and Ulrich Beck (2003) adopted towards a version of Cosmopolitanism that includes local affiliations, national and cultural to the cosmopolitan ideal. Beck (2003) argues that rooted Cosmopolitanism provides the person with roots and wings at the same time allowing the cosmopolitan and the local to co-exist in harmony and Taberner (2017:233) states that it is about 'productive patriotism rather than narcissistic Nationalism' and about mobilising for universal ends. Appiah (2006) asserts that Cosmopolitanism and patriotism are embedded in rooted Cosmopolitanism since both derive from liberalism, as they are based on individual choice and freedom. The acceptance of national and personal affiliations is not *Cosmopolitan shrinking* (Akkerman, 1994) but rather the acknowledgement of realities before the implementation of a major change in education and society. Choosing what can work and inspire people into moving on from their previous situation to a new one could mean the difference between success and failure of the effort. To this end cosmopolitan education is discussed next.

Theme 6

5.6 Cypriot Teachers Regarding Cosmopolitan Education

The issue of a cosmopolitan education system was raised and the ways this could bring the people of the two main communities of Cyprus closer is critically analysed next. There are two main trends in cosmopolitan education (Obelleiro, 2014:69). The first considers cosmopolitan education as a counterweight to traditional nationalistic education, thus limiting its field of action. The second is more open; it runs through all subjects and levels of education both inside and outside formal schooling.

Under the current situation of alienation between the two communities, the participants argued that a new educational structure based on cosmopolitan values should be initiated. It is

the time, as the participants believe, for the educational system of Cyprus to implement a curriculum based on respect, tolerance and empathy which, in time, will allow the people of Cyprus to abandon their unconscious nationalistic structures and move towards the reunification of the island. Most of the participants seem ready to implement such a change since they argued that a change is needed because the current educational structure, which is infused with Nationalism, fails to provide the necessary skills for the students to flourish in a multicultural, cosmopolitan society. The absence of critical thinking, long-term planning, respect towards others, and the below average academic results of the Cypriot education system (Hadjioannou, 2019) are considered by the participants to be sufficient reasons for a change in the education system. Even though academic results and Nationalism in education are not clearly connected by the participants, the absence of educational vision and critical thinking contribute not only to the enhancement of Nationalism but to the poor academic results in international surveys. Some participants, aware of the political realities of Cyprus, have characterised the thought of implementing an education system based on respect, tolerance and empathy as a utopia that could not be implemented.

5.6.1 Cosmopolitan Education as a Necessary Utopia

Some of the participants characterised the shift from Nationalism to Cosmopolitanism as a utopia, pointing out the impossibility of such change at least in the foreseeable future. Cypriot teachers expressed feelings of dystopia to describe the current situation, regarding the Cyprus problem and anti-utopian arguments of despair are evident in their evaluation for the future. Cosmopolitan education is often characterised as a utopia due to the unimaginable potential capacities of education which are in turn limited by the nationalistic tradition.

Deriving from the Greek words *ou-topos* meaning a non-place and *eu-topos* meaning an imaginary kingdom of wellness, justice and prosperity, the word *utopia* is synonym to a fantasy place where everything is perfect and ideal. Slavoj Žižek (cited in Apple, 2013:126) argues that true utopia emerges when there is no way of resolving a situation within the limits of the possible, and out of the need for survival one must invent a new space. It is not a child of free imagination but a matter of innermost urgency, the only way out when a situation is unbearable and you must imagine something new. It is not a place to reach but a process of becoming, a voyage of exploration (Cote et al., 2007, Wright, 2012).

Ertugrul and Barlas, (2014) attribute the word to Sir Thomas More, who wrote the book titled 'Utopia' in the 16th century, meaning the future vision of a land with perfect social relations, and human living under a perfect constitution and unflawed government, enjoying a simple and happy existence, free from the turmoil, the harassing cares, and endless worries of actual life. Generally speaking, when referring to utopia we mean an ideal or an objective out of reach, something so good that is unreachable by people, a view of the future so farfetched and unreachable that is impossible to achieve. To describe the current situation, Papastephanou (2013) used the term dystopia, which is described as a dark glimpse, a vision of the present without any positive quality of life, a situation where everything seems dark and lost, with little hope for a better future. It is clear that a transition from dystopia to utopia is needed, however difficult this may be. Nevertheless, dystopia is not the opposite of utopia, rather an unpleasant beginning of the journey towards the utopian project. Papastephanou (2013) considers anti-utopia as the opposite of utopia. Anti-utopia is the absence of vision and hope for a better future, a condition where people do not believe that any improvement is possible and a feeling of certainty that things could only get worse prevails. Cosmopolitanism, with the ideals of respect, tolerance and empathy can be considered as a utopian perspective for overcoming the dystopian reality of segregation and the anti-utopian policies of despair and hopelessness.

Starkey (2012) regards education as the driving force towards the realisation of utopias. In the case of Cosmopolitanism, education about human rights and global citizenship could enable people with diverse and incompatible set of beliefs to recognise and accept common standards and principles. For example, respect for human dignity, tolerance of the 'Other's' culture, reconciliation and social justice, are issues that make living in a shared, tolerant, society possible. Characterised as a 'necessary utopia' (Delors, 1996:13), education has the transformational potential for a struggle against intolerance and violence, towards social justice, tolerance and peace. United Nations Education and Culture Organisation (UNESCO, 1996) has characterised the ability of living together as one of the four pillars of education which as Starkey (2012:22) argues, from a cosmopolitan perspective, envisages all people acquiring a global identity in addition to local and national notions of belonging. Webb (2016:434) identifies three common characteristics of real educational utopias that could apply to the Cypriot educational system:

- Utopias are grounded in real situations and eminent needs
- They are partially taking into account the local circumstances, avoiding totalitarian visions
- Utopias are progressive, highlighting successful institutions and practices

These pre-conditions for utopias in education are present to the educational situation of Cyprus enabling the teachers to proceed towards the implementation of an educational system based on respect, tolerance and empathy, which is discussed next.

5.6.2 An Education System based on Respect, Tolerance and Empathy

Participants argued that Cypriot society and education are deeply influenced by ethnocentric Nationalism, to the point that any other future is deemed inconceivable and utopian by the majority of the people. Any effort to change the basis of education is considered unthinkable. Participants claimed that education in Cyprus should assume its role in developing a just, peaceful, tolerant and inclusive environment for all the inhabitants of the island. It must provide people with the understanding, skills and values they need to ‘cooperate in resolving the interrelated challenges’ of the 21st century (Tawil, 2013:1). Hansen (2009a:207) supports the need for cosmopolitan influence in the education system stating that it can encourage people to preserve cultural and individual integrity, while also supporting peace and social justice. In addition to that, cosmopolitan education encourages the ability to think critically, inspires daring imagination, transcends localities, empathises, and sympathises with people in need (Nussbaum, 2010). The participants align with the potential that a form of cosmopolitan education could provide to the educational system of Cyprus. It would add the necessary elements that could transform the dystopian situation of the present to an improved utopian future for the students and teachers of Cyprus.

Hansen (2008:296) embraces the idea of cosmopolitan education ‘being more than a lesson and in need of curriculum change’, but mainly as a method of teaching and learning that will enhance and illuminate the unsettling connection of the dynamic spaces between the local and the universal. The participants seem to agree with this perception, since they argued that as Nationalism is not overtly revised through the official curriculums, cosmopolitan education could be realised within the limits of the existing curriculums. The TCME (2005) and the MOEC (2010) curriculums already include elements of social justice (Hajisoteriou

and Angelides, 2014), respect to human rights, humanism and dedication to democratic values (Zembylas et al., 2016) and could be used as a basis for a cosmopolitan education system.

In case a new curriculum is needed, participants are in accordance with Papastephanou (2013:133), who proposes a cosmopolitan curriculum that should not aim at making students think as cosmopolitans but promote, instead, the feeling that Cosmopolitanism is a challenging ideal 'whose approximation is ever fading, but no less desirable and crucial for that matter'. They accept that cosmopolitan education could be applied through an agenda of respect, tolerance and empathy, with references to global problems and the need for adapting to change, as educational imperatives (Papastephanou, 2013).

While the majority of participants seem favourable towards a cosmopolitan education system either through the existing curriculum or through a new cosmopolitan one that accepts the individual as a person with rights and dignity (Pinar, 2009), at the same time, teachers are concerned that a cosmopolitan change in education will create negative reactions by parents or other institutions. They argue that they are in need of institutional support and protection. It is evident that a certain degree of cooperation between the two educational systems is needed in order for the teachers to feel secure and empowered to move towards the implementation of a cosmopolitan education system.

The cosmopolitan theory of the concentric circles as introduced by the Stoic philosopher Hierocles and later developed by Martha Nussbaum, could provide a theoretical basis for the cooperation of the two separate educational systems. Also, it could encourage the development of an educational system based on respect, tolerance and empathy that could allow the people of Cyprus to draw the circles of affection towards themselves and their community and bring the other community and thus the people of Cyprus as a whole closer, regardless of their national identity. It could represent a visual, geometrical model, that could be applied through education, to understand the complexities in our world and indicate challenges and opportunities for individuals and communities in an ever-changing world, and

‘a way of life in which individuals are participants in a pluralistic change rather than spectators or victims of such change’ (Hansen et al., 2009:587).

Concluding Remarks

In this chapter I provided a critical analysis and discussion of the themes which had emerged from the answers the participants provided during the interviews. Issues such as injustice, conflict-induced trauma, increased feelings of Nationalism and strong national identity, as long as they remain unresolved, could generate centripetal forces, pushing inwards towards the inner circles of morality (see Appendix 7). These issues strengthen the circles of community and nation making any attempt for communication and reconciliation extremely difficult. On the other hand, issues like the creation of a civic identity, learning the other community’s language, integrated schools and an educational system based on respect, tolerance and empathy, could encourage centrifugal forces leading outwards, towards the outer circles of humanity. At the same time bonds with the community and nation could weaken allowing the outer circles to be drawn closer to the centre (Graham et al., 2017). The issues already identified and analysed are summarised below:

1. The absence of any form of transitional and social justice has led to feelings of injustice among the people of Cyprus which are transported through education and the mass media from generation to generation.
2. National identity remains strong among the people of Cyprus, who are not prepared to abandon their national affiliations towards a comprehensive civic identity that will include, not only the people belonging to the GC or the TC community, but all the people living in Cyprus regardless of their national origin.
3. Educating the people of Cyprus to overcome nationalistic elements towards a Cosmopolitan ideal based on the values of respect, tolerance and empathy, is desirable but not foreseeable since it is characterised as a distant utopia. The attachment to the motherlands, one-sided history teaching, victimisation of each community and the absence of truth create huge obstacles for any attempt at changing the nationalistic course of Cyprus.
4. The participants agree with teaching the other community’s language in public schools. Learning a language is much more than mere knowledge since it offers an inside into the other community’s culture and civilisation besides the obvious benefits for communication.

5. Finally, the teachers of Cyprus are willing to take the step towards a more respectful and tolerant education system based on Cosmopolitan values, but at the same time they require some form of protection from the authorities to face any negative reactions from parents or other nationalistic circles.

In the next and final chapter I will make some concluding remarks about the research, present the findings of the study and the contribution to knowledge in the field of education. I will offer some recommendations, based on the findings of the research to the educational authorities and the Cypriot teachers, recommendations that hopefully will encourage a future and more extensive research on the issue of Cosmopolitanism in education.

Chapter 6: Conclusions

6.1 General Summary and Research Questions

In this final chapter of the research I will give a general summary of the results, followed by the research questions, the main findings and contribution to knowledge, the limitations of the research, and finally some recommendations for the educational authorities of Cyprus, the teachers and future research.

The main aim of the dissertation was to investigate and analyse the perceptions of Cypriot teachers towards a cosmopolitan future for the Cypriot educational system. The research proposed Hierocles the Stoic's (2nd century AD) cosmopolitan theory of concentric circles as developed by Martha Nussbaum, (1994, 2007). In this model people enhance, through education, the cosmopolitan values of respect, tolerance and compassion without having to abandon their main communal and cultural characteristics such as nationality, religion, cultural identity and tradition (Nussbaum, 1994, 2007; Enslin, 2011). Critical analysis of the data revealed the utopian nature of applying cosmopolitan education in any form, since Cypriot teachers are unfamiliar with the concept of Cosmopolitanism. Nonetheless, they appear willing to explore an educational system based on the values of respect, tolerance and empathy which could, eventually, provide hope for those in favour of the reconciliation and unification of Cyprus.

The findings are broadly in line with the proposed theory of the concentric circles, since they revealed an inward dystopian reality which strengthens the inner circles and an outward utopian vision which could transcend the barriers and draw the outer circles closer (see Appendix 7). The feelings of injustice, the concealment of truth and the conflict-induced trauma push inwards to the Self, Family, Community and Nation, strengthening the borders between them and the 'Other'.

Moreover, the views expressing a strong National identity and the revise of Nationalism through the unofficial curriculum draw the circle of the Nation closer to the Self, thus increasing the feelings of allegiance towards people belonging to the same Nation. The circle of the national state would, in a neo-liberal perspective, 'gain much importance and act as a

boundary for the person's affection', caused by national and international combativeness leading to the outer circles pushed away rather than drawn towards the center (Enslin, 2011:92).

The utopian vision of education, on the other hand, could act as an agent for the generation of outward, centrifugal forces that transcend the barriers of the Nation and draw the outer circles of humanity closer to the inner circles. An educational system based on the cosmopolitan values of respect, tolerance and empathy could provide the necessary tools for the students and teachers of Cyprus to pull the outer circles of humanity towards the centre. Actions such as the cultivation of civic identity through education and learning the other community's language could create strong incentives that would, in time, allow the people of Cyprus to draw the outer circles of humanity closer.

The preferred method for gathering data was the in-depth interview. Semi-structured, face to face interviews with Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot teachers were conducted between February and June of 2019. The interviews were transcribed verbatim and the data were analysed using the six stages of thematic analysis, which revealed the themes and sub-themes, each unveiling a part of the perceptions of the Cypriot teachers regarding a Cosmopolitan future for Cypriot education. Additionally, the themes were evaluated in regard to their potential to create centripetal or centrifugal forces within the concentric circles of affection.

The main research questions were:

1. What are the perceptions of the Cypriot teachers about the current situation in Cyprus regarding the political problem and the relations between the two communities?
2. What are the perceptions of the Cypriot teachers about Nationalism in society and education?
3. What are the perceptions of the Cypriot teachers regarding national and civic identity and the image of the people of the other community?

4. What are the perceptions of the Cypriot teachers in regard to confidence building measures, such as teaching the other community's language as part of the national curriculum or the creation of integrated schools?
5. What are the perceptions of the Cypriot teachers about Cosmopolitanism?
6. What are the perceptions of the Cypriot teachers regarding the implementation of an educational system based on Cosmopolitan values?

Based on the answers to these research questions I was able to reach to some conclusions about the possibility of implementing Cosmopolitan values in the curriculum and the degree of acceptance by the teachers of an education system based on respect, tolerance and empathy.

6.2 Research Findings

Following from the research questions, several issues were discovered and were critically analysed in the previous chapter. The main findings stemming from the analysis of the research questions can be summarised as follows:

1. About the current situation in Cyprus regarding the political problem and the relations between the two communities
 - a. The feelings of injustice are overwhelming among the participants and point towards Turkey for the GCs and towards the GCs and Turkey by the TCs. The absence of any form of social and transitional justice and the hegemonic, nationalistic, narrative of each community, have created a climate of mistrust between the members of both communities which has been transferred to education. Cypriot teachers are disappointed by the current situation in society and education. They feel insecure and worried from the continuous, yet endless negotiations for a solution to the Cyprus problem, and believe that something needs to change in society and education.
2. About Nationalism in society and education
 - a. Nationalism is evident in every aspect of the participants' lives and assumes a hegemonic position in society and education. While teachers acknowledge the

existence of Nationalism in education, especially through the unofficial curriculum, they fail to identify the nationalistic structures of the entire educational system, or in some cases they even consider Nationalism as something positive and they are not willing to work against it. Nonetheless, the majority of teachers are willing to explore the potential of an educational change, moving away from Nationalism towards a cosmopolitan education which 'weds a critical openness to the world with a critical loyalty towards the local' (Hansen, 2009a:208).

- b. The prolonged separation of the two biggest communities of Cyprus is evident in education since there is little or no reference to the other community in public education textbooks. Additionally, according to research findings, the teaching of one-sided and in some occasions short-sighted history, influenced by the motherlands and their rivalry, led to a distorted image of the 'Other', especially when it concerned children who believed that the people of the other community were monsters. To overcome this obstacle, bi-communal projects were established, based on the contact hypothesis, which are welcomed by the majority of the participants. Nevertheless, there are those opposing these practices who argue that such projects are acceptable only after there is a settlement of the Cyprus problem and not before.

3. About national and civic identity in education

- a. Cypriot teachers are proud of their national identity and do not consider it to be a problem in their relations with other communities of the island. Nonetheless, for the majority of teachers the existence of a strong civic identity is considered important since it will help all the people of Cyprus, regardless of their primordial nationality, to integrate into the state as equal citizens. This civic identity could be initiated and cultivated through an education system based on respect, tolerance and empathy, values which are central in Cosmopolitanism.

4. About teaching the other community's language and the creation of integrated schools.

- a. The most important and somewhat surprising of the findings regarded the other community's language teaching. All the participants argued about the need, social and constitutional, of teaching the language of the other community as part of the official curriculum. They stressed the importance of this course of action as a factor that could lead to better understanding and communication between the two communities. The absence of bi-lingual education resulted to the disregard of the other community and to the neglect of the official bi-communal character of the Cypriot state. An important observation was that English could be used as a 'lingua franca' for Cyprus because it does not entail the emotional burden of learning the 'enemy's' language, especially since the majority of the population already speaks English. Nonetheless, since English is not the native language of Cypriots, children of younger age would be excluded from any reconciliation efforts until they learn to speak English.
- b. Concerning the issue of creating integrated schools for all the children of Cyprus, regardless of their national identity, the participants were reluctant as to the possibilities for success. Most of them argued that creating integrated schools would only create problems that would transfer onto society, making the approach of the two communities impossible. Research (Lawson, 1962; Abbott, 2010; Millei, 2019; Millei and Lappanainen, 2020) supports that starting common schooling at an early age would enhance the possibilities of success since younger children are not affected by Nationalism to the degree that older, teenage children are. Creating integrated kindergartens and day-care centres, as one participant suggested, would allow Cypriot children to interact in a playful environment without the pressure inherent in the stricter primary and secondary school curriculum.

5. About Cosmopolitanism in Cypriot society and education

- a. The participants were unfamiliar with the concept of Cosmopolitanism. Some of them had the misconception that it was something 'similar to globalisation'. This ignorance illustrates the absence of Cosmopolitanism from the Cypriot educational system and teacher's training in particular. Only teachers who

participated in related post-graduate courses had a vague idea about the concept. After some clarifications of the term, the participants agreed that a rooted form of Cosmopolitanism which allows the person to keep their personal or national affiliations while at the same time remaining open to new experiences and attachments would be their preferred choice.

6. About Cosmopolitan Education.

- a. The introduction of an educational system based on the Cosmopolitan ideals of respect, tolerance and empathy was called for by most of the participants. The majority of them argued that a shift from the current educational paradigm of Nationalism which enhances separation between the people of Cyprus, towards an educational system that will include all the people of Cyprus despite their different nationalities, religion or language is necessary. Moreover, it should encourage critical thinking and creativity without the hegemonic narrative of Nationalism. It was characterised as a necessary utopia for Cyprus and, in time, could provide innovative solutions towards the unification of the island.
- b. It is fair to stress that the teachers of Cyprus appear to be in favour of a change that will enhance respect, tolerance and empathy in their schools, alongside the cultivation of critical thinking, creativity and cooperation regardless of the name. They do not really care whether the educational system promoting these values and abilities is called ‘education for peace’, ‘multiculturalism’ or ‘cosmopolitan education’ as long as it provides the necessary foundations for improving teachers’ and students’ dystopian reality within the current education system of Cyprus.

6.3 Contribution to Knowledge

Based on the findings, this research contributes to knowledge in several ways regarding the issues of Cosmopolitanism and cosmopolitan education, Nationalism, teaching the other community’s language and creating common, integrated schools for all the students of Cyprus.

1. Cosmopolitanism and cosmopolitan education are neglected issues in the Cypriot society and educational system. This was evident by the answers given by participants regarding Cosmopolitanism during the interviews. Papastephanou (Peters and Papastephanou, 2013) agrees that, even though the problem of Cyprus is of a cosmopolitan nature, Cypriots do not realise it because the concept is largely unknown to society and Cypriot education. This ignorance was documented and evidenced through this research.
2. Additionally, the research contributes to the field of cosmopolitan education in Cyprus, especially in regard to the perceptions of teachers from both communities. It shows that the teachers of Cyprus are willing to engage in the implementation of an educational system based on the fundamental principles of Cosmopolitanism, albeit without neglecting their national affiliations and identity. They are willing to work towards an educational system that promotes respect, tolerance and empathy for the people of Cyprus regardless of their nationality, religion and race.
3. Regarding Nationalism, teachers believe that it is evident in society and education. They consider the individual teacher as the most important factor in resisting or encouraging Nationalism, thereby acknowledging the great importance of teachers in the educational process. This integral part of teachers is supported by many researchers (Cope and Ward, 2002; OECD, 2005) with regard to many aspects of the teaching/learning process. This research documents the importance of teachers in resisting or promoting Nationalism within the limits of the existing curriculum.
4. This research emphasises the positive and encouraging perceptions of teachers about the need of teaching the other community's language in public schools as a necessity and an obligation of the state deriving from the constitution, a view that is shared by most teachers. Teaching the other community's language will not only enhance communication and cooperation among the people of each community but will

engage the people of Cyprus in a discourse about the duality of the state and the need for improving the bonds between the two biggest communities of the island.

5. Finally, the research documented the perceptions of teachers regarding the creation of integrated, common schools for all the children of Cyprus which were not positive. Most of the participants argued that creating common schools is pre-mature and could lead to conflicts which might find their way to wider society.

6.4 Recommendations of the Study

What follows, is some recommendations that have emerged mainly from research questions and the subsequent analysis of the responses provided by the participants. These recommendations aim: a) to reduce the tension of the centripetal forces which enhance the inner circles of the person's affection and b) enhance the centrifugal forces that could help the students of Cyprus transcend the circles of community and nation and draw the outer circles closer to the self.

1. It is important for an education system promoting peace, respect and reconciliation to endorse unity. The two educational systems should consider ways to act in harmony especially in terms of common basic objectives like respect, tolerance and empathy towards people of different nationality, religion or race. This could be achieved in two ways:
 - a. A top-down approach organised and implemented by the Educational Authorities of the island with the joint writing of a common curriculum that would embrace the values of respect, tolerance and empathy as its core values. This could be the work of the Bi-Communal Committee for Education which was formed by the leaders of the two communities as part of the confidence-building measures. The curriculum should emphasise cosmopolitan values not as a particular lesson but as the fuel for the emergence of cosmopolitan sensibility which can dwell harmoniously with local sensibilities of family, community and nation (Hansen, 2008). As regards educational objectives, the common curriculum should focus on the cultivation of critical thinking, cooperation, communication and creativity, which are considered, among others, as basic skills for the twenty first century (Alismail and McGuire,

2015; Joynes et al., 2019). The common curriculum, for example, should encourage students to pursue:

- i. Cognitive competences like critical thinking and creativity, through the implementation of critical literacy, especially regarding online sources and mass media.
 - ii. Interpersonal competences which include the use of cooperative methods of teaching and learning, communicating with others effectively and global awareness.
 - iii. Intrapersonal competences like growth mindset, learning how to learn, intrinsic motivation, and grit (Soland et al., 2013; Geisinger, 2016).
- b. A bottom-up approach starting from teachers and/or the teachers' unions could encourage their members to work for the implementation of cosmopolitan values within the limits of the existing curriculum. The teachers' unions have developed ways of cooperating regarding many issues in recent years. This cooperation included the exchange of visits to schools, the promotion and support of candidates from both sides to European and International forums and support to each other's struggle for improved working conditions. They could extend the cooperation by organising meetings, in-service training programs, lectures and seminars suggesting ways of implementing the values of respect, tolerance and empathy within the limits of the current curriculum. Additionally, bi-communal meetings and seminars on the topic of history teaching and the ways of approaching controversial issues might be organised by the teachers' unions. Moreover, common bi-communal actions could be organised, involving teachers from both communities, regarding global issues such as common environmental actions, or the issue of refugees coming to Cyprus. In addition, common actions for the arts, theatre, dance and music, could bring teachers from both communities together and enhance the feeling of reconciliation.
2. The participants pointed towards the unofficial curriculum as the main source of Nationalism in education. In accordance with Recommendation 1 about the need for a new cosmopolitan curriculum or the reshaping of the existing one, actions limiting the

impact of the unofficial curriculum are necessary and should originate from the Educational Authorities and the teachers. On a practical level:

- a. The focus of national celebrations should move away from the motherlands, without discarding them, towards those that celebrate the unity of the people while people who promoted bi-communal friendship and reconciliation should be acknowledged through education. Some participants argued that Cypriot celebrations are under-estimated and not valued in the educational system. My recommendation is that local celebrations should be celebrated at least equally with the motherland's, thus enhancing the unity of the people without abandoning national affiliations. Celebrations like the National Day of Cyprus, October 1st, could enhance the feeling of a common state for all Cypriots. Moreover, the celebrations for the end of the Second World War, in which many Cypriots participated regardless of their ethnic origin, could promote the sense of a common past among the people. Additionally, Europe's day could be celebrated as a way to a common future in the EU for all the people of Cyprus.
- b. A part of the board and wall decoration in classrooms should be allocated to respect, tolerance and empathy that could be directed towards the other community and the people of Cyprus in general regardless of their ethnic origin. The use of pictures from bi-communal meetings, projects by the students encouraging friendship among the people, pictures by the students promoting respect for those who are different, could reduce Nationalism and cultivate respect and tolerance for the students.
- c. A component of the unofficial curriculum is the way teachers react to certain behaviours of the students. Teachers often reward accepted behaviours while discouraging unwanted ones. In order to nurture respect, tolerance and empathy, teachers could praise students expressing those feelings towards other people especially when these feelings are directed towards those who are different or disadvantaged.
- d. Another element of the hidden curriculum is text-book bias (Al-Qomoul and Al-Roud, 2017). Encouraging multi-sourced teaching and learning could reduce the impact of the one and only text-book in schools and will allow students and teachers to develop their critical abilities. Moreover, teachers should encourage students, through critical literacy, to detect biased texts and

discover the elements that constitute bias. Alternatively, in connection with Recommendation 1, alongside the new common curriculum educators could assist in the creation of less biased text-books that could be used in Cypriot schools.

3. Teaching the other community's language is considered important by the participants and should be pursued by the Educational Authorities of both communities. This could be achieved using different methods for each age group of students.
 - a. For the students in elementary and high-schools, the gradual implementation of a course teaching the other community's language could allow the students to communicate in each other's language and possibly enhance communication. Moreover, exchanging educational visits for the learning of the language may have multiple benefits in understanding the other community and will engage the young people of Cyprus in a discourse about the bi-communal nature of the state.
 - b. For children in kindergarten and day-care centres, the initiation to the other community's language in a playful manner using images and visual aids, starting from simple words or everyday phrases. This would require the training of kindergarten teachers to some basic grammar and vocabulary of the other community's language.

4. A cosmopolitan education system could be applied through the existing curriculum with the support of the Educational Authorities and an agreement is reached as regards the fundamental values of respect, tolerance and empathy as the main objectives of this process. This could link with Recommendation 1, for a bottom-up innovation since teachers should cultivate a sense of priority for change in the educational system of Cyprus. Nonetheless, as the research has shown, teachers are currently unfamiliar with the concepts of Cosmopolitanism and cosmopolitan education. In order to tackle this drawback the following strategies could be pursued:
 - a. Teachers need to be educated on educational paradigms beyond Nationalism which will be open to critical thinking, cooperation and creativity, based on respect, tolerance and empathy, through teacher's in-service training. It is

important that teachers are educated about Cosmopolitanism and cosmopolitan education and implement the basic principles in their everyday teaching.

- b. Empowering the teachers and their professional identity as educators will allow them to recognise the hegemonic structures of Nationalism and resist it through their lessons. At the same time, institutional mechanisms and strategies that would protect teachers from negative reactions by parents or other institutions while teaching the values of respect, tolerance and empathy to their students should be developed.
- c. Pedagogical Academies and Universities, training teachers in Cyprus, should include courses in their curricula about the values of cosmopolitan education. Cosmopolitan education and other alternatives to Nationalism should be a basic subject for Cypriot pre-service teachers, so that the essential principles of respect, tolerance and empathy are a critical part of their education.

6.4.1 Recommendations for Future Research

Based on the present research findings, suggestions for future research are given in this section.

1. The present study covers only the wider area of Nicosia and only three Turkish Cypriot teachers. A wider research focus covering the whole of Cyprus and a larger number of Turkish Cypriot teachers, could reveal new perspectives and opinions about the issue of Cosmopolitanism in education.
2. This research covers only a part of a prospective implementation of a cosmopolitan education in Cyprus covering the perceptions of Cypriot teachers regarding a cosmopolitan future for Cypriot education; there are still many aspects to be investigated such as the perceptions of students, parents or other education officials in Cyprus, which are equally important in designing an educational policy for the future.
3. As the participants of the study were active teachers, a similar study could take place with pre-service teachers, in order to investigate the change in perceptions, if any, between pre-service teachers and working teachers. This research could provide

information regarding the impact of Nationalism in education and the ways it influences professional identity.

4. Finally, the development of a new cosmopolitan curriculum, or the reforms needed to the existing curriculum, in order to promote cosmopolitan values could be the end result of another study on the subject, suggesting ways in which the values of Cosmopolitanism could be integrated within the everyday curriculum of the school.

6.5 Limitations of the Study

As Denzin and Lincoln (2018:22) argue, interpretation is both ‘artistic and political’, and each interpretive community has its own criteria for evaluating an interpretation. Setting the limitations of the research contributes to the validity and the degree these results could be accepted. Thus as with every study, there are several limitations regarding this research.

1. This study has limitations regarding the generalisation and transferability of the results. Even though it was conducted in an ethical manner, according to the recommendations of the Ethics Committee of the University of Glasgow, the limitation in the area of the interviews which was the greater area of the Nicosia province and the selection process may have provided non generalisable results. A more geographically extensive and contribution of participants, which might include the other provinces of Cyprus could improve and perhaps even modify the findings.
2. Moreover, the number of interviews could result into limited amount of information threatening the validity of the research, especially in regard to the TC participants who were not selected randomly, as the GCs were, but were contacted through GCs, friends and colleagues. The fact that TC participants had GC friends could lead to the assumption that they were positively predisposed towards the GCs and their views may not reflect the views of TC teachers in general.
3. The limited number of TC participants could result into generally applicable results since the perceptions of the TC teachers may not reflect the view of the TC teaching community as a whole.

4. The difficulty in finding TC official documents from the authorities or many studies regarding the TC educational system, obliged me to focus mainly on the GC educational system which was more accessible and familiar. Comparison between the two educational systems was attempted to the degree to which there were available online sources in English about the TC educational system were available.
5. Language was a major issue in regard to the interviews for the dissertation. All the interviews with Greek-Cypriot teachers were conducted in Greek while the interviews with the Turkish-Cypriot teachers were conducted in English. Both presented a series of problems that may have influenced the results.
 - a. The translation of the interviews from Greek to English could result to some things lost in translation (Van Ness et al., 2010). On some occasions I tried to be true to the meaning rather than the actual verbatim translation, since translation, as Deridda (1991, cited in Smith 1996) argues, should in principle transport meaning.
 - b. Moreover, oral speech is different to the written one, and things that are omitted in oral speech should be explained in a written form. As Einhorn (1978) argues, language intended for the ear differs from language intended for the eye.
 - c. In addition to that, transcribing and translating at the same time was a challenging task since Greek and English have different structure and grammar. As Birbilli, (2000) states, collecting data in one language and presenting and analysing them in another could have a direct impact on the validity of the research. In order to deal with the problems identified, regarding the translation of the Greek-Cypriots' interviews, I had to listen to the interviews many times and transcribe them really carefully. On many occasions, I had to listen over and over to an answer to capture the true meaning of the participant's statements.
 - d. Regarding the Turkish-Cypriot participants, the problem I have faced was the lack of fluency in English, which increased the levels of stress of the participants. As a result, the information I was able to acquire was less robust than that of the Greek-Cypriot participants who were interviewed in their native language. Moreover, the interviews took much longer than expected, because the participants had to look up words in English, which was time

consuming and obstructed the flow of the interview. I was patient enough to allow the participants to ‘take their time’ and tried to assist them by rephrasing the questions and asking or answering clarifying questions.

6. Finally, the issue of changing the educational system of Cyprus is educational but also political. Many issues rest upon political decisions which are not easy to make due to the cost in popularity thus limiting the current effect of this research.

6.6 Changes in my Personal Development and Professional Practice

The process and results of the research influenced me on a personal and professional level. On a personal level, the whole process has forced me to engage with issues that are difficult and emotional. It made me realise that the continuation of the division among the people of Cyprus is, in a degree, artificial and sustained by the nationalistic elites that govern both communities. Nationalism has created a hegemonic narrative making it really difficult for the people to accept any different views that might challenge their dominant perception. In my mind, through this research, the clear vision regarding the necessity of reconciliation through education was reinforced after the realisation that many teachers embrace the same or similar aspirations. The change of the existing educational system on the basis of respect, tolerance and empathy could, in time, provide the necessary foundations for an improvement in society which will bring the two communities closer and allow the unification of the people and the island. Engaging in the dissertation process, especially in a part-time mode, is a challenging and in many occasions frustrating process. During the two years of working on the dissertation my personal development and professional practice have been challenged and changed in a significant manner, as will now be demonstrated below.

6.6.1 Personal Development

Personal development is considered to be all the skills and activities that improve a person’s awareness and identity, develop talents and potential, build human capital and facilitate employability, enhance the quality of life and the realization of dreams and aspirations. It involves mental, physical, social, emotional, and spiritual growth that allows a person to live a productive and satisfying life within the customs and regulations of their society. Most of these abilities were cultivated during this study.

During my work on the dissertation I was able to develop and grow mentally since I was actively involved with academic reading and writing. I cultivated the ability to read key texts critically and present my findings others. Writing a demanding piece of text which would be evaluated by experts in the field forces the researcher into deep reading of articles and books regarding several of the issues raised in the dissertation. I have broadened my knowledge and understanding in issues such as Nationalism, Cosmopolitanism, the Stoic philosophy but also issues regarding education in the wider sense and especially Cypriot education. The philosophy of education and the way politicians often determine educational objectives without considering the true educational needs of the students was made clear to me and at the same time I was able to realise the importance of teachers in the classroom and society.

On a personal, emotional level, this dissertation presented some issues from the beginning. Starting from the selection of topics for the dissertation in the third year of the doctorate, I had doubts whether I should undertake research in a topic in which I would be so deeply involved. I knew that the emotional stress would be great and it would need additional effort and strength to overcome my personal feelings and describe the truth of the participants without my personal, emotional involvement. I understood that my personal history would eventually influence my dissertation. I was under two years old, in 1974, when Turkey invaded Cyprus and forced the division of the island. My family was violently forced to abandon our house, in a village to the east of Nicosia, the capital of Cyprus, and went to the south part of Cyprus as internally displaced persons (IDPs), alongside many families of Greek-Cypriots. At the same time, families of Turkish-Cypriot were forced to leave their house in the south and were moved to the north part of Cyprus. My father and several members of my family were captured by Turkish-Cypriot militia and were killed shortly after. They were considered as missing persons until their remains were returned to us about forty years later for burial. The social, psychological and educational divide of the people of Cyprus was violently transformed to a division of territory based on ethnic identity with each community restricted to a specific part of Cyprus, the Greek-Cypriots to the south and the Turkish-Cypriots to the north. Nonetheless, the conflict-induced trauma that my family has suffered affected my dissertation in a positive way. It allowed me to empathise with some of the participants who shared similar stories regarding their families and understand that they were trying to communicate their own personal history. I respected their emotions and had understanding for their emotional state during the interview. I allowed them the time they

needed and shared parts of my story with them. This attitude made them feel more secure and allowed them to share their reality without any frustration or stress.

Another area of personal development was the social interaction, through the interviews, with Turkish-Cypriots. A major concern that I had was the way the Turkish-Cypriot participants would react to the interview questions and whether I would be able to keep my impartiality in case of negative reactions by some of the participants. I was worried that the Turkish-Cypriot teachers might be more suspicious of a Greek-Cypriot researcher and, therefore, unwilling to open themselves and provide the information that I could use for unveiling their perceptions. On the contrary, the Turkish-Cypriots were very cooperative and willing to help me in any way they could. Their behaviour changed the way I was feeling and I understood that there were people in the Turkish-Cypriot community who were willing to cooperate and assist a Greek-Cypriot. Also, I understood that there were families of Turkish-Cypriots who had suffered because of atrocities committed by Greek-Cypriots. Therefore, I realised that the trauma and the pain is not exclusive to one community but is shared among the people of Cyprus and each community has its own stories of terror to narrate. This shared pain made me feel closer to the Turkish-Cypriots and I realised that the unification of Cyprus is an achievable objective that is worth fighting for.

On a spiritual/moral level, I was able to understand several issues regarding morality: certain values should apply for all humanity and that human dignity is an important factor in resolving a conflict. Learning about Cosmopolitanism as an ideal which promotes the values of respect, tolerance and empathy, alongside justice, made me realise the potential of treating each person as an end and not as means to an end. This is especially important for areas of conflict, such as Cyprus, because it is more difficult to humanise your enemy and treat them as human beings who deserve respect and dignity.

6.6.2 Professional Development

Professional development refers to the continued training and education of an individual in regards to their career and professional practice. The whole process of the Doctorate of Education allowed me to think more deeply about my professional practice and reflect on

educational issues beyond the ordinary, daily, concerns of an elementary school teacher. I was able to reflect on issues of policy, justice and imagine alternative futures for education, both locally and globally. Additionally, it forced me to contemplate the power of education to initiate a positive change to society. Moreover, the contact with colleagues from other education systems provided the opportunity for comparing my professional identity and practice with established colleagues from all over the world. It allowed me to improve as a teacher, opening my mind to other possible forms of education and educational surroundings.

On a more practical level, the answers of the participants as to the need for critical thinking, cooperation, creativity and education engaged me in a professional turn towards these skills that are essential, among others, to twenty first century education (Ananiadou and Claro, 2009). Especially with regard to history teaching, this study inspired me to pursue a multi-sourced teaching method, allowing access to multiple sources and offering opportunities to discuss them in a critical manner. Finally, the need for an educational system based on respect, tolerance and empathy would allow me to apply these values to my school settings with, hopefully, positive results in students' and colleagues' behaviour in and out of the classroom.

Finally, another issue that surprised me, as I was analysing the data, was the realisation that the issues of concern were the same for Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot teachers. Teachers from both communities expressed common concerns, fear, doubts, about the present situation portraying a dystopian image for Cyprus and Cypriot education. They expressed their pain from the conflict-induced trauma and their frustration for the prolonged negotiations that do not seem to lead anywhere and the establishment of a situation that feels like things are only going to get worse. They were worried that education in Cyprus was not progressing as they wished and expressed their frustration about the absence of respect from students and parents and the unwillingness of the authorities to protect them from negative reactions. At the same time though, teachers from both communities expressed their hopes and dreams for the future and their willingness to work towards a brighter future for Cyprus and Cypriot education. They were positive about teaching the other community's language to public schools, about the importance of bi-communal projects and the possibility of integrated schools for all the students of Cyprus regardless of their ethnic origin. These views

renewed my hopes about the unification of the island and I felt proud that I was a member of a community of teachers that expressed the will to work towards the improvement of communication and collaboration among the people of Cyprus.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Ethics Approval Letter

27/11/2018

Dear Frangis Frangopoulos

College of Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee

Project Title: What are the perceptions of Cypriot teachers towards a cosmopolitan future for education in Cyprus?

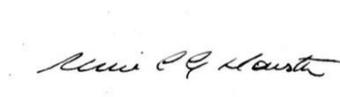
Application No: 400180043

The College Research Ethics Committee has reviewed your application and has agreed that there is no objection on ethical grounds to the proposed study. It is happy therefore to approve the project, subject to the following conditions:

- Start date of ethical approval: _____15/01/2019_____
- Project end date: _____31/08/2020_____
- Any outstanding permissions needed from third parties in order to recruit research participants or to access facilities or venues for research purposes must be obtained in writing and submitted to the CoSS Research Ethics Administrator before research commences. Permissions you must provide are shown in the *College Ethics Review Feedback* document that has been sent to you.
- The data should be held securely for a period of ten years after the completion of the research project, or for longer if specified by the research funder or sponsor, in accordance with the University's Code of Good Practice in Research: (https://www.gla.ac.uk/media/media_490311_en.pdf) (Unless there is an agreed exemption to this, noted here).
- The research should be carried out only on the sites, and/or with the groups and using the methods defined in the application.
- Any proposed changes in the protocol should be submitted for reassessment as an amendment to the original application. The *Request for Amendments to an Approved Application* form should be used:

<https://www.gla.ac.uk/colleges/socialsciences/students/ethics/forms/staffandpostgraduateresearchstudents/>

Yours sincerely,



Dr Muir Houston
College Ethics Officer

Appendix 2: Participant Information Sheet

Participant Information Sheet

Study title and Researcher Details.

‘Cypriot Teachers, Nationalism, Cosmopolitanism and Education: An Empirical Study’

Invitation Paragraph

You are being invited to take part in a research study. Before you decide it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Ask us if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. Take time to decide whether or not you wish to take part.

Thank you for reading this.

The purpose of my assignment is to investigate Cypriot teacher’s perceptions regarding a non-nationalist cosmopolitan future based on Nussbaum’s theory of the Stoic’s circles of affiliation and affection. I will interpret their views and opinions on the educational implications of this theory.

Nationalism has been the major cause for bi-communal conflicts in Cyprus since the birth of the Republic of Cyprus in 1960. It is my belief that educational institutions are where Nationalism is being cultivated and grown. As such, I will argue in my dissertation that a new paradigm for education, based on cosmopolitanism, is needed in order to address the effects of Nationalism. Education, through emancipation and the cultivation of tolerance and empathy towards the ‘other’ could change the perceptions of students and in a long term basis, contribute to the unification of Cyprus.

As long as Nationalism plays an important role in society, the possibilities for a solution to the Cyprus problem are minimal. History and international experience in countries with similar disputes as Cyprus, has shown that without a paradigm shift in education, any agreed solution at political level will be rejected by society and problems will surface once more.

I am suggesting that teachers are a crucial factor in the implementation of cosmopolitan education and their perceptions towards such a paradigm shift are really important. Teachers as a major factor in implementing innovations will be a

critical element in a post-Nationalism cosmopolitan future. Investigating their perceptions and their willingness towards such a future would unveil the possibilities of success or failure.

Participation is entirely voluntary and involves a 45 to 60 minutes interview regarding the effects of Nationalism on various aspects of education in Cyprus and the possibility of a cosmopolitan future that will lead to the unification of the island. Interview will be audio- recorded and a copy of the interview's transcript will be provided to you for approval prior to any analysis. The researcher reserves the right of contacting the participants, after the completion of the interview, for follow up questions and/or clarifications.

If you feel uncomfortable at any point during the interview please acknowledge that to the researcher and any discomforting questions will be withdrawn. You have the right to withdraw at any time without prejudice and without providing a reason. In case you decide to withdraw from the interview, any data gathered until that moment will be discarded and will not be used in any way.

All personal data will be kept confidential. Confidentiality will be respected unless there are compelling and legitimate reasons for this to be breached. If this were the case we would inform you of any decisions that might limit your confidentiality. All personal data will be discarded right after the completion of the dissertation, no later than September 2021.

All data will be kept in a secure, password-protected USB disk in a safe location and a password protected file on my laptop for additional safety. After the completion of the research data will be kept for a ten years, when it will be discarded and destroyed.

All data collected will be used for the completion of the dissertation study and for journal articles and/or conference papers deriving from the dissertation. Datasets suitable for future re-use will be available through public depository systems like Enlighten and will be available from the researcher by personal request. In case of publication in journals, all personal information will be confidential and a pseudonym will be provided for each of the participants.

This project has been considered and approved by the College Research Ethics Committee.

In case any additional information is needed please do not hesitate to contact the researcher or/and the supervisor of the study to the following email addresses:

Researcher, Frangis Frangopoulos, email: 2204289f@student.gla.ac.uk

Phone number: +35799360513

Supervisor, Dr Leonardo Franchi, email: leonardo.franchi@glasgow.ac.uk

For further information and where to pursue any complaint: this should be the College of Social Sciences Ethics Officer, **Dr Muir Houston, email: Muir.Houston@glasgow.ac.uk**

Appendix 3: Consent Form

Consent Form

Title of Project: 'Cypriot Teachers, Nationalism, Cosmopolitanism and Education: An Empirical Study'

Name of Researcher: Frangis Frangopoulos

Supervisor: Dr Leonardo Franchi

I confirm that I have read and understood the Participant Information Sheet for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions.

I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason.

I consent / do not consent (delete as applicable) to interviews being audio-recorded.

I consent/do not consent to provide the researcher with the opportunity to ask follow up questions and or clarifications regarding issues that may rise through my interview regarding globalisation.

I acknowledge that a copy of the interview's transcript will be returned to the participant for verification.

I acknowledge that participants will be referred to by pseudonym.

- All names and other material likely to identify individuals will be replaced by pseudonyms and will be kept confidential.
- The material will be treated as confidential and kept in secure storage at all times.
- The material will be destroyed ten years after the project is complete.
- The material may be used in future publications, both print and online.
- I agree to waive my copyright to any data collected as part of this project.
- I understand that other authenticated researchers will have access to this data only if they agree to preserve the confidentiality of the information as requested in this form.
- I understand that other authenticated researchers may use my words in publications, reports, web pages, and other research outputs, only if they agree to preserve the confidentiality of the information as requested in this form

I agree to take part in this research study

I do not agree to take part in this research study

Name of Participant Signature

Date

Name of Researcher Signature

Date

Appendix 4: Connection between research and interview questions

Research and Interview questions

1. What are the perceptions of the Cypriot teachers about the current situation in Cyprus regarding the political problem and the relations between the two communities?
 - What do you think of the current situation in Cypriot society and education?
 - What do you believe regarding the solution of the problem of Cyprus?
 - Do you believe that the two communities can live together in harmony?
 - What is your opinion of Cyprus and Cypriot education in the present? (short-term and long-term)

2. What are the perceptions of the Cypriot teachers about Nationalism in society and education?
 - Do you consider Nationalism as a factor of the Cyprus problem? Why?
 - Do you believe that education is cultivating Nationalism?
 - What do you think about motherlands and education?
 - Should we be educated out of Nationalism?
 - What is your opinion about history teaching in Cyprus?
 - Do you believe that we are teaching 'one sided' version of history?

3. What are the perceptions of the Cypriot teachers regarding national and civic identity and the image of the people of the other community?
 - How do you feel about your national identity?
 - Should a civic identity be cultivated through education?
 - How are Turkish-Cypriots (Greek-Cypriots for Turkish-Cypriot participants) presented in your schools?
 - Is that image of the 'other' helpful towards a solution to the problem?

4. What are the perceptions of the Cypriot teachers in regards to confidence building measures like teaching the other community's language as part of the national curriculum or the creation of integrated schools?
 - Do you think that the programs currently running, like 'Imagine' are enough?
 - Could religious education and history assist the unification of the island? In what ways?
 - Is learning the other community's language a step towards unification? Should it be obligatory?

- Should common schools be created?
5. What are the perceptions of the Cypriot teachers about Cosmopolitanism?
- Are you familiar with the term cosmopolitanism?
 - Could a theory deriving from cosmopolitanism be the solution to the problem? In which ways should the educational system change?
 - Is a change towards cosmopolitanism possible in Cyprus? What does it take to happen?
6. What are the perceptions of the Cypriot teachers regarding the implementation of a curriculum based on Cosmopolitan values?
- Can education change society?
 - How do you envision a cosmopolitan education system?
 - What are your thoughts about the future of Cypriot Education?

Appendix 5: Brief Presentation of the Participant's Answers

The number of participants who discussed each theme

Questions/themes											
Issues of justice	Absence of transitional justice procedures			Social justice/Distribution of power		Reconciliation processes		Mistrust and fear between the communities			
	6			4		3		6			
Issues of Nationalism in society and education	The importance of individual teachers			The official curriculum as an agent of Nationalism		The unofficial curriculum as an agent of Nationalism		Motherlands as an agent of Nationalism		The importance of bi-communal projects	
	Important	Not important		Important agent	Not important	Important agent	Not important	Important	Not important	Important	Not important
	12	0		2	10	12	0	10	2	10	2
Issues of identity national or civic	The importance of national identity			The importance of civic identity							
	Important	Not important		Important	Not important						
	11	1		8	4						
Issues of language teaching /common schools	Teaching the other community's language in public schools as obligatory lesson			Creating common schools							
	Obligat	Optional	Against	In favour	Against						
	7	4	1	5	7						
Issue of Cosmopolitanism	The concept of Cosmopolitanism			Need for respect, tolerance and empathy							
	Familiar	Unfamiliar									
	4	8		12							
Issues of Cosmopolitan education	A utopia			The importance of the teacher		The importance of school and family cooperation		Education and Society			
	Necessary	Unnecessary		Very Important	Not important	Very Important	Not important	Important	Not Imp.		
	8	4		12	0	10	2	8	4		

Appendix 6: Some information about participants and interviews

Participant's pseudonyms, Nationality, date and length of interviews

Number of Participant	Pseudonym	Nationality	Date of interview	Length of interview (Word count)
1	Ortans	Greek-Cypriot	2/2/2019	2849
2	Rose	Greek-Cypriot	7/2/2019	4987
3	Lily	Greek-Cypriot	7/2/2019	1963
4	Iris	Greek-Cypriot	23/2/2019	3624
5	Jasmine	Greek-Cypriot	5/3/2019	2728
6	Chrys	Greek-Cypriot	9/3/2019	3887
7	Daisy	Greek-Cypriot	20/3/2019	3585
8	Amar	Greek-Cypriot	16/4/2019	3032
9	Begon	Turkish-Cypriot	20/4/2019	3774
10	Peony	Greek-Cypriot	13/5/2019	3781
11	Bluebell	Turkish-Cypriot	23/6/2019	1836
12	Magnolia	Turkish-Cypriot	29/6/2019	2358

Appendix 7: The Concentric Circles Theory Connected with the Answers to the Research Questions

